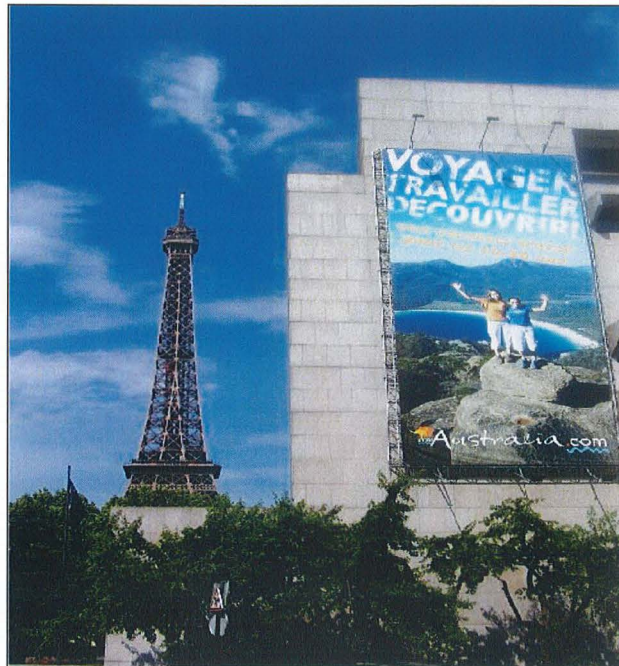


Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula



Paris: tourism advertisement of Wineglass Bay. Source: Peter Hay

A case study of a community's cultural and economic relations with the natural environment

Carol Patterson

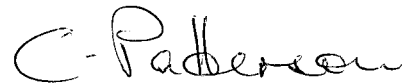
BA, TTC, Grad Dip Soc Sci (Research)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy at the School of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania

Statement of authenticity

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Patterson'.

Carol Patterson

Date: 15/06/2009

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I wish to acknowledge and thank the traditional owners of this region, the Oyster Bay tribe of Tasmanian Aborigines, past and present.

I sincerely thank the people of Coles Bay – those who live there and those who holiday there - who took part in this study. Their help, so willingly and graciously given, was invaluable. There were many others, too, who gave help and advice, in particular Alan and Margaret Morgan of Sheoaks Bed and Breakfast, the Whelan family of Swanwick and the Patterson-Were boys, all of whom gave me somewhere to be at home. I thank David Adams of the Freycinet Interpretation Centre and Peter Lingard of Parks and Wildlife Service, Tasmania for the information they provided.

My heartfelt thanks go to my supervisors, Dr Peter Hay and Associate Professor Elaine Stratford of the School of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, who were always ready with both professional advice and friendly support.

Two peer-reviewed papers to date have resulted from this research study – a paper presented to the United Nations and Queensland Government Conference on Engaging Communities held in Brisbane, Queensland in 2005: ‘Cultural Capital and Development - The Dynamics of Change in a Small Coastal Community’, and in 2007 ‘Cultural Capital and Place: Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula’ *Geographic Research* 46 (3). I wish to thank readers and editors who contributed their expertise in the areas of theory, methods, results and discussion of these papers.

Freycinet Peninsula itself played a major part in the conduct of the research study, taking on a character uniquely its own. I visited this great natural area, not only to conduct my interviews but to enjoy it - swimming its beaches, walking its tracks, getting to know its habitats and seasonal changes, observing people’s relationships to this place, listening to their daily experiences and concerns, and recording it all. I have described some of this experience, in the hope that the spirit of this wonderful place will infuse the pages of my dissertation.

Abstract

Coles Bay is a small coastal community adjacent to Freycinet Peninsula on the east coast of Tasmania, Australia, where community and environment together form a geographical and social entity within distinct natural boundaries. To explore the relationships between community, economy and ecology at this site a theory of cultural-economic relations is tested. Hence, the research is motivated by a set of assumptions and understandings about the depth of people's entangled relationships to place which are too complex to reduce to a hypothetical research question. Using the structure of a case study, the project is informed by Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital, and is guided by his postulation of the character of the 'field' in social research. It is grounded in socio-cultural studies of place and community, ecological economics and environmental theory, and is framed in terms of the types of capital deemed most apposite for this study – cultural, economic and natural. Three populations comprising the communities associated with this place – long term residents, repeat holiday visitors and single visit tourists – are identified and examined.

In the study site, the complexity of the relationships of people to place is revealed, and Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are confirmed as a field of competition between cultural capital and economic capital over the use of natural capital. The results show the study groups interrelating with the forms of capital in core alignments. Complex relationships between cultural, economic and natural capital are also seen to operate outside the study site within communities of interest, in structures of governance and in private enterprise.

Although the dynamics of the social, economic and environmental realities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are complex and interlinked, their viable management constitutes a strategic model for any small community of similar character and location facing similar challenges in the future.

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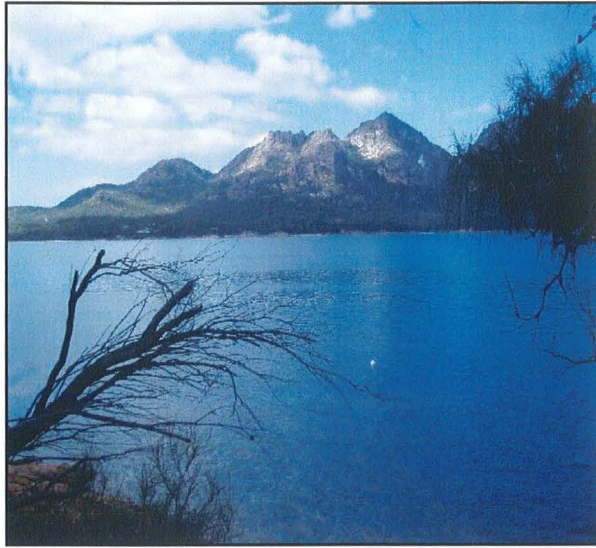
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Chapter 1

Introduction



The Hazards. Source: Robin Stevens

At Richardson's Beach

Green sea-moss, Neptune's beads, a tangle
Of vegetation like a forest
under rippled glass; silver gulls
A-whirr; the heron flies away;
Pink rocks have surfaced with a black
Mantle of tiny clustered mussels;
In the late light, at lowest tide, Cunjevois contentedly
squinting; At sunset a Venetian sky -
A map of other, further regions

James McAuley, 1974

1.1 The study site

Situated on the east coast of Tasmania – one of Australia's six sub-national states or 'provinces' – Coles Bay is a coastal holiday village whose shacks and houses nestle along the beaches at the start of the Freycinet Peninsula. This is a unique bioregion whose rich ecology is bounded by natural forms – the Tasman Sea and Great Oyster Bay, the red granite outcrop of The Hazards¹, the waterways of Moultin Lagoon Game Reserve, and the mouths of the Swan and Apsley Rivers (Figure 1).

The peninsula is a protected area - Freycinet National Park - and comprises (from south to north) Schouten Island, Freycinet Peninsula and Friendly Beaches north to the township of Bicheno. Freycinet National Park totals 16 803 hectares (41 521 acres), and is 48 kilometres long (30 miles) and about six kilometres (nearly four miles) wide (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004*, p. 102). The park conforms to a Category II Protected Area in the categorisation system of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN):

A natural area of land and/or sea designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present or future generations; (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of the area; and (c) provide foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational, and visitor opportunities all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004*, p. 1).

Coles Bay abuts the park and is designated a Conservation Area, declared in 1981, with the current size of 2423 hectares dating from 1999. It conforms to IUCN Category VI:

an area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems managed to ensure long term protection and maintenance of biological diversity while

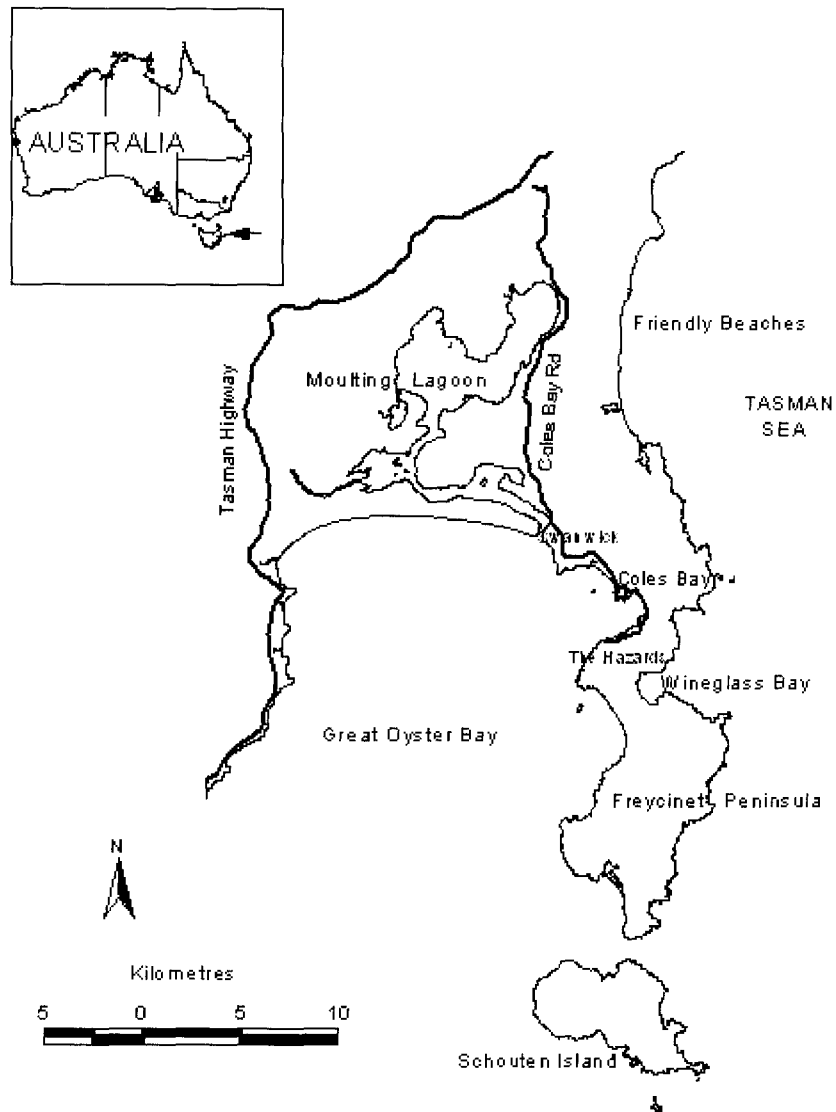
¹ The Hazards are five spectacular red granite mountains of circa 304 metres (1 000 feet) that 'frame' the village at the northern neck of the peninsula. All locations referred to are identified on the map, Figure 2 page 4.

providing at the same time a sustainable² flow of natural products and services to meet community needs (IUCN, 1994 in Phillips 1998).

The waterways of Moulting Lagoon were declared a Game Reserve in 1988, and designated a Wetland of International Importance in 1982 under the Convention on Wetlands (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan 2003*, p. 6).

The waters, too, are protected to five kilometres out, within the boundaries of Freycinet Marine Protected Area. This area comprises a Multiple Use Zone of 82 600 hectares (IUCN Category VI), a Sanctuary Zone of 5, 670, 300 hectares (IUCN Category Ia) and a Recreational Use Zone of 32 300 hectares (IUCN II). (*New Network of Candidate Marine Protected Areas for Australia's South-east Marine Region 2006*).

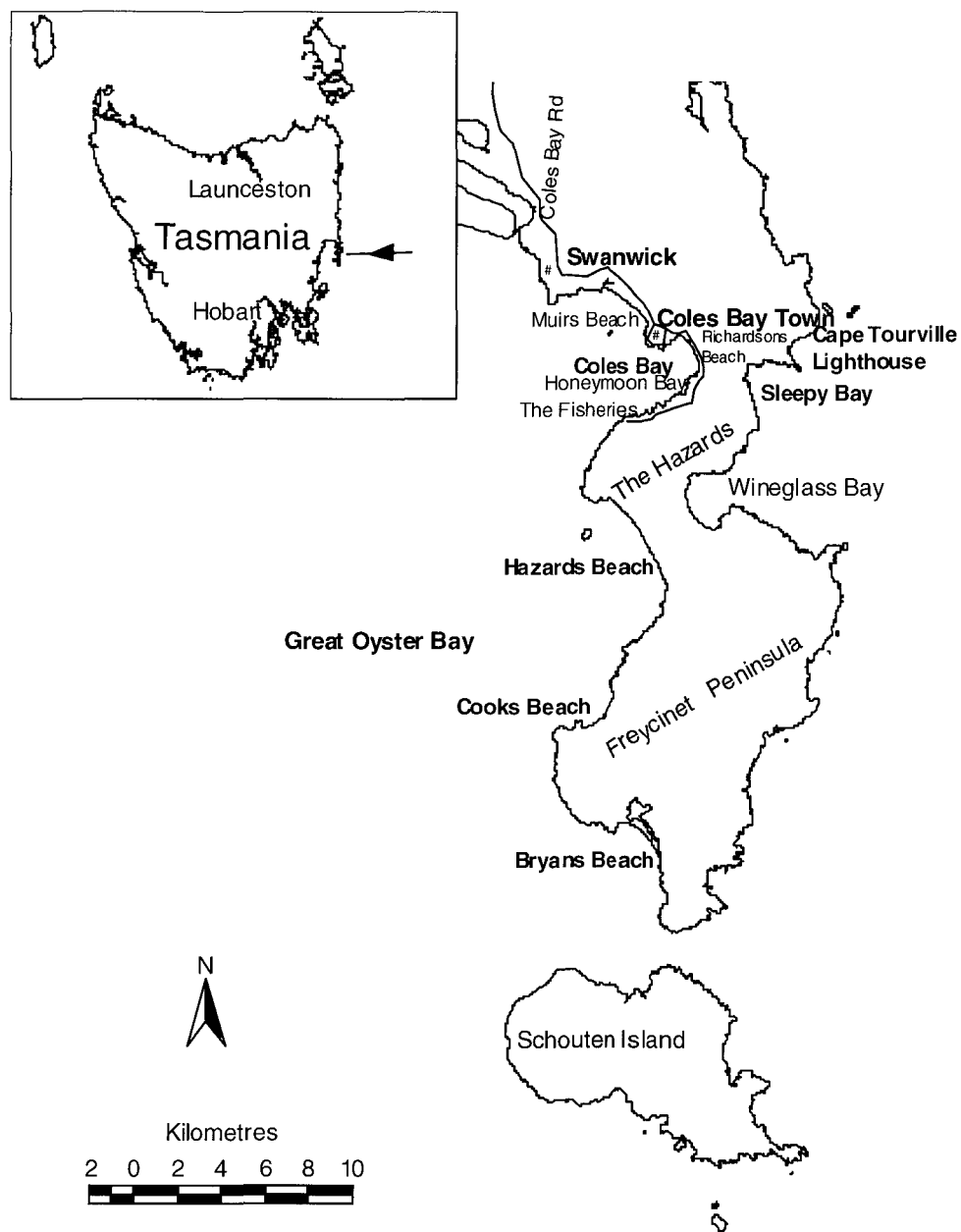
² Berkes *et al.* describe sustainability as 'the use of environment and resources to meet the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Berkes *et al.* 2003, p. 2)



Source: Land Information System Tasmania

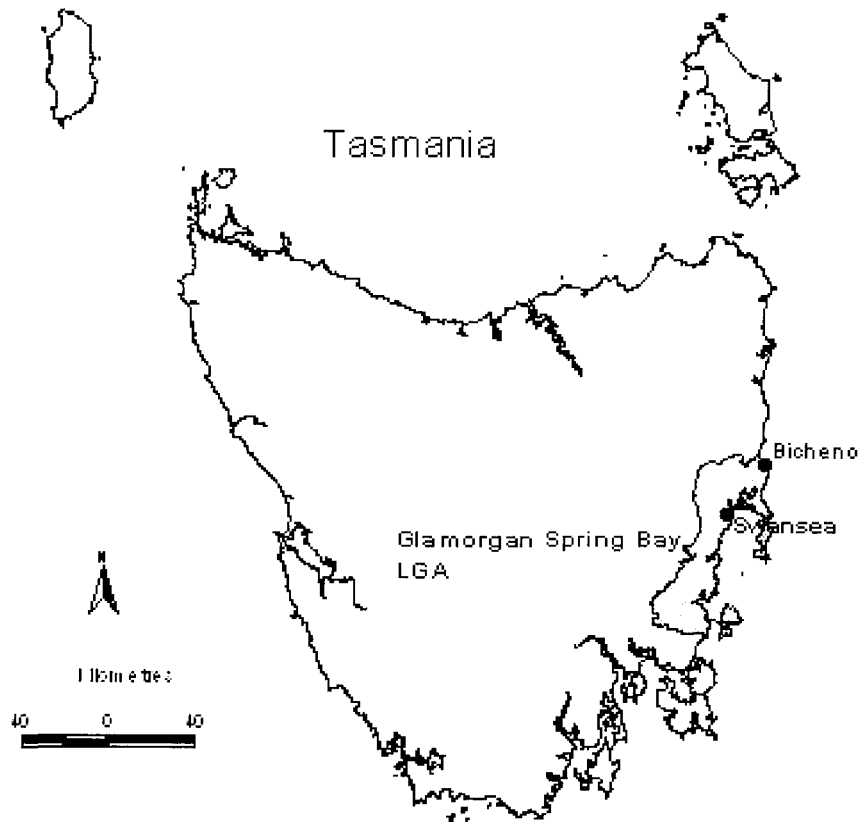
Figure 1: Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula Tasmania, Australia

The Coles Bay village itself is the built environment servicing Freycinet National Park by providing accommodation, information, recreational and hospitality services and basic provisions to tourists.



Source: Land Information System Tasmania

Figure 2: Popular locations – Freycinet Peninsula



Source: Land Information System Tasmania

Figure 3: Glamorgan Spring Bay Local Government Area, Tasmania

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are part of the Glamorgan Spring Bay Local Government Area. The towns mentioned in this dissertation which are the closest to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are Swansea and Bicheno. This much-valued, natural area is a bounded place which, in Norberg-Schulz's (1979, p. 32) description, is one where character and space come together to form place. Here, space is both centralised by The Hazards and the waters of Great Oyster Bay and the Tasman Sea, and directed by its nature as a peninsula. In its insularity from the main land mass of Tasmania it is almost an island - as the word 'peninsula' denotes - with some of the properties of an island. Its physical isolation, the symbiotic relationship between land and water and its distinctive ecology create a unique ambience and sense of place which have been valued over the generations by Tasmanians spending holidays there.

After a considerable absence from Australia's island state, in 2001 I revisited Coles Bay. During the 1980s, I had camped with my sons at Richardson's Beach, one of a number around the settlement. We had wonderful times swimming, snorkelling and bush-walking on the Freycinet Peninsula. We walked the tracks of that peninsula with friends, carrying water, eating meals heated on a fuel stove above little bays as the sun set, and slept outside as the moon rose, just as, I felt, the original people had done. For present, but not present in person, were the pre-colonial Aboriginal Tasmanians who had lived at this site for millennia. The silent evidence of their presence in the land was observable everywhere as middens and shell scatters; was embedded in the beauty and richness of this environment, and was palpable in voiceless connections extending across the immeasurable dimensions of time and space of this place, their home. My relationship to this place has given my scholastic endeavours a depth of meaning that has infused all of its aspects. I must also acknowledge love of its people, concern for its future and for the plants and creatures of the natural environment which has provided the impetus for this study, and, it must be admitted, colours my study with a distinct authorial perspective.

On my return to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, I found a marked increase in tourist numbers, motor traffic and housing subdivisions. Most noticeable were the size and number of houses replacing the holiday shacks in Coles Bay – adjacent to Freycinet National Park – and at nearby Swanwick, which borders Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve. Over the years the clusters of houses, commercial premises and shacks had developed to serve locals, residents and visitors who came to fish the waters, swim, surf, walk the peninsula, camp and pursue artistic and scientific relationships to an environment that is still largely 'natural'. Then and now, a small residential population swells over the summer months with an influx of holiday makers and tourists, though the number of tourists has increased greatly over the last five years. All three groups – residents, holiday-makers and tourists – are made up of individuals with particular relationships to place, in which the natural environment forms a central focus. In the township and built areas are views and glimpses of significant natural areas, including the red granite outcrops of The Hazards, the waters of Coles Bay and Great Oyster Bay; Richardson's Beach; and the omnipresent bush habitat. Coles Bay is like many coastal towns and hamlets on the eastern seaboard of Australia whose populations are trying to balance intrinsic cultural and natural values of place with instrumental values of economic development. Around Australia, people living in small communities in

relatively unspoiled environments attempt to maintain a sense of identity, not only to more dominant neighbours (Stratford, 2003 p. 496) but also in the face of economic development and the effects of globalisation. They have seen the natural and cultural values they attribute to place underrated by developers and government policy, and their love of such environments discounted in favour of economic gain through activities associated with tourism and residential developments.

The communities of these places, as in Australia's rural regions generally, have been characterised 'within political discourses' by a 'strong sense of community and a culture of self-help essential to the economic and social, as well as the environmental, regeneration of rural Australia' (Herbert-Cheshire 2001). Given its often great distance and isolation, Australia's rurality, though often represented in the media by idealised bush images, is resistant to commercialisation. In places like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, remoteness enhances its attraction to those drawn to natural environments. The concomitant provision of goods and services is both welcomed for its injection into the local economy, but is also resisted by members of this self-reliant community. Yet, though small scale fishing and farming certainly gain income for some families in Coles Bay, tourism through the promotion of the natural environment provides the economic base for the community. The development of the cultivated countryside 'through the promotion of representations of idealized, symbolic, cultural landscapes' (Kneafsey 2003, p. 155) is more applicable to regions less remote from large population centres. Thus, in areas of the east coast of Tasmania adjacent to Coles Bay, vineyards, orchards, niche agriculture, and farming resemble more closely Kneafsey's (2003) description of the cultivated landscape than places of greater, untouched remoteness.

Rural communities, idiosyncratic outgrowths of larger geophysical and historical realities, are also shaped by their members' interactions and the perceptions conditioned by these interactions with what lies outside them. For instance, is a place home, retreat, productive resource, tourist destination, recreational playground, distinct ecology within a protected area, millennia-old archaeological site or all of these? If every place encapsulates a diversity of meanings how is a common sense of place of a location such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula formed? The range of meanings of the concept of sense of place itself is so broad that a single definition is difficult to establish. Datel

and Dingemans (1985, p. 135) provide a starting point when they describe sense of place as

the complex bundle of meanings, symbols, and qualities that a person or group associates (consciously and unconsciously) with a particular locality or region.

Westley *et al.* (2002, p. 109) similarly identify the multi-dimensionality of place, for if place is

conceptualised by means of the idea of locale [then] the fostering of relations between absent others [means that locales are] thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them.

Place – like community – has multiple meanings and it is important to think in terms of Massey's 'change, fluidity and contradiction', and the 'reconfigurations' which occur as the functions of place, and the cultures inhabiting place, as they change over time (Massey 1993b, p. 68). Reflecting the larger society, a community such as that of Coles Bay is complex and dense in its structure. It is inclusive of different interests such as those constructed by gender, ethnicity, work status, income and education. At Coles Bay these interests are expressed by residents and non-residents, farmers and fishers, artists, writers and potters, surfers, bushwalkers and ecologists, young workers in service industries, families, entrepreneurs and small business people. It is a community that accords with Black's (2005, p. 20) description of 'communities of location' where goals and norms are shared within a geographical area, and also 'communities of interest' where people share some form of interest and thus identity in common. They may share common activities, interests, passions that express their relationship to the natural environment of this area, but they may also share conflicting visions of place³.

Seamon (1984, p. 173) stresses 'how routine behaviours of individuals coming together in space can transform that space into a place with a particular dynamism and character'.

³ In this study, people living at Coles Bay and the nearby residential area of Swanwick are most often referred to as 'community,' as is the other group most in contact with the study site – visitors who live elsewhere. At times these groups are referred to as 'the communities of Coles Bay' in an umbrella term.

Thus, actions coordinated over time are responsive to the natural environment – the weather, the time of day, year, season – and conditioned by work patterns and family and social relations observable as people working, surfing, diving, fishing, sailing, walking the countryside, camping on the beaches, honey collecting, painting and writing, bird-watching, and even whale-watching. These actions and activities express the spectrum of individual and group responses to place. If personal identity is intimately bound up with place identity, then I concur with the description of the relationship of people to their environments as ‘the sum of taken-for-granted meanings, experiences, behaviours and events in relation to environment, space, place and landscape’ (Seamon 1984, p. 169).

Simply put, ‘all social phenomena, activities and relations have a spatial form and a relative spatial location’ (Massey 1993a, p. 155). Yet place is more than space. As Massey (2005, p. 139) states: “‘here’ is where spatial narratives meet up and form configurations, conjunctions of trajectories which have their own temporalities [and] where successions of meetings, the accumulation of weavings and encounters build up history’ and also a special valuing of place. In this community, residents and members of the visiting community assert their valuing of place by organisational membership; they assert their valuing by committed activism and concerned input to decision-making; and they assert their valuing through aesthetic and creative responses expressed in the arts and sciences. Accumulations of actions and responses reveal different ideas about how space is used which are political and inherently express power relations (Massey 1995), which may be either cooperative or adversarial. When values associated with place are challenged, ‘protest may erupt’ (Buttimer 1980, p167), as much in those outsiders investing place with special meaning as those living there, as many a small community undergoing economic development, such as Coles Bay, has experienced. Indeed, both the diversity and connectivity of people within place may act to support social resilience (Dale et al. 2008) in the face of untrammelled economic development. Massey (2003, p. 66) appears to express this phenomenon as a ‘progressive sense of place’ which consists of ‘articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings’. These are networks of social relations and cultural understandings which are essential for the integrated development and utilisation of the ‘discursive regimes, systems of knowledge, and ways of thinking that come together to define a different kind of imaginary’ (Harvey, 2000, p. 214). In a natural environment such as that of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, such an imaginary is predicated on empathetic rather than

exploitative relationships of people and communities, and is ecocentric rather than anthropocentric.

In designing the study, I therefore considered not only how the groups which constitute the communities of Coles Bay relate to the environment in terms of complex bundles of meanings, symbols and qualities, and imaginery. As I would be interviewing a diverse range of individuals, I also considered how an intensely personal relationship to the environment was experienced and expressed. My aim was to document processes of change in this study through place-based research. In the conduct of the study, I ought to document change as it is experienced by the members of three groups comprising the long-term *residents* of the area, Tasmanian repeat *visitors*, and single visit *tourists* drawn principally from offshore (hereafter referred to simply as residents, visitors and tourists). The study of their perceptions of natural, cultural and economic capital through their relationships to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is described most appropriately as phenomenological, using Heidegger's definition of phenomenology as 'the process of letting things manifest themselves' (Richardson 1967, p. xiv).

Saldana (2003, p. 63) offers a number of useful framing questions for tracking and measuring change over time which I use as a guide, rather than an interrogative framework. For instance, when do changes occur, and what remains constant or consistent across time, where constancy and consistency can be seen as indicators of patterns and cues for extracting themes? Saldana also asks: what contextual and intervening conditions appear to influence and affect changes through time? Are they the result of interventions within or exterior to the study site? What preliminary assertions – propositions, findings, results, conclusions, interpretations, and theories – about participant changes can be made as data analysis progresses? Further, what changes from one pool or dataset to the next pool or dataset? What differences or constancies are observable? Finally, what overlaps in the pools of data, suggesting an interrelationship? In this study I sought to examine and analyse an area of scholarship which has not been addressed in place and place-based studies: the dynamic relationships between culture, economy and the natural environment in terms of the forms of capital, particularly using cultural capital as a theoretical framework.

1.2 Framing a research agenda

In light of the previous discussion, how do people living in communities relate to the natural environment as both place and resource base? How, without bringing about environmental degradation, consequent loss of habitats and species, and ultimately a loss of the values that create a special 'sense of place,' in these natural settings are they able to relate to the natural environment in positive, creative and even spiritual ways, reflecting – as Macnaghten and Urry (1998, p. 28) suggest – multiple environmental identities, local as well as global? If communities are more about processes than structures, and therefore more to do with the 'variety of ways people associate' (Norgaard 1994, p. 164), how might one document the 'place-bound character of human life and thought' (Malpas 1999, p. 14), as it is experienced at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, other than by cultural perceptions and valuing of the character of this particular natural environment?

The region that comprises Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula could be seen to be a contemporary expression of a much older set of processes of change. If so, how do these processes affect people's sense of being-in-place and therefore their perceptions of what is to be valued? Certainly, maintaining the integrity of place was central to the fears, concerns and apprehensions of people to whom I spoke on the tracks, beaches and camping sites of the peninsula. Because of the imminence of large-scale development projects, they expressed feelings of urgency, a sense that the Coles Bay and Freycinet Peninsula which they knew and had known long into the past were at risk of being changed irrevocably. The people whom I talked to feared that its unique qualities would be overlain with a bland homogeneity through tourism and other related forms of economic development, as many had witnessed at locations with comparable natural qualities elsewhere.

My own relationship to this area has extended over time, and to this extent, I must state an interest in the future of the area. I shared the feelings of urgency and concern of people connected with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. This concern prompted research which was motivated by a set of assumptions and understandings, rather than a specified research question. Firstly, in shared memory the community of Coles Bay was small scale, local and transient, consisting predominantly of Tasmanian families on low-cost holidays visiting generally for short periods of time, usually in summer. People

went there to enjoy recreational and aesthetic activities within the natural environment. Over time, this relationship has resulted in a valuing of place, which is shared by the larger community of Tasmania. It is a valuing which has been enhanced in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula by government actions to protect the area in the creation and successive extension of Freycinet National Park, and by improving physical access to the natural site.

Although people's relationships to the natural environment principally have not been economic, in that the provision of goods and services has been small scale and seasonal and therefore has not been the motives for people's visits, it is noted that tourist development has accelerated over the previous decades. This development has been magnified by the global expansion of tourism, resulting in more people visiting, with impacts on the natural environment, small scale local economic development and the small-town character of the community. Members of the local community, including visitors like myself, my family and friends, are concerned by this process and at times experience a concomitant loss of ownership and control. Complaints are made and fears are expressed about reduced ease of access to the park; increased impact on the environment from tourist infrastructure; increased number and type of tourist venues; increased visitor numbers; loss of local landmarks; increased costs of rental; loss of ability to buy land, shacks, houses; loss of community; loss of special relationship to the environment; and loss of family connections. These are fears and worries expressed to different degrees, depending on the one's cultural and economic relationship to the natural environment.

In terms of the community of Coles Bay – within the natural environment surrounding it – the proposition could be put that the cycle of economic growth reaches its end point with the principal mode of operation being economic (economic capital) rather than individual and social (cultural capital), and with the natural environment becoming principally an exploitable commodity rather than being protected for its intrinsic worth.

My aims are to explore these processes by utilising Bourdieu's conception of the field of operation, and his forms of capital – specifically cultural capital – as epistemological tools to identify potential lines of enquiry within an exploratory framework. I analyse the relationships between cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital within this

built and natural environments in terms of the major form of economic income at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula: tourism.

Though tourism is described as one of ‘the great phenomena of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries’ (Worboys *et al.* 2005, p 427), like other industries it is characterised by the processes of production and consumption: it uses resources such as water and energy and it produces wastes which must be disposed of, preferably sustainably. In such close proximity to the natural environment, the effects of its processes have immediate impacts observable at coastal locations such those of Freycinet Peninsula. Indeed, tourism, in its relationships to the natural world depends on specific social practices – often recreational – which are outcomes of a different way of reading and viewing the landscape (Lash and Urry 1994, p. 295).

Ways of reading the landscape are culturally determined and, even in terms of tourism, often conflict. In the population conurbations of the world, tourist numbers at holiday camps and on package tours (Pearce, D and Butler 2002; Urry 1995, 2002) often comprise a mass experience for communities, workplaces, and for families and friends. Tourism largely caters for the requirements of these movements of people by selling holiday destinations in bulk. Associated with this type of tourism, the development of goods and services, products and experiences catering for large numbers has also grown. It could be considered to constitute a form of mass entertainment, rather than occasions for personal growth through the experience of travel to distant places (MacCannell 1976).

In common with the later economic development of service industries, tourism growth has become part of the trend towards service-based consumer-oriented industries associated with ‘the production of symbolic or cultural capital’ (Craik 1997, p. 113). It is a form of capital embodied in ‘objects’ – souvenirs, postcards, ethnic artefacts, replicas, reproductions, images and articles of clothing. The tourist as consumer ‘encode[s] with significance’ (Appadurai 1986, p. 5) these objects as being more than locational reminders of a holiday. In a sense they comprise the experience of tourism itself (Lury 1997, p. 77) which may also include valued experiences of personal growth in themselves. Though it has limited applicability in Coles Bay, this form of valuing commercially is now a major driver of tourism with a turnover in the billions world-wide (1997, p. 113).

In contrast to mass holiday-style tourism, upmarket experiences of tourism often focus more on the romantic interaction – solitary, contemplative, semi-spiritual – in relation to great architecture, heritage, natural views, or wilderness (Urry 2002). Luxury experiences featuring conspicuous consumption at exclusive locations also represent the high end of the tourism experience. Ecotourism fits into the exclusivist categorisation of experience as communion with nature; it also caters for the outdoor, recreational experience, is well exemplified at Coles Bay which was formerly the preserve of those who could make the long journey over an unforgiving gravel track to this place. Indeed, both forms of experience are augmented by the physical isolation of natural areas from large populations, and therefore are often dependent on high levels of expenditure and income to get to there. Yet, modern transport also enables more people to visit places of natural beauty, with the result that they are now subject to the former type of tourism. How do the two major forms of the tourist experience relate to the growth of nature tourism, where it is not so much ‘objects’ that are consumed, but the natural environment itself?

In reviewing the literature on place and nature-based tourism (Craik, 1997, Hudson and Miller, 2005, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lury 1997, Macnaghten and Urry 1998, Pearce, D and Butler 2002, Rojek and Urry 1997, Urry 1995, 2002, White 2005), I found that the relations which I wished to explore between the forms of capital were insufficiently addressed in terms of the relationships of cultural capital and economic capital to the natural environment and the natural capital which it embodied. In this work, I sought to address this lack, drawing principally on Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986; 1992) concept of cultural capital. I also drew on his idea of a ‘field’ of operations; that is, the social space within which competition between the major forces of cultural capital and economic capital occurs. I use the concept of ‘cultural capital’ entirely originally as an epistemological tool to examine how a combination of symbolic and material resources embodied in natural capital are utilised and deployed in contestation over meaning and use of place at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Bourdieu (1985, p. 724) describes the field and its populations as comprising ‘objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents’. I contend that his conceptualisation of the field can be applied to the multi-layered socio-economic and geographic region of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Informed by Bourdieu’s body of work, the scholarly

debate associated with that corpus and adaptations of his theories, I use qualitative empirical methods in this socio-geographic space or 'field' and its communities, to identify and measure change in place, and place-perceptions and values over time. While the political is always present in group relationships, as Bourdieu has stated, I choose to discuss power relations and networks in terms of competition between the forms of capital within this field of operations, through the interactions of those holding economic capital and those holding cultural capital in relation to the resources or natural capital of the environment. I describe in detail the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula in Chapter 3. Further, I examine these forms of competition through the external activities of those government and non-governmental agencies and coalitions seeking to influence the character of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, where decisions are made about development proposals, which are discussed in section 4.2.

Bourdieu's sociological body of work shows how 'historically developed social formations – that is the meaning of socio-culture itself – are grounded in the collective functional meanings and rhythms of everyday life' (Ostrow 1981, p. 305). These are the patterns discernible in everyday routines and activities. Just such patterns constitute the lives of the people of Coles Bay – residents, visitors and tourists – as they are lived in relation to the natural environment of this place. They are focus of this study, rather than power elites and relationships within sociological groups. Thus, I modify and extend Bourdieu's concepts for the purposes of this thesis by applying them in a natural environmental context, a new endeavour in Bourdieuan scholarly research.

Using qualitative methods, three in-depth, semi-structured interviews are undertaken with the residents, visitors and tourists associated with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. These interviews – in 2004, 2005 and 2006 – assess the relationships between and among the three groups, and the manifestations of cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital that they might exhibit. The results are reported in chapters 6, 7 and 8. The research design is discussed in the Methods chapter, and is summarised in Figure 4. It is technically innovative, comprising a study of the people in contact with this region/site/place⁴ over a period of three years. Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are

⁴ Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula may be described in various ways; sometimes I refer to them individually, sometimes collectively. Sometimes they function (or are described by respondents) as a region, sometimes as a site, sometimes a place or a township.

the focus of the study, and in socio-geographic terms comprise ‘a complex, bounded system (suited to) empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context’ (Yin 1994, p. 13). However, they are also places where ‘the flow of events over time’ (Miles and Huberman 1994) can be measured as changes in people, habitation and environment occur.

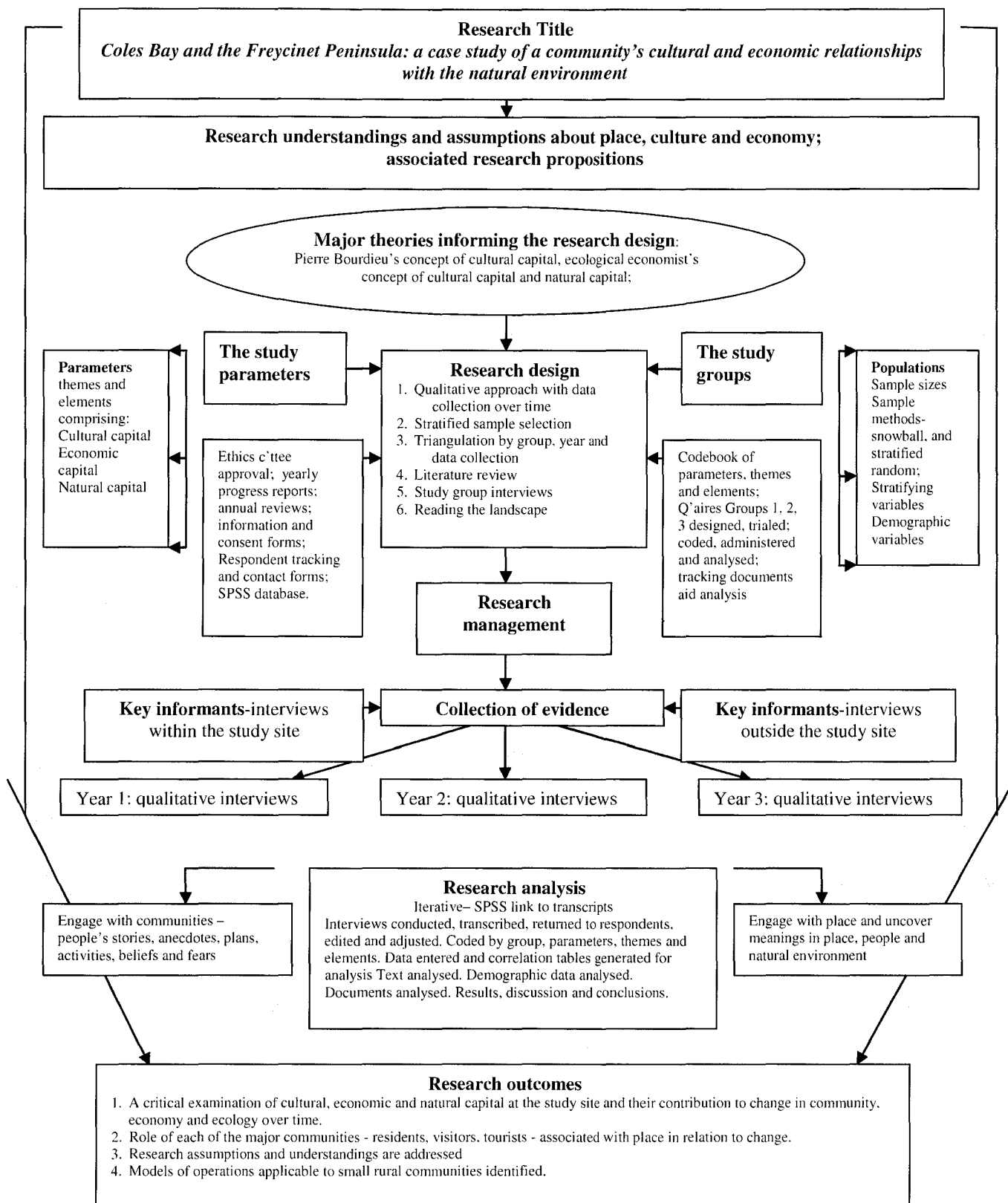


Figure 4: Research Design

I have sought, in the research design to address assumptions and understandings about the depth of people's entangled relationships to place which are too complex to reduce to a hypothetical research question, and best reflect the open-ended and qualitative nature of this research. Thus, the research design is constructed around two major foci: the research study parameters and the research study groups. The study groups are samples of the three main groups of people in contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The parameters of the study comprise the three main forms of capital at this site. Figure 4 demonstrates the research design and illustrates that theory is integral to both design and methods.

Multiple methods are used to collect data in a rigorous, transparent and reliable manner in close proximity to the social and environmental reality of this site. Quantitative data are taken from secondary sources – government publications and reports issued by Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania and Tourism Tasmania; and Australian Bureau of Statistics. Demographic data are analysed quantitatively and serve to validate the composition of the study group samples. However, the main thrust of data measurement is qualitative, with data collected over a three-year period.

Qualitative analysis of the transcripts incorporates quotations from the transcribed interviews, giving life, depth and colour to the research findings and a voice to the individuals interviewed, while maintaining anonymity and confidentiality. Likewise transcripts of the key informant interviews give voice to individuals who each describe different relationships to this place. An iterative process compares theory and data. In order to share sense of place and present it in a scholarly dissertation, each chapter is prefaced by a piece of text – a story, poem, description, interaction, and a colour plate. These constitute the bricolage, or found objects in a textual sense, which act as keyholes through the text, serving to reveal the dynamic living reality of this place over time. They are taken from incidents, stories, and memories of those interviewed as members of the study groups and as key informants.

1.3 Chapter conclusion

Chapter 1 introduces the scope and context of this research study, and the reasons why Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula together comprise an appropriate research site. I examine the nature of community and the relationships of people to their communities.

As patterns of habitation, resource use and relations to the natural environment characterise the study site, in Chapter 2 I present theoretical scholarship encompassing the major areas of cultural, economic and natural capital. Facilitated is theory development in terms of the social, economic and ecological character and history of Coles Bay and Freycinet Peninsula. Thus, I review – in Chapter 3 – the history of the protected areas of Freycinet National Park, Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve and the Coles Bay Conservation Area and the government regulatory frameworks by which they are managed. I examine patterns of holiday-making and the growth of tourism over time, and identify key factors in these developments. Methods are described in Chapter 4, with their theoretical basis, the methods in detail and the processes of analysis. Demographic patterns are presented in Chapter 5; and analysis of textual data is presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 9 is devoted to the discussion of these results, and the study conclusions are presented in Chapter 10.

The case study of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is an original, place-specific qualitative study with an innovative methodology, informed and guided by a major theoretical body of work. The notion of a form of *cultural* capital (which incorporates key elements of *social* capital) based on the appreciation and knowledge of nature is a unique and original feature of this thesis. It is an examination of the rich and complex relations between and among community, economy and the environment which has the potential to inform how other communities negotiate economic development to achieve both community resilience and environmental protection. Given the uniqueness of the case study area, caution should be applied in generalising from the case study's result, even though the rigour of its methods will result in accurate analyses of change and perceptions of change. The complex, nuanced character of people's relationships to the natural environment promises rich possibilities for comparative work in similar settings to the social and environmental field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework



Photo: Robin Stevens

Little Bluestone Bay

granite bay in soft light
as pink aplite veins split eastwards

grey granite softly rounded
lichen skins of iridescent orange

thermal weld of molten coupling
tracery of linear compositions

cleaving splits of aplite
frame straggling she-oak trunk

Ben Richardson, potter and poet

2.1 Introduction

Relations between the major forms of capital identified by Bourdieu – cultural and economic capital – are evident in many small rural communities adjacent to or encompassing natural areas. Often such communities are located on the peripheries of larger regions. Coles Bay is just such a community. It has always been physically remote as it is located two and a half hours' driving time from each of Tasmania's major cities (Hobart, the southern capital of the State and Launceston the northern, second city). In the past, extractive and non-extractive resource exploitation was insufficient to generate economic production. Thus, no large, residential population settled there, and significant economic growth was never stimulated. Although the region's spectacular natural capital ensured that it remained culturally valued as a holiday spot, such capital did not constitute the basis for a viable local economy. This situation is not to be deplored – as a holiday retreat frequented by locals who valued its superb natural qualities, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula had valid roles to play – and a relative lack of development ensured the protection of the stock of natural capital until recent times. Indeed, the region became a major tourist destination only in the late 1980s – when access was improved, and its natural beauty began to be promoted and marketed nationally and internationally. Therein lies a central dilemma of import to this study, manifesting as conflict between cultural capital and economic capital in a field of operations, and presenting as a prime example of Bourdieu's theorisation on this topic.

In this chapter, I track the origins and development of concepts essential to the design and conduct of this study. In section 2.2, I elaborate upon my use of Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital as an epistemological tool, a decision validated, it will be argued by Bourdieu's assertion that values associated with cultural capital are implicit and identifiable in all social structures and by my own apprehension that such values may also relate to social and economic relations with the natural environment. I seek to identify the characteristics of cultural capital as they manifest among these communities and especially in relation to key drivers of local social, economic and environmental change. The use of cultural capital in this case is apposite because it has been used similarly to analyse human relationships with the natural environment, for instance by ecological economists, and again this work illuminates the richness of this conceptual

association, in terms of the examination of the relationships between and among community, economy and ecology. I elaborate upon their reworking of the concept of cultural capital in section 2.3.

In section 2.4, I describe the research site as source of natural capital. Freycinet National Park, with its unique biodiversity, sense of place and outstanding natural beauty is the most important locale in the region. It evokes powerful feelings in the people who interact with it – people of all age groups whose stays range from a few hours to extended periods of time, to residence. The natural environment to these people is a valued place, a valuing expressed in a taxonomy ranging from intrinsic and biocentric values of place, to instrumental use values, to indirect use and existence values (Worboys *et al.* 2005). This set of values parallels and at times conflicts with the changes brought about by tourism growth.

Rural townships such as Coles Bay are vulnerable to impacts from global forces of change – in this case, international communications, marketing, tourism and investment (Lockie *et al.* 2001). A number of frameworks for community action seek to address the social, economic and environmental challenges facing these towns such as adaptive capacity, comanagement and resilience (Bingemans *et al.* 2004; Carlsson 2003; Gadgil *et al.* 2003; Gallopin 2006; Gunderson 2003; Holling 2001; Olsson *et al.* 2004; Walker *et al.* 2002; Yorque *et al.* 2002). I restrict consideration of these approaches, as change in the forms of collapse and regeneration (Holling 2003) produces its own solutions which research observes emerging from the context of the study, rather than being imposed or endorsed by the researcher.

2.2 Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital

One of Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) major contributions to the analysis of how individuals and groups operate within society is his concept of cultural capital. He describes the concept in three main forms: dispositions of the mind and body; choice of cultural goods including taste and style; and academic qualifications. As Bourdieu (1986, p. 242) describes these characteristics:

embodied cultural capital takes the form of *long lasting dispositions* of the mind and body, acquired through culture and cultivation: the disposal of

taste, the consumption of specific cultural forms and also style: dress, manners, bearing, accent; *objectified* cultural capital takes the form of *cultural goods* such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines; *institutionalised* cultural capital is cultural capital in the form of *academic qualifications*.

Harker *et al.* (1990, p. 1) concur, defining cultural capital as ‘all goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social situation’. Bourdieu’s thinking about cultural capital arose from observing the differences in the scholastic achievement of children. He concluded that the profits that children obtain from their academic achievement and thence in the workplace resulted from the unequal distribution of cultural capital among families, rather than solely from individual ability. Thus, the values of families and familial groupings are crucial to the character and transmission of cultural capital, and hence academic achievement, success in the workplace and economic wealth down the generations. Personal disposition is linked closely to the idea of *habitus*, described by Bourdieu (1984, p. 169) as ‘systems of generative schemes applicable, by simple transfer, to the most varied areas of practice’, or, as Brubaker (1985, p. 758) elucidates: ‘the system of internalised dispositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, being shaped by the former and regulated by the latter.’ These definitions are given meaning, in the context of this study, as the personal, internalised values of individuals and groups towards the natural environment of the study site, which are expressed practically in their relationships to the natural environment. These systems of value incorporate habitus as a ‘cultural theory of action’ (Swartz, 1997, p.95) in that habits, traditions, customs and beliefs shape individual and collective responses to the present and the future. Habitus is further described by Lane (2002, p. 194) as ‘a pre-reflexive, pre-predicative orientation towards the future,’ and in this sense habitus is encapsulated within this study.

Bourdieu (1986) extended the *social operation* of cultural capital from the specifics of academic performance to wider historical and socio-cultural contexts, asserting that ‘cultural capital can be acquired to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society and the social class.’ Indeed, for Webb *et al.* (2002, p. x) cultural capital refers to a ‘form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes,

skills and awards', elements of which both influence and are outcomes of the relationships of individuals and social groups to their environments, in this case to the natural environment. Bourdieu's research into the indicators of cultural capital resulted in the identification of sets of cultural choices representative of 'class fractions' (1984, p. 102). The class fraction is 'defined not only by its position in the relations of production, as identified by indices such as occupation, income or even educational level [but by a] certain distribution in geographical space.' In rural communities, class fractions may also represent competing interests (Dibden and Cocklin 2003), or when a local individual undertakes economic enterprises for personal advantage rather than for community benefit (Gray 2005, p. 242), situations of interest which are under scrutiny in this study.

Bourdieu's work indicates that different forms of capital may dominate, and that this dominance corresponds to distinct configurations in the social structures of cultural fields. Individuals and therefore social groups are 'positioned in a "topography" of social relations according to their endowments of economic, social and cultural capital' (Anheier *et al.* 1995, p. 859). In short, access to, or ownership of one or other forms of capital by individuals and groups may be unequal. Such access appears to be determined by factors other than those of, for instance class, but by personal, family and peer values, a circumstance that society both reflects and validates.

In a further examination of the foregoing hypothesis, Robbins (2000, p. 32) has found that 'the judgements of value made between our preferences within the cultural system affect our position within that system and have consequences for both our economic and our social position-taking'. When individuals give preference to culture, history, natural environment, community or family values over monetary and economic choices, these preferences have the potential to directly affect their economic well-being, even though the economic functions of these preferences, such as success in business or the workplace, are hidden. However, the values that constitute cultural capital and its operation in society *cannot* acquire a direct monetary value, even though they may have an economic outcome, because they are not overt objects of exchange. For example, although growth in production and consumption in Western society supports a range of non-monetary culturally-based activities – such as museums, art galleries, sport, recreation and art – these activities may then support economic production such as tourism, tourism goods and services, and other services linked to tourism in networks of

dependent businesses and supply chains. Tourism is one among a number of capital-producing activities linked to choices that are less to do with Robbins' self-conscious 'judgements of value' than with unspoken values in society and the family which then manifest as economic 'modes of action' (Calhoun 1993, p. 70) such as sport, consumerism and travel. Indeed, a preference for the natural environment is associated with culturally-based and culture-producing activities such as outdoor recreation and appreciation of aspects of the natural environment.

In light of the use of cultural capital in this research study, specifically as a tool to examine the relationships of three communities of interest to one place, it is relevant briefly to consider Bourdieu's (1977) study of cultural phenomena in the Kabyle tribal society in Algeria. As a major outcome of that research, Bourdieu identified a form of capital which he named *symbolic capital*, comprising the cultural dimension of this society, specifically the activities, rituals, and worldview⁵ of the people who constitute the Kabyle. He identified an organic relationship between the tribal group's religious, cultural and economic practices and the natural environment which 'guarantees, as far as is possible, equilibrium between man and the natural environment' (Lane 2000, p. 12), with positive outcomes for the wellbeing of the Kabyle people. Observed were the operations of a 'good-faith economy' supported by 'a network of affinities and relationships' that hold up through 'commitments of debt and honour, rights and duties which can be mobilised when needed' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 119). These commitments directly and indirectly benefit individuals and the social groups to which they belong. In the case of tribal social structure, symbolic capital is the source of legitimate claims on the services of others, either practically or as deference (Brubaker 1985, p. 756). Such commitments live on in community groupings. They manifest as networks of relations often expressed through acts of trust and reciprocity, described as elements of social capital (Coleman and Bourdieu 1991; Edwards and Foley 1998; Mohan and Mohan 2002; Putnam 1992) and which exemplify the ways in which people living in many small communities relate, both positively and negatively (Johannesson *et al.* 2003; Lehtonen 2004; Rodriguez and Pascual 2004; Smart 2000). In this study, key elements

⁵ 'Worldview' in this context is defined as holistic and coevolutionary, rather than atomistic and Newtonian (Norgaard 1992, p. 77).

of social capital – trust and reciprocity and perhaps obligations and expectations (Coleman, 1988, p. S102), often to be found in small-town community relationships, are presented as dimensions of cultural capital. This has been undertaken in order to avoid confusion arising from the complexity and multiplicity of meanings of social capital (Portes, 1998), for, as Mohan and Mohan (2002, p. 191) point out, ‘the concept has a seductive simplicity in explaining a wide variety of social, political and economic outcomes’. Its apparent simplicity has led to it at times being used to suit need rather than as a valid and replicable research approach. Further, its abrogation by government to validate any number of social programs has resulted in a lack of clear indicators of outcomes and assumptions (Lehtonen, 2004; Stone and Hughes, 2002). The integration of elements of social capital such as productive networks of relationships, and acts of trust and reciprocity with the concept of cultural capital is conceptually valid in terms of describing community relationships to the natural environment. It also avoids conceptual and practical confusion in the gathering of data and its analysis in this dissertation.

The summation of Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of symbolic capital suggests that it presaged his conceptualisation of cultural capital and addressed the cultural relationship to the natural environment of small-scale societies - one relevant to many present day communities. However, Bourdieu did not take into account capital embodied in the natural environment as such, and his research remained focused on urban societies in Western industrialised cultures (Bourdieu 1984; 1985, 1986, 1990, 2000; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Consequently, Bourdieu did not consider natural habitats or ecosystems in his mature discussions of cultural capital. Nor did he refer to the natural environment in relation to the economic operations of society and the underlying values of place (Bourdieu 1985).

For Bourdieu (1985) the ‘field of operation’ is a social space within which all forms of capital, but predominantly economic capital and cultural capital, operate and, through their weight and distribution, define the structure and the character of this social space. The field can be an organisation or structure, a geographic region, a language group, a discipline within a university, or an institution such as education or the law. As Crossley (2001, p. 86) observes, ‘modern societies are differentiated into interlocking fields’ with common modes of production and common purposes, and are as much configured by, as being sites of competition between, these forms of capital.

In such light, Coles Bay might be apprehended as a place and community existing in the natural environment of the Freycinet Peninsula; together they are a field of operation which Bourdieu (1992, p. 97) would say comprises 'spaces of objective relations'. These are relations of power and they operate across "'positions occupied in the distribution of resources" – that is economic, symbolic and cultural capital' (Lash 1993, p. 201). In Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula these power relations express 'the struggle between symbolic systems to impose a view on the social world [that] defines the social space within which people construct their lives' (Harker *et al.* 1990, p. 12).

Such social spaces are subject to socio-political determinants and power relations which affect equally the character of place and the quality of life of people living there. To this extent, Bourdieu's conception of the field of operations accords with Zukin's (1991) vision of the future of landscapes. For competition within socio-economic fields results in very different forms of constructed and unconstructed landscape (Zukin 1991, p. 5). At worse is the 'landscape of devastation' such as areas of factories, rust belts, mines and toxic waste dumps; but also the 'landscape of consumption' which reflects aspects of the deindustrialised economy, that is high-rise, highways, population conurbations, and shopping malls. Pertinent to this study is the landscape of consumption represented in unfettered tourism development which has swamped many communities with hotels, resorts, caravan-parks, residential subdivisions, shopping malls, restaurants and fast-food outlets, and recreational facilities such as mini-golf. The cultural heritage of many places is diminished by commodified *faux* reproductions such as theme parks, water worlds and heritage villages which, while ostensibly saluting the values of these places are designed principally to accommodate the demands of touristic consumption. Coles Bay is a small community facing major economic change while seeking to protect the unique values of its environment. The exercise of power is located in the structures and decision-making which lie outside of its boundaries. Being small, its people attempt to influence these structures and decision-making processes in support of the values they largely share. They hope thus to protect both its built and natural environments from becoming landscapes of consumption and to secure somewhat more than Zukin's (1991) 'fragile compromise between market and place' for its future.

Bourdieu developed and tested his theories of capital – non of which addressed natural capital – while conducting his social research studies (Lebaron 2003). Indeed, his

theories are not without criticism, the main objection being, as Lebaron (2003) observes, that they reveal ‘an “economistic” vision of the social world too much inspired by neoclassical economics (2003, p. 551). The conclusion is drawn that, rather than extending the possibilities of understanding cultural phenomena by the use of conceptions drawn from economics, ‘Bourdieu has legitimised the reduction of the diversity of human behaviours to the general quest for personal material benefit or satisfaction’ (2003, p. 551). Further, it can be argued that he has simply generalised Marxist conceptions of individual action and culture, again by reducing them to outcomes of economic determinants, thus denying the role of culture in the creativity of artists, craftspeople, scientists, writers and others. In Lash’s (1993) judgement, the progression from mass economic production to niche production and specialised consumption only reflects a material economy which is increasingly driven by the cultural economy. Although change appears to have occurred, only the drivers of economic production have changed. However, the range of Bourdieu’s own field of study contests this assertion – he certainly understood the importance of the arts, crafts and sciences and researched it in works such as *Distinction* (1984). Cultural values as the vehicles of Lash’s (1993) changes in production and consumption are first addressed in this work. Indeed, Bourdieu identifies the proliferation of distinctions between class fractions, that is within classes, age and gender, and within ethnically diverse peoples, as being flagged by the consumption of goods that are valued not so much according to their use but by symbolic values and therefore aesthetics. Calhoun (1993) also notes the influence of Marxist economics on Bourdieu’s theorisation, but concludes that giving weight to this influence is not valid, because the ‘considerable achievements of his work on cultural capital are linked to his difference from Marx’ (Calhoun 1993, p. 69). Brubaker (1985, p. 748) also identifies the influence of Marx on Bourdieu, but concludes positively that:

the real significance of Bourdieu’s relation to Marx lies less in his appropriation of specific themes and perspectives than in his attempt to round out the Marxian system by integrating, with the help of conceptual tools chiefly derived from Weber, the study of the symbolic and material dimensions of social life.

Bourdieu envisioned a holistic, unified social life expressed, as discussed, as a system of interlinked and overlapping 'fields'. Here, the study of culture and the symbolic realm - religion, language, education, art, ideology - is not segregated from the study of the material economy. This broad conception presents a valid basis for analysis of the relations between culture, economy and the natural environment and the valuations accorded to each by those people associated with them, in terms of the forms of capital – for competition between those holding economic capital and those holding cultural capital is enjoined over symbolic as well as material resources in any given field (Swartz 1997, p. 136). Indeed, this case study presents a unique opportunity to examine in fundamental terms the nature of the social world in this natural environmental context, and in so doing to both test and extend the range of Bourdieu's theorisation about cultural capital. Herein lies its value as a contribution to the body of work on Bourdieu's thought.

The corpus of Bourdieu's work demonstrates the influence of his theories on diverse research fields. That cultural capital has been taken up by ecological economists to aid their analysis of economic and cultural relations to the natural environment demonstrates its conceptual adaptability, and is crucial in considering these relationships in the context of this research study.

2.3 Economic capital (through an ecological lens)

Robbins (2000, p. 32) summarises Bourdieu's contribution to the analysis of socio-economic operations of society: 'Bourdieu took hold of the concept of "capital" as developed in economic theory and applied it to culture'. Analysing the distinctions between the two forms of capital, Bourdieu describes economic capital as capital that is directly convertible into money, and is overtly mercantile. It is institutionalised through, for instance, property rights. Because of its overt character, economic capital forces other forms of exchange, such as those of cultural capital to be non-economic. Thus, the economic function of cultural capital is hidden (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). In its theorisation, economic capital does not attribute a cost to the economic functions – or services – of the natural environment. These services include largely non-exploitable elements such as biogeochemical and hydrological processes, the cleaning of air and water, assimilation of waste, and cycling of nutrients in sustainable cycles. Indeed

environmental services constitute the ways that natural assets support all life, human and non-human (Worboys *et al.* 2005, p. 82). The economic input of environmental services to society through their contribution to social wellbeing is likewise hidden. The integrated character of economy with ecology is not recognised in conventional economics, which does not account for the costs of these ‘free’ environmental services to society:

there are no monetary transactions compensating for the gains or losses in welfare. There is, in other words, no market mechanism in operation. Economic decision-makers take environmental effects into consideration only if regulated by law or action by those affected (Andersson 1991, p. 237).

As these environmental services contribute to sustainable productive processes, they should indeed be costed as factors of production (El Serafy 1991, p. 168), in theory if not in practice. Recognition of the role of the ecosystem and its operations, in that they are integral to successful socio-economic systems – a fact widely recognised by ecologists and economists – would thus be accorded (Berkes and Folke 1998; Costanza 1991; Costanza *et al.* 2001; Daly 1977; Daly and Cobb 1989; El Serafy 1991; Folke and Kaberger 1991, 2001; Holling 2001; Markandya *et al.* 1990; Norgaard 1992; Odum 1971; Pearce, J 1988; Perrings 1987). No matter their scale, the economic activities of production and consumption constitute a ‘socioeconomic system (that) is part of the overall ecosphere’ (Berkes 1998a, p. 3; Berkes and Folke 1998; Cobb and Daly 1994; Costanza 1991; Costanza and Daly 1992), for ideally

a healthy economy can only exist in symbiosis with a healthy ecology, therefore ecological systems are also the best current models of sustainable systems. Understanding the linkages between ecological and economic systems and treating them as a whole, integrated system is therefore critical to sustainability (Costanza 1991, p. 333).

In the development of their theories, ecological economists have sought to formalise the linkages between ecological and economic systems. They have developed a theory of cultural capital similar to Bourdieu’s concept (Berkes 1998a; Berkes *et al.* 2003; Berkes

and Folke 1993; Costanza 1991; Daly 1994; Daly and Cobb 1989; Folke 1994; Lawn 2000). Hence, cultural capital comprises ‘the factors that provide human societies with the means and adaptations to deal with the natural environment and to actively modify it’ as it has a crucial role as the ‘interface between natural capital and human-made capital’ (Berkes and Folke 1994, p. 131). Human-made (or produced) capital is described as economic capital in the forms of manufactured and harvested products; infrastructure – roads, railways, and transport systems; energy and water systems, communications systems; and financial resources (Dibden and Cocklin 2005, p. 6). Indeed, the factors comprising cultural capital ‘shape the way in which society interacts with its environment, and defines and uses natural capital’ (Berkes and Folke 1993). In effect, cultural capital comprising the elements of world-view; local environmental knowledge, understandings, values and activities might be said to underlie the forms that economic capital take and may be an essential factor enabling individuals in communities to achieve viability through economic development which entails sustainable natural resource management.

This insight foregrounds the importance of cultural capital in relation to economic development and the integrity of the natural environment. For example, theory supported by observed practice demonstrates that the management of an environmental stock or resource is optimally determined by those who have the most local knowledge⁶ and understanding about it, and for whom this knowledge and understanding is culturally embedded. Such knowledge and understanding may be of weather patterns, seasonal change, river and ocean tides and currents, the breeding and flowering seasons of local flora, pollination, wildlife health, distribution and migration patterns, fire management, predator-prey relations, and habitat character (Berkes 1998a, 1998b; Berkes and Folke 1993, 1998; Bryden and Hart 2004; Cobb and Daly 1994; Folke 2006; Folke and Kaberger 2001; Gadgil *et al.* 2003).

An intimate knowledge of place is often seen to reside among ‘traditional’ communities, which are seen to exemplify Norgaard’s (1994, p. 165) thesis that society and the

⁶ Where local knowledge is used as a generic term for knowledge generated through observations of the environment by people who live and use the resources of a place.

environment work most effectively as coevolving systems. This synergy exists because ‘historically, cultural systems tended to work within particular ecological boundaries’ small enough to respond to ‘environmental signals’. Yet for many local and relatively recently formed communities without substantial historical continuity in place, local knowledge and practice derived from working with and in ecological systems nevertheless inform local management and governance, both formal and informal, and thus influence the formation and valuation of cultural capital and its revaluation as economic capital (Berkes and Folke 1998, p. 13).

In Coles Bay are found local residents, artists, natural scientists, fishers, farmers, workers, surfers, tourist operators and business people. Ideally, in recently settled communities such as this can be demonstrated the ‘inherent “unknowability,” as well as unpredictability of evolving ecosystems and the societies with which they are linked’ (Holling 1994, p. 60). Taking ‘unknowability’ as referring to the vastness of the natural world and limitations of our understanding of its complexities, it is nevertheless possible to gain significant knowledge over only a few generations of contact with place. While not knowledge gained from millennia of occupation, it represents the accumulation of cultural capital in the form of local knowledge, valuing and understanding, as discussed – qualities that then can actively support a community’s economic viability.

In remote, rural areas of Europe, the qualities of cultural capital include ‘the history, traditions, customs, language, music, art and stories [of places that, importantly] ‘may be territorially defined’ (Bryden and Dawe 1998, p. 3). Utilising these qualities as ‘immobile’ economic resources is the key to resilience in the form of viable economies for these communities, these authors assert. It is an approach which is particularly appropriate when mobile economic resources – labour and money – are lacking. Eventually, immobile economic resources in the form of cultural capital may attract both financial investment and people to such communities. Indeed, the drivers of change in many rural communities (Burnley 1996; Curry *et al.* 2001; Smailes 2002) are outcomes of the attractions of so-called natural and heritage values to people who bring economic capital with them. Terluin (2003, p. 339) concluded, from a study of isolated rural communities in Northern Europe, that they could be categorised as ‘leading and lagging’; that is, economically viable or otherwise. Terluin found that an attribute essential for economic success was reliance not so much on local physical resources as

on local traditions and tacit knowledge which then supported sustainable economic activities.

Local traditions and knowledge indeed may be crucial components in the development of a local economy. They may contribute to the success of communities and their enterprises, whether ecotourism, fishing, organic farming, vineyards and other forms of niche agricultural production. These are characterised by a dynamic and respectful relationship between people and the local environment. These types of communities incorporate an:

economic base [that] includes the quality of the natural environment, the richness of the local culture, the security and stability of the community, the quality of the public services and the public works infrastructure, and the quality of the workforce (Daly and Cobb 1989 p. 135).

None of these factors, the above authors note, is produced in the commercial economy – they are treated as being expendable. Yet, they are the qualities, they find, that make somewhere ‘an attractive place to live, work or do business’ (see also Florida 2003). There is a downside to this dynamic, described by Curry *et al.* (2001, pp. 121-122) in a study of recent economic changes to Denmark, a small-town on the south coast of Western Australia. Change there has resulted from the values, choices and decisions made by people such as hippies and sea-changers who have moved to this town in recent years, motivated by a rejection of ‘the values of materialism, consumerism and individualism’. As a result, Denmark has become widely known for its lifestyle values and cultural ambience. Cultural capital was created through this valuing and became a marketable commodity capitalised upon by developers and real estate agents with resultant rises in house and land prices, which then locked out of Denmark those very people who initially had made it flourish.

Managing conflicting demands, including the play of cultural and economic capital both within and outside communities is a balancing act experienced in many rural towns such as Denmark and Coles Bay, coastal places which share common problems arising from social and environmental change. The challenge of balance is not simply internal to any one rural location or region, since there is an external, value-driven flow of ideas and

initiatives between city and region that is founded on distinct styles of life somewhat more than 'dominant positions in a structure of power and privilege' (Brubaker 1985, p. 756). The assertion of lifestyle forms in prized rural and coastal locations can also be viewed as the search for a way of life by identity or status groups. People seek each other out in communities of shared values, and those engaged in such a search for a way of life can infuse rural communities with vigour and dynamism (Brubaker 1985; Florida 2003; M'Gonigle 2000; Offe 1990), as well as, unfortunately, contestation and conflict. Contested are radically different views of place and the attempts to impose such views. The ways in which people relate to place are challenged and transformed during processes of social, economic and environmental change. Bourdieu's work examines these fundamentals of the social world, indeed, and in this research context is of use in unpacking the assumptions underlying bodies of theory such as that of tourism and development, particularly nature-based tourism.

A key point of the discussion thus far, is to suggest that local management of place, grounded in the relationships between communities and the environment, ideally should serve to sustain social and environmental health. Analysis of the dynamics inherent in these relationships has also produced considerable interest in the body of work coalescing around the idea of social resilience, as it would appear to hold out the promise of managing the negative environmental affects of social and economic change (Adger 2000, 2006; Berkes *et al.* 2003; Berkes and Folke 1998; Bingemans *et al.* 2004; Carlsson and Berkes 2005; Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 2003; Folke 2006; Folke *et al.* 1998; Gallopin 2006; Gunderson 2003; Holling 2003; Olsson *et al.* 2004; Walker *et al.* 2002; Westley *et al.* 2002; Yorque *et al.* 2002). Managing these changes requires awareness, responsibility and understanding in communities – attributes or coping strategies such as 'learning, flexibility to experiment and adopt novel solutions, and development of generalised responses to broad classes of challenge' (Walker *et al.* 2002, p. 7).

Cultural capital, taking it beyond Bourdieu's conception, is the receptacle of local knowledge, understandings and values of the natural environment. It thus encompasses Walker's range of attributes, and is able to mediate, as ecological economists have devolved the concept, between economy and ecology (Folke, 1991; Berkes and Folke 1993; Berkes and Folke 1994; Berkes, 1998). Among examples supporting this general conclusion, is Holling's (2001) analysis of society's movement from resource

exploitation to resource conservation. He highlights the role of cultural capital in this process, and shows that connectedness and stability are essential for social resilience and the achievement of resource conservation. Cultural assets which comprise cultural capital include 'the development of skills, knowledge, and networks of relationships' (2001, p. 394) in members and groups in communities. Their presence supports the movement of communities from non-adaptive to adaptive practices and ideally to states of social and environmental resilience. These complex transitions are not achieved through management by experts and officials residing in bureaucracies. They are achieved through local knowledge which is built up through generations of continuity on the part of the family, community, tribe and other collectives (Berkes *et al.* 2003) guided by values built up over generations of relationships to the natural environment.

Investing small-scale communities with decision-making powers about economic development, rather than hierarchical, distant, control-and-command approaches, should better support environmentally responsible actions. Local representation is desirable so that policies and decisions take local values into account through direct, participatory procedures in the effective devolution of power (Bryden and Hart 2004; M'Gonigle 2000). In many rural communities, hope for participatory democratic engagement in decision-making about their futures is vested in local government. To achieve effective and sustainable resource management (Adger 2006, p. 269), local or municipal government needs to be at least representative of local environmental values.

Local systems of rights and responsibilities facilitate community decision-making about a range of issues. These involve access, group boundaries and resource boundaries, and joint or shared use of lands and resources. At Coles Bay, community decision-making through formal organisations seeks to guide the management of its lands and protected areas, and management of residential and tourism development. It also seeks to preserve the character of the town-ship, protect the environment and to address the lack of local services. The services provided voluntarily include the provision and staffing of an ambulance to take people to the nearest hospital in Swansea; membership of the volunteer fire brigade located in Bicheno; and sharing turns as school bus driver to take young children to school in Bicheno. The story of Coles Bay's change to a plastic bag free town is another case in point.

Systems of governance should support communities to reach decisions about current issues, though there are also issues of representation, monitoring, sanctions, conflict resolution and legal recognition (Berkes and Folke 1993, p. 7). However, questions arise about the ability of local government to successfully take on these issues, and this concern is true of Coles Bay's local governmental body, the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. The main problem contributing to the general ineffectiveness of local government in implementing sustainable development is the limited capacities of these traditional forms to deal effectively with the 'scale, complexity and inter-relatedness of environmental problems for long-term sustainability' (Brunckhorst 2001, p. 20). Here, local government is handicapped, as elsewhere in Australia by inadequate funding and restricted authority.

If managerial bodies such as local government take a long-term focus, are community-based, participatory and have the welfare of local communities and the local environment at heart as suggested (Bryden and Hart 2004; M'Gonigle 2000), how are these outcomes to be achieved, if not through strategies integrated into these managerial bodies? Although problems might arise, processes for identifying and resolving them can be built in. Models provide examples of ways to achieve outcomes which are shared by communities, governance and the private sector. For example, theorists addressing issues such as those experienced currently by the residents of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula promote local self-reliance (Brunckhorst 2001), and local, diversified and at least partially self-sufficient local economies, particularly in the face of globalisation (Goldsmith and Mander 2001, p. 13), using approaches such as circularity in resource use, resource sharing and innovation, which are all feasible objectives. Attaining these objectives should benefit localities not only through the development of environmentally-friendly products and services, but through economies of scale and reductions in costs such as transport costs, and the promotion of a more positive environmentally responsible image.

There are many issues associated with achieving the aims of better governance and regulation in support of environmental integrity, through community participation. In its role of negotiator between community, economy and environment, cultural capital may

ensure that environmental valuing is asserted, and groups representing these values may then achieve optimum outcomes for both communities and the natural environment.

2.4 Natural capital

The preceding discussions address key aspects of the relationship of cultural capital to economic capital. In the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, the three forms of capital attract analysis in terms of Bourdieu's theories. Although Bourdieu did not analyse the relationships between communities and the natural environment as such, the applicability of his theories to analysis of natural capital is valid, because this concept is implicit in the analysis of economic processes. Understanding of natural capital is two-pronged – as the source of local economy (as noted), but also as both the source and outcome of cultural capital in the valuing of place and environment as discussed both in the Introduction and in Section 2.2. For there exists, Berkes and Folke (1993) conclude 'a fundamental interrelation between natural capital, 'human-made' or economic capital and cultural capital'. The integral relationships of economic capital to natural capital are debated by ecological economists, demonstrably because natural capital is the source of economically exploitable resources located in the natural environment. When ecological economists discuss natural capital, they do so in cultural and economic terms. To reiterate, they give cultural capital as they define it the role of mediating between natural capital and economic exploitation, and debate in this thesis has focused on this relationship. Other theorists (Ballet *et al.* 2007; Cochrane 2006) also identify the importance of the role of cultural capital in natural capital management in order to achieve sustainable processes. The concept of sustainable development receives emphasis by Cochrane (2006) in her discussion of the relationship of cultural capital to natural capital. She points to the (1987) Brundtland Report as a landmark publication in the growth of environmental awareness, as well as the Earth Summit of 1992. These events highlighted the necessity to incorporate environmental concerns in policy in order to achieve successful development. This understanding has become widely embraced, if not always actualised in the economic policies of governments. The character of natural capital is discussed in the context of this debate.

Broadly defined, natural capital is a human good or benefit derived from:

the soil and atmospheric structure, plant and animal biomass etc. that taken together, form the basis of all ecosystems. This natural capital stock uses primary inputs (sunlight) to produce the range of ecosystem services and physical natural resource flows (Costanza *et al.* 1991, p. 8).

Daly (1994, p. 30) links this definition to resource generation, as

the stock that yields the flow of natural resources - the population of fish in the ocean that regenerates the flow of caught fish that go to market, the standing forest that regenerates the flow of cut timber; the petroleum deposits in the ground whose liquidation yields the flow of pumped crude oil.

Further analysis identifies two forms of natural capital: renewable (fish or trees for example) and non-renewable which is based on resource extraction (petroleum, mineral products, for example) including renewable extraction such as plantation forestry. A form of natural capital which coexists with or is adjacent to natural landscapes, terrestrial and marine protected areas, forest, and water catchments is described as “‘cultivated natural capital’”, that is, ‘agriculture, aquaculture, and plantation forestry’ (Daly 1994, p. 30). These are ‘domesticated environments’ which are the ‘food and fibre producing systems such as agricultural lands, managed woodlands and forests, aquaculture’ (Folke and Kaberger 1991, p. 79).

The view of the environment as a life-support ecosystem comprising natural elements and systems such as ‘oceans, upland forest, estuaries, wetlands, rain forest, lakes, rivers’ (Folke and Kaberger 1991, p. 78) locates natural capital in essential, uncoded environmental services and in coded exploitable resources. Thus, natural capital exists both in its own right and in the uses to which environmental resources are put. Ideally, constraints and safeguards are incorporated to protect against its depletion, to mitigate environmental degradation and to achieve what is known as resource ‘constancy’ (Pearce, J 1988) Resource constancy can be measured as physical quantity and price, and the value of resource flows from the natural capital stock and environmental services such as are needed to maintain ecological integrity (Harte 1995, p. 159). This approach to valuing is challenged by Folke *et al.* (1991) who avoid attributing a monetary value to

environmental services. However, the notion of resource constancy approaches the idea of intergenerational equity, an ethical approach to resource management which seeks to ensure that future generations are not disadvantaged by current natural resource use.

In light of these considerations, a key focus of the discussion about the relationships of the natural capital contained in protected areas to economic development is signalled in Lockwood's (2005, p. 8) observation that, in protected area management (such as applied to and within Freycinet National Park) 'values are fundamental to choice and decision'. Such choices and decisions are outcomes of the valuing of the natural environment and the relationships of individuals and groups to it, which follow. Indeed, whether residents, regular visitors or tourists, those engaging with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are motivated by values arising from complex connections to this natural environment, or to natural environments in general. These values are expressed to a greater or lesser degree by people who appreciate the aesthetics of the area, its natural resources and beauty, its landscapes of sky, land and ocean, its biodiversity and special sense of place.

The relationships of protected areas to local and visiting human populations has been extensively explored by The World Conservation Union (IUCN) and other world bodies, particularly with regard to indigenous communities. This relationship is important in informing policy and decision-making for the protection of biodiversity contained in protected areas (Barzetti 1993; Borrini-Feyerabend 1996, 2000; Brown, J *et al.* 2005; McNeely 1995; Phillips 1998; Wells and Brandon 1994). In this case protected areas, particularly Freycinet National Park, contain natural capital and therefore are exploitable economically, as discussed. Careful management through conservation practices based on rigorously developed policy is crucial for their environmental protection (Worboys *et al.* 2005). Hence the necessity is clear to safeguard protected areas through judicious management of the economic practices which exploit natural capital. Protection indeed has been given to these areas and the biodiversity contained within them by statute and regulation (Lockwood *et al.* 2006, p. 104).

Residents and local visitors to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are motivated by values arising from a range of psychological, emotional, and spiritual relationships to the natural environment of Freycinet Peninsula. However, these values do not depend on

their direct use or the consumption in any way of the resources of the protected area. Nor do these groups and communities require these values to be physically on-site, but are implicit in the general valuing of the aesthetics of the area, its biodiversity and its sense of place. While protected areas were created at Freycinet Peninsula to maintain local biodiversity and environmental integrity, to prevent further extractive resource exploitation and thus to protect its natural values, this protection now constitutes the natural capital of Freycinet National Park. As such it is the source of an economy based on the local provision of tourism and tourism goods and services and, thus, economic capital. Recognition of local valuing of place – its natural environment – by residents and visitors has directly resulted in the creation of economic capital. Accorded intrinsic worth and valued as an end in itself regardless of the resources which it may contain and apart from any benefits that humans may gain from it as a resource (Worboys *et al.* 2005, p. 80), use at present occurs principally in the forms of nature-based recreation and enjoyment (walking, mountain-bike riding, bird watching, picnicking, kayaking, diving, camping). Appreciation of its beauty is a source of creativity for artists (potters, painters, craft-people and writers), and it is a location for scientific education and research.

Low impact uses included in this category which generate economic capital are fishing, duck-shooting, oyster collecting and regulated lobster fishing by both locals and visitors. The range of these activities is associated with the provision of goods and services to support them, such as transport services, food and accommodation provision, and therefore contribute to what Phillips (1998) describes as the ‘direct use values’ of a protected area. Environmental services (Costanza *et al.* 1991) comprise its ‘indirect use values’. Natural capital is embedded in the areas of the study site – Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – and is the source of both economic capital through tourism, and cultural capital through the values accorded to it. Its importance is demonstrated as a key aspect of place, and therefore as a parameter for this study.

2.5 Chapter conclusion

Using Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital as a theoretical tool, cultural capital at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula has been re-defined. In this context, it is inclusive of the meanings, beliefs, knowledge and understandings and emotions associated with this place, including its history of habitation and heritage, landscapes and biodiversity,

stories and anecdotes, music, craft and art, and science. In summary, cultural capital at this place encapsulates the ways that people both invest the natural environment with meaning, and derive their values from it, expressed in the ways that families and communities relate to this place. Further, people associated with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula may act to either safeguard or exploit the natural environment, with actions which are specific to place and are motivated by the cultural meanings with which they invest the natural environment.

Major scholars (Berkes 1998a; Berkes and Folke 1993) identify the key relationships between cultural capital as they have defined it (produced or human-made capital) and environmental resources and services of natural capital and how these play out during the processes of economic growth. In the natural setting of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, the ranges of valuing placed on the natural environment by people engaging in working, recreational, artistic, scientific and touristic pursuits indicate the presence of the three forms of capital. Thus, the concepts guiding this study, while distinctive as theories, are neither exclusive nor limited but present as multi-layered and complex when they are examined in this socio-cultural context.

In isolated, rural places such as Coles Bay which are closely associated with protected areas such as Freycinet National Park, identity and social forms expressed in cultural, economic and environmental terms are fluid and changing. People act in networks and associations within this area in support of their visions of place and their relationships to it which impact on the natural environment. People also act beyond boundaries of geography, time and place in formal organisations and spontaneous groupings which produce both positive and negative outcomes for life and the natural environment as it is lived here. These are further explored as results of the study (Chapter 5). Although the relationships between the forms of capital – cultural, economic and natural – are far from static in places such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, they are able to be identified in on-going processes which are open to research and analysis as change occurs.

Chapter 3 Placing Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula



Photo: Carol Patterson

Fishing – Shores of Moulting Lagoon at Swanwick

Estuaries and coastal wetlands have long been recognised as essential nursery areas for a myriad of marine species. The area provides a range of recreational and economic opportunities, and has commercial value for the local tourism and aquaculture industries. The lagoon is also highly valued for hunting and fishing. The reserve's continued conservation contributes to the economic and social well-being of the local community. (Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan 2003).

3.1 Introduction

Camping at Site 37, Richardson's Beach, was a yearly experience for my sons and I. We would pitch our three-roomed tent towards the back of the site, just clear of the boobialla and kunzia bush. Visitors – a friend and her son, my sister and her husband and other blow-ins who might turn up, pitched their tents on the same site. Next door would be the family from up north – Stan and his Gran with their craypots. It was always great catching up. But first, we had to allocate beds, get the sleeping mats and bags out, set the fold-up chairs and table in the sand outside, make sure the food and drink were secure in the cartons and eskies, and the tent closed up – the possums were a problem at night, but you never knew what the wallabies might get into during the day – all in a rush. Because the water was waiting! The first swim was always the best, so it was down to the beach and into the crystalline water with shouts and splashes as we dived and swam. Next day, all the boys went out in the tinny⁷ with Stan to drop the craypots. He knew just where the crays would be, and in the afternoon, rowed out again to pull the craypots up. Then, the boys were off around the shores, hunting in the rock pools for crabs, then another swim, and tired out they'd all come back, ravenous at afternoon tea time. After lunch we adults walked up to the Lookout and down to Wineglass Bay. It was a ritual, maybe there would be dolphins cruising off-shore, or whales, and once we saw an orca.

In later days we climbed The Hazards from Sleepy Bay; caught the sunrise from Mount Amos; went snorkelling off Honeymoon Bay and walked across the neck to Hazards Beach and Cook's Beach. Each evening, we enjoyed a glass of wine with friends as pasta or rice cooked on the fuel stove, salads were thrown together, fish caught in Great Oyster Bay baked in the pan, and then we had cakes and fruit brought from home. The kids, sunburned and sandy, played down on the beach, their voices echoing in the evenings, or played cards at the table until late as we chatted. Sometimes it rained, and then for a treat we'd go up to The Chateau for a drink and a meal. And so the days passed in timeless pleasure, the food became more basic, mealtimes disappeared, shoes were lost, the kids stayed down on the beach later and later and, well, were more independent. Until it was time to say goodbye to our friends, pack up, take down the tent, shake out the sand and go for one last swim in the bay before heading home until next Christmas, Easter or whenever we could fit in another stay at Site 37, Richardson's Beach.

⁷ Small aluminium boat, of 3-5 metres in length.

The history of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is made up of a myriad of experiences like this which encapsulate the special relationships to this place of diverse peoples. Over time, the patterns of these relationships coalesce to indicate the elements of the forms of capital – shared or otherwise – which are characteristic in this place of each population group and community. Key transition points demarcate the change from one form of relationship to another in terms of group character, activities and travel modes, relationships to the land and the seasons, the resources used and the consequent environmental impacts.

Table 1: Transition points, people and environmental impact over time

	Oyster Bay tribe of Tasmanian Aboriginal habitation	Settlers, holiday-makers, workers and residents	Tourists (excluding holiday-makers, workers and residents)
Transition points	36 000> years to the 1832 transition point	200 years to the 1990 transition point	18 years to the present
Length of contact	Residential and seasonal –winter and summer	Residential or weeks at a time, seasonal and summer	1.8 days average length of stay, seasonal -summer
Social forms and sizes	Tribal nomadic bands and family groups: 30-100 persons per band; visiting bands of tribes	Individuals and families: 7 families (1824); 123 residents (1991); holiday-makers	Groups, families and individuals 169 000 tourists per annum (2004)
Relationships to the land	Hunter-gatherer; cultural relationship evidenced by archaeology and history	Farming, fishing, mining, quarrying; holiday site - recreational, artistic and scientific relations	Tourism destination; recreational, scientific, aesthetic relationships
Modes of transport	Foot, reed boat	Motor vehicle, bus, boat, foot	Air travel, motor-vehicle, bus, boat, bike
Resources used	Shellfish, wallaby , birds' eggs, duck, swans, seals; crayfish, crab	Marine resources, large scale animal resources-hunting; extractive mining, land for farming	Natural environment, land for tourism goods and services provision; housing development
Energy use	Solar, firestick farming	Solar, wind and oil	Oil, foot, bike, boat
Estimated footprint (based on pop. numbers and energy use)	Low environmental impact from low numbers and solar energy use	Major impact from sealing, whaling, Mining, farming, fishing; low impact from oil energy; protected areas	High impact from oil energy use, mass visitor numbers; expansion of built areas

The first major social and physical transition at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was the removal – to Flinders Island in the Bass Strait north of Tasmania – of the Oyster Bay tribe of Tasmanian Aborigines (Brown, S 1991, p. 14) in 1832, following their decimation by white settlers (Ryan 1981). In this area, their territory included the Freycinet Peninsula and the environs of Schouten Island, Moulting Lagoon, the Swan and Apsley Rivers and the Friendly Beaches (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000). The length of Aboriginal habitation was immense, but these people travelled lightly on the land, trading with other Aboriginal

tribes and sharing cultural events (Ryan 1981). Their removal represented the forced expropriation of their land and its cultural and economic capital by the white occupiers.

Extractive resource exploitation by the first white settlers was limited, but they exploited the biodiversity to the point that some species became rare in this region (seals and whales). Cultural appreciation of the area for its natural beauty and scientific interest grew during the nineteenth century. The first holiday shacks at Coles Bay dating from the 1930s were followed by the post-war growth of holidaying which created an increasing demand for accommodation, hence The Chateau (a beloved hotel-boarding house), hostels and chalets were built. Holiday shacks were thrown together, back of the shores of Moulting Lagoon and clustered in Coles Bay opposite Richardson's Beach, and at the old whaling station - The Fisheries.

The use of oil-based transport brought major change as more and more people were able to travel there for holidays. The second transition point therefore dates from the sealing of the 27-kilometre Coles Bay road in 1990 which brought about the growth in popularity of the area and its change from a local holiday spot to an international tourist destination, with consequences for both the natural environment and the social character of this place. Thus, the changes occurring at present in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are part of a continuum of change occurring over a very long period. Change is seen to accelerate at each transition point, and this factor contributes to the advisability of undertaking the present study at this point in time in order to measure the qualities of change as it occurs.

European knowledge of the human history of the Coles Bay and the Freycinet area derives from historical records dating from the periods of exploration and white settlement, and from archaeological investigations of the heritage created by the thousands of years of Aboriginal habitation. Agreement that 'Australian landscapes represent wild nature, are the product of Indigenous peoples, and have been extensively shaped by Europeans' (Lennon 2005, p. 1) anticipates the evidence at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula of a landscape shaped by the interactions of peoples and their environment over time.

In this chapter, I describe the natural world of the Freycinet Peninsula and its environs and summarise the legislative framework of the protected areas of the study site to establish the environmental basis of its natural capital. I seek to describe how people

have related to this unique environment thus expressing their cultural capital in relations to it in the forms of knowledge, understandings and values. I review the economic activities of its communities in relation to the resources of the area, to identify its economy and therefore economic capital over time.

3.2 Precolonial Aboriginal habitation

The territory, foraging or 'nurturing area' (Ingold 2000) of the nomadic, hunter-gatherer Oyster Bay tribe of Tasmanian Aborigines extended up the east coast of Tasmania (Brown, S 1991, p. 29) in a period of up to 36 000 years. At the time of contact with Europeans the tribe consisted of 600 to 700 persons (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000, p. 25), and was made up of family-based bands of 30 to 70 or 80 persons (Brown, S 1991) with a territory estimated to be 300 to 500 square kilometres. The Too.rer.no.mair.re.me.ner and Loon.tite.ter.mair.re.le.hoinn.er bands of the Oyster Bay tribe and possibly the May.yer.low.er or Mair.ren.ner.pair.rer.ner lived there (Brown, S 1991, pp. 13-14).

There is an abundance of Aboriginal heritage along the coastal margins, behind beaches, beside estuaries, and along cliffs and rocky coastal areas. It includes shell middens, rock quarries, stone artefacts and possibly a rock painting (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000; McGowan 1984; Snelgrove and Noble 1991). These elements are spatial signifiers indicating the focus of movement, a complex 'matrix of movement' (Ingold 2000, p. 219) in an area which was the 'country' of these people.

Midden remains (Snelgrove and Noble 1991) indicate that in pre-European history the area was a rich food source for these people. Recorded in their diet were nine animal species, swan and mutton-bird eggs, three shellfish species and four plant species (Brown, S 1991, p. 15). Artefactual analysis suggests that other bands of Aborigines traded and shared the resources with the Oyster Bay people, particularly the bird-life of Moulting Lagoon when it was in season. The peoples congregated at this rich food source and at Schouten Island as, at the end of July, black swan and wild duck (shelduck) arrived to lay their eggs (Ryan 1981, p. 17).

At the end of October, the Oyster Bay people moved inland to the important kangaroo hunting grounds of the north and central midlands where they spent summer. By 1830,

the European population of Tasmania had reached 23 500, nearly half a million hectares had been granted to individuals and there were a million sheep on the prime kangaroo grazing grounds of the north midlands (Ryan 1981, pp. 83-85). The Oyster Bay tribe was locked out of a crucial food source, and suffered dislocation to their ancient patterns of hunting and gathering. Physical, social and cultural devastation followed. 'There is no doubt that fierce competition over the use of, and access to land, underlay the escalating conflict' (Reynolds 1995, p. 31).

Although these were hunter-gatherer people of a type whose relationship to the land prevailed from 3 million years ago until the rise of agriculture 10 000 years ago (Norgaard 2004, p. 231), the Aboriginal relationships to the land were not simply instrumental, relating to it as the source of food, clothing, objects and shelter. A complex cultural relationship was expressed in art, stone and rock carvings, evidenced elsewhere in Tasmania (Clark 1986, p. 32). Song, dance and story telling expressed the spiritual and cultural character of this relationship (Brown, S 1991). The destruction and removal of the Tasmanian Aborigines ended millennia of successful living off the land and environmental management by these people.

3.3 Early patterns of settlement and natural resource use

The establishment of the first European settlement in Tasmania occurred at Hobart in 1803. On the east coast of Tasmania land grants and leases in the 1820s were made to the Amos and Meredith families in the Moulting Lagoon area, and across Great Oyster Bay from Freycinet Peninsula (*Lands and Surveys Office* 1804-1910 Archives Office of Tasmania). Captain Robert Hepburn was allocated a 500 acre land grant at Swanwick in 1829 (*Lands and Surveys Office* 1804-1910 Archives Office of Tasmania). His home, Swanwick House, was built in 1830 from local stone and still stands two kilometres outside Coles Bay.

In 1824 George Meredith leased land for a bay whaling station and in 1841 claimed the land. In 1854, Meredith's son, Charles, was granted 5.64 hectares at the same site (Evans 1993). There were further applications for leases on the peninsula itself (*Lands and Surveys Office* 1804-1910 Archives Office of Tasmania). In 1864 Thomas Bryan leased a 500 acre lot and a 1 000 acre lot. Bryan's Beach is named after this family, though they gave up their leases in 1880 (*Lands and Surveys Office* 1804-1910 Archives Office of Tasmania). Leases continued until 1891, at Schouten Passage (as Freycinet Peninsula

was known) and Schouten Island. In 1910, Athol Cook bought 49 acres and 50 acres at Cook's Beach and Schouten Passage (*Lands and Surveys Office 1804-1910 Archives Office of Tasmania*). With his brother he built a hut at Cook's Beach, but in 1916 the brothers returned to the nearby town of Swansea. The hut has been renovated by Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania for use by bushwalkers.

Whaling and sealing took place in the bays and beaches of the Freycinet Peninsula, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, for instance at the Meredith's bay whaling station, a place which is still known as 'The Fisheries'. At this time there was a sealers' and whalers' camp on the Isle du Phoque, and whaling stations at Oyster Bay (now called Great Oyster Bay), Wineglass Bay, Sleepy Bay, Hazard's Island, Bryan's Beach, Trumpeter Bay, Schouten Passage and Schouten Island (Kostoglou 1995, p. 6-7).

The first example of extractive resource use was burning for lime shell taken from Aboriginal middens, which was used in mortar for building. In 1830 Silas Cole, a local shepherd, burned shell taken from the extensive middens left by the Oyster Bay people at Richardson's Beach. Coles Bay is named after Silas Cole (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*). Although the presence of coal had been noted on Schouten Island, the first attempt to exploit coal as a resource occurred in 1857 when Edward Crockett applied for a lease of 104 acres on Freycinet Peninsula, possibly in order to sink exploration shafts for coal. In the 1920s work started on a jetty and railway line to ship coal that was mined elsewhere out from Coles Bay. The coal was transported by rail from the Dalmayne Colliery, north of the town of Bicheno, which opened in 1917. The mine became bankrupt in the Great Depression (Nyman 1990). The route of the railway and overhead coal haulage became the Coles Bay Road (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*).

Chinese workers mined tin in the 1880s, and built a dam lined with peat (McGowan 1984) which now forms the basis of the dam supplying water to a Federal East Coast Holdings hotel development at Muir's Beach, Coles Bay. Tin leases were approved in the area in 1906 (McGowan 1984), and tin continued to be mined by individual miners up to the 1990s (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*).

In 1931, Biagio Zanchetta, an Italian stonemason, took out the first red granite quarry lease and worked it with his brother, Mario Zanchetta. It closed for the duration of the Second World War, but was reopened thereafter. Three quarries – Coles Bay Granite Pty Ltd., Rizzolo Stone and Concrete Pty Ltd, and Northern Tasmanian Quarries Pty Ltd – supplied granite foundations and facings for buildings. The quarries operated until the 1980s (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*).

Some coal mining, tin mining and farming took place on Schouten Island, which became a returned soldier settlement after the First World War (MacFie 1991). Members of the Cook family farmed on the island, and still live and work in the Coles Bay area (Cook 2005).

For most of its settled history, the isolation of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula confined access to the sea. Whalers fished the waters, and from the 1820s ships called in at the whale fisheries of Freycinet and Great Oyster Bay to collect oil, drop off supplies and transport wool and oil to Hobart (Evans 1993, p. 46). The main vessels trading along the east coast until the 1890s were shallow-draught ketches with flat bottoms and retractable centre boards that enabled them to negotiate shallow bays and inlets. They rested on the beaches and were loaded directly from farm wagons. Coastal traders such as the *Koomeela* in the 1930s, and later the *Narracoota*, the *John Franklin*, and the *Birngana* in the 1940s traded up and down the coast and shipped provisions to Coles Bay. The *Brunhilde*, a motor-sailer, brought passengers across from Swansea. The SS *George Bass* transported granite from the quarries to Hobart (Nyman 1990).

Apart from early sealing and bay whaling, commercial fishing for other species in the rich marine environment did not become established until 1952, when a local fisherman, Roger Maxfield, set up business. A handful of fishers with their own boats, including a woman skipper with a female crew, harvested shark and crayfish (also known as rock lobster). Scallop harvesting took place in winter. Flathead and trumpeter also continued to be fished (Shelley 2004). There is an annual cray-fishing (lobster) season from November to February. Fishers are allocated quotas, and recreational cray-fishing also takes place.

Ecologically, there have been large-scale changes in this area. Firstly, there was the extermination of whales and seals. Scallop-beds were over-fished in the 1960s (Whelan 2006). Commercial fishing through the management of Tasmania's sea-fisheries is

regulated by the Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania. More recently, climate change has resulted in changes to the marine ecosystem. Since the 1940s the extension of the warm-water low nutrient Eastern Australian current southwards has resulted in a 1.5 percent temperature rise in the waters of the east coast of Tasmania. This shift has resulted in increases in the black sea urchin which feeds on giant kelp, contributing to a considerable decline of giant kelp beds around Freycinet Peninsula and Schouten Island (Edyvane 2003, p. 73). The consequences of this decline are manifold, given the importance of giant kelp beds as a habitat and nursery ground for an abundance of fish species, and as habitat for shellfish species (abalone, rock lobster); as food and for the dispersal of invertebrates; and onshore as nesting and foraging habitat for shore birds (Edyvane 2003, p. 16). The spread of phytophthora disease in the national park – principally by bushwalkers – is changing its flora, with further impact on biodiversity. It is a root fungus carried by walkers' boots, camping gear and ground-water, and is killing a number of species such as grass trees (*Xanthorrhoea johnsonii*) and casuarinas. Information about this disease is displayed on interpretation boards along the peninsula tracks.

However, protective measures have been put in place. Walkers are warned about phytophthora disease and are advised about actions to take to reduce its spread; protection of the marine environment has resulted from changes to fishing regulations in a number of areas, including Moulting Lagoon, where the use of long and drop lines, set lines, mullet nets, graball nets, beach seine nets, cast nets, bait nets and bait traps is now prohibited (*Recreational Sea Fishing Guide* 2005, p. 41). Wrasse, kelpies, morwong, trumpeter and flathead are now protected. In Great Oyster Bay – a school shark reserve – fishing for shark, skate and rays is banned as is the use of long and drop lines, set lines, and mullet nets (*Recreational Sea Fishing Guide* 2005, p. 5). Improved diving and recreational fishing has resulted. There are four oyster farms operating in six areas of Moulting Lagoon. They are regulated by long-term permits issued before the area was declared a game reserve, and are administered and monitored by the Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania and are believed to cause few environmental problems (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. 16).

Livestock grazing has long occurred on cleared areas to the west of Moulting Lagoon (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. 4), and more

recently extensive areas of vineyard have been established on land bordering it. The regular monitoring of biotoxins in Moulting Lagoon is undertaken by the Department of Health and Community Services (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. 16). A protocol has been established between Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania and Coombend Vineyards for water quality monitoring to ensure vineyard spray regimes do not pollute the waters of Moulting Lagoon. Protest has taken place at Moulting Lagoon over the past ten years at the start of each duck shooting season, in opposition to this form of hunting, by the Coalition Against Duck Shooting and associated organisations such as Birds Tasmania. In 2007, the duck hunting season was reduced by 2 weeks because of claims that the drought had reduced numbers (Ribbon 2007). Protest against duck hunting still took place at the new start of the season, and still occurs annually.

3.4 The creation of Freycinet National Park

Freycinet Peninsula was named by the French explorer Nicolas Baudin in 1802 after officers of his crew, Louis and Henri Freycinet, during the course of a scientific voyage to Australia in the ships *Geographe* and *Naturaliste* (Fornaserio *et al.* 2004). Schouten Island had been named 60 years earlier, in 1642, by the Dutch explorer Jantsoon Abel Tasman, after Justus Schouten of the Dutch East India Company (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan* 1995).

Recognition of its scenic, environmental and cultural values resulted in moves to preserve the area as a national park. In 1894, a committee appointed by the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science recommended that Freycinet Peninsula be set aside as a Tasmanian national park (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000). In 1904, the Tasmanian Government was lobbied to withdraw Freycinet Peninsula and Schouten Island from sale or selection for the purpose of a fauna reserve, a move supported by the Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club (Elliott 1909) which, in the report of the 1906 Easter Camp held at Freycinet Peninsula, noted that, in 1905, 5000 pounds worth of skins had been taken from the Swansea area. This represented the slaughter of 'some fifty-thousand head of game' (Marmion 1994, p. 4.). In 1906, the crown land on Freycinet Peninsula and Schouten Island was declared a game preserve under the *Game Protection Act 1905* for a period of five years, to protect

‘all kangaroo and possum from capturing, hunting or killing’ (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000, p. 2).

In 1916, Freycinet Peninsula and Schouten Island were gazetted Scenic Reserves under the *Scenery Preservation Act 1915*. However, protection was removed from Schouten Island in 1941, and it was only regazetted a scenic reserve in 1967 (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan* 2000). In 1973, the boundaries of the park were extended to include the land between high and low water marks to provide greater protection for beaches and beach habitats (Marmion 1994).

The area was declared a Conservation Area State Reserve in 1973 and the Freycinet Peninsula was gazetted a national park in 1977 under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970*. Schouten Island was included as part of Freycinet National Park at that time. Also included were 10 hectares at the park entrance and all off-shore islands and rocks, excluding Lemon Rock (site of the lighthouse), bringing the total area of the park to 11 000 hectares. Lemon Rock was added five years later, in 1982 (Marmion 1994). In 1992, the coastal area of the Friendly Beaches was added to the national park, and in 1999, under the Regional Forest Agreement, a further 4873 hectares were added (*Parks and Wildlife Service* 2000, p. 2) taking the park’s boundary north to Harvey’s Farm Road, just south of Bicheno. The site known as The Fisheries, of 5.67 hectares is excluded from the park, and 4.53 hectares is leased to Freycinet Lodge Tasmania. The Freycinet National Park now comprises 16803 hectares (*Parks and Wildlife Service* 2000, p. 4).

Moulting Lagoon is described as ‘a large estuary formed at the mouths of the Swan and Apsley Rivers. It contains areas of both shallow and deep water and is surrounded by periodically exposed mudflats and saltmarsh’ (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. 3). It supports a large number of waterbirds, particularly black swan and Australian shelduck, at key stages of their lifecycles. It also provides year-round habitat for around 8 000 black swans and is a critical late summer staging area for shelducks, chestnut teal, and several shorebird species (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. iii).

Moulting Lagoon was proclaimed a sanctuary for wildlife under the *Crown Lands Act 1911*. However, under the *Animals and Birds Protection Act 1928* there was no provision to carry over existing reserves and Moulting Lagoon reverted to crown land. This situation was redressed in 1959, when a part of the lagoon was created as a

sanctuary under the same act. A further 13.7 hectares were declared a conservation area in 1980, under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970*. Because of local pressure to continue hunting in the area, it was declared the Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve in 1988, with previously designated conservation areas, and was ratified under the *Nature Conservation Act 2002*. It was designated a Wetland of International Importance in 1982 under the Convention on Wetlands (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan 2003*, p. 6). Under Article 3.1 of the Convention on Wetlands, contracting parties (the Tasmanian Government and the Australian Government) are required to promote the conservation of the wetlands to achieve 'sustainable utilisation for the benefit of mankind in a way compatible with the maintenance of the natural properties of the ecosystems' (*Ramsar Wetlands 2006*).

3.5 The landscape and its biodiversity

The geology of the Freycinet Peninsula is a major contributor to its unique landscape, most obviously the spectacular red granite peaks known as The Hazards. They comprise Mt Parsons (331 metres), Mt Dove (485 metres), Mt Baudin (413 metres), Mt Amos (445 metres), and Mt Mayson (420 metres). South of Wineglass Bay, Mt Graham (579 metres) and Mt Freycinet (620 metres) are also situated on the peninsula. Two large blocks of Devonian granite form these two mountain complexes. They are linked by the Wineglass Bay-Hazards Beach isthmus, a low marshy area (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 18). Mackay described the geology of the peninsula in 1909: 'Wineglass Bay is a deep bay worn out of a granite mass' [part of] 'a strip of granite that stretches in a broken line from the tin districts of the north-east to the Hippolyte Rocks off Tasman Peninsula' (Mackay 1909 p. 23). Wineglass Bay, in common with somewhat less imposing bays such as Sleepy Bay and Honeymoon Bay, is a typical beach-bay formation found along hard-rock coasts where a bay area forms between rocky headlands and soft sediments accumulate (*About Tasmania's Coastline 2006*).

Lying in the island's eastern rain shadow, the climate of the region is mild and dry for most of the year. The prevailing winds are from the north-west from October to March, and from the north-east from April to September (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 1). The park's native vegetation consists of a great diversity of predominantly dry sclerophyll plant communities on granite and

dolerite, heathlands and coastal vegetation. There are also small areas of wet eucalypt forest (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 1). Eighty-three species of Tasmanian native orchids have been recorded in the park, and it is a valuable refuge for orchids. The park contains indicative areas of National Estate⁸ old growth forest, flora species and localities, and forest community richness (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 21). Given the vulnerability of orchids to disturbance by management and visitors, and the presence of the phytophthora disease attacking the root systems of plants, Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania rightly identifies the importance of the conservation of plant communities and species as a major management consideration (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 21). Because of its isolation and protected status the area remains substantially free of air, land and water pollution (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 1), although these pollutants threaten it at its boundaries. Freycinet National Park contains a wide diversity of habitats for terrestrial and marine species, and key fauna habitats for threatened species such as the New Holland mouse (*Pseudomys novaehollandiae*), and now the Tasmanian devil (*Sarcophilus harrisii*). Also found in the park are the platypus (*Ornithorhynchus anatinus*); echidna (*Tachyglossus aculeatus setosus*); spotted-tailed quoll (*Dasyurus maculatus maculatus*); eastern quoll (*Dasyurus viverrinus*); common wombat (*Vombatus ursinus tasmaniensis*); ringtail possum (*Pseudocheirus peregrinus viverrinus*); brush-tail possum (*Trichosurus vulpecular fuliginosus*); little pygmy possum (*Cercartus lepidus*); eastern pygmy possum (*Cercartus nanus nanus*); bettong (*Bettongia gaimardia*); long-nosed potoroo (*Potorous tridactylus apicalis*); Bennett's wallaby (*Macropus rufogriseus rufogriseus*); Tasmanian pademelon (*Thylogale billardierii*); water rat (*Hydromys chrysogaster*); and swamp rat (*Rattus lutreolus*).

Australian fur seals (*Arctocephalus pusillus doriferous*) rest on Taillefer Rocks just south of Schouten Island, and leopard seals sometimes come ashore. The permanent creeks carry populations of native fish. The area is also home to a range of bats, the lesser long-eared bat (*Nyctophilus geoffroyi*) and the Tasmanian long-eared bat (*Nyctophilus timoriensis sherrini*) being the most common. Reptiles include eight

⁸ The Register of the National Estate is a nationwide list of places with heritage significance and is compiled by the Australian Heritage Commission. The Register included places with natural, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and historic values.

species of skink, lizards, snakes and a mountain dragon. There are five frog species and one toad species.

Bird life in the park, as well as at Moulting Lagoon is rich and varied, the variety of habitat supporting many species. Of more than 230 species recorded in Tasmania and its waters, 147 have been recorded in the environs of the Freycinet Peninsula, Schouten Island and Moulting Lagoon. Endangered and vulnerable species that nest in these areas (that is those listed under the *Threatened Species Protection Act 1995*), include the swift parrot (*Lathamus discolor*); wedge-tailed eagle (*Aquila audax*); black-browed albatross (*Diomedea melanophris*); shy albatross (*Diomedea cauta*); white-fronted tern (*Sterna striata*); and fairy tern (*Sterna nereis*). There are several pairs of white-bellied sea-eagles (*Haliaeetus leucogaster*), a protected species.

All the park's off-shore islets and rocks are important breeding and nesting sites for seabirds, including the fairy prion (*Pachyptila turtur*), pacific gull (*Larus pacificus*), short-tailed shearwater (*Puffinus tenuirostris*) and fairy penguins (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, pp. 22-23). Virtually the whole park has National Estate values as a natural landscape and, for most of the peninsula, is an undisturbed water catchment accorded as such by the *Tasmanian Public Land Use Commission, 1997 (Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 19).

Key conservation objectives of Freycinet National Park set out in the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970* are to conserve natural biodiversity; conserve geological diversity; preserve the quality of the water and protect catchments; and conserve sites or areas of cultural significance. An important conservation objective is to encourage and provide for tourism, recreational use and enjoyment consistent with the conservation of the national park's natural and cultural values, and to preserve the natural, primitive and remote character of wilderness areas (*Freycinet National Park and Wye River State Reserve Management Plan 2000*, p. 10).

Such is the documented ecology of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, but so much else makes the distinctive sense of place of this area. Casuarinas flourish everywhere, and include sheoaks, bulloaks, and necklace, scrub and drooping casuarinas. Distinctively dark-green to black with orange-tipped needles, they edge cliffs and paths, dropping a soft, scrolled carpet underfoot, and in all seasons they sigh in the warm

winds of the peninsula. The colours of the region are particularly distinctive, with the blue-green waters of the bays lapping sands ranging from the white quartz of Wineglass Bay to the yellow of Hazards Beach, the pink, almost flesh colours of Honeymoon and Sleepy Bays and the grey-white granite pebbles of Bluestone Bay. Surf crashes the length of the Friendly Beaches, a beach remaining entirely in its natural state (Adams 2007 Pers. Comm.), in that it has no introduced plant or animal species (including the ubiquitous sea-spurge (*Euphorbia paralias*) which has invaded the dune systems of Tasmania's north, west and south coasts), and is edged right back from the beaches with Aboriginal middens. The wildlife, birds, sunrise, sunset and moonrise create patterns of light on cloud and water, and against this wonderful backdrop are happy memories of summers spent here with my family, as so many other families have experienced.

3.6 Government regulatory frameworks

Government regulation and policy has the ability to shape the natural and built environments of sites of prime development potential, especially coastal regions like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. These can have both positive and negative effects, particularly in terms of the relationships between the community, visitors and tourists, and the natural environment.

In the Australian system of federalism there are three jurisdictions: State, local and Commonwealth. Local government is set up under State government legislation, and these are the main forms of governance. Commonwealth jurisdiction plays a small part in the governance of areas such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

The Tasmanian Resource Management and Planning System (RMPS) provides the principal planning framework for this area and is designed to integrate two planning systems, one for the protected area of the Freycinet National Park and the other for unreserved lands. It also links with State legislation and policies, including the *National Parks and Reserve Lands Management Act 2002* and the *National Parks and Reserve Lands Management Act 1999* which govern the management of Freycinet National Park, Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve and crown lands in the area; and the *Land Use Planning Approvals Act 1995* and the *Glamorgan Spring Bay Planning Scheme 1994*, which governs land use and development for land within the area (de Gryse 2004, p 17). With regard to Freycinet National Park, the *National Parks and Reserves Management Act 2002* specifies that the managing authority for the park should carry out its duties in

accordance with the management plan (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004 2003*). Management of the national park and Moulting Lagoon is the responsibility of the Director, Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania, with day to day management delegated to the North East district of the Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania (de Gryse 2004).

Policy towards protecting the natural environment is laid out in the document *Tasmania's Nature Conservation Strategy 2000-2006*, described as an 'action plan to protect Tasmania's natural diversity and maintain ecological processes and systems' (*Tasmania's Nature Conservation Strategy 2002-2006* 2002, p. i). Further, a major goal of the Nature Conservation Strategy is 'to conserve Tasmania's natural diversity and ecological processes, now and for the future' (*Tasmania's Nature Conservation Strategy 2002-2006* 2002, p. 4). The responsibilities of the Tasmanian Government for protecting the natural environment are specified in the principles and actions to guide the implementation of the Nature Conservation Strategy.

The Nature Conservation Strategy acknowledges the importance of natural heritage and identifies actions that are designed to achieve its recommendations in a five-year period. Similarly, an approach to providing visitor services in protected areas is contained in the policy document *Strategic Framework for Visitor Services in Tasmania's Parks and Reserves* (1999, p. 3) which expresses the aim: 'to protect and conserve the natural and cultural values of an area while providing recreation and education activities that will maintain these values'. For instance, the Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania manages sea-fisheries as well as inland fishing. Its policy documents detail management for the abalone, giant crab, rock lobster, scalefish, and scallop fisheries, and for the commercial dive fishery (DPIW 2008).

Protected areas are now established under the *Nature Conservation Act 2002* and managed under the *National Parks and Reserves Act 2002*. Crown land can be reserved under the *Nature Conservation Act 2002* either as national park, state reserve, nature reserve, game reserve, conservation area, nature recreation area, regional reserve or historic site. Private land can be reserved as a private sanctuary or private nature reserve (Worboys *et al.* 2005, p. 101). The categories at the study site include these types of reserve, specifically a national park, a game reserve, a conservation area, crown land and private land with the Tasmanian Land Conservancy. Under the Regional Forest

Agreement (1997) (*National Forest Policy 1992*), crown land was added to Freycinet National Park in 1998.

The Tasmanian Natural Resource Management Framework (Anonymous 2002; DPIW 2002) has been developed to 'provide the State with a systematic way of integrating natural resource management to ensure 'consistency, efficiency and improved natural resource outcomes'. The Tasmanian Resource Management and Planning System thus provides the overarching legislative framework for natural resource management, for planning and development control and for the implementation of these policies and strategies.

Areas of legislated responsibility of the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council impact on the natural environment and the community through its assessment of development applications and subsequent administration, as noted. Its areas of responsibility include the implementation of its planning scheme, and the assessment of residential subdivision applications, commercial development applications, and owner builder and building applications (*Glamorgan Spring Bay Council Policy Manual 2007*, p. 28).

In its strategic plan the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council (*Glamorgan Spring Bay Council 2002-2007 Strategic Plan 2002*, p. 19) states: '*Our vision is to be a welcoming community with quality lifestyles supporting dynamic progress consistent with the objectives of sustainable development and natural resource management*'. A generic definition of sustainable development provided in an appendix is:

managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and avoiding, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.

While these documented intentions are admirable, it is clear from the Strategic Plan that provision of its core services is the primary goal of the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. The core services which have a direct impact on the built and natural areas of Coles Bay

and the Freycinet Peninsula include: land use planning; environmental health; building and fire control; water, waste management, sewerage; roads and infrastructure.

Though the prime responsibility for natural resource management and thus environmental protection lies with the State of Tasmania, the Australian Commonwealth Government has some powers to legislate on environmental issues within the states and territories of Australia, for example under certain specific circumstances through the use of such powers as its constitutional responsibility for external affairs.⁹ The Australian government also provides funding in grants from its Natural Heritage Trust for environmental protection. In the Glamorgan Spring Bay local government area, grants are made to a State Government implementation body, Natural Resource Management South, and to local organisations such as Coastcare.

Other international conservation agreements include the RAMSAR Convention for the Protection of Internationally Significant Wetlands (described below), the Japan-Australia Migratory Birds Agreement (JAMBA) made with Japan in 1974, and the China-Australia Migratory Birds Agreement (CAMBA) made with the People's Republic of China in 1986. Most recently, in 2007, Australia and the Republic of Korea developed a similar Migratory Birds Agreement (ROKAMBA) (*Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve (Ramsar Site) Management Plan* 2003, p. 2).

In 1999, the Australian Government passed the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*. Under this Act projects, developments, undertakings, activities, or series of activities need federal approval if they will have such a significant impact on the natural environment that they merit classification as matters of National Environmental Significance (NES). One of the six NES triggers is the RAMSAR agreement, which protects wetlands where these areas are threatened with destruction or substantial modification; where the hydrological regime of the wetland is significantly changed; where the habitats of lifecycles of native species dependent on the wetland are seriously affected; or if there is a measurable change in physio-chemical status of the wetland via pollutants, nutrients, salinity, temperature or turbidity (*Ramsar Wetlands* 2006).

⁹ These powers allowed the Australian federal government, as a signatory to the *International Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* 1975, to stop the Tasmanian Government from proceeding with the Gordon below Franklin dam in 1982 (Worboys *et al.* 2005, p. 65).

The Commonwealth Department of the Environment and Heritage has developed a framework for water quality protection in marine and estuarine waters (*The Framework for Marine and Estuarine Water Quality Protection* 2006). Its report on fisheries and the environment under the Sustainable Fisheries Section of the Department (*Sustainable Fisheries* 2006) has been written in order that the Australian Government might take a stronger role in promoting the ecologically sustainable management of fisheries, where these fisheries are managed under Commonwealth legislation, and also state export fisheries in accordance with Guidelines for the Sustainable Management of Fisheries under the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (*The Framework for Marine and Estuarine Water Quality Protection* 2006; *Sustainable Fisheries* 2006).

In 2006, the Australian Government, through the Department of the Environment and Heritage, proposed the New Network of Candidate Marine Protected Areas for Australia's South-East Marine Region. Of particular moment is the inclusion of the Freycinet Marine Protected Area in this network. Comprising 57 603 square kilometres, it is the largest MPA in the network. The Freycinet MPA is situated (as are all MPAs) from three nautical miles (or 5.7km off-shore) out to the limit of Australia's exclusive economic zone. Three different zones are used in the network: Strict nature zone (IUCN 1a); Multiple use zone A (IUCN VI); and Multiple use Zone B (IUCN VI) (*New Network of Candidate Marine Protected Areas for Australia's South-east Marine Region* 2006).

Thus, a complex system of jurisdictions with separate legislative functions, comprising government agencies implement policy through a range of regulations regarding the built and natural environments. Of particular note is the range of regulations pertaining to the protected areas which support environmental biodiversity. The quality of policy and regulations and the way they are implemented directly affect the character of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Positive outcomes are welcomed, but negative outcomes are contested by interested individuals and groups, whether they result from the inconsistent application of regulations or from planning which is judged to be inappropriate and not in keeping with Coles Bay's small-town character. Through implementation of regulations, the natural environment and perceptions of the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are both shaped to meet the expectations of those

visiting the area, and judged by those with most contact with this place – residents and visitors.

3.7 Holiday-making

It is apparent from the history of its preservation that the environmental values of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula have long been recognised. For generations the Tasmanian community has related to the area as a retreat, recreation, and holiday place, as I have experienced and as people have told me. Its physical attributes were appreciated early by local scientists and nature lovers, and the Tasmanian Field Naturalists' Club held camp-outs in 1906, 1909 and 1910 at the Freycinet Peninsula. In 1910, the camp was attended by 90 members. Well-known Tasmanian artists of the time, such as Mabel Hookey, as well as scientists such as Professor T. T. Flynn (the actor Errol Flynn's father), and nature-enthusiasts attended the camps (Elliott 1906, 1909, 1910).

Between the 1920s and 1940s, accommodation for holiday-makers was built in the area by local Tasmanians and included huts at The Fisheries (the old whaling station) and in the Coles Bay township reserve. In 1934 Wally Donne bought 19 acres in Coles Bay, and in 1943 Glenroy Bester built huts – the 'Sunshine Cottages' – to develop the popularity of Coles Bay as a holiday resort. One of these huts remains at the caravan and camping site opposite Muir's Beach. It is so small that it could only have been used for sleeping, and indeed, the Besters built a dining room for use with the huts.

In the late 1930s fire destroyed the tourist huts at The Fisheries. The Chateau, a rough and ready but much-loved hotel-boarding house was built on the site, providing employment and accommodation for the influx of campers, walkers and students who reflected the growing popularity of the area. Indeed, the character of tourism at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, as well as its scale and valuing, was influenced by changes in conditions of work and growing affluence after the Second World War (White 2005). In Tasmania as elsewhere the heyday of the family holiday was from the 1950s to the 1990s, during Australia's long economic boom and beyond (Murphy 2002). The two-day weekend and the annual holiday gave people both the time and disposable income to spend on holidays: 'the holiday – the summer holidays or the long weekend – became a permanent symbol of the new "way of life" that was being constructed...for the next quarter century' (White 2005, p. 129). Holiday-making was facilitated by the

development of relatively cheap, oil-based transport (Murphy 1992, 2002; Worboys *et al.* 2005), which provided a major impetus to mass travel.

Many families booked the same camping spot at Richardson's Beach year after year. In camping at Richardson's Beach, with its extensive shell middens left by the local Oyster Bay bands of Aborigines, holiday-makers were following a millennia-old tradition that ended only when camping was restricted due to the intention of Parks and Wildlife Service to preserve the middens as Aboriginal heritage. Holiday-makers joined the local fishermen fishing with seine nets on the beaches in the evenings, went out on day trips down the peninsula on fishing boats, and watched fishermen making craypots on the shore. They also enjoyed water pursuits, fishing, walking, bush-walking, painting, and experiencing the flora and fauna.

Coles Bay and the Freycinet National Park were visited by local and national artists, poets, potters and writers, and were long favoured, too, as a residence for artists. An example of the cultural values of this place was the collaboration between the poet James McAuley and the artist Patricia Giles, resulting in the book *A World of its Own*, which was published in 1977 (Giles and McAuley 1977). As well as poems by McAuley and paintings by Giles, it has a foreword and a poem *In Memoriam J.P.M.* by the great Australian poet of Tasmanian birth, A.D. Hope, and was edited by the highly esteemed local water-colourist Max Angus.

Other holiday-makers stayed at caravan parks and hostels. Every summer, groups such as sea-scouts, religious groups, school friends and school camps holidayed there. Backpackers came to stay from all over the world. People appreciated the shabbiness and simplicity of 'the daggy family holiday' at Coles Bay, the disregard of social rules and the informality of living. It was a place where families and individuals could retreat, loosen up and leave behind such behavioural conventions such as wearing shoes, and having set meals and bed times. Families caught up with friends they only saw during the annual holiday. It was a time to drop out of the rigidities and social conventions of work and home, to downplay social difference, a time of makeshift relaxation, of egalitarianism, valued as a stepping out of routine and, clearly, of time and conventions. The size and activities of the resident and visitor populations were previously controlled by the lack of access to the area, a situation that did not change substantially until the final sealing of the Coles Bay Road in 1990. This improvement resulted in a marked

increase in visitor numbers and further local development including shops, a bakery and a post office, and the establishment of a tavern. Many people view the change in the character of Coles Bay as dating from the sealing of the Coles Bay road.

The provision of accommodation for visiting families continued, principally taking the form of bed and breakfast establishments, cottages and chalets. The Chateau was demolished and replaced by a more up-market establishment, Freycinet Lodge. With improved access by road and air, visitors now demanded lifestyle considerations in goods and service provision as much symbolic as economic (Bourdieu 1984). Craik (1997, p. 113) debates the nature of such 'cultural tourism' where cultural sites, events, attractions and/or experiences are themselves marketed as the primary tourist experiences. In Coles Bay this is clearly overlain by the natural environment, as the and the Wineglass Bay track to Wineglass Bay, and the climb to the top of Mount Amos are undertaken as much as cultural activities as recreational and aesthetic. Clearly, the argument can be put in cases where the natural environment is invested with symbolic and cultural values. Freycinet Peninsula has become known nationally and internationally for its natural environmental values. This has resulted in a substantial increase in tourism, which has become the main source of income in the area, even though the natural values remain important, and could be said to have become commodified and therefore embedded as part of the local economy.

While the ecology of the area has always been valued, the creation of Freycinet National Park provided an important impetus to guide development at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula in the direction of environmental protection and sustainability. These activities included community schemes such as the 'plastic bag free' movement and Green Globe 21. The plastic bag free movement was initiated in 2003 with the aim of eliminating the use of plastic bags in Coles Bay. Its success established Coles Bay as 'Australia's First Plastic Bag Free town', and up to 2007, shoppers had 'saved' 350 000 plastic bags. As a result, Coles Bay was awarded the Environmental Excellence Award by the Tasmanian Government. Ben Kearney, who initiated the project won the national Local Hero Award for 2005 and also Tasmanian of the Year in May 2005 for his efforts.

Green Globe 21, in alliance with the Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism in Australia, implements a global benchmarking, certification and improvement system. Its aim is to assist the travel and tourism industry to contribute to sustainability

in its operations. This certification system is based on indicators developed by the Earthcheck Organisation and enables enterprises to quantitatively assess and demonstrate their environmental, social and economic performance. In Coles Bay, a local committee of Green Globe 21 made up of community members and representatives from the local Glamorgan Spring Bay Council and Tourism Tasmania monitors the social, cultural and economic impacts of tourism development. The town was benchmarked with data collected on, for example, recycling, energy use, water use and water quality for the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council, the lead agency for Green Globe 21.

3.8 The business of tourism

As the natural environment is the basis of tourism at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, this form of tourism can be designated 'nature tourism'. Worboys *et al.* (2005, p. 426) define nature tourism as 'travel to unspoiled locations to experience and enjoy nature'. The profile of tourism in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula also accords with the definition of ecotourism in the Australian National Ecotourism Strategy (1994, p. 1): 'ecotourism is nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically sustainable'. Worboys *et al.* (2005) argue that a definition of eco or nature tourism should also include cultural elements. They maintain that the ecological sustainability on which ecotourism is based should involve a financial return to the local community as well as ensure the conservation of natural resources for the future.

Because of its isolation, access to Coles Bay formerly was limited, visitor numbers were kept down, the natural environment was preserved and the village did not commercialise to provide the sorts of attractions that became commonplace elsewhere in Australia. Tasmania itself was isolated from the main tourist routes, and therefore from intensive tourism development. It remained relatively 'unspoiled', a situation which continues, despite the massive development of global tourism over the same period, the increase in the tourism sector of the Tasmanian economy and the growth of tourist numbers visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. For instance, in 2004 to 2005, tourism contributed \$32.6 billion in Gross Domestic Product to the Australian economy: three quarters of which was attributed to domestic tourism (2005). However, Tasmanians retain memories of family holidays spent at Coles Bay as simple, shared experiences that

were relatively recent, and direct. They were less likely to be assaulted by the commercialisation accompanying tourism growth or to be diluted with *faux* nostalgia.

Though some change is observable in the environment of Freycinet Peninsula, for those unfamiliar with this place, such as tourists, change is not obvious. This apparent immutability now contributes to Freycinet Peninsula's very desirability as a place to 'get away from it all' – and further threatens its environmental integrity. On the Wineglass Bay track, there is not only an overload of the physical carrying capacity of the walk with 500 walkers per day at the height of summer in 2003 (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004* 2003), but as Urry puts it (1995), there is also an overload of the perceptual capacity of the view. It is impossible to contemplate the mystery and grandeur of a view if you are fighting for a spot with noisy fellow tourists. In other words, the experience becomes degraded, just as the experience of better known 'iconic' tourist sites such as the Taj Mahal, Maccu Pichu and the Grand Canyon, to many seem to have become degraded or trivialised through over-exposure to tourism numbers and accompanying commercialism.

But tourism goods and services provision at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula has a long way to go before it matches, for instance, the tourism services on Dunk Island, the Queensland island once eulogised by E J Banfield in *The Confessions of a Beachcomber* (1902). For the modern family on holiday at Dunk Island, there are 'sailing, tennis, squash, volleyball, snorkelling, cricket, badminton, basketball, paddle-skis, golf, horse-riding, water-skiing, skeet shooting, archery, live music and a 'Kid's Korner'' (White 2005, p. 172). Few of these activities is specific to place. Each can be enjoyed anywhere, but they would appear to gain heightened value as recreational activities undertaken in the 'natural' context of a purchased holiday with a tropical island resort as background.

In distinguishing two types of 'touristed' landscape, Cartier (2005, p. 3) generalises two types of tourism development (MacCannell 1976; Urry 1995, 2002), mass and exclusive. There are many places which attract tourists, and many reasons why people become tourists, but those that promote the tourist behaviours of experiencing, travelling and exploring, including in natural environments such as beaches, mountains, rivers and oceans tend to be exclusive. In contrast are those places where tourism economies have been explicitly created, such as "tourist towns", theme parks and holiday destinations' (Cartier and Lew 2005, p. 3). These are not, as Cartier appears to assume, always

discrete. The process of a site – whether historical, environmental, cultural and/or heritage becoming a popular ‘destination’ or even ‘icon’ can occur through tourism marketing and the promotion of local development. Often a consequence is a proliferation in mass numbers catered by services which swamp the special characteristics of place, particularly if these characteristics and attributes are not given adequate governmental safeguards.

In Australia the domestic tourism market performed poorly between 1999-2005, with over-night trips and expenditure both in decline. That Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula stood out from this trend can be attributed to the effective targeting of its markets. Focusing on high-earning and highly educated groups may have contributed to maintaining tourism growth at Coles Bay. In the Tasmanian Government’s *Survey of Tourism* Report (2006), analysis of the data reveals that room occupancy rates and average takings for Tasmania in the 2006 March quarter compared to the 2005 March quarter showed greater increases than for Australia as a whole (see Appendix 1). Demonstrated is the vigour of the current tourism market which nevertheless is vulnerable to the same downward influences as the national tourism market – increasing oil prices, economic downturns, and new trends or fashions in holidaying such as overseas travel.

The flow-on of economic growth into the community is demonstrated within Coles Bay in applications for building approvals to the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. Though commercial applications remained constant over the time period of the study, applications for new homes and for homes converting space to tourist accommodation under relaxed regulations from 2005 onwards showed the greatest increase in numbers. Thus, the largest economic growth area was in building new houses and renovating private housing, and providing tourist accommodation, with the largest increase in applications registered in 2005 and 2006. The increase in tourism growth over this period in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is demonstrated in percentage increases in data collected by Tourism Tasmania (2007). In 2001-2002 there were 37 646 visitors from outside Tasmania, with 17 549 visiting in the period January to March. In 2002-2003 there were 54 642 visitors from outside Tasmania, with 24 685 visiting in the period January to March. In 2003-2004 there were 57 303 visitors from outside Tasmania, with 18 054 visiting in the period January to March, showing an increase

across the year. In 2004-2005 there were 47 483 visitors with 24 246 in January to March, a pattern of growth conforming to previous visitor patterns.

In the tourism experience, the extraordinary is placed in opposition to the ordinary and everyday (Urry 2002), a conclusion similarly drawn by Rojek (1997, p. 52), who states that a tourist sight (not site), is 'a spatial location which is distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness'. In the case of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, if the essential elements of place are viewed in terms of this opposition, the area is valued for its environmental 'extraordinariness'. In tourism terms, 'each place will be viewed from various perspectives. There will be differences between what visitors and locals "see" in a place and between the viewpoints of old and new residents' (Urry 2002, p. 115). Inevitably, there will be differences between the ways that places are seen depending on the length of contact with those places. Those spending less than a day, or even a few days in a place will have a very different experience from those spending weeks, months, years or generations there.

Tourists also associate themselves with a product through buying advertised images to which they then have access (Brooks 1990). Rojek (1997, p. 54) identifies an effect that he calls 'dragging', in which elements of representation in the form of images, symbols and associations are transferred from one source, such as advertising and newspaper travel pictures and articles, to another such as the actual environment. The images of key sites such as Wineglass Bay or Freycinet Peninsula, as they are used in tourism marketing and advertising influence the way tourists 'see' or read this place, and may determine the decisions they make about their activities. The international marketing of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula using images of Wineglass Bay (see front cover) has a direct result in the numbers of tourists crowding the Wineglass Bay track. Mass marketing using signs and images (Lash and Urry 1994, p. 301) is a characteristic of globalisation as it is experienced at this place, even though physically Coles Bay is so remote from the larger world. The global business of tourism has had an effect through state government programs of marketing and promotion. However, through actions to preserve this landscape in the creation of Freycinet National Park, and actions to protect and support the environment by controlling tourism development, it is less likely that a holiday at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula will lose its ecological distinctiveness and become, as White (2005, p. 166) describes globalised tourism, just another 'new shopping opportunity and the same shops and brands... in the Maldives as in Melbourne,

in Suva as in Sydney'. However, the very creation of protected areas such as Freycinet National Park in turn attracts tourists.

At a time when tourism has greatly increased, particularly nature-based tourism to Tasmania (*Tasmania's Nature-Based Tourism Program* 2001), the provision of the commodified holiday in the form of holiday packages has become popular. These packages provide an experience of comfort, luxury and self-indulgence in upmarket bed and breakfast establishments. Holiday 'eco' lodges already cater for these forms of experience and another is under construction at Coles Bay by Federal East Coast Holdings, offering six-star accommodation at \$1 000 to \$3000 a night. Contact with the protected areas is often mediated by tourism companies that provide walks, sea-kayaking, diving, rock-climbing, boat trips, and gourmet food and wine as part of their packages. Provided is a relatively safe, controlled environment in which tourists can selectively buy the degree and extent of their interactions, indeed risk, with the natural environment. If it is true that 'whenever people step outside the protective enclosure of their known world, they risk encounter with some large, threatening force that yet holds an inexplicable attraction' (Tuan 1993, p. 114), then these sought-after experiences are required to be carefully controlled through, for instance, the described forms of mediated experience.

The considerable growth of nature or ecotourism has resulted in a reassessment of the use and value of protected areas such as national parks in Tasmania. Tourist accommodation is being developed, with significant implications for the character of the parks experience. This has occurred in Tasmania at Cradle Mountain in the Cradle Mountain-Lake St. Clair National Park and is planned for Cockle Creek, at the start of the South Coast Track into the South-West National Park and World Heritage Area, and at Lake St Clair, at the southern entry to the Cradle Mountain-Lake St. Clair National Park. Providing upmarket experiences for national and international purchasers, a temporary standing camp on Bryan's Beach within Freycinet National Park was in operation for the 2006-2007 summer tourist season.¹⁰ These developments are contested by those who desire to keep protected areas untouched, a battle similarly taking place in other protected areas of the world (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). For instance, Hudson and

¹⁰ The standing camp has been withdrawn from Freycinet National Park for environmental reasons.

Miller (2005, p. 248) describe the struggle that has taken place between conservationists and the tourism industry over access to the Banff National Park in Canada.

At present, there are no general criteria for identifying legitimate ecotourism or nature tourism operations in Tasmania. A licence is required for businesses to operate both in and adjacent to the protected area of the Freycinet National Park (Adams 2007 Pers. Comm.). The control of activities to minimise social and environmental impact in this protected area is facilitated by a system of management zones. These comprise a visitor services zone, a recreation zone and a conservation zone, and include management of the area between Coles Bay and the start of the walking tracks in the park (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004*, p. 12). The protected area of Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve is not included in this system of zones, although it falls under Parks and Wildlife Service's management. Through the use of management zones, Parks and Wildlife Service seeks to achieve the following objectives: take account of localised features, conditions and values; ensure that substantial areas of the park are undisturbed; protect and enhance national park values by concentrating and directing tourism and recreation development to designated locations; and provide a range of recreational and tourism opportunities consistent with the values of the national park (*Freycinet National Park Management Plan 2004*, p. 11). Thus, government regulation seeks, through these protective measures, to balance the growth of the tourism industry in natural sites such as at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Many small, coastal towns or villages of this type have attracted influxes of 'sea-changers' (Burnley and Murphy 2004; Gurran, N and Blakely 2007). These are people who have moved from metropolitan areas such as cities to coastal areas to live. In Australia, this is a cyclical process with increases and decreases apparent over several decades (Gurran, N *et al.* 2005). Although people have moved to Coles Bay from metropolitan areas, this has not been a significant movement. Coles Bay is distinctly a holiday destination and there are very limited services available to families – there is no school, doctor, or dentist, for instance. The elderly, who form a major component of the sea-change movement, are as likely to move out of Coles Bay to the nearby towns of Swansea and Bicheno where medical services are located. It is unlikely that Coles Bay would reach a size which would support the establishment of medical and other services.

3.9 Chapter summary

The lands and waters of Coles Bay and the Freycinet have witnessed very different forms of community over a very long period of time. The Tasmanian Aboriginal hunter-gatherers used the resources of the whole area of Freycinet Peninsula, Moulting Lagoon and Friendly Beaches in seasonal cycles. Food resources were extensive, evidenced in the huge middens backing the beaches of the area. In addition, the use of fire as a tool left evidence of impact on this landscape. Thus the Oyster Bay tribe maintained the biodiversity of Freycinet Peninsula, but also contributed to changes in the landscape. With travel and transportation by sail and horse, settlers' exploitation of the marine resources and terrestrial fauna resulted in major impacts upon these species and thus on the biodiversity of the area. Resource extraction as small-scale tin, coal and granite mining and quarrying, and farming followed with corresponding impacts on the natural environment. With the creation of Freycinet National Park and other protected areas, and with the cessation of mining, the environmental values of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula were asserted. As a local holiday spot, a non-monetary, aesthetic valuing of its sense of place prevailed, in tandem with an egalitarian ethos amongst families and friends. The small numbers of people living and holidaying at Coles Bay mitigated environment degradation, though resource exploitation continued in the forms of farming and fishing. With the growth of tourism following the final sealing of the Coles Bay road in 1990, environmental effects were evident to locals in fauna road-kill, most prevalently wallabies, possums and quolls. Phytophthora, spread in the national park by bush-walkers, is now an endemic problem. Other problems associated with waste management, particularly sewerage, water contamination in the bays, and vehicle emissions have also worsened. Further effects became evident in the spread of the Coles Bay and Swanwick built areas. Investment in new, large scale-housing and subdivisions was perceived to be for financial gain as the area became known as a tourist destination. These houses replaced the cheap holiday shacks used by locals and other Tasmanians wishing to spend their holidays in this natural environment.

Evidence of different ways of relating to this environment are apparent in the profiles of these three communities – Tasmanian Aborigines, settlers and holiday-makers, and tourists. Once, environmental management was an outcome of Aboriginals' profound knowledge and understandings of this area. Guided by seasons, weather, tides and currents, and breeding and migration patterns, they harvested these resources on-site.

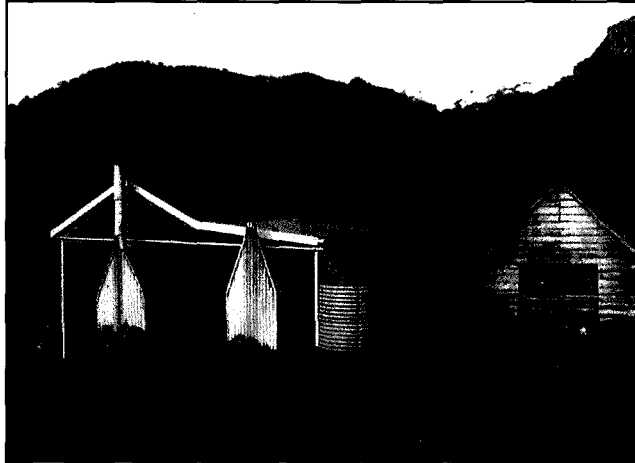
This type of environmental management lapsed with white settlement which saw the exploitation of the land and its resources through regulatory processes of grants and leases. Management of the area through subdivision and purchase followed, as well as the establishment and management of protected areas through conventions, laws and regulations.

These types of regulation exist – often under challenge – side by side with the values, knowledge and understandings of people who relate to this place because of their love for it. These people are artists, writers, scientists, environmentalists, surfers, workers, holiday-makers and bushwalkers who over the years have fought to protect Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula from environmental degradation and the loss of its special character through campaigns against, for instance, the development of a marina in Coles Bay itself.

In this summary, the histories of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, while chronological, are shown to be fluid, coexistent and transformative over time. It is a place able to continue remaking itself, while retaining its essential values. Tuan describes the compelling character of places like Freycinet Peninsula that draws people to it: ‘beyond the orderly farm – the humanised landscape – lie dark forest, wild mountains, and stormy seas’ (Tuan 1993, p. 114).

Chapter 4

Methods



Morey's Huts, Schouten Island Source Peter Lingard

Bags of Cats

Cookie told me this story about his uncle and the bags of cats. His uncle was farming on Schouten Island back in the thirties and he had a problem with rabbits. So, he took his fishing boat over to Swansea and offered five shillings for a bag of cats. He got heaps, like fifteen bags stuffed with writhin, yowlin cats, Cookie said. He took them back over to Schouten, let them go - no more trouble from those rabbits!

4.1 Rationale

In advocating an ‘analytic generalisation’ in which ‘a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study’, Yin (1994, p. 31) clarifies the relationship between theory and practice in research design, particularly for case studies of this type. Therefore, in designing the methods for this research study, I sought to achieve a careful examination of the relations to place of the people who make up the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – residents, visitors and tourists. In recognising that very different relationships to the natural environment might be expressed, I aimed to identify their essential character – were relationships to place principally cultural and symbolic, economic and commercial, a mix of these, or otherwise? What part was played by the principal forms of capital – cultural, economic and natural – in this built and natural environment?

These are dense and complex issues suggesting the ‘simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social, the historical and the spatial’ (Soja 1996, p. 3). My intention was not to study the sociology or history of the groups in order to explain social phenomena, but to explore the spatially-mediated socio-economic and cultural relations to this natural environment. Not that history and sociology were missing, or indeed could be missing. Like a palimpsest they show through: in archaeological sites, in names of places, in memories and activities of time and place. In formulating my research design, I embraced Massey’s call for ‘relationality’ where disciplines are defined not by subject matter but by the ‘particularity of their position within a complex net of interrelationships’ (Massey 1999, p. 6) as they might be apprehended at this study site.

Lofland (1976 p. 28) exhorts the researcher to ‘gain *intimate familiarity* with the environment under study by focusing on and delineating the prime or basic *situation*’ which communities face. I sought to elucidate the relationships of the peoples of this place to the environment at a time of economic and social change by getting as close as possible to their experience of place, as a basic situation. As the manifestations of change represented key situations for each individual and group, I decided to employ an interpretive approach to examine the range of meanings that people bring to change and change management in natural settings (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). The

research approach was guided by Bourdieu's (1985) emphasis on the complex relational groupings of agents in the field and the value of the in-depth interview as a mechanism to better mine the knowledge of 'individuals, groups, substantial realities' (Hamel 1997, p. 98).

Thus, the study's qualitative approach seemed to best address the living reality of place, which, although defined by natural, geographic boundaries was a place where 'the outside will always, in one way or another, erupt within' (Massey 1999, p. 6) in the eccentricities and styles of life of the people living and visiting there. A creative vision of place would interrelate with rather than oppose the empiricism of the study, just as the factual, the creative and the imaginative interrelate in any community. I decided not to exclude my perceptions and apprehension of Tasmania as my heartland, my place of dwelling. This had driven my desire to conduct the research study, which I hoped would also capture 'the implicit, unquestioned and taken-for-granted' (Seamon 1984, p. 169) in people's perceptions of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Therefore, the study's methodology, grounded in both a breadth of theoretical reading and intensive contact with the field as prescribed by Bourdieu (2000), demanded contact with the communities – residents, visitors and tourists – and environment of the study area over time.

As I responded to the incidental, creative and spectacular in the community and environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula my examination of the relations between community and place at the research site seemed to require some intellectual distance. Guidance came from Bourdieu (2000, p. 120) who, observing that 'reflexivity is incumbent upon all those engaged in the scientific field', defined his concept of 'epistemic reflexivity' as 'the inclusion, at the heart of a theory of society and knowledge, of a theory of intellectual practice and its inherent limitations' (Wacquant 1993, p. 236). I sought to achieve an accord between the rigour and indeed science implicit in my epistemology and the social worlds of 'everyday existence' (Bourdieu 2000, p. 50) of the people of the research site, while keeping in mind Bourdieu's (2000) distrust of the limitations of intellectual practice which is not itself grounded in social research. This observation confirmed my intention to conduct qualitative research in close contact with people and place. Given the structure of data collection by a series of individual interviews across time, analysis of the qualitative texts of the study were informed by De Certeau's (1984, p. xviii)

perception that ‘individual trajectories form unforeseeable sentences, partly unreadable paths across a space’.

Therefore, my aim in designing the study was to find not simply the obvious or the homogeneous, not only to, importantly, identify patterns and trends across time in the responses of my study groups, but to also account for the unique and the idiosyncratic in this place as they might manifest over a set period of time. Much of this material is presented on the front pages of each chapter.

4.2 The case study approach in this field

Miles and Huberman’s (1994) estimation of the strengths of conducting research in a site such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula supported the region’s selection as a case study as ‘a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context’ (1994, pp. 25-26). ‘Bounded’ may refer spatially to a physical location, temporally to a time period, or to the interview populations and thus the samples taken from them. Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula’s physical boundaries are the area from the turn-off from the Tasman Highway to the ocean and bays of the Freycinet Peninsula, including the Friendly Beaches (Figure 1). Together, they comprise a site suited to ‘empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context’ (Yin 1994, p. 13), where a phenomenological process comprising ‘the flow of events over time,’ could be measured (Miles and Huberman 1994). Within its social and physical boundaries, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula conform to Miles and Huberman’s (1994) prescription for a case, being the focus or heart of the study, and hence its unit of analysis.

Denscombe’s (1998, p. 32) description of the case study site as ‘a self-contained entity with distinct physical, social and historical boundaries’ where the case study focuses on ‘a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes’ further supports its selection as the site of a case study. Thus, the case study approach would comprise a structured process facilitating the research design, which would also provide rich insights into identity and place. Contact with the local, visiting and extended communities potentially would provide an integrated overview of their relations within the social and geographical boundaries of this place. In terms of practice, the case study approach is judged as favouring the conduct of an in-depth study of complex issues

within a particular context; and, which is able to act as an exemplar for communities of this type (Flyvbjerg 2006).

Qualitative measurement, judged to be most apposite for data collection in the case study approach (Cresswell 1998; Denzin and Lincoln 1994; Stake 2000; Yin 1994) promised to best reveal the perceptions of the members of these communities “‘from the inside”, through the process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding and the suspending or “bracketing” of preconceptions about the topics under discussion’ (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 10). Qualitative measurement would uncover the meanings that people place on events, processes and structures and, potentially, uncover their perceptions, assumptions and judgements in this environment (Miles and Huberman 1994). In this way, ‘thick descriptions’ (Denscombe 1998 p. 221) grounded in multiple realities of place unconfined by boundaries would be generated, providing richness and detail to the data. This approach also would allow a degree of ambiguity and contradiction to occur, a reflection of uncertainty and change in both social and ecological situations.

At Coles Bay, there is only one, 27 kilometre long road into the study site. Limited access in the past has resulted in a local community which is physically cut off from the larger, social world, but that engages with the natural world every day. As well are those living in the larger world, engaging with Coles Bay for holidays lasting any length, but usually less than a month. An additional overlay of experience is that of tourists to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, who have limited contact and physical experience of the area. The world of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula which I sought to understand and research was that of these three categories. Given the multi-dimensionality of time and space, the case study also was comprised of the layering of experiences of these groups of people, each with their own individual and group relationships to this place. To what extent could Relph’s description of place as ‘fusions of the human and natural order ...the significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world’ (Relph 1976 p. 141) be true for each of these distinct communities that are associated with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

For this study, measurement of the parameters – cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital – was designed to focus on the period of post-nineties tourism, in the form of three data collection activities in a triangulated design. The forms of

triangulation consisted of the use of three populations as the evidential sources; three major parameters (cultural, economic and natural capital); three interviews, one for each year over a three year period; and thus the collection of three sets or 'pools' of data per group (Saldana 2003). By undertaking data collection in each of the three years– 2004, 2005 and 2006 – I sought to capture the colour and movement of change in this chronological progression, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Yin states: 'the appropriately developed theory is also the level at which the generalization of the case study results will occur' (1994, p. 30). In light of this truth, the theory as described, and the methods developed for the case study were those judged to best address the particular social, economic and environmental characteristics of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a case study. Using people's words and anecdotes I sought to 'let in' the world of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, its texture, sounds, senses and sights to a rigorous, qualitative research design based on a set scheme of measurement activities and implementation processes over the three years of data collection of the study.

4.3 Populations and sample design

The research samples are drawn from the communities of the area, and the category of tourists to the area. A description of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula would emphasise the close relationship between the township as it sits on the neck immediately prior to The Hazards which dominate the view. It is a loose grid of streets meandering into the bush with houses, bush blocks and shacks, many offering bed and breakfast and chalet accommodation. The foci relate to the water: the boat ramp and the free jetty which bookend the commercial strip on Coles Bay, and act as beacons of activity for fishers and yachties. Following the Esplanade around the shore brings you to another focus of activity, populated by the young who cluster around the Bakery and the Tavern at Muir's Beach, which look west across Great Oyster Bay to the east coast. This is where the kayakers and divers meet before leaving for their trips down Great Oyster Bay, local youngsters decide spontaneously to go fishing or swimming and bush walkers stock up with and snacks. There is a happy buzz about this area as people, dogs, kids come and go, chatting, drinking and laughing. It is this atmosphere which I hoped to capture in the course of my research through interviews with these people:

1. Group 1 Residents: ongoing contact through current residence in the area. The population of the Coles Bay Statistical Collection District is estimated at 204 individuals (*Census of Population and Statistics* 2003). Added to this number are the estimated 150 individuals resident at Swanwick and along the Coles Bay Road in the Llandaff Statistical Collection District. Unfortunately, these cannot be extrapolated from the population estimate for the Llandaff Statistical Collection District.
2. Group 2 Visitors: repeat visits to the site. In the 2001 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census, (*Census of Population and Statistics* 2003), 224 residences in Coles Bay were unoccupied at the time of the Census; this does not include residences in Swanwick and along the Coles Bay Road. These residences were either let out for income or were occupied for short periods during the year. This trend is an indicator of the number of people who do not live permanently at Coles Bay, and who may not visit, but let out their residences for the holiday period.
3. Group 3 Tourists: single visits overnight, a few days, or weeks by tourists. In 2004, 169 000 tourists visited Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula (*Tasmanian Visitors Survey* 2004). People from other Australian states or overseas only were classed as “tourists”; visiting Tasmanians were not counted by this survey.

The study thus draws its qualitative samples from populations defined by strict criteria. The study is undertaken over time, with Group 1 Residents and Group 2 Visitors interviewed over a three-year period, that is, three times, once each year. A new sample of Group 3 Tourists to the research site is interviewed each year for three years and this data is aggregated to provide a basis of comparison with the resident and visitor datasets. All groups are now referred to as residents, visitors and tourists.

Two demographic variables were utilised to provide representativeness to the study groups. The first was age, which comprised age ranges by decades which addressed youth, middle age and old age: 18-20; 21-30; 31-40; 41-50; 51-60; 61-70; 71-80; 81+. The age ranges were aggregated into three age ranges for analysis: 18-41; 41-60 and 61-80. The second was the variable of gender.

For residents and visitors, sampling is undertaken through the snowball method using the criterion of connection to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. For residents, individuals are selected because they are known in the community. They then recommended others to be interviewed for the following reasons: length and history of contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula; and/or nature of contact or role – environmental activist, surfer, artist, worker, farmer-fisher, elderly resident, business manager.

Visitors are interviewed in the environs of Hobart and Launceston, Longford and Coles Bay. Their selection accords to the stratifying variables, and for ongoing contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. They were recommended for interview because they are known for their contact with this place. Six visitors own property where they stay for holidays. The holidays range from occasional visits – particularly by older residents and those whose children had grown up – to regular visits for weekends or for long weekends, to annual holidays of 2-3 weeks, usually at Christmas, Easter or school holidays.

Each sample of tourists is selected by an *ad hoc* personal approach at a range of locations to gain a degree of representativeness, according to the stratifying variables of age and sex. Those driving in and not staying for a minimum of one night were not selected for interview. Most tourists in the samples spent 2 to 3 nights in the area, followed by those spending 1 to 2 nights in the area.

Other demographic data collected included employment status and type, income, education, and nominated home location. Employment or occupation status and type are offered by the participants and do not accord to a particular code, such as the ASCO code (Australian Standard Classification of Occupations). Likewise, income is nominated by participants from a choice of income ranges: under \$15 000; \$15 000-\$20 999; \$21 000-\$30 999; \$31 000-\$40 999; \$41 000-\$50 999; \$51 000-\$60 999; \$61 000-\$80 000. 'Retired', 'student' and 'pension' may be offered as answers to this question as a way of describing a low-income government benefit. This category is allocated to \$15 000 or to the \$15 000-\$20 999 range, as the respondents so nominated. In the analysis, these categories were aggregated to provide a more concise picture of the income range of each of the groups.

Education is described as the highest level of education institution attended, including postgraduate level, with a school grade nominated where appropriate. This approach was utilised to avoid confusion, given the lack of parity across state education systems and between Australian and international education systems.

Home location is specified as the home-base of the respondents, which would be Coles Bay for those living there, another town or region in Tasmania or Australia, or overseas. Thus, careful and transparent sample selection helped to achieve confidence in the validity of the data (Eisenhardt 2002, p. 21). The samples likewise were chosen for theoretical, not statistical reasons. The two forms of sampling – snowball and random combined with stratified variables – supported measurement validity and rigour.

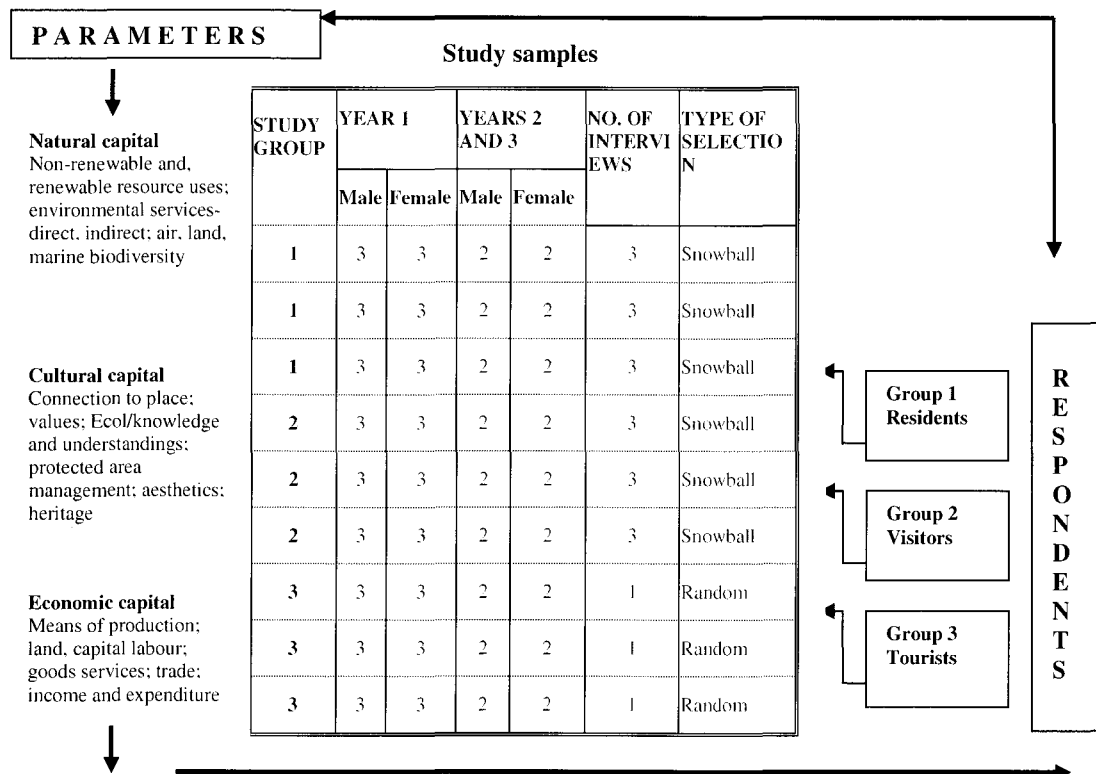


Figure 5:

Parameters, sample design and respondent linkages

Figure 5 illustrates the sampling procedure from the three groups, Group1 Residents, Group 2 Visitors and Group 3 Tourists, controlled by the key stratifying variables of age and gender. Respondents were selected to match the sample design until all the categories were filled. The stratification of the sample selection, presented in Figure 5, achieved access to a range of individual experiences in the groups that form subsets

of the study populations; access to a range of individual experiences that might be influenced by age or gender; and contributes to the rigour of the study, because, as Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 2) exhort, ‘we need methods that are credible, dependable, and replicable in *qualitative* terms’ [their italics]. The sample groups thus comprise three different perspectives and provided evidence for the exploration of the major parameters of the study: cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital at this study site.

At the conclusion of data collection for Year 1, the decision was made to reduce the number of respondents in each group by one-third; this gave each group a membership of twelve. The original size of the groups was found not to be necessary for this qualitative research study, and the reduction in group size allowed for respondent attrition in Groups 1 and 2. For instance, one respondent moved from one group to another, one dropped out altogether, one left Tasmania and one refused further interviews. The size reduction also allowed a focus on those respondents demonstrating more extended contact with place. For instance, a number of members of Group 2 did not visit the research site in the intervening period between the first and second years of data collection. Using the stratified variables, one respondent per age group and gender was removed. No further changes were made to the size and composition of the groups.

4.4 Key informant interviews

Individuals connected with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, past and present who were not part of the study groups but represented groups and organisations identified in Table 3 were selected for interview. They were judged to be useful informants or important players in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Each interview was constructed to suit the individual.

They and their experiences spanned the different relationships to this place and also spanned the history of white contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. First names only are used to preserve anonymity:

- Local farmers at Cranbrook nearby on the east coast who made a donation of land to Freycinet National Park, who live outside of Coles Bay but are connected to it by proximity to Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve and Great Oyster Bay;

- A hotel manager, who, with her husband, managed the popular hotel-boarding house, The Chateau, that featured in many people's memories;
- A local business-man of Coles Bay who started the plastic bag free movement in the town, who, at the time of interview lived along the Coles Bay Road;
- A bushwalker who lives in Hobart;
- A property developer in the area who has family connections to Coles Bay but lives in Launceston;
- A National Parks and Wildlife Service officer who lives on the east coast;
- A planning officer with the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council who lives on the east coast;
- Manager of an eco-wilderness lodge at the Friendly Beaches and lives there.

The transcripts of the interviews are in the Results section of the dissertation. Material from the interviews has been incorporated into the Results chapters as appropriate. Stories from the interviews have been used to introduce some chapters.

4.5 Measurement instruments: questionnaire design

The questionnaires were designed to collect data from a range of individuals from the three study groups to gather evidence of their relationships to the socio-cultural, economic, and natural environments of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Questions were designed to explore the beliefs, values, networks and relationships to place of the members of the groups under study (see Appendix 4).

The questionnaires were open-ended in order to allow respondents to make an individual contribution while addressing the major parameters – cultural, economic and natural capital – encapsulated in the questions. The interviews proceeded through the specified questions, incorporating additional questions and prompts where appropriate. They were conducted in an informal, conversational style at a location of the respondent's choice.

The interviews for Groups 1 and 2 were taped, transcribed, and presented to the respondents for viewing, and any required changes or additions were then made. Given the short time tourists spent at the research site (average 3 days), it was not feasible to provide a transcript to each tourist to check and return. Tourists were informed about this limitation when their consent was gained. They had the opportunity at this point to refuse to take part in the study. None did so.

For residents and visitors, the interviews in Years 2 and 3 repeated the Year 1 interview, excluding the demographic questions. For these two groups the questions were reworded to elicit perceptions of change (see Appendix 4). The same process of transcription, return for editing and amendments if required applied to these interview transcripts. In Years 2 and 3, tourists received their previous responses to remind them of their earlier responses. Then they completed a questionnaire identical to that administered in Year 1. A new database in SPSS for Windows was constructed for the data, which was entered and analysed using cross-tabulations and correlations, as for Year 1 data, in 2004. Explored were changes in circumstances, social and economic activities, recreation, and feelings and perceptions of the state of the environment, in terms of the major parameters of the study. Again, questioned were feelings of attachment to place, sense of loss, and perceptions of the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in terms of perceived changes that had occurred.

The questionnaire and code book in Year 3 matched that of Year 2, and sought to measure change across all three parameters in the resident and visitor groups (see Appendix 4). Additional questions in the Year 3 questionnaire schedule sought to examine the relationship to place of residents and visitors by asking where individuals spent most time at the study site, and what determined their contact with these places: time of day, seasonal – time of year, weather conditions, work routines, relations with friends, family demands, relations with work mates, personal need to get away, and 'other.' Respondents were also asked if they had initiated or achieved a new conservation goal or a new planning goal. These questions were coded and new categories were added to the same database in SPSS for Windows as was constructed for Year 2. The data were analysed using cross-tabulations. In Year 3, a new group of 12 tourists was randomly selected to match the age and gender variables for the third set of data.

The same questionnaire for Years 1 and 2 was administered. In the first year of the study, where N=18 per group, a total of 54 interviews were conducted, as noted. The size of the groups was reduced to 12 per group for the following years. In all, 78 respondents took part in the research over the three-year period. The number of interviews conducted totalled 126. As noted, the tourist data were analysed year by year as for residents and tourists, and also aggregated to provide a comparative dataset where required for analysis (demographic data analysis).

4.6 Structure of the analysis

In a study in which change is measured through time, Saldana (2003, p. 7) recommends the use of at least two reference points. These points can be labelled then and now, start and finish, or perhaps each point can be given a date. Rather than limiting the study to discrete start and end points, a '*from-through*' concept which locates and connects time as a flow of events (2003, pp. 7-8).

My three reference points are the three years of data measurement and focus on the last of three historical epochs encompassing habitation at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The epochs are the times of the traditional habitation of the Oyster Bay people, white settlement and Coles Bay's identity as a favoured holiday spot, and lastly post-1990s tourism development. The three parameters of cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital also relate to the post 1990s epoch. The intention of the research design is that the research activities at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula should be seen phenomenologically, within a space-time flow in the context of place. Particularly in this analysis, I continue to respect and record the ongoing life of the field of the study.

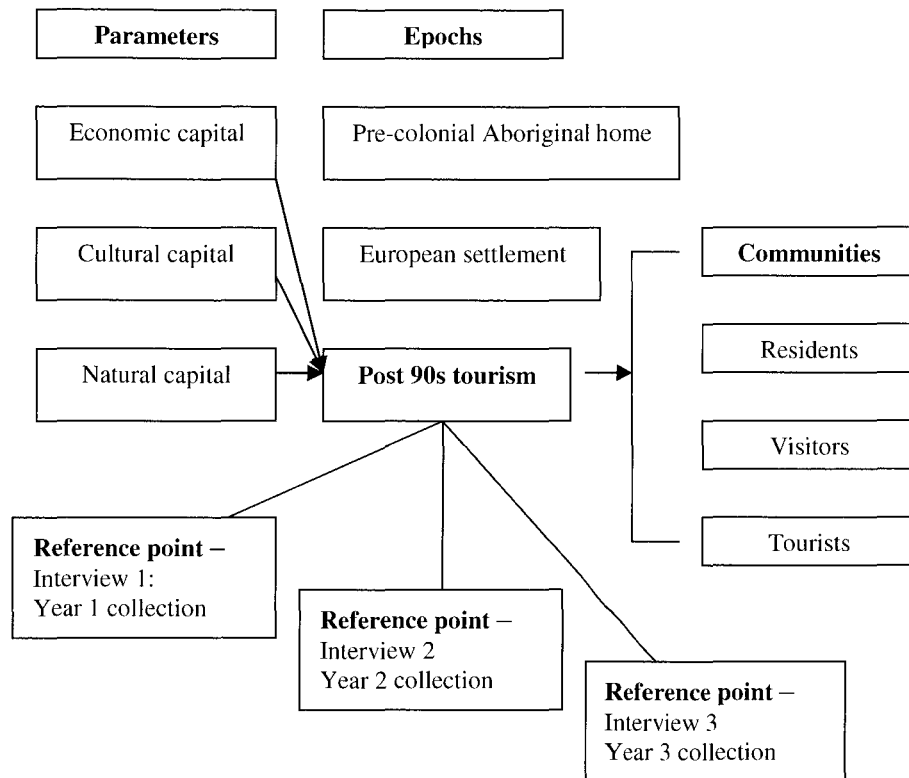


Figure 6: Communities, parameters, epochs and reference points

Summarised in Table 2 below are the major elements and themes of each of the parameters of the questionnaire. Results are expressed in phrases, in order to conform to the qualitative nature of this study.

Parameters	Themes	Elements
Cultural capital	Theme 1: Early experiences	Childhood, family connection with Coles Bay or a place like Coles Bay
	Theme 2: environmental contact and experiences	Recreation, activities, rituals, environmental knowledge and understandings, work experiences in environmental context
	Theme 3: sense of place	Spiritual and emotional relations to place, perceptions of place, values; sources of values
	Theme 4: community connections	Formal/informal group membership, networks, group voluntary and other activities
	Theme 5: activism and consultation	Protest, participation, community consultation, policy and regulation, relations to decision-making bodies, support for decisions made
Economic capital	Theme 1: income and expenditure	Income source and range, local forms of expenditure, employment status and type; property ownership
	Theme 2: tourism and the environment	Ecotourism, built development, environmental impact from tourism, ecological economics
	Theme 3: economic change	Economic development and change, new ventures, commodification/commercialisation
Natural capital	Theme 1: protected areas	Character of protected areas, environmental services within them
	Theme 2: environmental concerns	Issues, concerns about adverse effects of use on landscape, habitats and biodiversity
	Theme 3: environmental values	Values expressed about the environment

Table 2: Parameters, themes and elements of the study, incorporated in the questionnaire design

The codes for analysing responses are researcher-constructed and address the main parameters of the study. A start list of codes facilitated categorising evidence from the sets of questions contained in the questionnaire survey. These questions are constructed to elicit responses to the major parameters of the study: cultural, economic and natural capital. Thus, a broad framework is constructed which is then broken down into the major themes and for analysis in the transcripts. The questionnaires for each year of measurement activity are designed to gather this information (see Appendix 4).

Codes developed from the participants' responses are clustered by theme and parameter (Appendix 4). They present a participant-centred basis to charting change in the analysis of qualitative data. This analysis is descriptive, and does not entail inferences about causation, direction or degree of influence based on apparent associations between variables. The analysis of the transcriptions entails the breakdown of the responses by item of meaning. Each item of meaning constitutes one or more words, phrases or sentences, which are coded appropriately.

The data are entered by case identity number, year, group number, location of interview, length and nature of contact with the study site, demographic data, and finally the coded responses, into an SPSS database for qualitative analysis by correlation tables. The correlation tables then act as keys to the qualitative material contained in the interview transcripts. Using these methods, dense textual material is organised, and the effective identification of the major themes within and between the sample groups is achieved. It is enhanced by qualitative material in the form of quotations from the participants.

Summaries for each year of the study, comparing the responses of each group, are presented at the conclusion of the analysis of each year's qualitative material, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The analysis of the textual material comprises processes of analysis and review by comparing the texts - the interview transcripts - with the data tables for verification. The data tables therefore act as keys to the primary data for each group, year and parameter, so that the words of the respondents provide a grounded basis for the analysis. By linking text to data to text, the validity of the spectrum of research measurement activities is enhanced. Validity is also achieved by the thoroughness of analysis of the qualitative material which comprises year by year analysis of responses for all three study groups, residents, visitors and for tourists as a block.

To be noted: there is no comparable table for tourists as the measurement of change over time for this group was conducted by year, and by using the aggregated data of three years' worth of data collection.

4.7 Chapter summary

This chapter describes the framework of a major, qualitative research design. In its elements, it indicates how a major study has been implemented over a four-year period. Theory has guided the research design as the theoretical framework provides the basis for the research question. Theory also has contributed to methods through the identification of parameters, themes and elements and their successful measurement.

The range of measurement and analysis strategies, with data and textual management using SPSS for Windows, contributes towards the efficiency of the data collection

methods. These strategies verify the generalisability of the data and the reliability of the results, gathered in a creative, qualitative exercise thoroughly grounded in place. Research analysis constitutes an iterative process of comparing theory and data, with data collection conducted in a rigorous, transparent and reliable manner in close proximity – emotionally and/or physically – to the social, economic and environmental realities of this site, which are thus embodied in the results of this study.

Chapter 5

Results – People and Place

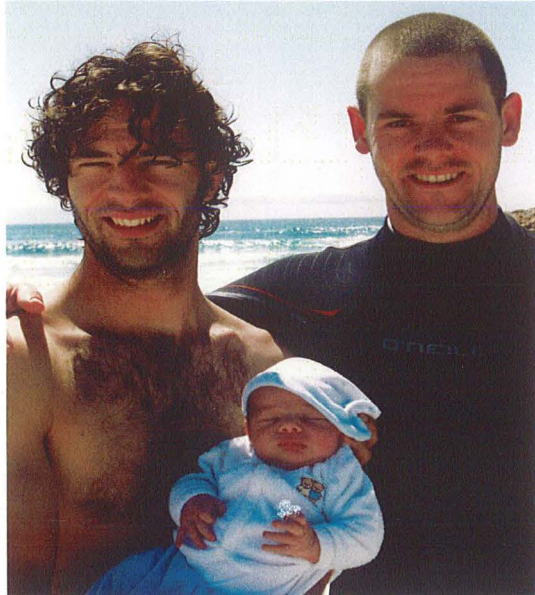


Photo: T. Lord

The surfers christen their baby

The rollers were crashin in. We went over to north Friendlies and it was pumpin. Fuckin beautiful morning. Took the baby, it was time for him to see what a good left hander looks like. So we dunked him in the water as it raced up the beach - just a splash on his head - we christened him into the surf at Friendlies. You couldn't do better than that by him!

5.1 Experience of place - demographics and other data

In this chapter I review the data gathered over the three years of the research study, focusing on the three study groups – residents, visitors and tourists. Data presentation takes two forms: a summary of data analysis which is detailed in Appendix 1, and a summary of the socio-economic information presented in Table 4. The latter analysis encompasses governmental and non-governmental policy and decision-making and responses to this decision-making by the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula during the period of the research study. The focus is on the relationships between the three forms of capital and the players associated with these forms of capital.

The people of the communities associated with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – including the tourists as a group – express complex and multi-dimensional relationships to place in terms of their personal and social interactions. To residents, visitors and tourists it has been demonstrated to encapsulate valuing associated with place as home, retreat, idealised environment, productive resource, tourist destination, recreational playground, distinct ecology within a protected area, and millennia-old habitation expressed in terms of time and place. Its natural elements – flora, fauna, surfs and currents, colours of cloud and sky over the seasons and years – enrich the lives of those residing, holidaying or touring. It is an environment which entices playfulness, forgetfulness, and joy in daily activities and rituals; a place where people leave behind the demands of urban living and the world of work. It is a place that inspires creativity and the desire to be immersed within the natural environment, hence the return year after year of people to this place, an acknowledgement of its natural character and its role as a treasured holiday spot for generations of Tasmanians. The recognition of the natural values of this environment is a cultural valuing, on which is based its cultural capital. In this relationship lies its vulnerability to commercial exploitation. To this extent, the relationships between the three forms of capital in this study have been demonstrated.

I now consider the character of the members of the study groups to ascertain the commonalities and differences between them. I therefore ask: What facts are characteristic of these people, in this study?

As the groups were selected by a stratified process, I was able to gain information from a range of people. A cautionary point: the stratifying variables are age and gender. However, the age and gender of the study groups do not necessarily represent the age and gender profile of the communities of Coles Bay and Swanwick, whether residents or visitors. The motivation in designing a stratified sample for the study was to gain a broad sample of respondents. The data are presented with this caveat in mind.

Data on the age profiles of all the people who go there, gender representativeness and how long they stay would be interesting information, but this data is not available, as it is not collected by a government agency. Residential data is provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, for Coles Bay only, which it collects in its four-yearly census of population. Comparing the data collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics of the resident population of Coles Bay in 2001 (ABS 2001) with that of 2006 (ABS 2006) showed a decline in population from 142 persons in 2001 to 107 persons in 2006. There is no explanation for this decline. A possible answer is that a number of residents may have moved to the Census Collection District of Swanwick, which had increased in size from 98 ratepayers in 2001 to 148 ratepayers in 2006 (who may or may not have been residents). The boundaries for the Swanwick Collection District extend far beyond the study site and therefore do not accurately represent the demographic composition of Swanwick. As discussion based on these figures is not helpful, I have not pursued it.

The people interviewed for this study were noticeably highly educated, the majority having technical or university qualifications. The elderly were less likely to have a tertiary qualification, with one or two not continuing beyond primary school. University education included post-graduate qualifications. Of significance was the high educational attainment of all groups. People who are attracted to nature-based tourism share this as a common characteristic (Patterson 2000), estimated as being a considerably larger cohort within such tourism (without giving a percentage) than the percentage of graduates in the general population, which is 18 per cent (*Education and Training Experience, Australia* 2005). Those patronising beach-side eco-lodges, outback tours or rain-forest retreats are thus a highly educated group, confirmed in other research (*Tasmania's Nature-Based Tourism Program* 2001; *Tasmanian Visitors Survey* 2004; 2004),

as are those at the other end of the income scale, the highly educated yet low income earners such as back-packers, students, families and retirees, including those from overseas.

The range of income in each group was broad. There were low income backpackers, students and retirees, as well as families, couples and singles on middle to high or very high incomes. Again, the groups may not represent the range of incomes in the mass of tourists visiting Coles Bay because of the stratified selection process. However, this pattern of income was consistent over the three years, as evidenced by the data collected each year from three different groups of tourists, which was aggregated. Because of the breadth of income, a preliminary conclusion is that income alone is not a characteristic of people choosing Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula to live in or visit. In analysing income for the three groups in 2004, it is clear that the largest group of respondents in all groups earned in the lowest range. Residents of working age in this group were mostly employed in hospitality or tourism-related jobs, including a high percentage of managers by 2006. This was low income work for both employees and employers, as employers who were managers did not pay themselves highly. Visitors and tourists were more likely to be professionally employed in work places elsewhere, earning more than the residents. Low income visitors and tourists were retirees, backpackers or students.

Neither nationality nor parochialism influenced this cultural choice to go to Coles Bay as the communities of Coles Bay were not restricted to the immediate locality, Tasmania or Australia. Their members come from everywhere, including most Australian states and overseas.

Not all people going to Coles bay and the Freycinet peninsula engaged actively with this place. Tourism Tasmania data reveal that the numbers of tourists who drove through Coles Bay without getting out of their car, in the period 2001-2005 averaged 26 437 per year. Most stayed for a day visit, averaging 72 715 per year in the same period. Between these extremes, an average of 47 375 tourists per year stayed overnight, but again, these tourists averaged a stay of only 1.8 days. The tourists in the study averaged a stay of 3 days, as only people staying overnight were selected for interview. Over this period, these data provided evidence of a growth in tourism at this site.

It was found from the responses that time was a key element in the experiences of groups and individuals at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The essence of their connection to place is captured in each group's designation – 'resident', visitor' and 'tourist'. Resident implies a greater complexity of interrelationship to built and natural areas compared to those of visitor and tourist. The latter terms signal that these people come from elsewhere, from the outside. This is true, even though length of time spent at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula contrasts for visitors and tourists.

Apparent was a link between distance of home location from the site, and length of time spent there by each of the study groups. Depth of contact – in both length and repetition of time spent at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – was less substantial at each remove from place. Residents' and visitors' physical relationships to the site are cut across by the time factor – years of short visits versus extended periods of residence. Although time lived there may vary, residence implies a connection to place and its natural environment which contrasts with that of visitors' connection to place.

Tourists have a physically distant relationship to place which in turn implies - emotional distance. Their relationship to the natural environment of Freycinet National Park is not an outcome of a grounded experience of this place.

The differences in residents', visitors' and tourists' relationships to place are reflected in their different responses to questions of local management, concerns about environmental impacts, and responses to planning and development proposed over the period of the study.

5.2 Socio-economic change in the field 2004-2007

The manifestations of the three forms of capital and their interconnectedness in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are shown in Table 3. The major players effecting change at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are governmental agencies, principally local and state government bodies, acting in accordance with the terms of their legislation and at times in cooperation with other players such as private companies. For instance, in the period of the study, Glamorgan Spring Bay Council processed applications for commercial and residential developments submitted by architects, developers and commercial operators, processes which were

regulated by the Resource Planning and Development Commission. Of course, other affective agents of change were those individuals and groups opposing the actions, policies and decisions of these bodies.

Besides applications for housing and tourist accommodation, there were applications for a new hotel and resort, and two subdivisions, one of 23 lots and a second of 100 lots. Both applications were appealed on the grounds of negative environmental effects which included height, visual impact, light pollution, and stormwater management. They were also appealed on the grounds of invalid permits. The appellants were successful in gaining changes to the hotel plans which resulted in a reduction of size and a reduction of negative environmental effects. The 23 site subdivision adjacent to the golf course was approved and proceeded to development stage. Over the next two years further subdivision applications submitted to and approved by Glamorgan Spring Bay Council were successfully appealed. The hotel and resort development at Muir's Beach in 2006 was withdrawn and a revised plan was resubmitted for approval.

Glamorgan Spring Bay Council continued to provide core services to the community of Coles Bay and Swanwick, managing waste management and sewerage treatment and disposal. In the last year of the study infrastructure improvements including upgrading the tennis courts and building a skateboard ramp resulted in a substantial social contribution to the community - a tennis club was formed and members met recreationally each Sunday for tennis and a barbecue. Council members held a community forum about the serious lack of provision of water and sewerage to the area with four options presented for consideration. The Council continued to auspice Green Globe 21 over this period. Members implemented the scheme in Coles Bay, and held meetings, at times with guest speakers.

The Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania and the Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania in their management of these areas, undertook a range of activities which had substantial social, economic and environmental outcomes. Parks and Wildlife Service extended the Freycinet National Park car-park by 90 spaces to cope with the numbers of vehicles – buses, motorbikes and cars – requiring parking space in the summer tourist season; they built two new low-level tracks into the park to

provide easier access for tourists and to relieve pressure on the track to Wineglass Bay and the Lookout; they renovated Cook's Hut at Cook's Beach which provides shelter for bushwalkers, to accord with its original construction and design; they renovated Morey's Huts on Schouten Island, with similar aims, with the help of volunteer labour, and with historic input from a former resident of Schouten Island. All of these activities were outcomes of Parks and Wildlife Service's objectives of protecting the natural environment and heritage, and thus enhanced the experience of people using the park – residents, visitors and tourists – even though some of these activities could be viewed negatively. An example is the provision of additional car-parking, justifiably questioned by a resident who supported the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan's recommendation of a car-park for tourists and a shuttle bus to carry them from the Tasman Highway into Coles Bay.

Another important area of activities for Parks and Wildlife Service Tasmania was in monitoring the land, air and water quality of the protected areas. An example was a pollution protocol established with Coombend Vineyard for water quality monitoring to ensure vineyard spray regimes did not pollute Moulting Lagoon.

A less than successful venture was the new standing camp at Bryan's Beach (or corner) within the national park, which was advertised for tender in 2005. By 2006, the tender had been won by a small, local tourism company which also received a substantial government grant to help establish the venture. After a year spent setting up the camp – comprising completely recycled materials and sustainable services – and a very successful summer season offering upmarket experiences including gourmet food to mostly international tourists, the camp was withdrawn from the site due to protests by conservationists about the presence of a sea-eagle's nest in its vicinity. The venture collapsed, and calls to review the policy of establishing tourism in national parks by the state government were made.

The Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania's policies, which had a number of positive outcomes for protected areas, clearly safe-guarded the biodiversity of the waters of the region. These policies supported environmental integrity through changes to recreational fishing practices in key areas - Great Oyster Bay shark refuge to protect shark, rays and skate, and Bryan's Lagoon, Saltwater and Freshwater

Lagoons, and Moulting Lagoon. The Department of Primary Industry and Water Tasmania also carried out regular water quality monitoring in the Swan and Apsley Rivers (outside the area of this study).

In 2004, the Department of Infrastructure, Energy and Resources (DIER) funded Inspiring Place P/L to conduct research for a tourism development plan for the area on behalf of the Coles Bay Steering Committee, a project auspiced by Glamorgan Spring Bay Council (de Gryse 2004). This was a major project which involved extensive consultation with community members through a survey, individual meetings and a community forum. Inspiring Place produced a set of recommendations contained in a report: the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, as noted.

Scientific research was conducted by the School of Zoology, University of Tasmania into the Facial Tumour Disease suffered by the Tasmanian Devil over a number of years. A documentary shot in the area was made about this issue and was shown on the national broadcaster, ABC television. Local residents supported the research scientist through providing accommodation, and also were taken on treks into the area of this study to see how it was conducted. Two other visitors with long term connections to the Swanwick area and Moulting Lagoon bought a key ecological site in Moulting Lagoon, Long Point, for a bird sanctuary through the Tasmanian Land Conservancy, and also gained a management grant from the Federal Government's Natural Heritage Trust.

A measure of change occurring over time in Coles Bay was clearly seen in the growth of the built areas of Coles Bay and Swanwick, evidenced in the numbers of building applications approved by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council from 2001 to 2006. From being fairly static in 2001 and 2002, residential and commercial development accelerated. The greatest increase in approvals was in 2005 and 2006. Mostly, these were applications for new houses and changes to private dwellings, followed by applications for visitor accommodation. Though there was corresponding growth throughout Tasmania in this period, with the percentage of new housing starts in Tasmania averaging 2.7 percent over this period (HIA 2006), these starts were largely confined to the cities. That this increase in its built areas reflected the popularity of

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is confirmed by the tourism data which also showed an increase in numbers over this period.

The Freycinet Interpretation Centre reported an annual growth of 8 per cent for the period of this study.

Year	Act/ reg. body	Action	Community involvement	Stakeholder involvement	Outcomes	Forms of capital
2004	DIER	Freycinet tourism Dev. Plan	Locals: Survey, ind.cons	Glamorgan Spring Bay Council	Report: no action	Cultural capital
2004	Resource Planning and Development Commission	Planning application for a new hotel submitted	Protest by concerned visitors: location, size and lighting	Federal East Coast Holdings P/L.; Terroir Architects; Tas. Wilderness Society	Plans amended – size reduced.	Economic capital Cultural capital Natural capital
2004	RPDC	Approved 14 commercial development applications (13 tourism related)		Local businesses (Freycinet Golf Club Inc, Desserts P/L, Federal East Coast Holdings P/L, East Coast Surveying P/L, GJ Walkem	Tourist goods and services provision or business upgrading	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2004	RPDC	Approved 10 private residential applications (7 new dwellings, 3 additions or renovations)			Personal use, tourism accommodation or investment reasons (not specified)	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2005	RPDC	Approved 8 commercial development applications (7 tourism related)		East Coast Surveying Cooroolina P/L; Taste of Freycinet P/L	Tourist goods and services provision or business upgrading	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2005	RPDC	Approved 29 private residential development applications (6 new dwellings, 23 additions or renovations)		East Coast Surveying Primebuild; R & S Burrows; HJ Stackpole; Walkem Management	Personal use, tourism accommodation or investment reasons (not specified)	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2006	RPDC	Approved 9 commercial development applications (7 tourism related)		Federal East Coast Holdings; Freeform Designs; Cooroolina P/L; Pitt & Sherry; Taste of Freycinet	Tourist goods and services provision or business upgrading	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2006	RPDC	Approved 25 private residential development applications (12 new dwellings, 13 additions or renovations)		Tauton Enterprises; J Widdowson; Crawford Shurman Architects; Stanton Management Group; Jack Birrell Architects	Personal use, tourism accommodation or investment reasons (not specified)	Cultural capital Economic capital Natural capital
2005-2007	RPDC and RMP Appeals Tribunal	Applications for three housing subdivisions at Swanwick	Community dissension over size of blocks and subdivision. Visitors appealed GSBC approval	Cooroolina P/L; Freycinet Lodge;	Approval given to 23 site subdivision. Approval given to 120 site, but revoked by RMPAT. 2 nd subdivision unlikely to be approved	Economic capital Cultural capital Natural capital
2005-2007	RPDC	Planning application for a new hotel re-submitted	Protests by visitors	Federal East Coast Holdings P/L; Terroir Architects. Ireneninc Planning; Tas. Wilderness Society	Plans approved, challenged. Planning application withdrawn and re-submitted	Economic capital Cultural capital Natural capital
2006		Tennis courts in Coles Bay upgraded	Residents		Residents formed a tennis club, contributing to community cohesion	Cultural capital
2006		Waste management consultation undertaken	Community consulted	Hospitality and local businesses	Wheelie bins instituted and new regulations for use of the local tip	Economic capital Natural capital
2006		Skateboard ramp built	Local community members		Younger community members and visiting skateboarders catered for: contributed to community cohesion	Cultural capital
2006-2007		Community forum on water provision and waste sewerage management for Coles Bay and businesses	Community members-residents attended	Federal East Coast Holdings P/L; Coles Bay Golf Club; GHD P/L	4 options assessed for water provision and waste water management with locals. 1 chosen. Reassessed due to cost. Rejected 2007	Natural capital Cultural capital Economic capital
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%; text-align: center;"> </div> <div style="width: 40%; text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Tas. Parks and Wildlife Service</div> </div> <div style="width: 30%; text-align: center;"> </div> </div>						
2004		Car-park for the walking			Increased access to Freycinet National	Natural capital

2005		tracks into FNP extended by 90 spaces		Park	Cultural capital Economic capital
2006		Bryan's Beach Standing Camp tourism venture tendered, granted and established in the FNP	Freycinet Escape Pty Ltd	Launch by Minister and newspaper article. Bryan's Beach Standing Camp tourism venture then dismantled due to the presence of a sea-eagle's nest	Natural capital Cultural capital Economic capital
2006-7		2 new low-level tracks into the national park completed		Disabled and elderly catered for; reduced numbers on the Wineglass Bay track protecting the environment	Natural capital Cultural capital
2005-2006		Vineyards planted bordering Moulting Lagoon:	Coombend Vineyard	Water quality monitoring negotiated with P and L to ensure spray regimes do not pollute Moulting Lagoon	Cultural capital Natural capital
2006		Protocol for water quality monitoring to ensure spray regimes do not pollute Moulting Lagoon	Coombend Vineyard Glamorgan Spring Bay Council	Protection of Moulting Lagoon habitat from chemical pollution	Natural capital
2004-2007		Restoration of Morey's Huts on Schouten Island	NPWS officers and volunteers	Newspaper article with photos	Cultural capital
2006-2007		Restoration of Cook's Beach hut- for bushwalker use	Bushwalkers, heritage, locals	Bert Cook interviewed-newspaper article with a photo	Cultural capital
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Tas. Dept of Primary Industry and Water</div> </div>					
2005		Changes to fishing regulations in Bryan's Lagoon, Saltwater and Freshwater Lagoons, Moulting Lagoon	Use of long and drop lines, set lines, mullet nets, graball nets, beach seine nets, cast nets, bait nets and bait traps prohibited.	Residents, visitors, tourists Recreational fishers	Improvements to fish stocks and recreational fishing Cultural capital Natural capital
2005		Changes to fishing regulations in Great Oyster Bay	Great Oyster Bay is a shark refuge: taking of shark, skates and rays prohibited; use of long and drop lines, set lines, mullet nets also prohibited	Residents, visitors, tourists Recreational fishers	Improvements to fish stocks and recreational fishing Cultural capital Natural capital
2006		Duck shooting season reduced by 2 weeks due to drought effects on ducks	Protests by Coalition Against Duck Shooting RSPCA, Against Animal Cruelty Tasmania	Coalition Against Duck Shooting, Field and Game Association of Tasmania RSPCA, Against Animal Cruelty Tasmania, Birds Tasmania, local hunters	Attempts to protect bird bio-diversity and integrity of Moulting Lagoon; changes opposed by Field and Game Association of Tasmania, local hunters Ongoing protest Natural capital Cultural capital
2006		Duck shooting regs setting a 100 metre limit to boundary of Moulting Lagoon for duck-shooting	Protest by the President of the Shooting Club, Coles Bay		Traditional hunting by locals dislocated Ongoing protest Natural capital Cultural capital
2006		Water quality monitoring in Swan and Apsley Rivers			Effects residents along Coles Bay Road and Swanwick, and waters discharging into Moulting Lagoon Cultural capital Natural capital
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Tasmanian Land Conservancy</div> </div>					
2005		Long Point (Moulting Lagoon) bought for the Tas. Land Conservancy	2 Visitors initiated this action and raised the funds	Long Point now a bird sanctuary	Cultural capital Natural capital
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">University of Tasmania</div> </div>					
2004-2005	School of Zoology University of Tasmania	Scientific research into Tasmanian devil on Freycinet Peninsula	Residents supported the research	Important scientific information about the species and its habitat: film shown on national television and to a meeting in the Coles Bay Hall	Cultural capital Natural capital
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Natural Heritage Trust (Fed. Govt.)</div> </div>					
2006-2007	Natural Resource Management South(State Govt.)	Grant to Tasmanian Land Conservancy	Visitors applied for funding and will administer	Improvements to Long Point bird sanctuary	Cultural capital Natural capital

Table 3: Change at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula: 2004-2007

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5.3 Key Informant Interviews – values and experiences of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula

The transcripts of the interviews with the key informants are presented as contextual material that informs the data contained in Table 3. They express the voices of the people and their experiences, concerns, and values with regard to their relationships with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

5.3.1 Interview with a Planning Manager, Glamorgan Spring Bay Council

At present, the Glamorgan-Spring Bay Municipality Strategic Plan has undertaken community consultation and is undergoing the process of development as an action planning document. A key principle in Council planning is to maintain the distinctive qualities of the five main coastal towns of the east coast, including Coles Bay.

An issue of concern expressed by the people of Coles Bay during the community consultation is that of sewerage treatment. The new Federal Hotels and Resort development is building its own sewerage treatment to service the hotel and other hospitality establishments (Edge of the Bay, Iluka Tavern), but not the township. Another concern is the rezoning associated with subdivisions planned for Swanwick, which are under challenge. The Planning Manager acknowledges these concerns, but ‘there are limits to the guidelines for the area, including the subdivisions.’ For developments adjacent to Crown land, regulations can be imposed to maintain the coastal and bush nature of the area. Area amenity can be taken into account when determining the required design and appearance of buildings and services. ‘It would be misleading to describe this as a relaxation of guidelines, as it is applicable depending on the circumstances and is not limited to lots adjacent to Crown land.’

Because of the numbers of people, concrete paths and gutters are needed for subdivisions. When asked, who are going to use these paths other than the people owning houses in the subdivisions, the response was: ‘this is a matter of judgement, depending on the circumstances of each case.’ Generally, concrete footpaths and gutters are required as the standard unless there are reasonable grounds for an alternative. With regard to the lack of paths around the Coles Bay township and the dangers of walking on the roads, his response to this concern was that Council has no

financial capacity to provide them, even though tourists' and residents' safety might be at risk.

The Planning Manager noted that the sea-change phenomenon, whereby people are selling up in the cities and moving to the coast, means that services such as waste management are in demand, but it takes ten years for Council to start to make money from an influx of people through residential rates. Consequently, many communities have put ceilings on development or population size in their coastal areas. As many locals and others have perceived, sealing the Coles Bay road led to inevitable cost consequences, with the influx of tourists and those moving there to live resulted in negative environmental impacts. Tourist demand ultimately will be all year round in Coles Bay (and nearby Maria Island), the Planning Manager believed.

The Council implements policies, particularly coastal area protection, under the State Coastal Policy. An inventory of natural assets for Glamorgan-Spring Bay, specifically Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula does not exist, although scientific research and development has been identified as being needed in a number of areas. Council has cooperated with students from the University of Tasmania who are carrying out research in the locality (for example, on Devil Facial Tumour Disease) and with the Department of Primary Industry, Water and the Environment. In the tourism area, Council works in close co-operation with the Freycinet Coast Tourism Board.

Although Council has legal obligations to implement its own regulations in relation to development, there have been complaints that, in the past, Council has not applied these regulations consistently. This has resulted in 'unfortunate decisions,' such as structures built too close to the coastal reserve of Swanwick, resulting in overcrowding and a loss of the landscape integrity of the area. 'This is a vexed issue,' the Planning Manager conceded. Decisions are not always universally popular, but Council acts as a Local Planning Authority and its decisions are subject to scrutiny by the Resource Planning and Development Committee and the relevant government Minister.

Interview with a former proprietor of The Chateau hotel

Joan first went to Coles Bay in 1960, and then camped with her family at Richardson's Beach every year. They had 'a nice set up, with tents, and we did lots of

things – bushwalking, barbecuing on the beach and fishing out in the bay in a dinghy’. In 1970, she, her husband and her son bought The Chateau, an old hotel located at the boundary of the national park which was built in the early fifties. It was in a decrepit state and they bought it to fix it up, and to run, which they did until 1991. When The Chateau was sold, she retained a share in the new development – Freycinet Lodge – which was built in 1992. New units were also built at that time.

The Chateau ‘had a lovely atmosphere’, with twenty cottages of one to three bedrooms. ‘It was a wonderful experience, and the people who came to stay, year after year, became old friends.’ Many of the visitors had holidayed at Coles Bay since childhood, and their parents and grandparents had come before them. Many people even came for holidays in winter. Everyone operated on the same basis; ‘all were equal when they stayed here.’ Joan and her husband also employed many university students at The Chateau. It was a beautiful spot for a hotel: in the national park there were middens everywhere, and Joan had a real sense of the presence of the Tasmanian Aborigines, who used to winter in the area. The environment of the peninsula was very special, the little bays, the birds, animals and wildflowers, it was a magnificent garden of native plants. Joan still meets friends she made there. They get together for a coffee and reminiscence. She shares her values with those who also found Coles Bay a special place, and her experiences at Coles Bay have profoundly influenced her life’s values.

5.3.2 Interview with a property developer

Jack – chartered accountant and company director – is a major property developer in Coles Bay. His family owned land in Swanwick, originally the lands of the old Swanwick House farm, dating from the 1820s. These lands fronted the Swan River where it enters Moulting Lagoon (a designated Ramsar site) and Great Oyster Bay. Jack sold the old sandstone house with twenty-two acres of land to three purchasers in the 1970s who still own it. Jack first subdivided thirty years ago along the cliff top overlooking the estuary of the Swan River. Holiday shacks were built on these blocks. He also donated land in Swanwick to a golf course, and built a dam on his own property to water the green. He believes the golf course and clubhouse are notable assets for the community of Coles Bay, of which he is proud.

Jack generally visits the area between December and March, both for recreation and to view the progress of his latest development project, which is a major new subdivision around the golf course. He has included a recreation ground in his plans, which is required by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. 'It will provide somewhere for people to play football and cricket, or to fly a kite with the kiddies.'

While he is at Coles Bay, Jack enjoys fishing, golf, bike riding, and motorbike riding with his family. Every morning he goes for a swim, swimming six times across the bay and back. This is a ritual for him, summer or winter. He belongs to the golf club and the Swanwick Progress Association, but otherwise has little contact with the locals.

To Jack, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula have great natural beauty, especially The Hazards. He aspires to make it possible for people to come to the area so that they can enjoy it too, by providing accommodation such as subdivision developments. In Coles Bay and Swanwick, housing is scarce and rents are very high, 'which restricts the ability of people to holiday in Coles Bay.' He wouldn't like to see Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula develop in ways which are unsuitable to this natural area. He sees the Federal Hotel and Resorts project as a good example of planned development. Accommodation will be needed for the staff, and he is providing this with his current subdivision. It includes the recreation ground and walkways, sealed roads, underground power, stormwater drains and footpaths.

When asked if he had incorporated elements of sustainability into his subdivision planning, Jack stated that 'it was not up to him to tell people how to build on their own land, as there are Council restrictions on what can be built.' The sewerage treatment plant for the Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel project will treat the effluent from his subdivision, and, with the effluent from the hotel, will be discharged onto the golf course to irrigate it. This plan has been negotiated with Federal Hotels and Resorts, who are also offering to build a new clubhouse for the golf club. In return, they want to subdivide some blocks on golf club land. Originally it was not to be subdivided but Jack is waiving this condition, and they are awaiting planning approval from the Glamorgan-Spring Bay Council.

When asked about protests against his development plans, Jack's opinion was that people protest at everything these days. 'They are a vocal minority and the power of

the press gives them a voice.’ He believes that progress is necessary, or ‘we’d end up like Africa.’ Jack has no concerns about impacts on wildlife resulting from his development, as ‘the area’s wildlife is very well protected by the Parks and Wildlife Service and by protective legislation.’ He explained that he has spent thousands of dollars conforming to regulatory requirements for an environmental assessment of his land to make sure there are no endangered species that need protecting. The plant communities in the vicinity (acacia and kunzia) are not threatened species. He also has had Aboriginal heritage assessed. He is very aware of minimizing environmental impact and supports this goal, even though his building blocks are very small.

Jack supports current building trends in the area, using render and corrugated steel that fits in with the natural elements of beach, sand, water and sky. Yet, design has not been specified for his proposed subdivision developments, even though he claims to support the use of natural colours in building materials, and housing guidelines such as the area of the top storey of a house being only sixty per cent of the bottom storey. ‘It is Council’s prerogative to establish and enforce its regulations, not mine, and I’ve put this view to Council.’ Jack has a special, commercial relationship with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a developer, but it is also home as he has a holiday place there and enjoys recreation, though he wouldn’t say he loves it ‘that is too strong a word’. He also likes Maroochedore and Sanctuary Cove in Queensland. Overseas, he likes the Baltic, the Mediterranean, Aegean, and the Greek Islands, but ‘my roots are in Coles Bay.’

5.3.3 Interview with a Parks and Wildlife Service officer

Peter, as Senior Ranger Freycinet, had responsibility for an area covering reserve lands and protected areas the length of the east coast and inland, a huge area. His duties are to meet the objectives of the Parks and Wildlife Service, including natural resource conservation with assessment of environmental values; cultural resource conservation with assessment of heritage values; sustainable use of resources; and assessing any activities affecting reserved lands, such as development applications that might impact adjoining reserved lands.

Peter’s highest priority is connection with the community. His reunites locals with their heritage, asserts a spiritual connection to place, and encourages regard for built heritage. For example, he has coordinated working bees on Schouten Island for the

last nine years, in the first instance to remove the gorse which is the legacy of past grazing on the area – some patches were 100 metres by 50 metres. Volunteers were recruited through Wildcare, and their passion and desire to help provided the credentials for belonging. They removed thousands of gorse plants, allowing the native vegetation to gain a foothold in its place.

Members of Peter's team also restored huts at Morey's Bay on Schouten Island and Cook's Hut at Cook's Beach on Freycinet Peninsula. This restoration work was funded by a Tasmanian Community Fund grant of \$15 000. The team tackled restoration work to the front hut on Schouten, including repainting, re-roofing and replacing a chimney. The older hut was stabilised and reclad in 2004 because it was about to collapse. At Cook's Beach, stonemasonry work was undertaken, as well as roof work, to restore the hut to its original form as a shepherd's hut, before it was used as a home by the Cook family.

Peter invited people who had a historical connection back to Schouten Island. One of these was Ted Cook, aged 91, who told Peter about his two uncles. They had held grazing leases at Cook's Beach and on Schouten Island. Their home, the Cook's Beach hut, then had only one room, a bark floor and no windows. There was a 1 200 gallon water tank later, but at first they had to fetch water from the Freshwater Lagoon using a yoke and two wooden buckets – a distance of a mile and a half each way. Most urgent was getting food to eat. They lived on kangaroo and wombat, and grew vegetables. Firewood gathering was also a source of income. Rabbits could be trapped and sold for sixpence a pair. Ted had also collected wattle bark in the bush, taking it to the bark mill at Swansea, from where it was sold to a tannery in Hobart. Life was hard but good, Ted told Peter.

The daily work of a Parks and Wildlife Service officer is to keep an eye on visitor activities in the protected areas, making sure trees are not broken down and fires lit. The risk management aspects of Peter's job are all-consuming, with waste management, removing dangerous limbs, windfalls, mending walking tracks and roads, fire management, weed management and public safety taking up most of his time, but he still prefers his restoration and community activities above all else.

5.3.4 Interview with farmers at Cranbrook

Pat is sixth generation and lives with her husband at their property. The presence of this family in the area as farmers at Cranbrook – opposite Freycinet Peninsula on the east coast of Tasmania – dates from 1821. At the time, extensive land grants were made to free settlers by the colonial government in Hobart. The family land goes from Cranbrook back to the hills, and family lands edge Moulting Lagoon, whilst their extended family is connected to properties up and down the east coast. The original structures – huts – have been incorporated into the house, which has expanded over the generations. Pat and Bob are keen conservationists and they have put covenants on three areas of land: opposite the Lake Leake turnoff on the Tasman Highway, at Milton Hill on the Tasman Highway, and at their property. To maintain the conserved lands, all that Pat and Bob have to do is keep down the gorse, fence it and they can use the land as shelter for sheep after shearing. Pat's son has been in negotiations with the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council to build a dam on his land to supply water to the township of Swansea. The project has been held up due to disputation over ownership of the water in the dam, but illustrates how actions taken in the historic past in allocating resources to settlers have direct consequences in the present.

Pat's connection to place is very strong, having grown up there. As a student she boarded in Hobart but felt the need to get back home every few weeks. History about the property is recorded in diaries from the 1850s. The diaries almost solely deal with farming routines and activities, and commentary on the weather. Paddock names are listed, with uses such as the produce cultivated in each paddock through the season. 'It was always farmland, with sheep, cows, and wheat.' Flour clearly was an important product of the property, and was taken into Swansea to sell, as were cart loads of wheat after harvesting. A forbear often said in his diaries that he 'ground a little today,' or 'did some grinding,' or 'ground some more.' The diaries record little about family matters or the natural environment. Its potential for farming production was how the environment was viewed, although, for the children growing up over the generations, it was a wonderful playground, with the bush and the river running through the property. Hunting – rabbits, swan and duck, and wallabies – was also an important activity providing food on the table for the family.

Members of this family were hard-working Presbyterian farmers who had come from similar backgrounds in Scotland. No whaling, or entrepreneurial ventures were countenanced. A mill was constructed as soon as the house was built in 1821, and a race a kilometre long carried water diverted from the Apsley River, to turn the mill wheel. Both mill, mill race and wheel are still there. Workers' cottages associated with the mill have been converted to rented accommodation.

Historically, there is little comment about the family's relationship to the local Aborigines, but, 'it is known in the family that there were skirmishes.' Pat was interested in the source of a story that locals (by implication her family members) took part in a massacre of Aborigines in the area. In Emily Stoddart's (2003) booklet *The Freycinet Line, 1831*, a massacre is said to have occurred at Tooms' Lake, some distance to the west of Great Oyster Bay. According to this source, ten Aborigines were killed and two were captured, but the perpetrators were said to be the 40th Regiment, not locals.

There are stories which illustrate the family's relationship to the environment. Pat's grandmother tells of a favourite family activity: they used to camp across the Swan river, on the sandbanks at the end of Dolphin Sands. They took a keg of wine, fishing gear and long row boats and went swimming and fishing. The boats were still in use when Pat was young.

The families of the area intermarried, consolidating their presence socially and economically on the east coast of Tasmania. Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, including Moulting Lagoon, being unsuitable for large scale farming and therefore uneconomic, were their favourite spots for recreation, such as fishing and hunting. It was left to the small, tenant farmers to lease land and try to make a living from these areas, both in farming and in gathering local resources such as bark around Freycinet Peninsula, Moulting Lagoon, and on Schouten Island. They were not successful over an extended period of time, and eventually they let their leases lapse. They are remembered by their local descendants and in the names given to particular spots such as Cook's Beach and Bryan's Corner. However, the large, land-owning families such as that of Bob and Pat, remain on their properties.

5.3.5 Interview with a local businessman

Ben came to Coles Bay in 1996 to take up a business for sale, the Bakery, which has become a local cultural and social hub. Ben is most proud of his initiative in protecting the environment by attaining plastic bag free status for Coles Bay. He started the scheme in 2003 and devoted ‘thousands of hours’ to it. Its implementation has been a success with the locals and the scheme has been adopted in towns around Australia and overseas.

Ben holidayed in Coles Bay when he was young, and although his relationship with Coles Bay has an economic focus, in that he is the manager of a business, he still has a strong relationship with the area. The Friendly Beaches, The Hazards, River and Rocks Road and Meredith Point are important places to him, where he goes surfing, kite-surfing, horse riding and bike riding. He also appreciates the community feeling of Coles Bay, where people of all ages and backgrounds help each other out, spontaneously organise local events such as parties and festivals, and manage problems that might arise, such as the mess left after a crowd of revellers invaded the township one New Year’s Eve. Everyone – even the elderly – helped clean up the rubbish and broken glass on New Year’s Day.

As a member of both the Tourism Association and the Community Association, Ben aims to protect the relatively pristine environment of Freycinet National Park. This is an ethical commitment, but he also sees the necessity to protect the environment for economic reasons. He supports sustainable, high quality goods and services development that local operators can deliver to tourists.

Ben is a member of the Coles Bay Steering Group for the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, a consultative body which, having only met three times, highlights the problem of achieving affective local input into state and local government planning. Despite community consultation, Ben feels that ‘core outcomes for tourist development have already been decided by government, in favour of the big players.’

Although he knows of no other place quite like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, Ben finds it difficult for himself and his family to live there because of the lack of services such as schooling, regular transport and a medical practice. The area

is held back by the lack of services, he believes, and this will be exacerbated if big tourist developments requisition water supplies and funding that should go to providing sewerage services for Coles Bay and Swanwick.

Ben believes that he reflects community concern that large operators will package Coles Bay as a standard tourism experience, ignoring its intrinsic environmental and social values. He is concerned that a monopolistic employer/employee situation would be created, rather than a vibrant, sustainable, eco-friendly tourism town. It could be a role model for other towns, because at present there is room for young people to live there and try their hand at running their own niche enterprises.

5.3.6 Interview with an eco-lodge manager

Freycinet Experience at the Friendly Beaches, Coles Bay, is an eco-lodge on 130 hectares. It was built fifteen years ago, and has won Tasmanian and national architects' awards. The aim of its design was to minimize its footprint so that it should sit lightly on the ground. To this end, it has been built entirely of wood, is very simple, in style based on the walkers' cabin model, and fits into the coastal heathland (a kunzia and Oyster Bay pine environment) where it is situated. It cannot be seen from the coastal beach, from the vehicle track, or the gravel road at the Friendly Beaches. The lodge uses composting toilets, tank water, solar panels and wood heating. There is no insulation in ceilings and floors of the main lodge, but there is in the two adjoining huts: viewing the galvanized iron ceiling is part of the architectural integrity of the main lodge. The buildings are surrounded by duckboarding for paths, and decks. The lodge is ground-breaking in its form as a built environment within a natural environment.

People visiting Freycinet Experience go for walks in the Freycinet National Park, to Wineglass Bay, The Hazards walk, and so on. They can also swim, dive, surf and kayak. The lodge provides space for bushwalking gear such as packs, boots and wet coats.

Joan is an environmental planner, and also an arts enthusiast. The walls of the lodge and accommodation huts are hung with the works of local artists. Joan has organized arts events at Freycinet Experience involving Tasmanian writers and artists. She also ensures that the chef uses local produce, and local wines are provided for the guests.

Freycinet Experience, she believes, is a celebration of place, not a commodification of place.

Joan previously had established two standing camps in the national park, but these have been discontinued due to building activities at the Tin Mine site, where a dam is being built for the Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development. This is unfortunate as the tin-mines are an industrial heritage site of interest, as Chinese tin-miners worked there and built Montgomery Dam, lining it with peat. The eco-lodge continues growing in popularity and residents' walks continue throughout Freycinet National Park in all seasons, but in summer particularly.

5.4 Chapter summary

The data analysis has identified commonalities and differences in the demographic characteristics of the individuals and communities of Coles Bay. Higher education was the stand-out characteristic, with the majority having technical or university qualifications. As noted, these educational levels conformed to the education levels common to people attracted to the natural environment (Patterson 2000). Income was not significant, its range attributed to the presence of low- income backpackers, students and retirees, with families, couples and singles on middle to high or very high incomes. If the conclusion can be drawn that neither income nor occupation were factors in determining contact with this place – whatever the type or duration – then class as the basis of these choices is challenged, as education, although a signifier of class, indicates relationships other than class to the natural environment.

The chapter's analysis of policy and decision-making and consequent impacts on the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula show how the major players – economic, social and governmental – interact in terms of the management of the natural environment. This profile of interactions over a three-year period contributes to determining the socio-economic basis of the communities associated with Coles Bay. These patterns of interaction reaffirm the perceptions of the multi-dimensionality of the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

When reviewed together, the demographic and socio-economic data perform an important role in informing the major theories of this study by presenting a profile of

how cultural and economic factors interrelate, and how they interact both within and exterior to the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. These interactions are viewed specifically in relation to the natural environment. Overall, this analysis provides valuable information to facilitate assessing the validity of the concepts that guide this study. This is particularly with reference to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, validated in the demographic data by the patterns of education in the study groups; this relationship is further validated by the range of income of the study groups, usually an indicator of class, which, in this study, is shown to be generalised across age groups and gender, rather than specific and therefore devalued as an indicator.

The transcripts of interviews with key informants give vivid evidence of the types of roles, values, affirmations and conflicts within individuals between motivations to action – those based on intrinsic values about the natural environment and those based on economic determinants.

The Planning Manager presents the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council's point of view about current regulations governing the relationship of the built environment of Coles Bay and Swanwick to the natural environment, and the less than perfect application of these regulations. He refers to policies protecting the natural environment, but also the constraints in the ability of Council to improve amenity of Coles Bay due to lack of funds. His story contrasts with that of the Property Developer, who, though he has familial connections to place, is driven by his ability to exploit its natural values. This results in conflict expressed about his relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. As an example, his motivation for developing subdivisions is clearly economic, in that he will make money out of the sale of blocks. Yet, he presents it as altruistic in that he will be providing accommodation for visitors to enjoy the area, and also accommodation for workers at the new Federal Hotels and Resorts development. He describes a cosy relationship with the developers behind the Federal Hotels and Resorts development that belies his concerns about the needs of residents and visitors. The Parks and Wildlife Officer presents yet another relationship with the natural environment and motivation for his actions. Culture and ecology are the drivers of his activities expressed in engagement with the people and the communities of the area, and the preservation and maintenance of its natural and historical heritage.

The two Joans – present and former accommodation owner-managers – are interesting examples of a happy confluence of economic capital and cultural capital in which the values of the natural environment are prioritised. Although they ran, or are still running, commercial enterprises, their motivation in being there was a cultural valuing of Freycinet National Park. One has overseen the design of her accommodation lodge – Freycinet Experience – to make it as fully sustainable and non-intrusive in the landscape as possible, and supports the aesthetics of the natural environment as expressed in art, food, literature and wine. Joan of The Chateau clearly had a deep connection to place and appreciation of its changing beauty over the seasons which she shared with others. Her friendships with the families who stayed at the hotel attest to the cultural transmission of values about the natural environment over the generations as they came each year to stay.

The Cranbrook farmers and the businessman also have economic relationships to the land, as business managers of farming and food enterprises. Yet, they have undertaken practical measures to preserve the natural environment. The farmers demonstrate their commitment by putting covenants on three parcels of land; the businessman demonstrates his care for the natural environment by initiating the plastic bag free movement for Coles Bay.

Clearly, it is in the stories, memories, opinions, feelings, needs and fears – succinct, rambling, humorous, concerned – of the people with connections to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula that the real gold lies. These are presented in the next three chapters of the results of the study.

Chapter 6 Results for Group 1 Residents



Photo I Parmenter: Dolphins in Great Oyster Bay

Menu for Michael Palín: Freycinet Escape

Antipasto

Main: Crayfish platter with honey mustard dill sauce

Barbecued mussels, abalone and scallops

Whole stripey trumpeter stuffed with herbs, cooked in foil

Dessert: oranges marinated in kunzia syrup (local bush herb) with honey whipped cream.

- A local fisherman supplied 2 crays and the stripey trumpeter straight from the ocean.
- The scallops were harvested in Bicheno.
- The oysters were supplied by the Coles Bay Marine Oyster Farm.
- The mussels were supplied by the Mussel Boys at Bicheno.
- The abalone was supplied by Tasmanian Abalone Farms at Swansea.
- The kunzia for the syrup was harvested locally by the chef.
- The oranges came from interstate: Victoria?
- The food was prepared beforehand at the Sheoaks on Freycinet Bed and Breakfast's commercial kitchen.

6.1 Rationale

Textual analysis of the qualitative responses from the members of the study groups was undertaken by parameters, themes and elements. This section of results is informed by direct quotations from the respondents.

6.2 Year 1

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula were home, community and workplace to the majority of residents, who identified the natural environment, home, and a love or passion for this place as the bases of their relationships to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Significantly, none identified, and therefore gave it a value, as a work-place.

Common to the members of this group was a valuing of the natural environment. This valuing was expressed in stories of childhood contact and experiences at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, or a similar coastal location: ‘as a child the family used to stay at Richardson’s Beach, we had a dinghy and net and every morning we set the net and caught fish and swam, it was great’ (R18 2004). These residents acknowledged the importance of their experiences when they were growing up. Evoked were memories at various sites in the Freycinet National Park such as camping grounds, bays, beaches and mountains, and of activities such as swimming, bush-walking, surfing, snorkelling, boating and sailing, expressed in the words of a middle aged male resident as ‘being young and free, catching stingrays, fishing, racing through the bush’ (R3 2004).

Residents identified their parents as the principal source of their valuing of the natural environment. These values were transmitted through the family and were reinforced by an ongoing relationship with the natural environment. As a young woman resident said: ‘I love it, love the place, I have very strong connections with place –the mountains, beaches, living there as a child, it was a wonderful place to grow up, such strong memories, I love being by the sea’ (R2 2004). This engagement was expressed not only through recreational activities (surfing, swimming, boating, bushwalking, snorkelling, diving and fishing; climbing the mountains), but through knowledge and

understandings about the seasonal movements and breeding patterns of shark, crayfish and other scale fish; the location of scallop and abalone beds; observations on predator-prey relations, for instance as a fisherman said 'where there are dolphins you often find whales, you know' [R5 2004]); knowledge of both daily and seasonal weather patterns such as of rainfall, winds, tides; knowledge of flora pollination and flowering times such as for the kunzia which suffuses the air with the scent of honey in spring; the habitats of quolls, devils, wombats and wallabies; knowledge of birdlife and breeding patterns at Moulting Lagoon; and knowledge of specific habitats such as the saltwater and freshwater lagoons. Care for the environment was also important, as one older resident affirmed: 'burning the bush should be reduced, for the first time last year the regrowth was left alone and there are ground larks over in the paddock, I disturbed them twice, they must be nesting there permanently' (R6 2004). This knowledge and understanding was connected to time, seasons and place: 'surfing after a front comes through with a northerly stream, I need to go catch the north-east swell before westerly air dissipates it' (R16 2004). Residents expressed their connections to place artistically in music, painting, writing and photography.

While supporting tourism development, residents were cautious about the forms it should take. The younger and middle age groups preferred development which was guided by low impact environmental outcomes and care, and which gave better access and cheaper accommodation for families holidaying at Coles Bay. They supported the findings of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan and its recommendations, for instance to provide footpaths and bike paths in the township. Older residents were divided: those with children and grand-children supported development as it might provide jobs; a fisherman supported new infrastructure, particularly a jetty; other retirees preferred no further development, but did not oppose it outright. None supported a total ban on any further development, while for all the priority was to protect the natural environment. There was agreement that 'the environment is the basis of everything' (R18 2004).

Residents were committed to environmental integrity, and expressed their belief in environmental sustainability as a value. They also undertook personal conservation activities; some were members of the local Green Globe 21 organisation; they were committed to recycling supported Coles Bay's status as a plastic bag free town. These types of engagement were characteristic of the younger and middle aged members of

this group. Older residents in general supported their activities. As an older, working resident said: 'I want my children and grandchildren to have the chance to catch crays in the future' (R5 2004).

Contrasting with the practicalities of their relationship to the environment was a response to the sense of place of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. One respondent who loved painting expressed sense of place through describing a view: 'the unending colour line of The Hazards as it changes through the day to sunset, the different shades, the many moods of the mountains, morning to evening' (R12 2004); through personal connection to a favourite spot or landscape, such as a beach, walk, surf break, orchid patch, caves, to 'Cape Tourville Light House, with 200 degrees of water views, pink granite, white sands. Makes you feel rich, happy with what you are viewing, where you live, God's country' said a young surfer (R16 2004). For a third of these residents – males and females – there was an underlying magico-religious signifying of place, expressed by a young massage therapist as: 'the energy comes across from the west into Coles Bay, hits the mountains and circulates, it is very protective and safe, and influences the behaviour of the people here, like chi' (R2 2004). Similar feelings were expressed when individuals identified a place of special meaning to retreat to, of significance only to themselves. The local plumber said 'I love raw granite and rocky shores, and in the evenings I sit at special spots on the rocks and watch the sun go down and ponder life, especially before leaving to go down to Hobart' (R4 2004). Individuals of all ages in this group reported key moments, such as when they turned off from the main east coast road, the Tasman Highway, onto the Coles Bay Road, viewing in the journey into Coles Bay the first glimpse of the pink granite mountains, The Hazards, which signified that they had reached 'home,' place, and the natural world. Rituals also were connected with place, such as picnics at special sites; ritual walks such as to Wineglass Bay or to Mount Amos to see the view; shared rituals for the younger residents including an Orphans' Christmas Party for people unable to go home at Christmas to their families because of work or lack of money, a Christmas dinner at the Iluka Tavern, fires on the beach at full moon with some playing their guitars and bongo drums, and they shared celebrations such as births and weddings.

Residents were members of a community whose social relationships and activities were expressed spatially, for all except the very elderly residents in this group shared

a lively, creative social life with activities revolving around specific places in the environment. Locations were named, such as Schouten Island, Great Oyster Bay, Sleepy Bay and Bluestone Bay where residents dived and snorkelled, and also the Friendly Beaches where they went surfing, Muir's Beach where they held beach parties and played music – they had a local band – or went for their morning walk with the dog. As one described his social life: 'I share activities with Tom, Jake, friends, social events, birthdays, parties, fishing in the bays, surfing at Friendlies, playing music, and with older dudes, social activities, fishing, photographing surfing with a local nature photographer, we work together, hang out, discuss things' (R16 2004).

Key events involved all of these residents, such as a town clean-up; an art exhibition by local artists, with music, at a local upmarket hotel, The Lodge; the annual Orphans' Christmas Party, where those without families took part with residents in organising a Christmas dinner; and the community Christmas dinner at the Iluka Tavern. Many had taken part in the France to Freycinet Festival in 2001, which later became an annual event. Often the word 'play' was used by the younger residents to describe shared activities which included 'everything from surfing snorkelling, climbing, bushwalking, drinks, parties, walking the dog' said a younger resident (R3 2004); and by an older resident as 'going out on the fishing boats with the locals and the traditions connected with this' (R5 2004). Time was also measured according to physical manifestations of place, such as evenings when they had barbecues and parties on the beach, or mornings went they went fishing early, a laid back life described by a younger surfer: 'I allocate the most time to waiting for the next swell' (R3 2004).

Most residents belonged to one or more local groups such as the Volunteer Ambulance, the Foreshore Preservation Society, the Coles Bay Community Association, and the Coles Bay Progress Association. Only one or two residents did not support these local organisations. An older resident said: 'the Progress Association is made up of people in from elsewhere – greenies, Parks and Wildlife, I don't like it. They are anti-change, there's no new marina or a safe jetty, they watch me pull boats off the beach that come ashore (in storms) and don't help, but they oppose a safe jetty' (R5 2004). Another felt there just were too many associations and committees and it would be better if people just acted and pulled together out of

community spirit. Some saw negative change occurring in Coles Bay – principally older residents – but most saw positive change occurring. Although all said they liked its small-town character, most also felt some sense of loss in the changes taking place in Coles Bay.

Residents went out of their way to keep in touch with elderly locals whom they knew. In the general conduct of their informal social affairs, the age groups mixed. Friendships extended across ages and incomes, and were not determined by a demand for authenticity through, for instance, birth or years of living at Coles Bay. One older lady reflected: ‘young families, old and middle aged too, retired people, all get in there if something needs doing. With the Red Shield appeal, I stood outside the shop with a tin and collected change from people and then doorknocked and collected nearly \$400, very generous’ (R1 2004). Thus, sense of place was expressed in community relations as well as in the relationship to the physical environment.

The tourism-based employment of the residents were: four business-owners engaged in the provision of tourism goods and services, specifically recreational activities and a restaurant supplied by fish caught by the proprietor; a marine oyster lease; a bed and breakfast establishment and the management of similar establishments for absentee owners. One respondent was a local fisherman, another was a local tradesman. The younger respondents were employees in either hospitality or recreational services such as sea-kayaking and quad-bike riding, managing the caravan-park, handyman at the caravan-park, and employment in local businesses such as the Coles Bay Bakery and The Lodge hotel. A clear relationship by residents with the economic capital brought by tourists to the site was able to be identified in the nature of their employment. This relationship extended to income expenditure, as residents spent income in the local shops and establishments. They bought provisions, drank at the local tavern, and bought food, petrol and other necessities. Of the 18 residents interviewed, 15 residents owned (or were buying) property, and 13 earned their income on-site, mostly through employment in tourism goods and services provision, particularly in hospitality, including owning and managing businesses. None of the respondents was unemployed. Four older residents described themselves as ‘retirees’. Only one respondent worked outside the study site. Tourism as the major industry in the area provided income based on natural capital which was located in the natural environment of the protected areas, for the majority of respondents, whether

employers or employees. Younger residents in particular supported 'ecotourism'. This was a generic term used to describe environmentally-responsive tourism development, further expressed in support for environmental integrity over economic development, for 'if you don't have a healthy environment, you don't have a strong economy' (R9 2004). This view was consistent across age groups.

Recreational activities were key to the way the younger residents related to the natural environment, described as 'sharing activities with friends, going places, to the beach, out to Friendlies, going diving, beach parties' (R2 2004). Other activities which expressed a personal connection to place by all residents in this group included gathering food from natural sources (fish, duck, wallaby, kunzia honey); photography; painting; and craft, embroidery, quilt-making and crochet by the older women. Residents generally avoided the more popular tourist spots, particularly of Freycinet National Park, unless they had visitors to show around. Possibly for this reason, no residents mentioned the presence of phytophthora in the park. Although its affects are changing the landscape – making it more open and therefore more favourable to heat-resistant species such as black peppermint, sedges and grasses – this slow change was perhaps not easily discernible by those in close and ongoing contact with the landscape.

Support for the protected area of Freycinet National Park and respect for its integrity were expressed by the majority of the residents in this group, although two older residents resented the payment required to enter Freycinet National Park and enforcement of the permit system by Parks and Wildlife rangers. Respect for the Freycinet National Park's environmental integrity was based on a deep understanding of its intrinsic worth and also of the dependence of the economic viability of the community on its health. Relationships to the natural environment took instrumental, intrinsic and spiritual forms for these residents, which they expressed in personal relationships to the environment. They identified a special place, described their love of the landscape, marine environment, flora and fauna, took part in outdoor recreational activities, which all demonstrated the spiritual and intrinsic character of the valuing of their relationship to the environment.

Despite their dependence on the economic capital brought into Coles Bay by tourism, the residents in this group were concerned about the impact of tourism on both the

small-town character of Coles Bay and the natural environment. These effects were perceived to be direct such as the foot-traffic on the walking tracks, particularly the Wineglass Bay track; the amount of vehicular traffic in the township in summer and associated vehicle emissions: 'the traffic is unbelievable, the people, I feel like I'm outnumbered' (R3 2004); adverse water quality in bays around Freycinet National Park and Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve: a woman scientist said 'do they want the bays to be closed to the public, like at some beaches?' (R13 2004); and ineffectual waste management, particularly sewerage disposal in the area. In terms of Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve, protest against duck-shooting by the Coalition Against Duck Shooting occurred, as it does every year, by protesters from outside the study site (the Coalition Against Duck Shooting is based in Victoria, and Birds Tasmania and Action Against Animal Cruelty are based in Hobart). No locals took part in this protest activity; indeed, one older resident was a keen duck hunter, and resented the annual protests.

Their concern for the natural environment was evident, as about half the residents in all age groups had been active against development, or had been involved in a community consultation forum or survey to provide input into the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, which was conducted by consultants to Tasmania's Department of Infrastructure, Energy and Resources to rationalise future planning development of the area. Particularly involved were the younger residents and the older residents in this group (but not the business people of the middle age group), an older resident saying about the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan's recommendation for a high-level road into Coles Bay, designed to exploit the views on the drive in: 'the natural environment should be left alone, disturbing the quolls with this latest plan is the last straw' (R6 2004).

Many residents were dissatisfied with the way Glamorgan Spring Bay Council enforced its regulations. These concerns included the small size of building blocks; permission granted for structures to be built along the cliff at Swanwick, thus destroying the skyline when seen from the water; and the enforcement of regulations about closed-system sewerage management for residences. Dissatisfaction with decision-making processes was expressed by the majority of the residents equally in all age groups, who expressed fears about the negative impacts on the natural environment, for 'any development has to take care of the environment because that's

why we're here and that's what people want' (R6 2004). They felt that Glamorgan Spring Bay Council did not meet its responsibilities in this area. As noted, although no residents wanted a complete ban on future development, their feelings about development were ambivalent: 'development is needed, sewage and upgraded services are needed, employment, but at what cost, where are the boundaries, where will it stop?' (R9 2004).

Residents in all age groups observed the direct environmental impacts resulting from tourism development. The younger residents were specific in their concerns, while older residents expressed a generalised anxiety about the natural environment. Concerns were expressed about the impact of development on the ecosystem, wildlife and climate change, and specifically on orchids, trees, devils and quolls. A generalised sense of loss in terms of apprehensions of environmental and social change was expressed by all age groups. Concerns were expressed about services for the new hotel, 'Federal Hotels will take over the jetty for a marina, take all the rubbish off-shore, the sewage off-shore, and use a fast cat (motor catamaran). Imagine the noise two to three times per day, and big tourist buses coming into Coles Bay' (R13 2004). Unacknowledged was the residents' own impact on the environment which included their physical impact on protected areas, vehicle emissions, and contribution to the problems of waste creation and management.

Despite their economic dependency on tourism, many residents in this group found the numbers of tourists in summer unmanageable and felt swamped, socially and personally. They welcomed winter as being a time when they could reclaim place in all its physical manifestations, but particularly their recreational access to the national park. Winter was a time when relationships with the natural environment could be re-established without the presence of large numbers of tourists, and they could once again relate to the natural environment which they loved. 'In winter, when it's quieter, we catch up with friends, spend time at the pub, give dinners, go for walks on the beach, surfing, bushwalking, and enjoy life because it's too busy in summer' (R16 2004).

6.3 Year 2

In Year 2, an aim of the study was to identify change for all groups that might have occurred over the period of a year, against a backdrop of a relationship to place

expressed in terms of cultural, economic and natural capital. As noted, the size of the groups was reduced from 18 to 12 per group.

Residents reported little change to their circumstances. Only one resident had left Coles Bay. Two residents reported making new friends. Almost half the residents reported no change in their circumstances at all, and the remainder reported no more than one or two changes each. These were work related (one respondent changed jobs), business (expansion by one respondent) and personal (one respondent moved house after a personal separation). None had bought or sold property. None had retired and none was unemployed.

In terms of cultural capital, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula remained home and community for all of the residents. Residents still felt the same love and passion for place as previously, 'It is still the loveliest place on earth and I would still prefer to live here until my dying days' (R12 2005). Generally, an intrinsic valuing of place, in tandem with economic dependence and therefore an instrumental relationship and valuing of place remained apparent in this group. Instrumentally, employment continued for the residents through tourism and the provision of tourism goods and services to tourists visiting Freycinet National Park. Economically, it continued as the workplace for those who weren't retirees.

All residents continued the same social, recreational and creative activities centred spatially at particular locations such as Friendly Beaches for surfing, Great Oyster Bay for fishing, beach parties and playing music on Muir's Beach, with one resident describing an evening on the beach: 'we backed the ute down the ramp and unloaded the grog and the gear onto the beach and set up, it was a great night' (R16 2005). All reaffirmed their appreciation and valuing of the natural environment, with many expressing an added intensity. Culturally, the same activities were also pursued and included photography, cooking and painting; craft, embroidery, quilt-making and crochet.

Residents felt the same ritual connections to place, and relationship to special places as previously. All continued to express an affinity with this place and appreciation of its beauty. Perceptions of a magico-symbolic aspect of place were expressed by a third of residents, that is, all of the younger residents. A third still expressed feelings of a sense of loss about changes occurring in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

An older resident stated that it had been quiet in the intervening winter, as, with the budget air flights within and out of Australia 'people were going away to somewhere warmer, and this made a big difference, locally' (R1 2005).

No new knowledge or understandings were expressed, though there were no reported changes in the respondents' current levels of knowledge about the natural environment. Food was still gathered from natural sources, mainly through fishing, diving and shooting, described by one resident: 'the other morning we were pulling in the nets in Great Oyster Bay and a huge shark attacked the nets, tearing them to get at the fish catch. We heaved it up, me and the crew, the net was caught in its mouth, flathead streaming out, it was that heavy, we couldn't physically lift it into the boat' (R5 2005). Then he looked at me: 'No, I didn't shoot it,' he snapped. Residents' feelings had not changed about the environment, or the community, or about development which was planned, the growth of tourism, and economic development in general. They were still concerned to achieve a balance between environmental integrity and economic development.

In terms of community involvement in consultation about development, most residents said that, as 'nothing had happened' (R4 2005), there was no reason to change their opinions or feelings about development plans, though concern was expressed about the large number of land sales, with new, bigger houses being built, often replacing older shacks in Coles Bay and Swanwick. However, a resident described how a petition had been circulated in order to gain a commitment from government to implement some of the recommendations of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan. Over four hundred people had signed the petition. An officer from Tourism Tasmania had attended a meeting about the implementation of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, but seemed to know nothing about the petition. 'Communication is a problem,' (R18 2005), this resident concluded.

Informal support through friendships and group networks was maintained over this period. Local celebrations were enjoyed by this group, though formal community activities had not changed. Formal celebrations this year included a death, marriages and birthdays. The Orphans' Christmas Party was still held, but the Christmas Lunch at Iluka Tavern was not held this year, possibly for economic reasons, and this was regretted by the residents 'it's a shame, the oldies loved their Christmas dinner' (R3

2005). Local community associations continued to be active, with some change of membership, and included promoting Coles Bay as an eco-friendly town through Green Globe 21 which had held a survey of ratepayers to assess their attitudes to planned development; and the town's plastic bag free status, though the initiator of this movement had recently left the community and was sadly missed. The Coles Bay and Freycinet Community and Tourism Association – the two organisations had amalgamated over the past year – was reported as being 'more dynamic and has picked up a bit. It is more active' (R13 2005).

The flow of people into and out of the community during the year was observed and welcomed as revitalizing it, with one respondent observing that some young people who had come to work short-term had 'stayed on to become members of the community' (R9 2005). Transience of the resident population over summer was less noticeable this year.

The Federal Hotels and Resorts development received planning approval during this period. Land clearing and preparation for its construction proceeded, which was noted by the residents, both positively and negatively. As the Federal Hotels development would provide an economic injection into the community, with associated services which could be expected to follow, campaigning against the development was viewed negatively by an older resident – a manager of a bed and breakfast business – who said the protests would 'affect everything positive connected with the development, such as the town's new sewerage system, the dam for the hotel and the subdivision providing housing for staff' (R18 2005). The younger residents reported feeling less concerned about the Federal Hotels and Resorts development than in the previous year, as 'the delay in its construction has allowed us to grow used to it', said a local chef (R8 2005) and an older woman commented that 'community input seems to go in waves of complacency and irate objection' (R17 2005). In summary, a resident observed 'if Coles Bay gets infrastructure it will create jobs, but the visual impact of development is a concern' (R3 2005); and as a local commented 'the economics of tourism keeps it going, as it is no longer a little seaside village with shacks and fishermen at the wharf where you could buy your fish' (R1 2005).

In terms of decision-making about planning and development, concern was expressed about the wisdom of building a new car park at the start of the Wineglass Bay track,

which was underway, as a new car park at the Tasman Highway turn-off with a shuttle bus service into Coles Bay was recommended in the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan. Disillusion was expressed about the fate of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan. Its recommendations had not been funded and the lack of implementation was condemned, as a number of residents commented. An issue noted by one resident was a subdivision development at a site in Swanwick, 'Hazards View' which gained approval to proceed from the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council even though its sewerage plan had not been finalised: 'Hazards View development is going ahead when their sewerage hasn't been finalised; where is it to go, onto the Golf Course?' (R13 2005). This resident also conducted her own tests of water quality in the bays for Water Watch over this year, 'and the Department of Primary Industries, Water and the Environment enquired over these findings because they showed trends that justified them doing their own water quality tests' (R13 2005).

Residential development was proceeding in Swanwick, Great Oyster Bay and Flack's Road which edges Moulting Lagoon. Vineyards had been established bordering Moulting Lagoon, which raised concerns in these residents about chemical pollution in the waters of the lagoon.

The enforcement of local and state government regulations was still seen to be hit and miss, with little consultation between Glamorgan Spring Bay Council and the community. Where this had taken place, as the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was reported to have consulted with the community about a waste management service, it had instituted a wheelie bin roadside rubbish collection system. Considerable and ongoing dissatisfaction resulted in the community, residents reported, as the majority had preferred recycling, composting, etcetera as options. The Council also implemented a policy of recycling waste paper which, though recycling was supported, was perceived by a local restaurateur to be discriminatory as 'small operators and all ratepayers have to pay extra for the Council to collect cardboard that they never used to have to pay for, but not the large commercial operators. This is discrimination, what is good for the goose is good for the gander, surely everyone must be treated the same and all users pay the extra fee or none' (R14 2005).

Economic capital continued to be accumulated through the exploitation of the natural capital of the environment in the form of tourism-related goods and services provision, and there was no change in tourism as the principal source of employment

for the residents. With new houses and accommodation, and the relaxation of the licensing conditions for accommodation, there was more competition in this area: 'accommodation used to be licensed but now there is no control by government so anyone can provide accommodation' (R13 2005).

Residents reported that a number of commercial premises had changed hands, including the Coles Bay Bakery and other establishments which had personal and community effects, though no direct economic impact. A bed and breakfast owner commented: 'We do feel a loss about the Bakery as its new owner is not a community-minded person. You can't put up notices there anymore. The Post Office, the shop and the other supermarket are also managed by grumpy, uncooperative people. This is a real problem for everyone in the tourism association. For instance we can't recommend people to have breakfast at the Bakery anymore. These changes have limited what the whole town can provide to tourists in terms of services' (R18 2005).

An infrastructure improvement in the community was that the signage had been improved. There were now blue signs with helpful symbols.

To be noted was the fact that economic engagement expressed through business expansion had increased in a quarter of this group, over the year. Paralleling this growth was ongoing concern about the continued impact on the environment of tourism manifesting as heavy traffic at the height of the season in summer, water and sewerage issues, the impact of numbers on the environment and the size and numbers of houses, and smaller block sizes in the new subdivisions. A resident, working in environmental management commented that, with tourism growth 'some things will get worse, more traffic, more sewerage issues, more tourists driving past' (R15 2005). A more complex observation by an older fisherman was 'you need money to pay for things to protect the environment, such as patrol boats that protect the fisheries from poachers' (R5 2005).

In terms of protected areas, the plan by Parks and Wildlife Service to build easier walking tracks which were already under construction and thus improve access for the elderly, disabled and children into Freycinet National Park was viewed positively. However, degradation of the beach area of Wineglass Bay was feared because of the lack of additional toilets to cope with the added numbers, the local plumber stating:

‘it’s already gross down there, they must use the bush’ (R4 2005). Another problem was the possible encroachment on residents’ personal relationship to special spots within the national park: ‘the new tracks, from my estimation, go too near the caves’ (R3 2005).

Protests against duck-shooting by the Coalition Against Duck Shooting, with associated organisations, occurred again at Moulting Lagoon in the season, but the protesters continued to travel to Moulting Lagoon from elsewhere. Environmental protection which residents believed would result from the implementation of a major, environmentally supportive strategy for Coles Bay did not take place, because the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan was not based on or incorporate an Environmental Impact Study: ‘it hasn’t been funded, it has no teeth, what was the use, we could have used the money paid to the consultants’ complained the bed and breakfast owner (R18 2005) – a view shared by other residents. No recommendations to protect habitats or biodiversity could be expected from the implementation strategies of this report, which, as noted, did not eventuate. Indeed, environmental concerns were consistent and cumulative, as the same concerns were carried from Year 1 to Year 2, and were augmented by additional issues. Residents continued to be worried in Year 2 about the welfare of wildlife, water quality, both natural and reticulated, and the expansion of housing in Coles Bay and Swanwick. Additionally, residents noticed more road kill, mainly possums and wallabies. They were concerned about the health of the Tasmanian devils.

Worry about environmental health and integrity constituted an unchanging aspect of residents’ relationships to the natural environment which affected their access to the natural capital of the protected areas; in fact, to all natural areas, including the marine environment. Other concerns centred around the built environment, and involved waste management, not only the adoption of wheelie bins for rubbish removal by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council and rubbish transportation 150 kilometres each week, but management of the local waste refuge centre – the local tip – and also its policy of imposing an unequal cost on the recycling of waste paper which was seen to disadvantage small business operators and residents.

Positive environmental change in the form of ecological protection which resulted from the banning of set lines and gill netting between Waterloo Point at Swansea and

The Fisheries at Freycinet Peninsula – a school shark reserve – improved diving and recreational fishing. From Seaford Point to Weatherhead Point the use of mullet nets was also now prohibited, protecting wrasse, kelpies, morwong, trumpeter, and flathead. There was better fishing and spear fishing according to the locals as there are many more schools of fish around. The use of long and drop lines, bait traps, gillnets, seine nets, bait nets and cast nets were all banned in Moulting Lagoon. Despite half this group supporting economic development in principle, two-thirds of the residents reported economic change that had occurred as negative, compared to one-third reporting change that had occurred as positive. Change through economic development – the vineyards along the borders of Moulting Lagoon and the approval for a new subdivision in Swanwick which did not have a sewerage plan – were identified as having a negative impact on the environment. However, a working resident voiced the dilemma of development versus environmental protection: ‘without the natural asset no-one would come here, and so support the local economy. You have to strike a balance’ (R3 2005).

Their personal relationships, expressed in identifying a special place, as well as their love of the flora and fauna, and participation in environmentally-based recreational and creative activities continued for the residents, and demonstrated not only the physical but the spiritual and intrinsic character of their valuing of this place. The tension inherent in these values was expressed in a comment by a resident about tourism: ‘still hate it, but it is good for the community and I couldn’t live in Coles Bay without tourism. It’s a dilemma’ (R4 2005).

6.4 Year 3

Analysis of the qualitative responses for Year 3 showed that considerable changes had occurred in the personal lives of the residents of Coles Bay over this period, particularly when compared with the responses for Year 1. Firstly, there were social changes with a number of the younger residents marrying and/or having babies. Changes in the older residents were epitomised by one elderly resident moving away from Coles Bay where she had lived most of her life, to a retirement home in Swansea. Three residents had made new friends; one had moved within the area; three residents had left jobs and two of these had new jobs. No residents of Coles Bay or Swanwick had bought or sold property. One resident had started a new tourism

business based on food and boat trips; another resident and her partner had established a new tourism business, and also employed another resident from this group. They provided an upmarket experience of food and accommodation within the national park in the form of a standing camp at Bryan's Beach for nine months of the year (now shut down). Two residents had expanded their current businesses. One resident, a surfer, had built a house.

Personal goals were achieved, as noted: starting a new business for two residents in this group; an architect-designed bed and breakfast establishment won a Tourism Tasmania award for the quality of its service; gaining a grant to build a composting toilet and remodelling a European garden into a native garden to demonstrate local flora was achieved by another resident; a commercial kitchen was added to another resident's house. Sustainable improvements to their housing were achieved by three residents, with the use of discarded materials such as wood and granite boulders from the tip. Another resident started to build a yurt on her father's land. A fishing boat received its annual hull scraping and mending. Five weddings involving community members were held at different places around Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – Friendly Beaches, Sandpiper Beach, Sleepy Bay and the Coles Bay Hall. There were now ten babies in the community.

A special event was reported: the ninetieth anniversary of the creation of Freycinet National Park, but there were no local events to celebrate this anniversary.

For the residents at the end of Year 3, it was clear they continued to value their relationship to Coles Bay which they, almost without exception, described as unchanging. It was still home, community and workplace, and the basis of their relationship to the environment of the protected areas remained love, passion, even for the local fisherman: 'it's my home, I love its quiet beauty, but I wouldn't tell people in authority about the special places. They would try to control them by fencing them off, for instance where there is Aboriginal heritage – we are the stewards of this place, these sacred sites' (R5 2006).

There were some qualifications to this general view. One young resident, a tourism operator said: 'yes, it is still special though not quite the same as last year. I have the small-town blues and I'd like a change of scenery, and friendships outside of the community' (R8 2006). An older resident said sadly: 'it is even busier, especially in

summer' (R11 2006). Another older resident who, with her husband, had moved to aged care in the town of Swansea, across Great Oyster Bay, said: 'people aren't so friendly in Coles Bay anymore, so many come only for weekends or holidays and I feel that no-one cares about us anymore. No-one did anything, like give us a farewell dinner. I feel like a bond has broken' (R12 2006). Others commented differently on the same changes taking place. An older lady said: 'stay with the day, look ahead, a lot of good has come from prosperity. Lovely to look back at the way things were, but it is important to enjoy living now' (R17 2006).

An instrumental valuing of place was still present in this group, as the working residents continued to earn their living directly and indirectly, as employers and employees, from the natural capital of the environment through tourism goods and services provision, in recreation and hospitality. Also evident were changing, dynamic relationships with the environment, and the utility of younger residents' relationships to place had intensified over the past year. They became more seriously engaged in earning a living and establishing families, demonstrating their maturing and the maturing of the community. This had its downside: an older bed and breakfast operator represented the feelings of local business people, when he said that he and his wife had less contact with the natural environment 'due to busyness, it is taking over more of our life, all we do is walk the dog on the beach in the evening' (R18 2006). Younger residents were also less able to spend time at recreational activities in the national park because of work and family demands. They were now more likely to have friends over for a family barbecue than to have full-moon parties on the beach until late with grog and music. The younger 'punks' were more likely to enjoy these activities, the surfing chef said (R13 2006). Older residents likewise retreated in their contact with the natural environment because of age, with one resident in this group leaving the area entirely due to frailty, as noted.

Despite these limitations, residents in the group continued to express cultural capital through their engagement with the natural environment: 'the flight path of pelicans is right over my roof, I hear them in the mornings as they head across to Moulting Lagoon' the chef said (R7 2006). Residents also expressed concerns about environmental integrity in the national park: 'there is a need for low impact, minimal disturbance to preserve the national park' (R9 2006). Particularly noted were the adverse effects of drought on local species such as birds, quolls and Tasmanian

devils. The residents' valuing of the environment remained the same as for the two previous years: all continued to express an affinity with this place and appreciation of its beauty, though none of the younger age group expressed a magico-symbolic aspect of place as they had previously: perhaps they were too busy with their new relationships. Affinity with this place, and an emotional connection to the environment continued for almost all residents in all age groups, one middle aged resident saying 'it is still a place with special meaning: the view of the water and the mountains is very calming, I look at The Hazards wherever I am. Driving home from the city, my first glimpse of The Hazards this side of Swansea means home' (R14 2006). A younger resident said: 'I always try to go for a surf if it is up, it's magical, a connection – to home, yes, but more than that, it's like being right in the environment, not separate, know what I mean?' (R4 2006).

A notable continuation was the majority in all age groups again reporting stronger feelings than previously towards the natural environment, despite less contact with it recreationally, for various reasons. For the majority it was still a special place.

Most notable in reviewing the findings for Year 3 in comparison with the findings of Years 1 and 2 was firstly the constancy of feelings about the environment, the community and tourism development. There was also a heightened sense of personal responsiveness and responsibility towards the natural environment, particularly about negative effects. This intensifying of feelings about the environment was reported by residents as being generally felt in the community, due to the criticality of the water situation in the town and the growth of associated concerns about the provision of services such as water, waste water management and sewerage management. They expressed negative feelings about planned and new subdivisions and houses. Some, who had previously been relatively unquestioning about tourism development, now questioned current directions because of its environmental impact, particularly through water use 'how are spas and things going to allocated water in the new hotel, when we don't have enough for the community?' asked a young resident (R9 2006). At the same time tourism development that employed more residents had occurred over this time period. Support for ecotourism as appropriate to this place was still affirmed by the majority of the residents across all age groups.

A global viewpoint was needed to address local environmental change, a number of residents felt. They observed economic change instigated through financial investment – possibly resulting from the operations of the international market – which they believed was detrimental to the small-town character of Coles Bay and to the natural environment; this trend continued in increased land and property values, resulting in the building of bigger houses on residential sub-divisions, and which also replaced holiday shacks. This trend was also apparent in the use of energy-intensive items such as boats and cars resulting in negative environmental effects: ‘the rich look richer – bigger houses, bigger boats and 4 wheel drives’ complained the environmental manager (R15 2006). This type of life style was viewed as unsustainable as it left a huge environmental footprint on place, compared to the lifestyles of younger locals, some of whom struggled to pay for solar energy systems. One younger resident complained that even local people who could bring change to Coles Bay in support of the environment, instead chose to go down the same path as that of wealthy visitors and tourists and bought expensive, oil guzzling cars, boats and consumables: ‘the eco-friendly nature of Coles Bay and the national park is undermined by this display of wealth’ (R4 2006). Indeed, many residents expressed concern about the use of housing as an investment. This was a situation common in the Australian real estate market at this time, especially in coastal locations adjacent to protected areas such as this, locations which fuelled the rise in values.

A number of residents feared that the short-term house rental associated with this situation acted to break down the community, partly because there was no regard or action by absentee owners to meet the social and ecological consequences arising from these circumstances. A comment from a younger resident was that locals, while being aware of the environment and wanting to protect it, ‘were too locally focused’ (R13 2006) in their activities and should be more global in order to address the magnitude of these developments. Local issues most often identified were to do with water, sewerage and weed management, one resident complaining ‘weeds are a problem, I’m now worried about agapanthus spreading, it takes a bulldozer to get it out and it now can be reproduced by seed and is spread by introduced bumblebees’ said the scientist (R15 2006). Global concerns such as power, energy use, affluence and consumerism should be addressed, it was argued, while locals should act to create a sustainable community through their own lifestyle choices, rather than mimicking the wasteful lifestyles of visitors to the area.

All residents enjoyed the same recreational activities, though to a lesser extent due to changes in personal circumstances. Residents were still focused on the natural environment, and three residents reported new recreational activities: 'Fishing, shooting to keep up the supply of kangaroo patties' (R11 2006), and canoeing. Cultural activities such as painting, crafts, music played with the local band and photography continued as cultural expressions of place.

Change in movement into and out of the community was observed by residents over the past year. Older people leaving the community was viewed as a loss as 'they are the backbone of this place', a surprising comment from a single guy (R3 2006), and the numbers of new people not known by older residents was seen negatively to affect the small-town character of Coles Bay by one resident. Younger residents, however, appreciated new members of the community as bringing new ideas and initiatives. One-third of the residents across all age groups still felt a sense of loss about changes occurring in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula over time.

In contrast to complaints from the residents in this group about the lack of engagement of the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council with the community of Coles Bay, this past year has seen the local council being more active and consultative with the community. The Glamorgan Spring Bay Council had new, active members, including the mayor and the general manager. It held a forum about water management options in all the east coast towns, including Coles Bay, and this was attended by half the residents. An older resident reported that members of the council had regularly attended Freycinet Association Incorporated meetings during the year (the manager and the mayor), and the Natural Resource Management South officer and individual councillors attended Green Globe 21 meetings. Unfortunately, the Natural Resource Management South officer had had little contact with the community over the four-year period of this study. A resident also commented on more responsiveness from local government to the needs of the local community and the environment, despite continued dissatisfaction in some areas (notably waste management).

Less evident was communication with Tasmanian Government agencies such as Parks and Wildlife Service, despite the impact of its activities on the local community, such as its spray protocol protecting the waters of Moulting Lagoon. Support for the integrity of protected and other natural areas remained consistent over

this time period, with residents monitoring protected areas in terms of environmental effects, wildlife movements, marine habitat integrity and evidence of birdlife: 'there are less birds about, less scats, in the park' (R15 2006).

Despite some feeling expressed of negative changes in the small-town character of Coles Bay, community dynamism was evident through the amalgamation of two organisations (Coles Bay and Freycinet Tourism Association and the Coles Bay Community Association) to form the Freycinet Association Incorporated which held monthly meetings and seems to have been more effective in achieving its aims. Local activities such as the Orphans' Christmas Party, which was again held, provided evidence of the strength of community networks, sharing and reciprocity and acted against the trend towards less community cohesion due to financial exploitation of the buoyant real estate market noted by three residents. However, one older person who had left the community had noted a change in the quality of small-town life: 'no-one looks out for each other any more. I often went for a walk and got ready to smile at people I met, only to have them walk past. Strangers. It didn't used to be like that' (R12 2006). This perception was balanced by another older resident who reported the renovation of the tennis courts, the establishment of a tennis club, and social events connected with the tennis club as enhancing the small-town quality of Coles Bay. Other positive changes were reported, such as 'the building of a skate board ramp for skateboarding youngsters' (R17 2006). Thus, community infrastructure development, largely funded by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council contributed to the cultural capital of this place through its social input.

Although residents formed new friendships, there were fewer spontaneous celebrations such as beach parties, fishing expeditions, and indeed 'playing', thus demonstrating the maturing of the younger age group and its growing responsibility in the local community. Concerns expressed by the younger age group reflected their different role in the community as these residents were more likely to choose environmental integrity over economic development than the older age groups. However, young people again were remaining behind at the end of the summer tourist season, a trend seen as contributing to a stable community. Rituals continued, in an *ad hoc* manner. One surfer respondent described how he drove to Friendly Beaches with his wife, his newly-born baby boy and his brother (the baby's uncle) and, in their

wetsuits, 'we christened him, dunked his head in the surf and the gulls were wheeling, brilliant, it was the right thing to do' (R14 2006).

Greater tourism activity over the past year was apparent, as noted, encouraged by several government funding initiatives including to two new businesses run by young locals – the Bryan's Beach Standing Camp and a new conference centre at Mount Paul. The relaxation of State Government regulations concerning overnight accommodation had opened up this income-earning activity for residents who were able to let out rooms and chalets to tourists.

Concern about environmental impact in the protected areas remained at the same high level as for the previous year, and new concerns were listed by the residents, with the drought being seen as exacerbating the situation, making it hard for birds and wildlife to survive. 'There is a need for low impact, minimal disturbance to protect the national park, devils are at risk, there are fewer quolls about this year' observed the tourism operator (R9 2006). Actions to redress environmental impact on the national park included planned low-level tracks to take the strain off the overcrowded Wineglass Bay track.

A detrimental change identified by an older resident was that traditional hunting access to Moulting Lagoon was banned for local hunters, and heated discussion with Parks and Wildlife Service over this issue had resulted, he said. This was in order to protect the waterbirds, whose numbers were reported to be down because of the drought, both in Tasmania and on the Australian mainland. This year there were again demonstrations by the Coalition against Duck Hunting at the opening of the duck-hunting season at Moulting Lagoon, which was delayed for two weeks in deference to the impact of the drought on bird numbers.

Parks and Wildlife Service's extension of car and bus parking at the start of the Freycinet National Park's entry point ostensibly to improve access to the park, was in direct conflict with the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan's recommendation of a car-park and shuttle bus at the turn-off to Coles Bay from the Tasman Highway. Indeed, the extended car and bus parking area, although it lay outside Freycinet National Park, destroyed a large area of bush and its biodiversity. It threatened to increase use of the Wineglass Bay track, thus putting more strain on its carrying capacity; more crowding of the township, with increased vehicle emissions; waste

and water use: all factors detrimental both to the natural environment and to the small-town character of Coles Bay.

A new section of the survey analysing relationships to place in Year 3 reaffirmed change in the community, in that the young residents particularly, but also the middle aged residents to an extent were less likely to spend time recreationally or pleasurably in the environment, due to work and family commitments. In response to weather, seasons, social activities, one resident said that she 'may go surfing if the surf is up, if it is a good time to plant carrots, I will do that, it depends on the weather, the time of the year; if visitors show up me and my husband show them around, like walking to the Wineglass Bay lookout, which means we see over the place again' (R13 2006). Older residents continued to be restricted appreciating views from their homes and walks along nearby beaches. Valuing the natural environment remained, for the residents, a mix of the intrinsic and the instrumental. While they affirmed their connection to the environment for its own sake, residents still had to work to earn their living. For a number of residents, this meant that their excursions into the national park were a part of their business operations. For others, contact with the natural environment was restricted due to their confinement to offices, bed and breakfast establishments, a restaurant, the hotel and the caravan site. The busyness of summer – the height of the tourist season – meant that working residents had little time to spend at special sites in the environment, or in recreational activities such as fishing, surfing, boating and walking, or in social activities such as beach parties.

Thus was tracked the maturing of residents in their relations with the community and the environment across this time period; continued intensification of environmental awareness and connection with place. Core values of cultural capital balancing economic demands centred on environmental concerns. Sense of place was clearly expressed in community relations as well as in relationships to the physical environment. Felt conflict between those asserting the values of cultural capital – in terms of protection of the natural environmental values of this place – against the demands of economic capital in earning a living from the natural environment was apparent in the residents and their relationships to the natural environment, particularly the young who felt the pressures of work and raising families. Thus, economic and familial demands took away the time residents – particularly the young – could spend in doing what they loved best in a place they loved best. Thus, over the

three-year period of the study, changes in community, economy and ecology and the relationships between the forms of capital associated with each – both personal and communal – were experienced as changing over time by residents and community in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Chapter 7 Results for Group 2 Visitors



Photo: Gareth Patterson-Were

The Property developer

The Property developer generally visits the area between December and March to enjoy recreation and to view the progress of his development project, a major new subdivision around the golf course. He has included a recreation ground in his plans. This will provide somewhere for people to play football and cricket, or to fly a kite. Protesters? People protest at everything these days, he said. They are a vocal minority, and the power of the press gives them a voice. Progress is necessary, or, he stated, we'd end up like Africa. He feels that some people don't want change, they want to keep the area to themselves.

7.1 Rationale

Textual analysis of the qualitative responses from the members of the study groups was undertaken by parameters, themes and elements. This section of results is informed by direct quotations from the respondents.

7.2 Year 1

The valuing of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a special place was characteristic of the visitors who comprised this group, as 14 of the 18 visitors had spent their childhood holidays there. This position was enhanced by their homes, community and workplaces being located elsewhere in Tasmania. Travel to Coles Bay required a journey of several hours. In the past, prior to 1990 when the twenty-seven kilometre road was finally sealed, it was a harrowing drive over a corrugated, sandy track with, at one time, 17 farm gates to open and close. The vicissitudes of this journey highlighted the visitors' valuing of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a place which was 'other' to the everyday world of life and work which they left behind on this journey.

The visitors' contact generally was for short periods at a time, such as a few weeks of the summer holiday or at Easter, though a few had spent longer periods of time there. These holidays were often repeated over many years. Those visitors who had early memories of holidays spent at Coles Bay with their friends and families remembered similar experiences to that of one older visitor: 'I remember walking with groups of friends or family, visiting various parts of Freycinet Peninsula and Coles Bay on sailing holidays with family and friends, or holidaying at Coles Bay with family or friends' (V18 2004). It was a beloved natural holiday spot, perceived as an untouched natural environment, with ten visitors in this group, across all ages, expressing love and passion as a basis of their relationship to this place. Three visitors who had not holidayed at Coles Bay had spent them at similar spots elsewhere and felt the same about these places.

Those who had spent holidays in the past at Coles Bay, such as an older boat builder remembered the 'blueness of sky and water, sand, fishing, wooden clinker boats' (V14 2004); and an elderly artist who remembered 'in the mornings or out on the

water you could hear distant chopping, the campfire, the birds, it was so still and quiet' (V6 2004). An emotional connection to the environment was acknowledged by almost all visitors in all age groups, which promoted, socially, an easy friendliness: 'the children loved roughing it, no-one dressed for meals, running around in bare feet, it was part of the charm of the place' (V7 2004). A magico-symbolic sense of place was felt by a third of visitors, equally across all age groups, one young person saying 'it is my spiritual centre, where I go to relax and be free, especially Black Point' (V10 2004).

Sense of place and affinity with it were apprehended in the physical environment, expressed by all visitors through a personal connection to a favourite local site or landscape. Thus, one visitor who had holidayed there as a child stated: 'Honeymoon Bay late in the evening is special, I camped there when I was young, the colour of the rocks, and we have kayaked in that area' (V12 2004). Rituals were linked to time and place: a regular morning swim or a beach walk; a midwinter solstice swim; or a walk to view an orchid in spring by a granite boulder off the Wineglass Bay track. All visitors expressed appreciation of its beauty and its special character as a holiday spot. It was a place where, they felt, everyone was 'on holiday' and, as an older man said 'nobody tried to flaunt their wealth or position in society' (V7 2004). Their valuing of the natural environment was intrinsic, with all of the younger visitors in this group identifying their parents as the source of these values, whereas middle-aged visitors identified parents, the bush or environment as sources of their values, and older visitors also identified principally parents, but also the bush or environment as the sources of their values.

Many in this group expressed a considerable understanding of the local biodiversity, and one visitor's family had rehabilitated a significant area of coastal landscape through reforestation practices over a twenty-year period. Individuals expressed environmental knowledge, including of seasonal change; the biodiversity of Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve and its birdlife; fishing spots and conditions; quoll and devil numbers and locations, wombat paths; shore change and dune movement; the marine habitat in general; and bushwalking conditions, fishing conditions and boating conditions. Most visitors supported the creation of the national park and its later extensions, and an older visitor who felt strongly that the park should remain free of any development expressed the feelings of the majority of visitors.

Among the cultural activities that visitors described was the use of natural materials such as casuarina, bark, reeds and shells to make furniture, baskets, and soap dishes, and gathering food from natural sources, (principally fish and honey). At least five visitors to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, one of whom took part in this study, are world-renowned in their creative fields: pottery, print-making, painting and poetry. Inspiration from place for this group of visitors was expressed through writing, painting, pottery and photography.

Recreational activities of the visitors were: fishing, diving for abalone and crayfish, camping at Schouten Island and mooring the boat at Bryan's Beach, visiting other special places with friends, swimming, walks, surfing, wave-skiing, eating, restaurants, golf, lazing at the beach, going for bushwalks, playing cricket, and reading extensively. Clearly, given the short periods of time spent at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, these recreational activities were central to the visitors' 'holiday' experience, and past activities were mixed with present as if there was little differentiation in time. A young woman remembered 'one morning, I got up early on Mt Dove with the sunrise and sat on the ocean-side and the sun was hitting The Hazards and it was brilliant orange, yellow, pink, red, and so silent you could hear a pin drop, it was one of the most beautiful things I had ever experienced, sitting on the side of the cliff, it was amazing' (V8 2004). The visitors described 'wild trips to South Friendlies, kayaking, bushwalking, on the beach collecting shells, doing a wombat walk in the evenings' (V10 2004), and 'it was always a place of discovery, surfing at Friendly Beaches, the total aspect of camping at that age' (V16 2004). There were 'walks – to Sleepy Bay, Wineglass Bay, the Hazards track, Mt Amos' (V14 2004) – and families 'boating in everything from kayaks to twenty-foot sailing boats, always something afloat and we always went snorkelling at Sleepy Bay or the rocky outcrop on Richardson's Beach, or took the boat to The Fisheries, water skiing' (V7 2004). A prominent artist described childhood experiences on a family property: 'visiting Swanwick and the estuary meant fishing, which was a major interest with my brothers, trout fishing, abalone, crabs, rabbit, wallaby shooting' (V5 2004).

For an older visitor, an established artist who still goes to Coles Bay to paint, her memories went back before the Second World War: 'we went round to Coles Bay in the high clearance Whippet, following the old railway line, no proper road, and we caught fish, flounder so big they overlapped plates, used old carbide lamps.

Remembered best about that time was being in the bush, and learning about the Aborigines at Swanwick. My father found artefacts and I was fascinated to think they lived there' (V16 2004). Another older visitor who had first holidayed at Coles Bay as a child remembered that occasion: 'I first went to Coles Bay at about age three, and I remember that my father lost his false teeth in the bay when swimming' (V11 2004).

Visitors also spent time 'socialising, surfing, camping, fishing, spear fishing, bike riding, motorbike riding, farming with sheep and cows and the beach and the river and the surf all the time' (V17 2004). They 'went over the mountains to Bluestone Bay, life on the beach, playing cricket, it was an idyllic life' said a woman who had first visited Coles Bay before the war (V1 2004). Some studied the wildlife, 'particularly birds, bird-watching' (V6 2004). A visitor described, as a boy 'swimming at Richardson's Beach with crabs and baby flounder and you'd tread on the flounder and the crabs would nip you and sometimes schools of fish would beach themselves' (V16 2004). One visitor was always 'really interested in the natural history and the environment, initially as a geology student but also the flora, birdlife and the landscape' (V2 2004), and 'I was interested in the wildflowers in the heathlands, with many orchid species different from the Hobart bushlands I was used to, and these had always been a particular interest of mine, the dendrobium orchids on granite rocks at the Wineglass Bay lookout were almost unobserved, though beautiful' (V18 2004).

Although a number of visiting families had formed long-term links to families in Coles Bay over the years, in general they had little contact with the community or the township. None expressed appreciation of the small-town character of Coles Bay, and therefore did not express concerns about changes to it over time. Group membership was to family, friends and informal recreational and cultural groups for the majority of visitors. Most did not belong to organisations, the exceptions being two visitors who belonged to a protest organisation which had succeeded in preventing the building of a marina, the Foreshore Preservation Association, and another two who belonged to the Swanwick Progress Association, which became Swanwick Future in 2007. Part of their activism was to seek local support from other visitors, but also from residents to help achieve their goals. They did not act in isolation, and the members of this last group were particularly active in this way, sending news-sheets and emails to locals and interested people in Hobart and elsewhere. Visitors travelled

to Coles Bay with their family members and/or friends. One visitor had led Scout groups to the national park in the past. Another two had taken part in school trips to the area: 'in Year 9 we did an outdoor education trip to the Hazards, it was a vivid time, we camped on top of Mt. Dove in open-air caves' (V8 2004).

Visitors were also concerned about a range of issues: the danger of the pollution of water from chemicals used in the new vineyards bordering Moulting Lagoon; traffic density and degradation of tracks due to the numbers walking; air pollution from vehicle emissions; sewerage waste management; escalating land values; lack of consistency in the local council's application of regulations; sub-division development which included streets, concrete paths, parking bays and streetlights that were seen to be inappropriate: 'the wombats lost their habitat due to the subdivision development and road construction' (V10 2004). Fears were expressed about the planned hotel and the restriction of access to beaches by housing development. There was concern that loss of solitude would negatively affect the sense of place and therefore their appreciation of it. There was a tendency to remember it as it was, nostalgically: 'in the middle of winter, it can be almost like it was, as you remember it' (V1 2004).

An expression of their sense of ownership of place, even stewardship of the natural environment, was demonstrated in the visitors' activism to protect and maintain the environmental values and character of the protected areas as many had known them in the past. As noted, a number of visitors had protested successfully against previous proposals and were currently involved in protesting against the planning approval of a resort at Muir's Beach, the Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development proposal, and a subdivision development at Swanwick, called Hazards View. Stewardship was expressed by the visitors, for instance in ensuring that birdlife was protected by purchasing land at Long Point adjacent to Moulting Lagoon through the Tasmanian Land Conservancy organisation: the aim was explicitly to prevent tourism development in this area, protect the birdlife and as an exercise in implementing personal and group values in the environment. Visitors contributed to natural capital through this valuing, although their relationships to place were not viewed by them as touristic, but rather as social, recreational, cultural and artistic.

Visitors were thus conservative and conservationist in their attitudes to development and the future of Coles Bay, wishing the area to stay as it always had been in their experience, and as they wanted it to remain for their children and grandchildren. Despite the contradictions in their position – as non-residents, they were, after all, tourists too – their wish was to ban further development, particularly for tourism. The younger and middle aged visitors were determined that any new initiatives should be environmentally supportive, low key and family friendly, such as bike-paths. Only two older visitors supported even this type of development, the rest opposed it, as they opposed any development at all. Indeed, older visitors demonstrated a lack of engagement with issues to do with planning and development in general.

Concerns about decision-making with regard to the integrity of place and the natural environment focused on the perceived inconsistency of the implementation of its regulations by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. There was considerable cynicism expressed about decision-making processes: ‘the wool has been pulled over the eyes of the community and people who love the place a lot by higher corporate groups who know how to manipulate’, said an older male visitor (V17 2004). A number of visitors in this group had contributed to the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, and were anxious to see how its recommendations were implemented. Misgivings about air and water quality, biodiversity protection and violations within the protected areas such as tree-felling were substantial.

Economically, where visitors owned property at Coles Bay (six visitors), they did not describe this as an investment, but still they were responsible for expenditure connected with ownership such as maintenance, power, council rates, and water purchase if necessary. However, visitor presence at Coles Bay generated economic activity in other ways, particularly in the peak holiday season of summer through their need for rented accommodation: shack or house, hotel and bed and breakfast, camping sites (including within the national park), boat mooring sites; and caravan and motor-home sites with the provision of a range of associated facilities and services such as power and waste removal, all of which in turn had the effect of promoting economic change. Expenditure was minimised by visitors in this group because they brought with them their own recreational activities and equipment, and their own necessities: food, drinks, clothing and

bedding. These provisions were augmented locally only when necessary, because of the perceived high cost of these items in Coles Bay.

Visitors contributed to natural capital through their valuing of the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, a relationship which, for many, extended over a considerable period of time, even generations, and was expressed in a love of place associated with recreational and artistic activities. Their intrinsic values of place, and the length and intensity of their relationship to place contributed to a self-image as stewards of the environment, a perception which helped fuel their protest activities.

Visitors maintained a close interaction with the protected areas of Freycinet National Park and Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve at Swanwick through their recreational activities and ongoing enjoyment: 'that feeling of Coles Bay, the Mountains, beautiful water and the she-oaks has never left me and as long as I paint in my life I will bring that out' (V6 2004). They supported sustainability and recycling as important values, and the visitors' chief aim was to minimise tourism and housing development, decrying the suburbanisation of place through the housing sub-divisions: 'it's like a suburb' (V11 2004). Many understood and accepted the need for locals to earn an income, and expressed a willingness to share the beauty of the place with others. Such a sharing should be non-economic, non-exploitative manner, with the goal uppermost of protecting the natural environment through a careful regulation.

The visitors' descriptions of their holiday experiences at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula illustrate the extent to which the past infuses the present in an ongoing relationship over time. Visitors viewed their present experience in the light of these past experiences as a continuum, describing it as an idyllic time of childhood and family life that also contrasted with the recent changes that have come to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. When, for older visitors their children have grown up, and they themselves are older, their experiences on holiday at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula will remain treasured memories.

7.3 Year 2

In 2005, visitors reported a number of changes in their relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. One visitor spent more time there; two spent less time there;

one respondent said their children no longer came for holidays and another also reported that the family no longer spent holidays there. Thus, changes in the family were reflected in changes in these visitors' relationships to Coles Bay. Four visitors had made new friends, who were also visitors; two visitors had moved to Coles Bay and now worked there, one temporarily for the summer, the other to live, and he had started a business. These respondents were still interviewed as visitors to avoid confusion in the samples for each group, just as the resident who had moved away was still interviewed as a resident, as she maintained contact with the research site.

No visitors had bought or sold property, but one of the visitors now living temporarily at Coles Bay was thinking of buying one of the new Swanwick boat sheds that other visitors had condemned as being inappropriate to this place, saying: 'I've thought of buying one and letting half of it out, \$30 000 to \$40 000, it would be a good backup for the future if I got into difficulties' (V17 2005). Illustrated in this example is the change in relationships to place resulting from change of residence and hence income need, expressed both personally and as a member of a local community. Another aspect of the richness of changing relationships is demonstrated in a story of conflict between a resident and a developer (a former resident who was known to the community) which the visitor (who, in the next year moved into Swanwick to live) witnessed and told to me: 'there was a confrontation between Pam and a developer over cars illegally accessing the new subdivision, as it was dangerous when she tried to use her own driveway. She was putting up a gate to block this access, the developer turned up, and she accused the developer of not caring about the locals' (V16 2005). The visitor reporting this story was able to calm things down and explain the problem to the developer, who subsequently blocked illegal access to the subdivision and built a legal drive-way for access.

The focus of the visitors in this group remained consistent over the intervening year, in that they reported their feelings as being unchanged about their support for the environment, against development, and against tourism. Almost half felt more strongly about these issues, particularly against some forms of economic development for the area. Of the two visitors who had moved to Coles Bay to live, one dissented, being more positive about economic development than previously. An older visitor was consistent in his support for tourism development over this time although, because of his age, he no longer visited with his family.

For all, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was still a beloved place, with half feeling this to be true even more strongly than previously, and therefore concerns were expressed more strongly about changes to the natural environment. There were new environmental concerns, such as fears about 'the Swanwick estuary and its use and the development of the vineyard upstream' (V16 2005). Noted were 'diminishing devil numbers from the facial tumour disease, and less scats and paw prints out in the park, but the marine life is just as abundant and I am more aware of it, I saw a Port Jackson shark, lots of black bream and starfish at South Friendlies', said a young guy who loved fishing (V17 2005). Visitors observed new houses being built and businesses changing hands in the built area of Coles Bay but their feelings remained the same about the local community over the year, a result of little contact with the people of Coles Bay. Socially, while a number of visitors had made new friends, these were with other visitors, not residents. Family remained central to their activities and, therefore, their relationships to place.

Again, the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was perceived to be lacking in its management of the environment of Freycinet Peninsula and of ongoing development in the community of Coles Bay. Visitors were still concerned about the lack of enforcement of the Council's own regulations, particularly housing regulations, its waste management strategies and aspects of the housing subdivision by the golf course. No respondents mentioned consultation between the Council and the community held in order to discuss problems or strategies, saying that none had been organised in the past year. All younger visitors and half the remaining visitors did not support decision-making processes about development, and all except younger visitors stated that their feelings had not changed about development, which were negative, as for the previous year.

Visitors were still worried about the impact on the environment of the new Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development at Muir's Beach, but its modified design, which was a major outcome of several visitors' activism, resulted in some reduction in this concern. Other concerns were widely felt, particularly about water quality, sewerage and waste management. They were still concerned about protected areas, including activities around Moulting Lagoon such as tree-felling, and the numbers on the Wineglass Bay track.

The housing sub-division development over the intervening period at Swanwick was an issue, in that it was seen to be changing both the landscape and the character of this place 'the subdivision is too suburban with concrete paths' (V12 2005). Another younger visitor commented on the 'barbed-wire fences and locked gates on the properties along the Coles Bay Road' (V3 2005) and deplored both as being unsuited to this place, and destroying its sense of place.

Economically, as the visitors earned their income outside the study site, there was no reporting of change in income or source of income, of employment status or type of employment, the exceptions being the two visitors who had moved back to the study site to live. One visitor, noting increased economic growth, commented: 'there is a lot more development around the Muir's Beach area, and lots of people in the bakery and the shops in summer' (V18 2005).

As a form of economic activity, ecotourism was still preferred, and a local eco-lodge was cited as an example of best practice – it was said to be environmentally friendly, energy efficient and sustainable – and could not be seen from the national park or the marine environs as people walked along the Friendly Beaches.

Economic change had been observed in the greater cost of real estate, increased land taxes and the growing size of the built area of the township, with more houses perceived to be for the wealthy, noted with displeasure. While the houses were larger, the sizes of the building blocks were much smaller. No visitors had bought or sold property or gone into business at the study site, excepting the one visitor who had become a resident. The cost of service provision by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was queried by a number of visitors, specifically waste management. For instance, sewerage provision in general, the problem of 'septic tanks overflowing in wet years in Swanwick, the two portaloos on Richardson's Beach serviced from Launceston, an expense for the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council' (V11 2005). A younger visitor complained that the skyline seen from Great Oyster Bay was lost at Hazards View as it had been built out by huge houses above the shore, and the subdivision above Sandpiper Beach allowed 'no clear access from the road to the beach at the far end' (V12 2005) as it had been blocked by the same housing development.

In terms of protected areas, concern was expressed about the management of camping around the shores of Moulting Lagoon where there were limited sewerage facilities (that is no toilets), and continued concerns about the 'illegal clearing of bush along the shores of the lagoon' (V11 2005). This area falls within the ambit and therefore the care of the Parks and Wildlife Service. Again, there was a demonstration by the Coalition Against Duck Shooters and allied organisations at the start of the season, but no visitors were involved in this protest, though several expressed support for the birdlife. Another concern was the impact of tourism on the protected areas and its carrying capacity, and visitors were critical of the increase in numbers of tourists: 'they're still encouraging tourists to go to Coles Bay, to Wineglass Bay, and it is getting more and more over-crowded' (V1 2005).

The planned extension of the Wineglass Bay track into Freycinet National Park was viewed positively by these visitors as relieving the overcrowding on the present track for them, and improving access to the national park for the elderly and disabled. That this might lead to an increase in the carrying capacity of the park was not noted. A younger visitor, a scientist, commented that the boundaries of Freycinet National Park (including the new extension) needed monitoring because they were 'indented by private land holdings, and feral and weed spread from these areas into the park was a problem, with endangerment to wildlife including protected species' (V3 2005). The potential run-off of chemicals from the massive vineyard plantings into Moulting Lagoon concerned many visitors. The Glamorgan Spring Bay Council's lack of assessment of whole land use around Moulting Lagoon and its feeder creeks and rivers, which would serve to protect the area from pollution, was queried.

An older visitor condemned the planned flooding of the old Montgomery dam in the tin-mining area which, in the past, had been lined with peat by the Chinese miners. The site was being flooded to provide water to the Federal Hotels and Resorts development, and she deplored the 'lack of protection for this heritage' (V1 2005). Large, steel boat sheds built at Swanwick by the same developer building the subdivisions were considered by visitors to be eyesores.

Although a sense of loss was still felt by half the respondents, half also felt that positive changes had occurred. These were the planned development of tracks to relieve the pressure on the Wineglass Bay track, and the change to fishing regulations

in protection of species in Great Oyster Bay, which has 'improved diving and recreational fishing beyond anything I can remember' (V5 2005). Previously, gill nets were left in the water, for instance when bad weather blew up, and so continued killing fish and doing harm until they became weeded up and harmless. Also, this visitor pointed out, the use of mullet nets is now prohibited (they were used off the beach like a seine net), protecting wrass, kelpies, morwong, trumpeter, and flathead. Thus, 'the whole of Oyster Bay was now protected as a marine reserve in two ways, and you can go fishing, spear fishing, as there are a lot more schools of fish around' (V5 2005). More wombats and birdlife were reported being seen in the environs.

Visitors' contact with place tended to be firstly the holiday sites they visited each year, and then recreational sites in the protected areas of Freycinet National Park and around Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve and its environs. These were favoured for bushwalks, fishing, kayaking, boating, diving, and beach walks.

In summary, in expressing the same environmental concerns in 2005 which they felt in 2004, and with over half the visitors reporting new environmental concerns, they expressed a way of relating to the natural environment which was being eroded by tourism and development associated with tourism. In contrast, one visitor felt that 'more and more people who are ecologically sensitive are moving in with the growth of tourism businesses' (V3 2005), an inflow of people into the community viewed beneficially, with the possibility of generating positive outcomes for the care of the natural environment. The visitors retained the same values as in the previous year, that is, intrinsic valuing of the natural environment with a sense of stewardship the focus of their engagement. None supported mass tourism, given their perceptions of the limited carrying capacity of the environment and the environmental consequences of emissions and pollution. Thus, most visitors shared the aims of preventing change, specifically environmental impact and degradation through tourism growth and residential housing development. Still, many understood the need for locals to earn an income and expressed a willingness to share the beauty of this place with others, but in a carefully regulated manner.

7.4 Year 3

Changes reported by visitors in this group taking place over 2005-2006 included four visiting more often; three visiting less often (two of these did not visit at all); one visitor reporting less contact due to children no longer going to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula for holidays; and one visitor rarely returning because of his age (90) – though he did celebrate his ninetieth birthday with his family at a local hotel. One middle-aged visitor came more frequently with his new young family; another family increased their visits.

A younger visitor had started a new tourism business in addition to being employed in another tourism business (he now lives at Coles Bay); and his friend, another younger visitor who had moved to Coles Bay to live in the previous year had left to go to Margaret River in Western Australia for work and to surf. One of the middle-aged visitors had left Coles Bay as a holiday spot, preferring to holiday at Maria Island, off the east coast of Tasmania, but was still included in the study. No other members of this group had bought or sold property, started or sold a business or expanded a current business. There were no changes reported in the economic relations of visitors to Coles Bay, although they themselves observed economic changes over the past year occurring in this community. These changes included change of ownership of businesses, new businesses and the construction of houses for perceived investment purposes, and thus the commodification of the holiday homes from the past. The growing investment in Coles Bay through the buying-up of properties by a major player (Federal Hotels and Resorts) was viewed with concern as threatening to change the sense and character of place. No-one wanted it to become a company town, blocking out others who might want to invest in Coles Bay, especially those with greater environmental awareness and appreciation of its special character.

In terms of tourism development, the numbers of walkers on the Wineglass Bay track was still an issue, though the new tracks, welcomed by the visitors, had not yet been opened to the public. Only one younger visitor expressed concern about the impact of global warming on Coles Bay, Swanwick and Freycinet Peninsula.

As the visitors continued to earn their income outside of Coles Bay, changes in their economic situations were not registered, nor changes in incomes or sources of income, employment status or type of employment.

Change manifesting as an intensification of feelings about the environment on the part of visitors registered negatively, because they were disillusioned with tourism developments, principally the new hotel and subdivision accommodation. In contrast, some enjoyed the natural environment even more, expressing delight in its biodiversity, landscapes and in their recreational activities. Said a young woman 'kayaking around the bays is a delight, especially in the early morning' (V2 2006). In contrast, a particular concern was the advent of development in the national park, with the granting of a tender by Parks and Wildlife Service to a local tourism company to establish a seasonal Standing Camp at Bryan's Beach, within Freycinet National Park. In response, one male visitor said the area was 'rooted,' he was 'furious about the use of Bryan's Beach by private enterprise,' because 'people should camp, like everyone else,' and it was 'part and parcel of commercialisation' (V14 2006). Another woman also protested about the Standing Camp at Bryan's Beach as it occupied a corner of the beach which had always been 'their private spot when they sailed in' (V18 2006). This person also noted that kayakers were venturing further down the peninsula, that is, into the region of the national park, though its borders did not extend into the surrounding marine environment.

The valuing of place remained intrinsic, as in previous years, for all visitors, including for those visiting less often or not at all, who still expressed their appreciation of this place. In 2006, visitors continued to choose environmental protection over economic development 'it's all we have, in the end, money can be made anywhere' (V2 2006). Planning and development in the future needed to ensure environmental protection. Visitors continued to express a stewardship role when they suggested the need for further environmental protection. Specifically, they felt that the heritage area of the old tin-mining area needed protection, a younger visitor suggested that artefacts from this site needed to be collected: 'there's this old machinery and stuff lying around up there, it should be safeguarded' (V17 2006).

The achievement of, not only protecting Long Point in Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve as a bird sanctuary by two visitors (interviewed) connected to the Tasmanian Land Conservancy, but also applying for a grant from the Natural Heritage Trust (awarded in 2007) to improve it also reflected responsibility for environmental protection. A new caravan park and small improvements to the Coles Bay area environmentally were also recommended by visitors. Importantly, a number of

visitors wanted 'scenic protection' of the area, so that its views should not be built out, as had been by large houses.

Visitors expressed concern about an integral aspect of the cultural capital of place – the demise of the small shacks along the beaches. They were being replaced by larger, upmarket houses built more for profit than enjoyment. They were viewed as being out of character with the sense of place of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. This view was expressed especially by older visitors, one of whom felt that the atmosphere at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was quite different now, as 'there used to be little shacks hidden along the beaches, not the big, upmarket houses destroying the view from the sea' (V1 2006).

Visitors' environmental concerns remained consistent over the three years. In 2006, additional concerns focused on events in the protected areas, such as the spread of wakami Japanese seaweed on some beaches, naturally occurring beach erosion from storms at Bryan's Beach, and, as noted, the 'spoiling of our favourite anchorage at Bryan's Corner' (V18 2006) by the establishment of the tourism Standing Camp there. Visitors deplored the drought, particularly the lack of water for wildlife, and deteriorated water quality. They were still worried about sewerage and waste management, particularly the younger visitors, but these problems also concerned older visitors. While visitors were still worried about the impact on the environment of the new Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development, both its lack of progress and modifications to its design had resulted in some reduction of this concern, even though land-clearing had taken place at Muir's Beach.

Visitors reported change in the form of increased social interactions, with a number reporting that they had made new friends over the past year. These friendships were with new visitors, not residents, highlighting the referential nature of this group, alleviated only by the few friendships with locals that had continued over the years. Their feelings had remained the same about the local residential community over the year: since there was little contact there was little personal valuing of the locals or the local community.

Glamorgan Spring Bay Council's lack of action on various issues was deplored: 'it has been quieter apart from the jet skis and these are still a problem as the regulations controlling their speed are not enforced' (V11 2006). The lack of enforcement of

regulations in the sizes of blocks for sale in the new subdivisions was a problem. Imposing a maximum house height was an action these visitors would like to see undertaken. The Council's new waste management strategy for Coles Bay was criticised, because garbage collection took place when the visitors were least likely to be in Coles Bay – during the week – and they usually took their garbage away with them. Visitors complained about rubbish blowing about the place. They also complained about the Council's lack of a recycling policy. Inaction about the illegal clearing of trees around Moulting Lagoon demonstrated, in visitors' eyes, lack of care for the environment and dilatoriness about enforcing its own regulations.

There was more activism by the same two visitors against applications with the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council for new housing subdivisions at Swanwick. They were pessimistic about both the processes and outcomes of Council's deliberations on these matters. Others were worried about effects on sense of place, for the proposed 'development at Swanwick is appalling, it looks like a commuter suburb with over-developed subdivisions' said a young visitor (V18 2006). The visitors' submissions to the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council challenged these developments, as they were viewed as having negative environmental effects through the density of the planned housing, consequent waste management requirements, demands on water, and because they threatened the destruction of sense of place as visitors had known it. Visitor activists tried to fund their challenge to the developments by email to locals, concerned visitors and others.

No visitors mentioned consultation between Glamorgan Spring Bay Council and the community to discuss any problems and strategies. No mention was made of the forums held in east coast towns in 2006 including at Coles Bay about waste water management. No mention was made of the lack of implementation of any of the recommendations of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan. However, one visitor reported that the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council had sent out a pamphlet to ratepayers advising 'what to do in the event of a tsunami' (V5 2006). In the 2006 Glamorgan Spring Bay Council elections, an older visitor noted there was not one candidate who mentioned issues and concerns connected with the community and the environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

This year, visitors still preferred to go to their favourite places in the natural environment, depending on the weather and the time of year. That is, they avoided tourists by staying away from the Coles Bay precinct. They visited in winter as well as summer, although mostly they came at major holiday times such as Christmas and Easter, which were also favoured times for tourists. Their contact with place included 'sailing into Bryan's Corner' (V18 2006), 'summers with the extended family at Black Point' (V5 2006), 'enjoying the house and the beach' (V11 2006), 'going out on trips, depending on time of day, work routines, weather, family demands, workmates, friends' (V16 2006), and, 'at Swanwick, visits are influenced by weather, environment, time of year, relations with friends, family demands and a personal need to get away' (V10 2006).

Despite feelings of loss by three-quarters of the visitors, some were cautiously positive about the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, while others were angry about current developments and the perceived lack of consultation. All placed the natural environment first in future planning. For most, memories of this place in the past accompanied present activities. As a visitor reminisced: 'some afternoons I would go fishing off the rocks with some of the campers, go for a swim or a walk, or for a wildflower hunt' and 'when I walked to Wineglass Bay and Mt Amos I saw no-one else all day. It was quite common to see copperhead snakes sunning themselves on the rocks at Honeymoon Bay or crossing the road' (V18 2006). Thus, memories expressing love of place, care for the environment and stewardship continued as the intrinsic valuing of place and thus cultural capital for most visitors in 2005 to 2006. Visitors continued their stewardship role in expressing care for the natural environment, with some continuing their activism against planned projects and decision-making processes. Sense of place was embodied in the natural environment with efforts directed towards mitigating the impact of tourists and tourism development. Thus, for visitors, time was spent in supporting the cultural values of place, in maintaining a continuum of valued experiences in relation to place and in seeking, by word and deed, to deny economic capital a place in the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Chapter 8 Results for Group 3 Tourists



Photo: Gareth Patterson-Were

Staying at The Chateau Hotel – Joan

When we ran the business it had a lovely atmosphere, and it was a wonderful experience, seeing each year the people who came to stay, year after year, they became old friends. A lot of the visitors had come to stay since childhood, and their parents and grandparents came before them. Everyone operated on the same basis, all were equal when they stayed. They got three meals a day, everything supplied. We employed many university students, built a big new kitchen. A lot of people came for term holidays in winter. The environment was very special, the wildflowers, all the way down the Peninsula was a magnificent garden of native plants, to me. For four seasons, each species was different. It was wonderful.

8.1 Rationale

Textual analysis of the qualitative responses from the members of the study groups was undertaken by parameters, themes and elements. This section of results is informed by direct quotations from the respondents – both year by year and aggregated.

8.2 Year 1

Tourists in 2004 nominated the natural environment as the impetus for their choice of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a tourist destination. It was set apart from the normal and everyday world of their homes, communities and workplaces. Two-thirds of these tourists had experienced a place like Coles Bay as children or young adults. One woman tourist had spent holidays at Coles Bay as a child. Another remembered her holidays in Victoria ‘walking along beaches, fresh air, eggs for breakfast, beauty and escape’ (T5 2004).

Another woman felt these early experiences to ‘have influenced my feelings about the environment and my own personality’ (T16 2004). Early experiences and memories of family holidays in a natural site were reaffirmed in the tourists’ experiences of Coles Bay, and were sometimes given a romantic, spiritual or even psychological significance: ‘holidaying at Anglesea in Victoria was a very special, spiritual connection, and I feel a similar sense of peace and serenity at Coles Bay, and I remember this as a catharsis, walking above thrashing oceans above the township, very rugged and wild and quiet’ a woman explained (T4 2004). Another remembered holidaying ‘close to wild coastal stretches, and I remember the relaxation, unwinding and walking on quiet beaches, fresh air, sea smells, nature and sea-food’ (T6 2004). However, only three tourists saw childhood experiences as influencing their choice of Coles Bay to visit as adults.

Most attributed their visits to the area as spontaneous, having been told about Coles Bay by other tourists, or having read about it in tourist pamphlets and advertisements. One visitor had read about Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula in the *Lonely Planet*. He was attracted to visit because he had a need for wheel-chair access which was provided at the bed and breakfast where he stayed and at other sites in the

township and the national park. Thus, tourist promotion in the forms of print and visual media was at least as influential in the choice of Coles Bay to visit for some tourists, as childhood experiences were for other tourists.

An appreciation of environmental beauty was affirmed by all the tourists in this group, an older tourist, a farmer, saying: 'I relate to the natural environment as I come off the land, and being close to nature is important' (T12 2004). Valuing the environment and support for environmental care were especially affirmed by the young and middle aged tourists, but tourists in all age groups expressed environmental awareness and the importance to them of the natural environment. One said 'the natural environment is most important to keep, before they think about doing anything else' (T7 2004), and another said 'the natural environment is paramount' (T15 2004). One-third of the tourists felt an affinity with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, and of this group, half were younger tourists.

Commonly expressed by the tourists was a commitment to maintaining environmental integrity. One older tourist said: 'Coles Bay will have a special meaning for me in the future because of the clean air, feelings of escape, and peace, nature' (T5 2004). No tourists had, or claimed to have, local knowledge and understandings (even the tourist who had visited as a young child) and so their comments did not encompass details of the natural environment such as its biodiversity. However, most confirmed their valuing of a physical sense of place, described by one young guy as 'the beauty and uniqueness of the area, and the way it looks with The Hazards and Great Oyster Bay' (T11 2004).

Two tourists in the younger age group identified their parents as the source of their valuing of the natural environment. Education, friends, and the bush or natural environment also played a part. No tourists in the middle or older age groups nominated their parents as the source of their valuing. The bush or the natural environment filled that role. Only four middle age tourists and one older tourist even responded to the values question. Half the tourists expressed an emotional connection to the environment in general rather than specifically to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. However, a number described personal rituals connected to their stay at Coles Bay: a morning swim, a regular walk along the beach, or a glass of wine in the evening as they viewed the sunset, and a third of the tourists, including three of the

younger ones, felt affinity with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Most tourists experienced place through their physical recreational activities, one woman saying: 'I like defined areas – islands, peninsulas, areas around a bay – to holiday in' (T16 2004). Their activities included walking along beaches, going to the beach with their children, bushwalking, surfing, swimming and fishing. Tourists also took part in sea-kayaking and camping expeditions. Camping in campervans, caravans and motor-homes at sites around Coles Bay were enjoyed. A wheelchair-bound tourist visited the Cape Tourville Lighthouse 'walk' and went into Freycinet National Park.

Eight tourists (none of the younger tourists) also enjoyed activities at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula which were not specific to this place. The simple activities of reading, sleeping, relaxing, talking, playing cards and dining could be performed at any holiday or, for that matter, non-holiday location, but they seemed to be special in this holiday context. Older tourists listed sight-seeing as an activity, appreciating the extensive views. In terms of bush-walking, two tourists completed the five-to-six-hour walk along the Wineglass Bay-Hazards' Beach circuit; another two tourists went to Cape Tourville Lighthouse; one walked along Richardson's Beach; five tourists walked the track to the Wineglass Bay Lookout; and two walked to Hazards Beach and return.

Appreciation was expressed by the majority of tourists for the natural beauty of Freycinet National Park, and this was particularly so for those tourists from overseas. A tourist, a student from Germany said: 'it is special, it is wild' (T1 2004). Younger tourists most notably felt an affinity with the natural environment, while older tourists expressed appreciation of the small-town character of Coles Bay, comparing it positively to other places they had known, but which had undergone development: 'it is like Queenscliff used to be, still a nice town' (T12 2004). Another, older man said 'I wouldn't want to see it turned into a Gold Coast style tourist destination' (T15 2004). Although their contact was very short-term, concern about the destruction of the unique sense of place and the environment was expressed by almost all of the younger and middle aged tourists, and also by two older tourists. Again these tourists worried about the impact of change on Coles Bay resulting from tourism development: 'don't go overboard and spoil the environment with too much high rise as in Queensland and New South Wales' (T13 2004). Many supported low key development. As one older man stated: 'there should be more footpaths and bike

paths to help access, and this would help visitors get a better feel for the place, meet people, get a sense of temporarily belonging to the community and therefore accepting some responsibility for taking care of the place' (T16 2004). Only one tourist supported a ban on any further tourist development, most expressing caution about further growth, while supporting improved access to the protected areas for the aged and disabled, and the provision of camping grounds, and more upmarket services.

Likewise, no tourists had taken part in activism against development at this place. A tourist from Germany understood the dilemma of both appreciating and protecting the environment while providing jobs for the locals, saying 'development - the place should stay as it is, and keep it protected, but development makes more jobs for the citizens. But not too much tourism!' (T1 2004).

None supported a local organisation or had contact with the community beyond engaging in commercial transactions, for the basis of this group's relationships to this place was as tourists and as supporters of the environment, but not as activists. As one described his stay at Coles Bay, he appreciated most the 'climate, surf, sand, the contrast between everyday life and holiday' (T9 2004).

Most of these tourists did not concern themselves with decision-making processes in connection with development in the area, either tourism-related or environmentally-related. However, one tourist commented that 'decisions can be wrong but things are better these days. There is high environmental awareness in Tasmania' (T9 2004). Another young tourist commented that you 'can't stop development, but control and regulate it with local action and lobbying,' stating further that it was necessary to consult key stakeholders and to 'go beyond local government and real estate agents as they are driven by developers and all they think about is the dollar' (T3 2004).

Economically, tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula brought in income earned off-site. They bought tourism goods and services in the forms of recreational activities (sea-kayaking, bushwalking, boat trips, quad bike riding), souvenirs, necessities, accommodation, fuel, food and beverages. They paid park entry fees. As noted, the average length of stay was 3 days, compared to 1.8 days by out-of-state tourists in 2004 (*Tasmanian Visitors Survey* 2004). Their contact with

place took the forms of recreational activities both bought and free, patronage of establishments and accessing tourist spots such as beaches, mountains and views.

Though tourists' input to the local economy by definition would promote economic and hence environmental change, none identified specific economic change occurring as a result of their presence, except in a predictive sense, in that they felt that the small-town character of Coles Bay might change through tourism development, as noted, and that it might also result in negative environmental effects. All of the younger tourists, almost all of those in the middle aged, but only one older tourist expressed concern about the commercialisation of place.

The tourists staying in the built environment of Coles Bay related to the protected area of Freycinet National Park. Commenting on the national park, a tourist from Queensland observed that Parks and Wildlife Service's management of Freycinet National Park 'seemed very good' (T13 2004). An elderly tourist from the UK felt that the national park boundaries were 'a good way to protect the environment and shouldn't be changed' (T14 2004). The majority of the tourists in this group supported conservation, again including all of the younger tourists, almost all the middle aged tourists, with similar numbers supporting environmental stewardship. In terms of the natural environment, older tourists confirmed its importance to them, as noted, (after all, in education they conformed to the profile of people attracted to natural areas for their holidays). Older members of this group of tourists were more vocal in supporting the small-town character of Coles Bay.

Tourists of all age groups in general were concerned about wildlife, the ecosystem, traffic density and the large numbers of tourists visiting. Relationships to the environment were principally instrumental in the short-term, but also intrinsic in that a personal valuing of the natural environment in general drew them to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula in particular. The status and marketing of the Freycinet National Park as a protected area and within it the key, iconic site of Wineglass Bay had influenced some tourists to visit Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

8.3 Year 2

The analysis of tourist responses for 2005 follows the format of analysis for 2004, as no measurement of change perceptions of the study site could be elicited from this sample. This was a new group of tourists, and to be remembered is that the size of the tourist sample was reduced from 18 to 12, in line with a similar reduction in the size of samples for residents and visitors.

Tourist responses for Year 2 in general confirmed those of the previous year, with more equal levels of responses across the age groups expressing connection to the natural environment, rather than the young. In terms of childhood holidays at a coastal village like Coles Bay, the majority of tourists, equally across all age groups, had experienced such a place and remembered childhood experiences at these places. For most their early experiences had not influenced their choice of Coles Bay to visit as adults, but four tourists remembered key experiences at these places, and for another four their early contact had influenced their choice of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula to visit. Two tourists had previously visited Coles Bay and were making a return visit. For two others, their visit was due to the recommendation of friends, and in the case of another two, it was in response to advertisements and tourist information. Four tourists did not offer a reason for choosing this area to visit. While Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula did not have a special meaning for most tourists, five said it now did: 'Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is wonderful, unforgettable and it has this meaning for me now' (T2 2005). A tourist from Germany said: 'it is a wonderful place, and Wineglass Bay is unique, you can't see anything like it anywhere else' (T12 2005).

The majority of tourists expressed an appreciation of environmental beauty, sense of place through feelings of affinity, and half expressed an emotional connection to the environment. All affirmed the importance of the natural environment, and the younger tourists expressed concern about the environmental consequences of development. All felt the need for environmental care in future development at this site, with one commenting: 'there are so many people on the track, it has a major impact. How the area should be managed requires awareness and appreciation to influence how people treat it, and with concern for people who live here and their

rights, rather than being dependent on the area being consumed by the wealthy. 'They have made a lifestyle choice and it can completely change the character of a place when it is developed to suit those coming in from outside of the area' (T4 2005). Similar feelings were most consistently expressed by younger tourists.

Recreational enjoyment for these tourists was related to the natural environment, one young woman stating: 'I love the colour of the water and the beautiful beaches' (T8 2005). Tourists also enjoyed 'hiking and sightseeing to Wineglass Bay' (T2 2005); another 'enjoyed most the wilderness area, walking, photography, the experience of the bush' (T4 2005); and another appreciated 'walking, wine tasting. Climbed Mt Amos, walked to Wineglass Bay and over to Hazards Bay' (T9 2005). Tourists seemed to really like walking along the beaches. Day walks in Freycinet National Park were enjoyed by all age groups. An older tourist went fishing, but none went surfing, snorkelling, or scuba diving; four walked to Wineglass Bay to the Lookout and enjoyed the views; two climbed Mount Amos; and two younger tourists walked the circuit via Wineglass Bay and the Hazards Beach track, and back. 'Sightseeing' was listed as an activity by six tourists, but it was not clear whether this involved the use of a vehicle. Expenditure on packaged recreational activities was mostly not reported by this group of tourists – sea-kayaking was an exception. Two tourists listed enjoyment of dinner and wine as recreation.

In terms of personal valuing, all tourists in the younger and middle age-ranges valued the physical sense of place and the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Again, identifying the sources of values was an attenuated experience with this group of tourists. For instance, three younger tourists identified principally parents but also education as sources of their values. Two tourists in the middle age group identified the bush or natural environment and also parents as sources of their values, and one older tourist only identified parents as the source of values; with another two identifying the bush or environment as the source of their environmental values. Older tourists in general were unresponsive to the idea of valuing the environment, expressing their relationships more in passive and instrumental terms. A young tourist said that his values were 'no more so connected with Coles Bay and Freycinet than a lot of other places in Tasmania and Australia I've visited, but I was reminded a lot of other coastal towns' (T3 2005).

A few tourists appreciated the small-town character of Coles Bay, one younger tourist saying 'culturally the area is quite untouched, it has the feel of a local coastal town - that is a value' (T4 2005). Older tourists compared it positively to places they had once known in childhood. One said 'I hate to think of it changing too much, as a traditional coastal town; they are becoming few and far between, and it is not homogeneous, it hasn't lost its character' (T7 2005).

In general, tourists agreed that they wanted Coles Bay to remain much as it was, and five expressed concerns about too much commercialisation. Indeed, they didn't want it to change to accommodate mass tourism, even ecotourism, which they saw as having a negative impact on the natural environment: 'ecotourism invites too many people to natural areas which leads to further development that eventually destroys the natural elements originally attracting us' (T6 2005). This younger tourist also expressed feelings based on 'seeing the devastation of lovely wild areas in the US to tourism development'. An older tourist said that she did not want to see development 'impinging on the environment, keep it natural, don't commercialise' (T1 2005). Another tourist observed that 'any development of such a beautiful area would be a bad thing' (T8 2005). The young and middle-aged tourists preferred to see some development, preferably guided by environmental care, low impact and improved access to the park for the disabled and elderly. As one tourist said: 'footpaths, yes, but do it carefully. There could be more walking tracks. Better bus connections so people without cars can come as well' (T9 2005). Five tourists recommended the provision of more budget accommodation. Only one tourist in each age group felt that a total ban on any further development was a good idea.

Tourists had no connections with this community beyond commercial transactions, either formal or informal – the basis of their relationships with this place was as tourists. They had not engaged in activism or community consultation. The tourists all supported the establishment of the protected areas, particularly Freycinet National Park, though two retired tourists complained about having to pay an entry fee to the park, viewing it as a barrier to their access and therefore enjoyment of the environment. While not involved in activism, three tourists, one in each age range, supported a ban on any further development, and younger tourists also supported actions to protect local ecosystems. One younger

tourist complained 'Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is being loved to death, there are so many people on the track, they have a major impact, and how the area should be managed requires awareness and appreciation, with concern for the people who live here and their rights' (T8 2005). A younger tourist opposed development because it would 'change the type of person who comes here; and you need to minimise environmental impact, for instance the energy and water consumed in a hotel, the architectural impact are negatives, balance is needed' (T4 2005).

Though the tourists did not proffer specific knowledge of this area and its ecology, the younger tourists in particular appeared to value the natural environment. They all appreciated Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula for the environmental beauty which had drawn them there. An older tourist said 'natural wonders that make you feel great: the feelings aroused are the same as I experienced when I was young' (T2 2005). The younger tourists were less likely to express affinity with this place than middle aged and older tourists. A third expressed an emotional connection to the environment, though this was a general feeling for the idea of the natural environment rather than specifically for Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Because of the need to buy accommodation services, food, fuel, maps and souvenirs, as well as activities and other services, the relationship of the tourists to the environment was instrumental. Nevertheless, many tourists expressed an intrinsic valuing of place, a valuing demonstrated in their responses to the natural beauty of the area, the activities which they undertook and the concerns which they expressed. This was demonstrated in the fact that in Year 2, only two respondents listed activities that were not specific to place (such as reading and relaxing), though of course these also could be enjoyed in this place. However, none supported niche development, resource exploitation, ecotourism or green initiatives for this place.

Indeed, appreciation of the natural environment was a value expressed strongly by this group of tourists, with a more focused activities and values than among those interviewed in the previous year. Half identified issues to do with access to the natural park, ranging from the payment of a fee, to too much traffic, to overcrowding on the tracks. Almost half had misgivings about the impact on place of tourism itself.

Understandably, their concerns were an outcome of their ability to immediately apprehend issues such as the carrying capacity of the national park, with conservation a general value. However, the idea of environmental care through stewardship received little or no response from the members of this group.

8.4 Year 3

All tourists in the Year 3 sample had experienced a place like Coles Bay as children or young adults and could remember childhood experiences at one of these places. For three tourists this early experience had influenced their decision to visit Coles Bay as adults: 'with its iconic reputation – I would not have liked to come all this way without visiting this area' (T3 2006).

For most tourists their visit to Coles Bay was spontaneous, five stating that a visit had been recommended to them by other travellers on the road, three others had seen a brochure or publicity about the area and 'it seemed nice', three had been told about Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula by a friend. Two older couples visited Freycinet National Park together because of their interest in and commitment to protected areas overseas. All affirmed the importance of the natural environment, but only three felt this had been important to them when they were growing up. One younger guy said 'it is very important to me, the environment' (T1 2006), describing childhood holidays in Goa, India: 'it was laid back, great coastal activities, a friendly environment' (T1 2006).

This group of tourists offered more focused responses to the environment than those in Year 1 and Year 2, though this may have been an accident of selection. It was expressed through their greater participation in recreational activities specific to this environment such as bird-watching and walking along the beaches, fishing, swimming, scenic boat trips, adventure tours, quad biking, and sea-kayaking. Half the tourists in this group bush-walked in Freycinet National Park. One active young woman went 'bush-walking, sea-kayaking, eating, has done the circuit walk, eaten oysters at the Marine Farm. Enjoyed most eating and the Freycinet bushwalk' (T4 2006).

Reported by only two tourists were activities which were not specific to place, with two of the younger tourists listing enjoying wine with dinner as an activity.

This response, similar to that of 2005 when two tourists also reported these type of activities, contrasts with 2004 when eight middle aged and older tourists had done so. One tourist took a run into the national park, and two walked up the Wineglass Bay track to the Lookout. Viewing flora and fauna was enjoyed by four tourists. Eating oysters and meeting new people were also pleasures to be enjoyed at Coles Bay. Walking along the beaches was popular with ten tourists. Bought activities included adventure tours, quad biking, and sea-kayaking. This group of tourists was notable for its physical enjoyment of a range of activities, particularly in the national park.

There was greater expression of feelings of connectedness to this place by these tourists than by those in Year 1 and Year 2, enunciated, for example, as a desire to 'access clear, clean, visual, nature' (T3 2006). The majority of tourists expressed affinity with place, and an apprehension of sense of place in the natural environment. Though two-thirds of the tourists – across all ages – expressed an affinity with this place, only five expressed an emotional connection to the environment, and this was in general rather than specifically to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, naturally. One said she related to the natural environment 'with love, however most of my life is spent away from it, indoors, with work' (T3 2006).

In terms of identifying the sources of their valuing of the natural environment, of the younger tourists two identified their parents as the source of their environmental values, one identified education and friends and one the bush or natural environment. Of the middle aged tourists, three nominated their parents as the source of their values and for older tourists, one identified the bush or environment, none nominating education or their parents as the sources of their values.

Nine tourists, three in each age group expressed appreciation of environmental beauty, but only two described aspects of the local environment, apart from their activities, which had impressed them. One described 'playing in coves and rocks, swimming, walking to Wineglass Bay' (T5 2006), and another: 'Wineglass Bay, you can swim and it's not too hot' (T4 2006).

While they did not express appreciation of the small-town character of Coles Bay, half the tourists expressed concern about local change, for instance about the impact

of the planned hotel. One expressed 'concerns about the environmental impact, with too many people, but the effects are dependent on the size of the hotel, as the use of resources and disposal of waste products will result in change' (T5 2006). An older tourist said that 'the needs of wildlife should take precedence over development' (T9 2006).

Predictably, tourists had not engaged in community consultation or activism about development at this site, but two older tourists had been involved in activism to support the environment in their home communities. Indeed, six tourists, two in each age group, supported a ban on most future development in Coles Bay, preferring only development guided by environmental care and low impact, such as might occur with ecotourism and affordable accommodation for tourists. They neither condemned nor supported decision-making about local planning and development, and the stated basis of their relationships to this place was as tourists and as active supporters of the environment.

Tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula bought travel to arrive at this place, and they also brought income earned off-site. They bought tourism goods and services in the forms of recreational activities (kayaking, bushwalking, quad bike riding, boat trips), necessities, accommodation, food and beverages, fuel, and they paid park fees. Thus their consumption as tourists took the forms of recreational activities both bought and free, patronage of establishments and visits to beaches, mountains and views as part of their 'sight-seeing' activities.

The economic aspects of their relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula gave no evidence of change over the three-year period in terms of expenditure. However, Year 3 tourists expressed more concern about change arising from tourism development, one stating 'the natural environment, managed through Parks and Wildlife should be most important' (T7 2006). Specific to those in the younger and middle age ranges was the half who expressed concern about the commercialisation of the built environment of Coles Bay, and particularly about the large numbers of tourists visiting and the density of the vehicular traffic. Three tourists, two younger and one older, expressed concern about tourism growth and its impact on the marine environment. There were no concerns about birdlife or wildlife in general expressed by this group of tourists. There was no support expressed for green initiatives or

recycling, these being specific to this place, but nine tourists supported conservation in general, with seven supporting stewardship of the natural environment, and seven supporting ecosystem protection, with the younger tourists most consistently represented.

A significant number of tourists in this group specifically mentioned their valuing of protected areas as a reason for their visits to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, rather than simply 'the natural environment,' as they had spent previous holidays in national parks. Others maintained activities such as nature conservation and bird-watching that entailed ongoing contact with protected areas, for a number of this group had connections with protected areas in other parts of the world, (Wales, England, Germany, India). They valued protected areas as such, and were either environmental activists or belonged to environmental groups such as bird-watching associations. These responses indicated a more apparent intrinsic valuing of the environment by this group of tourists, despite no change in the instrumental aspect of their relationship with the area through the bought nature of their stay in Coles Bay. Thus, most tourists in Year 3 were aware of the uniqueness of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, and were concerned about the destruction of the unique sense of place and the need for local environmental integrity. Connection to the environment had remained a constant for this group, its expression indeed intensifying across this period of three years. However, to be remembered is the random selection of the tourists of these groups, which might have resulted in skewed responses.

Connection to the environment had remained a constant in the tourist groups interviewed, its expression indeed intensifying across the period of three years of the study. While affinity with place, a seeking out of the natural environment and appreciation of its many facets, expressed a cultural valuing of place, tourists carried with them the economy on which the township of Coles Bay was dependent. They thus were the bearers of change, socially and environmentally, both good and bad.

Many tourists recognised this change as an unintended consequence of their own visiting. Even so, they expressed the desire that neither the township nor the environment should change as a result of this impact. Many, indeed, were able to make suggestions about how things could be best managed and the natural environment preserved. They cited examples of excellence elsewhere, such as the

tourist village of Dinner Plains serving the natural area of the Mount Hotham ski fields in Victoria, Australia. Inconsistency was evident in that the majority of tourists were conservative in relation to the natural environment, but, because of their economic input into the community, appreciated their own impact as change-agents on place. This was conflict which Bourdieu (1986) would certainly have appreciated, and which he expressed, as he termed it, a 'struggle' between cultural capital and economic capital in this field of operations.

Chapter 9

Discussion



Photo: Surf at north Friendlies Gareth Patterson-Were

The Plastic-Bag Free Town

It is one of Ben Kearney's key achievement – seeing Coles Bay become Australia's first plastic bag free town. He initiated the project, in collaboration with Planet Ark in 2003 and has put thousands of hours into all facets of achieving its implementation. One year on, the move to plastic bag free status for Coles Bay has been a success with the locals and has been adopted in towns around Australia and overseas. As a result, Coles Bay was awarded the Environmental Excellence Award by the Tasmanian Government. Ben also won the national Local Hero Award for 2005 and also Tasmanian of the Year in May 2005 for his efforts.

9.1 Roadkill

For those not brought up in Australia and who might be unfamiliar with the term, 'roadkill' it describes the carcasses of dead animals that bestrew country roads, having been slaughtered the night before. Australia's animals – wallabies, possums, quolls, wombats, bandicoots – largely are nocturnal, and they get caught in the headlights of cars as they attempt to cross roads or graze the roadside herbage too close to the tarmac. Cars hit them, usually unavoidably, and there the carcasses lie in pools of blood and fur with here or there the glint of eye or claw. Somehow, I feel this is the fate of my dissertation. I have taken its living body and in the glare of my intellectual headlights I have dissected it and distributed its various parts in chapters:

Introduction, Theoretical Framework, Methods, Results, Discussion and Conclusions. What I proceed to now, is to bring this collection of parts back together into a living, breathing whole as united and at the same time as disparate as the natural environment and the people of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, the context within which it exists.

In space and time, changes have occurred over the four years of the case study, both within this place and its communities, local and extended, and in the larger world, demonstrably for the three study groups between their first interviews and last interviews, three years later. Much has also remained constant over this time, as it has over the history of human contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The contours of its beaches, bays and headlands have remained the same; the cool, contemplative quiet of its winters compared to the robust, holiday frenzy of its summers is unchanged. Its flora and fauna, changing with the weather and seasons in eternal patterns of creation and destruction – pollination, procreation, migration, sedimentation and erosion – continue, despite the impact of people on these lands and waters. It is the larger reality deeply appreciated by those in contact with it that validates the application of the concept of sense of place or *genius loci* (Norberg-Schultz 1979). Seamon's (1984, p. 173) idea that people also create place or sense of place – is likewise validated in this study where the routine and other behaviours practised in living memory and acknowledged in its history have given Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula its 'dynamism and character'. It can be seen to have a range of identities, local as well as global, fostering or giving a home to the 'variety of ways

people associate' (Macnaghten and Urry 1998), economically, culturally, recreationally and creatively in their responses to place. Indeed, this place comprises a dynamic, living environment made up of micro ecologies equally responding to change, negative and positive, sourced in both human and natural actions, rather than a passive entity, an idea or a dream – almost pre-lapsarian – of the natural world.

In the social and cultural world of Coles Bay, my relationships with locals and visitors continued over this period of time, as I met them on the bays and beaches of the peninsula, and joined them at weddings, parties, and barbecues. I congratulated them on the births of their babies, said goodbye to those leaving for holidays or for work, and welcomed those returning. I listened to their gossip, plans, stories and anecdotes; I shared their achievements; I commiserated about disasters. All the while I maintained my research stance, conducting interviews with residents, visitors and tourists in holiday shacks, outside the tavern and the bakery, in the caravan parks and the youth hostel, and at barbecue sites. I climbed down to Sleepy Bay to interview a fisherman who had rowed in from his fishing boat anchored off the cliffs of eastern Freycinet; I grabbed a plumber on his building site to interview him; I waited for the surf to ease at Friendlies until my respondent came in, dripping in his wetsuit, to take part in an interview; surrounded by crocheted rugs, throws and cushion covers, I shared a cup of tea with an elderly lady who had once skippered an all-female fishing boat. Walking the tracks and swimming the bays, I have sought to capture the life, colour and movement of this place through change and uncertainty; I have tried to identify and unravel the densities of actions, feelings, desires and concerns that bind people to this place. Seeking to understand the dilemmas of living at Coles Bay and Swanwick, I have empathised with the choices and decisions which its communities of residents, visitors and tourists have made.

All my experience of place and its people has passed through the lens of this study, but I have not remained the detached observer. I have seen how Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula have coped with change, and I have changed myself. My own knowledge and understanding of this place – the history of its communities dating from Aboriginal times to the present, the character of this little town and its superb environment, its biodiversity, all of which contribute to its special sense of place and the challenges it faces – are outcomes of conducting this study. My grounded experience of this place and its communities informs my view of the study site (and

other places like it) and, I hope, allows me to make a contribution to its social, economic and environmental future.

In this discussion, I present understandings resulting from this four-year study of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. In 9.2, I discuss the study in terms of community, economy and ecology, and Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a field of operations. In sections 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5 I discuss each of the study groups in detail through their key relationship to place – as home, holiday spot or tourist destination. Following these sections, I discuss the major theories that have guided this study – the concepts of cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital. How these theories have played out in the field are discussed in section 9.7. In 9.8 I discuss the influence of actions of major players outside the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in terms of the forms of capital. In 9.9 I present analysis of the importance of theory to this study, and the ways that the study has extended the major theories. Conclusions are accorded their own chapter (10), with suggestions for further research.

9.2 Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula

The community of Coles Bay is a distinct social configuration within a larger natural environment which is oriented to the geographical mass of Tasmania, much as an island is to its mainland. It is a place treasured not only for its natural beauty but for the abundance of its marine and terrestrial wildlife which have been valued as integral aspects of the place, and which have been accorded legislative protection. This valuing has been shared by very different peoples over a very long period of time. Yet, the dynamism of the communities of this place in relation to the natural environment has social, political and ecological consequences in the larger world that challenge any fixed or final representation of these values in ideological forms. Indeed, in the small world of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula patterns of relationships between communities, economy and ecology have emerged that are representative of these relations in a general sense. Insofar as these patterns of interaction constitute a system of valuing, they comprise a model of operations of which the parameters – cultural, economic and ecological – form the backbone. It is a model of operations which, though specific to small coastal communities, is likely to be relevant to many of Australia's small, isolated communities.

As in other rural regions of Australia (and elsewhere), the little township of Coles Bay has a strong sense of identity. Its ethos of engagement and self help crosses age barriers. A disregard – amounting to almost a forgetting – of the rules and conventions of the larger society characterise life there and with local creativity and inventiveness – expressed as cultural capital – should provide a scaffold for its economic and environmental well-being. Sense of place encapsulates this spirit, described as small-town, coastal, village and, in its natural environment ‘pristine’. Sense of place also encapsulates a range of meanings, symbols and qualities that each of the study site’s communities brings to their understanding of place and environment. For some, the wellbeing of the community and its protected areas are a priority; for others, wellbeing is not paramount, for though they might express a love of the natural environment, their efforts are directed towards exploiting it economically.

At heart, the case study queries the character of the fundamental relationships between communities of people, the natural environment and the need to establish an economy that supports such communities. Implied but not stated is the living reality of place; the webs and networks of life in any small community actualised in a mesh of regulations, acts, actions, protests, submissions, protocols, plans, self help groups, recreational groups and activities, creative responses, development proposals, services for the community, planning schemes, conservation movements, all considerations both formal and informal that are the reality of community and communities.

The project of identifying changes in the relationships of the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula to the natural environment over this three-year period occurred against this backdrop. Individual and group changes were able to be identified; the relationships between the three forms of capital were elucidated, but it cannot be said that a change in the relationship between cultural capital and economic capital was apparent in this time span.

Thus, acts of elucidation have brought revelation – a bringing to light literally and metaphorically in the peninsula’s airy luminosity – of the contrasts, similarities and differences in ways of relating to the natural environment that extend across generations. Perceptions of place are grounded in a history of habitation over the

millennia to present times, in which relationships to the natural environment as both home and economy are shared in many ways, despite differences in society and culture. Place, though fluid and changing across days, seasons and years is subject to the ways that people perceive it; it is subject to the individual and the group imaginary. Once some locals massacred the wild-life, whilst others worked to preserve it. Place in turn is not passive; it has agency and it influences the routines, rituals and activities of those living there so that, little by little, what is now shared is more important than what is exclusive to particular groups. People holidaying at Richardson's Beach camp where the Oyster Bay people once camped, living from meal-time to meal-time; now holiday-makers discard the restrictions of urban life, live close to the natural environment, fish, dive, sit late around fires cooking, talking, singing, or walking the bays and coves as the Oyster Bay people had done. They come in summer, they leave in winter; the Aboriginal people came in winter and left in summer.

This place is the source of personal, family and group wellbeing, in physical and spiritual ways. Perceptions and experiences of place are told in story and anecdote which, in time, could have resulted in mythologies accreting to the unknown mythologies of its Tasmanian Aboriginal inhabitants. But progress towards the creation of these mythologies has, many believe, been replaced instead by a different historical end point for Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula: a commercialised and marketed identity as a tourist icon, with the principal mode of operation being economic (economic capital) rather than individual (cultural capital) and social, with the natural environment viewed as an exploitable commodity rather than for its own intrinsic worth.

It is to this end that the research propositions point, identifying change from values encapsulated in the small-scale, local, parochial and environmentally close to those of the international and cosmopolitan, by nature more transient and commercial.

Hence the rage against change expressed by some people. As a major outcome of the study, relationships between the groups which constitute the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, including those of the visiting tourists are clarified in this Bourdieuan field. Described as power relations which operate inside and outside of this field, they coalesce around competing actors seeking to influence how

the place develops, not only in patterns of action and reaction, but in innovation and creativity.

At this place, social topography combines with the natural landscape to create a unique sense of place. This social topography is observable as groups, couples and families, young or old, share barbecues in the caravan park; kayakers set up at Muir's Beach before paddling down the peninsula; birdwatchers and photographers mull over their gear; and at tables outside the bakery and the tavern people pore over maps, ease off their bushwalking boots, test fishing lines, discuss the surf and wonder about the weather as lines of bike-riders spin past, campervans and motor-homes pull in and a fishing boat leaves from the jetty. All of these people – whether residents, visitors or tourists – take part, to greater or lesser degrees, in a common cultural experience of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula which is most apparent at the height of summer. To the extent that individuals represent specific groups and communities they are better apprehended as configurations conditioned by space, place and time, by education and income and by coalitions of all of these elements.

The members of these groups and communities promote competing visions which, in simplified form, are associated with a descriptor of place: home, holiday spot and destination. This descriptor symbolises not only a primary relationship to place, but its cultural and economic dimensions with commensurate effects which may be hidden, in the Bourdieuan sense, or overt. Paralleling these visions are people who, in seeking an unmediated experience of the natural world, share a common goal. Yet, they seek the impossible, for even by their presence they change the natural world, symbolised by the hidden presence of the fungal disease *phytophthora* that is spreading through the national park. This is an inevitability, whether individuals express a preference for immersion in the environment such as experienced by the surfer, bush-walker, yachtsman; or a retreat to a favoured spot just to sit and be; or an exclusive, upmarket experience accompanied by food and wine; or a preference for the shared, chaotic and happy experiences of families and friends on holiday, just 'boggling in' at a camp site, caravan park or holiday shack.

Over the three-year period of data measurement, members of the communities represented by the study groups gave increased importance to the natural environment. Residents and visitors expressed their concerns about drought and water shortages. They also expressed greater awareness of the need to protect the natural environment. Increased awareness meant that some residents and visitors related more consistently to the natural environment as stewards and advocates for the environment. If the interests of Coles Bay's residents, like those of traditional communities elsewhere, are best served by finding ways of negotiating between economic and environmental planning to manage sustainably its resources of natural capital, then promoting a lifestyle attractive to people who value the natural environment might better achieve this management. Some locals and visitors, but also tourists seeking out nature or ecotourism holidays, comprehend the linkages between ecology and economy, and the importance of maintaining ecological health for economic viability.

Yet, processes of change arouse anxiety in residents because positive outcomes, whilst desired, are not always attained from economic decisions. An example is the plan for the new hotel and resort on Muir's Beach (Federal Hotels and Resorts) which has promised but not yet provided jobs and opportunities for locals. Change in these forms also affronts those with no economic investment in this place, but express powerful emotions for it and its future. Images of place are thus contested (Rojek 1997; Urry 1995, 2002), and conflict results between those resisting change and those supporting it, and with those initiating change through their proposals for economic development. Although Coles Bay is not a traditional society, a community such as this is still shaped by the factors which shaped the communities of the past. Hence, Norgaard's (1994) idea of communities operating within ecological boundaries which are small enough for the signals of environmental stress to be noted with concern is valid for Coles Bay. Currently, these signals have been identified as drought, which affects the wildlife; long term issues of water provision, water and air pollution; waste generation and management; and the strain on the carrying capacity of Freycinet National Park because of the numbers of people walking its tracks. Likewise, a community operating within not only geophysical but multi-dimensional boundaries can use its cultural and commercial networks, contacts and friendships to address these signals of environmental stress. Scientists from the University of Tasmania, exploring the Tasmanian Devil's facial tumour disease – seen by many as a sign of

environmental stress – were provided with accommodation by local residents. They gave the first showing of a documentary on this subject in the Coles Bay Hall.

Coles Bay is not a rigid or static community looking backwards to an idealised past: even its activists have a vision of a sustainable alternative for its future which combines respect for the environment with sustainable activities. At present, there is a flow of ideas from city to region, as M’Gonigle has identified (2000), principally generated by seasonal workers from urban areas who stay to live at Coles Bay, which serves to mitigate local parochialism. Potentially, these ideas could redress the limited vision which affects decision-making at local government level, thus rendering this place more attractive still as a place for people to live and work. Adaptability, creativity and inventiveness expressed in new initiatives and proposals – such as the development of a conference centre and a local festival, France to Freycinet, held sporadically – support social resilience without impacting negatively on the natural environment. Cultural valuing which supports viable yet measured and respectful economic development also respects the region’s environmental services – its air and water quality, and the viability of its habitats, for instance; its biodiversity and the uniqueness and beauty of its landscapes. At the same time, the study has demonstrated the vulnerability of Coles Bay to exogenous factors that influence its development. These factors include government policies. Examples are the inaction over the Department of Infrastructure, Energy and Resources’ own consultative report, the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan; perceived preference for development given to big players such as Federal Hotels and Resorts; downward trends in tourism nationally and internationally; and rising oil prices, as noted. Unsustainable residential and tourism development by investors also threatens the environmental integrity, character and sense of place of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Although the members of each group in this study had much to share, their visions of place differed to a significant degree. The following sections discuss the results of the study in terms of each of the groups and their principal relationship to place. It also discusses these groups in terms of theory, guided by key aspects of Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital.

9.3 Home for residents

For the residents in this case study, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula is home. Here they eat, sleep, play and – for the employed – work. A profound valuing of the natural aspects of this place underlies this experience, and forms the essence of the cultural capital of individual and group. Residents' relationships to the natural environment are shared experiences, for this is their territory, where personal identity meets place identity expressed in a multiplicity of ways: Schouten Island for fishing; Great Oyster Bay, Sleepy Bay and Bluestone Bay for diving and snorkelling, and for gathering abalones and mussels; Friendly Beaches for surfing; Muir's Beach for beach parties and music. Residents also express their connection by choosing a special place of retreat lying outside the domains of work and habitation which is intrinsic to their own sense of self; through the expression of a broad knowledge, appreciation and understanding of the region's physical manifestations in different seasons and weathers; in spontaneous activities determined by time and place; and in an anxious concern about the impact of economic growth – on which residents depend for income – on the plants, animals, middens, heritage and landscapes of this area.

In Bourdieu's (1986, p. 242) formulation of cultural capital, these values reflect long-lasting dispositions of mind and body. The spectrum of this valuing and the behavioural choices which flow from it extend across age groups, generating narratives of place and the people of this place. Bourdieu specifies objectified capital – or cultural goods – as an aspect of cultural capital. For residents, objectified capital takes instrumental forms – what is needed to engage with the natural environment, and what in the natural environment is of use? These take three forms: equipment necessary for the enjoyment of recreational activities culturally, such as diving, surfing, kayaking, sailing and bush-walking equipment. A second essential is equipment necessary for food gathering: boats, diving gear, fishing equipment, guns. Of equal importance is the use of local materials in house-building collected not only by roadsides, such as granite boulders, but from materials dumped at the local tip, such as discarded wood and metal items; seaweed for gardens is collected, and wood for furniture and fires, and materials for pottery. Less tangibly, sense of place apprehended in the landscape, sky-scapes, sea-scapes is also instrumental, in that it feeds creativity in photography, pottery, painting, print-making, music, poetry, and

craft works. This list of objectified capital maps the ways in which residents relate directly to this natural environment. In these ways, members of the local community relate to the natural environment as both place and resource base.

Appreciating its special sense of place, residents exhibit a heightened awareness of its environmental fragility and act to protect it. Yet, precisely because Coles Bay is home, residents earn their income locally. The economic capital brought by the influx of tourists visiting the site in summer creates their livelihoods, but further drives the growth of infrastructure development, resulting in more tourism goods and services and increased tourism numbers. Hence, economic reality, expressed as a utilitarian valuing of the environment through the exploitation of its natural capital conflicts with the residents' intrinsic love of this place. But this is also the location of family and friends. It is where, as salary earners and business people, they share common interests, go to meetings together, and work for and with each other.

Their shared understandings, norms and routines specific to this place further cement residents' membership of this community. They contribute to its special dynamism by initiating and taking part in cultural events; attending community consultation about planning for the area; joining local groups; supporting environmental initiatives; supporting each others' initiatives, such as the development of a new conference centre; and by caring for the needs of local residents of all ages. Their social activities sustain Coles Bay's small-town character, and their friendships are guided by an egalitarianism expressed as shared love, reciprocity, trust, respect and knowledge of a larger reality – the natural environment – in contradistinction to the perceived anonymity of urban and suburban living which many have left.

Community strength and dynamism are also demonstrated in the changes taking place over the period of the study. Many of the younger residents established serious relationships, married, had children and started businesses, strengthening the village's character as home. Residents in this study group no longer attended beach parties until late at night, drinking and playing music – leaving that activity to younger arrivals – but instead spent time at family barbecues. For older residents, rituals and routines changed as friends moved away or died, again strengthening the community's character as a place where all of life's changes take place. New initiatives were undertaken, such as the amalgamation of the local associations to

form one single, effective organisation to manage the challenges of development; and the creation of a new social club, the tennis club, at the refurbished tennis courts.

Despite their investment in this place as home and worksite, residents are concerned about changing visions for the future of this place. They disapprove of the suburban-style subdivisions being built and they worry about the area becoming a profitable site for financial investment rather than a great natural environment. This trend is evinced in the replacement of holiday shacks in Coles Bay and Swanwick by houses which appear to have been built and sold for profit only, and are often rented out. Thus, the character of the built environment is changing, threatening the small-town character of Coles Bay and the extended networks of friendships and relationships that not only hold the place together for the residents, but contribute to its appeal for tourists, on whom the residents depend for income. The threat, therefore, is of a loss of sense of place which has both cultural and economic implications for the future.

Paralleling these changes is an unwelcome reality for residents over this period of growth: that of being restricted during the summer tourist season by the economic demands of making a living. They complain that they are not as able to enjoy the natural environment by walking in the park, surfing at Friendlies, or going to Bryan's Beach or Schouten Island for fishing or diving as they had previously. Place as worksite thus restricts residents in the expression of their relationship to place. Residents are also restricted in expressing their cultural relationships to the natural environment through recreational activities and aesthetic appreciation during the summer tourism season; they also appear unable to appreciate it in terms of their personal and group vision of place. Thus the height of the summer season when place is laid open to those coming in from outside, and the little township is buzzing with holiday activity, is a time of alienation from place for many residents.

In contrast, winter is the time when cultural capital resurfaces for many. Residents have the time to catch up with friends and enjoy this place through shared and individual recreational activities. Although it is a time when belts are tightened, it is also a time of shared social activities, as noted. As well, residents finish house renovations, visit family members living elsewhere, take the fishing boats down to Hobart to scrape the hulls, garden, and rethink plans for the future. In summary, the now-ness of their experiences of this place overlays their experiences in the past

which are embedded in memory, both personal and communal; but this experience of now-ness is compromised for those working in this community for a significant period of the year.

9.4 Holiday spot for visitors

The annual or weekend holiday for visitors is a reality imbued with memories of a particular place experienced in summer, extending back in time, summarised in the term 'holiday spot.' These accumulations of impressions and experiences, and their connection with this place generate a purist vision. Visitors express this purist vision in a sense of ownership and a concomitant stewardship for the natural environment – in principle for some, in actions for others – in which their cultural valuing of place and environment allows economics to play little part.

In a sense, the location of their homes and workplaces well away from this site results in a quarantining of this holiday place for visitors, in reality and in imagination. As their holiday experiences are carried from this natural environment to their everyday worlds, the splitting of reality into home versus holiday, work versus leisure, weeks versus years projects an ideal of Coles Bay as a place existing in its own time and space. Recreational relationships to the natural environment reaffirm long-lasting dispositions of mind and body for visitors. Objectified capital for visitors is both instrumental and symbolic. As for residents, it takes the form of the equipment necessary to engage culturally with the natural environment. In addition, objective capital is carried back to their home locations in the forms of photos, shells, driftwood, pottery, or the beginnings of an artistic work such as a print series, a set of poems or a painting which symbolises their experience of place, and expresses their comprehension of the sense of place of the area.

The strongly familial nature of visitors' connections to place – sometimes extending over generations – is imbued with a valuing of the natural environment transmitted through the family. They share holiday experiences, often – year after year – with the same family and friends who thus form a community of interest. In seeking to maintain, with their memories, an easy egalitarianism where class status is not important and everyday rules and conventions are ignored, they promote an idea of place which is under challenge in the face of the increasingly commercial tenor of present-day Coles Bay. Their disapproval of, and active protests against the

installation of concrete paths, gutters, street-lights and parking bays in the new subdivisions are protests against symbols of social regulation which they consciously leave behind in their everyday worlds.

In the main, lack of appreciation of the built environment of Coles Bay is constant over time, whether visitors engage in activism or not, as their focus is the health and viability of the natural environment of the protected areas. Thus, a way in which they contribute to the economic viability of Coles Bay, though unrecognised by them, is through their vigilance and activism in safeguarding the protected areas on which the local community, through tourism, is dependent. Likewise, visitors' own economic independence supports their activism, as they do not need local economic growth to earn a living. Thus, the principles which inform those taking part in activism are not compromised by economic need.

Visitors have fought battles in the past to conserve a particular image of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula which they carry from childhood – its unspoilt character, environmental integrity and intact biodiversity. They continue with environmentally protective activities such as reforestation and securing a bird sanctuary in Moulting Lagoon. Although these actions are supported by some residents, others' support is less than whole-hearted, particularly those involved in business, who view such activity as being too extreme and would prefer further negotiation to manage the environmental impact of planned developments. Indeed, visitors oppose most of the economic developments proposed for Coles Bay, though they do recognise the need for locals to earn a living. Different groups of visitors have achieved substantial changes at times, such as the rejection of a marina in Coles Bay, and the re-design of the new hotel and resort at Muir's Beach. They also support some aspects of development, such as those which would contribute to safe access to the national park.

Naturally, they oppose the commercialisation of the holiday experience particularly through the growth of the tourism industry and its promotion and marketing; they oppose the resultant increase in residential development, subdivisions, more built tourist accommodation, indeed more exploitation of the natural capital of Freycinet National Park. As visitors bring the accoutrements of their stay at Coles Bay with them – food, drink, sleeping gear and other necessities, and recreational gear such as

boats, surfing, diving and fishing equipment – their own economic input to the community would appear to be minimal, but is present in indirect ways. They buy some provisions, they eat out, they go for drinks at local establishments. Another, again indirect, contribution is to the building, buying, selling and upgrading of accommodation to meet visitors' needs, and therefore the provision of associated services through rates and taxes, which also bring change to Coles Bay.

So, when visitors share with the residents anxiety about the environmental footprint of newly built houses in Coles Bay and Swanwick, their own contribution to this element of change is not perceived. It simply is another unwelcome symptom of the advance of commercialism in a place valued as a family holiday spot. In a sense it belies visitors' determination that sense of place is environmental, not built, and the concomitant belief that the built environment of Coles Bay should likewise resist upgrading. Visitors live, to some extent, within social and ecological boundaries which exclude tourists, most residents and everything but the natural environment. For visitors, past and present merge as memories infusing the present, creating a vision of place which they fight to preserve now and for the future. This is a culturally-based valuing in which the natural environment is then accorded cultural value. There is no recognition of the ways in which cultural capital, through its valuing of the natural environment, creates natural capital which is then exploited economically. A structural framework is called for, to give visitor and resident communities a voice in policy and decision-making for Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

9.5 Destination for tourists

Tourists are key factors in generating development at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. This influence is indirect, but recognised by individual tourists, and results from their numbers and local expenditure. The development they instigate affects both built and natural areas. The choice by tourists of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a destination annually generates economic capital at the study site. How they perceive the protected area of Freycinet National Park is as much an outcome of its marketing and promotion as its natural character; the shortness of their visits confines them to particular areas, reducing their ability to appreciate its myriad

aspects. Despite their appreciation of Freycinet National Park itself, tourists do not value this place above others, and are unlikely to return.

A monetary flow directly and indirectly benefits the local population and therefore the community, and underlies a relationship between tourists and residents in the provision of tourism goods and services which could be described as symbiotic – residents are dependent on tourists for income, and tourists on residents for the quality of their holiday. As a group, despite their shared valuing of the natural environment, they are most closely aligned with economic capital.

Although the character of tourists' experiences in their choice of Coles Bay as a holiday or vacation destination expresses a general valuing of the environment which is cultural in character, notable is the ephemeral quality of this experience. Tourists seek to experience an image of place to which they are always travelling and never reaching, implied in the meaning of destination. In mitigation of the limitations of this type of relationship to place, they share in a virtual community of interest which values the natural environment, and which extends beyond this place. This community of interest is made up of tourists from all over the world who come to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. They take part in recreational activities both bought and formally organised, and spontaneous activities such as bushwalking in the national park, walking the Wineglass Bay track to the Lookout, driving to Cape Tourville Lighthouse – a popular activity for the elderly and disabled – going to the beach with the children, swimming, fishing, and of course 'sight-seeing': the visual appreciation of this place through its views.

Tourists' experiences make no demands on them for action, as they are expressed as a set of beliefs in support of the natural environment in general. In mitigation of their position as the carriers of economic capital, their visits to the area are based on cultural, not economic motivations. As a group, they share educational and income levels with the residents and visitors, and as a group their valuing of the natural environment is similarly grounded in childhood experiences in a place like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. This is so, even though this valuing might not have been as locally embedded in aspects of the natural environment as that of residents and visitors, and though the transmission of values through the family is not as clearly apparent.

To this extent, tourists express long-lasting dispositions of mind and body in their taste for the natural environment – any natural environment – and its consumption in a specific cultural form: tourism. Objectified cultural capital as photos, books, maps and souvenirs bought from the Freycinet Interpretation Centre and elsewhere also affirm the reality of their visit for tourists. As their relationships to place are demonstrably transitory, so is their apprehension of a sense of place at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Underlying their contact with Coles Bay are experiences of similar places elsewhere. Similarly, their experiences of nature or ecotourism in the future will overlay their memories of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Such is the nature of tourism-as-the-single-visit, for what is bought must give value in the present.

For those tourists walking into the national park, most favour the Wineglass Bay track, where the views of the bay from the Lookout have been extensively promoted (see cover picture). The popularity of this walk threatens the view's value and character through its separation as an object of consumption from its environmental context, a process identified by Urry (2002) which seems particularly relevant to this location, as many tourists do not descend the track to the bay, but simply view it from above. Given that their appreciation of the local natural environment does not include an intimate relationship to or knowledge of its landscapes, weather and biodiversity, tourists can only apprehend the extraordinariness of the place through these iconic sites and sights. But this raises the question: are Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula at risk of being subjected to the commodification of place and its consequences associated with this type of development occurring at similar locations elsewhere in Australia?

In answer, the effects of the growth of tourism at Coles Bay, despite its 'ecotourism' sobriquet, are observable in the lack of cheap camping grounds and caravan parks, and lack of accommodation in the area to cater for families. Outside of Freycinet National Park, overcrowding on the roads, parking areas and boating facilities such as the jetties at the height of summer season threaten to interpose between the tourists and their experience of place, as it does for all groups and their respective communities. Freycinet National Park's status as a protected area has safeguarded it, despite ecological events like the spread of phytophthora, but it is always under threat from the increasingly large numbers entering the park.

Although tourists' input to the local economy by definition would promote environmental change, few identify change occurring through their own impact on place. Indeed, they are quite emphatic about their desire for nothing to change about the small-town character of Coles Bay or the protected area of Freycinet National Park. But their large numbers result not only in substantial social and environmental impacts but in divisions within the resident group between those dependent on this economic capital and those opposing it. Thus, the economic capital which tourists bring to the community allows a measure of financial viability but also creates social division.

Taking a longer view, the experiences available to tourists of natural environments such as the beaches, mountains and bays of the study site are made possible by mass travel, by air as well as by car, and thus the oil economy. These experiences contribute to the dissemination of an image of place which is perceived to be marketable and therefore income generating. It is exploited as such, particularly through the promotion of the iconic beach, Wineglass Bay, in order to achieve tourism growth and income for Tasmania's economy. However, the exclusive cultural experience of tourism – the appreciation of scenic natural regions motivated by a romantic appreciation of nature and wilderness from a position of safety – is compromised by the large numbers of tourists.

For many tourists, it would appear that media images overlay memories of past experiences to shape their present experiences of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Whether their experiences at this place challenge these images or not, for many, such contact reinforces a core relationship to the natural environment. Still, if tourism itself can be viewed as mass entertainment, played out forever in the present whatever the location, then the role of tourists is more that of passive observers than active participants, which points to a mass rather than an exclusive experience of place. These versions of the tourism experience, as they have been described (Cartier and Lew 2005; Pearce, D and Butler 2002; Rojek 1997; Rojek and Urry 1997; Urry 2002) are not always in conflict. The process of a natural site transforming to 'nature-tourism' which encourages recreational activities, and thence to a 'destination' or even 'icon' where the consumption of views and programmed experiences dominate, occurs as a result of extensive tourism marketing, promotion and packaging. This proceeds hand-in-hand with the growth of local tourism and associated services, as

can be observed occurring over time at Coles Bay and nearby Swanwick. In a sense, the whole Wineglass Bay experience in itself can be viewed as the natural environment packaged for tourism.

9.6 Theories in the field

Culture and community

In this section, I generalise from the specific experiences of the three study groups in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in order to assess the greater relevance of the theory which provides the framework for this study. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and its relevance have been established in the body of this dissertation and in the review of the results up to this point and have been proved to be invaluable in structuring the research. Evidence provided by the data confirms the validity of adapting this theory to this circumstance, as illustrated in the high educational levels of residents, visitors and tourists and the childhood experiences embodied in familial interactions with place. As discussed, in Bourdieu's (1984, p. 102) conceptualisation of class fractions, education is a factor in the development and transmission by people of values, in this case demonstrated to be associated with a geographical space, which is Coles Bay. In conforming to tourism research, which has also identified the relatively high qualifications of people attracted to the natural environment, the integrity of these groups in representing their communities, or categories, for this study is also confirmed.

The transmission of cultural values through the family or family groupings – a key aspect of cultural capital – is demonstrated in group and community relationships to this place for residents and visitors. These values are reinforced for individuals in their ongoing contact with the natural environment, in acts of reaffirmation.

Reconnection to a well-loved place since childhood would appear to facilitate familial values transmission. Thus, through familial and contextual means of transmission, the values of cultural capital are reinforced over time, a cyclical affirmation of valuing characteristic of these communities of residents and visitors.

Most tourists, despite seeking out experiences in the natural environment, do not so clearly identify values transmission through the family in this study. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the pattern of responses from the three groups.

Firstly, the transmission of such values through the family seems also to be dependent on regular or ongoing contact with place. If this is so, then the importance of place is established as the irreducible context wherein environmental values are embedded over time. A second conclusion is that if tourists, as purchasers of their experiences of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, respond as customers to a bought product, then this place is as much a landscape of consumption as a natural environment. A third issue is that of emotional and temporal distance. When measured along the dimension of distance, that is, of home from the research site, tourists are furthest from Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula; when measured along the dimension of time, tourists spend the shortest time there. Thus, tourists do not share with visitors and residents connection to place in terms of these factors. Neither do they share connection to place in terms of ownership: of property, memories, knowledge and understandings, or of family or experiences specific to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Still, tourists in this study do share with residents and visitors considerable appreciation of aspects, respectively, of the local township and Freycinet National Park, despite the shortness of their visits.

The adaptability of the concept of cultural capital itself is clear, as in this study it has been successfully defined and measured in a very different social and environmental context to the urban societies where Bourdieu's concept originated. The extension of the concept (in terms of its ecological economic definition) into the arena of relations between community, economy and ecology by ecological economists has been key for this study. Recognition in general that the ecosystem and its operations are integral to successful socio-economic systems (Berkes and Folke 1998; Costanza 1991; Costanza *et al.* 2001; Daly 1977; Daly and Cobb 1989; El Serafy 1991; Folke and Kaberger 1991, 2001; Holling 2001; Markandya *et al.* 1990; Norgaard 1992; Odum 1971; Pearce, J 1988; Perrings 1987) has been seen to apply equally to a small, coastal town in close proximity to a natural resource in the protected area of Freycinet National Park. Further, the conceptualisation by ecological economists of the relations between the three forms of capital – with cultural capital taking an important role – has been proven to be valid in the social and economic relations specific to this place.

Ecological economists' (Agrawal 2000; Berkes 1998a, 1998b; Berkes and Folke 1993, 1998; Bryden and Hart 2004; Cobb and Daly 1994; Folke 2006; Folke and Kaberger 2001; Gadgil *et al.* 2003) postulation that management of an environmental stock or resource is optimally determined by those who have the most local knowledge and understanding about it has generated invaluable insight into relations between people and environment at this study site. Its importance is demonstrated in the confluence between the values of cultural capital as conceptualised by Bourdieu and the values of natural capital which derive from local environmental services and aesthetic beauty. At Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula the presence of cultural capital is demonstrated in its key structural aspects, in the range of cultural and physical activities specific to place; in the range of knowledge and understandings about the natural environment of the members of its communities, particularly residents and visitors, and in their valuing of the natural environment; and in the environmental services which constitute natural capital.

Knowledge and understandings of the natural environment in themselves are an invaluable community resource and demonstrate an intimate knowledge of place which, as Norgaard (1994) finds, is often, but not exclusively, seen to reside among 'traditional' communities. The accumulations of creative output, experience and knowledge and understandings grounded in a depth of connection with the natural capital of this specific environment constitute the great body of cultural capital which has amassed over time and is intrinsic to this place.

As cultural capital is specific to this place, both in its territorial location and dimensions of history, time and emotional depth, it is best described as *cultural capital of place*. As an immobile economic resource, cultural capital, in this context, fits Bryden's (1998, p. 3) notion of immobile capital, described as 'the history, traditions, customs, language, music, art and stories' of place, but takes it further in incorporating values which derive from this community's relationships to the natural environment. Thus, cultural capital as immobile capital, encompassing a valuing of the natural environment, conforms to Bourdieu's (1986, p. 243) thinking, in that it plays a hidden role in the economic growth of this area by attracting the mobile resources of finance and investment which generate tourism growth.

Conversely, Coles Bay has not attracted the mobile resource of labour, as it does not have a labour-intensive commercial basis. Another factor mitigating population growth is the lack of services at Coles Bay – there are no schools, a doctor or other services. Although it is a prized coastal location, only to a small extent has it been the focus of people looking for a way of life in a community of shared values. Where this has occurred, it has been young people staying on after summer employment, a movement balanced by a number of the elderly leaving to live in nearby towns where medical services are located. The young moving into Coles Bay have brought vigour and dynamism, but this demographic change is hardly on a scale significant enough to bring about large-scale community change, such as those resulting from lifestyle or status groups moving into a prized, natural location (Brubaker 1985; Florida 2003; M'Gonigle 2000; Offe 1990).

Economy and environment

The adaptation of the concept of cultural capital to an ecological economic framework has been useful for this study in a number of ways, particularly in its facility in untangling residents', visitors' and tourists' relationships to the natural environment, and hence the natural capital, of the study site. Indeed, nature-based cultural capital can be seen as underpinning the desire of local residents and visitors to protect the natural environment, rather than endowing them with the means and adaptations to deal with the natural environment (Berkes and Folke 1993; 1994, 1998). Local attempts to preserve both natural and cultural capital have motivated the activities of individuals and groups in their efforts to influence planning and decision-making outcomes. It is expressed in actions to mitigate the effects of approved economic development, and to protect the natural environment, particularly of the protected areas.

The role of cultural capital as interface between natural capital and human-made capital (Berkes and Folke 1994) with the power to negotiate in order to prevent environmentally-destructive activities, is not quite so apparent in the case study. Final resolutions to contested decisions about economic planning and development are often the outcomes of government decision-making exterior to the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. A review of the range of

policy, decisions and actions of these decision-making bodies is thoroughly presented in section 9.8.

Although the values of cultural capital might appear to be dominant in this Bourdieuan field of operations, the processes of economic exchange and thus economic capital are always apparent. All group members – residents, visitors and tourists – and therefore the communities they represent have economic relationships in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula through a range of commercial transactions. Despite expressed support for the natural environment, simply by their presence and the associated demand for a range of services and needs, they have an economic impact on place and therefore on the integrity of the natural environment. I discuss the complexity of these relationships in the next section.

9.7 Groups and capitals

In the ‘field’ of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, the dominance of one or other forms of capital reverses over time, and is as cyclical as the seasons themselves. Competition between economic and cultural capital is as apparent at this level as it is between groups representing each of these forms of capital over the use or otherwise of natural capital. In the summer holiday season when tourist operations inject money into this area, the physical environment – both built and natural – is dominated by economic capital, even though this capital is generated by recreational activities expressing a cultural valuing of place.

At this time, tourists are most in evidence in the township. They can be seen in crowds on the Wineglass Bay track, quad-bike riding on fire trails, kayaking down the coast, and walking along the beaches. They crowd the service areas of the local bakery, shops, mini-mart, restaurants and the tavern, and they populate the camping ground and the jetties where they park their four-wheel drives to manoeuvre motorboats into the water. Vans carrying bikes and kayaks park above the beaches; buses laden with tourists edge along the narrow roads; convoys of people in motor-homes and caravans drive into the area; and the waters of the bays are dotted with yachts, kayaks, motor boats, water-skis and jet-skis. In summer, residents employed in tourism work all hours of the day, particularly at Christmas and Easter, when they make the most money. Visitors and elderly

residents avoid the village. At particular times of the day they assert their own valuing of place, strolling the beaches or going for a swim in the early mornings or evenings when the tourist hubbub abates. Yet, the community is vibrant with life and good humour of people out to enjoy themselves in a marvellous natural setting. The annual influx of tourists in summer supports the economic viability of the community, with competing interests – developers, real estate agents, local councillors, individuals, conservationists – both within and outside the community either directly contributing to this economy, or attempting to influence its manifestations.

In winter, in retreat from the tourist season, a different ambience dominates: it is now a place of calm and solitude, of cold winter days, blue-grey evenings and still, reflective waters. The local, small-scale and parochial re-emerge in the community, in spontaneous activities and events such as fishing, surfing together, throwing dinner parties, going for walks into the national park. Free of the demands of making money, residents now have the time to enjoy the natural environment and socialise with each other. They reclaim place and reassert the values of cultural capital. Visitors often go to Coles Bay in winter for the same reasons. They, too, reclaim the place, enjoy its natural features, and catch up with friends living there.

Hence, season, weather and climate determine the social topography of the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula and give colour to its social manifestations. Season and climate also influence the presence of economic capital in the field because financial returns are largely confined to four or five months of the year, as tourism data demonstrates. Therefore, natural factors are key influences in the competition between cultural and economic capital at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The assertion of key relationships between cultural capital and natural capital on the one hand and economic capital and natural capital on the other is validated (Berkes and Folke 1993).

Despite the three groups of this study sharing a core valuing of the natural environment, the actions of each group can be associated principally with one or more forms of capital. These associations are actualised through the choices the members of these communities make. They occupy objective relations in the

Bourdieuian field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula which, though most often culturally motivated, have physical, cultural and economic outcomes. The equivocal role of those in closest touch with the natural environment – residents; the local community of Coles Bay – is clear. Their dependence on income – which then flows through the local economy of the region – from employment in tourism goods and services provision which exploits the natural capital of the environment tends to inhibit an individual's ability to act on behalf of the natural environment. Running counter to this tendency, on the other hand, are individual acts to protect the natural environment such as supporting Coles Bay as a plastic bag free town; spontaneous acts to improve the local environment such as town clean-ups; participation in community consultation and membership of formal organisations which seek to influence positively the character of both built and natural environments.

Particularly at the height of the tourist season in summer, residents face the dilemma of how, without bringing about environmental degradation, consequent loss of habitats and species, and ultimately a loss of values that create a special sense of place, they can relate to the natural environment in positive, creative and even spiritual ways. They are keenly aware of the necessity to control the types of development envisioned by developers, rather than rejecting development out of hand, the position taken by visitors. Residents share the experience of people world-wide who seek to utilise resources sustainably in areas which they consider their home, in situations of either conflict or uneasy collaboration with exterior bodies deploying or regulating economic capital. Put simply, although residents make culturally-determined judgements of value in choosing to live close to the natural environment at Coles Bay, their residence there is conditional upon their need to earn a living at this place. The need to earn a living threatens their connections with the natural environment. By asserting their connection with place they find that they have to accommodate the demands of economic necessity which dominate in the summer season. Thus, idealism is tempered by pragmatism for residents.

Visitors also make culturally determined judgements of value in choosing to go to Coles Bay for regular visits, either frequently or infrequently. In escaping the demands and strictures of ordinary, everyday living, they feel an ownership of place which they express through stewardship of the environment and personal activism.

The integrity of their actions in protecting the natural environments of the region, specifically Freycinet Peninsula and Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve, is indisputable. Yet, visitors do not acknowledge their own negative impact on place, both economically and physically. By valuing the place over generations, they have substantially contributed to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula becoming desirable locations for residential and tourist development, just as has happened (as we have seen) in the coastal town of Denmark, Western Australia. Yet, visitors do not have an exploitative relationship with the resources as they contribute to shifting the emphasis from one form or function of natural capital – resources for production – to others such as environmental services, biodiversity protection, aesthetic appreciation and recreation (see Cochrane 2006). As they are not economically dependent on these resources, the purist character of this relationship is reflected in a lack of balance: their protest activities confront, they do not mediate.

Sharing values, but only briefly in contact with this natural environment, tourists come and go *en masse*. Their culturally determined judgements of value in their choice to buy an experience at this place have negative consequences for both the valued sense of place of small-town Coles Bay and the integrity of the natural environment. Standing on the sidelines, they are not in a position to mediate between the forms of capital or political pressures operating in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Only through the market, that is by choosing the less destructive forms of tourism experience, can they exert an indirect influence on developments at Coles Bay. Again, this influence has little effect from the individual point of view, but is more likely to result from consensus about the character of the place, and hence the preferred types of development in the provision of recreational activities and accommodation at Coles Bay.

Although members of the study groups declare their valuing of the natural environment over other objects of value – such as aspects of the built environment – their practical relationships are to its natural capital. Thus, residents assert their love of the natural environment, but are dependent on its natural capital as the basis of their participation in the local economy. Visitors also assert their valuing of the natural environment, but create natural capital through this cultural valuing which is exploited economically. Tourists value the natural environment, but their presence

creates exploitation of the natural capital of the environment through tourism goods and services provision.

Passive acceptance of a situation where increasing commodification of place and loss of natural values proceeds unchecked is not an option. Over the period of this study, environmental issues comprised a substantial and consistent body of concern for these communities. All, whether residents, visitors or tourists, expressed the need for action to protect the natural environment. Yet, each improvement in amenities such as more parking spaces or better access to the national park increased the region's desirability as a tourist destination. Because Coles Bay is perceived and sold as a prime coastal location for investment, property development has followed, and with it the growth of the real-estate market. With the increased inflow of tourists and money, the threat to biodiversity, landscapes, environmental services and sense of place has increased. In essence, residents' and visitors' concerns and calls for action are profoundly cultural expressions of their non-monetary valuing of this place and are echoed, somewhat contradictorily, by the tourists. This valuing has unintended consequences and in this conflict lies the dilemma for the communities of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. A consequence of environmentally protective measures – for instance the construction of more parking and new tracks into Freycinet National Park, or even the demand to contain tourism growth to a limited, nature-tourism model of development – is an increase in tourism numbers and therefore increased environmental vulnerability. What is best: to act or not to act? But then, to not act is also to act.

There is an inherent contradiction between setting aside a natural area for its environmental values and then encouraging, through mass marketing and promotion, large-scale tourism which threatens its environmental integrity. Disjuncture exists between some aspects of government policy about the functions of national parks and the desire of communities to protect their local environments. Recognition of common ground and common values in the enactment of policy would address this divide.

Common ground and values indeed exist between the members of the groups and communities of this place. They share understandings and norms of behaviour which, as individuals and as members of organisations, they seek vigorously to maintain. These norms and behaviours relate to their valuing and enjoyment of the natural

environment without damaging it. Awareness of the natural environment created by local knowledge and understandings should serve to guide development and growth, so that, when a visiting consultant suggests building a new road to exploit the views for tourists when they are driving into Coles Bay, the lone voice of an elderly man pointing out that its construction would destroy quoll habitats is precisely the type of voice which needs to be heard in planning for the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

9.8 Outside the field

For the purposes of elucidation, discussion of the results is presented either within the ‘field’ of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, or outside this field. Such a division, though geographically based, is largely artificial. That Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula together comprise a field with complex, fluid dimensions extending beyond social and physical boundaries has been consistently argued. The verity of this point of view is demonstrated in the list of actions detailed in Table 3. In this table, evidence is provided of the ways that the major forms of capital – cultural and economic – compete over the use of the natural capital of the environment. It also shows how they overlap, separate, oppose and at times coalesce over time. The range of competing interests includes private businesses, non-government organisations, protest groups, institutions and governmental bodies which operate both within and outside the socio-geographical area of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. The voices of the people of these groups, their relationships to place and their concerns are vividly presented in the transcripts of their interviews.

The policies and actions which involve the greatest range of stakeholders and communities of interest – developers and entrepreneurs, residents and visitors – are to do with land and its uses. The implementation of these policies and actions reveals the interlinked character of the forms of capital in relation to land utilisation. State policies directly to protect or improve the land involve cultural and natural capital. An example is the spraying protocol negotiated between Coombend Vineyards and Parks and Wildlife Service. As a commercial entity is involved, economic capital is engaged; environmental concerns are addressed; a natural environment is protected; a cultural relationship to the natural environment is protected. Other actions, such as the new low-level walking tracks into Freycinet National Park are cultural in basis and

increase the natural capital of the national park. Indirectly, the new tracks produce economic capital: although the natural environment is protected by the reduction of numbers of people on the Wineglass Bay track, a significant area of land was destroyed in order to provide car and bus parking to allow people to access these tracks. Further, the presence of the new tracks increases the use of Freycinet National Park. In the future, more commercial services will be provided to serve tourists walking the tracks, and the built area of Coles Bay will suffer further from overcrowding by people and traffic. Regulatory activities such as the preservation of huts on Schouten Island and at Cook's Beach are directly cultural. As these policies and actions serve to protect the history and heritage of the area, both cultural capital and natural capital are embedded in these activities.

Although most actions by these exterior bodies are approved, some generate ongoing cycles of proposal and challenge. Private developers submit plans for approval; the local Glamorgan Spring Bay Council processes these developments through the State government's formalised decision-making body: affected groups or individuals challenge the decisions made; government agencies make decisions under various acts about infrastructure development and maintenance, water and air quality, and recreational fishing and duck-shooting: affected organisations challenge these decisions; the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council makes decisions which change or augment its delivery of core services such as waste management: individuals and groups challenge these decisions.

Limitations in the implementation of local government regulations have been discussed, particularly the lack of consideration of the special character of Coles Bay and Swanwick, and the impact of these regulations on natural areas. For instance, regulations controlling the physical requirements of local, residential sub-divisions are those which apply to suburban areas in the larger population areas of towns and cities. Even worse, key aspects of these regulations may be by-passed in council planning approvals, as happened in 2007 at Glamorgan Spring Bay Council, where the absence of waste water, sewerage, stormwater and tree protection requirements in a subdivision application was ignored. The perception of residents and visitors is that there are no regulations which are binding, the relationship of the proposers to Council being more relevant. Yet, even positive measures are not communicated to the affected communities. For instance, the communities of Coles Bay were not

informed about the pollution protocol negotiated by the state government's Parks and Wildlife Service with a local vineyard, nor told about changes to the fishing regulations which benefited all communities, the marine environment and its biodiversity.

Conflict in policies also occurs, which could be seen as emblematic of the conflict between cultural capital and economic capital over the use of natural capital. An instance is the case of the Standing Camp at Bryan's Beach which was advertised for tender by Parks and Wildlife Service. The tender was awarded to young local entrepreneurs (Freycinet Escape PL), rather than to Federal East Coast Holdings, which also applied for the tender. After the tender winners had spent time and money developing their project, and after it had experienced a successful tourist season, Freycinet Escape's Standing Camp was ordered to be dismantled, because of the presence of a sea-eagle's nest in the vicinity. Yet, Parks and Wildlife Service had known of the sea-eagle's nest at the site before it was chosen. The young entrepreneurs have lost their business, are deeply in debt, face bankruptcy and are profoundly disenchanted. Their experience raises serious questions about State Government policy of supporting tourism development in national parks and reserves. Communication and consultation with community members may well have identified this issue and allowed it to be resolved before the tender was finalised.

Another issue is that of Federal East Coast Holdings' (Federal Hotels) hotel and resort development. This company was granted the site of the old caravan park at Muir's Beach in 2004. The evidence in Table 17 is of a history of challenges to the project, amendment of plans and changes in architecture and design with a reduction in size from a large 150 room tourist resort to a boutique 22 bed structure. The revelation that the building of the original hotel and resort was part of an alleged legally binding secret deal between Federal Hotels and the Premier of the Tasmanian State Government throws new light on the delays in its building. A hotel, allegedly costing at least \$25 million, was supposed to have been built in return for the exclusive right to operate Tasmania's 3680 poker machines until 2018 (Neales 2007). This right was negotiated without open tender and is worth millions in income from the poker machines. The allegedly secret deal was changed in 2004, 2005, and 2006. With each renegotiation of time on the contractual obligation to build the hotel, it has been reduced in size, and thus cost. It is now estimated to cost \$18 million, and is still

not built. The debate entered the public arena, with acrimonious exchanges between the political parties involved, and the managers of Federal Hotels. Legally, it seems, neither party – government or company – has erred, though the parliamentary Public Accounts Committee is now investigating these issues to determine the legality or otherwise of this series of events. An aura of corruption and special deals hangs around the whole issue and has embittered locals. The local community was involved, either through protests against the proposal and its plans – because of its negative impact both on the natural environment and the Coles Bay township – or in anticipating economic growth and therefore privately planning for the provision of services for tourists staying at the hotel. Thus, in a range of ways, peoples of communities such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are disadvantaged when policy and decision-making are compromised.

The case study demonstrates how Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital can form the basis of an approach to addressing and understanding the conflicting forces of change affecting people and communities in the present century, specifically those connected with economic development, environmental change and consequent social change.

Chapter 10 Conclusions



Photo: Gareth Patterson-Were

Sleepy Bay

A dog barks from a fishing boat at anchor.
Gulls float on the green and purple swell
That shirrs with foam the red-lichened rock.
A creek runs into a secluded cove
Right under Parson's Peak. Flooding has piled
With timber debris the stream bed where we scramble.
Candles of banksia light the sunless gloom:
Bright green and yellow-green; as they burn out
They change to ginger and at last to grey.
With loud whomp-whomp of wings in its short flight,
A brush pigeon breaks its cover in alarm.
And here on these large rocks that block the way,
In yellow clusters, most delicate enchantment,
Dendrobium hangs in flower as creek water gurgles.

James McAuley, 1974

10.1 Elucidations

The results of this case study demonstrate the efficacy of using Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and his exposition of the forms of capital as they manifest socially at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, as epistemological tools for this study. The success of this approach compares with the limitations of focusing on a particular arena of research activity such as tourism research, or history. Indeed, it is crucial in demonstrating how the socio-economic interactions of diverse groups and communities with a particular natural environment reflect integral relationships between community, economy and ecology. Clearly, the relationships between cultural capital and economic capital, as they are manifested in relationships to the natural environment and hence the natural capital of this place, are dynamic and changing, extending beyond the field of this study in time and space. Community relations are shown to be shaped by the play of power between the major parameters of cultural capital and economic capital and between those people most associated with these forms of capital over the use of the natural capital of this environment. Yet, within the publicly acknowledged boundaries of competition over resources in the field by the diverse groups and communities of Coles Bay, is an often unspoken recognition of the interdependence of people and place.

A key conclusion of the study is that the cultural valuing of the landscapes and biodiversity of the Freycinet Peninsula form the basis for its economy. In this case, the economy takes the form of exploitation of natural capital by tourism, and tourism goods and services provision. Thus, the three forms of capital demonstrate an interrelatedness which, when this is recognised and acted upon, has the potential to result in community and environmental resilience.

In light of this conclusion, the primary focus of the study – its research understandings and assumptions and associated propositions – can be addressed. At this research site, the accumulation of cultural capital over time demonstrably has resulted in economic development. Cultural capital has been identified as an extensive body of knowledge and understandings about place, and the valuing of this natural area by generations of Tasmanians. It has resulted in an image of place which has been exploited by tourism marketing and promotion to produce economic outcomes. Growth has not been entirely dependent on the promotion of image and

reputation. It has also been supported by the presence of a road from the Tasman Highway to Coles Bay, a residential area of holiday houses and shacks, and some commercial premises. This infrastructure was present when Coles Bay was a small, isolated holiday spot, but the built area has grown with the growth in its popularity as a tourist destination. The presence of the protected areas, particularly Freycinet National Park with its walking tracks and camping spots has been integral to this growth.

The presence of natural capital is integral to the research site and to relations of cultural capital and economic capital in this context. In analysing the results of this study, I identify the links between cultural capital and natural capital through the values accorded the natural environment. I conclude that cultural capital – particularly in terms of values of place – is an essential pre-condition for economic growth. It has provided the basis for economic growth through the exploitation of the natural environment at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. This process cannot, however, be described as a transfer of cultural capital to economic capital, as the valuing of the natural environment which constitutes cultural capital continues, and to date has not been subsumed by economic development.

I further conclude that economic growth through tourism and the provision of tourism goods and services is a significant economic option for rural villages like Coles Bay which lack alternate resource bases, and where they are part of, or are adjacent to, exceptional natural environments. A constraint to growth in these types of communities is the need for services, especially health and education. While Coles Bay has provided some voluntary services, the lack of local services such as a doctor and a school reduces its appeal to families seeking lifestyle change in this valued natural location.

Tourism will draw entrepreneurs, developers and others who will seize opportunities to invest in these places, particularly in economically expansive times. Support will be given to such investment, but also opposition to the social, economic and physical changes associated with it. Opposition will come, most often, from those with most contact with such places, whether traditional owners, residents, workers, or conservationists who live elsewhere. Demonstrably, these patterns of economic

development, action and reaction have occurred and continue to occur at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Even the conflict between the Oyster Bay people and white settlers can be viewed in this light. Consequently, the careful management of the processes of social and economic change by bodies vested with appropriate legislative powers is essential. Management of the relations between cultural capital and economic capital in the field needs to be undertaken with equity, transparency and rigour in order to ensure that the major goals of protection of the natural environment and of community sense of place, while supporting social and economic viability, are achieved.

For the communities of this study – those of the residents, visitors and tourists – commonalities are shared in the things people do, how they live, the ways they relate, but most importantly what they value. Whether resident or non-resident, they invest this place with values which are grounded in the experiences of childhood, and in a sense represent a child's view of the natural world. The young residents – including those in their thirties – play in this natural environment; middle aged bring their children to this place for holidays, or bring them up in close contact with this natural environment; and people – including older people – retreat here from the world of work and responsibilities. Their experiences are imbued with meaning, spring from the character of this place, leave their mark on the land, and so history is personalised.

Values and history resonate down the generations from past to present, are embedded in present apprehensions of place, and influence individual and group choices and behaviours. The diversity of ways that people relate to this place through their individual and group choices and behaviours together create a home; for visitors, they create a place to be visited – a holiday spot; for tourists, their behaviours create a site for tourism – a tourist destination. All are valid versions of reality that show how space is transformed into place. Routines, rituals, and behaviours comprise a totality of relationships to this 'environment, space, place and landscape' (Seamon 1984, p. 169), that reveals underlying values: tourists crowd the Wineglass Bay track and take photos from the Lookout; residents and visitors avoid it. For the latter, there is circularity in the processes of valuing and its affirmation that extends through family, age and group affiliations and patterns of relationships that could be described as tribal. In this cyclical process the values of cultural capital are expressed and reinforced. Yet, for each of these communities, the play – at times conflict – between

cultural capital and economic capital is often apparent. Although enacted in the present, competition between cultural and economic capital is focused on the future character of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Should it be a tourist destination with a national and international reputation, a local holiday spot for Tasmanians, a work-site for residents, a group of protected areas, or home and community? None of these categories is exclusive; all of these manifestations of place express the play of one or other forms of capital, yet they are grounded in Freycinet Peninsula's geographic location and character, natural beauty, biodiversity and history. Such competition has taken different forms over millennia of habitation at this place, even in the time-frame of white contact with Coles Bay; competition over visions of place is similarly acted out in many locations around the world.

Dilemmas and contradictions are discernible in positions taken with regard to economic growth within and outside the socio-economic field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. As a consequence, the power relations of cultural capital to economic capital over the time-scale of the year indicates the planning that should take place to gain accord between its communities about achieving social and environmental resilience. Solutions to issues such as those experienced currently by the residents of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula may lie in different approaches to the way its community operates. Maintaining a flow of ideas into the community while fostering self-reliance through circularity in resource use, resource sharing, and innovation (M'Gonigle 2000; Norgaard 2004) would promote diversified and at least partially self-sufficient local economies, particularly in the face of global forces of change (Goldsmith and Mander 2001; Khor 2001). These are all feasible objectives in the larger geographic context of the east coast of Tasmania. Economic strategies that do not over-exploit cultural capital through its relationship to natural capital would both result from and support environmental protection, benefiting communities in all localities. These goals can be achieved not only through the development of environmentally-friendly products, services and enterprises, but also through economies of scale and reductions in costs such as those associated with administration, transport and technology. New approaches imply local representation in decision-making bodies. Policies and decisions potentially would then take local values into account through the implementation of direct, participatory procedures as

theorists such as Bryden (2004), Berkes and Folke (1998b; 2003; 1998), and M'Gonigle (2000) have suggested.

Conversely, if an end point is reached where the principal mode of operation in this community is economic rather than cultural, cultural capital's valuing of the natural environment would be subsumed within the economy. That is, the values of cultural capital of this place, as they have been identified in this study, would be aggressively exploited. For instance, Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve at present is not a tourist site. It could become so, with built infrastructure and hotel accommodation which might squeeze out the local fishers, boaters, bird-watchers and duck-shooters. Or, *faux* versions of farming life as it was lived on Schouten Island for instance may be developed; or tin-mining for tourists, at Montague Dam. Perhaps, with the completion of the new hotel and resort, activities such as those identified on Dunk Island by White (2005) – tennis, squash, volleyball, cricket, badminton, basketball, paddle-skis, horse-riding, skeet shooting, archery and perhaps even a 'Kid's Korner' – will be provided for guests, maybe even for paying residents and visitors. The signs indicating the possibility of such an outcome are evident in the ongoing commercialisation and commodification of place and its attributes; in the presence of large corporations with greater clout than small players; and where those associated with economic capital have an inbuilt advantage over those aligning themselves with cultural capital.

10.2 Envisioning futures

Other futures also are possible. Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula have continued to grow in popularity for tourists despite downward trends nationally, as noted. This growth may be restricted by a number of factors: a continuing rise in world oil prices, or a collapse of house and land values, exposing over-investment in the built areas of Coles Bay and Swanwick. Another possibility is the switch to a new focus of tourism somewhere else in the world, reducing the allure of Coles Bay to international tourists. All these factors may result in a return to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula primarily as a Tasmanian tourist spot, rather than an international tourist destination.

The latter scenario is the future preferred by visitors, with some support from residents despite their need for locally-generated income. It also is the future most

preferred by tourists. Despite being harbingers of change, and most often from outside Tasmania, they also express the desire that nothing should change at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Actions to protect the natural environment at present are the preserve of a small number of visitors, with in-principal support from the visitor community at large; also in community involvement by residents; and in external bodies undertaking their legislated duties in managing the protected areas of this region. Because of their disparate character, these actors lack the ongoing power and agreed goals that an organised framework might provide. Without such a coordinated approach protest actions continue to lack weight, tending to be repeated each time a new issue arises.

According a truth to Zukin's (1991) hypothesis that use follows values, then the natural environment needs to be protected from commercial over-use and the danger of becoming more than a landscape of consumption, but a landscape of devastation. This is the greater threat posed by tourism growth, one which is equally as destructive of natural environments as built environments, and, hence, a threat to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Holling (2003) describes a process incorporating growth, collapse, reorganisation, renewal and re-establishment. Within such a framework, strategies to attain a sustainable future lie in the hands of those with most connection to place.

As a community, residents' knowledge, understanding and love of this place, its moods and variations, as well as its biodiversity, is immeasurable. Indeed, a key reality – that all three groups and thus the communities they represent share a core valuing of the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – points to other options for action. Despite their dependence on economic outcomes, in the cultural capital of place lie opportunities for residents to undertake both commercial and non-commercial development which might enhance the multi-dimensional character of this 'field'. Creative, scientific and recreational initiatives might mitigate competition between cultural and economic capital in favour of a broader community economy and aesthetic. Promotion of local crafts-people, niche producers and fishers, and small-scale tourism operators; encouragement of a circular economy involving all east coast towns as well as Coles Bay; cultural and economic linkages with similar coastal sites and environments in Australia and overseas are initiatives which might achieve greater social and economic diversity. Greater diversity in its population and

a small increase in numbers might also support services which would enable families with children, and the elderly, to remain at Coles Bay. A dilution of its small-town character would be less of a threat from this type of development than from the current residential sub-division developments and the spate of house construction for investment.

Such an approach would support aspirations by residents, visitors and other interested parties to achieve the sustainable management of local environmental resources and services, and would contribute towards social and environmental resilience. In common with other rural areas Coles Bay encompasses an array of different, sometimes interconnected and sometimes competing activities (Van Der Ploeg *et al.* 2000). For a multi-scale, multi-voiced approach to succeed, the coordination of existing social structures – formal and informal organisations and groupings, networks, private enterprise, and representatives of levels of government – should allow all voices to be heard. A cooperative structure would serve to house the shared ideals and common meanings with respect to the natural environment which have been made apparent in this study. There are a number of options appropriate to the study. Whilst not wishing to impose a particular framework or approach, the biosphere reserve (*Man and the Biosphere: People, Biodiversity and Ecology* 2003; Barzetti 1993; Borrini-Feyerabend 2000; Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2004; Worboys *et al.* 2005) might be considered to be the most appropriate for this site. The components of its system are already present at this site. These are the core areas of securely protected natural sites such as Freycinet National Park; a buffer zone where might be located cooperative activities compatible with sound ecological practice lying between the protected areas and the main population centres of Swansea and Bicheno; and the potential for a flexible transition area which could include activities such as bee-keeping, furniture building, organic farming, niche production linked with tourism such as wineries and other economic activities. Local communities within and beyond Coles Bay, government and non-government agencies, science establishments, cultural groups, service providers, and economic interests are able to be represented in such a structure. Groups sharing values of cultural capital of place – not only interested residents and visitors but environmental groups, artists, scientists and wildlife action groups – are empowered, within this structure, to negotiate with those actors representing governmental and economic interests, to support the natural environment without discounting economic growth. In fact, the opportunity exists

within the framework of the biosphere reserve to facilitate sustainable economic growth with the potential – remote at present – to achieve equilibrium between community, economy and ecology through sustainable development in this region.

In practice, support for local communities by establishing artistic, scientific and recreational activities at Coles Bay to create more cultural capital potentially would attract economic capital and contribute to managing change as it occurs in the future. There is no reason why other institutions could not play a part in the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Involvement of the University of Tasmania in establishing a history trail and a Centre for Aboriginal Studies might be possibilities. Scientific research in marine ecology and biodiversity, including a scientific research station, or a marine study centre for students are other possibilities. Artistic events in the form of residences for writers, potters and painters, as well as cultural events and community arts festivals; and support for local agriculture in fostering food and wine producers are the types of initiatives which already have a basis in the region.

Conferences and seminars are further activities which potentially would bring in capital. Funding from governmental sources can be accessed for a range of ventures, and educational programs would serve to bridge the divide between the principal groups and their communities, as well as the geographical divisions, of Tasmania's east coast towns. Geophysical boundaries would be less important in this scenario, reflecting more closely the fluidity and dynamism of the communities of both interest and location connected with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Successful initiatives have the potential to create a new image of place, drawing people to Coles Bay, not only for recreation and holiday-making, but for a range of other experiences. The communities of many small rural towns, as in Coles Bay, cope with similar external stresses and strains resulting from social, political and environmental change (Cocklin and Alston 2003; Cocklin and Dibden 2005; Dibden and Cheshire 2005; Dibden and Cocklin 2005). These places use communication technology and other strategies to learn, experiment and identify novel solutions, and develop innovative responses to these challenges, as Walker *et al.* (2002) have demonstrated. Most importantly, the special, the idiosyncratic and the unique about these people and communities in their relationships to the natural environment is recognised and valued.

In summary, each group in the study shares similarities and differences in their values which are outcomes of the range of their relationships to the natural environment, and their responses to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as home, community, workplace, holiday spot, tourist destination – but most of all as a unique natural region. Indeed, the connectedness between the three forms of capital and the dynamism of their operations is observable in the normal routines, events and activities of the people of this small coastal community through the seasons of the year, as well as in the larger field. Yet, pursuing their own interests and needs in interplays of dependence and interdependence, they circle around the primal reality of the natural environment – as much a metaphor for place, as place itself. It is a site where the members of these communities variously consume place while asserting its natural integrity. Thus, contact with the natural environment is the crucible of value for these people in that it constitutes the focus and the context in which their ethical deliberations about such places occur.

Answering the research question has raised a complex range of issues; yet, this long-term exercise has allowed a picture to be drawn of the ways in which three forms of capital – cultural, economic and natural – relate in a specific field of operations, that of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. I have perceived the communities associated with this place to be a contemporary expression of much older ways of being-in-place, which effect people's perceptions of what is to be valued. Thus, in analysing the relationships between community, ecology and environment in a rural community as it has undergone change, I have been able to document Malpas' (1999, p. 14) 'place-bound character of human life and thought' over this period and have found it to be consistent across larger realities of time and space.

In the great arc of the history of human habitation at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, that is from Aboriginal habitation of up to 36 000 years to European settlement of two hundred years to the present, the compression of time and space over this latter period parallels the transition from a hunter-gatherer economy based on solar energy to a modern economy based on oil. Change accelerated over this period, particularly following the appropriation of the land and its habitats for production purposes, and the development of a commercial relationship with the land

where contact with place has become a product to be bought. Evident in this process is the appropriation of cultural, economic and natural capital from one group by another, at the Aboriginal-to-settler transition point, and at the point marked by the final sealing of the Coles Bay Road in 1990, which saw large-scale tourism growth overwhelming a place previously enjoyed by local holiday-makers.

In this case study of four years' duration – 2004 to 2008 – the timescale is minute compared to that of the aeons of habitation at this place, but it explores a process of change as inexorable as the movement of a glacier. The cracks and groans of glacial movement at this place symbolise changes in the ways we relate to place which are culturally determined. It is the way we are, our values and actions expressed in our society and its relationship to the environment that condition change. Up to 36 000 years of habitation by the Oyster Bay people provides evidence of a relationship to the environment in the siting of middens and shell scatters. They can be found everywhere along the beaches and bays of Freycinet Peninsula. They lie beneath the dunes backing the Friendly Beaches. They accumulate around the shores of Moulting Lagoon where tribal gatherings took place when the migrations of black swan and duck arrived. These people's movement between this region and the central and northern midlands was determined by the seasons – summer and winter – and seasonal patterns of weather, bird migration, sea-life migration, animal breeding times and flora flowering times: in spring, as we have seen, the air is heavy with honey from the flowering kunzia.

In present times, huge 'migrations' take place, which can describe the arrival of tourists for the summer to enjoy their leisure time away from work. It is a migration that changes the character of the whole area. Culturally, this is the time for many of the annual holiday, a time of intense enjoyment recreationally and socially spent in a sunny, natural environment of beaches, bays and mountains. Economically, it is the most important time for locals, when they gain their greatest income; as spring was for Aboriginal people, when the birdlife arrived on Moulting Lagoon. This family holiday spot consisting of shack living or camping close to the natural world, where holidaying at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was an experience of equality and simplicity – symbolised by the simple wooden huts that formerly were the 'sunshine cottages' above Muir's Beach, and where the new, internationally-focused

hotel is now to be built – is left far behind by Coles Bay's new, smart, international image as a tourist destination.

The norms and values of local networks of family and friends embedded in the communities of residents and visitors are being replaced by forms of 'visitation' funded by international hierarchies of money. Greater demands for tourism and ecotourism development are made as the values of the natural environment of the protected areas are recognised internationally, and their tourism potential exploited further. Tension is created between these sets of values as the character of the local community changes from the local, grounded and the parochial to the international, transitory and cosmopolitan. Income growth, measured in rises in land and real estate values, upgraded tourist accommodation and expanded tourism goods and services parallels Coles Bay's transformation from a popular holiday spot to a tourist destination through marketing and promotion in print and visual media. But the large-scale tourist numbers and the selling of an exclusive experience to a more moneyed group representative of the global marketplace have their effects. The danger is that, for many tourists, the idea of this place will become less and less connected to its environment; an alignment more connected to international destinations of similar type such as other ecotourism sites, beach retreats, and exclusive coastal communities. Thus the natural environment specific to this place itself becomes an internationalized commodity.

As a local holiday spot, Coles Bay was no more a viable economic unit than it had been during its period of resource exploitation by mining, quarrying, fishing and farming. It was as vulnerable to economic downturn as anywhere else in Tasmania, and this may also be its future. There have been major changes in habitation at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – from seasonal home for the Oyster Bay hunter-gatherers, to a source of income for white settlers – shepherds, miners, farmers, fishers – to a holiday spot. Each of these realities overlays the other at this place; each relates to the coordinates of mountains, water and sky; each has as much to tell us about our valuing of place and sustainable ways of living with the environment. Now, as a tourist destination, Coles Bay is more vibrant but no less vulnerable to change in the economies of the future than it was in the past. When peak-oil impacts on the tourism flow, we may go back to spending our summers in holiday shacks high

enough above the beautiful and abundant beaches, coves and bays of Freycinet Peninsula to avoid sea-water rise from global warming.

10.3 Final observations

The results of the case study of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula create a profile – both culturally and economically – of a small coastal township as it faces change. Demonstrated in the actions and reactions of the participants in this study, are personal and group values which are responses to major forces at play within and outside Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Indeed, the study has confirmed that Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula together constitute a field of operations where, to paraphrase Bourdieu (1985, p. 724), objective power relations between forms of capital impact on all who enter a field of operations, and are expressed in but are not irreducible to the intentions of the individuals and the groups to which they belong.

A major attribute of the case study is its basis in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, as his theories and practice have informed all aspects of the research design. The predominantly Eurocentric cast of his theories (excluding his African study with the Kabyle) has been challenged by this study, as they have been successfully applied beyond the urban realities of its original genesis to demonstrate fungibility in a non-urban, environmental context. Specifically, key elements of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital specific to this socio-geographic space have been identified in three disparate groups of people as they interrelate in the field of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

The development of the concept of cultural capital by ecological economists (Berkes 1998a; Berkes *et al.* 2003; Berkes and Folke 1993, 1994, 1998) and its incorporation into a systems approach for measuring the relations between cultural capital, economic capital and natural capital has been tested in this study. In integrating the concept into a model of operations, ecological economists have extended the applicability of the concept of cultural capital to the relationships between local people and the resources of their environment, as indeed did Bourdieu in his earliest fieldwork in Africa, thus validating the key focus of this study.

Importantly, the study has shown how cultural capital as a concept is shaped by place, over any time period, such as that in which people have inhabited Coles Bay and the

Freycinet Peninsula. Place. Thus, the natural environment and its biodiversity potentially are given agency, and thus measurable value. These attributes should balance the weight of economic capital in determining policy, planning and decision-making in regions where the integrity of the natural environment – with its environmental services, both protected and unprotected by legislation – previously has not been valued and, therefore, accounted.

The study provides rich and detailed examples of the ways that communities relate to the natural environment as a resource base, as a place to live and as a place to holiday. In building on research undertaken by scholars in Australia and overseas the study adds substantially to the discourse of the relations between the forms of capital, specifically cultural, economic and natural capital, in communities. Its qualitative richness indicates the potential for more creative endeavours in describing this place and its unique biodiversity, seasons of change, qualities of light and small-town ethos. High-quality artistic and creative output is characteristic of relationships to this place and has accumulated over the generations of its inhabitation – both voiced and unvoiced. The potential exists for the further celebration of this natural environment through support for the arts and creativity in the future.

Indeed, in its conclusions this case study provides directions for communities to develop productive relations between major players and the otherwise voiceless or unrepresented in communities as development takes place. These are the people whose values in relation to the natural environment motivate them to engage with economic planning and development in order to preserve prized values of place, the cultural valuing of the natural environment and the protection of the natural capital of environmental services. It provides them and other stakeholders with the basis for a model of operation which could productively inform similar studies of small, isolated rural communities in Australia and elsewhere.

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Appendix 1: Demographic Data

Demographic profile – Residents

Educational institution	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
Primary school			1	1
High school to Year 10			2	2
High school Years 11/12			1	1
TAFE/technical college	5	3	1	9
University	1	2	1	4
Post-graduate				
N/A		1		1
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 4: Educational levels by age range – Group 1 Residents 2004

The table shows that members of the residents' group in general possessed formal qualifications, with most qualifications being gained from TAFE and technical college and then from university. Those in the 18-40 age range were more likely to be educated at TAFE¹¹ and technical college. University qualifications were gained by respondents in each of the age ranges. The older 61-80 year olds included those educated up to the end of high-school. All other age groups were educated beyond Years 11-12 high school, or community college in Tasmania.

Income ranges	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
15 000-20 999	2	3	4	9
21 000-40 999	3	1	1	5
41 000-60 999	1	1	1	3
61 000-80 000	0	1	0	1
N/A				
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 5: Income by age group – Group 1 Residents 2004

¹¹ TAFE refers to Tasmania's technical college system.

Most residents in Group 1 earned between \$15 000 and \$20 999 per annum. The next highest earning range was \$21 000 to \$40 999 per annum. Reducing this average earnings were the 3 retirees in the older age group who were either self-funded or on a government benefit. Younger residents' income reflected both on-going employment - none were on a government benefit - and the lower salaries due to age, or as were paid in the hospitality industry. The lower incomes for the 41-60 year olds may have reflected the reality of running a business, where profits went back into the business, rather than into personal salaries.

Demographic profile - Visitors

Educational institution	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
Primary school			1	1
High school to Year 10			2	2
High school Years 11/12		1	1	2
TAFE/technical college	3	1	1	5
University	2	1	1	4
Post graduate	1	3		4
N/A				
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 6: Educational levels by age range –Group 2 Visitors 2004

Visitors in this group were highly qualified. Most were tertiary educated, with 5 having TAFE or technical qualifications, and 8 having university qualifications.

Income ranges	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
15 000-20 999	1		3	4
21 000-40 999	4	2	2	8
41 000-60 999	1	3	1	5
61 000-80 000		1		1
N/A				
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 7: Income by age group – Group 2 Visitors 2004

Most visitors in this group earned between \$21 000 and \$40 999, followed by those in \$41 000 to \$60 999 income range. The younger age group mostly earned

in the middle range of income: \$21 000 to \$40 999. Those visitors in the 41-60 age range earned higher incomes, mostly \$41 000 to \$60 999, with 1 earning \$61 000 to \$80 000. Three older visitors were retirees on lower incomes in the forms of self funded or government pensions.

Demographic profile - Tourists

Educational institutions	18-40 age range	41-60- age range	61-80 age range	Total
Primary school				
High school to Year 10		2	2	4
High school Years 11/12			2	2
TAFE/technical college	1	4	1	6
University	4		1	5
Post graduate	1			1
N/A				
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 8: Educational levels by age range – Group 3 Tourists 2004

Tourists in Group 3, 2004, were mostly tertiary qualified, with a third having TAFE or technical college qualifications and another third having university qualifications, particularly the 18-40 year olds. Older tourists were more likely to have high school Years 10-12 qualifications.

Income ranges	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
15 000-20 999	1	3	3	7
21 000-40 999	1	0	2	3
41 000-60 999	2	0	0	2
61 000-80 000	2	3	1	6
N/A				
Total	6	6	6	18

Table 9: Income by age range – Group 3 Tourists 2004

Tourists in this group earned from below \$15 000 to \$20 999 per annum, that is 7 of the total of 18, 3 of whom were retirees on lower incomes. Six tourists earned \$61 000 to \$80 000 per annum, representing the wealthy earning high incomes, all of whom have in common an attraction to natural environments such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Aggregated data for groups 1, 2 and 3

Income ranges	Group 1 Residents	Group 2 Visitors	Group 3 Tourists	Total
15 000-20 999	9	4	7	20
21 000-40 999	5	8	3	16
41 000-60 999	3	5	2	10
61 000-80 000	1	1	6	8
Total	18	18	18	54

Table 10: Aggregated income of the 3 study groups – 2004

In analysing the aggregated data for the three groups in 2004, it is clear that the largest group of respondents in all groups earned in the range of \$15 000 to \$20 999, and the group most likely to earn in this range were residents, followed by tourists. However, tourists also had the largest group earning in the highest income bracket, six earning between \$61 000 and \$80 000 or more. Visitors were most likely to earn in the \$21 000 to \$40 999 and \$41 000 to \$60 999 income brackets. Only one each of the residents and visitors earned in the highest income bracket. Income diminished as age increased, irrespective of group membership.

Educational institutions	Group 1 Residents	Group 2 Visitors	Group 3 Tourists	Total
Primary school	1	1		2
High school to Yr 10	2	2	4	8
High school to Yrs 11-12	1	2	2	5
TAFE/technical college	9	5	6	20
University	4	4	5	13
Postgraduate	1	4	1	5
N/A				
Total	18	18	18	53

Table 11: Educational levels of the 3 study groups – 2004

Most respondents had gained TAFE or technical college qualifications. Another third of the respondents had gained university qualifications, and so a very high proportion of the members of these groups were tertiary educated.

Educational institutions	18-40 age range	41-60 age range	61-80 age range	Total
Primary school				
High school to Yr 10		4	2	6
High school to Yrs 11-12		1	6	7
TAFE/technical college	2	6	3	11
University	8	2	3	13
Postgraduate	4	1		5
N/A				
Total	14	14	14	42

Table 12: Aggregated educational levels by age for Group 3 Tourists

The aggregated educational levels (Years 1, 2 and 3) for the three groups of tourists confirm the general patterns of education measured in the first year of data collection, though with a higher number of respondents overall educated to university level (18), rather than technical college or TAFE (11). The data conform to Year 1 data sufficiently to validate the comparison of Group 3 Tourist data for the first year with that of Group 1 Resident and Group 2 Visitor data. The younger tourists in the three samples were the most likely to be university educated, with 12 altogether. Those in the 41-60 age range were more likely to be TAFE or technical college educated. Older tourists were more likely to be high school educated.

Patterns of contact with place

Most tourists in each year's sample spent 2 to 3 nights in the area, followed by those spending 1 to 2 nights in the area.

Accommodation type	2004	2005	2006	Total
Motorhome, campervan, caravan	5	3	1	9
Camping, Youth Hostel	2	4	3	9
Hotel, villa, B and B	8	5	7	20
Friends	3	0	1	4
Total	18	12	12	42

Table 13: Accommodation choices by year – Group 3 Tourists

Hotel, villa or bed and breakfast as accommodation while holidaying in Coles Bay was the most popular choice of tourists in the samples for accommodation over the three years of the study. Camping and the use of mobile accommodation were equally the least popular choices.

Location	2004	2005	2006	Total
Germany	2	1	1	4
Austria	1			1
New Zealand	1			1
USA		1		1
Switzerland		1		1
UK		3	4	7
India			1	1
Total	4	6	6	16

Table 14: Overseas locations of Group 3 Tourists by year

Locations in Australia	2004	2005	2006	Total
New South Wales	4	2	3	9
Western Australia		2		2
Victoria	2	2	1	5
ACT	2		1	3
Tasmania	4			4
Queensland	2	1	3	6
Total	14	6	6	26
Total respondents	18	12	12	42

Table 15: Australian locations of Group 3 Tourists by year

A third of tourists for the three years' samples were from overseas with most visiting from the United Kingdom and Germany. Home locations within Australia showed most visiting from New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria.

Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Land adjustments*	10	11	0	3	5	2	31
Private dwellings	11	4	10	8	9	16	60
Extensions#	3	4	7	7	20	18	59
Visitor accommodation	5	6	4	5	5	3	28
Tourism	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
Commercial	2	1	2	1	3	4	13
Total	32	27	25	24	42	43	195

*changes to boundaries and fence lines; subdivisions

#applications for outbuildings, additions, renovations and decks for private dwellings

Table 16: Applications to Glamorgan Spring Bay Council 2001-2006

Commercial applications for approval remained constant over this time period, including homes converting space to tourist accommodation under relaxed regulations from 2005 onwards. Applications for new houses submitted to the council showed the greatest increase in numbers. Thus the greatest economic growth area was in building and renovating private housing, and providing tourist accommodation. The largest increase in applications in these areas was registered in 2005 and 2006.

The following data is taken from Tasmania Visitors Survey (2007).

2000-2001 = 30978 with 13 573 in period Jan-Mar

2001-2002 = 24444 with 11148 Jan to Mar

2002-2003 = 21882 with 9897 Jan to Mar

2003-2004 = 22501 with 9256 Jan to Mar

2004-2005 = 32384 with 11604 Jan to Mar

Table 17: Tourist numbers – passed through only: financial years 2001-2005

2000-2001 = 43447 with 20200 in period Jan-Mar

2001-2002 = 52435 with 23838 Jan to Mar

2002-2003 = 78543 with 34174 Jan to Mar

2003-2004 = 92566 with 40219 Jan to Mar

2004-2005 = 96586 with 23387 Jan to Mar

Table 18: Tourist numbers - visited only: financial years 2001-2005

2000-2001 = 39801 with 18007 in period Jan-Mar

2001-2002 = 37646 with 17549 Jan to Mar

2002-2003 = 54642 with 24685 Jan to Mar

2003-2004 = 57303 with 18054 Jan to Mar

2004-2005 = 47483 with 24246 Jan to Mar

Table 19: Tourist numbers – stayed overnight: financial years 2001-2005

In the Tasmanian Government's Survey of Tourism Report (2006), analysis of room occupancy rates for Australia in the 2006 March quarter compared to the 2005 March quarter showed an increase of 05% to 64.2%; Tasmania's room occupancy rates increased to 74%, up 1.2%. In the March quarter for 2006, average takings in smaller hotels, motels and serviced apartments in Tasmania was \$110.70 per night compared to the national average of \$91 per night.

Appendix 2: Textual Analysis of Study Transcripts

This appendix contains the textual analysis of the study transcripts organised by parameter and theme, and including the elements of the parameters.

Year 1 – Residents

Cultural capital parameter

Early experiences

- Early experiences and contact with the research site of Coles Bay as a child or young adult were reported by two-thirds of this group, which included 5 in the 18-40 age group, 3 in the 41-60 age group and 3 in the 61-80 age group;
- 3 residents were born here, one in each age group;
- Another 4 residents reported contact with a place like Coles Bay when young, and 2 of the 61-80 age group had contact when they were young with nearby towns on the east coast of Tasmania.
- Key experiences were shared with family members and with friends;
- The majority of residents felt the childhood contact with Coles Bay or a place like Coles Bay had influenced their choice of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a place to live as adults.
- Residents identifying the importance of the natural environment in growing up were: 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 5 of the 61-80 year olds, 12 in total.
- Residents reporting the basis of their relationship to place as environmental were all 6 of the 18-40 age group, 4 of the 41-60 age group, and 3 of the 61-80 age group, 13 in total;
- It was identified as home by all residents;
- All of the 18-40 age group felt a love or passion for place, as did half each of both the other age groups, 12 in total;

- Despite the majority of residents working at the research site, only 1 member of each of the age groups (3) identified business as a basis of their relationship with place.
- None offered the category 'workplace' as a basis of their relationship to place.

Environmental contact and experiences

Environmental contact took the form of social, cultural and recreational activities by the residents, often in a group of friends, and included:

- fishing, swimming, snorkelling, boating, diving, surfing, bushwalking, climbing the mountains;
 - playing guitars on the beach, often around a fire (but not in the protected area of the national park) were enjoyed by members of the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups, but particularly the of the 18-40 year olds residents;
 - older residents enjoyed more passive activities including walks on beaches, but also fishing and boating, gardening, reading, shell collecting, craft activities.
- Through supporting the importance of environmental care, 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 5 older residents expressed their commitment to environmental integrity and strength of environmental awareness; 14 in total.
 - Similar numbers of residents supported sustainability, and all residents expressed a valuing of the natural environment;
 - Younger residents in the 18-40 age range (4) identified equally parents and education as the source of their valuing; 2 identified the bush or the natural environment as the source of their valuing;
 - 3 residents aged 41-60 identified parents as the source of their valuing, two identified the bush or the natural environment as the source of their valuing and 1 identified education environment as the source of their valuing;

- In the older age range, 4 identified parents as the source of their valuing, 2 identified the bush or the natural environment and 1 identified education;
- Environmental knowledge integral to cultural capital offered by residents included:
 - seasonal and breeding patterns of crayfish, shark and other scale fish; the location of scallop and abalone beds; predator-prey relations between dolphins and whales;
 - knowledge of seasonal and daily weather patterns in the area (rainfall patterns, winds, tides);
 - knowledge of surf, boating, bushwalking and fishing conditions;
 - knowledge of flora, and habitats of quolls, devils, wombats and wallabies;
 - knowledge of birdlife and breeding patterns at Moulting Lagoon; and knowledge of specific habitats such as the Friendly Beaches, and the saltwater and freshwater lagoons.
- Half the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds felt they experienced a shared history, culture and heritage of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, but more than half the 61-80 year olds did so with 5 sharing a common history, with 3 feeling a shared heritage and culture;
- Shared activities and experiences were reported by all of the 18-40 year olds, and by half the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds, 12 in total;
- Cultural activities which expressed a personal connection to place included:
 - gathering food from natural sources (fish, shellfish, duck, kangaroo, kunzia honey);
 - painting, pottery, photography, embroidery, quilt-making and crochet;

Sense of place

- Sense of place was expressed in the residents' relationships to the physical environment, and was affirmed by all residents:
 - through the description of a favourite view;
 - through personal connection to a favourite spot or landscape (such as a beach, walk, surf break, orchid patch, caves);
 - through rituals such as picnics at special sites and special times; ritual walks such as to Wineglass Bay or to Mount Amos;
 - shared rituals including an Orphans' Christmas Party put on by younger residents for young colleagues unable to go home for Christmas; a Christmas dinner at the Iluka Tavern for the older residents;
 - organising and taking part in the France to Freycinet festival;
 - fires on the beach at full moon with music by younger residents;
 - the majority of residents, that is 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 5 of the 41-60 year olds and all of the older residents, 16 in total, expressed an emotional connection to the environment and appreciation of its beauty;
 - All respondents in the resident group expressed an affinity with this place;
 - Perceptions of a magic-symbolic aspect of place were expressed by a third of residents, that is, all 6 residents in the 18-40 age range;
 - 1 of the 18-40 year old residents, but no 41-60 or 61-80 year olds reported a loosening up conventions resulting from contact with place;
 - 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds, and all older residents expressed an appreciation of the small-town community feeling of Coles Bay: 15 in total;
- Feelings of a sense of loss in the face of changes to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula were expressed by the majority of the residents.

Community connections

- Group membership was to families and friends expressed through sharing recreational activities for all of the 18-40 year olds, half of the 41-60 year olds and over half of the 61-80 year olds;
- Group membership for over half the residents, that is 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older residents was of a local organisation such as the Coles Bay Tourism Association, the Coles Bay Progress Association, the Foreshore Preservation Committee, Volunteer Ambulance and Green Globe 21;
- One respondent had been a Glamorgan Spring Bay Councillor;
- All respondents affirmed local networks and connections in the community expressed in shared activities;
- They all expressed support for voluntary organisations by donation or activities, by organised and informal activities, and in their support of Coles Bay as a plastic bag free town.

Activism and consultation

- 5 of the of the 18-40 year olds and 5 of the 61-8- year old residents had been involved in a community consultation forum or survey about development plans; 2 of the 41-60 year olds had been similarly involved, 12 in total;
- For example, some residents had given input personally, by attending a public meeting or by completing a questionnaire survey, to the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, a project conducted by consultants for Tourism Tasmania;
- Almost all equally in the age groups, that is 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 5 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 older residents did not support current decision-making processes about future economic development, 13 in total;
- A majority of residents in all age groups, that is 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 4 older residents saw positive community change happening in Coles Bay, principally through consultation conducted as part of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan;

- Positive community change was also perceived to be the growth of employment opportunities through increased tourism;
- All also observed negative change happening, in the form of environmental impact resulting from increased traffic and visitor numbers;
- However, 6 of the 18-40 year olds, 5 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the older residents expressed concern about the lack of community input to development planning, 13 in total.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Of the 18 residents in this group, 13 earned their income on-site;
- None of the respondents was unemployed;
- 4 older residents described themselves as 'retirees';
- Only 1 resident worked outside of the study site;
- Tourism-based employment of residents in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula were:
 - 5 business-owners engaged in the provision of tourism goods and services, specifically recreational activities and a restaurant supplied by fish caught by the proprietor; a marine oyster lease; a bed and breakfast establishment which also entailed the management of similar establishments for absentee owners; one respondent was a local fisherman, another was a local tradesman;
 - Of the 18-40 year olds 7 respondents were employees in either hospitality or recreational services such as managing the caravan-park, handyman at the caravan park; and in local businesses such as the Coles Bay Bakery and The Lodge hotel.

Residents spent income in Coles Bay through buying provisions, such as food and beverages, petrol and other necessities.

- 15 residents owned property and paid governmental rates and taxes;
- Half the residents supported income-generating economic change: 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older residents.

Tourism and the environment

- Tourism as the major industry in the area provided income based on natural capital located in the environment of the protected areas for the 18-40 year olds and the 41-60 year olds respondents, directly and indirectly;
- Residents supported 'ecotourism', a generic term used to describe environmentally responsive tourism development, further expressed in the support for environmental integrity over economic development by all the 18-40 year olds, half the 41-60 year olds and half the 61-80 year old residents;
- Half the 18-40 year old residents supported further ecologically-friendly tourism services, but not goods provision such as souvenir shops; 1 of the 41-60 year olds supported the further provision of ecologically-friendly tourism goods and services and one 61-80 year old resident supported the further provision of ecologically-friendly tourism services.

Economic change

- All residents in the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups preferred development which was guided by low impact environmental outcomes and care, with 5 of the 61-80 year old residents concurring;
- The same supported development which gave better access and cheaper accommodation for families holidaying at Coles Bay;
- All residents in this group supported the findings of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan and its recommendations, particularly the recommendation to provide footpaths and bike paths in the township.
- Half the 61-80 year olds were less supportive of economic development, while the other half saw it as providing employment for family members living in Coles Bay, such as grandchildren;

- No residents supported a ban on any further development;
- The majority of residents in the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups actively sought to protect the environment through their membership of community and environmental support organisations such as Green Globe 21, the Coles Bay Community Association, and Foreshore Protection Committee;
- older residents did not belong to these groups, but were happy to see the 18-40 year olds taking these responsibilities;
- All residents supported the plastic bag free movement in Coles Bay.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- There was general support amongst the residents for the Freycinet National Park, despite having to buy a pass to access, which some resented as limiting access previously enjoyed for free;
- Respect for the Freycinet National Park's environmental integrity was based on a deep understanding of its intrinsic worth and also of the dependence of the economic viability of the community on its health;
- Two residents in the 18-40 age group complained about being caught without national park passes at Friendly Beaches where they regularly went surfing. This occurred because the Friendly Beaches was a later addition to the Freycinet National Park, and the surfers had spent years surfing there without passes, and felt they should be able to continue to do so;
- Another young resident was concerned that the creation of a new track in the national park would go too close to his special place, a cave, and he would lose the privacy and personal communion which he enjoyed at this spot;
- Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve was the site of protests by the Coalition against Duck Shooting at the beginning of the duck shooting season in April. The season lasts for 3 months each year. No local residents reported taking part in this protest.

Environmental concerns

Concerns about environmental impact were classified in this study as a relationship to natural capital. Residents were concerned about:

- traffic density in summer;
 - the impact of tourist numbers on the environment and the small-town character of Coles Bay;
 - the trampling of undergrowth beside the walking tracks;
 - tree felling by private recreational enterprises in the national park;
 - air pollution from vehicle emissions;
 - reduced water quality in the bays;
 - size and ecological footprint of new houses;
 - water and sewerage issues;
 - lack of consistency in the local council's application of regulations that then had an environmentally negative impact;
- Concern about the loss of native habitat was expressed:
- 18-40 year olds were concerned about effects on orchids, trees, devils and quolls;
 - 41-60 year olds were concerned about wildlife in general;
 - 61-80 year olds were focused in their concerns for wildlife and the ecosystem;
- A sense of loss in terms of environmental change was expressed by all age groups, and all were concerned about the ecosystem, wildlife and the effects of climate change.

Environmental values

- Relationships to the environment took instrumental, intrinsic and spiritual forms for this group;
- Instrumentally, employment for the 13 of the 18 residents who work there was based on the presence of natural capital in the Freycinet National Park, which then supported the provision of tourism goods and services to tourists visiting the park;
- Residents' personal relationships to the environment in identifying a special place, as well as their love of the landscape, marine environment, flora and fauna, and their participation in outdoor recreational activities all demonstrated the spiritual and intrinsic character of the valuing of their relationship to the environment;
- These values, clearly supporting environmental integrity, could be classified as biocentric.

Year 2 – Residents

Changes in the intervening year were:

- no residents bought or sold property;
- 2 residents had expanded a business;
- 1 older resident was building a house in a retirement village outside of Coles Bay;
- another had built his own house;
- 1 older resident had a new job;
- none had retired;
- none were unemployed;
- 1 resident aged 41-60 had moved within the area;
- 1 18-40 year old resident had moved away from Coles Bay;
- none had joined an organisation but one had left an organisation;
- 3 residents, 2 aged 41-60 and 1 aged 61-80 had made new friends.
- 4 residents did not notice any changes in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula in the intervening year;

- Three 18-40 year old residents had seen changes occurring in Coles Bay, as had 4 residents aged 41-60 and 4 older residents, listed under the appropriate theme headings;
- Plans have been approved for the Federal Hotels to get water, but no changes have been noticed yet.

Cultural capital parameter

Environmental contact and experiences

Changes were reported in feelings by residents about:

- Development, reported by only 1 resident aged 61-80 who was more fearful of the impact of the Federal Hotels and Resorts planned hotel, particularly gambling;
- All felt the same as last year about the environment, tourism, economic development and the community, with feelings being reported as being stronger by only 1 resident aged 41-60, and weaker by 1 respondent aged 18-40;
- All residents enjoyed the same recreational activities in terms of contact with the environment, and one resident only had a new recreational activity, fishing;
- All residents enjoyed the same cultural activities relating to the environment;
- As noted, no significant change was reported by members of this group about their feelings towards the environment, which was that all expressed an affinity with this place and appreciation of its beauty. In addition:
 - perceptions of a magic-symbolic aspect of place continued to be expressed by a third of residents, that is, all residents in the 18-40 age group;
 - an emotional connection to the environment continued for almost all respondents, in all age groups;
- The majority, particularly those in the 18-40 age group, while still supporting tourism and economic development, continued to emphasise care was needed to maintain environmental integrity, which was the paramount consideration;

- Environmental changes were observed by 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 resident aged 61-80 years;
- 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the 61-80 year olds prioritised economic development;
- 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 aged 61-80 prioritised environmental protection;
- 3 of the 18-40 age group, 4 of the 41-60 age group and 1 61-80 year old believed that a compromise between economic growth and environmental protection was possible;
- There was no new environmental knowledge described by the members of this group.

Sense of place

- Residents maintained the same rituals and activities, connection to place, and special places as in the previous year;
- One third of respondents, (12) 2 each of the 18-40 and 61-80 year olds still felt a sense of loss about changes coming to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

Community connections

- Half the residents reported changes in the community, such as the selling of the Coles Bay Bakery and other establishments changing hands which had personal and community effects as well as an economic impact;
- An important and active community member left (initiator of the plastic bag free town movement), and was missed personally and by the community;
- There was perceived to be a flow of people into and out of the community, welcomed as revitalizing the community, with 1 respondent aged 18-40 observing that some young people who had come to work short-term had stayed on to become members of the community;

- Transience of the population over summer was less noticeable;
- New friendships were made; celebrations took place - births and marriages, and deaths were mourned. Residents continued to socialise both informally and formally, also with visitors on these occasions;
- The Orphans Christmas Party continued, but the Iluka Tavern no longer held an annual Christmas party for the community;
- A wedding and a 25th birthday party involving the community were held at the Coles Bay hall. 2 residents had left organisations, and 1 of the 18-40 year old residents had joined an organisation (Volunteer Ambulance).

Activism and consultation

- As there had been no community consultation over the period of a year, the residents reported no involvement in consultation;
- Green Globe 21 members had conducted a survey of ratepayers about planned development, and reported that there was little opposition to the development which was currently planned;
- The Federal Hotels and Resorts development received approval during this period and land clearing and preparation for its construction proceeded, which was noted by the residents;
- Concern was expressed about the wisdom of building a new car park at the start of the Wineglass Bay track, given that a new car park at the Tasman Highway turn-off with a shuttle bus service into Coles Bay was recommended in the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan;
- Recommendations of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan had not been funded and its lack of implementation was condemned by 5 respondents: 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older resident;
- One resident reported that a petition had been circulated at Easter in order to gain a commitment from government to implement some of the recommendations of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan. Over 400 people signed the petition,

which indicates that a number of visitors and tourists also signed it, as there are less than 200 residents;

- There was no response from government until the locals complained, at which an officer from Tourism Tasmania met them, but seemed to know nothing about the petition. Inter-governmental communication was a problem, the resident concluded;
- Complaints continued to be made about the perceived lack of consistent enforcement of Glamorgan Spring Bay Council's regulations, specifically concerning its waste management policy and land management regulations by 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older resident;
- An issue noted by one respondent was the subdivision development at Hazards View which gained approval from the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council to proceed even though its sewerage plan had not been finalised, it was claimed;
- Housing development was proceeding in Swanwick bordering Great Oyster Bay and Flack's Road which edges Moulting Lagoon.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- The residents continued to work over the year: 2 respondents had new jobs, 3 had left jobs (2 to go to the new jobs, 1 leaving the area); no residents had retired, though 4 were pensioners; 9, including those on a pension still earned their income in Coles Bay and none were unemployed;
- In terms of income generation, while no new businesses were reported as being initiated, 2 members of this group aged 18-40 had expanded their current businesses in the previous year;
- 2 of the 41-60 year old respondents and 3 older respondents noticed that economic change had occurred in the change of ownership of local establishments;
- Gunns Corporation bought Coombend Vineyard and undertaken large scale planting on land bordering Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve.

Tourism and the environment

- As for 2004, support for ecotourism was affirmed by the majority of the residents across all age groups, with another half giving conditional support, that care needed to be taken by any tourism projects approved for development;
- The impact of tourism on the community was identified by 1 young resident as deleterious;
- An older resident felt that tourism would bring in the money that was needed to protect the environment, like park rangers and patrol boats, highlighting the complexities of gaining a living from the natural capital of the environment.

Economic change

- 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year old observed positive economic change happening;
- 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the 61-80 year olds observed negative economic change happening, 8 in total;
- A large number of land sales had taken place, with changes of ownership and more building activity;
- With new houses and accommodation, there was more competition in this area, especially as the licensing conditions for accommodation had been relaxed, increasing the supply of private accommodation;
- 3 respondents, 2 aged 41-60 and 1 aged 61-80 noted that the Freycinet Bakery had changed hands, and commented that the service had declined in quality;
- The post office and Minimarket had changed hands;
- 2 respondents aged 41-60 complained that payment was now required at the tip for its use and that its opening hours were too limited;
- A new boat for charter was reported as arriving in Coles Bay, a 48 foot catamaran for tourist trips;
- 1 older resident, a businessman in support of development felt that the completion of the Federal Hotels development would provide a big economic injection into

the community, and services could be expected to follow: campaigning against the development would effect everything connected with it, such as the town's sewerage system, the dam for the hotel and the subdivision providing housing for staff;

- Three of the 18-40 year old residents felt less concerned about the Federal Hotels and Resorts development than in the previous year, stating that the delay in its construction had allowed themselves and the community to grow used to the project.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- A new, additional car-park (90 spaces) built at the edge of the park will be ready by the end of October 2005 to improve access to the Wineglass Bay track;
- An 18-40 year old resident raised a management issue, stating that as there were more car spaces provided at the start of the Wineglass Bay track, more people would be walking over to Wineglass Bay, but as no extra toilet facilities had been provided for them, they'd be relieving themselves in the bush. What did the Parks and Wildlife Service plan to do about this problem?
- The new, circular track into the Freycinet National Park to the Wineglass Bay Lookout, due for completion in 2 years, was welcomed by 2 of the 18-40 year olds, and 1 of the 41-60 year olds, as it would address over-crowding on the track and provide access for the elderly and disabled to the environment of the park;
- Positive ecological protection occurred through the banning of set lines and gill netting between Waterloo Point at Swansea and The Fisheries, Freycinet Peninsula, a school shark reserve, and this has improved diving and recreational fishing;
- From Seaford Point to Weatherhead Point the use of mullet nets is prohibited, protecting wrasse, kelpies, morwong, trumpeter, and flathead. Individuals can now go fishing and spear fishing, as there are many more schools of fish around;
- The use of long and drop lines, bait traps, gillnets, seine nets, bait nets and cast nets are all banned in Moulting Lagoon.

Environmental concerns

- Environmental protection remained important for all respondents in this group, and two-thirds had the same environmental concerns as previously;
- Half, particularly the 18-40 year olds also had new environmental concerns: more road kill, possums, wallabies and devils;
- Concern that chemicals used at the new vineyards were threatening water pollution of Moulting Lagoon was expressed by 2 residents, 1 each in the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups;
- Waste management and recycling - kerbside wheelie-bin recycling was instituted by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council;
- The recycling of waste paper was also an area of dispute, as this also had to be paid for, seemingly more so by the small tourism operators and residents rather than the bigger operators, reported by a 41-60 year old business person;
- 1 of the 18-40 year old and 2 of the 41-60 year old residents were still concerned about the problem of sewerage waste disposal;
- Half this group across all age groups, including all of the 18-40 year olds gave priority to environmental protection when asked to choose between economic development and environmental integrity in future planning;
- Of the half choosing economic development, these were solely in the middle and older age groups;
- Those believing a compromise between both courses of action was possible comprised two-thirds of the residents.

Environmental values

Over the past year, residents' contact with the environment demonstrated instrumental, intrinsic and spiritual valuing.

- Instrumentally, employment continued for the working residents mostly through the provision of tourism goods and services to tourists visiting the Freycinet National Park;
- Personal relationships were expressed in their identifying a special place, as well as their love of the flora and fauna, and their participation in recreational activities continued, demonstrating the spiritual and intrinsic character of their valuing. The contradictory nature of the spiritual and intrinsic with the necessity for a utilitarian valuing to support economic development was expressed by residents.

Year 3 – Residents

Cultural capital parameter

In the intervening year:

- 3 respondents made new friends;
- one had moved within the area;
- one had moved away from the area, and two older residents had children who had left Coles Bay;
- 3 had left jobs, 2 had new jobs, none had retired, none were unemployed;
- none had bought or sold property;
- 1 resident had started a new tourism and food business;
- 3 had expanded current businesses;
- 1 had built a house (same resident as Year 2).

Environmental contact and experience

Residents' feelings remained unchanged about:

- The community – 1 older resident's feelings had changed about the community, becoming negative-this person had left to retire to a retirement village in a nearby town;
 - Two of the 18-40 year olds' feelings had changed about economic development, to support it;
 - Tourism was supported, for good or bad;
 - Feelings towards built development.
- All expressed an affinity with this place and appreciation of its beauty and though none of the of the 18-40 year olds expressed a magic-symbolic aspect of place as they had previously, they expressed an intrinsic valuing of place;
 - An emotional connection to the environment was reported by almost all (11) respondents, in all age groups;
 - An important change was the majority in all age groups reporting stronger feelings than previously towards the environment;
 - Half the residents chose to identify the same environmental concerns as previously, the remainder either did not comment or focused on new concerns; a majority of residents identified new environmental concerns, listed under the natural capital heading;
 - Residents enjoyed the same recreational activities as previously, with only one reporting a new recreational activity, that is, canoeing;
 - All but one resident (41-60) gave priority to environmental protection over economic development, with 5 believing that a compromise was possible, 2 of the 18-40 year olds, all 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the older residents; with 3 stating that it wasn't possible to compromise.
 - Two residents had achieved personal plans:
 - gaining a grant to build a composting toilet and remaking a European-style garden into a native garden, with the aim of demonstrating to the community

the beauty of native plants, achieving sustainable improvements to their housing;

- winning a Tourism Tasmania award for the quality of their bed and breakfast establishment;
- One resident in the 18-40 age group observed negative change in Coles Bay due to the 'rich' whom he described as leaving a huge environmental footprint on place unsustainably through building big houses, buying energy-costly boats and cars, and whom, he believed, would eventually buy a solution with carbon credits, maybe the rising costs of energy had no impact on them, and so they continued;
- He compared this lifestyle with his own, struggling to pay for solar energy systems and rode a bike; the people who could bring change in support of the environment to Coles Bay instead chose to go down the same path as that of the wealthy tourists and buy expensive, oil guzzling cars, boats and consumables, he believed;
- All residents had the same recreational activities, but the group sharing of recreational activities by the 18-40 year olds was giving way to family responsibilities as young people got married and had children;
- The residents were less likely to sit around a fire on the beach with their mates playing guitars, and enjoying drinking and parties; this was now the domain of the younger residents;
- The Orphans' Christmas Party was again held this year.

Sense of place

- A sense of loss about change occurring in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was still felt by 4 residents, that is 2 each of the 18-40 year olds and 61-80 year olds;
- For all respondents, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was still a special place, and positive feelings about this place the same as previously, that is for 11 residents, 1 older resident was negative;

- 7 residents, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, and 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 older residents noticed changes in the community: the large number of houses bought and sold;
- the big changeover of houses accompanied by short-term rental was perceived as breaking down the sense of community, and led to stress because of the higher turn-over of people, expressed by 2 of the 18-40 year old residents and 1 older resident;
- This effect was not restricted to the summer-time and was cited as a change for the worse in the community.

Community connections

- Changes in the community were noted by some residents, of whom 4 found these to be positive, 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older resident;
- An older resident who had recently moved away from Coles Bay felt that no-one looked out for each other anymore, and it felt like a bond had been broken with this community;
- A woman of similar age, continuing to live in Coles Bay was more positive in her responses and he reported improvements in the community, citing:
 - the weekly garbage collection;
 - The local tennis courts had been renovated with the help of the Glamorgan-Spring Bay Council and a management committee had been established to run them. There was now a tennis club, and on Sundays members met at the tennis courts for a game and a barbeque;
 - A skateboard ramp which had been built for the youngsters;
- An 18-40 year old resident viewed the fact of older people leaving as a tragedy, as they were the backbone of the community, he felt;

- For the majority of the of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds, new friendships were made and celebrations took place. Five weddings involving the community were held at different places around Coles Bay – Friendly Beaches, Swanwick, Sleepy Bay and the Coles Bay hall. There were now ten new babies in the community;
- Other residents, 2 in each age group welcomed the influx of new people living in the community, and viewed positive changes in its constitution;
- A major event over the past year has been the amalgamation of the Coles Bay and Freycinet Tourism Association and the Coles Bay Community Association into the Freycinet Association Incorporated. This was instituted in order to have a single organisation that reflected all interests. The Foreshore Protection Association still continues.

Activism and consultation

- The Glamorgan-Spring Bay Council held a series of consultations with the communities of Swansea, Dolphin Sands, Coles Bay and Bicheno. Discussed were the options for a water supply to these communities. 100 locals attended the Coles Bay meeting;
- Half the respondents, equally across all age groups, took part in community consultation in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, about the management of waste water;
- Reported was a positive change-over in personnel at the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council. The newly appointed Glamorgan Spring Bay Council manager and the newly elected mayor attended Freycinet Association Incorporated meetings regularly over the past year. All contact through emails and minutes between the Freycinet Association Incorporated and the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council were attended to promptly, residents reported, demonstrating a better appreciation of the character and needs of the Coles Bay community and the environment of the Freycinet National Park;
- The Freycinet Association Incorporated had invited representatives of government such as Tourism Tasmania and Forestry to meetings to talk about specific issues, plans and strategies for the area over the past year;

- An older resident also complained about the lack of controlled burns by Parks and Wildlife, which is how the older residents used to manage fuel reduction, burning bit by bit to prevent bushfires. Parks and Wildlife, he said, would not listen to his advice;
- The lack of implementation of the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan again was an object of complaints by 5 residents, 2 each in the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 1 older resident;
- A comment from a young resident was that locals, while being aware of the environment and wanting to protect it, were too locally focused in their activities, and should be more global: local issues were to do with water, sewerage and weed management rather than global concerns such as power, energy use, affluence and consumerism, and creating a sustainable community through their own lifestyle choices. This respondent stated, on reflection, that community and place are perceived differently by different people.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Economic capital continued to be generated through local employment, dependence on tourism numbers, and tourism-related goods and service provision, particularly in hospitality;
- The same businesses were in operation as in 2005, and the newly established businesses were described as being successful;
- One enterprise (a trout fishing development) did not experience expansion due to the drought and the consequent lack of water;
- There were no changes in employment status, with all residents either working or in retirement, though two had changed jobs.

Tourism and the environment

- 11 residents continued to support 'ecotourism' in terms of a balance between environmental integrity and economic development, 1 older respondent did not;

- Illustrating the relationship between tourism as the major income source and its dependence on the use of the natural environment, residents pointed to the development of the partially government funded ecotourism Standing Camp at Bryan's Beach (Freycinet Experience), which was designed to be in place for 9 months of the year and to leave no energy footprint;
- A second major tourism development was the partially government-funded initiative to build indoor and outdoor conference facilities at Mt Paul on Freycinet;
- No concerns were expressed this year about the major tourism development of Federal Hotels and Resorts. This project, located at Muir's Beach was still not built, though the foundations had been constructed.

Economic change

- Support for tourism as the major industry in this area was affirmed by half the residents, but four residents spoke against the impact of tourism development on place over the past year;
- 5 residents noted economic changes taking place in tourism and the building of homes for investment rather than to live in;
- Two-thirds of the residents judged changes in Coles Bay to be negative, 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 3 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds; with only two respondents judging them to be positive;
- Changes were perceived to be environmental by 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older resident with no response from 6 residents, while change was perceived to be economic by 2 of the 18-40 year olds one of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the 61-80 year olds, with no response from 5 residents;
- Younger business owners were perceived to be prospering, and one bed and breakfast establishment won a tourism award from Tourism Tasmania for the quality of its experience and service to tourists.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- A change identified as negative by an older resident was that traditional hunting access to Moulting Lagoon was banned for local hunters, and heated discussion with Parks and Wildlife Service over this issue had resulted. This was in order to protect the waterbirds, whose numbers were reported to be down because of the drought;
- This year there were again demonstrations by the Coalition against Duck Hunting at the opening of the duck-hunting season at Moulting Lagoon;
- One improvement noted in protected area management was easier access to the environment of the park through the development of three graded, lower level tracks suitable for the elderly and wheelchair bound. They have not yet been opened to the public, but this is planned for July, 2007.

Environmental concerns

As noted, residents had the same environmental concerns as previously, such as the plight of the devils suffering from devil facial tumour disease, and indicated new environmental concerns. These were:

- there were fewer quolls about this year;
- drought was putting pressure on the birds;
- the problem of lack of town sewerage is ongoing, as the town is on granite and there is nowhere for the waste to go, resulting in serious water pollution of the bay;
- Weeds were a problem, including agapanthus, as its seeds can be spread into the bush;
- new housing in the area has too big an environmental footprint and is out of tune with the natural character of place;

- problems with the rubbish collection service, as uncollected garbage blows about the place.
- Expressed across all age groups was concern about the environmental impact of the drought and the lack of water: effects were described as stress on flora in the region, particularly trees and birds. Concern was expressed by residents about the size, footprint and visual impact of houses being built in both Swanwick and Coles Bay, and the fact that access to beaches was now difficult, and the visual integrity of place, both from land and sea, was threatened;
- One resident was more confident that the community better understood sustainability because their environmental awareness had been raised by water shortage and sewerage issues, and the consequences of both for the natural environment around them.

Environmental valuing

- Valuing of the environment remained, for the residents, a mix of the intrinsic and the instrumental;
- While they affirmed their connection to the environment for its own sake, residents still had to work to earn their living;
- For a number of residents, that is 3 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year olds, this meant that their excursions into the national park were a part of their business operations;
- For others, that is 3 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds contact with the environment was restricted due to their confinement to offices, bed and breakfast establishments, a restaurant, the hotel and the caravan site; a 41-60 year old continued to run his own trade business in the community;
- The busyness of summer, at the height of the tourist season meant that working residents had little time to spend at special sites in the environment, or in recreational activities such as fishing, surfing, boating and walking, or in social activities such as beach parties;

- Further, the change in family life for the of the 18-40 year old residents over this three-year period had resulted in them spending more time at home, at social barbeques with other young families, and at children's parties than in their previous pursuits;
- The lack of this sort of change of relationship for the older residents was indicated to be a function of their age-they no longer worked, but they no longer engaged with the environment of the national park as they had once. They took part in local, community-based activities such as lunches or dinners at the tavern, tennis club activities, walks along beaches and trips to the nearby towns of Bicheno and Swansea.

Year 1 – Visitors

Cultural capital parameter

Early experiences

Childhood experiences and contact with the study site or a place like it as a child or young adult were experienced by the majority of visitors;

- 6 visitors had family connections to this place, 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the 61-80 year old visitors with their key experiences reported as occurring as part of the family by 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 4 older visitors;
- there was an important, social aspect to the experiencing of Coles Bay by these respondents, with 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 older visitors reporting their early experiences with friends;
- 14 visitors had early memories of Coles Bay: 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 5 of the 61-80 year olds;
- All visitors affirmed the significance of the natural environment when they were growing up and its influence on their choice of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a place to visit.

Environmental contact and experiences

- An emotional connection to the environment was acknowledged by almost all visitors, across all age groups;
- All expressed an affinity with this place and appreciation of its beauty, and of the special character of this place where everyone was 'on holiday';
- Those expressing love/passion as the basis of their relationship to place were: 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the older visitors, 10 altogether;
- Recreational activities of the visitors were: fishing, diving for abalone and crayfish, camping at Schouten Island and Bryan's Beach and other special places with friends, swimming, walks, surfing, wave-skiing, eating, restaurants, golf, lazing at the beach, fishing, going for bush walks, playing cricket, reading extensively;
- Among the cultural activities described by visitors was the use of natural materials such as casuarina, bark, reeds and shells to make furniture, baskets, soap dishes, and gathering food from natural sources (fishing and honey);
- At least 4 visitors to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, 1 of whom is a respondent in this study, are world-renowned in their creative fields: pottery, print-making, painting and poetry;
- When the visitors asserted their values as support for environmental integrity and sustainability, 5 of the 18-40 age group identified parents as the source of these values;
- 3 of the 41-60 year olds identified parents as the source of their values, the bush or environment and 'ethics' as sources of their values;
- 3 of the 61-80 year olds identified principally parents as the source of their values, but also the bush or environment;
- The possession of environmental knowledge was:
 - understanding of seasonal change;

- biodiversity of the Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve;
 - birdlife, quoll and devil numbers and locations, wombat paths;
 - shore change and dune movement;
 - habitat such as the freshwater and saltwater lagoons;
 - the marine habitat in general;
 - recreational fishing conditions, bushwalking conditions, boating conditions;
- The family of 1 respondent had rehabilitated a significant area of coastal landscape through reforestation practices on their property over a twenty-year period;
 - There were few responses to questions about sharing key aspects of place such as history, heritage and culture with only 1 of the 18-4 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the 61-80 year olds responding positively;
 - Visitors said they had shared activities and experiences when young, all of the 18-40 year olds, half the 41-60 year olds and over half the 61-80 year olds, 13 in total;

Sense of place

- Sense of place apprehended in the physical environment was expressed by all visitors, through personal connection to a favourite local site or landscape: beaches, bays and mountains and Moulting Lagoon;
- Concern about the destruction of sense of place was felt by all of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 5 of the 61-80 year olds, 17 in total;

- A magic-symbolic sense of place was felt by a third of visitors, equally across all age groups, 6 in total;
- Inspiration from place was expressed by individuals through writing, painting, pottery and photography;
- Rituals were linked to time and place: a regular morning swim or a beach walk; a midwinter solstice swim; or a walk to view an orchid by a granite boulder off the Wineglass Bay track;
- 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 4 of the 61-80 year olds enjoyed a loosening of conventions whilst on holiday here, 8 in total;
- All visitors felt the natural environment was the basis of their relationship with place.

Community connections

- Social forms at the study site were principally familial, for the visitors' home and work communities were located off-site;
- Group membership was to family, friends and informal recreational and cultural groups for 4 of 18-40 year olds;
- Group membership was to family for 5 of the 41-60 year olds, with another 2 nominating friends and 2 nominating recreational group membership;
- In the 61-80 year olds 5 nominated family, 4 nominated friends and 2 nominated recreational groups as the basis of their group membership;
- Most did not belong to the local community or were members of a local organisation, though 2 visitors were members of the Foreshore Protection Association, which had been created to fight a proposed marina development in Coles Bay;
- The same 2 visitors, one in the 18-40 age group and 1 in the 61-80 age group put in protest submissions about the new hotel, and supported the Tasmanian Conservation Trust;

- 2 visitors belonged to Tasmanian Land Conservancy through whom they bought Long Point (Moulting Lagoon) to protect bird breeding habitats;
- Long-term links through their connections to Coles Bay were expressed by 5 visitors who had developed friendships with residents over the years: 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older visitors;
- 1 visitor had led scout groups to the national park in the past, another 2 had taken part in school trips to the area;
- 4 of the 18-40 year olds appreciated the small-town community feeling, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the older visitors.

Activism and consultation

- 4 visitors were, or had been, active in protest against development, 2 in the 18-40year age group, and 2 in the 61-80 age group;
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 of the 61-8- year old visitors had been involved in a community consultation forum or survey about development plans;
- Visitors supporting the outright banning of any new development were: 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 4 of the older visitors, 10 in total;
- All visitors in the 18-40 and 41-60 age ranges supported low-impact development with an emphasis on equality of access, for instance for families: they preferred bike paths and walking tracks such as those specified in the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan, and safe access to the local environment;
- Only 2 visitors in the 61-80 age range affirmed this type of development, the rest opposed it;
- Visitors had opposed developments such as a marina (which they had blocked) and the Federal Hotels and Resorts development (which was modified and reduced in size);
- This activism resulted in hostility from some local residents;

- Dissatisfaction with decision-making processes was expressed by all of the 18-40 age group, 4 of the 41-60 age group, and 2 of the 61-80 age group of visitors, 12 in total;
- Concern about the lack of community input to development planning was expressed by 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older visitor;
- No 18-40 year olds saw positive community change happening, but all saw negative change occurring; 1 of the 41-60 year olds saw positive community change occurring but all of this age group also saw negative change community change occurring; 1 of the 61-80 year olds saw positive community change occurring and 4 saw negative community change occurring, in this age group.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Visitors earned their income off-site. Where they owned property at Coles Bay (6 visitors), they did not describe this as an investment, it was a holiday home distinct from the economic and workaday dimensions of their lives;
- The exception was the family with property who used its wood for furniture making and to inspire paintings which were then sold;
- Visitors still had expenditure connected with ownership such as maintenance, council rates, and water purchase if necessary and thus contributed to and were influenced directly by decisions made by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council and other government agencies;
- Of the 18-40 year olds, 5 were concerned about the commercialisation and commodification of place, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the 61-80 year olds were similarly concerned, 10 in total.

Tourism and the environment

- Visitors contributed to natural capital through their valuing and use of the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, a relationship

which, for many extended over a considerable period of time, even generations;

- Their relationships to place were not viewed by them as touristic, but rather as social, recreational, cultural and artistic;
- Stewardship was expressed by the visitors, for instance in ensuring that birdlife was protected by purchasing land at Long Point adjacent to Moulting Lagoon through the Tasmanian Land Conservancy organisation: the aim was explicitly to prevent tourism development in this area, protect the birdlife and as an exercise in implementing personal and group values in the environment.

Economic change

- Visitor presence at Coles Bay generated some economic activity, particularly in the peak holiday season of summer;
- Economic change was promoted through visitors' need for rented accommodation: shack or house, hotel, bed and breakfast, camping sites (including within the national park), boat mooring sites, caravan and motor-home sites with the provision of facilities and services such as power, water and waste removal;
- Visitors minimised their expenditure by facilitating their own recreational activities; bringing their own goods: food, drinks, clothing and bedding; and recreational equipment such as fishing, diving and bushwalking gear, boats, kayaks, and dinghies to Coles Bay;
- Provisions were augmented locally only when necessary, because of the perceived high local prices.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- Most visitors affirmed the creation of the Freycinet National Park and its later extensions, and an older resident expressed the general feeling that the park should remain free of any development;

- Concern was expressed about the pollution of Moulting Lagoon from chemicals used in the new vineyards bordering the lagoon by 2 of the 18-40 year olds;
- All respondents asserted environmental protection over economic development for the area, though they said a new jetty was needed and 1 older resident thought further development at Wineglass Bay was justified, with helicopter access.

Environmental concerns

- Visitors were concerned about:
 - traffic density in the area;
 - degradation of tracks due to the numbers walking;
 - air pollution from vehicle emissions;
 - sewerage management;
 - escalating land values;
 - lack of consistency in the local council's application of regulations;
 - sub-division development which included streets, concrete paths and parking bays, and streetlights;
 - fears about the planned hotel;
 - The restriction of access to beaches by housing development bordering the bays and Moulting Lagoon;
 - loss of native habitat;
 - fears that loss of solitude due to tourism numbers would negatively effect the sense of place;

- The 18-40 year olds were concerned about wildlife, quolls, birds, orchids, trees, devils and the ecosystem, with no response about climate change. More registered concern about the ecosystem (half of this age group) and commodification of aspects of place (all of this age group);
- For the 41-60 age group, concern was generalised to a sense of loss and commodification of aspects of place. Specific concerns were not identified;
- For the 61-80 age group, however, their responses were identical to those of the 18-40 age group.

Environmental values

- Relationships to the environment took biocentric, intrinsic and spiritual forms for this group, expressed as relationships of 'stewardship' to place;
- All of the visitors' aims were to prevent change, specifically environmental impact and degradation through tourism growth and housing development;
- Many understood the need for locals to earn an income and expressed a willingness to share the beauty of this place with others, but in a carefully regulated manner;
- None supported mass tourism, given their perceptions of the limited carrying capacity of the environment and the environmental consequences of emissions and pollution.

Year 2 – Visitors

Cultural capital parameter

Environmental contact and experiences

The majority of Group 2 Visitors in Year 2 reported little change in their personal circumstances;

- Two older respondents reported that their children no longer came to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula for holidays;

- 1 visited less often, a 61-80 year old, 2 didn't visit at all, a 41-60 year old and a 61-80 year old;
 - 5 visited more often, with 2 of the 5 moving back to the area to live, both in 41-60 year olds; the remaining 4 visited on the same basis as previously;
- Feelings about the environment, tourism and the community had not changed, except for 1 of the 18-40 year olds who had moved back to Coles Bay who supported economic development, and 1 older visitor who felt similarly;
 - All 18-40 year olds, and 2 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds observed negative change happening, while 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year old and 1 of the 61-80 year olds observed positive change happening;
 - 11 respondents felt that compromise between economic development and environmental integrity was possible;
 - Almost half, 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year olds stated that though their feelings were consistent with last year, they were stronger, both positive and negative;
 - 2 visitors reported positive environmental change in new regulations controlling fishing in Great Oyster Bay;
 - A number also pointed out that this year the roads were better maintained;
 - Visitors reported having the same recreational activities as previously, with only 1 visitor reporting a new recreational activity, canoeing.

Sense of place

- For all members of Group 2 visitors, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula remained very much a special place;
- Half the respondents, 2 in each age group, felt this to be true even more strongly than in 2004;

- Half the visitors reported still feeling a sense of loss about changes at Coles Bay, due to the development taking place, 1 of the 18-40 age group, 2 of the 41-60 age group and 3 of the 61-80 age group.

Community connections

- Although contact by visitors with the local community was restricted because of the generally short lengths of time they spent in the area, one-third of the visitors reported making new friends, who were other visitors, not residents: 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 each in the 41-60 and 61-80 age groups;
- Most observed new people moving into the area and saw this as a benefit to the community;
- New houses being built and businesses changing hands indicated change, but feelings had remained the same about the local community over the year, with little contact;
- Two respondents were critical of the many more tourists in the township in the past year.

Activism and consultation

- No visitors took part in community consultation with government agencies or the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council, because they said that none had been organised;
- All 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older visitors did not support decision-making processes about development, and all except 1 visitor (18-40 age group) stated that their feelings had not changed about development, which were the same as the previous year, for all age groups;
- Concerns remained about the planned Federal Hotels' development at Muir's Beach, despite amendments to the design that resulted from visitor activism;
- Changes to the planned hotel were welcomed by some visitors, who saw it as an example of compromise between economic demands and environmental integrity.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Again, as the visitors earned their income outside the study site, there was no reporting of changes in income or source of income, of employment status or type of employment;
- The exceptions were 2 visitors aged 18-40 who had moved back to Coles Bay and therefore earned income on site, one of whom had started a business and was also building a house, and a second who had taken two jobs locally, thus actively participating in the economy of Coles Bay.

Tourism and the environment

- Although in general their negative feelings towards tourism hadn't changed, there was more acceptance of the Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development reported by 3 of the 18-40 year olds;
- 2 visitors aged 18-40 and 61-80 felt they had achieved substantial reduction in the environmental impact of the development through challenging it at planning level at the Resource Planning and Development Commission. It was now smaller in size, with the roofline dropped two metres, and strip lighting amended to reduce light pollution;
- Feelings remained the same about tourism for all age groups, and they still preferred that tourism should be managed to reduce its impact on the local environment, with 3 feeling that care needed to be taken (2 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds);
- They pointed to the Freycinet Experience Eco-lodge as an example of best practice, as it is totally environmentally friendly and cannot be seen from any point of the national park, or from its marine or land environs;
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds noticed an increase in environmentally sensitive boutique-type development;
- Kayaking seemed more popular this year according to 1 of the 61-80 year olds, with kayaks venturing further down the peninsula.

Economic change

- More than half the visitors: 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 40-61 year olds and 2 of the 61-80 year olds had noticed economic change in the intervening year such as: more property for sale;
 - greater cost of real estate: houses and blocks were more expensive;
 - increased land taxes for those who owned property;
 - The township was bigger and still growing, there were more houses for the wealthy;
- No other members of this group had bought or sold property, started or sold a business or expanded a current business at the study site;
- The cost of service provision (waste management) to the community by the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was of concern to a number of visitors, and also its organisation by the Council to occur on a weekday when many visitors weren't in the vicinity and took their rubbish out with them.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- Visitors noted negative effects in the Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve where, an older visitor complained, campers were using the foreshore at Swanwick as a toilet;
- Bush was being cut illegally along the foreshore of Moulting Lagoon, which needed regulating as it is crown land, and would effect the birdlife, noted by the same visitor;
- The council was criticised as not assessing whole land use around Moulting Lagoon, and the new vineyard was massive, threatening chemical pollution to Moulting Lagoon and its feeder creeks, noted by the same visitor;
- 3 other visitors, 1 in each age group complained that the carrying capacity of the Freycinet National Park was being stretched with more and more over-crowding on the Wineglass Bay track;

- The planned extension of the Wineglass Bay track was viewed positively by these visitors as relieving the overcrowding and extending access to the park for the elderly and disabled;
- Of the 41-60 year olds, 1 visitor reported that a positive change to the marine ecology had resulted from the banning of the use of gill and mullet nets in Great Oyster Bay, improving recreational fishing and diving with so much more fish around;
- Of the 18-40 year olds 1 visitor commented that the boundaries of the National Park (including the new extension) needed monitoring because they were indented by private land, and feral and weed spread from private property into the park was a problem, with endangerment to wildlife, including protected species.

Environmental concerns

- Half the visitors had the same environmental concerns as the previous year, including 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year olds;
- over half the visitors had new environmental concerns, including 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 of the 61-80 year olds;
- Visitors reported a new weekly rubbish collection service had been instituted using wheelie bins, with rubbish transported over 150 kilometres to the town of Copping, which was not welcomed by the visitors, who usually take their rubbish away with them;
- 2 visitors, 1 each of the 18-40 year olds and 41-60 year olds noted negatively the smaller size of the building allotments for sale;
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds commented on the barbed-wire fences and locked gates on the properties along the Coles Bay Road and deplored both as being unsuited to this place, sense of place;
- Positively, more wombats and birdlife were reported being seen in the environs.

The areas of environmental concern, included:

- sewerage service provision in general, the problem of septic tanks overflowing in wet years in Swanwick; the two portaloos on Richardson's

Beach serviced from Launceston at expense for the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council reported by 3 visitors;

- The skyline was lost at Hazards View as it has been built out by huge houses above the shore, by 1 of the 18-40 year old visitors;
 - The subdivision above Swanwick Beach allowed no clear access from the road to the beach at the far end as it has been built out, by the same visitor;
 - The increase in vehicular traffic was perceived to be a problem by 7 visitors, 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 3 of the 61-80 year olds;
- No visitors mentioned inaction about implementing the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan;
- An older visitor condemned the planned flooding of the Montgomery dam to provide water to the Federal Hotels and Resorts development, and additional developments; lack of protection for this heritage;
- The large, steel boat-sheds built at Swanwick were considered by visitors to be eyesores.

Environmental values

- The visitors retained the same values as in the previous year that is an intrinsic valuing of the environment; while most maintained a similar level of contact and sense of concern and stewardship to maintain environmental health, with some dropping off of contact in the older age groups.

Year 3 – Visitors

Cultural capital parameter

The majority of the visitors reported little change in their circumstances, or in their relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula occurring in the past year:

- Four visitors reported visiting more often;
- Three visited less often (2 of these didn't visit at all);

- 1 respondent aged 41-60 reported diminished contact due to children no longer going to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula for holidays;
- One visitor rarely returned because of his age (90) but he had celebrated his ninetieth birthday with his family at a local hotel;
- 5 visitors, 2 each of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year olds felt that positive change had occurred, including the new tracks under construction into the Freycinet National Park;
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds had started a new tourism business in addition to being employed in another tourism business (he now lived at Coles Bay);
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds had left Coles Bay to go to Margaret River in Western Australia for work;
- 1 41-60 year old visited more frequently with his new young family;
- 1 of the 41-60 year olds had left Coles Bay as a holiday spot, preferring to go to Maria Island, off the east coast of Tasmania;

Environmental contact and experiences

- The environment was still important, in the same way as the previous years for all the visitors across the age ranges;
- There was no change in their feelings about the environment, and those who maintained contact with the area continuing to actively enjoy it;
- Half the visitors, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older respondents felt that negative change had occurred, particularly development in the national park (the Bryans Beach Standing Camp), and the application for two new subdivisions in Swanwick;
- 9 visitors reported noticing environmental change happening, all of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older visitors;

- 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 1 older visitor believed positive change had occurred, but 1 in each age group believed negative change had occurred;
- 1 visitor in each of the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups had made new friends at Coles Bay;
- Natural changes noted were the formation of a sand dune and a new lagoon at Sandpiper Beach, Swanwick;
- The illegal clearing of vegetation along Moulting Lagoon was reported;
- Noted was more building going on in Swanwick: the Federal Hotels Resort is now obvious to see at Muir's Beach; boatsheds have been built at Swanwick; more houses have been built on the golf course subdivision.

Sense of place

- Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula remained very much a special place, and almost half the respondents felt this even more strongly than in previous years: 2 each of the 18-40 and 61-80 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year olds; but all of the above changes were felt to have impacted on the sense of place of Coles Bay;
- A sense of loss was still felt by 8 visitors, 1 of the 18-40 year olds, all of the 41-60 year olds and three older visitors;

Community connections

- 2 visitors reported making new friends, who were also visitors, not residents;
- Visitors saw new people moving into the area positively as a benefit to the community;
- They observed new houses being built and businesses changing hands in the community built area;
- Their feelings had remained the same about the local community over the year, which was that as there was little contact there was, therefore, little community valuing.

Activism and consultation

- There were continuing concerns about the planned Federal Hotels' development at Muir's Beach, despite amendments to the design that resulted from activism on the part of a number of the visitors; the clearing of land around the end of Muir's Beach could now be seen from the township;
- Again, the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was perceived to be under par in its relations to the environment and built areas;
- Concerns continued to be expressed by visitors about the perceived lack of enforcement of the Council's own regulations, particularly about housing and the sizes of blocks;
- The Council's waste management strategy was again described as a 'disaster' by 1 41-60 year old;
- The planned subdivision by the golf course was seen to be inappropriate for this environmental location and was being contested by 2 visitors, 1 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year olds;
- The Glamorgan Spring Bay Council was approached to act about the illegal clearing of vegetation along Moulting Lagoon but no action was undertaken to date;
- No visitors mentioned consultation between the council and the community to discuss problems and strategies. However, one visitor reported that the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council had sent out a pamphlet to ratepayers advising what to do in the event of a tsunami;
- Of concern to a number of visitors: 2 of the 18-40 year olds, and 2 of the 61-80 year olds, was the recent submission to the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council of plans for two more subdivision housing developments in Swanwick;
- Submissions challenged the subdivision development to the Glamorgan Spring Bay Council; the subdivisions were viewed as having negative environmental

effects through the density of the planned housing, consequent waste products, demands on water, and potentially the destruction of sense of place;

- fund-raising to facilitate a challenge to the developments took place by email;
- In the 2006 Council elections, one older visitor noted, there was not one candidate who mentioned Coles Bay and Freycinet and issues and concerns connected with the community and the environment.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- As the visitors continued to earn their income outside of Coles Bay, their economic situation did not register change, nor changes in income or source of income, employment status or type of employment;
- The exceptions were the 2 visitors who had moved back to Coles Bay the previous year and therefore earned income on site, one of whom had started a business, and was also building a house, the other of whom had taken two jobs locally, but who then left to travel at the end of summer;
- No other members of this group had bought or sold property, started or sold a business or expanded a current business;

Tourism and the environment

- Scenic protection for Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was felt to be needed, preferably to be incorporated in a planning scheme for the whole area, though no comment was made about the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan;
- A visitor in the 41-60 age group suggested that Coles Bay should establish a new caravan park, and undertake many other small improvements;
- 1 visitor in the 41-60 age group expressed concern about inaction in implementing the Freycinet Tourism Development Plan.

Economic change

- Eight visitors, 3 each of the 18-40 year olds and the 61-80 year olds and 2 of the 41-60 year olds observed economic change happening and commented on real estate changes in the intervening year, such as more property for sale, the greater value of real estate, and increased land taxes;
- Their feelings had remained the same that is negative, about economic development, as had their feelings about the largest economic sector, tourism, at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula: 2 visitors chose economic development in comparison to 11 who prioritised environmental protection: 1 visitor chose both categories;
- Housing development which was assessed as being apparently for investment rather than residential or holiday accommodation was a concern to 3 older visitors, in that it was seen to be changing the landscape;
- Concern was expressed by 2 of the 18-40 year olds about the possibility of monopoly control by one major company buying up much of the real estate as it comes onto the market, thus restricting access to Coles Bay by genuine holiday-makers.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- Concerns about the Wineglass Bay track into the Freycinet National Park via the Lookout were still present, in terms of the numbers using it;
- The idea of cruise ships coming into Wineglass Bay and intruding into the Freycinet National Park protected area was viewed with concern by 1 older visitor, an idea purportedly originating with officers of Tourism Tasmania.

Environmental concerns

- 8 visitors reported the same environmental concerns as the previous years, that is 4 of the 18-40 year olds and 2 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds; and 9 visitors reported additional environmental concerns, 3 in each age group;
- 1 of the 41-60 year olds respondent raised the issue of global warming and potentially its negative effect on Coles Bay and Swanwick;
- While there was still concern expressed about the impact on the environment of the new Federal Hotels and Resorts hotel development, its lack of progress resulted in some reduction of this concern;
- Concerns around lack of water and water quality were expressed by 5 visitors, 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older visitors; and concerns were also expressed about sewerage and waste management.
- Other concerns were:
 - Too many tourists;
 - Spread of introduced Japanese seaweed (wakami) on the beaches;
 - The impact of sub-division developments;
- Bryan's Beach within the park on the Freycinet Peninsula was reported to have suffered severely from storms by 2 visitors, with beach erosion into the camping area, and also undermining the steps from the camping area to the beach put in by Parks and Wildlife Service. This damage was the result of natural weather processes;

Environmental valuing

- Concerns about the impact of tourism on the environment and sense of place remained, though somewhat less than for the previous year;
- A number of visitors continued to complain about the encroachment of tourist ventures on their favourite places, such as Bryan's Beach, where a tourism venture has been established for 9 months of the year (the Standing Camp);

- Comments about the state of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula ranged from cautiously positive to angrily negative. All expressed feelings of stewardship in terms of care for the environment and a placing of it first in future planning.

Year 1 – Tourists

Cultural capital parameter

Early experiences

- 12 of the tourists, 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 5 of the older tourists had experienced a place like Coles Bay as children or young adults with their families;
- 1 only, an older tourist, had early memories and family connections with Coles Bay itself;
- 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds could describe childhood experiences at these places, 11 in total;
- 2 tourists each in the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups and 1 older tourist identified influence from childhood experiences on their choice as adults to visit Coles Bay;

Environmental contact and experiences

- Tourists expressed an appreciation of environmental beauty, and all expressed a personal commitment to environmental integrity, confirmed by a unanimous expression of environmental awareness and confirmation of the importance of the natural environment to them: 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 6 of the 41-60 year olds and 5 of the 61-80 year old tourists: 16 in total;
- 5 tourists, 4 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year olds expressed an emotional connection to the environment in general rather than specifically to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;
- A small majority identified their support of environmental sustainability as a value;

- For the 18-40 year old tourists the sources of their environmental values were diffuse, being education, friends and the bush or natural environment; 2 stated family;
- In the 41-60 age group, the sources of values were identified as the bush or natural environment (3) but only 1 identified education and none nominated their parents as the source of their values;
- Responses from older tourists were minimal to the values question, with 1 identifying the bush or environment, 1 nominating education and none nominating parents as the sources of their values;
- Recreational activities were reported by this group as:
 - walking along beaches, surfing, swimming and fishing;
 - photography and sight-seeing;
 - sea- kayaking and camping;
 - camping in campervans, caravans and motor-homes at sites around Coles Bay;
- Those identifying activities not specific to place included 4 each of the 18-40 year olds and 41-60 year olds and included relaxing, dining, playing cards and sleeping;
- older tourists listed sight-seeing;
- A wheelchair-bound tourist visited the Cape Tourville Lighthouse walk and went into the Freycinet National Park;
- Bushwalking: 2 tourists completed the five-to-six-hour walk along the Wineglass Bay-Hazards' Beach circuit; another 2 tourists went to Cape Tourville Lighthouse; 1 walked along Richardson's Beach, 5 tourists walked the track to the Wineglass Bay Lookout; and 2 walked to Hazards Beach and return.

Sense of place

- 7 tourists, all of the 18-40 year olds and 3 of the 41-60 year olds, but no older tourists expressed a generalised sense of place expressed in appreciation of the natural environment;
- A number described personal rituals connected to their stay at Coles Bay: a morning swim, a regular walk along the beach, and a glass of wine as they viewed the sunset;
- Affinity with place, that is Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was expressed by 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist, 6 in total;
- Though their contact was very short-term, concern about the destruction of the unique sense of place and the environment was expressed by 5 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds, and 2 older tourists, 12 in total;
- 4 of the 18-40 year old tourists, but no 41-60 or 61-80 year olds appreciated loosening up conventions whilst on holiday here;
- The basis of their relationship to place was as tourists appreciating the natural environment of the Freycinet Peninsula.

Community connections

- 1 older tourist only had local connections, and none supported a local organisation or had contact with the community beyond engaging in commercial transactions as tourists;
- Some tourists appreciated the small-town nature of Coles Bay, comparing it positively to other places they had known which had undergone development, and expressing concern about a similar impact of change: concerns were not expressed by any 18-40 year old tourists, but by 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 of the 61-80 year olds;
- As noted, for 5 tourists, their early experience elsewhere had influenced their visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;

- For others their visit was spontaneous, 5 tourists stating that a visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet National Park had been recommended to them by other travellers on the road, and 1 reporting that he had read about the Freycinet Peninsula in Lonely Planet, and that it had wheelchair access, which he needed.

Activism and consultation

- Tourists predictably had not engaged in community consultation or activism about development at this site, and they had not observed positive or negative community or environmental change;
- 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year olds condemned decision-making about development planning in the area, but no older tourists did so, only 3 of the group in total;
- Tourists expressing an opinion about the provision of services to suit particular groups, for instance budget accommodation for low-income families were 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the 61-80 year olds;
- Tourists expressed a preference for development guided by environmental care, low impact and safe access, with improved access to the national park for the disabled and elderly by all of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds, but only 2 of the 61-80 year olds, 14 in total;
- 1 of the 18-40 year old tourists, but no 41-60 year olds nor 61-80 year olds at all supported a ban on any further development;
- 4 of the 18-40 year old tourists, and 2 each of the 41-60 year olds expressed concern about the lack of community input to development;

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula brought in income earned off-site;

- Generally, they bought tourism goods and services in the forms of recreational activities (sea-kayaking, bushwalking, boat trips, quad bike riding) souvenirs and gifts, necessities, accommodation, fuel, food and beverages, and paid park fees;
- As noted, the average length of stay was 3 days, compared to 1.8 days by out-of-state tourists in 2004 (*Tasmanian Visitors Survey 2004*). This expenditure represented a substantial seasonal injection of money into the community.

Tourism and the environment

- Activities specific to place were: taking part in events such as food tours, quad bike tours, boat trips, kayaking and camping expeditions;
- No knowledge and understanding specific to place were expressed, as expected, given that most tourists were making their first visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;
- Their contact with place took the forms of recreational activities both bought and free, patronage of establishments and accessing or consuming tourist spots such as beaches, mountains and views.

Economic change

- Though tourists' input to the local economy by definition would promote economic and hence environmental change, none identified economic change occurring, except in a predictive sense, in that the small-town character of Coles Bay might change, and through negative environmental effects;
- 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 5 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist expressed concern about the commercialisation and commodification of place, 10 in total;

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- Appreciation was expressed by the majority of tourists for the natural beauty of the Freycinet National Park, particularly those from overseas;

- 3 tourists, one in each age group, supported the Freycinet National Park boundaries;
- 2 tourists supported each the recycling and green initiatives, all were 18-40 year olds;
- tourists supporting conservation, included all of the 18-40 year olds, 5 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists, 13 in total;
- 10 tourists supported environmental stewardship, including 5 of the 18-40 year olds, 6 of the 41-60 year olds, and 3 older tourists, 14 in total;

Environmental concerns

- Environmental concerns for tourists were expressed as:
 - 1 of the 18-40 year olds was concerned about wildlife, 1 about the ecosystem, 1 about traffic density and 3 about the numbers of visitors;
 - 1 of the 41-60 year olds was concerned about the ecosystem, 1 about traffic density and 1 about the numbers of visitors;
 - 1 of the 61-80 year olds was concerned about the ecosystem;

Environmental values

- Relationships to the environment were principally instrumental in the short-term, but also intrinsic in that a long-term personal valuing of the natural environment in general drew tourists to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;
- The majority of tourists visited the Freycinet Peninsula because of its status and marketing as a protected area with a key, iconic site, Wineglass Bay;
- As noted, 1 reported that he had read about the Freycinet Peninsula in Lonely Planet, 2 had heard of Wineglass Bay, 'a jewel of Tasmania'; another chose to visit because of tourist publicity, and one respondent was advised to visit the Freycinet National Park by other travellers on the road.

Year 2 – Tourists

The analysis of tourist responses for 2005 follows the format of analysis for 2004, as no measurement of change of the study site was elicited from this sample. This was a new group of tourists, and to be remembered is that the size of the tourist sample was reduced from 18 to 12, in line with a similar reduction in the size of samples for residents and visitors.

Cultural capital parameter

Environmental contact and experiences

- 9 tourists in Year 2 had experienced a place like Coles Bay as children or young adults and could remember childhood experiences at these places, specifically 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 of the older tourists;
- 4 tourists reported a key childhood experience, and for 4 tourists their early experience had influenced their visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;
- 2 tourists had previously visited Coles Bay and were making a return visit;
- For others their visit was due to the recommendation of friends (4), by advertisements and tourist information (4); 4 tourists did not offer a reason for choosing this area to visit;
- The activities of relaxing, eating and sleeping were nominated by only one tourist;
- All tourists affirmed the importance of the natural environment, but only 3, that is 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 41-60 year old felt this had been important when they were growing up;
- All tourists confirmed the need for environmental care in any future development;

- The majority of tourists expressed an appreciation of environmental beauty, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists, 9 altogether;
- 2 each of the 18-40 year olds, 41-60 year olds and 61-80 year olds confirmed their apprehension of a physical sense of place at this site, 6 altogether;
- While Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula did not have a special meaning for most tourists, for 5 it now did, following their experiences here;
- 5 tourists expressed an emotional connection to the environment, 2 of the 18-40 year olds , 1 middle aged and 1 older tourist;
- 2 tourists acknowledged a magic-symbolic dimension of sense of place, (1 middle aged and 1 older tourist);
- All of the 18-40 year olds and 2 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds expressed concern about environmental impact and resultant change at this site, 8 respondents in total;
- recreational activities were: 4 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist enjoyed walking along the beaches (8); 3 of the 18-40 year olds , 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists bushwalked in the park (8); 1 older tourist went fishing, and none went surfing, snorkelling, scuba diving or kayaking; 4 went walking to Wine Glass Bay, to the Lookout and enjoyed the views, 2 to Mount Amos, 1 younger tourists walked the circuit via Wineglass Bay and the Hazards Beach track;
- 1 each of the of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds listed dinner and wine as being enjoyed as recreation;
- 1 of the 18-40 year olds listed photography, 2 went camping;
- No rituals were identified by this group;
- In terms of identifying the sources of their environmental values, the 18-40 age group identified principally parents (3), but also education (3), and the bush or natural environment (1) where multiple choices were possible;

- 2 tourists of middle age group identified the bush or natural environment as the sources of their values; 1 identified education and 2 nominated their parents as the source of their values, where multiple choices were possible;
- 1 older tourist identified parents as the source of values; and 2 identified the bush or environment as the source of their environmental values.

Sense of place

- Affinity with place as the natural environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was expressed by 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 4 of the 41-60 year olds, and 3 of the older tourists, 9 respondents in total;

All of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year old tourists were concerned about the destruction of sense of place of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, 5 in total.

Community connections

- None of this sample of tourists had connections with this community, although 2 had visited previously;
- None supported a local organisation or had contact with the community beyond commercial transactions and incidental contact;
- Few in this group of tourists expressed directly an appreciation of the small-town nature of Coles Bay, though they compared it positively to other places they had known which had undergone development;
- They expressed concern about a similarly negative impact of change on the natural environment: all age groups.

Activism and consultation

- Tourists predictably had not engaged in community consultation or activism about development at this site;

- 3 tourists supported actions to protect local ecosystems, 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year old, but no older tourists;
- 1 tourist in each age group (3) supported a total ban on further development.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula bought tourism goods and services in the forms principally of accommodation, food and beverages, and paid park fees.

Tourism and the environment

- No tourists supported development in the form of ecotourism, and they all supported protection of the ecosystem;
- Their relationship to natural capital as tourists took the forms of recreational activities (listed above) and patronage of local establishments such as a marine farm.

Economic change

- While they weren't able to perceive economic change over time, none supported economic change and none observed economic change;
- this year 5 tourists were concerned about the commercialisation or commodification of Coles Bay, 2 of the 18-40 year olds , 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist;
- 5 tourists, 1 of the 18-40 year olds , 3 middle aged and 1 older tourist supported the provision of more low-budget built accommodation;
- None supported resource exploitation, niche development or ecotourism development;

- The same numbers in each age group preferred to see development guided by care, with low impact on the environment. The basis of their relationships to this place was as tourists.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- 6 tourists, equally in age groups, found access to Freycinet National Park to be an issue;
- 4 supported stewardship of the area, 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 2 middle aged tourists;
- 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 middle aged and 2 older tourists supported low impact development that improved access to the national park;
- None expressed support for green initiatives specifically.

Environmental concerns

- Though their contact was short-term, concern about the destruction of the unique sense of place and of local environmental integrity was expressed by 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 middle aged and 1 older tourist, 5 altogether;
- The numbers of visitors and traffic density were felt to be problematic by 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 middle aged and 1 older tourist, 5 altogether;
- The majority supported conservation in a general sense: 3 of the 18-40 year olds tourists, all middle aged and 3 older tourists, 10 altogether;
- 3 supported sustainability: 1 middle aged and 2 older tourists;
- 4 respondents expressed general concern about the wellbeing of the ecosystem.

Environmental values

- Relationships to the environment took principally instrumental, but also intrinsic forms for this group, given their initial impetus to visit Coles Bay as an iconic natural site;
- No knowledge and understanding specific to place were expressed, as expected, given that most tourists were making their first and probably only visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, and others (2) had not visited for a number of years.

Year 3 - Tourists

The analysis of tourist responses for 2006 follows the format of analysis for 2005.

Cultural capital parameter

Environmental contact and experiences

- No tourists this year had early memories of Coles Bay or a family history of contact with Coles Bay;
- All tourists in the Year 3 sample had experienced a place like Coles Bay as children or young adults and could remember childhood experiences at these places; for 3 tourists, this influenced their decision to visit Coles Bay as adults;
- For most tourists their visit to Coles Bay was opportunistic, 5 stating that a visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet National Park had been recommended to them by other travellers on the road, 3 others had seen a brochure or publicity about the area and 'it seemed nice', 3 had been told about it by a friend (18-40 year olds), and an older couple were visiting former colleagues who ran a bed and breakfast;
- All tourists affirmed the importance of the natural environment, but only 3 felt this had been important when they were growing up, 1 of the 18-40 year olds and 2 of the 41-60 year olds;

- 9 tourists including 3 in each age group expressed an appreciation of environmental beauty, and described aspects of the environment which had impressed them;
- Recreational activities, the tourists fished, bushwalked and swam, took a scenic boat trip, participated in adventure tours, quad biking, sea-kayaking, sight-seeing and eating; two went bird-watching, one took a run into the national park, and two took the walk up the Wineglass Bay track to the Lookout;
- Viewing flora and fauna was enjoyed by 4 respondents;
- Eating oysters and meeting new people were also nominated as pleasures to be enjoyed at Coles Bay;
- 4 tourists listed viewing the flora and fauna as enjoyed during their stay;
- Walking along the beaches was popular with 10 tourists;
- 2 of the 18-40 year olds listed wine with dinner as enjoyed;
- Bought activities included adventure tours, quad biking, and sea-kayaking (3);
- All tourists confirmed their valuing and support of the environment;
- 3 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 of the 41-60 year olds supported environmental sustainability as a value;
- Of the 18-40 year olds the source of their environmental values was diffuse: with 2 identifying their parents, 1 education, friends and 1 the bush or natural environment;
- In the 41-60 year olds, the sources of values were identified as the bush or natural environment for 3, but only 1 identified education and 3 nominated their parents as the source of their values;
- Responses about the sources of their values for older tourists were minimal, with 1 identifying the bush or environment, none nominating education and none nominating their parents as the sources of their values.

Sense of place

- Affinity with place (Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula) was expressed by 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds, and 2 older tourists;
- 5 tourists expressed an emotional connection to the environment in general rather than specifically to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 1 older person;

2 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 3 older tourists located sense of place in the natural environment, 8 positive responses altogether; none described a symbolic or magical aspect to sense of place;

Community connections

- No tourists had connections with this community and none supported a local organisation or had contact with the community beyond commercial transactions and incidental contact;
- No tourists in this sample expressed appreciation of the small-town character of Coles Bay.

Activism and consultation

- Tourists predictably had not engaged in community consultation or activism about development at this site;
- 2 older tourists had been involved in activism to support the environment in their home communities;
- Tourists neither condemned nor supported decision-making about development planning in the area;
- 6 tourists supported a ban on any further development, 2 each of the 18-40 and 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourist;
- 6 tourists supported development guided by environmental care and low environmental impact: 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist;

- The basis of their relationships to this place was as tourists and as supporters of the environment, not as activists.

Economic capital parameter

Income and expenditure

- Tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula bought travel to arrive at this place, and also brought in income earned off-site;
- They bought tourism goods and services in the forms of recreational activities (kayaking, bushwalking, quad bike riding, boat trips), necessities, accommodation, food and beverages, fuel, and paid park fees;
- As noted, the average length of stay of the tourists in this sample, which did not include day-only tourists was the same as for Years 1 and 2: 3 days (compared to 1.8 days by out-of-state tourists in 2004 tourism data).

Tourism and the environment

- Though their contact was short-term, concern about the destruction of the unique sense of place and defence of environmental integrity were expressed by 8 tourists, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists;
- Their consumption as tourists took the forms of recreational activities both bought and free, patronage of establishments and visits to beaches, mountains and views as part of their 'sight-seeing' activities;
- Impact from their contact with the study site included vehicle emissions and being part of the large numbers of tourists walking a single track, the Wineglass Bay track to the Lookout over Wineglass Bay, as well as the circular track via Hazards Beach, and the Mount Amos climb.

Economic change

- There was no overt support for change through the provision of more facilities but there was support for low key development in the forms of foot and bike paths, a caravan park and a backpackers (an older tourist);

- Most rejected any development of a hotel;
- 6 supported low budget, built accommodation, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist;
- 6 tourists expressed concern about the commodification or commercialisation of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, 3 of the 18-40 year olds, 2 of the 41-60 year olds and 1 older tourist.

Natural capital parameter

Protected areas

- Contact with protected areas for the tourists constituted their activities in the Freycinet National Park: 7 tourists climbed the Wineglass Bay track to the Lookout, 2 climbed Mt Amos, and 2 completed the circuit via the Lookout and Wineglass Bay to Hazards Beach;
- There was no support expressed for green initiatives or recycling, these being specific to place, but 9 tourists supported conservation in general, including all of the 18-40 year olds, 3 of the of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists;
- 4 tourists, 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 each of the 41-60 and 61-80 year olds supported stewardship of the natural environment, including 7 supporting ecosystem protection, 2 of the 18-40 year olds, 1 of the 41-60 year olds and 2 older tourists;
- A significant number of tourists in this cohort specifically mentioned their valuing of protected areas as the reasons for their visits to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, rather than simply 'the natural environment,' as they had spent previous holidays in national parks;
- Others maintained activities such as nature conservation and bird-watching that entailed ongoing contact with protected areas, often in other parts of the world (Wales, United Kingdom, Germany, India);

- All stressed the importance of environmental care.

Environmental concerns

- 2 of the 18-40 year olds were concerned about the traffic density;
- 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 older tourist were concerned about the numbers of visitors;
- 2 of the 18-40 year olds and 1 older tourist were concerned about the impact of tourism growth on the marine environment;
- there were no concerns about birds or wildlife expressed by these tourists;
- 11 out of 12 tourists were concerned about the environmental impact in general, and change resulting from tourism.

Environmental values

- Relationships to the environment took principally instrumental forms for those buying their experiences and contributing to the local economy, but the intrinsic roots of their valuing of this place were the motivation for their visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula and was expressed by all tourists;
- No knowledge or understanding specific to place were expressed, and this was not unusual given that most tourists were making their first and probably only visit to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, and given the short duration of their stay.

Tourists – Aggregated Responses for Years 1, 2 and 3

Cultural capital parameter

Environmental contact and experiences

- Although the majority of tourists reported childhood contact with a place like Coles Bay, most did not think this had influenced their choice of Coles Bay to visit;
- The basis of their relationship to place was as tourists;
- All tourists across the three year period affirmed the importance of the natural environment to them, but only one-third of the total indicated that the natural environment was important to them when they were growing up;
- Slightly more than one-third felt an emotional connection to the environment;
- Feelings of affinity for place, that is Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, were not significant, and the low responses also reduced over this time period;
- A similar pattern of responses was recorded for the middle age group;

Sense of place

- All age ranges felt that Coles Bay had a particular sense of place which they described as environmental, but this response diminished over the time range of the study.
- Appreciation of environmental beauty was affirmed by a third of the tourists interviewed in this time period, particularly 18-40 year olds.

➤ Community connections

- Membership of a local group was not a feature, and the only membership of recreational groups not specific to Coles Bay was reported by 3 tourists in the 18-40 age group;
- Activities at Coles Bay were shared by a few respondents, more particularly those travelling in pairs and groups, such as the 18-40 year olds in 2004.

Activism and consultation

- No tourists had engaged in personal activism in support of the environment;
- 3 respondents over this time period condemned decision-making about development, and these were in the 18-40 year old age range;
- There were no responses supporting decision-making about development;
- Responses in support of stewardship of the environment were somewhat higher across the 18-40 and 41-60 age groups, particularly for 2004;
- Slightly higher responses, totalling just under one-third in all supported conservation activities, again with higher responses coming from the 18-40 age group, and the lowest from the 61-80 age group;
- A number expressed a personal values in their support of the natural environment, almost half of the 18-40 year olds across time, and a quarter of the 41-60 year olds and 61-80 year olds;
- The source of values was identified by those who responded to this question as their parents, then the bush or environment itself, and lastly education.

Economic capital parameter

Income and work status

- Income was consistent for the tourists over this time period (see table);

- Work status and change in work status were not relevant;
- The two largest groups specific to each cohort across time comprised those individuals earning a salary and those individuals supported by a government benefit.

Economic change

- Support for development that would provide low-budget accommodation was recorded for only 2 respondents in 2004, but for 7 of the 41-60 year old tourists in 2005. In 2006, 6 tourists supported the development of low-budget accommodation, indicating a perception of need by half of the tourists in this year for this type of development;
- A number of the of the 18-40 year olds age group over time identified access for the elderly and disabled to the national park as appropriate development;
- A ban on any further development was not supported by the majority of tourists over time, but the numbers in support of a ban did increase from 1 in 2004 to 3 in 2005 and to 5 in 2006. Four of these respondents were in the 18-40 age group.

Natural capital parameter

Tourism and the environment

- Recreational activities, both bought and free over this time period included, for the 18-40 year olds kayaking, fishing, having dinner and wine, viewing flora and fauna, photography, camping, swimming, walking and bushwalking. Most popular were walking along a beach, bushwalking and enjoying dinner and wine occasions;
- For the 41-60 year olds, similar patterns prevailed with lower numbers nominating bushwalking recreation. Even lower numbers, but showing the same patterns of responses, were recorded for 61-80 year olds;
- The desire to see development proceed with environmental care was expressed by half the 18-40 year olds, a response consistent over the three years;

- A quarter of the 41-60 year olds also responded positively;
- Few of the 61-80 year olds responded positively to preferring environmentally sensitive development;
- Smaller numbers of respondents following the same response patterns supported ecosystem integrity in the area;
- Responses in terms of economic development, that is, in support of economic change, support of resource exploitation and even support of ecologically-based goods and services provision were not directly responded to by the tourists;
- Responses supporting ecotourism development were low (8 out of 36) with most (5) being from the 18-40 age group.

Environmental concerns

- Of the tourists expressing concern about biodiversity, 1 was concerned about the wildlife, 2 about the vulnerability of birds, and 2 about the ecosystem in general at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;
- When asked if they felt a sense of 'loss' due to economic change, 2 in the 18-40 age group and 2 in the 61-80 age group confirmed this feeling. These were all in the 2004 cohort;
- Concern about the commodification or commercialisation of place was expressed by a quarter (9) of 18-40 year olds over this time period; the 41-60 year olds were also concerned, but less so; only one 61-80 year old expressed any concern about this issue;
- Slightly more tourists expressed concern about destruction of the unique sense of place of Coles Bay, again particularly the 18-40 year olds;
- Specific concerns expressed were about high traffic density, the high numbers of tourists visiting, and the impact on the marine and terrestrial environments;
- Tourists felt some connection to the beaches, bays and shores, and the mountains of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula;

Environmental values

- Given the attraction of natural areas to these groups of tourists, a valuing of the natural environment in terms of care and stewardship, and in terms of concerns about environmental destruction was most expressed by the youngest age group, the 18-40 year olds;
- Values were intrinsic. In bringing money into Coles Bay through buying goods and services the tourists' relationship to place was as consumers and therefore inherently instrumental.

Appendix 3: Project Management Documents

INFORMATION SHEET and CONSENT FORM

COLES BAY AND THE FREYCINET PENINSULA- A case study

Date:_____ID_____

My name is Carol Patterson. I am studying for my Doctorate of Philosophy with the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania.

Under the supervision of Dr Peter Hay of the University of Tasmania, I am conducting a study of the Coles Bay and Freycinet Peninsula area over a three-year period. My aims are to see how the people who live in this area, or have visited this area for holidays value this area, what their main activities have been, and how they view local development that is taking place.

My interview with you is open-ended, but it should last no more than 15 minutes and you can withdraw at any time. You will not be identified in any way. A code will be used instead of your name to assure your anonymity. Visitors and residents will be provided with a transcript of the interview which they can edit or add to, as they wish.

All material will be kept in a locked cabinet and stored on a password protected computer at the University of Tasmania for a minimum of five years from the date of publication of my thesis, at which point it will be destroyed.

As your participation in this research study is entirely voluntary, at any point you can opt to discontinue taking part. Any information that you provide will be returned to you or destroyed, if you so wish. You have the option to be kept informed during the course of the study of any significant findings that might affect you, and to receive the final overall results.

This research study has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. If you have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints about the manner in which the project is conducted, you may contact the Executive Officer of the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network.

The Executive Officer can direct participants to the relevant Chair that reviewed the research.

Executive Officer: Amanda McAully (6226 2763)

If you wish to discuss any aspect of the study, you can contact:

Carol Patterson: 62 437883 or 0408 692812

Email: Carol.Patterson@postoffice.utas.edu.au

Or the research supervisor: Peter Hay: 6226 2836

Peter.Hay@utas.edu.au

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **COLES BAY AND THE FREYCINET PENINSULA- A case study**

-
1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this study.
 2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
 3. I have been informed that the interview will take up to fifteen minutes, and that I can withdraw from the interview at any time. I understand that the information that I provide in the interview is confidential and that my anonymity is ensured by a coding process.
 4. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years (or, if the researcher plans to retain the data for longer than this period, the data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises until no longer required, at which time it will be destroyed).
 5. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
 6. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published (provided that I cannot be identified as a participant).
 7. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and that any information I supply to the researcher(s) will be used only for the purposes of the research.
 8. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any effect, and if I so wish, may request that any personal data gathered be withdrawn from the research.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator

Signature of investigator

Date

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula - a case study

Contact summary form

Location of contact_____

Date of contact_____

ID no.:_____

Transcribed:_____

Viewed:_____

Returned:_____

1. Main issues or themes of the interview:

2. Themes or issues that emerged *additional to* the study parameters:

3. Other salient points:

Appendix 4: Codebook and questionnaires

Codebook		
Parameter	Theme and element	Code
Cultural capital	1. Nature of contact with Coles Bay and Freycinet	
	Past contact with Coles Bay: born and grew up, grew up, visited, worked when young, lived as adult, no contact, N/A	PCON
	Present or adult contact with Coles Bay: 1-2 nights, 2-3 nights, 4-7 nights, occasional holidays, live par time, live fulltime, yearly holidays, extended visits	PRESCON
	Childhood contact with place like Coles Bay	CHC
	Influenced present choice of Coles Bay to visit/live	INFLP
	2. Early experience, memories	
	Childhood experience-personal	CHEX1
	Childhood experience-family	CHEX2
	Childhood experience-social	CHEX3
	Early memories of Coles Bay	EMEM
	Family history	FAMHIS
	Family memories	FAMEM
	Key experience-personal	KEX1
	Key experience-family	KEX2
	Key experience-social	KEX3
	Family connection	FAMCON
	Environmental awareness	ENVA
	Importance of the environment	IMEN
	Importance of environment in growing up	IMENGU
	3. Connection to the environment	
	Basis as tourist/visitor	TVBASIS
	Basis of relationship to area: environment	BASIS1
	Basis of relationship-health	BASIS2
	Basis of relationship-home	BASIS4
	Emotional connection to the environment	EMCON
	Scientific connection to the environment	SCICON
	Sacred/vision	SACVI
	Type of contact-artistic/cultural	CONAC
	Access 1-problem of access to environment	ACCE1
	Access 2-for disabled and elderly	ACCE2
	4. Landscape connections	
	Shore	SHO
	Beaches	BEA
	Mountains	MOU
	Bays	BAY
	Granite	GRA
	Views	VIE
	Water	WAT
	Caves	CAV
	5. Recreational activities	
	Fishing	FIS
	Swimming	SWI
	Walking on beaches	WAL
	Bushwalking	BWAL
	Bike riding	BIKE
	Snorkelling	SNORK
	Scuba diving	SCUB

	Surfing	SUR
	Golf	GOLF
	Pottery	POTT
	Painting	PAIN
	Yoga	YOG
	Sailing/boating	SAIL
	Shooting	SHOO
	Climbing	CLIM
	Kayaking	KAY
	Sea-kayaking	SEAK
	Boat trip	BOATR
	Quad biking	QUAD
	Food tours	FTOUR
	Restaurants	REST
	Reading	READ
	Sight-seeing	SISEE
	Relaxing	RELAX
	Crochet	CROCH
	Embroidery	EMBR
	Crafts	CRAF
	6. Values	
	Artistic response to environment	ARCEN
	Sacred, vision	SACVI
	Awareness of Aboriginal culture	ABAW
	Environmental connection, care	ENVC
	Source of values-environment	SENV
	Source of values family	SFAM
	Source of values education	SED
	Musical connections to environment	MUSENV
	7. Community connections	
	Networks of community	NETCOM
	Community services	COMSER
	Local connections	LOCON
	Trust	TRU
	Reciprocity	RECIP
	Small-town community feeling	COMFEE
	Group membership-recreation	GREC
	Group membership-cultural	GCUL
	Group membership-colleagues	GCOL
	Member of an organisation	MORG
	Supports an organisation	SORG
	Joined an organisation	JMORG
	Left an organisation	LMORG
	8. Activism and consultation	
	Personal consultation/activism	PERCONA
	Community consultation	COMCON
	Decision-making	DECMA
	Relations to decision-making bodies	RELDMB
	Support small scale, env. sustainable development	SSSD
	Support ban on further development	SBFD
Economic capital	9. Income and expenditure	
	Income earned outside of Coles Bay	ICCBO
	Income earned in Coles Bay	ICCB
	Own business-primary production	OBPP
	Own business-service industry	OBS

	Own business-goods	OBG
	Basis of relationship to area-business	BABU
	Own business-arts	OBA
	Own business-tourism	OBT
	Own business-recreation	OBR
	10. Employment status	
	Retired	RET
	Casual employed	CAS
	Full time employed	FTE
	Part time employed	PTE
	Unemployed	UNEMP
	11. Type of Employment	
	Employed in business	EBUS
	Farming/fishing labourer	FFL
	Employed in government	EGOV
	Trainee, apprentice	TRAPP
	Service industry	SI
	Manager	MAN
	12. Tourism and the environment	
	Tourism growth	TOUR
	Food and wine tourism	FWT
	Recreational tourism	RECT
	Ecologically based goods	ECBG
	Ecologically based services	ECBS
	Ecotourism	ECOT
	13. Economic change	
	Resource exploitation	REX
	Technology	TECH
	Niche development	NIC
	Development	DEV
	Commodification	COMM
Natural capital	14. Protected areas	
	Economic use of protected areas	EUPA
	Support of protected areas	SUPA
	Impact on protected areas	IPA
	15. Ecosystem understanding and knowledge	
	Birds	BIR
	Flora	FLO
	Trees and forest	TRE
	Marine environment	MARE
	Air environment	AIR
	Currents and tides	CURT
	Predator-prey relations	PPR
	Breeding and nesting patterns	BNP
	Pollination	POLL
	Seasonal changes	SEACH
	Winds	WIN
	Rainfall patterns	RAIP
	Crayfish beds and season	CBS
	Scallop beds and season	SCS
	Duck haunts and season	DHS
	16. Biodiversity knowledge	

	Tasmanian devils	TD
	Pelicans	PEL
	Quolls	QUO
	Orchids	ORCH
	Orka	ORK
	Fish	FIS
	Dolphins	DOLPH
	Foxes	FOX
	Whales	WHA
	Ducks	DUCK
	Birdlife	BIRL
	Insect life	INSL
	Kunzia plant	KP
	Sheoaks	SHEO
	Casuarinas	CAS
	Black peppermint gum	BPG
	Parrots	PAR
	17. Environmental values	
	Sustainability practices	SUSP
	Recycling	RECY
	Green initiatives	GRI
	Stewardship	STEW
	Conservation	CONS
	18. Environmental impact concerns	
	Trampling flora in park	TFP
	Sewerage outfalls	SEWAG
	Water pollution	WATPOL
	Destruction of wombat habitat	DESWH
	Destruction of quoll habitat	DESQH
	Impact on birdlife	IMBIR
	Impact on marine habitat	IMMH
	Felling trees	FELL
	Council regulations ignored	CRI
	Uncontained weeds	WEEDS
	Numbers using the park	NUM
	Traffic	TRAFF
	Vehicle emissions	VEHEMI
	Water quality and pollution	WQP
	Air pollution	APOL
	Chemicals from vineyards	CHEM
Change		
	Identify change	IDCH
	Negative change	NEGCH
	Positive change	POSCH
	Feel differently about change	FDCH
	Feel differently about the environment	FDENV
	Feel same about the environment	FSENV
	Feel differently about tourism in the area	FDTOU
	Feel same about tourism in the area	FSTOU
	Feel same about economic development	SADEV
	Feel differently about economic development	DIFDEV
	Feel differently about the community	FDCOM
	Feel same about the community	FSCOM
	Feelings about change stronger than last time	CHSTR
	Feelings about change weaker than last time	CHWEA
	Still a special place	SPECY
	If not	SPECN

	Environment still important	ENVIMY
	If not	ENVIMN
	Joined an organisation	JOINY
	Left an organisation	ORGL
	Same recreational activities	SAREC
	If no	NOREC
	New recreational activities	NEWREC
	Same rituals	SARI
	New rituals	NERI
	Same environmental concerns	SACON
	New environmental concerns	NECON
	New community consultation	NECOMCON
	No community consultation	NOCOMCON
	Feelings of loss	YLOSS
	No feelings of loss	NLOSS

Transcript sheet for coding

Transcript code sheet		Codes
ID number: _____ Date: _____		
	Text transcribed in this space	

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula - a case study

Questionnaire for Group 1 (residents)

ID number: _____ Tape number: _____ Date: _____

Age range: 18-20; 21-30; 31-40; 41-50; 51-60; 61-70; 71-80; 81>.

Gender: female ☐ male ☐

Income range: <\$15 000; \$15 000-\$20 999; \$21 000-\$30 999;
\$31 000-\$40 999; \$41 000-\$50 999; \$51 000-\$60 999;
\$61 000-\$80 999>

Educational attainment:

1. Do you live in Coles Bay? ☐ yes ☐ no
Full time ☐ Part time ☐
2. If no, where do you live? _____
3. If yes, have you always lived here? ☐ yes ☐ no
4. Do you rent a place, or own a shack or house? ☐ rent ☐ own
Other _____
5. When did you first come to Coles Bay? Year _____
6. Why did you choose Coles Bay to live?

7. What do you do in Coles Bay?

8. Do you principally earn your income in Coles Bay?

9. What is the basis of your relationship with Coles Bay and Freycinet Peninsula?
10. Did you visit Coles Bay when you were younger?

What do you remember best about that time? (Key experiences?)

11. What do Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula mean to you, right now?

12. Would you say you share your point of view?

Who with?

13. Do you share activities with anyone in Coles Bay and Freycinet? Who with?

14. Are there any rituals, things that you always do in Coles Bay and Freycinet?

15. Do you share these with other people?

16. Would you say that you are part of a local group?

17. Do you belong to any organisations in Coles Bay? Are you, or have you been active in this organisation(s)?

18. How would you describe the community in Coles Bay?

19. When I say boundaries, social, physical, what does that word conjure for you?

20. Is there a place that has special meaning for you, in this area?

21. Do you feel the same about anywhere else? In Tasmania? Internationally?

22. What do you think about development for this area? (include response to footpaths, bikepaths, tracks, hotel, subdivision, vineyards).

23. How do you think decisions have been (are) made for development in this area?

24. Have you been consulted or involved in the decision-making?

25. Who do you think should be consulted?

26. What about other changes that have occurred in the area? (Comment on National Parks, State Govt. and Local Govt.)

27. How do you think the natural environment should be best treated?

(Any endangered species, env. areas, heritage?)

28. Would you say that you have particular values in relation to the natural environment?

29. What or who would you say is the source of these values?

30. How do you view the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

Thank you for taking part in this study. I will provide you with a transcript of the notes taken from the interview. If you wish, you can edit this or add to it and return it to me at: 97 Malunna Road LINDISFARNE TAS. 7015. Fax: (03) 62437883.

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – a case study

Questionnaire for Group 2 Visitors

ID number: _____ Tape number: _____ Date: _____ Duration: _____

Age range: 18-20; 21-30; 31-40; 41-50; 51-60; 61-70; 71-80; 81>.

Gender: female ☐ male ☐

Income range: <\$15 000; \$15 000-\$20 999; \$21 000-\$30 999;
\$31 000-\$40 999; \$41 000-\$50 999; \$51 000-\$60 999;
\$61 000-\$80 999>

Place of residence: _____

Employment: _____

Educational attainment: _____

9. When did you first go to Coles Bay? Year _____

10. How often, after that, did you visit? What time of year? Over what period of time?

11. What were the reasons for your visits: Who did you go with?

12. Have you ever owned a residence at Coles Bay?

13. If no, where did you stay when you visit(ed) Coles Bay? _____

14. If you visited Coles Bay when you were younger (i.e. with your own parents)

What do you remember best about that time?

15. Can you remember any key experiences or transitions?

16. What did/do you like to do in Coles Bay? The most?

17. What is the basis of your relationship with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

18. Do you have a professional interest in the area? (i.e. scientific, historical, artistic, environmental, recreational)

19. What do Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula mean to you, right now?

20. Do you have a point of view about the natural environment? How would you describe your relationship to it?

21. Would you say you share this point of view?

22. Do/did you share activities with anyone in Coles Bay and Freycinet?

23. Are/were there any rituals, things that you always did or still do in Coles Bay and Freycinet?

24. Do you share these with other people?

25. Do you belong to any organisations in Coles Bay?

If yes, are you or have you been active in this organisation(s)?

26. How would you describe the community in Coles Bay?

27. When I say boundaries: what does that word conjure for you, about Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

28. Is there a place that has special meaning for you, in the area?

29. How do you think the natural environment should best be treated? (Any endangered species, biodiversity, heritage?)

30. How do you view the current development in Coles Bay? (Shops, tourist information centre, pub, restaurant, backpackers, housing).

31. What do you think about planned development for this area?

32. Would you say you share these points of view? If yes, who with?

33. How do you think decisions have been (are) made for development in this area?

34. Have you been consulted or involved at all in the decision-making?

35. Would you say you feel the same about anywhere else in Tasmania

36. When I use the term personal values, what would this term mean to you, particularly about Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

37. What/who would you say has influenced your values?

38. If you had the choice, where would you prefer to live, Coles Bay or your current home? What does 'home' mean to you?

39. How do you see the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

Thank you for taking part in this study. I will provide you with a transcript of the notes taken from the interview. If you wish, you can edit this or add to it and return it to me at: 97 Malunna Road LINDISFARNE TAS. 7015. Fax: (03) 62437883.

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula – a case study

Questionnaire for Group 3 Tourists

ID number: _____ Date: _____ Duration: _____ Place of
interview _____

Age range: 18-20; 21-30; 31-40; 41-50; 51-60; 61-70; 71-80; 81>.

Gender: female ☐ male ☐

Income range: <\$15 000; \$15 000-\$20 999; \$21 000-\$30 999;
\$31 000-\$40 999; \$41 000-\$50 999; \$51 000-\$60 999;
\$61 000-\$80 999>

Place of residence: _____

Employment: _____

Educational attainment: _____

1. How long have you stayed in:

Coles Bay: _____ Tasmania: _____

2. Is this your first visit to Tasmania? _____

(Date of previous visit _____)

3. Is this your first visit to Coles Bay? _____

(Date of previous visit _____)

4. What is your accommodation type?

5. Are you visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula with your family?

Partner? Friends?

6. What activities did you plan to do while here? (Bought and free)

7. Is that what you did while here?

8. What did you most enjoy?

9. Do you have a special or professional interest (ie historical, scientific, artistic, environmental, recreational) in the area?

10. Why did you choose Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula to visit?

11. Did you ever holiday in a place like Coles Bay in your past, i.e. as a child?

12. If yes, what do you remember best about that holiday? Do you remember a key experience?

13. Did your experience influence your decision to holiday in Coles Bay?

14. Do Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula have a special meaning for you?

15. If yes, would you say you share this meaning, i.e. with family, friends, community, or is it entirely personal?

16. What do you like best about it?

17. Would you say you feel the same about anywhere else in Tasmania? Australia? Internationally as Coles Bay and Freycinet?

18. When I use the word values, what does this mean to you about the natural environment, ie of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, anything?

19. What would you say has influenced your values?

20. When I say boundaries, does that word conjure anything for you, about your experience and perceptions of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

21. Do you have any rituals, such as specific activities?

22. Development is planned for this area, what do you think about that?

(Hotel, foot/bike paths, new road, information centre, new caravan park/backpackers)

23. Who do you think should be consulted about this development process, and how?
And who should make decisions about it?

24. What do you think about the place of the natural environment, in this process?

25. How do you relate to the natural environment?

26. Are there any aspects of the natural environment of particular importance to you?
Concerns?

27. Is there any way you can think of to improve Coles Bay and the Freycinet
Peninsula?

28. Do you have a particular view of the future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet
Peninsula?

29. Would you visit again? If so, would you like to see anything different about Coles
Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula?

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire survey.