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Vantage points: observations on the emotional geographies of heritage

The maritimity of Hobart's Hunter Street Wharf is hidden by neither the bitumen's flat expanse, nor the sharp verticality of four-storeyed Georgian warehouses which now serve as boutique 'this-and-that.' Diesel odours from fishing boats bobbing in harbour waters lace the air but cannot disguise the brine-smell. Cars squat on concrete piers over the dark moving mass of the Derwent River. Embedded in the sidewalk and running the length of the wharf is a bronze line symbolizing the curvature of the original shore of Hunter Island. It is a complex thread of cultural and natural heritage particular to here and yet woven through a larger tapestry whose motif – how to value the *is-ness* of place – manifests in many elsewhere.

Near a large brown marble edifice marking the sesquicentenary of colonial and postcolonial expansion (1804-1954), it is possible to turn on one's heel, full 360 degrees. From such vantage point, dwell upon the land- and sea- and sky-scapes that are this site and witness a world of associations and transformations inscribed upon them; feel how these move out, into the world, backward and forward in time and space.

Any one point on the arc of a circumnavigatory gaze of such scapes offers up rich insights on the palimpsest that is place. Points lead to lines, and lines to transects; wedge-like slices of narrative, they are instructive.¹ Like thin scratchings on vellum, some such stories trace prehistoric or colonial moments whose significance is now difficult to gauge; others are bold statements whose recency renders less ambiguous various authorial intentions of modernity and progress.

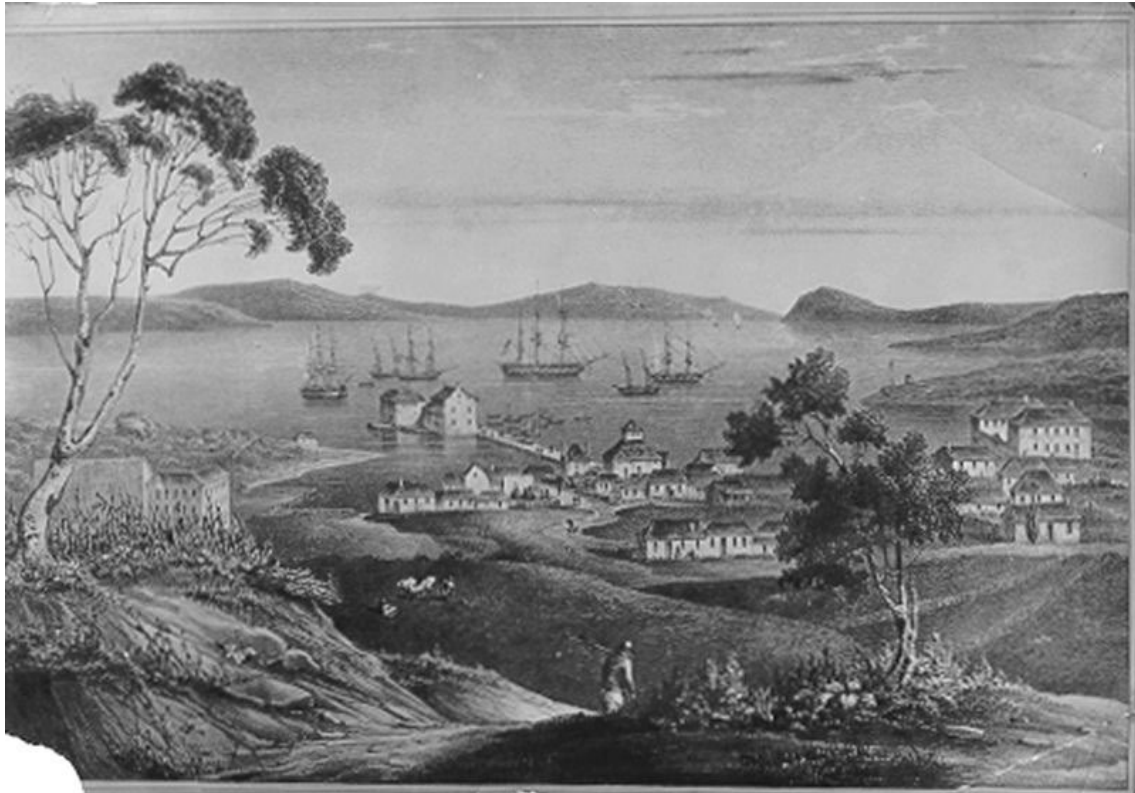


Figure 1

Sullivan's Cove with Hunter Street Wharf (Carswell 1823)

This image was created in Australia and is in the public domain.

Much of that which is apprehended in the gaze appears local, of *this* place, but scrutiny reveals otherwise. A wharf now site to the sale of luxury goods, professional services, and higher education once churned with the noise and pulp-sweet smell of apple-processing and jam-making. Filaments of that past stretch out across the water of Sullivan's Cove, over the southwestern foothills of proximate suburbs and down to the Huon Valley, once a southern hemispheric locus of apple production for the 'mother country.' Once: before Britain joined the European Union in the 1970s and the Australian Government financed the wholesale pull of the Valley's orchards, leaving entire communities and townships like empty pockets in its path.ⁱⁱ From that same point on the wharf, gaze 90 degrees up a transect that takes in the gracious Victorian proportions of a general post office whose presence is a reminder of a world long internationalized, and of connections of cultural and natural heritage that span the globe.



Figure 2
From inner city wharf to island world heritage
Source: Author

Look again – past a central business district that has almost avoided the symptoms of downtown-anywhere, past inner and outer suburbs dotted with houses of refreshingly quirky diversity – colonial English, Dutch Gable, California bungalow. Above the foothills that frame those suburbs apprehend the massive dolerite extrusion that is Mount Wellington and know that beyond it lies the Tasmanian Wilderness World Heritage Area – fully one third of this island place.

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Vantage points. Islands might productively be conceived as vantage points; graspable and able to invoke “the permanent consciousness of being” on a particular geographical form (Péron 2004: 328). Focusing on the islands of the Ponant that dot the northwest coast of France from Brehat to the Ile d’Yeu in the English Channel and Atlantic, Péron explores the apparent strangeness, distinctiveness, and difference of the island form. The sea is omnipresent, the island’s surface invoking limit, an “involution [which] assigns added value to all local, and obviously finite, assets ... For those living on an island, it is clearly the centre of the world” (p.330). But Péron is curious about the idea of island for mainlanders too: for those islands seem somehow not quite *of* the world though *in* it; sensually disorienting; and compelling inventory, exploration, seduction, or revelation.

In imperialist expansion, islands have been stepping stones to other islands or to continental prizes. Serving such functions, they also serve others: anchorage, rest, larder, foothold, and resource. More than points on a trajectory to elsewhere, however, islands invoke a desire to settle in particular ways. Péron remarks on the art of island life as “private and communal ... characterised by subtle internal divisions between inhabitants ... [it] is never dull” (p.330). Exogenous threats may be greeted by united fronts. Territoriality may be profound. Here, perhaps, is inscribed the idea of islander-as-place and the cultural individuation of islands by islanders themselves: *ileite*; islandness. If such is the case, Péron argues, it is an identification the material basis of which “is seriously threatened” since islanders’ differences from mainlanders “are increasingly intangible” (p.335). In the end, her thoughts on the contemporary lure of the island circle back to the idea of its form as a whole, where attention must be paid to coastline, land/sea relations, circumference, and interior: between different groups who come and go at different paces. Last, “the dialogue between the real and the imaginary must be capable of being undertaken in concrete terms of what an island is ... The threat of loss is real” (p.338).

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Loss. Hobart’s Hunter Street Wharf is a site of diverse and highly contingent political and economic behaviours. Here, as elsewhere, the complex government of place pulls upon and activates varied ways of being and doing, among them risk management and the constitution of prudent citizenship, or the corporatization or privatization of once-public spaces (Barraclough 2006, Dean 1999). Such governing practices give effect to changes that are often at others’ cost – that displace, contain, and deconstruct at the same time as they embed the signifiers of progress. So, look again to the bronze line marked upon the Hunter Street Wharf and see beyond this mute tool of heritage interpretation the shore upon which once walked members of the Mouheneener tribe, a sub-group of the Nuennone, of the island’s south east. The echoes of brutal dispossession reverberate in site upon site; here, there, around the globe.

Or stare, incredulous perhaps, at the massif that is the Sheraton Grand Chancellor hotel at the land-end of the wharf, built to accommodate tourists who flock to the island to see internationally renowned cultural and natural heritage sites. Its construction in the mid-1980s stomped a crushing footprint over the remnants of a working-class neighbourhood and caused great grief among those committed to a defence of the local. Know that near this place a gibbet once glowered over Empire’s unwanted masses,ⁱⁱⁱ and sense that between the gallows of then and the hotel of now only limited shifts have occurred in the logic of capital – strategies in a political-economy of displacement and replacement. Acknowledge, perchance, that “economic ideas and behavior [are] not ... frameworks for analysis, but ... beliefs and actions that must themselves be explained”

(Maier 1987: 6). Ponder the complexity of the site as a set of contingent processes of ‘development over’ that are particular to here, yet through which larger and resonant meanings are made or circulate. Consider the site as enmeshed in the co-production of emotional geographies which come to be naturalized such that conflict in the face of change and the experience of loss both seem inevitable.

Never evenly distributed, such loss seems to invoke power-geometries of time-space compression:

For different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn’t, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation *to* the flows and the movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don’t; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. (Massey 1993: 62)

Yet, even – or most especially – in conditions of entrapment and oppression, diverse material practices of everyday resistance still circulate, among them “foot-dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, feigned ignorance, desertion, pilfering, smuggling, poaching, arson, slander, sabotage, surreptitious assault and murder, anonymous threats, and so on” (Scott 2008: 34). These and other less colorful forms of everyday resistance are enacted repeatedly to protect [interests in] place, alongside more organized struggles and structural forces in the political-economy. In cumulative fashion they give effect to place over time, and thus are “the specifics of each *place-meaning* open to contestation ... at any locality” (Carter, *et al.* 2007: 755 (original emphasis)). Such insights are writ large in the chapters that follow.

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How, then, do place-meaning, locality, and subjectivity gain expression in relation to contestations about heritage?

Various internationally agreed instruments govern the practice of heritage protection across numerous scales, although such governance is not without challenges. The UNESCO’s World Heritage Centre (2009) constitutes time as multidirectional, describing heritage as a way to value legacies from the past, the things and places lived with today, and those left for future generations. Its stated aims are to:

- encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage;
- encourage States Parties to the Convention to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List;
- encourage States Parties to establish management plans and set up reporting systems on the state of conservation of their World Heritage sites;

- help States Parties safeguard World Heritage properties by providing technical assistance and professional training;
- provide emergency assistance for World Heritage sites in immediate danger;
- support States Parties' public awareness-building activities for World Heritage conservation;
- encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage;
- encourage international cooperation in the conservation of our world's cultural and natural heritage. (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2009: np)

Prima facie this international mandate may warrant strong focus on sites and properties “considered to be of outstanding value to humanity” that “belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located” (ibid: np). Yet perhaps “too much is asked of heritage. In the same breath, we commend national patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies and a global heritage shared and sheltered in common. We forget that these aims are usually incompatible” (Lowenthal 1997: 227). Perhaps, in a double movement between the specificity of site and universalism of ‘humanity,’ locality is first unravelled and then entangled in the commodification of heritage as property under the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Blake 2000, UNESCO 1972: Art.11). After all, international heritage governance is enmeshed in those forms of globalizing practice it seeks, at times, to hold at bay. So, too, the governance of heritage at the local level is not without economic impulse, and

to assume that any use of heritage is an inherently ideological project ... is to overestimate the intentions of the business leaders and development officials ... searching for an economic tool that will differentiate one location from another. Focusing solely on the ideological meanings behind the use of heritage leads one to overlook the agency of *local* actors in manipulating the past for contemporary purposes. (McMorran 2008: 337 (emphasis added))

Certainly, these sorts of tension also emerge in chapters to follow.

Harvey (2008: 1) describes heritage as a present-tense process and discursive construction with material consequences for individual and collective identities – one given effect via “developing technologies, modes of representation and levels of access and control”. It comprises the grand and global, the everyday and banal, and is characterized by dissonance related to agency, motivation, values, memories *of* and memories *for*, claims, context, power relations, and the crystallization of meanings and dominant or subaltern readings. In similar vein, Olwig (1999) suggests that the past is a resource whose negotiation is informed, at different times, by specific systems and processes of power; only certain forms of heritage are deemed either believable or legitimate. Certainly, a prevailing theme explored by colleagues in many of the chapters that follow is that public and officially recognized heritage is often difficult to protect because of limited human and financial resources, and inadequate political will.

Equally, other less publicly acknowledged forms of heritage secure little or no protection – often because they are seen as inconsequential (too local) or unrepresentative (oppositional/subaltern/marginal). Indeed, “the very existence of such [heritage,] communities and their cultural identity may thereby be denied publicly” (Olwig 1999: 374).

It seems axiomatic that place – and the heritage found in and of place – matters: vested with significance, people grow attached to place, form identities around, and then reify it (Pratt 1998). It follows that the natural and cultural artefacts, sites, practices, stories, and events *of* place are inseparable from locale. But what is the influence of the subject here (and how best to theorize subjectivity in this regard)? And does the *geographical* form of particular places matter in the constitution of understandings of heritage, and in the management strategies that are informed by such understandings? If so, does *island status* matter in how those understandings and strategies are applied where, indeed, such geographical form adheres? These questions might be extended to other geographical forms such as forests or mountains, but it remains a foundational assumption of this volume that yes, island form matters [*vide* Baldacchino, Chapter 1].

So let us remain with the vantage point of island. Take, for example, two related studies of place attachment and place identity among nearly 300 people in Tenerife, who were either native to that island, to the Canary Islands more generally, or who were non-natives. In two surveys, Hernández *et al.* (2007) questioned participants about their origins, engagements with, and intensities of feelings for their neighbourhood of residence, the city of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and the island. Their findings suggest first that people readily develop affective bonds to place – they develop *place attachments*. However, there is another “process by which, through interactions with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place” (p.310). Known as *place identity*, this takes longer to emerge and is more profound among natives in the study by Hernández and colleagues. Moreover, feelings for the city and most especially for the island are more pronounced among native-born. The authors explain these findings by positing the relative unimportance of the neighbourhood in small cities, and by constituting both island and city as “strong, stable and *comprehensible* environments ... heavily charged with content and relevant meaning” (p.318; emphasis added – *vide* Péron, above). While limited in scope, and questionable in terms of others’ scholarly conceptions of the knowability of the neighbourhood, their work does point to the apparent importance of the geographical form of island, and that does have salience here.

Other evidence points to the likelihood that populations long-distant from now also experienced contestation about place, place values, and people, and that geographical form was also important in how these phenomena were understood. For instance, in one examination of archival records from fifteenth century Britain, Griffiths (2003: 179) has

concluded that perceptions of geographical form “may influence behaviour, decisions, even social movements, including relationships between countries and peoples.” In another study of the roots and routes of British naval tradition as an island tradition, Law (2005: 275) cites earlier work by Wright (1985), who observed that “as the ‘routes’ of migration, cultural networks and capital mobility transform the ideological ‘roots’ of the ‘island race’, maritime identity is losing its deeply felt collective character. It now circulates as a shallow nostalgia in waterfront heritage and economic regeneration strategies.” Arguably, however, it is possible to negotiate and even partly avoid the fate of place and the reduction of heritage to commodity lamented by Wright and reported by Law.

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One of the most prominent contemporary features of the Hunter Street Wharf is the Henry Jones Art Hotel. Back in 2003, the Vos Group, which is wholly Tasmanian owned and operated, announced that it had appointed a consortium – Sullivans Cove IXL Nominees Pty Ltd – to manage part of the redevelopment of the Henry Jones IXL buildings. These Georgian warehouses lined the peninsular form that Hunter Island became through the nineteenth century and functioned as a jam factory and warehouses (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Hobart Town 1879 [Hunter Street Wharf lower right corner]
A.C. Cooke, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, State Library of Tasmania

Hobart's heritage townscape was relatively well protected during the twentieth century, when Tasmania continued to experience economic growth below the national average and, like a mendicant, was unable to change its downbeat inner city clothes for the modern(ist) garb of concrete towers – except in odd spots now the object of demolition-desire. By the time Vos announced its redevelopment those Georgian edifices – in a state resembling gentile poverty – were ripe for conversion to an international art hotel of first class restaurants, a bar, meeting and function facilities, and business centre. The design of 50 luxury suites was influenced by a leading local furniture designer and senior students at the University of Tasmania Art School, located at the end of the Wharf (Vos and Crawford 2003).^{iv} The management consortium comprised three locals with prestigious international records in tourism and business and the facility they were to operate was designed by local architects Morris-Nunn and Associates. That firm was also known for working on historically sensitive sites on the island in ways that have proved respectful to fabric, narrative, and contemporary needs and functions. Unquestionably, shifts in the use of the site have been significant; so too have shifts in use, exchange, instrumental, and intrinsic values adhering to it. The development attempted to capture them all.

At any given time, but especially on warm, still autumn days it is pleasant to meander to the wharf, and stroll along the stretch of cement until whiffs of cappuccino beckon. The lap of water against wooden piers becomes audible sitting, sipping, under ubiquitous canvas umbrellas (Figure 4).



Figure 4 Henry Jones Art Hotel
Source: Author

Settling into a presence of being in the space, sitting quietly to contemplate the ‘is-ness’ that is the wharf of now, it may be altogether too easy to suggest that this newness over the old is mere pastiche. There are those who have and continue to lament the loss of a Hunter Street that they deem more authentic but this land- and sea- and sky-scape has long been hybridized and, as Clark (2004: 290) has observed of islands in relation to globalization more generally, cultural innovation “is stimulated more by ... the crossing of borders than by splendid isolation.” In the case of the Henry Jones, descent into shallow nostalgia has been averted – at least on ‘my’ Hunter Street Wharf.

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It is worth remarking on the point that place is often represented such that entire geographical forms seem largely *absent* from a collective’s psyche. This paradox is noteworthy in Australian work by Jones and Shaw (2007) whose introduction to a volume on heritage in the ‘sunburnt country’ consistently (and not unreasonably) refers to Australia as continental. Yet this geographical orientation both underscores and contrasts with Evans’ (2006) observations about the lack of a maritime psyche in Australia – which comprises 35,877 km of coastline and 8,200 +/- islands, islets and rocky outcrops (Geoscience Australia 2009). Yet in Jones’ and Shaw’s account, islandness does not seem to register in the consideration Australian heritage. One is reminded of Baldacchino’s observation (2006: 5) that “the small, remote and insular ... suggest peripherality, being on the edge, being out of sight and so out of mind.”

In turn, Hache (1998: 31) has suggested that insularity serves multiple purposes: it underscores distinct identity and asserts various political, economic, and social problems such as “lack of understanding by the central authorities, cost of living, under-development of the economy” (p.52). It also allows the argument that constraint and vulnerability are permanently imposed on island/ers by geography, and further that “prosperity does not eradicate the implications of insularity” (p.53), among which are three consequences. First, island policies – and here one might enumerate policies related to island cultural and natural heritage – must not be granted or refused on socio-economic indicators alone. Second, permanent effort is needed in relation to legislation, taxation, transport subsidization, development funds, and so forth – and again these resonate in relation to heritage. Third, vulnerability is a constant, and political and administrative autonomy are needed to optimize resilience. In this vein, one of the main forms of exposure that islanders face in dealing with the question of how best to manage cultural and natural heritage questions is the openness to conflicts that arise from different senses of place, place-meanings and identifications, and various machinations in the operation of diverse political economies.

That much is clear in the following chapters, to which I now give closer attention on the basis of the foregoing dialectical conversation between my Hunter Street Wharf and a larger theoretical discourse on emotional geographies, cultural and natural heritage, islandness, and change.

In their work on Malta, Camilleri and her colleagues consider the salience of urban development for an island; ponder how to identify and then evaluate the worth of heritage scapes in order to manage, change, and/or protect them; and examine the planning and policy domains available for such ends given national and international commitments. These concerns are exemplified in six case studies: the Verdala golf course at Rabat near Mdina, a landfill development near the Mnajdra Temples, the demolition of the Palazzo de Fremaux at Żejtun, the demolition and reconstruction of a residential building in the Sliema Urban Conservation Area, the conservation of salt marshes at Salini, and a flood relief project at Marsa involving historic buildings. Among the insights they share is that different people and groups experience different ‘threshold of acceptable loss’ as places change, themes reminiscent of Péron.

Lips’ work on layered landscapes of Prince Edward Island underscores the pervasiveness of human activity in remaking natural, and creating cultural, heritage in iterative fashion. She notes, however, that particular kinds of landscape – in this instance, the rural – are endangered in a scenario often called ‘death by a thousand cuts.’ Drawing on the idea of place identity in ways reminiscent of the work by Hernandez *et al.* (2007) reported earlier, Lips suggests that the “same qualities of proud individuality that characterize the islanders’ approach to their own land must be appealed to and harnessed as a means of protecting the character and individuality of the community landscape as a whole.” Her subsequent analysis of subdivisions, building, and planning works around ideas of physical limits, boundaries, aesthetics and design; questions of authenticity, fit, comfort, function, form, and pattern(ing).

Guernsey is the focus of work reported by Sebire and David, who elaborate on the development of the nineteenth century markets in St Peter Port which overlay an important Roman site. They also examine the construction of a golf course at La Grande Mare in island’s west; describe the challenges of maintaining and protecting a site at King’s Road which includes Iron Age and Roman settlement and cemetery; and refer to the preservation of historic wrecks off the island’s coastline. Guernsey has significant cultural and natural heritage, but Sebire and David suggest that they are neither well protected nor well served by existing legislative or policy frameworks. Significant work has fallen to and depends upon individuals with foresight and public spirit, among which La Société Guernesiaise is mentioned in particular. Community capacity (time, resources, and expertise) is at issue. Intriguing, too, are a “strong anti-planning culture” and the desire to uphold longstanding private property rights, embedded in which Sebire and David see a psychological mind-set of ‘do as I please.’

According to Minerbi, Hawaii had the first statewide land use planning system in the United States, one based on conservation, agriculture, rural, and urban zones. He notes that the system drives general and development plans, zoning, capital improvement programming, infrastructure, and hazard maps. Nevertheless, his research suggests that the same system is poorly implemented. Population growth and increasing density have complex relations to indigeneity, land use, speculation in development, economic growth, and local, national and international trade. For Minerbi, the rejuvenation of the *ahupua'a* – described by him as a “viable unit for cultural and natural resource management” – may provide mechanisms meaningful across a range of cultural registers to advance more sustainable land use planning for the island group.

Jersey's natural and cultural assets are described by Renouf and du Feu as subject to longstanding governance structures undergoing change on an island also subject to significant and rapid growth in population and prosperity since the end of World War Two. In particular, development pressures are severe, especially in relation to housing; this despite stringent housing qualifications and planning laws. Renouf and du Feu also examine testing questions about where to put housing, how to manage greenfield sites, whether to convert farmlands to other purposes, and how to manage solid waste and other flow-on effects. Several case studies follow, among them the role of community organizations in saving La Rocco Tower in St Ouen; controversy over the fate of tourist facilities near natural and Neolithic cultural heritage sites on the island's northwest coast; legal conundrums arising from the unauthorized demolition of a heritage site, Janvrin Farm, without planning permission; a long running dispute over the conservation, restoration, and development of Mont Orgueil Castle and sites such as the Neolithic tomb of La Hougue Bie; and controversy about protecting the L'Etacq geological site, again in the island's northwest, from skyline developments.

Work by Taafaki *et al.* has as its focus Majuro in the Marshall Islands, whose colonial and postcolonial experiences have involved the Spanish, Germans, British, French, Japanese, and Americans. The last of these powers subjected the islands to a massive nuclear testing program over the 1940s and 1950s, and compensation and modernization agenda are part of a compact of free association with that government. A prevailing analytical theme in this chapter is that various conflicting values typify debates about what constitutes heritage, as well as about how to protect, interpret, and represent it. As a corollary to that observation, Taafaki *et al.* also identify the need to value different kinds of knowledge. Their research raises the difficult challenge of dealing with scapes that are redolent of pain, loss, conquest, and atrocity; for example, how to work with “Japanese anti-aircraft guns and bunkers on Wotje Atoll among other WWII relics, sunken aircraft carriers from the world's first nuclear explosion on Bikini Atoll, and even the current Kwajalein Inter-continental Ballistic Missile testing range ...

they are very much the anti-thesis of the true inherent cultural assets of the Marshallese people.”

Virgill and Cover’s research on the Bahamas provides another example of where foreign direct investment is key to an economy (see also Bertram 2006). Their particular focus is upon the form of gated communities and second residences in the foreign-buyer housing market, as well as tourism and offshore banking. They describe the sorts of conflicts that emerge between natives and non-natives, better and less well-off individuals and groups as “emotive and ... highly politicized.” This affect is especially pronounced because of land scarcity and conflicting land use imperatives, particularly around New Providence where population density is about 397 people/m² compared to an average, around the island group of around 9 people/m². Of note, Virgill and Cover suggest that the protection of natural and cultural assets, and the creation of conditions for long term social and economic development among Bahamians, rests with policy makers for whom the need to encourage investments appropriate to local futures is seen as vital.

Regard for the natural assets of Colombia’s San Andres Island is a focus for Howard and Taylor, who note the locale’s high unemployment and widespread poverty as confounding elements in the puzzle about how to protect international biodiversity and a coral reef hotspot. In recognition that key economic activities in tourism, fishing, and agriculture directly depend on the state of environment, in 1993 a National Environmental System was established there. Among the outcomes of that system was the creation of the Seaflower Biosphere Reserve and a regional environment authority, CORALINA, to protect it. Nevertheless, the integrity of the protected area is threatened by population pressures (density chief among them), growing poverty, illegal housing projects, and the degradation of environmental values. Problems include “weak enforcement [of legislation and regulation], lack of financial and human resources, lack of political will, and failure to base policy and management on small island limitations.” However, while lack of funding is a major problem; civil unrest, characteristic of the mainland is not. Even so, Howard and Taylor posit that without good governance that recognizes the crucial role of local autonomy, capacity building, and subsistence, and in the absence of policy and institutional frameworks backed by the power of enforcement, and better resources, Seaflower is at risk.

In Corsica, the subject of Furt and colleagues’ attention, population density (83 people/m² on average) is a major challenge for heritage management. Tourism exacerbates this pressure seasonally; for example, there were 27 million bed nights logged in 2008, of which three-quarters were from France, with most coming in summer, and most going to the coast. Development has been constrained by topography, land scarcity and competition, inflation, and the pace of demand versus the pace of capacity to provide infrastructure. Environment-development conflicts are

frequent, and damage to natural and cultural heritage is reportedly on the increase. Furt *et al.* suggest that certain factors may be complicit in these outcomes, among them absentee landlordism (resulting in limited *in situ* care) and failures of governance. It is noteworthy, too, that residents are suspicious of heritage protection measures that seem to deny private property rights or customary access to sites and routes, and rules are seen to “impose protection measures that ignore local concerns ... [or be] left to sectional interests.” Such matters raise a key problem in heritage management, namely, how best to consult and create structures and systems for meaningful participation in decision-making based on good governance.

Finally, Cassinelli’s research is based in Favignana Island, off the west tip of Sicily. A significant summer tourism destination, it is also subject of tactics to preserve local places for local residents. In a manoeuvre that harks back to Scott’s ideas about everyday resistance, but in ways that are perhaps more benign, locals have generated maps as a kind of “fencing strategy” to manage the flow and impact of visitors. These so-called back region preservation strategies provide privacy, galvanize local culture, and protect locally significant places. Locals’ negotiations of the realities of the political economy, and their capacity to engage in global tourism without being fully compromised by its effects are noteworthy. As Cassinelli observes maps and “oral directions, including the use of the local dialect, help to keep the location, and very existence, of some places tacit, quiet and/or undiscovered.” Their use, which encapsulates “symbolic and political struggles of the definition of (is)landscape” avoids what might otherwise be an inevitable conflict between local and ephemeral populations over the use of particular places on this very small island.

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My engagement above with the chapters that follow suggests much that is distinctive about each case and much to share in common. Co-contributors to this volume universally note the unevenness of contestations about how to plan for island places; how to register, value, interpret, and protect their diverse natural and cultural heritage; how to avoid the nostalgic fossilization of place or its brutal make-over (Hay 2006). They variously refer to land, land use, and conflict over how to value land, especially in response to the effects of population density. In particular, they remark on the significance of fluctuations in population numbers experienced as a result of ephemeral or seasonal influxes of non-residents – and mostly tourists. Their own case studies highlight tensions about how things – places, views, sites – are designated as useful and then mined (in the broadest sense) or preserved and used differently. There is constant pressure to ‘develop’: to create big-ticket infrastructure, and to insert into place forms of economic activity that may displace or disrupt existing rights, claims, values, or practices. Significant consideration is given to the question of how to govern and to governance strategies that draw on the range of technologies of agency and performance

noted earlier. Concern exists about human, fiscal, organizational, and social capacity; about how to move beyond legislation to meaningful regulation and enforcement that is sensitive to complex issues such as scale, sense of place, sense of identity, and the realities of any given political economy.

In these diverse explorations of the challenge to manage cultural and natural heritage, the island as a geographical form is always more than *mise en scene*. It is a coherent and distinct picture. It has unique character and characteristics. Its topological and topographical features influence and sometimes determine the fate of governing, of place, and of people's sense of well-being in place.

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This chapter has used a conversation, informed by the work of my colleagues, between 'my' Hunter Street Wharf and the challenges of cultural and natural heritage to think through the relationships among a range of emotional geographies, a variety of political and economic contexts, and several geographical forms, the island chief among them. What remains to be drawn from this work?

Heritage is real and imaginary, striking and the commonplace, constitutive of individual and collective identities across scales. Of necessity, it is value-laden, dissonant, and riven through with complex power geometries. The evidence suggests that natural and cultural relics, places, performances, narratives, and events are indivisible from their milieux: geographical forms are key to understanding heritage and its management. The refrain remains that for those who live on islands, or for those who gaze upon this form from beyond their boundaries, their comprehensibility and richly textured emotional geographies render them points of elucidation along lines of inquiry about how best to protect their heritage from increasingly complex pressures. Questions of good governance and of human and community capacity are challenging and receive increasing attention on islands where, *inter alia*, population densities, small land area, or diverse political and economic activities affect/effect such a task. It is conceivable that these issues receive notice because they are discernible in overt social and institutional settings, whether formal or informal. Less clear is whether, how and to what extent sufficient and sufficiently well-theorized attention is paid to the relationships between the more obvious social and institutional domains on which much of the work of this volume has focused and less obvious dynamics of subjectivity, affect, emotion, and everyday forms of resistance.

In light of the foregoing, one key insight I have drawn from reading the works that follow is that much conflict over heritage occurs in the interstices between the explicit and tacit. Much happens between what is intended officially and meant subliminally, what is agreed formally and valued implicitly. Much is left unsaid in the tussle about

what is acceptable loss or change for instrumental purposes, and what is tolerable when people account for the intangible and intrinsic worth of place and of heritage. Various visible tools of governing proliferate in relation to heritage: legislation, regulations, conventions, agreements, understandings, business practices, market mechanisms, strategic plans, compacts, and so on. Heritage is also constituted by narratives and material practices invoking loss, nostalgia, possession, ownership, displacement, replacement, heroics, and deep and abiding care: these are more likely to be implicit, unspoken – even unconscious. Yet their *affect* and capacity to support or undermine intentions to manage heritage may be profound. Accessing them directly in order to understand that influence may be impossible or unethical or both. After all if, through research, one reveals forms of resistance through which disempowered people have agency, has one been complicit in undermining their capacity for self-determination?

So, an intriguing conundrum unfolds. We cannot abandon explicit, existing governing practices, and should not discourage emergent forms that refine or replace them. Yet, these practices may be doomed to fail.

Since governing practices are, in part, defined in relation to their objects, and so in relation to the particular ways in which things are taken up within those practices, a particular practice can be seen to be defined in part by reference to what it excludes from its sphere of operation ... Governing practices can, then, be defined in terms of their always partial [italicised] appropriation of things. Failure arises precisely because of this necessary partiality or incompleteness of governing practice ... In this sense, failure is not, as such, governable, since it marks precisely the limit of governing practice and not something that lies within its bounds ... Governance thus sets the stage for its own failure, just as failure sets the stage for governance. (Malpas and Wickham 1997: 93-4, 97)

Failure's inevitability here exists not least because many practices of being which inform governing practices are never fully revealed and nor are they likely to be disclosed, since that would jeopardize particular subjectivities and collectivities, specific positions, locations, and claims. In short, in trying to resolve the sorts of challenges to heritage management explored here, we cannot abandon governing practices and we cannot access key concealed influences on them. In effect, those challenges are incessantly produced by the particular relational dynamics just described.

In heritage management, as in most if not all governing practices, subjects are understood as embodied, stable, and capable of accumulating and giving meaning to different experiences. Contestation over heritage, place, and identity is therefore conceived of as conflict between individuals and/or communities of place and interest. Threats to heritage and to place are also often documented as unsettling at best and disruptive of one's sense of self at worst. Such understandings are evident through this volume and inform much of my own recent work on island governance, planning, political geography, and belonging as an ontological resource (Stratford 2006a, b, Stratford 2008, Stratford 2009). But perhaps these stories and accounts become

circuitous, constantly reinscribing governance-failure-governance-failure. Perhaps they cannot account for how subject status and sense of place may form and reform, taking on very highly complex spatial and temporal patterns. It may be time to develop a more theoretically challenging narrative of subjectivity by which to try and understand the impulse to defend cultural and natural heritage, place, and place identity. In this regard, Thrift's work provides some tantalizing pointers to:

a notion of subjectivity as lines or fields of concernful and affecting interaction taking place in time ... geographies [which] can carry the interests of vast numbers of bodies and last for years, vast numbers of bodies but last for just a few days ... can pass in to and out of existence in very short timescales in large or very restricted spaces ... can glide from one register to another and be felt as literal shocks to the body. They are quite literally geographies of concern that can crop up in what we think of as a person's life before moving on to the bodies of others. (Thrift 2008: np)

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ⁱ Musings on the work of George Perec (1974) have been insightful.

ⁱⁱ I am indebted to Denbeigh Armstrong, whose doctoral work is on local governance in the Huon Valley, for sharing information about this matter with me.

ⁱⁱⁱ Elizabeth Jones, a fifth generation Tasmanian who has extensively photographed Sullivans Cove advised me of the location of the gibbet in passing conversations during a discussion about her own doctorate on King Island.

^{iv} That complexity has been captured creatively in an animation of change at the wharf over time that is part of the Hotel's website at <http://www.thehenryjones.com/history.html>, and the reader may find this resource illuminating.