

Cultural Capital and Development: The Dynamics of Change in a Small Coastal Community

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Abstract

Tourism is a major area of economic growth, contributing substantially to the national income. With other forms of development such as agriculture, it has resulted in large scale development to support its operation. What is the impact of development of this order on small coastal communities with the intrinsic environmental and ecological values that attract tourists? The theoretical and analytical underpinnings that underlie the interaction between society (which includes economy and culture) and environment deserve intensive research. This paper is based on research of this order, and presents a preliminary analysis of results from the first year's qualitative data collection of a three-year study at the research site of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in Tasmania, Australia.

Keywords

Cultural capital, field, economy, society, environment and place

Background

Coles Bay is a small coastal town situated on the east coast of Tasmania. It is part of the Freycinet Peninsula National Park (gazetted in 1977), which includes the Freycinet Peninsula, Schouten Island, which lies off the southern tip of the Peninsula, and the Friendly Beaches. Adjacent to the national park is a Ramsar listed area — the Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve.

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in pre-European history, were rich sources of food for Aboriginal Tasmanians (The Oyster Bay tribe), who had resided there for an estimated twenty thousand years. Extensive middens indicate their major food source as being shellfish (that is, oysters, mussels, abalone and scallops). They also ate wallabies, possums, seals, birds, and eggs (Stoddart 2003, p. 7).

Early resource exploitation took the form of sealing and whaling, and a local area is named after this activity (the Fisheries). Tin and coal were mined to a small extent, and a granite quarry was in operation for a period of time. Members of the small resident population (ABS 2001, p. 152) continue to be engaged in non-extractive resource exploitation, that is fishing and farming, as well as in tourism.

Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula are treasured places for Tasmanians who have spent childhood holidays there and then often returned with their own families as adults. The natural beauty and ecological values of the area have long been recognised by both scientists who regularly camped there, and artists who had camps in the area.

The size and activities of both resident and visitor populations were previously restricted by the lack of access to the area. Goods were transported by boat, rather than over the 28 kilometres of rough track broken by seventeen farm gates. The road was not sealed until 1986. This improvement of access resulted in a marked increase in visitor numbers, particularly tourists, and further local development including shops, a bakery and a post office, and the establishment of a tavern.

The provision of accommodation for visiting families has continued over this period. Most recently, service provision and recreational activities have played an important part in the local economy, and the area has become known nationally and internationally for its environmental values. The area is heavily promoted as a tourist destination, with 129 000 people visiting in 2003 (Tourism Tasmania). Large-scale development is now proposed, including residential subdivisions, vineyards and hotel accommodation.

In their history of occupation and use, Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula share the characteristics of isolation, rurality, proximity to the coast and history with many small coastal towns of the Australian seaboard. They contain within their boundaries key historical, economic and environmental heritage sites. Because Coles Bay is a small community that is adjacent to a popular national park, and part of a pristine environment, perceptions of the impact of development on the environment can be measured in this community. Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula provide unique opportunities for the measurement of the processes of community and environmental change over time.

The operation of cultural capital in the 'field'

The concept of cultural capital was developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In its valuing of the non-economic aspects of the socio-economic operations of society that result in economic gain, it has a direct relationship with other forms of capital. Figure 1 demonstrates the complexity and interdependence of this relationship with social, economic and environmental forms of capital. Bourdieu does not directly address the relationship between community and environment, though he identifies the primacy of a non-material concept of the 'land' in his writings about the Kabyle people of Algeria. However, Bourdieu's development of the theory of cultural capital did not engage with the relationship between Western urban society and the natural environment.

Ecological economists have taken this concept and given it a crucial role by locating it at the interface between development and the environment — human capital and natural capital (Berkes and Folke 1993, 1994; Constanza and Daly 1992; Daly 1994). In this model of cultural capital, self-regulatory systems informed by traditions of resource management, worldview, and environmental philosophy enable social groups to mediate between economy and ecology (Berkes and Folke 1994). Self regulation is about the capacity of a region or community to build on the informal and formal stocks of knowledge held by locals as skills, practices, routines, rituals, conventions and seasonal activities (Bryden and Dawe 1999).

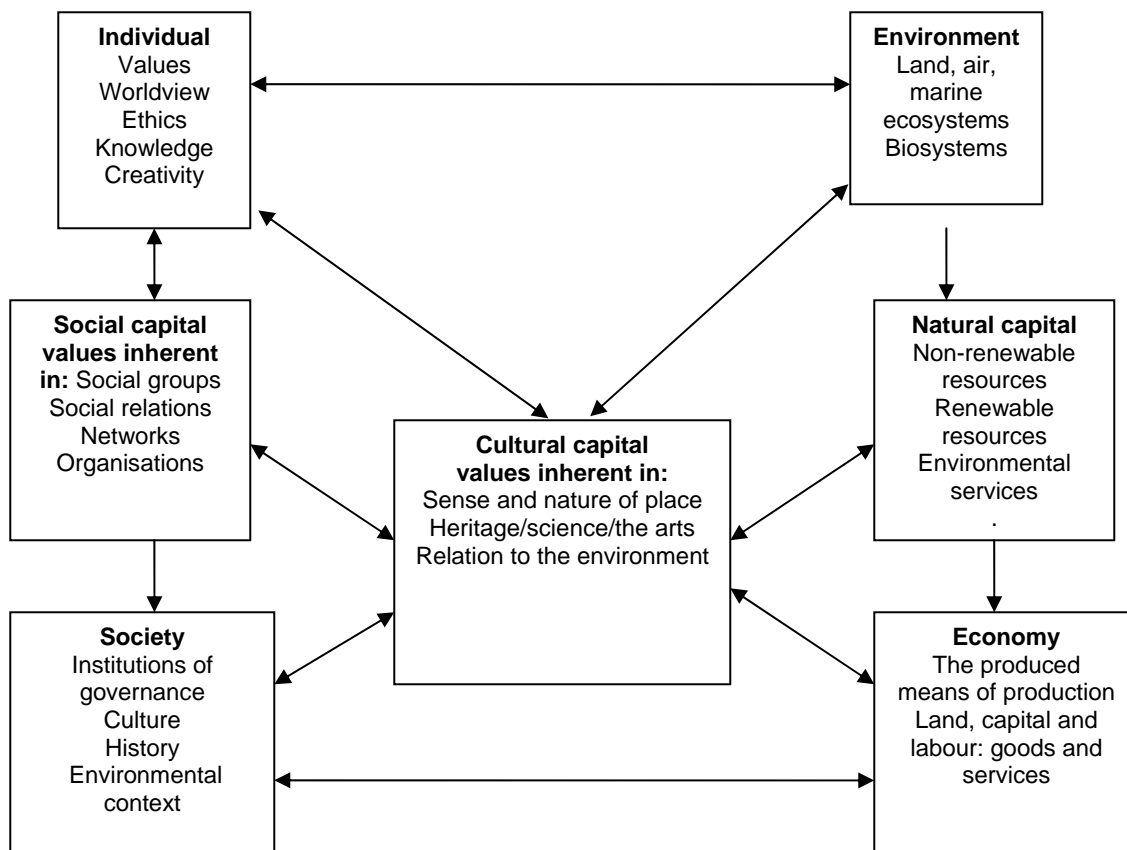


Figure 1. Cultural capital: The social, economic and environmental relationship

Figure 1 is a model of the relationship between the types of capital, when cultural capital is placed at the centre of a matrix that locates competing and dependent power loci. The whole is encapsulated in a temporal and spatial context of multidimensionality that Bourdieu calls a

'field'. Swartz defined Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' as a structured space 'organised around specific types of capital or combinations of capital' (Swartz 1997, p. 117).

Bourdieu emphasised that the 'field' was a social construct where the types of capital allowed individuals or groups to wield power. It was an arena where the 'struggle' was principally between those holding economic capital and those holding cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 99). Thus the concept facilitated the investigation of the types of power exercised in a field, as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula could be designated, where the 'struggle' could be seen to be between groups and individuals whose power rests in the values of cultural capital specific to this place and this environment, and groups and individuals whose power is located in economic development in this place and environment.

The concept of field facilitated grounded research where the oppositions of the subjective and the objective, theory and practice were mitigated by a constant reflexivity (Bourdieu 2000). It encouraged the researcher to seek out underlying relations that shape action. Indeed, Bourdieu stressed that 'to think in terms of the field is to *think relationally*' [his italics] (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 96).

Methodology

The hypothesis of my study is that, during the process of economic development, a transfer of cultural capital to economic capital takes place, and that this constitutes a continuing dynamic of change. This dynamic of change had a direct effect on those who 'claim' the area or 'field', and who sought to influence planning and decision-making in terms of their relationship to the environment. I aimed to examine how such a dynamic might operate in the community of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, specifically, the relationship of cultural capital to economic capital during a period of developmental change over the period of three years. A key outcome of the study was predicted to be the identification of a structural dynamic or process that demonstrates the truth or otherwise of the hypothesis.

I have used case study methods and qualitative measurement in my research design as the study area constitutes a community and environment representing a 'focused and bounded phenomenon embedded in its context' (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 8). I have used a qualitative approach to collecting evidence in close proximity to place. Thus, the influences of the local context were not stripped away, allowing the latent, underlying and non-obvious to appear, and the identification of synergies and correspondences between individuals, groups and the environment. With this design approach, I aimed to gain insight into the ways that the people and community of this region lived in

close proximity to the natural environment, and how the nature of this relationship might change over time, as the impact of development on the environment was manifested.

Measurement approach

My qualitative design for the study of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula utilised a triangulated form of measurement in which I conducted open-ended interviews with samples of three different populations, each with a different spatial and temporal relationship to place, that is, to the study site. These groups were the local, visiting and extended communities.

The local community comprised the residents of Coles Bay and the neighbouring area of Swanwick. A small number live between Coles Bay and the turn-off at the East Coast Highway, and within the National Park at an area called the Fisheries.

The visitor group (or diaspora) comprised people who live elsewhere (mostly Hobart and Launceston), who have visited or continue to visit Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula over time.

The extended community comprised tourists visiting Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula for a short term, who have travelled to the area from elsewhere in Tasmania, other Australian states and overseas.

This is a longitudinal study in which groups 1 and 2 respondents are to be interviewed over a three-year period, that is, three times, once each year. The samples of these groups were selected by the snowball method. In this process, individuals were recommended for interview on the basis of their connection with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Some of these individuals recommended other interviewees. Also, I have identified individuals for these groups who were known for their relationship with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. (For example, I have selected a known local fisherman, an artist, a scientist, a potter, and an environmental activist). Given the transitory nature of group 3 (tourists), I will interview a new sample of tourists to the research site each year, for three years. I chose the interviewees for 2004 by random selection at spots where a range of tourists collected: a bed and breakfast, a paying caravan park, a free caravan park, a barbecue area, outside the shops, outside the tavern.

The size of the samples were, for the first two groups, N=18 each and the last group N=54. The total sample size for the study is N=90. When the follow-up interviews for groups 1 and 2 are added, 162 interviews are conducted in total. I seek to attain validity and rigour in my qualitative measurement activities through stratifying my sample by the demographic variables of age and gender (Table 1). For

2004, I conducted interviews until I had fulfilled the age and gender requirements for each group, as I will do for 2005 sample and the 2006 sample.

Table 1. Population sample groups

| Sample design | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|------|--------|-----------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Group | Age range | Male | Female | No. times interviewed | No. groups | Type of selection |
| 1 | 18-40 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 1 | 41-60 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 1 | 61-80> | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 2 | 18-40 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 2 | 41-60 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 2 | 61-80> | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | Snowball |
| 3 | 18-40 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | Random |
| 3 | 41-60 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | Random |
| 3 | 61-80> | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | Random |

Respondents selected for interview demonstrated one of the following criteria: that they were current residents in the area of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula; visited the site for short periods, either in the form of holidays, or by residence for specified duration; or were visiting as tourists (self designated).

Major parameters of the study

The interview schedule was designed to collect data to gain evidence of the relationship of the group members to the geographic, economic, social and ecological context of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. It allowed exploration of the activities, beliefs, values, relationships and networks of the groups in the study, according to the major parameters of the study.

These were, with their associated themes: cultural capital (contact with place; early experience and memories; environmental experience; connection to the environment; sense of place; values); social capital (group membership; community; shared experience; recreational relationship); economic capital (development; income and business; employment status; type of employment; resource exploitation; ecological economics; economic strategies); environmental or natural capital (ecosystem and biodiversity; environmental impact; landscape; heritage).

I used variable analysis of demographic data and qualitative analysis of coded responses after they had been entered into an SPSS database, with the codes clustered by theme and parameter. As this is a qualitative study, my aim was not to make inferences about causation, direction or degree of influence based on apparent associations between these 'variables'. The use of SPSS is a computerised management strategy that I used to organise dense textual material. I generated correlation tables by age, gender, year, group, and the themes. Thus I was able to use descriptive analysis to identify patterns of responses both within and between the sample groups. In this paper, however, I am not presenting detailed analysis of responses by gender or age.

Results

The findings presented at this point of the study are preliminary, as they are derived from the analysis of data entered from the first round of interview transcripts. This exercise was conducted in 2004, with interviews with the 54 respondents of groups 1, 2 and 3 (residents, visitors, tourists). The questionnaires for each group were adjusted to suit the groups' relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. Broadly, the questionnaires gathered the following information:

- Demographic data including employment status, type and source of income
- Accommodation type and length of stay
- Nature of past contact with Coles Bay, or a place like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula
- Nature of present contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula
- Childhood memories and key experiences
- Basis of respondent's relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula
- Activities at Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula
- Meaning of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula to the respondent
- Perceptions of boundaries (social, physical, environmental, etc.)
- Relationship to the environment, perceptions about the environment
- Views on current development, planned development and planning decision-making processes
- Perceptions of the community and community involvement
- Input to planning consultation and activism
- Values and source of values
- The future of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula.

As stated, this is a broad analysis of participant responses according to the major parameters. The respondents met the requirements of age and gender, in all groups. The average length of interview for tourists was 556 words, compared to residents of 1256 words and visitors of 1366 words. Their average length of stay was three days. The areas where the responses from tourists were limited, was in response to the major parameter of social capital, as tourists would not have had intensive contact

with the local community. Most members of this group also demonstrated less knowledge about planned development, and no participation in the community consultation processes. While a surprising number of tourists (11 of the 18 interviewed) had also had previous contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, six of these respondents last visited seventeen or more years ago; another two visited ten years ago; and three interstate visitors had made short visits in recent years.

Present contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula was generally ongoing for the residents, except for two respondents who lived there part-time and worked or studied in Hobart. For the visitors, their contact was generally more than once a year and for extensive periods of time.

The boundaries between resident and visitor groups were blurred. Some visitors were once residents, some residents were part-time, some visitors owned property and some residents didn't own property. Tourists formed a distinct group from groups 1 and 2, though one tourist reported continual contact over time with the research site that qualified her more as a visitor than as a tourist. The tourists as a group were characterised by the brief nature of their responses, and it will be interesting to see if this characteristic is repeated in future interviews with tourists.

Findings by themes

In analysing the theme of childhood experiences and respondent contact with the research site, respondents reported contact with Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, or a place like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as a child or young adult. All residents and visitors had experienced this contact. A majority of the tourists had also experienced a place like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula as children or young adults. Early memories of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula were acknowledged by most residents and visitors, but not by the tourists, though many reported this contact. Visitors were more likely than residents or tourists to remember key experiences, particularly personal experiences, from this time. All visitors and residents affirmed the importance to them of the natural environment when they were growing up, but less than half of the tourists did so.

When asked about their values in relation to the environment, there was consensus about the valuing of the physical sense of place, including from the tourists.

Almost all respondents expressed support for the environment as a personal value and they were unanimous in affirming the strength of their environmental awareness. Perceptions of a magic-symbolic aspect of place were expressed by a third of residents and visitors. One tourist responded similarly. Residents and visitors also identified their support of environmental sustainability, as a value, as did the tourists, to a lesser degree.

The source of their values was identified principally by respondents as their parents, but for visitors, the bush and the natural environment were seen as a source of values of equal importance. The bush and the natural environment were also seen as a source of values by residents and tourists, but to a lesser degree than for the visitors. Society and education were also identified by one-third of residents (particularly the younger residents) as a source of their values, but not by visitors or tourists.

All residents and visitors expressed affinity to this place, as did four tourists, who made general statements such as 'love of the natural environment'. Residents and visitors were able to identify a connection to a particular aspect of the area or geographical form. Artistic forms were also nominated as expressing connection to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula by residents and visitors, but not by tourists.

Recreational activities in this environment that engaged different respondents from all groups were golf, sailing, swimming, camping, fishing, walking, bushwalking, snorkelling, scuba-diving, climbing, kayaking, surfing and shooting. Visitors in particular felt a connection to natural cycles. Tourists also nominated reading, relaxing, yoga, drinking wine, and dining out as well as physical activities such as walking along beaches, bushwalking, swimming and fishing, and experiences such as food tours, bike tours, kayaking and camping expeditions, restaurants and the tavern.

The individual's emotional connection to the environment was measured by a word or phrase that expressed emotion about place, such as 'love' or 'passion'. Most residents and visitors expressed emotional connection to this environment, as did half of the tourists, but to the environment in general.

As well as valuing the environment, most residents valued the local community, and local family and friends. They also valued Coles Bay's small town character and felt that they had networks and local connections within this community. These aspects of the relationship to place were not identified by most visitors, or by any tourists.

Residents were more likely to have engaged in activism against development, to have been personally consulted about development and to have attended a community meeting than visitors, though individual visitors were very active in challenging development. No tourists had been engaged in community consultation or activism.

Half of the residents belonged to a local organisation, compared with a third of visitors. No tourists belonged to a local organisation, though one tourist belonged to the Campervan and Motorhome Club of Australia. Higher numbers from the resident and visitor groups supported a local organisation, by donations, etc. No tourists supported a local organisation. When considering community change,

residents identified both negative and positive aspects occurring, but visitors identified only negative change in the community. Tourists did not respond to this question.

Residents earned their income on-site, principally in tourism sector goods and services provision, including businesses, and also with some farming and fishing, and handyman type employment.

Visitors located their economic capital 'off-site' in the form of income. Where they owned property at the site (6 visitors), they described it as a home or treasured place, not an investment.

Tourists visiting Coles Bay and Freycinet brought in economic capital that they earned off-site.

Responses to economic development in Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula indicated support for the outright banning of all development by over half of the visitors. Equally, well over half of the residents did not want to ban further development. Three quarters of all respondents did not support a ban on further development. Residents were more likely to support economic change than either tourists or visitors, though not in large numbers. The majority of respondents in all groups supported development that was guided by the principles of environmental care, low impact, safe access and that proceeded with caution. The restriction of holiday access to Coles Bay for people on limited means, particularly families, was an issue, as development was seen to favour the well-off. Tourists travelling by campervan and motor-home preferred to see more free camping sites.

Anxiety was expressed about undifferentiated loss by all residents and visitors, and also by some tourists. Concern about the destruction of the unique sense of place of the area was expressed by residents, visitors and tourists alike, who were also concerned about the destruction of the natural environment by inappropriate development. Visitors were especially concerned about traffic density and the impact of tourist numbers on the environment. Environmental impact was a concern. This was identified by residents and visitors as air and water pollution in the forms of vehicle emissions and sewerage outfalls; the impact of the numbers of visitors to the Park; environmental degradation; the impact of development, such as the planned hotel and housing subdivision; and about the 'natural' visual qualities of the area. The ideal was expressed, including by tourists, that development should be in keeping with the environmental values of place.

Discussion

Analysis of the responses to selected themes in the major parameters of cultural, social, economic capital and natural capital reveal a complex dynamic in terms of relationships to place by the members of the three sample groups. Discussion of the results will now proceed according to the major parameters of the study.

Cultural capital

In comparing the three groups in this research study, groups 1 and 2, that is residents and visitors, clearly share cultural and emotional responses to the Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula environment and landscape that are embedded in a long-term relationship with its physical presence. To them, it is a socio-cultural place of significance in a unique ecology of land and ocean, demonstrated by their connection to place, which they nominated as landscape (beach, shore, a view, to granite, weather patterns), cultural, as an activity such as making objects from natural materials, or food from natural sources (fish, kunzia), cooked in natural surroundings (barbecues on remote beaches). Inspiration from place also gave rise to artistic activities such as painting, pottery, photography, embroidery, crochet and quilt-making.

The identification of rituals by residents and visitors were also linked to place. These included a picnic at a special site; a ritual walk such as to Wine Glass Bay, or to Mount Amos to see the view; surfing at the Friendly Beaches; a morning swim; or a visit to view an orchid that blooms only in spring by a boulder at the back of the Wine Glass Bay track. Shared rituals of time and place identified by the residents, enhanced their cultural connection to place, and the inclusiveness of their lifestyle. These rituals included an Orphans' Christmas Party for young people unable to go home for Christmas, and full moon fires on the beach, where young locals and visiting friends, older residents and sometimes tourists, sat around the fire together, and played their guitars. Given the social strength of their relationship to place, and the intertwined nature of this relationship, it is not surprising that residents were consistent in their identification of the environment, home and a love or passion for place as constituting the basis of their relationship to Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. For almost all visitors, the environment was the focus of their relationship to place, and to this extent they primarily expressed care and stewardship for the natural environment.

The response to ecology and landscape was clearly a part of the valuing of place. This was grounded in early experiences of the natural environment in the course of growing up, expressed in early memories and key experiences by residents and visitors. Their identification of a place within Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula that was special to them, identifying a ritual activity connected to place, and recreation located in place gave depth to understandings of the importance of the environment, by residents and visitors. Tourists responded in a general way, in expressing support for the environment, and also in identifying the natural environment as a source of personal values.

By nominating a range of cultural and recreational activities, residents and visitors affirmed their ownership of cultural capital which arose from their relationship to place and the environment. Tourists

also demonstrated a relationship to place through their physical and social activities, which also included a 'bought' experience through their patronage of tourist goods and services.

Social capital

In their membership of local organisations, membership of networks of community, possession of local connections, and family history for some, residents as a group were more embedded in this community than either visitors or tourists. They demonstrated their membership of this community and their enjoyment of its small town values, while also having a strong physical and emotional connection to the environment through their cultural and recreational activities. The focus of visitors' concern principally was with the environment and the viability of ecosystems, rather than the community, as their own community (equated with home location), like their income, was located off-site.

Tourists also located their community (again, equated with home location), off-site. They enjoyed an instrumental relationship with the community, in that it provided goods and services as part of their experience of place. This was the basis of social interactions between tourists and the community.

Engagement with the community in terms of input into planning processes for future development took different forms for residents and visitors. Residents were more likely to take part in ongoing community consultation, while a small number of visitors actively campaigned against specific proposals that were not wholly opposed by residents. This resulted in a degree of dissension between residents and tourists that did not contribute to social capital formation.

Economic capital

With residents generally earning their income in Coles Bay, their ambivalence about development can be understood, as they saw the possibility of employment and income arising from an injection of capital into the community through tourist and hotel development. In their words, work meant they could stay in Coles Bay, which, as the data has demonstrated, was their home, and an environment that they were passionate about. These factors have also resulted in residents being more personally active in taking part in planning development consultation.

In earning their income 'off-site' visitors were able to take a purist stance towards the injection of economic capital into this community and environment through development. They saw further development as opposed to an idealised image of place, and values located in the natural environment. The driver for their protest was nostalgia for holidays in a pristine environment that many now viewed as 'lost,' and concern about physical impact on this environment. At the extreme edge of this group, the clutter of modern life, that is power poles, power lines, street signs and sealed roads were also condemned, as well as current house styles, and the impact of subdivision residential

development, a point of view shared to a large extent by the residents. Where they owned property at the site, they accorded this ownership an emotional and aesthetic value above its economic value.

Where residents, visitors and tourists were in agreement, was in preferring development that emphasised environmental care, safe access, cautious procedures and low impact outcomes, as well as services that protected the marine environment, like a sewerage system for the whole of Coles Bay. There was a general concern that development should be appropriate to place, and shouldn't follow the examples of places like the Gold Coast and Sanctuary Cove.

Natural capital

Natural capital was located in the common property resources of the Freycinet National Park, including Schouten Island and the Friendly Beaches, and the Ramsar site of Moulting Lagoon Game Reserve. The natural capital included the biodiversity and ecosystems of the marine, land and air environments, held in common by the members of this community, but also by the broader community of Tasmania and Australia.

While supportive of safe access, residents and visitors pointed out the impact of recreational activities on the environment, such as the trampling of plants by unwitting walkers, and the impact of new tracks being cut into the Park. As noted, pollution was a concern. Residents and visitors were also able to identify specific instances of negative impact on wildlife, such as on quolls, devils and birdlife, and problems such as the activities of recreational groups who entered the Park by water and appeared not to be regulated by the park ranger.

Tourists expressed general support for the environmental values of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, and concern that the area shouldn't be over-developed, while commenting that further development could benefit tourists.

Identifying the environment as providing a source of personal values gave a further dimension to the significance of the natural environment to residents and visitors, and the valuing of place was expressed by all group members in their support for the environment.

Conclusions

In summary, the findings of this research study demonstrates a complex dynamic that demonstrates Bourdieu's explication of the operation of the forms of capital, particularly cultural capital and economic capital, in the field. In terms of the concept of 'field' as a structured space that is multidimensional, the resident and visitor groups competed for the right to 'claim' place and thus to influence its development, in response to planning to accommodate a massive yearly influx of tourists (129,000 in

2003). As noted, planning for development on this scale resulted in a degree of dissension between the resident and visitor groups.

These patterns of response inform the discourse about the role of cultural capital in ecosystem protection, community viability and economic development. The values of cultural capital are demonstrated by the groups with the most contact with the area: residents and visitors.

Residents located economic, social and cultural capital on-site through their work, social life, and their cultural and recreational activities. As they were dependent on the third group-tourists, in bringing their economic capital to the site, they were pragmatic about development, particularly tourist development. However, the residents demonstrated commitment to the community, and concern about influencing change in what they saw as a positive direction. They demonstrated an emotional connection to place and knowledge of its landscape and ecology that, in their eyes, underpinned their right to influence its future development.

Visitors demonstrated most clearly their relationship to place in their prioritising of the environment and environmental values, rather than cultural and communal values, over built development. They earned their living 'off-site,' that is, the local environment was not a resource that provided for their income in the way that it did for the residents. Thus, they were able to take a somewhat more radical stance in opposing development, than those whose 'claim' could be considered more valid, as permanent residents who have a lived, year-round experience of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, rather than a seasonal holiday experience.

The tourists demonstrated an uncommitted relationship to place that was clearly an outcome of the nature of their engagement with the environment of Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula. They were not connected to place, either the environment or the community, as were the residents and visitors in this study. Some indicated that this was part of the enjoyment of visiting a place like Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, in that it provided eco-experiences for them to buy, for others it was another place on the coast where they could fish and swim, like any other place on the coast. But tourists played an important role in affecting change by bringing their economic capital to the research site.

This role was understood by residents and denounced by visitors, but it remains a key factor in the dynamic operation of cultural and economic capital in this field, a multi-layered community and environment of time and place, as was demonstrated in this study. The roles of all groups are the key to the future management of the common property resources of the Freycinet National Park.

Indeed, it is here, where the values of cultural capital specific to place, and the developmental values of economic capital collide, that the potential lies for the negotiation of outcomes that are protective of both environment and community.

Through analysis of my first year's data collection, the exploration of the relationship between cultural capital and economic capital in a natural environmental site, and of the role of cultural capital in ecosystem protection has thus received preliminary assessment, and contributed to the testing of my hypothesis. It also provides an indication that a framework to influence or guide future planning strategies by government, for development in areas such as Coles Bay and the Freycinet Peninsula, would be a valid and worthwhile outcome of this project.

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