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**Exploring Coastal Development through Affect and
Discourse Over Time: A case study of the Bayly's Beach
experience**

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ABSTRACT

Research around coastal development is usually focused on extraordinary and significant cases of growth in coastal areas. Such studies also tend to focus on present experiences and performative methods, which ultimately marginalise historical experiences and associated documentary sources. This thesis aims to shift the emphasis from the extraordinary and present, towards conceptualising coastal development and place as a process that emerges over time and is informed by relational interactions between people and place. Affect and emotion are developed as key theories that are used to explore subjective experiences within historical documentary sources, arguing for the ability to contribute to the scope of current coastal development literature. Bayly's Beach, Dargaville provides a case study to explore these ideas, as it represents an area undergoing slow growth, and is largely banal (ordinary) in terms of its features, location, demographics and changes over time.

The theoretical framework of the study emphasises the interrelated nature between affective experiences and expressions of emotion, and their ability to shape, and be shaped by, discourses, power and everyday experiences. Place and time are critical factors informing everyday experiences and current landscapes, whilst also being fundamental to focusing the application of affection and emotion. Combining the features of everyday geographies, place and time, along with affect and emotion provide a theoretical framework, that enables exploration into the relational interactions and emergent outcomes that exist between these concepts.

The thesis adopts a method that focuses solely on documentary sources and applies a discursive analysis to explore the ways in which affective experiences and expressions of emotion are utilised and produced within experiences of coastal development. It is argued that attention to such experiences over time enable insight into the ways in which affective experiences and expressions of emotion are intertwined within the discourses shaping coastal development over time.

Hints of affective experiences and expressions of emotion within documentary sources reveal critical discourses of place making that have emerged over time and persisted at Bayly's Beach. The findings demonstrate how discourses of place making are produced and enacted over time and their ability to persist and frame current perceptions of place and coastal development.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Increased coastal development across post-industrial nations since the 1970s and a later ‘coastal property boom’ in the early 2000s prompted heightened public concern and academic interest into the phenomenon (Abrams *et al.*, 2012; Gurran, 2008; McCarthy, 2008; Peart, 2009). Although it is acknowledged that experiences of coastal development are geographically uneven in terms of population and spatial changes (Bijker *et al.*, 2013; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011), a preoccupation with extra-ordinary cases and present experiences of coastal development within academic and public realms has produced homogenized, apolitical accounts of coastal development. Such accounts neglect the inherent complexity of context as well as the relational and affective geographies within everyday experiences of, and encounters with, place over time that contribute to the processes of coastal development.

Academic literature regarding coastal development in New Zealand generally follows this pattern as seen in a preoccupation with east coast areas or socially and environmentally unique areas undergoing or *threatened* by proposals for extra-ordinary coastal development. With some exceptions (e.g. Collins & Kearns, 2012, 2013; Hoffman, 2011), negligence towards the specificities of place and the functions of emotion and experience towards coastal development processes is also evident within New Zealand-based literature. I shall attempt to contribute to the New Zealand-based literature through an exploration of coastal development processes over time through the affective and emotional geographies of everyday experiences in place.

The thesis explores coastal development through a case study of Bayly’s Beach, Dargaville as representative of a more banal or ordinary example as compared to previous literature of coastal development. Located less than three hours drive north of Auckland on the west coast, the settlement epitomises the ‘wild west coast’ and has been in a seeming state of stagnation or slow growth for decades, providing an appropriate case study to explore. The primary objective of this thesis is to explore coastal development over time through the affective and emotional geographies of everyday experiences, in order to demonstrate the relational and process / place-based nature of coastal development experiences. The use of archival and secondary information, discursively analysed through the aforementioned approach, constitutes the method taken and also signifies a key area of contestation regarding the seeming incompatibility between such subjective and objective approaches. Through this means, the aim of the thesis’ conclusion considers whether such qualitative factors of emotion, affect and experience can be ‘read’ through archival material, and whether these moments in the text can be related to processes of material development in the Bayly’s Beach settlement over time.

An analysis of traditional accounts of coastal development is provided to critique the literature, arguing that common apolitical reports of coastal development experiences and disproportionate research foci on extra-ordinary cases of coastal development has resulted in partial explanations of coastal development phenomena. I argue that such shortfalls may be addressed by shifting attention towards place-specific subjective-based explorations of coastal development processes *over time*. A theoretical framework focused towards affective and emotional geographies is then put forward, with specific attention paid to the relational nature of everyday experiences with, and in, place as well as the process-based nature of coastal development, in order to demonstrate the criticality of spatio-temporality. The research strategy employed explains how the exploration of archival material discursively analysed through the theoretical framework, represents a fundamental consideration of the thesis' conclusion, and is an effective reminder to the reader of the merits of the approach taken, as compared to traditional qualitative methods. The context of the study is then explained, situating the study both in terms of its locational and planning policy characteristics, before presenting the findings of the research.

1.2 Coastal Development Reporting and Politics

This section problematises coastal development through selectively and critically reviewing coastal development and associated literature of migration and land-use change, to demonstrate the tendency for apolitical reporting of coastal development as a homogenous experience and the disproportionate focus of extraordinary cases of coastal development. Addressing the shortfalls within the literature can enhance both academic and planning understandings of coastal development experiences by foregrounding the importance of complexity and context, as well as affective and emotional geographies entangled within coastal development processes.

Globally, coastal areas are more densely populated and have faster growth rates than inland areas (Creel, 2003; Neumann *et al.*, 2015; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 2014). Together with framings of globalisation-induced coastal in-migration, population growth is commonly reported as a driver of coastal development (Neumann *et al.*, 2015). Neumann *et al.*'s (2015) study of coastal population growth and risk demonstrates the common referral to growth, recognising that although richer economies have low to moderate population projections, with North American coastal growth expected to decline to 0.8% by 2030 and Oceania's coastal growth projected to be similarly low, there is still predominant focus on rapidly developing areas. From such a broad perspective, the regional and localised experiences of coastal development are difficult to assess and such assessments can obscure regional and district level complexity, which necessitates more situated studies of coastal development experiences.

At a national scale, and in particular reference to New Zealand, coastal population growth over time is similarly reported, with the percentage of the population living within 5km of the coast having

increased 61%-65% between 1981 and 2006 (Statistics NZ (Stats NZ), 2010). Although these statistics demonstrate a global trend in coastal growth, such simplistic analyses obscure the diversity of experiences at regional and district scales as well as the agency and affective relations influencing development patterns (this argument will be developed in Part II of this chapter). Regionally, the diversity of experiences reveals more complexity. While the Northland region can expect population growth between 0.1-0.9% (2006 and 2031), stagnation or decline is predicted for other regions such as Taranaki (-0.3-0.6%), the West Coast (-0.4 -1.5%) and Marlborough (0.0 – 1.0%) (Stats NZ, 2012). At a district level the projections are equally diverse. This demonstrates the regional diversity of coastal population growth and the way national-scale statistics may disguise regional trends and experiences that help to understand the diversity of coastal development and its effects.

The misleading nature of global and national coastal population statistics, and the more complex reality at sub-national levels, highlights the apolitical nature of such reports, as well as within academia. The relations between power and migration, the role of the material and the cognitive, and the importance of context and the socially constructed nature of coastal development, are presented as critiques to such apolitical tendencies and demonstrate the complexity of coastal development experiences beyond typical depictions.

Within earlier coastal migration motivation literature (e.g. 'counterurbanisation' and 'amenity migration'), paradigmatic assertions of affluence and amenity values as key motivational factors proved apolitical in that they tended to ignore other motivational, agency-related and structural influences (see Green, 2010; Bijker *et al.*, 2013). Longstanding critiques such as Halfacree's (1994) rejection of dichotomising voluntarist and economic migration motivations and appeal for recognising the range of spatial scales and experiential environments have not entirely been explored, with recent calls for more attention to be paid to the diversity of rural in-migration (Bijker *et al.*, 2013). Demonstrating such diversity Bijker *et al.*'s (2013) study of migration into popular and less-popular coastal areas of Netherlands, revealed that migrants to more popular areas tended to be wealthier, more highly educated, older, and motivated by location, whilst migrants to less-popular areas were younger, and usually motivated by low house prices and moving in with a partner. Not only does this point to the plurality of migration experiences and the importance of place and time in coastal development processes, but also hints to the role of financial power to such processes.

More politicised accounts of coastal development have predominantly focused on the discourses of development associated with aesthetic values and purchasing power. Finewood (2012) examined how power affects patterns of coastal development in Bluffton, South Carolina, concluding that housing demand is closely related to elite lifestyle desires and that such demand and desirability juxtaposes newer housing as 'good', and older housing as 'bad'. The case highlights how environmental injustices are produced through discursive techniques, which affect and normalise everyday geographies of race and class (Finewood, 2012). Similarly, Hurley (2013) demonstrates how powerful amenity migrants and developers in Central Oregon discursively change and normalise

views of the landscape in order to “re-commodify” them. Hurley (2013) emphasises the influence of emotive and affective geographies in shaping landscapes as those with power use personal values to shape practices, creating meaning through repetition and therefore discursively and materially altering landscapes. Such arguments highlight the underlying political and aspirational factors influencing migration and landscape change associated with coastal development. Furthermore these political and social constructions of nature and reality are affected by history and contribute to current discourses that are shaping coastal landscapes (Escobar, 1996). Critical accounts of the affective powers at play in coastal development and associated migration processes such as the accounts above demonstrate the complexity of coastal development and the inadequacy of generalised apolitical assessments of both coastal population growth and migration processes. This understanding of the links between discourses, coastal migration and development also speaks to the criticality of context, both spatially and temporally which are considered to condition power relationships (Woodward & Lea, 2010). The thesis therefore critically considers the context of Bayly’s Beach’s development in order to provide a more politicised and situated account of coastal development processes over time.

The significance of context and socially constructed nature of development patterns is commonly marginalised within the literature. Disregard for context produces homogenous, apolitical accounts of coastal development by skimming over cases that do match the dominant trends both normalising outliers to fit explanations or dismissing them as the exceptions. Acknowledging that there is a global population skew, with between 50-60% of the worlds’ population living within 100-150km of the coast (Green, 2010; UNESCO, 2014), there is still a lack of recognition of coastal communities in decline, as exemplified in UNESCO’s (2014) reference to global ‘increased’ demand, competition and risk in coastal areas. McDowell and Massey highlight the importance of context and diversity in coastal development claiming that “the specificities of local socioeconomic structures, differences in cultural attitudes and ways of living, are part of the explanation for uneven development” (Massey, 1992: 465-466), and that the notion of relativism, in the sense of difference is inescapable (McDowell, 1999). Renewed recognition of the significance of context and socially constructed realities would help account for the diversity of experiences, although caution is necessary not to reproduce exceptional accounts by showing spatial and experiential diversity in research. In reference to rural migration, Argent *et al.* (2014) argue that studies are still spatially selective and lack recognition for the importance of personal experiences and interactions. Gurran (2008) falls into this context trap, by evaluating and typifying the range of amenity migrants in Australia, but failing to address the spatial dispersion or contextual factors (spatial and temporal) in which migrations are occurring. Being critical of everyday surroundings and acknowledging the multiple readings and realities is therefore required (Halfacree, 2007), and would allow for context and socially constructed realities to be better addressed and assess the diversity and complexity of coastal development experiences in place.

An enduring focus on material or physical landscapes represents another fissure within the bedrock of coastal development research. Both within descriptive and analytic studies of coastal development

and associated processes of migration and land-use change, attention to material landscapes at the expense of subjective and cognitive aspects has created such a gap in the literature. Green (2010) argues that environmental features and experiences of those features require holistic understandings to recognise how place is experienced, claiming emotional responses to environments and a temporal dimension are critical experiential attributes. It is odd, then, that Green's (2010) study focused on identifying natural and built features that add or detract to place character, producing an apolitical account of place character and development, effectively marginalising such holistic understandings. Green reduces expressions of place character loss to material objects with claims that place character has been "eroded and replaced [with] global uniformity in the built environment and a degraded natural environment" (2010: XI).

Rather than dismissing such research, I merely aim to demonstrate the predominance of materiality and the neglect for socially constructed realities. Stratford (2009) argues the criticality of understanding 'belonging' as a resource to practices and that notions of belonging are interwoven within symbolic and material particularities and spatialities. The claim by Stratford (2009) highlights how feelings and immaterial attachments to place contribute to everyday practices and values in relation to land-use and coastal development. Contrariwise, within place literature a preoccupation with affect and emotion has been argued to neglect important contributions of the physical environment to place attachments (Stedman, 2003). The importance of material and immaterial socio-spatial constructs, notions of affect and emotion, as well as everyday experiences, are critically examined within the theoretical framework (Chapter 2); however it is critical to note the overlaps between the material and immaterial and how these complicate understandings of coastal development processes and require attention to be paid to both subjective and objective realities. Without endeavouring to explore both realms, there can never be a politicised account of coastal development.

A disproportionate focus on extraordinary cases of coastal development is also apparent in the literature. Globally a disproportionate focus on vulnerable areas undergoing rapid growth is exemplified by UNESCO (2014) who argue that populations within 100km of the coast are affected by increased risk of flooding and tsunami damage. I acknowledge that such a global institution is inclined to focus on those most vulnerable, however it is equally important that it neglects other experiences, which have potential links to other contexts and experiences of coastal development. At national and regional scales similar extraordinary cases dominate the literature of academia, administrative agencies and the media. Along with the focus on vulnerable areas, there is also an overrepresentation of physically or socially unique cases or areas that are subject to substantial development proposals or are currently undergoing rapid coastal development. Although coastal regions are one of the fastest growing and urbanising places in the world, there are areas experiencing slow growth, which usually tend to be in wealthier countries (Nuemann *et al.*, 2015). Despite this recognition, a fixation with areas undergoing rapid urbanisation has prevailed because of the planning, social and environmental issues that arise with such rapid change (Zhang & Xue, 2013).

At a global level, this focus is justified. Nevertheless, there is little research exploring areas that are undergoing slower growth, stagnation or decline. For example, England coastal towns commonly experience issues of “physical isolation, significant levels of deprivation and transience, and low-waged, low-skilled, seasonally dependent economies” (Coastal Communities Alliance, 2010: III). This extract from the Coastal Communities Alliance handbook into Coastal Regeneration in English Resorts (2010) highlights how changing demographics compounded with a lack of affordable or suitable housing, declining economies and environmental challenges, has resulted in a serious issue and the fact that these instances of large-scale coastal decline or slow growth are constantly overlooked in research. I aim to contribute to diversifying the literature by studying what I consider to be a more ordinary case of coastal development in a location that is undergoing apparent stagnation (discussed in further detail in Chapter 4).

Accounts of population decline or slow growth tend to be selective in their framing and focus on more spectacular or obscure cases. Hillier’s (2011) analysis of the factors, experiences and encounters that influenced the instalment of an art piece consisting of 100 iron, naked men on Crosby Beach in north-west England aimed to contribute to the economic regeneration of the area. Although the study discussed a coastal area in decline, it still focused on a somewhat exceptional case study in terms of a highly contentious issue and a drastic material change. Within New Zealand the preoccupation with the extraordinary and spectacular is similar, as reflected in Collins’ (2009) analysis of contestations in Ocean Beach, Hastings where 980 units were proposed on a beach that, at the time, only had 32 dwellings, as well as Collins and Kearns’ (2013) analysis of emotional resistance to a highly contested proposed subdivision of 350 lots on a sandspit in Ngunguru, Northland. Both cases focus on significant coastal development proposals, although the latter provided more affective and emotion-based understandings of coastal development experiences by evaluating the role of holistic understandings and values in informing place attachments and community activism against proposed coastal development (Collins & Kearns, 2013). The predominant focus of coastal development-related literature on analysis of more extraordinary experiences has left piecemeal tracts of research that need to be filled in to understand how different experiences affect, inform and relate to one another in order to explore the ways in which to manage the range of coastal development experiences.

The arguments highlight the apolitical nature of coastal development literature, claiming the complexities of migration such as power and discourse, and place and context, have been marginalised, effectively neglecting emotive and affective aspects of landscape change and the socially constructed nature of place and experiences, which create the diversity of coastal development realities. Similarly, the predominance of extraordinary coastal development experiences in the literature needs to be addressed to create more politicised accounts of the realities of coastal development experiences. Critiquing coastal development through these issues allows understandings of how social interactions not only shape landscapes, but also attempt to naturalise them and make them appear as ordinary, revealing the embedded political nature of landscapes

(Setten & Brown, 2013). In this way, I aim to provide a more politicised account of coastal development that speaks to these concerns.

1.3 Objectives and Aims

To address the aforementioned criticisms, and build on the existing coastal development literature, the thesis has a primarily exploratory function and aims to:

- Explore a more 'ordinary' experience of coastal development.
- Apply a theoretical lens based in affect and emotion and focused towards everyday experiences in place and over time.
- Explore the usefulness of applying such a lens to a documentary analysis.

To address the aims, the following objectives have been established.

- Critically examine historical land-use change at Bayly's Beach, Dargaville through documentary sources.
- Critically analyse the relationship between affect and emotion, everyday experiences and spatiotemporal context within literature.
- Discursively analyse historical documentary sources through applying the theoretical lens to the material.
- Analyse the usefulness of applying a subjective lens in the absence of human participant engagement.

The thesis adopts a case study of Bayly's Beach, Dargaville to account for a more ordinary experience of coastal development as argued in Chapter 2. This locality is argued to contrast coastal development characteristics commonly studied, as it has been in a state of general stagnation for several decades, and development that has taken place has tended to be undertaken by localised interests and inhabited by regionally-local people in mundane housing.

To explore the coastal development of Bayly's Beach from a less material and positivist view, a theoretical lens attuned to affective and emotional geographies is employed, with specific attention being paid to everyday experiences in place and over time. Taking this approach generally addresses and builds upon the previously mentioned criticisms within the literature, whilst the method and analysis provides a more exploratory aspect to the thesis and general coastal development research. The exploratory aspect aims to consider the suitability or usefulness of applying such a subjective theoretical lens to a critical analysis of documentary sources, and it is from here that the theoretical framework is presented.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Affective and emotional geographies provide the foundations of the theoretical framework for the thesis, with attention being paid to significance of everyday experiences in place and time. I argue for the importance of affective and emotional geographies in shaping coastal development through everyday experiences, as well as the ways in which spatiotemporal context has critical relational consequences for coastal development experiences.

2.1 Affective & Emotional Geographies

Rejecting positivist, spatial sciences, affect and emotion-based geographies broadly stem from the realms of subjectivism, social-construction, language, meaning and representation (Thompson *et al.*, 2013). The basis of affect and emotion involves revalorising experiences, emotions and feelings within human geography to recognise their criticality in articulating people-place relationships (Bondi, 2005; Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Hubbard & Holloway, 2001; Philo, 2008). Thus, previously neglected areas of rural geographies emerged to exemplify the diversity of experiences, as well as the emergence of concern for nature-society relations, discourses of rural experience, symbolic texts and rural movements (Halfacree, 2007). The recognition of socially constructed realities also led to concerns for place constructs and experiences (e.g. Collins, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2013; Hoffman, 2011), which has enabled deeper understandings of coastal environments, by perceiving coastal environments not as static, spatial objects of study, but as socially constructed phenomenon encompassing plural, overlapping, multi-dimensional experiences and perceptions of place (Hoffman, 2011).

2.1.1 Early Approaches

Earlier approaches within Humanism were concerned with the emotions entrenched in place and human life, and the potential for places to evoke emotion (Pile, 2010). However, the focus on emotional responses leans towards categorisation and representation of emotions, which fails to acknowledge the plurality and dynamic nature of individual actions, emotions and experiences (Buser, 2014). Furthermore, an overt focus on the human subject, commonly neglects the affective agency of both humans and environments. Similarly to humanism, phenomenology is framed largely by a rejection of positivist, objectified accounts of phenomena, which tend to frame people as rational, emotion-free subjects (Davidson & Smith, 2009; Low & Altman, 1992). Alternatively, phenomenological approaches aimed to provide studies grounded in lived experiences and holistic interpretations (Green, 2010; Relph, 1970). A range of interpretations has refocused the intentions of phenomenology since its conception, from a focus on the experience, towards phenomena of the life-world (Relph, 1981, cited in Halfacree, 1994). However, within the phenomenological approach

environments have been consistently interpreted as constructed through meanings associated with emotions felt in, and towards, places through experiences (Hoffman, 2011).

These earlier approaches of humanism and phenomenology drew attention to the multiplicity of experiences and the socially constructed discourses that contribute to perceptions and behaviour. These approaches framed people as entangled in the world, rendering binary distinctions arbitrary and pointing towards the importance of relationality and affect (Finch, 2013). Developments within social-constructionism approaches have led to the more affective and emotion-based approaches to be utilised within social sciences.

2.1.2 Non-Representational Theories

As a key influence of the emotive turn (Roelvink & Zolkos (2015), Non-Representational Theory (NRT) endeavours to move beyond representation and discern underlying processes of pre-mediated thought, in order to explore the ways in which senses are provoked, and how affects are triggered by surrounding environments (Wetherell, 2012). Consistent with the aforementioned approaches, NRT rejects objectivist approaches to research processes (Cresswell, 2012). Conversely however, NRT builds on and re-signifies phenomenological ideas, whilst critiquing humanist perspectives of being-in-the-world through a new materialist ontology, which frames previously binary categorisations as incorporated and co-produced (Buser, 2014; Cresswell, 2012). Additionally NRT (within accounts of emotion), also recognise the importance of entities that cannot be represented (Pile, 2010). Pile (2010) expresses discrepancies between this understanding and emotional geographies, as the latter tends to focus on expressed emotions rather than the inexpressible affects of focus within NRT. Thus, emotive and affective geographies differ and should not be conflated, and whilst emotive geographies focus on representable expressions of emotion, NRT is more closely aligned with affective geographies and inexpressible affects. However, representational and NRT approaches are complementary as NRT understands thoughts as socially and consciously constituted through representational practices (Pile, 2010). Additionally, the ability to understand representations is dependent on understanding them as performative instances within themselves (Waterton, 2013). Anderson (2014) exemplifies this complementary nature in his exploration of the relational sensibilities of surf spaces, arguing that only a surfer knows the feeling and experience of surfing, but in order to understand this sphere beyond words, words are needed to mediate and communicate experiences. In a similar way, Thrift's explores the role of affect within cities, arguing that cities are "roiling maelstroms of affect" where certain affects emerge, subside and coalesce continuously in both grand and everyday events (2008: 171).

NRT also marked a turning point in which embodied experience, pre-cognitive triggers, relational everyday routines of people and the more-than-human were brought to the forefront and placed within discursive and dynamic understandings of place (Anderson, 2014; Buser, 2014; Roelvink & Zolkos, 2015; Waterton, 2013; Woodward & Lea, 2010). Foley and Kistemann's study of blue space geographies embody the links between NRT, representation and affect demonstrating how "images of

leaping into and swimming in blue spaces tell[s] a thousand stories and captures an affective, instinctive, non-representational act that has a world-wide resonance for human health and wellbeing” (2015: 5). This example speaks to the criticality of underlying affective energies and emotive responses that influence actions and meaning making. In this way NRT can signify landscapes and places as more-than-human actants with affective energies, tying closely with current approaches of affect and emotion.

Within NRT the critical principles include process and fluidity, relational ontologies, meaning production through action, habitual interactions, emergence and all-inclusive materialities as producing social realities (Cresswell, 2012). Several of these principles overlap with affect and emotion as demonstrated below, through ideas of the process of becoming, discourse and power and relational ontologies. I argue that adopting a framework based in current affective and emotion-based geographies provides a critical perspective to explore coastal development processes within Bayly’s Beach, and allows in-depth analyses of experiences in place.

2.1.3 Affective and Emotion-Based Geographies

Affect and emotion-based geographies essentially understand the world as socially constructed. Considering that both terms are subject to multiple uses and interpretations across several disciplines and the understanding of a relational ontology, it is appropriate to see affect and emotion as ‘sensitising’ devices with a shared desire “to sense and relate to the many ways of living and forms of life that make up the world” (Anderson, 2013: 458; Waterton, 2013). Binary distinctions between the two are therefore pointless, as I argue that affect and emotion are inextricably linked and cannot be arbitrarily compartmentalised into divergent approaches. Emotional geographies emphasise expressed emotions towards place and experiences, considering such accounts as open and genuine, whilst affectual geographers criticise this approach as naïve and reproductive of superficial, apolitical accounts that objectify emotions and ignore the manipulation of pre-cognitive emotional life (Pile, 2010). In contrast, affectual geographers aim to overcome these shortfalls and focus on the quality of life beyond cognition (Pile, 2010), demonstrating how discourses and other structures influence emotive reactions and thus critically accounting for the pre-cognitive manipulation of emotional life and expressed emotions. Therefore emotion and affect are fundamentally different but critically linked.

Wetherell (2012) argues that emotions are not objects in themselves, but as relations to others and a response to experiences, therefore encapsulating an affective practice. This contention is highly debated with others approaching affect and emotion as discrete categories, and framing affect as not being emotion (Wetherell, 2012). Such framings define emotion as physiological changes in a person usually triggered by an event and as part of processes that have social origins and manifestations (Godbold, 2015). Emotions are thus processes and are relational in that they have flow-on effects, are reflexive and produce co-generative relationships (Godbold, 2015). Affect is conversely framed as

“the medium through which bodies sustain and transform each other” (Woodward & Lea, 2010: 155), and occurs prior to the representational transformation into knowable emotions (Pile, 2010). Put another way, affect is a force involving sensual and somatic experiences that increase or decrease a subject’s capacity to respond (Roelvink & Zolkos, 2015).

Through these perspectives, expressed emotions are the physiological object being ‘the thought’, whilst affect refers to the non-cognitive ‘affect’, involving capacities to be affected and affect, and the unthought (Pile, 2010). Similarly, Buser (2014) argues that the language of emotion does not capture the essences or qualities of affect, whilst Waterton (2013) complicates things further by distinguishing between affect as being the non-cognitive; feeling as pre-cognitive; and emotion as the cognitive and consciously expressed. Waterton (2013) does however state that the three are interconnected and collectively important to explore links between senses of self and the world. Wetherell conceptualises affective moments as arrangements of “complicated flows across bodies, subjectivities, relations, histories and contexts [that] entangle and intertwine” (2012: 160). The latter points demonstrates the inextricably connected nature of affect and emotion, drawing attention to both the relational nature and capacities between experiences of affect and representational emotions, as well as the importance of spatiotemporal context in any given experience. Considered as inherently related and inseparable, affect and emotion can prove critical to situating experiences of coastal development processes in Bayly’s Beach, by linking ideas of discourse and power, affective capacities and everyday experiences. As such, there will not be any specific reference to emotions as they are considered as the expressed representation of affect.

Rather than typify the range of affective approaches, I simply note that affect is simultaneously a phenomenon, a virtual force, a material effect and an immaterial disposition (Dewsbury, 2009). Within social geography affective approaches have reorganised epistemological and ontological conceptions of thought and practice as dynamic processes that account for the more-than-human and understand the material world as composed of continuous practices (Woodward & Lea, 2010). Anderson (2013) argues that the reconfiguration towards relational understandings is at the centre of affect studies, as it focuses attention away from systems and structures, towards processes, events and practices through which meaning emerges. The turn to affect has also enabled not only an expansion of the scope of study, but also a paradigmatic shift towards post-human and process-based perspectives (Wetherell, 2012). Such process-based foci conceptualise people as always thoroughly enmeshed in processes of (re)production and meaning-making, and defined by their capacities to affect and be affected by other people, places and objects (Blackman & Venn, 2010). Affective studies frame subjects as relationally constituted, emphasising the importance of interactional transpersonal capacity, circulation and distribution of affects, and the need to pay attention to the geopolitical landscapes, power geometries and historicity of place (Atkinson, 2013; D’Hauterserre, 2015). Heley and Jones (2012) claim that such a relational turn has increased recognition of the co-constituent production of rural space through material and discursive phenomenon, practices and processes, demonstrating the relational, socially constructed nature of space and place. As the case-study site is

located in a predominantly rural area, and as coastal development processes often tend to be linked to rural space transformation (e.g. Cheyne & Freeman, 2009; Collins, 2013), Heley and Jones' argument provides important insights into the relational links between the material and immaterial contributions to place construction. Furthermore, the arguments demonstrate how coastal development cannot be understood purely through reference to its' physical features, as affect and emotion have critical relational consequences on processes of coastal development and development of places.

Recognising that places and objects have affective capacities to produce and respond to affect and emotion is a crucial aspect of affective and emotive geographies. Increased research into bodily affects is argued to stress the centrality of affects and their dynamic contributions to the (re)production of everyday life (Woodward & Lea, 2010). Affective geographies produce detailed narratives of the lived world through accounting for the co-constituent and relational nature of thought and practice processes, alongside recognition of the more-than-human world as being a critical actant in such processes, and the multiplicity of experiences and understandings. In this way, I argue that expressions of emotion in place can hint towards affective experiences and that there is the potential to uncover deeper understandings of coastal development through explorations of people's everyday affective experiences in place. Although this may prove difficult through documentary analysis (as discussed in the Methods section), I would remind the reader that this thesis is purely exploratory and aims to consider the importance of affect and emotion to re-politicising coastal development processes, as well as evaluating the usefulness of applying such a subjective lens to a documentary analysis.

Within studies of affect, a range of concepts have become grounded within the theory, including "assemblage, flow, turbulence, emergence, becoming, compossibility, relationality, the machinic, the event, temporality [and] heterogeneity" (Blackman & Venn, 2010: 7). The notions of becoming, relational ontologies, and the roles of discourse and power are expanded on as critical aspects of the theoretical framework. I argue that specific attention to discourse and power can reveal relational effects between these, affective experiences and expressions of emotion, and that such discourses, expressions and experiences influence coastal development processes through their reflexive relational social processes. Together with the later-described understandings of place and time, and everyday experiences, it is hoped that more politicised and grounded accounts of coastal development processes can be achieved.

Relationality

A central claim of affective literature argues that phenomena are produced through social relations (Anderson, 2013; Pile, 2010). Wetherell (2012) argues that the dynamic and mobile character of affect has been realised through relational and process-based ontologies and methodologies, emphasising the interconnected nature of social and environmental life. A relational approach allows explorations of relationships between different subjects and, between subjects and places (Foley & Kistemann,

2015). Furthermore, affective practices employ objects, institutions, pasts and anticipated futures, demonstrating the relationalities between factors that create any given situation or response to a situation, and highlighting relationalities that exist between the pre-cognitive (affect) and the cognitive (emotion) (Wetherell, 2012). Thinking relationally also recognises interactions as processes and frames relationships through entangled actants and interactions (Blackman & Venn, 2010). Applying a relational ontology therefore perceives the world as produced through processes of co-enactment and co-emergence (Anderson, 2014; Blackman & Venn, 2010; Roelvink & Zolkos, 2015), and has been applied to in numerous disciplines. Within rural studies Heley and Jones (2012) illustrate how the 'relational turn' has increased research in to relational rural epistemologies, positioning studies of rural reproduction discourses within and through material conditions. Foley & Kistemann (2015) explore health and wellbeing in swimming places, using relational thinking to consider how individual and group meanings as well as shared life course histories, interlink to provide an experiential affective force that emerges from blue space encounters. Their work demonstrates how relational ontologies provide deeper understandings into the emergent social and physical patterns that constitute a specific place and time. I therefore adopt a relational ontology in order to explore the potential links between everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion in Bayly's Beach, and the processes of coastal development that have occurred over time.

Becoming and Emergence

Alongside relationality, becoming and emergence are also critical aspects of affect theory (Blackman & Venn, 2010). Emergence broadly refers to the ways in which emotions or affects (or places) emerge from relations in specific places and times (or from specific emotions or affective encounters) through an integrated and organic unfolding and weaving (Anderson, 2013; Wetherell, 2012). Analytically, becoming and emergence have become crucial to affective studies by drawing attention to the uncertainty of relational, emergent encounters in any given place and time, and the utilisation of notions of becoming, potential and the virtual to demonstrate how something comes in to shape and continues to refigure as it flows on (Wetherell, 2012). In this way, affective framings of dynamism and process have ontologically and materially re-contextualised relations, situating them within the contexts of being and becoming (Woodward & Lea, 2010), allowing for better accountability for the realised complexity, diversity and continual movement that constitutes coastal development experiences. Becoming and emergence consequently privileges fluidity over fixity (Pile, 2010), and can be argued to perceive both the composition and capacities of people and places to affect and be affected as fostered by the through relational interactions, which realises experience as always in a state of becoming (Buser, 2014). Buser (2014) further argues for critical engagement with the role of affect in cultural production, meaning-making and processes of becoming to explore how these concepts support and enhance studies pertaining to the relationships between built and natural forms, and social practices. The context of place and time is then understood as a critical factor in emergent and experienced realities, effectively framing place as being "in a perceptual state of becoming" (Waterton, 2013: 67). Becoming and emergence's emphasis on processes and fluidity are drawn on, as I argue that these understandings justify the need to consider development processes over time,

by highlighting the reflexive and relational nature of interactions, and they also demonstrate the critical role of spatiotemporal context to any given coastal development experience.

Discourse and Power

Finally, discourse and power involves the politicisation of affect and land-use change through reworking terms such as alienation, exclusion and belonging (Anderson, 2013; Buser, 2014; Woodward & Lea, 2010). Following Fairclough (2011), discourse is understood as both a meaning-making element of social process and as a way of construing the world. Furthermore, discourses can be operationalised through enactment, being inculcated or physically materialising in the landscape (Fairclough, 2011). Most fundamentally in terms of links between power, affect and place, “power works through affect and affect emerges in power” (Wetherell, 2012: 16) with landscapes then both the object and means of power struggles (Setten & Brown, 2013). Recognising the links between affect and power enables examination of the uneven nature of affective practices (Wetherell, 2012), and allows for in-depth understandings of the role of affect and emotion in coastal development and landscape change. Additionally, understanding the unevenness of affective practice can reveal the ways in which power emerges from relations conditioned by spatiotemporal context (Atkinson, 2013; Pile, 2010; Woodward & Lea, 2010). Addressing the issue of power requires a critical approach to affect that both reveals and critiques how powerful actants manipulate subjects through appealing to specific emotions and affects, as well as attempting to give a voice to experiences of marginalised actants (Anderson, 2013). Discourses often give power to affect and provide a means for affect to travel (Wetherell, 2012), lending towards the recognition that power, discourse and affect and inextricably linked. For example, Lobo’s (2014) study of racialised bodies on a Darwin beach, explored whiteness discourses as an affective force exerting pressures on people of colour. Lobo’s study illustrates the ways in which affective energies attempt to naturalise landscapes, identities and lifestyles through discourses, emphasising the political nature of landscapes as the intersection of place, space and people (Setten & Brown, 2013). The discourses and power of affective experiences and expressions of emotion then have the potential to provide insights into coastal development processes within Bayly’s Beach through consideration of the relational, reflexive and fundamentally social interactions between people and place.

Considering the range of literature advocating for attention to be paid to relationality, the fluid interactional, process-based nature of change, and the embedded nature of people and place, it is surprising to see such few attempts to untangle the relationalities between people and place historically, let alone through an affective lens. Although the potential for combining studies of affect and historic geographies has been acknowledged (Wetherell, 2012; Lobo, 2014), consideration for affect’s contributions to understanding historic landscape and land-use change has been non-existent. As affective practices utilise material objects, pasts and potential futures have the ability to be held in place and produce flow-on effects and affects on the socio-spatial landscape (Wetherell, 2012), there is the potential to uncover affective histories of coastal development processes. As everything exists in time and is constantly unfolding and emerging (Godbold, 2015), the relational

effects between affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and time also have the potential to uncover important moments in processes of coastal development within Bayly's Beach. Despite understandings of relational-affectual relationships within literature, there is neglect for connecting related themes. For example, within the *Sage Handbook to Landscape Studies* (Howard *et al.*, 2013), acknowledgement of the criticality and fluidity of understandings of people, place, time and affect to studies of landscape becomes forlorn as themes are categorised and discussed separately, treating them as discrete subjects. Although the chapters draw on the same general themes, there is a lack of recognition between the chapters for their collective importance. I consider this a common downfall in the literature that will be further argued in the research strategy where I aim to reconnect affect and discourse, to highlight the important relational links between them and how such seemingly disparate ideas may be incorporated to explore processes of coastal development at Bayly's Beach.

The approach I take attempts to address some of the previously outlined issues within coastal development and related migration literature including the neglect for emotive or affective experiences influencing place (re)production and the importance of spatiotemporal context in experiences of coastal development. As affect and emotion-based geographies are rooted within relational ontologies, social constructivism and experience, they speak directly to the reaffirmation of human experience in shaping and being shaped by migration and coastal development processes, whilst the relational ontology commands attention towards the myriad material and immaterial actants involved in migration of coastal development processes. In this way, the thesis' focus on affective experience and expressions of emotion demand critical consideration of context. Apolitical representations of migration trends and coastal development require re-focusing to account for the diversity of experiences. The common referral to global flows of actors, finance, technology, imaginaries and practices as producing processes of amenity migration and gentrification (Heley & Jones, 2012) are broad and detached from human experience, skimming over the true complexity of migration and coastal development processes. Exploring more mundane coastal development experiences and attending to the specific contextual histories of place and experience can provide new insights into such processes. Kearns *et al* (2015) case Rotoroa Island to reveal how notions of therapeutic landscapes and wellbeing are intertwined with the development and re-development of the island from its use as an alcohol reform centre to a public-use recreational area, demonstrating the ways in which deeper personal links of addiction, dependency and familial links all shaped the development of the island and movements to such blue spaces (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). The case study exemplifies the agency within the material environment to affect people and development and vice versa, demonstrating the power of affective forces shaping coastal development processes on top of superficial analyses of population and material changes.

Affect, however, poses methodological challenges emergent from the "struggle to animate the multiplicity of relations that necessarily go into the make-up of any given relation" (Woodward & Lea, 2010: 159). By its definition, affect is inexpressible and un-representable, which renders it

ungraspable and not localisable in experience of expression as emotions are (Anderson, 2014; Buser, 2014; D'Hauterserre, 2015; Pile, 2010). Therefore attempts to present affect produce representations of affect through language (Anderson, 2014; D'Hauterserre, 2015; Pile, 2010). Wetherell however argues, "we only become conscious of how our bodies and minds have been recruited and entangled after the event"(2012: 21). This statement draws attention to the role of language in expressing affective experiences, demonstrating how understandings and meaning occur in retrospect, and can be seen through expressed emotions. The limitations of these understandings are discussed more critically within the conclusion in evaluating the ability to access and assess such pre-cognitive affective experiences within archival and documentary material.

2.2 Place and Time

Place and time are critical to focusing the application of affect and emotion. I argue that place and time are critical contextual factors that influence possibilities, capacities and interactions associated with coastal development processes. The foundations of place and time geographies are presented followed by specific attention to sense of place and place attachment. I argue that place and time are critical to framing affective experiences and expressions of emotion and understanding their relational potential.

Place geographies have an extensive history stemming from Tuan's work in 1970's where he famously distinguished between space and place, arguing that space only becomes place when it is continuously experienced and given value and meaning (Cresswell, 2009; Hoffman, 2011; Tuan, 1976). Place, therefore, is endowed with social meaning, demonstrating the importance of social construction, discourse, human experience and practice in shaping and framing place (Hoffman, 2011; Morse *et al.*, 2014). Place is also inseparable from time, as Tuan's definition sees that place only comes into being over time. This framing led to anthropocentric studies of peoples' relationships with nature including the ways in which people ascribed value to environments and how these changed over time and the ways in which ideas of place were shared, and how attachments and sentiments of place contributed to emotions, feelings and actions towards place (Green, 2010; Hoffman 2011). These studies framed landscapes as inanimate objects that are purely cultural expressions to reflect self-definitions (Greider & Garkovich, 1994). Landscape and environment are then the medium through which social processes manifest, with place itself being less important than the affective attachments to ideas, people, past experience and culture (Low & Altman, 1992). These earlier approaches neglected the criticality of the physical environment itself in informing and enabling affective relationships that occur in place. Place theories soon expanded to consider that relationships with places are comprised of memories of interactions associated with a site and future experiences likely to occur in a site, emphasising that physical sites are the stages for social interaction (Milligan, 1998). This latter understanding of people-place relationships also hints towards the criticality of time in (re)shaping such relationships, although it is still largely centred towards social interactions with the affective roles of time and physical environment being marginalised. Allan Pred (1984), however,

addressed the role of time in place-production in his arguments for place being a historically contingent process as reflected in examples place theory's empirical foci such as the formation of place-specific biographies through life-histories and the focus on sense of place, which is inseparable from biography formation and place emergence. Since these earlier place study theories, recognition of the relational and affective actant forces of corporeal and human agents in shaping the world have emerged, with place and time remaining the fundamental axes, although the role of experience has also been popularised.

Current understandings of place and time recognise that place provides, and is characterised by, an experiential stasis which (re)constructs and imbues physical landscapes with the intangible and metaphysical (Hoffman, 2011). As stated, the physical landscape is now considered to have affective forces and is equally critical to place creation and meanings (Stedman, 2003). Attempts to understand processes of meaning making through practice now consider not only on human agency, but also how human agency interacts with non-human elements (Waterton, 2013). In no way does this downplay the socially constructed nature of place, (as 'place' is a fundamentally social concept concerned with human meaning-making and experience), but rather to emphasise that affective relations occur between environments and people to produce places. Discourses then may also play a part in the construction of place as representations and meaning making can be considered as discursive acts that have important material consequences (Pratt, 1991). Although rampant debates between affect and discourse exist (Wetherell, 2012), I aim to exemplify within the conclusion how affect and discourse can be usefully synthesized to explore socio-spatial interactions over time.

The shift in thinking within place studies reflects the increasing recognition of human and material spheres as relationally affective, with emphasis put on the affective relationship between people and the environment (Collins & Kearns, 2013), rather than the previous focus on human perceptions of landscapes. Collins and Kearns (2013) illustrate this shift, arguing that place is a gestalt of the physical, social and symbolic landscape that has inherent links to the past. Social and material spheres therefore produce 'place' through co-constitutive, affective relationships that are continually (re)shaped and fluid (Morse *et al.*, 2014). Such approaches are closely aligned with studies of affect and emotion through similar applications of notions including relationality, affective experiences, meaning making and fluidity. Furthermore these framings of place and time are critical to understanding coastal development processes as situated within specific spatio-temporal conditions.

The notion of 'time' has not been equally developed and is still relatively marginalised compared to 'place', despite recognition of the inseparable criticality of place and time. I argue that both the context of time in which experiences occur and recognition of changes over time are critical to understanding affective experiences and expressions of emotion. As relational experiences are produced in space and time (Burkitt, 2004), recognition for the dynamic and negotiated nature of places and landscapes must then be open to consider their reconfiguration over time (Atkinson, 2007). Attention to aspects of historical geography is then important to studies of place and experiences. Regional historical

geographies have been under-researched and there have been calls made within historical geographies for more re-engagement with human geography, including attention to power relations (Roche, 2008). Furthermore, meanings are historically and culturally situated (Locke, 2004), pointing to the need to explore human experiences over time as well as across places.

Affective expressions and expressions of emotion that occur in place and time, and over time, are then critical to understanding relationships between people and place and can also reveal how places develop over time, making place and time are critical axes to situate the focus of affect and emotion.

2.2.1 Sense of Place and Place Attachment

Within place studies concepts of 'sense of place' and 'place attachment' provide significant theoretical contributions to understanding socio-spatial landscapes, as well as the political, spiritual and emotional aspects of place.

'Sense of place' and 'place attachment' are highly complex and inherently interrelated. Such inherent complexity has ignited debates within social studies regarding the relationship between place concepts; their emergence and how they are best measured and researched, with a lack of consensus still dominant (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). Sense of place broadly involves emotive bonds and attachments developed or experienced in certain locales (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009) and are emergent from "interconnected psychoanalytic, social and environmental processes" (Cosgrove, 1985: 731). This frames a sense of place as a product of affective, experiential relationships between people and place and emphasises how place interactions involve a combination of materiality, meaning and practice (Cresswell, 2009). Furthermore, autobiographic, nostalgic memories, shared representations of place and experience have also been argued to inform a sense of place (Cosgrove, 1985; Cresswell, 2006; Green, 2010; Stedman, 2003). D'Hauterserre (2015) claims that our perceptions of experience are linked to memories, and these memories and experiences influence how people react and act within their surroundings. Collectively these framings emphasise the importance of time, place and experience in shaping a sense of place. Hurley (2013) exemplifies the contributions that a sense of place provides to exploring coastal development processes, arguing that research into sense of place usually seeks to understand the meanings and attachments people relate to their environments, and that both biophysical and political spheres affect these meanings, demonstrating how sense of place may influence development processes. Sense of place is thus inherently related to the transmission of affect and how the transmission of affect is a key property of place (D'Hauterserre, 2015). Attention paid to 'sense of place' links the theoretical foci of affective experiences and expressions of emotion with the grounded notion of place, enabling place-specific assessments of such experiences and expressions in order to analyse their role in coastal development processes.

Debates surrounding the relationships between the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'place attachment' demonstrate their inherent related nature and the need to consider both concepts

simultaneously. Green (2010) sees place attachment as developing from people's emotional attachments to places and landscape features, and that such attachments then inform a sense of place. Conversely, Low and Altman (1992) see place attachment as an integrating concept that frames sense of place and other place concepts as interrelated and inseparable, claiming that such attachments contribute to people's self-definitions and capacities. Furthermore, place attachment is argued to involve "culturally shared affective meanings and activities associated with place that derive from socio-political, historical and cultural sources" (Low & Altman, 1992: 9). The intertwined nature of place attachment and sense of place is thus evident, and I go no further into exploring the relationship between these concepts, than to frame my own perspective being that sense of place is considered as one feature of place attachment, with place attachment encompassing the broader affective relationships between people and place. Similar to sense of place, place attachment is an emergent product of the complex interplay between practices, materiality and language, which (re)shape affective experiences of place (Di Masso *et al.*, 2014). However, the role of each of these interacting factors is also debated in terms of the causality of, and processes through which, attachments to place are formed (Lewicka, 2014). Whilst some emphasise the physical landscape as the source of affect in developing attachments to place (e.g. Stedman, 2003), others consider experiences within landscapes to be more important (e.g. Hoffman, 2011). Further debates regard the role of time in the development of place relationships. Although it has been readily accepted that place attachments develop over time, through experiences in place (Green, 2010), new arguments claim that sense of place can be developed having never visited a place, purely through representations of place as seen through advertising and literature (Lewicka, 2014). In this way, time spent in place is now considered to be only a factor that may inform sense of place rather than being a determinant or measure of a sense of place or attachment (Collins & Kearns, 2013; Lewicka, 2014). Time is still a critical concept for understanding affective relationships within place as places are as much temporal processes as they are spatial units (Jones, 2011). Rather than delve into such debates a broad focus on the place attachments and sense of place have been addressed to demonstrate the relationships between subjective experiences and physical environments and their co-affective relationship in creating 'place' and informing development processes. Place attachment and sense of place therefore link directly with the thesis' concern for affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and over time, and their influence on coastal development processes.

2.2.2 Place and Time as Inseparable from Affect and Emotion

Studies of place cannot occur without a study of affect and experience, as place is a social construction produced through experiences of material and social environments. In this way, sense of place and place attachment are inherently affective experiences, involving affect, emotion and feeling (Low & Altman, 1992) and can therefore be studied in relation to their affects rather than the actual attachments.

Studies into the role of nostalgia and memories within formations of identity and attachments, demonstrate the interplay between place and time and subjective experience by acknowledging the

ways in which memories or past experiences can shape and inform meanings attached to places and how places are experienced (Green, 2010; Stedman, 2003). I argue that such processes and experiences also affect patterns of development in place by producing discourses that are situated in place and informed by past experiences, memories and nostalgic idylls. Explorations into the affective relations between place attachments, memories, experiences and development processes may then reveal important relational links between these phenomena. Several authors have argued the importance of attachments to place when aspects of that attachment are threatened or disrupted, as it materialises collective efficacy (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014), and increases social capacity and senses of place and belonging (Green, 2010). For example, Stratford's (2009) case study into the opposition to development in Ralphs Bay, Tasmania, highlights how a sense of belonging can be utilised as a political resource to contest development. Collins and Kearns (2013) similarly demonstrate how shared understandings and senses of attachment to place and environmental features can be drawn from to inform community activism against proposed development, using Ngunguru Sandspit as a case study. These examples demonstrate the affective relations between feelings towards places and social activism in specific events of threat. However these accounts only provide small snapshots of the affective relationships between people and place, whereas I aim to consider such processes over time within Bayly's Beach to consider how such affective experiences and expressions of emotion, as informed by place attachments and memories, can be seen to shape the physical development of place over time.

Notions of place, and its role in affective experiences and expressed emotions are well researched. Emotions and experiences of affect are both sources of attachment and belonging to place and activism in response to threatened place attachments (D'Hauterserre, 2015; Fitzsimmons & Turner, 2015; Pile, 2010). Earlier links between affect and emotion and place demonstrated the capacity of places to evoke emotion (Anderson, 2014; Pile, 2010), which has since shifted towards a more process-based focus on the interactions between place and affect. Furthermore, place is the arena in which experiences are practiced and affects are made knowledgeable. Affective practices can also thread across sites or a particular site, highlighting the entangled nature of affect and place (Wetherell, 2012). Thrift (2004) ties together the relational links between place, affect and power arguing that the reflexive loop of affect is integral to everyday landscapes and may be politically deployed in place. Foley and Kistemann (2015) utilise ideas of place and emotions within blue spaces to conceptualise how their contributions to wellbeing and health, drawing heavily on the experiential affective power of places that emerge from encounters with blue spaces. Through affect place can be perceived differently, not only as a fluid space always in a state of becoming, but also expressive of material agency, reflective of the ways in which affective geographies can be used to explain the push and pull of place (Buser, 2014; Wattchow, 2013). Such inter-linkages between place and affect also demonstrate the importance of everyday experiences within place and the particular affective possibilities of place affecting people's experiences (Buser, 2014; D'Hauterserre, 2015). Affective and emotive geographies are integral to examinations of place experiences and provide important framings through which study experiences of place and landscape change.

2.2.3 Politicising Development Processes Through Attention to Place and Time

Attention paid to place and time enables consideration of the politics of place, and more specifically, points to the role of discourses in shaping practices and feelings towards place, as well as the complexities of multiple perspectives in place contestations. I argue that the power and politics within, between and produced from discourses, emotions and knowledge can reveal important affective relations between attachments to place, experiences, expressions of emotion and coastal development processes over time. Such an understanding of the affective relations between these phenomena can contribute to the re-politicisation of coastal development studies by attending to the specificities of place, time, power and discourse within subjective experiences and material developments over time. Hurley's (2013) examination of amenity development in central Oregon demonstrates how the affective politics of power and capital flows can produce new views about appropriate land-uses, arguing that new migrants and developers utilise certain senses and framings of place to commodify landscapes in new ways, therefore influencing development processes. Similarly, Finewood's (2012) research into amenity-based development in South Carolina reveal how discourses frame certain developments and land-uses as good or bad based on power and knowledge frameworks, which both discursively and materially shape forms of inequality on the landscape. As different actants (whether human or non-human) have different affective capacities, they can have different levels of influence on land-use changes over time, and these capacities can change. Considering how different discourses are enlisted and pursued within experiences, practices and expressions of emotion can then be directly related to development processes. Explorations of affective experiences and expressions of emotion within the politics of place can therefore be examined against coastal development processes within Bayly's Beach to analyse the discourses and processes that have contributed to its experiences.

Linked closely with the ideas of discourse, attention paid to alternative knowledge systems acknowledges that certain socio-spatial epistemologies for regulating land have been discursively deployed to manage and develop land (Ryks, 2011). Discussed in further detail in the Context and Conclusion sections, within New Zealand property is a critical feature in places that involves certain discourses for framing how land should be used. Several authors have aimed to highlight the ways in which places may be experienced differently through different knowledge systems, usually in relation to indigenous cultures (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2009). Van Wagner (2013) cases an aggregate quarry in Ontario to show how planning politics and property focus on a certain western-discourse that frames people-place relationships as subversive and disruptive in land-use decision-making forums. This emphasises how specific knowledge frameworks have the potential to shape landscapes, and draws attention to the political nature of 'place' and planning. In another example, Wattchow (2013) uses Geoff Park's (1995) book 'Ngā-Uruora (The Groves of Life)', which takes a Māori perspective to low-land forest loss and landscape change, to highlight how landscapes may be interpreted through different experiential pedagogies by the means of weaving landscape history and a sense of place entrenched in a reciprocal relationship between people and places. These examples demonstrate

how the uptake of different cultural knowledge models provides alternative perspectives of place and development, although these are usually subservient to predominant western ideas of place and land (Van Wagner, 2013). The power and politics tied up with discourse, emotion and knowledge allow more politicised account of coastal development processes by attending to the more place-specific interactions and experiences that contribute to coastal development.

More everyday expressions of identity, power and attachments in place can also be revealed through attending to the role of place naming in coastal development processes. The politics of naming are tied closely with power, history and context as names can symbolically or materially solidify current (and historical) processes of development and place creation (Berg, 2011). Using a case study in Vernon, Canada, Berg (2011) explores how more banal and uncontested naming can hide historical socio-spatial relations claiming that developers purposely use place imaginaries and iconography in namescapes to reduce controversy and obscures pasts of accumulation by dispossession and speculative dispossession. Place names are also recognised for their role in the creation and maintenance of place attachments, and their power as semiotic texts, with place-naming considered a fundamentally discursive act that aims to manage socio-spatial processes and contestations through textual inscription (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010). Others have argued for the criticality of place name pronunciation claiming that through everyday interactional talk that place-name pronunciation is normalised, and that such processes are complex constructions and positionings of 'Self' in relation to 'Others' (Kearns & Berg, 2002). Although pronunciation cannot be addressed as a limit of the approach taken, it is important to recognise the criticality of everyday interactions in place and their emergent socio-spatial outcomes. In this way, place naming can reveal important aspirational imaginaries of those with power and also points to the ways that affect and emotion may be operationalised through discourses of place naming.

In summary, this section has demonstrated the inextricable relationship between place and time, and the goals of this study. As place is essentially a human phenomenon created from human experiences of physical landscapes, emotional experience of place is extremely important to developing a sense of place and a sense of place attachment. These senses of attachment are essentially affective experiences which frame peoples practices and actions in regard to the natural, material and social environment. I argue that conceptualisations of place and time are inseparable from experience and affect, and that these constructs are also critical to politicising and situating historic land-use change. Place and time therefore embody critical positions in framing the study and uncovering the assemblages produced through affective relations.

2.3 Everyday Geographies

To further frame the focus of affect and emotion, I draw on approaches from everyday geographies to discern the importance of everyday life and experiences to affect and emotion, arguing that affective experiences and emotional expressions occur within everyday life, and that everyday interactions in

place critically influence coastal development processes and vice versa. I argue that attention to everyday geographies can further reaffirm the socially constructed nature of coastal development processes and experiences and help account for the complexity and plurality of experiences.

Within the perspective of 'everyday geographies', 'everyday life' and 'everyday experience' are central notions. Often open to interpretation, everyday life involves a concern for the ordinary, taken-for-granted and habitual thoughts, actions and settings that are largely overlooked and neglected significance within governance, planning and academia (Jarvis, 2010). Lefebvre (1991) frames everyday life as consisting of the left-overs after all the significant and distinct phenomena have been singled out by analysis, and that within everyday life the sum of total relations take shape and form. My focus towards everyday life aims to re-signify more ordinary experiences of coastal development, such as that occurring in Bayly's Beach (See Context), in order to re-politicise and diversify current coastal development literature as well as demonstrate the relational importance of everyday life and experiences to place change and coastal development processes.

Whilst earlier 'everyday' geographic studies privileged the social, current approaches understand the everyday to embody a mix of human and non-human, corporeal and non-corporeal matter or life forces (Seigworth, 2000; Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; Whitehead, 2005). Similarly, everyday experience is framed as an entanglement of embodied and lived experience, practice and socio-spatial change, acknowledging the multi-sensuous landscape within which action takes place (Waterton, 2013), and allowing more relational and historical studies that unravel affective experiences in place over time. Attention to the everyday then recognises the importance of relational links between the material and immaterial, the official and unofficial, and the human and natural, and how these interact to not only produce and reproduce social relations, but also to shape and re-shape the landscape. Such framings of place-based experience and acknowledgement of the direct and indirect affective relations of these to place and landscape change are pivotal to the thesis. Within 'everyday' literature, however, there has been a predominant focus towards social realities and reproductions (e.g. Atkinson, 2007; Jarvis, 2010). Although place and spatiality are deemed critical, there has been a lack of attentiveness to the actant force of the material landscape not only to shape perceptions and memories, but to also be shaped by such social relations. Attention to everyday life and experiences in place provides a lens to situate the focus of affect and emotion in coastal development processes, and allows deeper analysis of the intricate interactional and relational processes that occur in place and enable or disable coastal development processes. In this way, the thesis addresses apolitical tendencies of typical coastal development research and build on existing areas of study.

Sharing some qualities with affect theory, everyday geographies recognise the reflexivity of everyday life as exhibiting discursive, pre-discursive and embodied qualities as well as unconscious elements, which interact to constitute experience (Gardiner, 2000). Studies into everyday life and experiences aim to give meaning to mundane and taken-for-granted phenomena, in order to reveal the

extraordinary and significant aspects within everyday social practices and embodied actions (Atkinson, 2008; Eyles, 1991; Gardiner, 2000; Jarvis, 2010). Eyles (1991) has argued that the fluidity and dynamic nature of everyday life only appears unchanging because it is seen as an unquestioned backdrop to life, highlighting how social construction becomes normalised as structure. In this sense, the in-between bits of events, which have subtle implications, constitute the everyday and have flow-on affects for wider social-spatial patterns and can be utilised to express its role as the medium for interaction and practice (Whitehead, 2005). Collectively this demonstrates the potential benefits of exploring everyday life and experiences in this thesis and hints towards the links between the ideas of affect and emotion as well as place and time, and social constructions. These framings are utilised to focus the thesis and reveal the relational connections between coastal development processes and the affective experiences and expressions of emotion that occur within everyday life in place.

2.3.1 Affect & Everyday Geographies

Demonstrating the links between affect and everyday studies helps to frame the thesis' focus and the critical relations between the two areas. Everyday life is seen always in a state of becoming and concerned with processes of construction, constitution and practice (Chaney, 2002). Meaning-making processes are argued to adopt discourses which are generated in pursuit of interests, and which change through discourses of everyday life, making everyday life the arena where interactional and affective capacities are developed (Chaney, 2002; Gardiner, 2000). Immediately links with affect and emotion are evident such as the reflexive process-based framing of place and experience and the acknowledgement of discursive meaning-making processes and affective capacities.

Eyles' (1991) early recognition of the ways in which people actively transform themselves (and their surroundings) and location of these processes within experiences of everyday life, draws attention to the importance of everyday life as a realm in which small affective processes culminate to create everyday experiences and environments. A critical concern for phenomena such as affect and emotion, and bodily experience as well as acknowledgment of the reflexive nature of everyday life (Gardiner, 2000), is similar to concerns within studies of affect and demonstrates the potential for linking these areas in order to interpret coastal development processes occurring in Bayly's Beach over time. The theoretical uptake of affect is argued to have renewed the dramatic and the everyday within social analyses and asserted the centrality of affect in the (re)production of everyday life (Wetherell, 2012; Woodward & Lea, 2010). These latter authors demonstrate the fundamental links between studies of affect and the everyday, and hints towards the ways in which affective experiences and expressions of emotion within everyday experiences is critical to understanding the emergence of social and physical realities. Interpreting everyday experiences as emergent starts and 'intention movements' – which are not complete relational processes, but the beginnings of affective patterns (Stern, 2004; Wetherell, 2012), demonstrates the need to consider everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion over time and the role of discourse in such 'intention' movements in development processes. Additionally, everyday experiences have the potential reveal important discursive trends which (re)shape material and social landscapes. I argue that exploring

coastal development processes in Bayly's Beach through everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion can potentially reveal such discursive trends, which have influenced the development of the settlement over time. Everyday experiences therefore provide an important scale to consider coastal development processes as it is within these seemingly ordinary environments and mundane interactions that relational processes occur to (re)shape the socio-spatial environment.

This approach is supported by claims that everyday experiences and practices are riddled with affective encounters which have far-ranging consequences on actions, attachments, meaning-making and the material environment (Buser, 2014; Waterton, 2013). Explorations of these links are seen in Hillier's (2011) aforementioned study of the placement of 100 iron naked statues on a beach in the United Kingdom, which attended to the way people's affective or emotional relationship contributed to their opposition to the installation. Similarly, Kearns and Collins' (2012) exploration of the role of emotion in resistance to proposed coastal development within the same region as the case study – Northland, New Zealand – argued that emotions play a formative role in shaping both understandings of the coast and responses to threats. Although these exemplify links between affect and emotion, and the politics of coastal development, I have previously argued that both cases focus towards rather extraordinary cases and neglect attention to the role of historical experiences and conditions that have framed current understandings and relationships to place. In this way, this thesis also aims to attend to a more ordinary case of coastal development, being Bayly's Beach, to explore why the settlement has experienced stagnating population and slow growth, whilst surrounding areas have boomed.

2.3.2 The Ordinary & Everyday Experience

As with other social geographies a range of approaches exist within everyday geographies. Barry Sandywell (2004) establishes three concepts of everyday life within recent social theory. In the first, everyday life is the foundational level within the empirical research problematic; the second utilises everyday life as a way to transcend or deconstruct philosophy, and the third frames everyday life as a vital source of transgression (Sandywell, 2004). Jarvis (2010) conceives two broad tracks of work, the first encompassing a shift from emphasis on the extraordinary to the ordinary and the second focused towards the emotional turn and everyday experiences in place. Within the thesis I focus on Sandywell's first and third conceptions and both tracks identified by Jarvis by framing everyday experiences and everyday life as the scale of focus within the study, and emphasising the 'everyday' as a lens to build upon existing coastal development research respectively.

Explorations into the 'ordinary' emerged with goals of developing more critical understandings of the diversity and multiplicity of experiences, and overcoming simplified understandings of everyday life (Bjiker *et al.*, 2013; Halfacree, 2007, 2010). Sandywell succinctly demonstrates this need in claiming "the ordinary has been systematically denigrated in the very act of being theorized as 'everyday life'" (2004: 160). Delving into the ordinary and engaging critically with the everyday may reveal more extraordinary truths within the mundane that are commonly neglected at the expense of the exotic

and spectacular (Halfacree, 2007; Hubbard & Holloway, 2001). There is increasing recognition that although spectacular 'events' may punctuate everyday life, they are the exception rather than the norm (Hubbard & Holloway, 2001). Such interest in the ordinary enables more grounded analyses of interconnections and affective relations between the natural and cultural, the organic and inorganic, therefore breaking down social-nature binaries (Sandywell, 2004). Atkinson (2007, 2008) highlights the importance of exploring more ordinary environments in regards to waterfront regeneration projects, arguing that most research discusses higher profile heritage sites and that focusing on more routine, less-regularly analysed places may help develop more comprehensive understandings of complex spatialised memories. Similarly, within urban studies of city regeneration it has been argued that singular cities are too often classed as paradigmatic, denigrating the diverse relational links between and within practices and elements which constitute the quintessential essence of the city (Amin & Graham, 1997). Amin and Graham claim that within urban studies there are dangers of overgeneralising and "over-emphasising particular spaces, senses of time and partial representations within the city" (1997: 416). Categorising cities has significant effects on how such places are understood and instead, there needs to be a range of spatial accounts, especially into ordinary cities (Robinson, 2002).

Focusing efforts towards more ordinary or less spectacular cases of coastal development can similarly develop more in-depth accounts of experiences by attending to the case of Bayly's Beach, which has seen rather banal and ordinary coastal development trends in terms of slow population change and the surrounding natural and built environment. Typical accounts of coastal development processes would only go as far as these factors of change, however I argue that more attention to such seemingly banal experiences may reveal important relational trends to other coastal development experiences or place-specific trends over time. The risk of reducing debates of diversity in favour of representative, paradigmatic, homogenising theories is seen in the appraisal of exceptional experiences, events or phenomenon into the norm (Amin & Graham, 1997). The aim is not to dismiss the importance of 'exceptional' or 'spectacular' experiences or phenomenon, but rather to highlight that ordinariness is "constructed at the intersection of the 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary'" (Harrison & Zack, 2014: 180). In this way, attention to the coastal development processes occurring over time at Bayly's Beach juxtaposes against more extraordinary coastal development experiences and can build on such cases to produce more inclusive and comprehensive accounts of coastal development processes, as well as demonstrating the criticality of place and time in these processes.

Everyday experiences and everyday life is broadly characterised as "a wholly mediated, contested, and processual site of material and ideological struggles... as well as a nostalgic icon of value and order" (Burkitt, 2004: 174). Fundamentally, everyday experiences provide the means to study 'ordinary' phenomenon (Burkitt, 2004), through explorations of everyday life in its own right, and exploring everyday life critically (Eyles, 1991). Furthermore, it allows an analysis of the diversity of experiences and the ways in which people and objects recruit and are recruited into affective performances and experiences (Wetherell, 2012), highlighting the centrality of everyday life and its

role as a medium for social interaction and praxis (Whitehead, 2005). Everyday experience also focuses affective studies, framing the flow of affect as also located within the flow of everyday life (Wetherell, 2012). Analyses of everyday life and experiences can therefore provide a means to study the ordinary and mundane, as well as reveal, and critically explore the diversity of experiences.

Similar to the aforementioned neglect for the ordinary in search of the extraordinary, it is argued that the everyday is neglected in search of the exotic, new and exceptional (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). To overcome these representational social geographies some authors have argued for the need to explore everyday experiences rather than the things that constitute the world (Anderson, 2014), as the structures of society and biographical histories of people are intertwined in everyday life through actions and interactions that build, reconstruct and maintain roles, actions, motivations within social and material environments (Eyles, 1991). The social and natural, and the exotic and the ordinary should therefore be considered as mutually constituting the world, highlighting their interactional, affective relationships. This interpretation of the everyday is widely shared and is argued to be in a constant process of composition (Waterton, 2013), demonstrating the fluid, relational nature of the everyday and its centrality in shaping and being shaped by social and physical environments. Applying such an understanding to this thesis sees everyday experiences and everyday life as the arena in which affect and emotion exist and also frames coastal development processes as the result of such interactions in place and time.

2.3.3 Re-politicising Coastal Development research through Everyday Geographies

Through attention paid to the intricacies of affective experiences, emotional expressions and interactions within everyday life, coastal development research can be re-politicised by paying heed to the diversity of context of spatio-temporal scales and experiential environments involved in any migration or development process (Bijker *et al.*, 2013; Halfacree, 1994). I argue that attention to affect and emotion through everyday geographies provides a critique for existing coastal development research by framing the 'ordinary' as being othered through normalisation and highlighting the representational shortfalls of traditional coastal development literature.

Whitehead's (2005) work within environmental justice recognises the criticality of the 'everyday' in politicising understandings of landscapes and place, arguing that environmentalism should be considered as the politics of everyday life. Sandywell (2004) furthers this claim, arguing that 'ordinariness' and 'the everyday' cannot be separated from ideas of justice, struggle and contestation; rather, everyday experience itself is highly political in that it is a wholly mediated, contested and processual site of material and ideological struggle. This framing demonstrates the embedded nature of people and places and the need to recognise everyday experiences as negotiations with larger social, political, environmental and spiritual frameworks, which, together with affect and emotion, can provide valuable insights into investments and engagements with landscapes (Filep *et al.*, 2015). The focus on everyday experiences of affect and emotion can therefore provide a lens through which to re-politicise coastal development literature by recognising the role of discourse, situated context and

temporality in coastal development processes and experiences. Political ecological studies of coastal amenity migration have successfully linked the role of amenity-based discourses and their effect on coastal environments, although a majority tend to focus on social experiences and extraordinary events or areas (e.g. Finewood, 2012 and Hurley, 2013).

Linking ideas of social justice and landscape, Setten and Brown's (2013) attention to everyday struggles and belonging demonstrates how everyday practices and material landscapes are woven through processes of justice and notions of belonging, entitlement and property. Although this area of research is much more developed with much attention paid to political struggles between migrants, existing residents and place attachments (e.g. Stratford, 2009), there is a lack of consideration for the historical conditioning of these interactions that has shaped current socio-spatial landscapes. The focus on everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion over time within an ordinary case of coastal development can therefore provide a lens in which to politicise coastal development processes and experiences as well as more in-depth explanations of coastal development processes.

Everyday geographies are not without limitations. Associated with the earlier mentioned plurality of definitions, Whitehead (2005) argues that many definitions provide limited conceptualisations of the complex, multifaceted ways that everyday life can be conceived, which can result in potentially isolated accounts of the spatiality of everyday experiences. Similarly, (and a likely result of the way in which the everyday is defined and framed), concerns have been raised regarding the ability to capture the complexity of the mundane in attempts to research everyday experiences (Phoenix & Brannen, 2014). I argue that one can never fully capture the whole relational assemblage of 'the everyday', but through a specific lens that attends to the criticality of place, time and the subjective, more politicised and in-depth accounts can be produced. In this way, attention to affect and emotion, place and time, and everyday geographies can provide a critical lens through which to explore coastal development processes. Through the overarching theoretical focus on affective experiences and expressions of emotion, everyday 'ordinary' geographies are utilised as the scale of study, whilst the focus of everyday experiences provides the 'object' of study. The importance of this approach lies in the ability to produce alternative, more nuanced understandings of coastal development and contribute to a range of disciplines including landscape studies, historical studies, migration studies, and planning and environmental management studies.

2.4 Summary

Exploring the role of affect and emotion within situated coastal development processes over time is the fundamental aim of this theoretical framework. I argue that the theoretical uptake of affect and emotion is reflective of increased recognition for the relational interactions between people and the environment and the criticality of subjective experiences as well as objective realities. Whilst affect is not readily accessible or representable, expressions of emotion and language can be interpreted as physiological outcomes of affective experiences and therefore provide a way through which to explore

affect. Within interactions between people and place the potential for power and discourse to pervade through affective experience and expressions of emotion is demonstrated, whilst also highlighting that such interactions and experiences are emergent and fluid in nature. Furthermore, the criticality of time and place is argued to provide important dynamics through which coastal development processes are experienced and emerge, and is therefore important to understanding the diversity of coastal development experiences. I argue that place attachments and sense of place are essentially the result of affective experiences and that such concepts also reveal the critical links between place, time and experience within coastal development processes. Time has also been emphasised for its critical role in shaping and influencing experiences, providing a critical framing axes for the thesis. Finally I argue that attention paid to everyday experiences and more ordinary cases of coastal development provide insights into the relational and emergent nature of coastal development processes, as well as allowing for more grounded analyses of coastal development experiences. Collectively I argue that this approach will enable more politicised and diverse accounts of coastal development processes to contribute to more typical coastal development research that focuses towards migration and land-use change.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE – COASTAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMATICS

I now apply the theoretical framework as a critique to previous studies of coastal development. A critique of migration literature framing coastal migration as a form of amenity migration and counter-urbanisation, argue that typical accounts are too homogenic and focused towards the spectacular. I argue that exploring everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion and their relational affects on coastal development processes can re-politicise research and provide an alternative lens through which to understand coastal development processes.

3.1 Migration

I focus here on counter-urbanisation and amenity migration literature to reflect the common conceptions of coastal/rural migration, as the case-study site (Bayly's Beach) faces the Tasman Sea and is surrounded rural land-uses. Counter-urbanisation and amenity migration literature commonly frame coastal development processes through globalising trends, with a tendency to represent, rather than address the intricacies of everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion, which influence such processes over time. As migration concerns place and experience, (which are inherently relational phenomena), migration is embedded within relational assemblages of people, places, values and practices that produce a multitude of emergent experiences and coastal development processes in place. I argue that attention to affective experiences within the everyday can build migration literature to account for the politics of place, time, power and knowledge in coastal development related processes such as migration.

3.1.1 Counter-urbanisation & Amenity migration

Broad shifts in population migration from urban centres towards more rural areas emerged in the 1970s and saw the development of counter-urbanisation studies, with a range of terms now adopted to express the phenomenon (Abrams *et al.*, 2012; Burnley & Murphy, 2004; Fuguitt, 1985; Halfacree, 1994). Typical accounts focus towards population growth, claiming that globalisation processes have enabled migration as technological advances in transport and communication have increased time-space convergence, enabling flexible employment, increased mobility and higher, more disposable incomes (Berry, 1980; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Gurran *et al.*, 2007; McCarthy, 2008). Such framings emphasise modernism and globalisation as causes of counter-urbanisation, however a lack of regard for the relational interplay between social, political, environmental and spiritual experiences in place and time, neglect the complexity and diversity within coastal migration processes. Exploring everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and time can reveal the complexity of such processes by attending to the specificities of context which are critical to shaping experiences and coastal development and revealing the politics and power embedded in place, and therefore also within coastal development and migration processes.

Attempts within counter-urbanisation literature to account for subjective experiences in migration movements tend to frame and over-represent affluence and second home ownership as resulting in elitist landscapes and socio-economic polarisation in coastal settlements (Cheyne & Freeman, 2006; 2008; Collins & Kearns, 2010; Finewood, 2012; Gurran *et al.*, 2007). Aesthetic and recreational motivations for more relaxed lifestyles further frame counter-urbanisers as affluent, middle-class urbanites (Argent *et al.*, 2014; Collins, 2013; Green, 2010), with the implications commonly reported as increased unaffordability of housing, socio-economic segregation and displacement of existing residents (Burnley & Murphy, 2004; Cheyne & Freeman, 2006; Hurley, 2013; McCarthy, 2008). Such framings (re)produce homogenous accounts of coastal migration which ignore the multiplicity and heterogeneity of experiences (Bijker *et al.*, 2013), and tend to 'other' more ordinary experiences of coastal migration and development. Where attempts have been made to attend to the diversity of experiences, the criticality of place and time tends to be downplayed. For example, Collins (2013) distinguishes between coastal migration occurring in New Zealand and Australia, stating that whilst Australia's migration involves cheaper housing compared to metropolitan areas and more permanent movements, New Zealand's experience involves relatively higher property prices and predominantly second home ownership. I argue that this is too generalised and ignores the differences both regionally and at the district level, as will be revealed by the case study in the Context section.

There are exceptions, however, with Bijker *et al.* (2013) arguing that counter-urbanisation is regionally uneven in nature and popularity, and that there has been a taken-for-granted focus on popular rural areas. In their study of migration to popular and less popular coastal areas within the Netherlands, those moving to popular areas tended to be older, more highly educated and attracted by the locations' physical qualities; whilst migrants to less popular areas tended to be younger and motivated by lower house prices and moving in with a partner (Bijker *et al.*, 2013). Similarly, Janoschka and Haas (2014) acknowledge that other population sectors are now participating in counter-urbanisation and the need to expand the frameworks of counter-urbanisation and explore 'other' experiences. I aim to build on these claims by attending to a more ordinary case of coastal development and counter-urbanisation within Bayly's Beach, where there has been varied growth patterns, with majority of migrants have come from within the region and although second-home ownership and affluence has played an important role in its development, the material settlement is not marked with signs of affluence.

3.1.2 Amenity Migration

Closely linked to counter-urbanisation, amenity migration is similarly framed by amenity-based lifestyle motivations and implied to produce significant social and ecological landscape transformations (Abrams *et al.*, 2012). Consumption-based effects tend to be emphasised, including increased houses, infrastructure and boundary marking (Abrams *et al.*, 2012). I argue that amenity migration literature tends to apply understandings of affluent lifestyle-motivated counter-urbanisers onto amenity migration processes and treat it as unproblematic. The specificities of place and time are neglected in such framings as well as the criticality of social constructions of 'coastal' and 'rural' in

migration motivations. Although some authors have emphasised the importance of social construction in amenity migration its role is usually reduced to a reaction against suburbia and urbanity (Gosnell & Abrams *et al.*, 2011). Attention to everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and over time can address these shortfalls and contribute to understandings of amenity-based coastal development and migration processes.

Amenity migration literature has a tendency to frame the phenomenon as occurring in places that have not had any forward planning for growth and development (Cheyne & Freeman, 2006). I argue that this is not the situation within Bayly's Beach, as is revealed within the exploration of the findings. Furthermore, a lack of consideration for different understandings of property and discourses of power limit the ability to explore the experiences and relationalities between amenity migration and coastal development processes as it ignores the politics of place and everyday experiences wrapped up in affect and emotion that inform practices and change.

Additionally, a preoccupation with the present-day and neglect for past experiences that influence current landscapes produce procedural accounts of coastal development focused on physical changes and social perceptions such, rather than accounting for the relational socio-spatial experiences that have occurred over time. For example, Gurran *et al.* (2007) argue that the destination popularity of amenity migration can be categorise by the distance from metropolitan centres and can explain the drivers and implications of amenity-driven migration. This ignores the politics of place and time, the histories of settlements and the relational implications between affective experiences and expressions of emotion towards places.

Attending to affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and over time enables explorations into the everyday, situated experiences of coastal development. Furthermore, by considering amenity migration in a "more contextual, biographical and distributed manner" (Halfacree & Rivera, 2012: 92), everyday entanglements with place are revealed as well as the ongoing experiences of migrants further than the movement itself (Halfacree & Rivera, 2012). Within counter-urbanisation and amenity migration literature the tendency to provide paradigmatic accounts of the causes and effects of amenity-driven development and focus towards procedural accounts obscures the true diversity of experiences. Considering migration trends through attention to everyday subjective experiences in place and over time can contribute to the literature by emphasising the relational affects that take place within everyday experiences and continually (re)shape the landscape, and therefore add to the range of amenity-migration and coastal development experiences researched. Such an approach has the potential to re-politicise coastal migration and development literature by acknowledging the importance of power and discourse, knowledge and understandings of property and place.

3.2 Land-Use Change

3.2.1 Post-Productivism and Amenity Migration

Typical accounts of coastal development as a result of amenity-driven migration follow the broad premise that migration into coastal and rural areas is changing the dominance of production values (Mendham *et al.*, 2012). I argue that migration does not necessarily reduce production values as growth may occur in places that were not used for productive purposes, or growth may not occur at all. Such post-productive conceptions suggest productive land-uses are being replaced with consumption-based land-uses associated with second homes and tourism (Crawford *et al.*, 2013). Others, however, have argued that framing counter-urbanisation as resulting in a less-productive phase is wrong, and rather than precluding agricultural production, amenity migration has increased the heterogeneity of land-uses (Argent *et al.*, 2014).

Post-productivist accounts of coastal development are apolitical and disconnected from inherently related migration literature as amenity migration and counter-urbanisation are commonly studied in their social form, whilst land-use change literature generally focuses on material changes to the landscape. Affective experiences and expressions of emotion can bridge the gaps by examining how experiences in place and over time affect the material landscape change. Furthermore, attention to the intricacies of everyday life and experiences can reveal important influences on coastal development and land-use change by demonstrating how enactments of property and knowledges influence and inform everyday understandings of the appropriateness of different land-uses (Collins, 2009; Hurley, 2013). Place and time can also be utilised to critique typical post-productivist accounts of coastal development by attending to contextual complexity. Spatial heterogeneity is argued to result from differing temporal contexts, amenity access, and demographics (Golding, 2014), with shifts in landscapes over time reflecting dominant affective powers (re)moulding spaces (Mitchell, 2013). The criticality of understanding everyday experiences and spatiotemporal context in amenity migration and development is demonstrated by Mendham *et al.* (2012) who relate the rising mean age of farmers, diminishing expectations for intergenerational transfer of properties, and lower profits to the turnover and subdivision of property in Australia (Mendham *et al.*, 2012). In this way, place and time are critical factors to explaining spatial heterogeneity in experiences and highlight the relational links between socio-spatial networks in continually shaping experiences.

3.2.2 Gentrification and Coastal Development

Following on from post-productivist and counter-urbanising claims regarding coastal development processes, gentrification is commonly cited as the consequential form of development taking place. Broadly speaking, gentrification arguments frame coastal and rural development as akin to gentrifying urban neighbourhoods in which incoming affluent migrants displace lower-income residents and aim to reap the most economic benefit (Golding, 2014).

Overlaps between gentrification and counter-urbanisation literature highlight the interdependence of these claims. I argue that such conflation of amenity migration with affluence has limited the scope of such studies and led to paradigmatic assessments of amenity-driven migration resulting in gentrified landscapes. Hurley (2013) and Finewood (2012) both follow this premise by arguing how affluent amenity-migrants discursively shape development through interactions of power and values, consequently displacing existing residents and framings of place. Furthermore, Abrams and Bliss (2013) conflate counter-urbanisation, amenity migration and rural gentrification, linking them all with affluent urbanites migrating to form productive landscapes and emphasising consequences of economic restructuring, political and cultural conflicts, land subdivision and increasingly multifunctional land-uses (Gill *et al.*, 2010; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). These framings produce narrow lines of exploration for amenity migration and coastal development by shaping such trends as limited to affluent urbanites and neglect the multitude of spatiotemporal experiences that exist. Boddy (2007, cited in Collins, 2013) similarly argues that using 'gentrification' as a catch-all phrase to explain coastal development renders the term useless as it cannot distinguish between other processes of rural restructuring and counter-urbanisation. Stockdale (2010) also cautions against the use of gentrification as a catchall phrase, claiming that some migrants are not affluent and implied consequences such as increased housing prices do not eventuate. Collins (2013) provides an extensive critique of rural gentrification, concluding that many accounts of rural gentrification are flawed as development does not always involve restoration of existing buildings but rather new-build subdivisions and locational preference (rather than economic rationale) is usually a driver.

Alternative arguments frame patterns of coastal development as a multiplication of the suburbs (Morton, 1973, cited in Collins, 2013), highlighting the low-density, purpose-built nature of coastal development (Mace, 2009). It has also been argued that the suburban pattern of development is embedded within planning regulations and discourses. Dreschler (2008) claims that within rural (and coastal) amenity regions, the style of development is merely a transplant of city planning and design concepts that result in a "laying of a homogenous urban carpet over the land with little regard [for] its special qualities of place" (Drechsler, 2008: 13). Similarly, Shaw and Menday (2013) argue that amenity-driven migration has resulted in 'master-planned estates' and the loss of 'ordinary' house styles, which can evoke nostalgia for those styles and eras they represent. The marketing of master-planned estates draws on selective histories and nostalgic memories (Shaw & Menday, 2013), highlighting the importance of place and time, place attachments in time, the significance of the 'ordinary', and the roles of power and discourse in framing coastal development experiences.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the common approaches taken to migration and land-use change theory. Coastal migration has been broadly framed as a form of amenity migration and counter-urbanisation, although typical accounts tend to provide accounts that are too homogenous and spectacular, whilst ignoring banal cases. I have argued that counter-urbanisation literature tends to focus on affluence and population growth, whilst amenity migration literature focuses too much

towards lifestyle consumption under a broad paradigmatic framing. Similarly accounts of land-use change tend to over-represent conflicting productive and amenity values within land-use change experiences. Furthermore, the conflation of amenity migration with affluence and a focus on gentrification and reduced productive values tends to dominate within the literature at the expense of contextual situations.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR – RESEARCH STRATEGY

In Chapter Four I frame the case study in terms of the aforementioned critiques of coastal development literature, arguing that the Bayly's Beach patterns of coastal development do not fit with current accounts of extraordinary, affluence-induced amenity migration producing post-productive gentrified coastal landscapes. The case of coastal development in Bayly's Beach is framed as banal and characterised by slow growth and mundane built and natural environments. I then discuss the method employed in the thesis, reasserting that exploring the utility of document analysis as applied here, is a main objective of the study. Once I have argued for the value in examining documentary sources to analyse every affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and time, the employment of discursive analysis is discussed and the specific method taken is presented.

4.1 Context

In this section I analyse New Zealand coastal development through the aforementioned critiques made in Parts Two and Three. I argue that understanding the deep affective links that New Zealand as a whole has to the coast and the varying experiences of coastal development between and within different regions and districts exhibits the shortfalls of current literature by demonstrating the diversity of experiences and the criticality of place and time, as well as subjective experiences to coastal development processes. I then present the general material and demographic characteristics of the Bayly's Beach settlement, demonstrating how these do not fit with typical coastal development accounts, and arguing for the usefulness of exploring this seemingly ordinary settlement to uncover the role of affect and emotion over time and contribute to existing coastal development and migration literature.

4.1.1 New Zealanders and the coast

New Zealand's coastline is ingrained in the minds and identity of all New Zealanders, with its cultural importance and special status referred to in numerous books articles, newspapers and advertisements (Collins & Kearns, 2008; 2013; Peart, 2009). Such affiliations have been facilitated by the relative proximity of the coast for most New Zealanders, as 65% of the population live within 5km of it (Collins & Kearns, 2008; Stats NZ, 2010). Attachments to the coast by the general New Zealand public are evident in claims that increasing coastal development generates public concern for access and character, with coastal landscapes depicted as being transformed into exclusive enclaves for the affluent (Collins & Kearns, 2008; Peart, 2009). These shared attachments to the coast are socially constructed and their representations and meanings are discursively maintained and (re)produced through everyday practices and experiences. Māori ancestral relationships with coastal areas are also acknowledged for their importance in sustaining *kaitiaki* roles, the *mauri* of coastal resources, and the links to ancestral fishing and living sites (Cheyne & Freeman, 2009; Park 1995; Peart, 2009). Such

special status of the coast in New Zealand signifies that the coast is in fact “generative of deeply human experience and more than simply property relations and geomorphic processes” (Kearns & Collins, 2012: 952). Not only does this point to a broad place attachment of New Zealanders to the coast; it also demonstrates how affective experiences and expressions of emotion can influence coastal development processes through resistance to, or support for, development both directly and indirectly through discursive practices. In this way, the relational links between place and subjective experiences are evident in the way the significance of the coast is elevated beyond its physical features, and how experiences and perceptions inform practices towards the coast.

Coastal development in New Zealand varies spatially and temporally, with such inherent dynamism demanding consideration of the range of experiences. Peart (2009) has illustrated the phases of coastal development and management techniques within New Zealand, arguing that a *laissez faire* approach towards coast protection between 1945 – late 1960s saw farmers subdivide coastal land for extra income, creating a flow-on effect of subdivisions. The lack of subdivision management led to increasing concerns for coastal development and the need for recognition and protection of coastal values (Peart, 2009). Similar to counter-urbanisation studies, the concern for the phenomena arose in the early 1970’s and in response the establishment of a Coastal Reserve network saw the state acquire land for public reserves. The recognition of values and acquisition of land for public recreation demonstrates the affective influence of experience and emotions towards the physical landscape as they acknowledge the importance of subjective feeling and values, (especially regarding access) as justified reasons for protection and management of coastal landscapes.

The Resource Management Act (RMA) (1991) has since become the main regulatory source of coastal development management, further acknowledging connections to the coast through the elevation of issues such as public access and preservation of natural character in coastal environments, as well as their protection against inappropriate subdivision and development, as matters of national importance (s6 (a)(d)). Focused towards mitigating activity effects, the RMA delegates responsibility of preparation and implementation of District Plans to territorial authorities to manage the effects from the use, development or protection of land (Quality Planning, 2015). Piecemeal application and an inability to account for cumulative effects (Blackett & Hume, 2011; Peart, 2009), has resulted in a range of management approaches and outcomes across districts within New Zealand and hinting towards the consequential variety of coastal development experiences across New Zealand.

A national boom in coastal development between 2002-2007 resulted in increased land values and changing land-uses (Collins, 2013; Peart, 2009), with Thames-Coromandel District for example experiencing a loss of a third of its campgrounds to private sales between 2000 and 2005 (Department of Conservation, 2006). Holiday homes within coastal areas doubled in number between 1996-2006 to approximately 110,000, largely emerging through processes of sprawl, sporadic infill and Greenfield development (Collins, 2013). Furthermore, connections with the coast in terms identity

and access are argued to have become dependent on wealth rather than ancestry or attachments (Freeman & Cheyne, 2008), as housing prices are relatively higher compared to regional and national norms (Collins & Kearns, 2008; Peart, 2009), and second homebuyers make up a significant cohort of owners (Collins, 2013). The demise of the bach as the quintessential traditional settlement form and fear for built uniformity or out-of-character developments are commonly reported consequences of coastal development within New Zealand (Cheyne & Freeman, 2006; Collins, 2013). In this way much of the literature frames coastal development as a threat to social cohesion and place attachments (e.g. Collins, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2013; Green, 2010; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Low & Altman, 1992). Such responses are seen to reflect the confluence of values associated with the coast (Collins & Kearns, 2013; Gurrans *et al.*, 2007), with some motivated by deep connections with place as well as fears of change and exclusion (Collins, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2013; Devine-Wright, 2009; Olpit, 2002). From this perspective coastal development within New Zealand, on a national scale, is similar to the generalised claims within coastal development-related literature with population pressures, affluence markers and connections with place all common themes. I argue, however, that this is somewhat misleading as it obscures the diversity of experiences occurring in coastal settlements.

Distinctions between experiences of coastal development within New Zealand can be seen in several ways. Firstly, differences between the east and west coast are evident in the popularity of the more sheltered east coast bays which has unsurprisingly high prices to match, and the generally less-popular and cheaper, wild west coast (Barber, 2005; Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2016; Hoffman, 2011). This is not a binary distinction as some west coast settlements (e.g. Raglan and Kapiti Coast) are experiencing growth trends typically seen on the east coast, rather I aim to highlight that at a national level there is clear diversity in coastal development experiences which are not acknowledged in general accounts of New Zealand coastal development. Similar distinctions are evident between the North and South Island, with more popular North Island settlements such as those within Coromandel experiencing increased demand and property sales around three times the average, whilst some areas such as within Kaiteriteri and the Marlborough Sounds in the South Island are selling below rateable values (Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2016). In order to provide a fuller account of coastal development trends, attention must be paid to spatiotemporal context and the everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place, especially as territorial authorities are primarily responsible for managing land development.

4.1.2 Northland & Kaipara – Geographical and Political Context

Terrestrially bounded only by the Auckland Region and lined by 3,200km of coastline, no part of the Northland Region is more than 40km from the coast (Northland Regional Council, Accessed 2016). In relation to New Zealand as a whole, Northland is poor and economic development has been slow (Northland Regional Council, 1999), with Northland's economy based primarily on the productive capacities of the land (Northland Regional Council, 2004). Land therefore is especially critical to the Northland Region as its economic development currently depends on it, and the capacities and value of land may be rather critical in influencing its future development.

Containing 3.6% of the national population, Northland's demographics reflect a relatively higher proportion of people over 65 and under 15, whilst also experiencing relatively higher unemployment rates, higher numbers of owner-occupied dwellings and cheaper weekly rent (Stats NZ, 2013; 2013a). Demonstrating the demographic diversity, a range of juxtaposed experiences is revealed. Such statistics do not reveal the specific experiences that lead to these statistics. Instead, there is a need to delve into more situated place experiences to consider the range of enabling and restricting factors that lead to such emergent realities.

Northland's experience of coastal development is akin to cycles of boom and bust. Despite traditional productive land-uses still being predominant, increasing multi-functionality is evident where coastlines have become popular for primary and second home development. The demand and value for coastal properties however, has varied both spatially and temporally. The case study of Bayly's Beach is located within this region and its situated experience can help to reveal the true complexity that is involved within coastal development processes within the Northland Region.

International prospecting led to logging and Kauri Gum digging spurring development in the region during the mid 1800's, however this eventually stagnated with the consequential destruction of the Kauri forest (Stats NZ, 1999). Bayly's Beach, however was located in on the sandy hills of the west coast, and had minimal traces of these resources. Instead, interest in this land only occurred once farming and horticulture took hold. Cattle farming and horticulture have since dominated within the region, although poor roading and isolation hindered economic development and by 1999 Northland was considered the most rural region in New Zealand (Stats NZ, 1999). In light of this rurality, the land is the most significant economic asset and residential development is seen to threaten productive capacities through reverse sensitivity and sterilisation tactics (Northland Regional Council, 2012). Northland has developed to home one city on the east coast (Whāngārei) and numerous towns and coastal settlements (such as Bayly's Beach) (Northland Regional Council, 2012). An overt focus on productivity and economic growth has become evident within the region's policy and planning, however instances of affective experiences and expressions of emotion demonstrate the complex interactions between regional policy objectives and everyday experiences in place, which result in current coastal landscapes.

The sheltered east coast is favoured for residential development and is of common focus in both planning documents and media reports, generally neglecting west coast experiences. Earlier *lassiez faire* approaches to subdivision along with increasing interest in coastlines saw land values skyrocket leading up to the 2007/2008 recession, with some properties selling for more than double their registered value (Northern Advocate, 2010). Ad hoc management of subdivisions and coastal development led to over-supply of subdivisions with lasting effects (Northern Advocate, 2010) revealing the boom-bust nature of Northland coastal development experiences. Recently, another boom in east coast areas such as Mangawhai has led to a shortage of available housing (Wade,

2015). Whilst some argue that current experiences are a knock-on effect of the exploding Auckland market (Eriksen, 2013; Gaffaney, 2015), this perception marginalises the role of everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion tied to certain places and events, producing deterministic accounts of processes that are much more complex and varied. The Executive Director of Bayleys Real Estate in Northland hints toward the true complexity of coastal development experiences in stating that coastal sales in Mangawhai were in stark contrast to Whāngārei's residential market (Eriksen, 2013). Furthermore, Collins and Kearns' (2013) aforementioned study into coastal development resistance in Ngunguru, Northland highlights the criticality of place in terms of its physical features, as well as people's attachments in influencing the physical development of a place.

Northland Regional Council is currently using its out-dated 1999 Northland Regional Policy Statement (NRPS) despite processes to update it beginning in 2011. Within the operative NRPS there is no section dedicated to guiding residential development, instead it is addressed through individual resource policies. A preoccupation with economic growth and productive land capacities has seen the NRPS focused towards productive land-uses through its constant referral to soil and water capacities and general lack of consideration for subjective place qualities or other relational factors influencing development. Territorial authorities are left to deal with the increasing multi-functionality in land-uses issues, as well as the more subjective issues such as the identification of outstanding natural features and landscapes. In doing so, public consultation is required in order to recognise the range of values associated with such landscapes (Northland Regional Council, 1999), which is one of the few instances where consideration for affect and emotion is made within the NRPS. More concern is given to residential development within the coastal management section with acknowledgement of the "impacts, including cumulative effects, of subdivision, use and development on the natural character of the coastal environment, particularly its ecological, cultural and amenity values" (Northland Regional Council, 1999, s22.2(3)) and the maintenance and enhancement of public access to, and along the coast (Northland Regional Council, 1999, s22.2(8)). Despite this, a lack of integrated management across the coastal marine and terrestrial areas, and an overt concern for productivity has seen coastal development and the loss of natural character (especially along the east coast) becoming more prevalent issues (Northland Regional Council, 2009). The Proposed Northland Regional Policy Statement (PNRPS) (Northland Regional Council, 2012) addressed the neglect for the cumulative effects of subdivisions, and subjective experiences by acknowledging that "poor urban design and unplanned and un-coordinated development can lead to reduced levels of amenity, higher infrastructure costs, and reduced community wellbeing" (Northland Regional Council, 2012, s 2.4). Furthermore, incorporation of policies that consider amenity values, sense of place and character as well as the values associated with adjacent land-uses (Northland Regional Council, 2012, s 5.1.1; s 5.1.2) also demonstrates increased recognition for the criticality of subjective experiences in development processes and experiences. Considering the fact that most of the development at Bayly's Beach has occurred prior to the release of the PNRPS, it is further surprising that the settlement has such banal built landscape that has not succumbed to 'McMansion' style development.

Bayly's Beach comes under the jurisdiction of the Kaipara District; a district that has no cities, but three towns (Dargaville, Mangawhai and Kaiwaka) and is home to just under 19,000 people, a 4.5% increase since 2005 (Stats NZ, 2013b). Dargaville is the largest settlement in the district and is based largely around manufacturing, industry and retail (Makey, 2010). Furthermore, it houses substantial industrial and commercial areas as well as community facilities such as a hospital, schools, library and museum (Makey, 2010), and has become the site for the Regional and District Council offices (Ingerson, 2016). As Bayly's Beach is located only ten minutes drive west of Dargaville, it is further surprising that the settlement hasn't been exposed to rapid, out-of-scale coastal development. Additionally, the longest drivable beach in New Zealand – Ripirō Beach – is accessed from Bayly's Beach. Longer than 90 mile beach (its more popularised neighbour), I think it also reflects the nature of the Bayly's Beach settlement as an iconic feature which over time has become seemingly more banal. Ripirō Beach has a history in itself as a graveyard for 113 shipwrecks and site of the first tribal musket battle at Moremonui in 1807 (Patterson, 2014). Despite its unique history and physical landscape, the west coast of the Kaipara District has not seen much development over the years, a trend that cannot be explained by planning and policy and restrictions, but perhaps more by historic and current affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place.

Productive land-uses are dominant, with forestry and farming the largest employers, although increased development in the east coast settlement of (Mangawhai (heads)) has seen property prices increase by 12.9% in the past 5 years since 2010 (Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2016). Still representative of the productivity predominance however, Dargaville experienced the largest number of property sales for 2015, closely followed by Mangawhai (31 and 29 sales respectively) (Ingerson, 2016). Despite hinting towards disparate experiences these figures obscure the true complexity occurring. Firstly, the development occurring at Mangawhai (Heads) tends to be in the form of new-built second homes as it is a relatively new area, whereas Dargaville is a well-established settlement, and as previously mentioned, is an agricultural service centre for surrounding rural areas. Similarly, where over 60% of dwellings in Mangawhai (Heads) are unoccupied, only 9% are so in Dargaville (Stats NZ, 2013c). The differences in housing valuations between settlements also reflect critical differences, as Dargaville's median sale price for 2015 was \$196,000, selling an average of 8% over capital values, whilst Mangwhai Head's median sale price was \$612,000 for the same period, selling on average for 22% above capital valuations (Ingerson, 2016). The aim is not to create a binary distinction between the experiences, but rather to demonstrate that there is further complexity behind simplistic statistics that is masked in part through the neglect of affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and over time.

There also tends to be general differences between the east and west coasts in Kaipara, with west coast settlements tending to be un-serviced and much more affordable (Barber, 2005; Beca Carter Hollings & Ferner Ltd, 2010; Hoffman, 2011). As the east coast tends to be a hot-spot for coastal development it should be no surprise that Kaipara District Council has allowed such extensive growth, as their funding is based on rates and their goals towards economic growth and productivity

see their values placed with increasing rate-bases rather than accommodating for subjective experiences, environmental values or urban design. Furthermore, the preoccupation of the Council with Mangawhai and the lack of efficient management by the Kaipara District Council led to widespread failures within the district and council. It is not a secret that the Kaipara District Council has struggled with debt, infrastructure and rates which further stirs interest in me as to why Bayly's Beach didn't fall privy to the failed management of the district. The lack of research and explanatory mechanisms for these differences points to the need to explore more situated cases of coastal development and the need to address the more affective and everyday experiences that are contributing to development trends. The clear focus on Dargaville and Mangawhai in particular draws attention to the most obvious issue with reports of coastal development within the Kaipara District. There is a lack of research and reporting on smaller settlements' everyday experiences of coastal development as the concern for larger scale development and economic development predominate the public and council's concerns.

Bayly's Beach comes under the authority of the Kaipara District Council and the Kaipara District Plan (Kaipara District Council, 2013). District population growth is projected to be slight, with concern aimed towards Dargaville and Mangawhai, with expected commercial and tourism growth in Dargaville and Mangawhai expected to become the largest community in the district (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 2.1.2). The Kaipara District Plan (Kaipara District Council, 2013) also recognises the increasing diversification of land-uses within the district, raising concern for longer-term coastal growth impacts on smaller west coast settlements such as Bayly's Beach and conflicting values and land-uses (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 2.1.2). Furthermore, changing demographics, community compositions, occupancy rates, attitudes to density and Tangata Whenua values have been acknowledged as complicating the management of land-use and development (Kaipara District Plan, 2013, s. 3.1). Efforts to understand the complexity of coastal development processes are clearly evident, however there is still a disregard for the role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion over time, as well as the ways in which power and discourse can dictate coastal development processes and forms.

Within the Kaipara District Plan (Kaipara District Council, 2013) the Land Use and Development Strategy encourages residential development in existing settlements that have been identified as growth areas and aims to direct development to prevent under-utilisation of existing residentially zoned land (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 3.1). Uncertainty surrounding the timing and realisation of growth has been acknowledged as an issue for development within the district (Kaipara District Council, 2013) In an attempt to reconcile earlier failures in coastal development procedures and designs, however, a rather prescriptive approach based on effects is taken to addressing development through direction on appropriate land-uses, the establishment of standards within zones and the employment of a land-use and development strategy (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 3.5). Such policies leave little room for consideration of place-specific attachments or the everyday affective

experiences and expressions of emotion linked with place, by categorically defining what is and is not appropriate by zone, rather than the situated spatiotemporal contexts.

The identification of 'growth areas' and implementation of structure plans for those areas was put forward to encourage and enable investment and development whilst sustaining and enhancing amenity and character values, with Dargaville, Mangawhai, Maungaturoto and Kaiwaka currently identified in the Kaipara District Plan (2013) as growth areas. There were however, several other growth areas identified in the Proposed Kaipara District Plan (2009) that were removed after public consultation, with Bayly's Beach being one of the areas removed. Several submissions supported a Bayly's Beach growth area landward of the beach and the inclusion of the local camp clubs into the proposed growth area, acknowledging that although intensive development is not expected within these spaces in the near future, they should be included for incorporation into a structure plan (Beca Carter Hollings & Ferner Ltd, 2010). It was decided, however, that many of the identified growth areas had experienced little or no growth resulting in nine of the proposed thirteen growth areas being deleted (Kaipara District Council, 2011). Contrary to aforementioned explanations of affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place shaping coastal development processes (e.g. Collins and Kearns, 2013 and Hillier, 2011), this suggests submitters were not opposed to a growth plan as it included the opportunity for the development of a structure plan, but the Kaipara District Council however, decided against their own initiative, framing growth in terms of population as the most critical determinant. Of the adopted growth areas, only Mangawhai has a structure plan, which was adopted in 2005, whilst the other identified growth areas only have guiding maps, reflecting a lack of movement in developing structure plans for the other growth areas. The Section 32 report also guides development within the growth areas as it recognises that some may have natural and physical limitations, as well as "unidentified areas of cultural, historic and ecological value; and [t]he sense of place and specific amenity values of existing settlements" (Beca Carter Hollings & Ferner Ltd, 2010: 18). This points to the recognition of some aspects of the affective and emotive geographies that are experienced within place, although it does not allude to how such considerations are factored against more dominant productive goals in the Kaipara District Council.

Despite the lack of a structure plan, Bayly's Beach has worked with the Kaipara District Council to produce a Working in Partnership Action Plan to engage with community to address perceived issues. The 2013 Action Plan highlighted several special physical and subjective features of Bayly's Beach that included its access to Ripirō Beach, the simplistic lifestyle, the thriving arts community and the fact that growth is welcomed (Kaipara District Council, 2013a). Enhancing access was the top priority, followed by ensuring locals are the ones to undertake community projects (Kaipara District Council, 2013a). A valiant attempt to address local concerns, this approach allows more subjective experiences to be addressed and also points to important values within the Bayly's Beach community. The need for a community centre, footpaths and wastewater schemes were considered to be issues but not necessarily issues that needed to be currently addressed (Kaipara District Council, 2013a). By attending to the everyday experiences over time, these latter issues are to seen to be pervasive and

on going. Addressed in more detail in later sections, recurrent issues over time are argued to be deeply linked with affect, emotion, experience, and other (in)capacitating factors over time that (re)shape the issues and the context as time goes by and interests change.

Overlays implemented have aimed to manage land-uses in order to enable people to provide for their wellbeing through recognition of the importance of resources in terms of their materiality, life-supporting processes, *mauri* and the value to local residents (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 4.1). The Northern Wairoa River, the West Coast, the East Coast, the Kaipara Harbour, the Mangawhai Harbour and the Kai Iwi lakes have been identified as significantly sensitive and valued environments, which demand overlays (Kaipara District Council, 2013, s 4.1.1). Of particular importance to this thesis is the West Coast overlay which encompasses a majority of the Bayly's Beach settlement, requiring resource consents to account for the overlay provisions. Another overlay consisting of the West Coast Beach also runs along the seaward side of the settlement, requiring further consideration of landscape effects in resource consenting processes. Both of these mapping approaches rely on arbitrary lines for significant areas that blur into surrounding landscapes. The ways in which everyday experiences are linked to these landscape overlays and their meanings to everyday life are caught up in the affective experiences and expressions of emotion within place that are lost within planning processes, especially when put up against traditional productive values.

A particular lack of balance exists between the increasing multi-functionality of the district and the traditional ties to productivity. Furthermore, the dependence of rates for funding and the lack of resources has led to a preoccupation with larger settlements and more significant interests, whilst smaller settlements and more subjective values are commonly neglected in the pursuit of economic gain.

4.1.3 Bayly's Beach Context

Located on the west coast of the Kaipara District, 10 minutes drive from Dargaville and 2.5 hours northwest of Auckland, Bayly's Beach is a small coastal settlement in a predominantly rural area. Encompassing two gorges and facing Ripirō Beach and the Tasman Sea, Bayly's Beach is surrounded by an outstanding natural landscape (Kaipara District Plan, 2013, s 18.5) and is exposed to the continuous coastal processes of erosion and deposition. Some authors would claim that this geographical positioning along with its quintessential built and natural environment would likely see the settlement undergo rapid growth (Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2016; Gurran *et al.*, 2007); the reality however sees a different experience occurring at Bayly's Beach.

Comprising a population of roughly 290, an increase of 61 people has been reported since 2006 (Stats NZ, 2013c). Over the same period the number of households increased from 99 to 126 and the median age increased by 8 years to 48 (Stats NZ, 2013c). Such statistics would seem to reflect the general consensus of coastal development processes in that increasingly older, wealthier people are

migrating to idyllic coastal locations and developing on new sections. These statistics however, largely obscure the true realities of the coastal development processes occurring within Bayly's Beach, which can be revealed when affective experiences and expressions of emotion over time are analysed to explain the significance of place-specific interactions over time in coastal development processes.

A bach character has been retained over the years, despite numerous subdivisions. The predominant era of dwellings is from the 1940s and 1950s, although bach development dates to 1914 with the Baylys Town Camp Club (BTCC, 2014) and in more recent times a range of housing styles have emerged through in-fill and subdivisions. The earliest baches were built along the beachfront of each gorge (roughly ten years apart), with the first (BTCC) emerging from a leasehold arrangement between a farmer and local (Dargaville) residents for land to establish a camp club (BTCC, 2014). A second camp club was established on the northern gorge - Chases Gorge Camp Club (CGCC), with both involving commonly held land and sets of rules for membership. Both these coastal developments are extensively analysed in the thesis to reveal affective experiences and expressions of emotion and examine the potential relational links to the coastal development processes that followed to produce the current emergent form.

Unlike other popularised coastal areas of Kaipara such as Mangawhai, there is no over-demand for housing or land. There are numerous lots still for sale within the most recent Sunset West development, which was granted consent in 2009 for 86 homes and was expected to increase the population by 30% (Kaipara Lifestyler, 2014). Furthermore, the prices of the sections are not excessive and are comparatively cheaper than residential coastal lots in Mangawhai. For example, whereas a non-beachfront 868m² lot in Mangawhai is being marketed at \$400,000 (Trademe, 2016a), a similar sized (801m²) lot in Bayly's Beach with sea views is on the market for \$120,000 (Trademe, 2016b). Alongside this difference, the style of housing and sizes of the lots between the two settlements is also hugely disparate. Despite demonstrating differences between the settlements, these figures also obscure the coastal development processes that have occurred over time at Bayly's Beach as the lots were initially marketed at well over double the current asking prices and not even the first of the five stage subdivision managing to sell-out.

Other built features include the local café – The Funky Fish, which recently sold at a mortgagee auction after being closed for over a year – and the local convenience store, take-away and bar – Sharky's. Bayly's Beach also contains a golf course and up until last year boasted the largest telescope in the North Island (Kaipara Lifestyler, 2015). Another loss occurred in 2012 with the removal of the community hall by the Presbyterian Church (Rees-Owen, 2012). Unlike many other idyllic coastal areas however, Bayly's Beach still has its campground, even though it was put on the market in 2014 (Trademe, 2014). A complex experience is clearly evident, and I argue that it is necessary to recover accounts of everyday experiences and analyse them for hints of affective

experiences and expressions of emotion to fully understand the affective processes that influence coastal development processes.

Processes and experiences over time are then critical to understanding the coastal development that is seen in Bayly's Beach, and can help to re-politicise coastal development literature by reinforcing this fact. The criticality of time is also considered within the methods when the utility of a documentary analysis is discussed.

4.2 Summary

The context within which the Bayly's Beach experience is emerging is clearly complex and a product of a range of intertwining relational experiences in place and over time. Diverse experiences from the national to the district scale demonstrate the need to explore different experiences of coastal development in order to understand the relational interactions occurring in place. The account provided of the Bayly's Beach experience does little to reveal the relational interactions that have produced the current relationships and experiences. When explored in relation to time and subjective experiences an alternative understanding of these experiences can be produced which can greatly contribute to diversifying the literature scope and focus in regards to coastal development.

Understanding the broader politics and regulatory measures aiming to manage development patterns does little to reveal the critical politics of place and identity that are working to inform place and development patterns over time. The research strategy below provides a way to explore these interactive experiences over time and demonstrate their importance in shaping current physical coastal development and feelings towards place.

4.3 Research method

4.3.1 Approach to Method and Analysis

As previously stated, the theoretical approach taken to coastal development research in itself is a key objective of the thesis, whilst the application of the theoretical framework to the methodological approach is also a distinct objective, aiming to explore the usefulness of applying deeply subjective theories of affect and emotion to critical documentary analyses. Many see the application of such people-centred theories compared to more objective forms of analysis as insufficient and devoid of usefulness, as well as contradictory to the understandings of affect and emotion. The employment of a documentary and discursive analysis is purely an exploration to consider the potential limitations and emergent benefits to analysing such material for affective experiences and expressions of emotion. I argue that documentary analyses allow consideration of everyday interactions over time through the exploration of unsolicited accounts of coastal development processes in place and time, and that interpretation and critical reflexivity is a pivotal factor in understanding and analysing the material for moments of affect and emotion.

The employment of qualitative approaches within social sciences has become normalised and somewhat an orthodoxy for challenging ideas of representation and focusing towards meaning making and interpretation through practice and performativity (Hoggart *et al.*, 2014). Qualitative approaches are largely inductive, aiming to generate meaning through data interpretation (Cresswell, 2003).

The traditional focus towards in-depth interviews with stakeholders has been expanded from privileging people's expressed emotional experiences as genuine and honest, to further critical analyses of underlying themes and discourses, arguing that earlier approaches objectified emotions and provided superficial accounts (Pile, 2010). Qualitative methods have since been elevated as vital to uncover the strategic deployment of discourses that promote certain understandings and visions of place (Collins & Kearns, 2013). Although some have criticised the continued issue of representation within such approaches, interpretation and reflexivity is inescapable and necessary to enable criticality. The complexity of the issue is demonstrated by Pile (2010) who argues that although affect opposes ideas of representation, it is always effectively represented through language. As understandings of affect necessarily see emotions as the expression of affective experiences, emotion itself can be seen as an interpretation. As such, it is the naming and making conscious that allows affect to be analysed (Thrift, 2004). Therefore, studies of affect must have some form of interpretive or representative function in order to provide an explanation of experiences. The focus on affective experiences and expressions of emotion aims to attend to both, framing expressions of emotion as interpretations of affective experiences.

Qualitative approaches have tended to neglect the criticality of time and history in their focus towards performativity and people-centred research methods. The subsequent downplay and ignorance towards documentary and archival-based research methods has been normalised within qualitative approaches, resulting in presentist analyses of socio-spatial interactions that fail to account for changes over time apart from memories expressed. Such expressions however, are shaped in hindsight and through current understandings of past experiences. Although expressions of the past are important, reliance on them neglects the criticality of context and the relational interactions over time that produce current affective experiences, emotional expressions and material landscapes. Following ideas of Fairclough (2003) that language is dialectically connected with other elements of social life and therefore social analyses must always account for language, I argue that narratives and expressions in text are equally critical to analyses of socio-spatial interactions. With the general acceptance of social-constructionism and understandings of relational interactions, and the process-based nature of place and experience, surely it is equally critical to address subjective experiences over time, or at least attempt to.

Recent approaches to the study of affect have, however, either explicitly or by implication moved away from earlier attention to language and discourse as incapable of attending to the embodied,

affective nature of subjectivity (McAvoy, 2015). My aim with the analysis process is to reinvigorate debate into the dualisms set up between affect and previous attention to language and discourse. Following recent arguments in psychology, the semiotic and relational nature of both discourse and affect allows similar familiar concepts to be applied to both, with a “focus on practical deployments in interaction enabl[ing] epistemological and ontological psychosocial [and socio-spatial] arguments to be grounded in practical discursive-affective accomplishments” (McAvoy, 2015: 22). Affect and discourse therefore attends to inter-subjective social practices that are deeply intertwined in the relational nature of phenomena (McAvoy, 2015; Wetherell, 2013). This more blurred relationship between affect and discourse sees “distinctions between cognitive and non-cognitive, representational and non-representational, conscious and unconscious, language and the body become less clear-cut” (Wetherell, 2012: 52). In an attempt to negate these distinctions a critical discursive analysis of documentary and archival sources is undertaken to explore the benefits and limits of taking such an approach in light of the suggested disconnect between affect and, discourse and language.

Critical Analyses of Documentary Sources

I employ a critical discursive analysis of document-based data in order to explore the potential relational links between everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion and coastal development processes in Bayly’s Beach over time. Existing documentary sources are by-products of human activity created through day-to-day interactions (Mills *et al.*, 2010) and are therefore representations of everyday interactions in place that provide insights into historical everyday experiences. Utilisation of existing sources bypasses the issue of solicited information, although the criticality of the context in which information was produced must be addressed. This approach aims to re-invigorate debate into the usefulness of documentary and archival research in qualitative studies, as well as the application of discursive analyses to affective studies.

As data sources reflect the aims and attitudes of the people that created them, they must be seen as socially defined, produced and consumed (Clark, 2015; Coffey, 2014). Wetherell argues that “accounts are the descriptions, justifications and explanations of activities that make up so much of everyday discourse” (2012: 90), demonstrating that documents are already socially constructed and interpreted by their authors. Texts are argued to have causal effects and influences on changes in people, practices, interactions, and the material world, which are mediated through meaning-making (Fairclough, 2003). Furthermore, texts are both shaped by causal powers of social structures and social practices, as well as social agents (Fairclough, 2003). Documentary sources therefore, have the potential to reveal important socio-spatial interactions through the application of critical analyses to draw out relational links.

Analysing secondary data also allows access to sources and subjects that may be impossible through direct contact, such as historical subjects (Hoggart *et al.*, 2014). Compared to traditional qualitative approaches, documentary evidence can therefore uncover historical, political, social, economic and

personal dimensions of the Bayly's Beach coastal development processes that may be unavailable through other methods (Mills *et al.*, 2010). Interviews may produce biased outcomes through the structuring of questions and power positionings, as participants may try to provide selective answers in regards to what the researcher wants to hear (Hoggart *et al.*, 2014). Document analysis, however, involves non-reactive sources, allowing investigations over longer time periods and less obtrusiveness (Bowen, 2009; Hoggart *et al.*, 2014). Disadvantages do exist and are well noted, such as the potential for insufficient detail, biased selectivity and irretrievability (Bowen, 2009).

The data recovered involved a range of official and unofficial sources. A brief overview of the information gathered is presented in the table of the following page. The information gathered is limited to the relevancy of data related to Bayly's Beach and involved a range official and unofficial sources. The table reflects the range of sources explored in order to address both the typical, physical accounts of coastal development processes, such as population growth and development, as well as the more subjective experiences that may also contribute to such processes.

Table 1 Overview of Data Sources Utilised

Data Type	Data Sources	Data Recovered
Official - Objective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statistics New Zealand • Kaipara District Council • National Archives • Papers Past 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population and dwelling statistics • Land sales and ownership transfers. • Resource consent decisions and deliberations • District and County Plans
Unofficial - Subjective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dargaville Library • Dargaville Museum • Auckland Museum Library • National Library • Auckland University General Library • National Archives • Chases Camp Club Minute Books • Papers Past • Real Estate websites • Blogs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memoirs of people and places • Biographical histories • District descriptions and values • Maps and photographs. • Newspaper reports.

Analysis Process

The process of analysis follows an exploratory, emergent method of analysis through which documentary sources are examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning and gain understanding of the coastal development processes that have occurred at Bayly's Beach over time to produce the current emergent landscape. Attention to thematic and discursive analyses allows interpretation of the deeper meanings and relational interactions between the documents and material environments.

Thematic analysis involves systematic, open-coding of sources with the aim of identifying key themes or patterns of cultural meaning in order to interpret theoretical categories, patterns and explanatory principles (Coffey, 2014; Crang, 2005; Mills *et al.*, 2010). Through inductive analysis, patterns and emergent themes are used to develop explanatory analyses of the data (Mills *et al.*, 2010), with the themes not in themselves explanatory frameworks (Crang, 2005), but rather the interpretation of the themes through theoretical frameworks. In this way explorations of emergent themes through theoretical framings of everyday affective experiences, and expressions of emotion in place and over time, are hoped to reveal relational links between processes material coastal development and subjective experiences.

Discourse analysis involves similar coding of themes within data, but aims to consider how the use of language is discursive and has the power to frame issues and spaces (Dittmer, 2010; Paltridge, 2012). Concerned with the conveyance of discursive language and constructions as well as their social (and material) consequences (Willig, 2014), documentary sources can be analysed and interpreted to highlight structures of meaning that lie behind the immediate text (Crang, 2005), in the same way that interview analysis has now moved beyond taking responses as honest and truthful. Being critical of the data recovered is pivotal to such analyses, with contextualisation, reflexivity and explicit political stances requiring an approach that is fundamentally emergent rather than inductive (Chad *et al.*, 2016; Fairclough, 2011; Wodak, 2001).

Critical Discourse Analysis emphasises “relations between semiotic and other social elements” with such relationships varying in place and time (Fairclough, 2011: 11). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis perceive socio-political issues as constructed and reflected in discourses; power relations as negotiated and performed through discourses; discourses as reflective and reproductive of social relations, and; ideologies as produced and reflected through discourse (Paltridge, 2012). The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis then is to be critical of values and assumptions underlying discourses, which can reveal the ways in which aspects of discourses, such as affective experiences and expressions of emotion can (in)directly (re)shape the material landscape. Undertaking a critical discourse analysis allows understandings of affective experiences and expressions of emotion as mediated by socially and historically situated power relations, with language being central to the formation of subjectivity (both conscious and unconscious) (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). By revealing such discursive and powerful meaning-making processes and practices, everyday, taken-for-granted affective experiences and expressions of emotion can be analysed for their role in (re)shaping landscapes, thereby re-politicising coastal development research by reinvigorating debates between language, discourse, affect and emotion, and their capacities to shape the material environment. I aim to specifically explore the material for the discourses employed in development processes over time and what can be revealed in terms of their links with affective experiences and expressions of emotion.

Current coastal development experiences in Bayly's Beach are then understood as historically situated and relative socially constructions developed through pervasive discourses that manifest in subjective experiences, practices and identities (Locke, 2004). In this thesis, discourses are considered as "a practice not just representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough, 1992: 64). Consideration of the documentary information gathered as forms of discursive practices capable of directly or indirectly expressing experience and emotion in place allows for an analysis of affective experiences and expressions of emotion through discourse and language. The information gathered has been thematically analysed for emergent themes within the data that have proven pervasive over time. These emergent themes were analysed against the broader theoretical arguments proposed to re-politicise coastal development research including the influence of affective experience and expressions of emotion to coastal development processes; the ways in which place attachments and everyday experiences in place and over time are critical to such experiences and emotions, and; the inter-subjective role of power and discourse in place politics shaping coastal development processes. The findings are presented below through an analysis of several critical time periods. They are presented in two sections with the first exploring discourses of place making over time whilst the second part addresses the current experiences and the potential to re-politicise coastal development research through consideration of past discourses of place making. Collectively the aim, in the conclusion, will be to examine the usefulness of having taken such an approach to exploring coastal development processes, in terms of its benefits and limitations to addressing the re-politicisation of coastal development research.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE – FINDINGS & DISCUSSION Part 1

BAYLY'S BEACH DISCOURSES OF PLACE-MAKING OVER TIME

5.1 Introduction

Exploring the Bayly's Beach experience of coastal development in terms of the previously set out theoretical framework and critique of existing coastal development-related research requires a two-pronged analysis to address the issue. Part One explores the discourses of place making that have been developed and deployed over time to shape coastal development processes within Bayly's Beach, whilst Part Two discusses the ability of these discourses and their analysis to disseminate the current coastal development processes and experiences occurring within Bayly's Beach. I argue that understanding the context of development and landscape change in terms of the spatial and temporal situatedness of experiences is critical to shaping coastal development processes as well as subjective experiences. Furthermore, these subjective experiences occur within the realm of everyday life and are both a product and influential factor shaping socio-spatial interactions.

The processes of coastal development that have occurred at Bayly's Beach over time are now critically analysed in terms of their revelations regarding affect and emotion, and everyday experiences in place, with particular attention paid to power and discourse. The physical development of Bayly's Beach is presented as five phases reflecting critical periods of change in the settlement (The Desert Coast, Early European, Camp Clubs, Moeatoa Estate and Present-day Bayly's Beach). Within Part One, past phases of development are analysed in terms of the discourses of place making which have shaped the current Bayly's Beach landscape, while Part Two specifically addresses the Present-day Bayly's Beach situation through specific reference to the criticality of historical explorations in re-politicising coastal development-related research.

Within the findings there are some clear links between affective experiences, expressions of emotion, discourses and land development. Where there are clear relational links, intertwining of discourse and subjective experiences with coastal development can be seen through socio-spatial interactions across time periods. I argue that subjective experiences within the wider Bayly's Beach area over time have critically shaped the current experiences and discourses that frame the settlement and vice versa. Despite some clear links between the relational nature of affective experiences, expressions of emotion and land development processes, there are aspects where there is limited direct accounts of subjective experiences. Some cases allow for interpretations to be made through emotive language, whilst others provide little subjective detail and are more objective accounts. Collectively, the findings afford complimentary analyses of place change against typical coastal development research into amenity migration and associated land use change. In this way, more in-depth understandings for

coastal development processes over time can be produced by exploring the critical role of discourses, both influenced by, and influencing, affective experiences and expressions of emotion and ultimately land development.

The ability to re-politicise coastal development research becomes evident when considering the place-specific issues, discourses and subjective everyday experiences within the settlement over time. Although addressed specifically in Part 2, historical experiences and discourses of place making help to reveal the important discourses, experiences and other factors that have contributed to the shaping of the Bayly's Beach settlement. I argue that affective experiences and expressions of emotion within coastal development processes present themselves through discursive and power-laden place politics occurring within the realm of everyday experiences, and that place and time are decisive factors in shaping coastal development processes. The situated nature of these factors renders paradigmatic accounts of coastal development processes (including amenity migration and gentrification) as meaningless, abstracted from the everyday realities of place-production, which are spatiotemporally specific.

Linked with broader concerns regarding the lack of subjectivity within documentary analyses and issues with reliability of historical material, a lack of information regarding the broader Kaipara and Northern Wairoa area has been documented across history, from pre-European times to today (Horn, 1956). Discussed in further detail in the conclusion, this issue reflects both a persistent neglect within the locality and wider district, as well as a critical point of reflection for the validity of the findings. In light of the general lack of information, these findings are incomplete and deeply subjective, based only on experiences that have been documented, and also framed from the perspective of the author (Byrnes, 2001). Nevertheless, the findings presented demonstrate the ways in which power and discourse, at times as a result of affective experiences and as a way to express emotion, influence both the physical development and everyday experiences in Bayly's Beach. In the same way, everyday experiences equally shape the physical development of place through actions of individuals as a result of their interactions with place over time. At times information is too limited to gain useful insight, whilst others provide an array of perspectives and experiences. Likewise, whilst information pertaining to a certain locality may be limited, exploring the relational interactions with nearby settlements and experiences also provide important insights into the dynamic, negotiated nature of development as well as its emergent form. Thus the analysis begins at a much broader scale of the Kaipara/Hokianga geographical coastal areas in order to understand the relational emergence of the Bayly's Beach settlement over time.

5.2 The Desert Coast

Fundamentally related to the availability of information, written narratives and accounts of the wider Kaipara typically appear alongside the arrival of Europeans to the area. As Māori language and culture are traditionally oral, there is a lack of information describing everyday experiences prior to European arrival. Furthermore, these accounts are typically the perspectives of early Europeans and

therefore provide only certain framings of the experiences. As such, the accounts given must be considered as subjective perceptions framed certain discourses and that produce representative accounts of experiences. For some affective geographers these representative, written accounts cannot address affect, arguing that affect cannot be represented and is pre-cognitive or pre-mediated (Pile, 2010; Roelvink & Zolkos, 2015). Conversely however, I seek to highlight how affective experiences can be explored through examinations of expressions of emotion. Following ideas of Wetherell (2012) Pile (2010) and Waterton (2013) I argue that expressions of emotion are the mediated, representation or physiological object of affective experiences, framing the two concepts as inextricably linked in process-based relationship. This framing allows exploration of written, representative accounts and their analysis for the underlying discourses shaping coastal development processes.

This section demonstrates how physical land development and management link closely with subjective experiences related to the perceived value of places. In particular, land development discourses both influenced, and were influenced by, affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place. Expressed emotions and affective experiences entwined within accounts of tribal conflicts between hāpu of Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Whātua and as described by early Europeans, reveal significant links between subjective experiences and discourses in shaping both everyday experiences and land development processes. The ways in which the land developed was heavily reflective of its perceived value in terms of accessibility and resources by both Europeans and Māori. Such discourses of place and space heavily influenced the direction of development and the framing of the area, which has fundamentally shaped Bayly's Beach's process of coastal development. The criticality of these discursive framings and everyday place experiences lie within the relational, process-based nature of place change and growth, as place is a fundamentally social construct emerging as a historically contingent process (Pred, 1984). These subjective experiences and discourses of place enable exploration of development processes over time and reassert the significance of time in coastal development related research. A final argument broached is for the consideration of hindsight as a vital point of coastal development research in order to be critically reflexive and attentive to the relational and emergent nature of socio-spatial experiences. To develop these arguments, attention is drawn to early tribal warfare experiences and the physical coastal landscape to develop an idea of the broader discourses shaping coastal development processes in the area. I specifically argue that discourses associated with land productivity and spiritual beliefs have been critical to framing everyday experiences and development processes simultaneously. When such historical explorations are pursued, more insightful understandings of coastal development processes and experiences can be obtained.

5.2.1 Tribal Conflict and the Buffer Zone

Māori or Europeans did not inhabit the Bayly's Beach locality permanently in the early 1800's, making it imperative to explore the broader place politics. Documentary evidence from early European accounts and more recent Waitangi Tribunal reports provide the most useful recollections of Māori and early European experiences within the area. Everyday interactions between Māori, Europeans,

and the wider landscape can be interpreted from these sources to unravel the underlying discourses of place making. Such discourses, interactions and development patterns are much more apparent when considered in hindsight, which points towards the importance of historical investigations and relational interactions over time in producing emergent place experiences. Additionally, the findings revealed speak to the relational and emergent nature of place and experience, highlighting how subjective experiences over time are fundamental to shaping development and place.

Waitangi Tribunal reports and early European accounts reveal a long and contested history of land occupation between various Ngāti Whātua- and Ngā Puhi-affiliated hāpu, with the area between present-day Dargaville and Whāngārei a zone of conflict regularly fought over (Mold, ND; Smith, 1910; Ward, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 1992; 2006). The root causes and consequences of these contestations demonstrate the importance of past affective experiences and expressions of emotion within everyday life and broader socio-spatial relations over time. The zone of conflict emergent from tribal warfare was a critical influencing factor into the future development of the area; a point that will be reiterated in Part 2 to demonstrate the decisive role of historical experiences and ultimately relational, emergent realities in creating place.

Tribal warfare within the broader Kaipara and Hokianga areas was heavily related to inter-marriages over time between Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Whātua, which produced a wide range of relationships and new hāpu emergent from everyday socio-spatial interactions. Māori histories relayed through written European accounts perceived the concept of *utu* (retaliation or reciprocation in order to achieve balance) to be a fundamental motivation for repeated confrontations between these neighbouring iwi, usually concerning social relationships or resources (Smith, 1910; Tinne 1873). Social and physical disputes were equally important to Māori seeking *utu* and the concept of *utu* itself as an emotionally-charged idea linked with restoring *mana* and taking vengeance is reflective of the affective, interactive experiences and expressions of emotion (Moorfield, 2011). These subjective social constructs guiding everyday Māori life emerge from past everyday and affective experiences within place and have had far-reaching consequences for the socio-spatial development of the area. Everyday affective experiences in terms of intimate relationships between people as well as historical cultural knowledge and values point towards critical cultural discourses framing socio-spatial relationships and place development.

Acts of *utu* as emergent tribal warfare hold particular significance to the development of Bayly's Beach for two key reasons. Firstly, the relative lack of resources on the coastal margin compared to the inner Kaihu Valley saw many smaller conflicts occur around inland areas, entrapping the terrestrial Bayly's Beach locality into a framing of relative insignificance which would pervade for decades to come. In this case it is the lack of expressions of emotion or value given to the area which is important here, as it reveals the relational value of the Bayly's Beach locality compared to other more resource-endowed localities in the area. Secondly, the coastal area where Bayly's Beach is located was within the zone of conflict that emerged as a result of these continued attempts at *utu*.

This reality saw the coastal area become a relative no-mans land used generally as route of travel, with little permanent settlement. Whilst only the latter point of *Utu's* importance speaks directly to affective experiences and emotional expressions in shaping land use and development, both reveal significant place making discourses shaping socio-spatial relationships.

As noted, natural resources, alongside social relationships were a commonly reported matter of dispute during this time with several accounts framing natural resources as the “hidden agenda of full scale wars” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: 16). Te Rōroa traditions also confirm the importance of the prolific seafood resources and fertile land of the west coast in tribal rivalries (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Early European narratives such as S. Percy Smith's (1910) saw the Kaihu Valley's rich soils as lending towards the desire for Māori to live in the area and in his mind “this no doubt was the reason of these fights for its possession amongst fellow tribesmen” (p. 21). Resources were critical to sustaining everyday life as well as tribal wars and the comparative lack of resources within the Bayly's Beach locality meant it was not equipped with enough natural resources to sustain permanent settlement. The locality was therefore marginalised in terms of popularity with both Māori and early Europeans. With accounts from both Europeans and Māori confirming the importance of the Kaihu Valley to everyday needs and tribal conflicts, it is clear that land itself was enough to initiate warfare. Resources however may have disguised the true motivations of warfare, as power is closely tied with resource assets and influence within everyday life and may have been the true incentive for greater control over resources. In this way, discourses framing warfare in terms of resources, especially those presented by Europeans, may be superficial in neglecting the critical social structure of Māori culture and assuming physical objects as the impetus for conflict. Critical differences in knowledge systems, such as those between Māori and Europeans, have enabled misrepresentations such as these, and have also contributed to future land conflicts and development processes as will be demonstrated further on in regards to Māori land claims.

Small scale conflicts continued over time until they culminated in the battle of Moremonui in 1807 just north of Bayly's Beach, where several Ngā Puhi leaders were lost and later avenged at the battle of Te Ika-a-Ranganui in 1825 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). The present location of Bayly's Beach is very close to the Moremonui battle site and is located within the socially constructed zone of conflict that aimed to separate the warring Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Whātua tribes. The importance of land to wellbeing and power was critical to these battles (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Demonstrating the material effects of such emotionally-driven conflicts, the remembrance of the sites of these battles and the resultant zone of conflict that was artificially deployed highlight the very real effects of affective experiences and expressions of emotion through actions. The discourses embedded within Māori culture and shaping these experiences, expressions and actions hint towards the underlying social, spiritual and political motivations shaping these socio-spatial interactions and place futures.

Future settlement patterns and Māori land claims in the decades following are part of the emergent place politics stemming from these tribal conflicts. For example many early European settlers reported

land sales in the Kaipara district area at the request of local chiefs looking to minimise conflict by establishing a buffer zone (Horn, 1956; Trounson, 1988). Such claims exemplify the role of human experiences shaping development and discursively frame European settlement as an act to help reduce tribal conflict, whilst downplaying their benefits from the fertile lands, which were being fought over. As European settlers have documented much of the area's history, there are clear discourses framing European intervention and settlement as a noble act to keep peace between warring tribes, whilst neglecting the consequential conflicts between hāpu that also arose from these interactions.

The Trounsons (who became a household name in the Kaipara District), mention the role of a Rev. Gittos in the settlement of Europeans in this conflict zone, stating that:

'[H]e had a thorough knowledge of the Māori mind, he spoke the language, and he had the Māori's confidence. He also knew the Kaipara Māori's fear of invasion from the Northern tribes, so he was frequently able to arrange sales of portions of land for occupation by the Europeans, so forming a buffer zone for the Kaipara Māoris as a safeguard from tribal interference' (Trounson, 1988: 11).

Early trader Samuel Polack similarly recounts his interactions with Parore, chief of Te Rōroa during 1832, expressing that,

'his [Parore] heart was set upon having commercial Europeans residing in his various settlements; that unfortunately, his people had nothing to employ their thoughts or hands, after planting, but themes of war and renewing old grievances; but if commerce was instituted among his tribe, they would be employed in working for articles that would prove most serviceable to them' (Polack, 1974 reprint: 78).

These accounts of the conflicts within the area clearly construct European settlement as occurring at the request of local Māori in response to constant warfare. These accounts ignore Māori conceptions of land ownership, however, where land could not be sold or owned by individuals, leaving room to speculate whether hāpu and iwi knew or understood the potential effects of European settlement. Furthermore, the representation of Māori as living in fear, and the portrayal of warfare as an everyday constant occurrence, discursively frames Māori as in need of help and intervention by Europeans. These discursive justifications for settlement have greatly affected patterns of development in the area and can be considered as a critical moment in the place making of Bayly's Beach and the wider area.

Affective experiences and expressions of emotion were commonly drawn on by Europeans as explanatory instances for Māori's supposed desire for European occupation. Reflected in Trounson's recollections of Māori's 'fear' for invasion as well in the following exert by Polack, expressions of emotion and recollections of affective experiences were discursively drawn on to justify European

settlement and raise the value of the European presence in the area. Polack's narrative of an encounter with footprints in the sand-hills whilst travelling along down the west coast with local Māori guides similarly demonstrates how Europeans would depict Māori as living in fear of warfare.

'The insecurity felt by these people was now exhibited by my companions, everyone of whom was anxiously alarmed; and, to judge by their change of countenance and demeanour, they appeared to feel as horrified as if expecting a violent death.' (Polack, 1974 reprint: 73).

These accounts of the interactions between Māori and European highlight how Europeans discursively framed their presence in the area as a peacekeeping force whilst downplaying the fact that they were settling in the most resource rich areas along the rivers, which were also greatly valued by local Māori. The portrayal of European settlement as a means to create a buffer zone at the request of Māori also reveals critical discourses of place making used by early Europeans. The ability for Europeans to settle on land under the cover of providing a tribal buffer zone speaks to the power of the Europeans in both exerting power physically over the landscape but also in their ability to discursively frame development by playing on Māori's expressions of emotion. Attention to these everyday interactions and accounts provide important insight into the discourses shaping development over time and the role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion within these discourses.

Collectively, these accounts exhibit how everyday experiences of fear and apprehension were interweaved with power and control over land. The insecurity and change in demeanour Polack observed are direct accounts of affective everyday experiences that influenced discourses of development within the district through the establishment of a buffer zone. Relational links between subjective experience and physical development are thus evident in these experiences of tribal land rivalries, demonstrating how affective experiences as produced through everyday interactions in place and time can shape development patterns. Furthermore, I argue how others can also discursively draw on such experiences and expressions to frame development in their favour. Interestingly these accounts relate to time periods roughly twenty years apart, reflecting the continuous and relational nature of conflicts over power and land. Whilst Polack recounted the effects of the Te Ika a Ranganui (1825) and Moremonui wars (1807), Trounson refers to the northern wars arising from Crown land acquisition tactics, which saw the government endorse the buffer zone of European settlement between the northern Ngā Puhī and Auckland (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Both relate to the same broad areas of land and provide insight into the relational links between discourses of place making utilised by Europeans during this time.

5.2.2 The Coastal Highway - Natural access ways and resources

Following on from the role of tribal warfare within the discourses of place making, the role of the physical landscape and resources are explored for their role within the discourses of place making

shaping the Bayly's Beach settlement and surrounding area. Fundamentally, the discourses employed by Māori and early Europeans during this period are conflicted, and are reflective of contrasting knowledge systems being deployed and operationalised within the landscape. Such plural knowledge systems are also indicative of the multiple, complex experiences and perspectives interacting within socio-spatial landscapes over time. These contrasting perspectives have been discursively utilised over time to legitimise and frame certain directions of development, with real effects emergent in the socio-spatial landscape as demonstrated in later contestations over land sales and management approaches. Such discourses of place making are seen to draw on past affective experiences and utilise expressions of emotion to legitimise and inform their perceptions. The ways in which natural resources and landscapes merged with discourses of place making are exemplified through reference to the role of natural features in directing travel routes and development, as well a brief mention of the values of Toheroa that similarly hint towards discourses of place making.

Despite land conflicts and the socially constructed buffer zone, the coast between Pouto and Maunganui Bluff was considered a natural highway regularly traversed by Māori moving between resources. Toheroa, a local shellfish, were readily utilised along the coast either as sustenance when camping for days or weeks at a time, or collected for journeys (Coates, 1993; Polack, 1974 reprint; Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Seafood gathering, and Toheroa in particular, has been an important resource and point of contest over time. The significance of Toheroa is reflected in its constant reference over time and attempts to manage its use. For example, Polack noted the erection of "*raouis*" or carved monuments to prevent people from gathering Toheroa at one point in his journey (1974, reprint), signifying its importance and value to the everyday lives of local Māori, through their attempts to regulate its exploitation. Despite Toheroa having played an important role in the everyday place politics of the area I do not discuss their role for the sake of repetition. Instead, Brian Murton's 'Toheroa Wars' (2006) provides an in-depth account of Toheroa politics over time. Within Murton's (2006) article the discourses employed by both Māori and Europeans in staking their relationships to Toheroa take on much more meaning when considered alongside the general discourses of place making utilised by European since early contact. Differing values between Māori's use of Toheroa as an everyday resource versus European interests in recreational use and commercialisation of the Toheroa created critical tensions and demonstrate clear distinctions between the views of resource use. Such conflicting discourses and understandings of Toheroa have resulted in the present situation of permit-based gathering and cultural uses. Acknowledging the discourses, histories and everyday experiences shaping current use and regulation are critical to understanding the existing Toheroa politics. Similar power dynamics and relationships intertwined with broader discourses of resource use exemplify the conflicting discourses that have waged against each other over time to create the emergent patterns of place development of power today. Furthermore it must be recognised that it is affective expressions and simultaneous expressions of emotion and lend to understanding the discourses behind values, perceptions and knowledge systems.

The coastal highway and its natural features similarly provide insights into the discourses and everyday experiences contributing to place making. Natural exit points along the coast influenced land development and exploitation in the area by early Europeans as well as early temporary settlement points for local iwi. The long straight coastline provided direct access between Mahuta Gap and Maunganui Bluff; with these endpoints being favoured points for travelling inland toward the Kaihu River which ran south to the more populated Wairoa River and Kaipara Harbour. Waterways were favoured for early European transport with the Kaipara Harbour considered a unifying feature of the district and development aligning with landing points along waterways (Franklin, 1966; Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). Whilst travel along the coast was favoured for walking, the coast was considered extremely dangerous for sea travel. As European migration during the time was largely by boat, the coastal area was largely disregarded due to its lack of easily accessible landing points, with inland waterways more heavily populated.

The west coast's long straight shores with only two major inlets, (the Hokianga and Kaipara harbours) made it rather inaccessible from the European perspective and limited in its potential (Franklin, 1996). Captain James Cook's Endeavour voyage in 1770 perceived the coast as:

'most desolate and inhospitable ... Nothing is to be seen but large sandhills with hardly any green thing upon them and the great sea, which the prevailing westerly winds impel upon the shore, must render this a very dangerous coast' (Byrne, 2002: 50).

Polack's provides similar sentiments during his journey down Ripirō Beach expressing how:

'the nearer we approached Waipoa [sic], the hills of evergreen disappeared from the coast, ... [m]asses of sandstone, whose upper stratum had long since crumbled into loose sand, flew about in the direction of the wind, and gave this part of the coast a barren and cheerless appearance[;] ... the boisterous surf lashing the cavernous rocks, as the flood-tide was making, and jetting its spray in showers over the beach around, gave the place an aspect, dreary and repulsive in the extreme.' (1974, reprint: 72-73).

When considering these excerpts, expressions of emotion and the emotive language used is a direct representation of the authors' affective experiences at the time. Such perceptions of a 'desolate' 'dangerous' and 'cheerless' coast further point to the role of affective experiences in expressions of emotion within discourses shaping place and development. The depictions along with the lack of access further contributed to the discourses that saw inland riverside locations more favoured for development. It is therefore no surprise that Dargaville and other towns along the Wairoa River emerged, as the discourses framing everyday lives meant those locations were more desirable for settlement. This experience is reflective of the situated nature of migration and development patterns and demonstrates the need to consider historical experiences to understand present emergent patterns of development.

The pervasive power of these discourses over time has greatly shaped the experiences of coastal development within Bayly's Beach. The relational effect of these discourses saw the Bayly's Beach area largely bypassed in favour of more accessible routes towards the Kaihu and Wairoa rivers such as Mahuta Gap. Furthermore, the conflicted nature of land ownership, sandy nature of the soil and lack of greenery saw the area described as a 'desert coast' and was consequentially left largely untouched by Europeans until the 1870s (Franklin, 1966; Horn, 1956). The politics of place making and settlement and the affective experiences and expressions of emotion informing these discourses therefore can provide critical insight to understanding patterns of development and place making and their potential effects on future development patterns. Furthermore, as power is seen to work through affect emerges in power, it is clear that affective experiences are critical to the discursive place making that took place in this area.

5.3 Early European (1840 – early 1900s)

Well known within the history of New Zealand is the fact that Māori were severely disadvantaged and marginalised following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The period following the signing saw a pivotal change in the development of the wider Kaipara region and signified an important shift in the discourses shaping place and development. The titling of land and sub-sequential leasing and free-holding of the land that would become Bayly's Beach is explored to demonstrate the discourses of place being utilised and operationalised during this period. Later Waitangi Tribunal cases are also analysed to highlight the critical values and past experiences informing discourses of place making and the associated effects on development within Bayly's Beach.

5.3.1 Kaihu No.1 Land Title

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and prior to 1875, large land sales to the Crown and other peripheral land transactions occurred across Northland and wider New Zealand, with chief Parore Te Āwhā of Te Kuihi and Te Roroa featuring prominently in Kaipara transactions (Mold, ND). The block of land where Bayly's Beach currently sits is first recorded in February 1871 in the Kaipara Courts where chief Parore Te Āwhā claimed title for a 43,700 acre block of land in the Kaihu Valley known as Kaihu No.1 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Despite contest from Tiopira Kīnaki of Te Roroa, chief over the Waipoua area the land was awarded to chiefs Tiopira Kīnaki, Te Rore Taoho, Parore Te Āwhā and 7 others, as well as a list of 66 other registered owners, as they were the descendants of Toa who whom the land undoubtedly belonged (Mold, ND; Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Māori custom does not account for land ownership and the overlaying of a European concept of ownership led to further contestations between local iwi.

Such Eurocentric framings of property ownership disregards traditional Māori customs including the importance of rank, sex, and *ahi kā* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992) and signifies how Māori knowledge was discursively marginalised through regulatory legitimisation of European land values and ownership frameworks. Title individualisation and arbitrary listing of 10 names on deeds had serious

repercussions for the future management and transfer of land especially as New Zealand still privileges these Eurocentric property regimes. Furthermore, the objective nature of the titling process ignored past affective experiences that were critical to land claims and identity. When considering past experiences between local iwi the contestation between Tiopira and Parore over the Kaihu No.1 block can be seen as not just a contestation of ownership but,

‘a continuation of traditional rivalries and warfare between Ngāpuhi and Te Roroa... fought to establish mana and to share in a valuable source of new wealth in the market economy, rather than to sell the land to Europeans.’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: 57).

Clearly reflective of how everyday experiences are deeply entwined in the politics of place, knowledge and power, the objective process and nature of title establishment over Māori land involved a purposeful disregard for subjective experiences, traditional understandings of place and ancestry. As part of this misaligned overlay of western property laws, ignorance towards its repercussions saw increased contestations between local hāpu and iwi over certain tracts of land, especially those with plentiful natural resources. Applying Eurocentric property laws over Māori land is therefore reflective of power and discourse within land development and place making, but also of affect and emotion in everyday experiences within place shaping such discourses. Engaging with ideas of affect and emotion within these past experiences provides a sensitising device to interpret the relational interactions, which have created our present emergent realities. The way power and discourse are utilised to construe the world is seen within these contests over knowledge and land, and ultimately shape present experiences and understandings of people and place.

Contestations over the ownership of Kaihu No.1 are also critically linked with power when considering that the title named several key chiefs from different hāpu and iwi including, Parore Te Āwhā, Tiopira Kīnaki, and Te Rore Taoho, all of whom were prominent chiefs in their respected areas (Mold, ND, Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). The titling process therefore not only discounted Māori knowledge, it also enabled the resurgence of past tribal feuds. J. Ernest Tinne, a leasee of the land after its title claim, provides an account of the Kaihu No.1 title investigation and reported at length:

‘Our land forms about a quarter of a very fertile block, called the Kaihu Valley... Land is not owned here by individuals, but by the whole tribe; and this particular piece belongs jointly to the Ngāpuhis and the Uriohaus. Until they decide among themselves to arrange the boundaries, and also to "individualise" their titles, it is hard to know who is entitled to receive the payment. We have at present a body of ten landlords, all of whom receive a portion of the rent, on behalf of their still more numerous clients, who established their claims to a share of it...’

'All sorts of the most absurd reasons were advanced, according to the usual custom, by the representatives of these two tribes, as well as others from outlying districts, to establish their rights.'

'For instance, one man recollected landing, five years ago, to cook his food as he passed up the river; and the ashes of his fire, if they could be found, must be conclusive evidence of his occupancy. Another had eaten a piece of some celebrated warrior there, after a fight in the neighbourhood; and a title dating from the good old days of cannibalism was surely indefeasible. [Another still] had thrown some peach-stones ashore, which must have become trees by this time, and you could hardly deny him his tenant-right or compensation, for had he not improved the value of the land by this scientific fruit-culture, extending over the laborious term of five seconds?' (Tinne, 1873: 70-71).

Tinne's account is typical of the Eurocentric mind-set and indifference towards Māori concepts and traditions that are intertwined in their everyday lives. Furthermore, the account is reflective of attempts to discount and disqualify traditional discourses through the cynicism and sarcasm reflected in the tone of writing. The divergent understandings of property are clear in the sarcastic expressions of Tinne in response to the very-much serious and legitimate Māori claims to property. Expressions of emotion such as Tinne's discursively delegitimise Māori beliefs and physically affect how the land is subjectively valued and objectively managed. From a Māori perspective this account provides direct examples of the ways in which everyday experiences in place are critical to place attachments, which are essentially affective experiences with the capacity to produce physical effects on the landscape. The presentation of Māori relationships of land further demonstrates how past experiences are critical to future place connections and are direct hints of discourses of place making. Tinne unwittingly provides a perfect example of the contrasting discourses being operationalised within the landscape and the slow assertion of European dominance and power in terms of othering Māori knowledge systems and successfully applying their own discourses to the land. These experiences demonstrate how relational interactions between people and places shape future experiences through re-framing place meanings.

The ability for Europeans to operationalise their discourse of land ownership and boundaries also speaks directly of the power within discourses to be utilised and physically shape land development. Although title imposition enabled the Kaihu No.1 block to be mortgaged or sold, (which it subsequently was in the mid-1880s), numerous other factors have simultaneously contributed to the specific experiences of development and place making that are seen at Bayly's Beach. Exploring the changing discourses of place over time through everyday affective experiences, expressions of emotion as well as interplays of power then provides a lens through which to re-politicise and re-contextualise research into coastal development processes. The focus on a specific locality over time provides complementary understandings of migration and development processes over time and

demonstrates the complexity and situated nature of such experiences. A critical feature of the Kaihu No.1 block was that it encompassed land from the coast to the Kaihu River which meant that it had areas of land that were both greatly desired but also coastal strips that were considered largely useless. The effect of this distinction in land value is reflected in the map of the Kaihu Estate in figure 1 below, where the stores, mills and houses tend to be focused around the inland rivers with little infrastructure along the coast. This pattern is further reflective of the discourses of the dangerous coast and accessible river ways that pervaded over time.

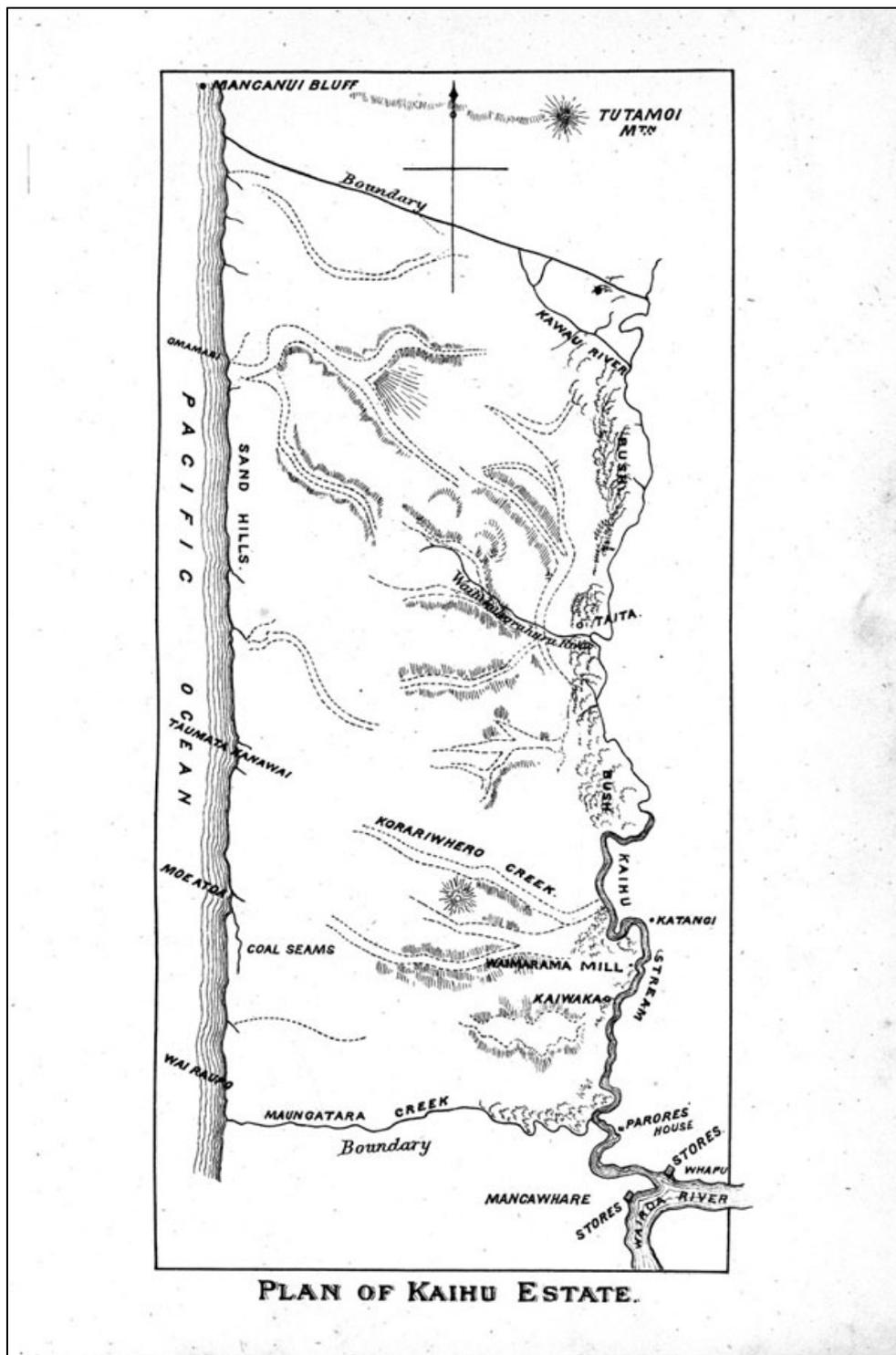


Figure 1 Plan of Kaihu Estate. Source: (J. E. Tinne, 1873: Between pages 70 and 71).

5.3.2 The Kaihu Flax Company Lease

European perceptions of Te Roroa coastal lands as rugged and isolated prompted were similarly felt by the Government, as seen in the lack of interest by the Crown and private purchasers prior to the 1870s (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). John Grant Johnson, the first district land commissioner responsible for Crown land purchases in the Kaipara demonstrated this perception; reporting that:

'as [the] country is very inaccessible and my instructions being on only to acquire such lands as can be made immediately available, I intended to carry on my purchasing on the East Coast...' (1856, cited in Byrne, 2002: 352).

Similar to earlier experiences, the west coast was heavily regarded as inaccessible and therefore no valuable to the Crown. Earlier discourses of naturally accessible landscapes and river access continued to dominate and further saw the inland areas and adjacent east coast develop whilst the west coast strip was disregarded.

Desires for readily accessible land ultimately worked in favour for Te Roroa (at least in the short-term), with large areas of their lands remaining relatively untouched under customary title until the government resumed large-scale purchasing during the 1870s (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). By this time amendments to native lands legislation had imposed some safeguards including the authority to reject unethical or inequitable transactions, the requirement to name all people with rights to a block, and the requirement of authorised surveying by government bodies (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Despite these amendments the failure of western property laws to accommodate Māori understandings resulted in many contestations over the rights to lease, sell and occupy the land, which has produced lasting effects still seen today in the processes of the Waitangi Tribunal investigations.

It was during this time that the Kaihu No.1 block (Figure 1 previous page), was initially leased to Samuel and Moses Breach, and Walter Dowden in March 1871 who assigned it to the Kaihu Flax Company within months (Coates, 1993). Negotiated through licensed interpreter R.C. Mainwaring, the lease was limited to harvesting flax, whilst rights for kauri gum, timber and grazing remained the property of the lessors (Coates, 1993). Despite local Māori retaining ownership over the land and rights to various resources and development prospects, the process of flax milling involved draining and burning of land, which left many areas barren and with little resources of value. Furthermore, the titling and leasing of land set a precedence of European settlement and related commercial activities in the area, which the Māori most likely did not completely comprehend in terms of the long-term effects on their relationship with the land. Māori discourses of land use and ownership were getting further marginalised under the premise of development of civilisation and would begin a chain of events and experiences, which would result in the current place experiences and development patterns.

In this case, the experiences of the leasehold and freehold of the land are seemingly smooth, with no conflict being reported. The reports however are usually from accounts of Europeans at the time and therefore they may not necessarily be factual accounts of the events that occurred. It is clear that there were underlying discourses being played out during the leasehold and freehold periods as reflected in the fact that the initial lease was passed on within months and the witnesses to the signing of the leasehold had financial interests in the leased land as in demonstrated below. Keeping this in mind, whilst the material tends to reflect a fully informed and legal lease and sale of land, it can not be for certain that Māori understood the consequences as they had no experience with such western understandings of law and land and their cultural knowledge was distinctly different from western knowledge. Differing discourses may have been at play that were not recognised or were outright manipulated by Europeans of the time. Either way the successful application of European property ideas on to the landscape enabled a pattern of change that effectively created the current landscape and development seen today.

Varied reports of the leasehold experience have been recovered, hinting immediately to the uncertainty of the information. One account notes that the witnesses to the lease included Theodore Tinne and W.A. Marriner, who had financial interests in the Kaihu Flax Company (Coates, 1993). This account points towards important power dynamics at play, especially when considering that Theodore Tinne succeeded in gaining freehold title over the block in October 1881 (Coates, 1993). Other accounts determined through the Māori Land Court Minute Books (MLCMB, 1880) also report Mr Tinne being a witness to the partition of the land in August 1880, although just over a year prior to Coate's (1993) account of the Kaihu No.1 Block sale. Despite disparities in the timings, it is clear that Tinne was present at the time of lease and went on to take over the lease and eventually the freehold of the property within 10 years of its being given a title. Discursive actions and decisions were most likely an important factor in these events, however it is also important to note that there was also a likely a lack of attachment to the land. Whilst Māori affiliations to land were based on subjective experiences in place, European land acquisition was largely related to economic growth and investment potential, with a significant lack of affective relationships with the land. Alongside the European ideas of property ownership, valuing systems had a significant effect on the way land was managed and developed.

Power and influence may very well have played an important role here. Theodore Tinne's brother provides an account of the experience at the signing of the lease that hints towards the expressions of emotion present during the signing. Such an account records a critical event in the history of the area and signals the emerging place making discourses that would cumulatively shape the future of the area.

'When the deed was signed, Tirarau, a great potentate from the North Wairoa, made a congratulatory address to the other natives, stating that, as they had been brought into

one enclosure (the lease), he hoped the close quarters would conduce to the settlement of all outstanding feuds.'

'...he told me that at the conclusion of this speech the whole audience suddenly retired to their huts, and [when they] reappeared again [t]hey had taken off every stitch of clothing... and all had clubbed-muskets in their hands. He felt somewhat nervous as they rushed towards him with a kind of hoarse shout; but they stopped short within a few yards, and began a real war-dance in honor [*sic*] of the occasion...' (Tinne, 1873: 72-73).

Tinne's account infers that chiefs within the area welcomed the lease as reflected through the performance of a haka. Coates (1993) similarly reported that the initiation of commercial flax milling was fulfilling Parore's desires for commercial development in the area to reduce tribal warfare. Māori motivations for development are clearly framed by these settler accounts as aiming to curb tribal feuds between local Ngā Puhī and Ngāti Whatua iwi. This reflects the criticality of affective experiences and expressions of emotions stemming from the Moremonui and Te Ika a Ranganui battles in the past; not only in terms of the importance of affect and emotion in development processes, but also the importance of everyday experiences based in place and over time in influencing these experiences. The account also reinforces the discourses arguing that settlement was at the request of Māori as an attempt to reduce tribal conflict and inferring an act of heroism and nobleness rather than of taking land from others. Furthermore, it is unclear whether Māori fully understood the terms of the lease and subsequent sale of the land. As the accounts are only provided from the perspective of the settler it can only be speculated through their perspectives and later claims in the Waitangi Tribunal. Nevertheless, from the accounts available it appears that the leasing of the land proceeded legally and that settlement and commercial development was welcomed by local Māori at the time, regardless of whether they understood the future repercussions at the time. Having said this, however, Roger Mold a historian of the Kaihu Valley stated that:

'By 1876 Parore was a very old man and consequently had become a very passive gentleman. This enabled Tiopira to become very prominent in the Waipoua and Maunganui Bluff areas. As well he was a very cunning man' (ND: 134).

Potentially then, Tiopira was the driving force behind the sale which occurred within the following five years. Whilst Parore was prominent during the titling of the land he does not feature prominently in negotiating the leasing of the land. Although this is speculative, it is important to note that the contestation was deeply tied to ancestral links to land and power between hāpu, which can never be underestimated in relation to other processes occurring at the time. Such an account is directly reflective of the potential discourses at play during the time as the quote hints towards the cunningness of Tiopira's actions in the following years.

The accounts above reveal how affect and emotion within historical accounts can help to unravel past emergent processes, practices and events, and provide insight into the co-constituent production of space through material and discursive experiences. Such accounts also reveal the reflexive and emergent nature of development and changes over time. Power and discourse are critical to these changes and is reflected in the ability to operationalise discourses based on affective experiences and expressions of emotion, and then for these discourses to persist over time and shape the material environment. This latter point is a recurrent theme throughout the history of Bayly's Beach, as power, affect and discourse have interacted over time to produce the emergent experiences that see the current coastal development trends occurring, a point which is further developed in Part 2.

5.3.4 Becoming Place

Whilst under leasehold, J. Ernest Tinne (1873) provided the first mention of the area that was to become Bayly's Beach through his chart of the Kaihu No.1. Linked with the prior noted importance of physical features and landscapes, this account provided an important piece of information that links place experiences over time and acts as a critical marker of place. Marked on the map is Moeatoa Creek, which Tinne noted as the location the French shipwreck L'Alcmene, destroyed on Ripirō Beach on June 3rd 1851 (Tinne, 1873). These two physical features generally mark the location of the current Bayly's Beach settlement, (Tinne, 1873). The wreck was rediscovered in 1977 and a memorial to the lives of those lost in the shipwreck is located in the Bayly's Beach settlement (Kaipara Lifestyler, 2014; 2015). Although seemingly banal, the link across time points to important relational connections over time that enable past experiences to be memorialised in the present, and place past experiences in a specific location. Physical features are then critical to how places are described and known over time. Features in the landscape are intertwined within everyday affective experiences and provide important references for both understanding place history and attachments to places. Tinne's interaction with the shipwreck and mapping its general location can then be interpreted as a relational everyday experience that went on to fundamentally shape the way the area was known as a physical place marker. Although this does not speak to the discourses framing place, it highlights the equally critical role of the physical landscape within place interactions that contribute to affective experiences and can be fundamental to discourses of place making.

In addition to providing the first mapped location of Moeatoa (which was to become Bayly's Beach), Tinne offered his perception of the area's value and the development whilst under the Kaihu Flax Company lease. Much alike previous expressions of the rough west coast environment Tinne recalled:

'...the heavy boom of the breakers on the sea-coast, six miles away, where the whole force of the Western Pacific breaks upon the hard beach of white sand, along which you can gallop for hours as straight as an arrow. The cliffs here and there show great seams of lignite on their face, which makes me think that some day we shall be finding

coal-fields in the neighbourhood. Indeed we are right in the line of such a discovery, for the Bay of Islands mine is but a short distance from us on the other coast.' (1873: 51)

Like many other European accounts of the west coast, the rugged and exposed nature is highlighted, similarly expressing a sense of awesome power of the Tasman Sea. The discourses evident in this passage are similar to those noted earlier. Tinne's focus on the commercial, exploitive potential of the area and his location six miles inland points to the devalued coastal environment and the focus on enterprises close to the river. These discourses of place making continue to pervade from earlier settlement and see the coastal strip largely desolate, whilst commercial growth is focused inland along the rivers. Furthermore, something can be said of the emotive nature of the passage in which senses of isolation and vastness are described. Although not a direct expression of emotion, I would argue that within language the provocation of emotion is just as relevant as its direct expression. The importance of natural resources for exploitation and profit are also reflected in the mention of coal seams that lie directly where present-day Bayly's Beach is located. Additionally the fact they are referenced on Tinne's plan (Figure 1, p.64) speaks to its perceived value to the illustrator. Tinne's mention of the coal seams also has relevance in the future; however it is not because they were commercially mined. Instead, as will be demonstrated, the coal seams would go on to provide energy for the first residents of Bayly's Beach, proving a critical and highly valued resource for campers.

In another passage, the physical development is described by Tinne and can be interpreted for the critical role of place naming, and the power and discursive practices working within such place politics. Here, Tinne admits:

'I rather enjoy christening the new spots with old and well-remembered names from home; for instance, we intend to pick out a site for "Aigburth" settlement, if enough people would come out from Liverpool to entitle it to the name; and I think myself it removes the feeling of exile, which emigrants experience on first reaching their adopted country, to find familiar names already planted there. T--, however, is inclined to adopt the rule of retaining Maori names, wherever they are really poetical and decent (many being quite unfit for translation), which would not leave much room for my scheme. It adds very much to this same illusion, if all the settlers bring a few flowerseeds from home to scatter broadcast in this flower-less island. Though the ferns and creepers are so exquisite in their variety, I know of only two flowers... which shine out conspicuously with their scarlet or crimson blossoms from an all-pervading green.' (Tinne, 1873: 63-64).

Fundamentally reflective of the discourses of place making adopted by Europeans at the time, this account highlights how place naming is a critical part of place making and also highlights the significantly subjective experience that naming and place making relates to. Tinne specifically states that place naming can help to remove the feeling of exile, which is a direct hint towards the role of

affective experiences and expressions of emotion within the discourses of place making. Furthermore this account speaks to the importance of past experiences and feelings of familiarity, which indirectly speak to the importance of belonging within place and place making discourses. Similarly, the reference to adopting Māori place names where they are “poetical” and “decent” directly demonstrates the importance of the way place names sound in deciding whether they would be retained or not. Whilst Māori names were judged and valued by how they sounded, European names were adopted for their memories and attachments. Such a disregard for the importance behind the Māori names demonstrates the indifference towards the Māori cultural system and divergent discourses and values being negotiated within the landscape. Place naming was then directly related to feelings and subjective experiences and had lasting effects. The transgression of place names will be further reflected in the use of Moeatoa in the future, pointing directly to the relational links between past and present within current coastal development experiences.

Furthermore the mention of bringing seeds from “home” to cover the “flower-less” and “all-pervading green” land can be interpreted to reveal how discursive practices influenced by emotions such as homesickness can (re)shape the landscape. Reference to creating an “illusion” also demonstrates the power and importance of imaginaries within discourses and feelings towards place. Such affective experiences as expressed by emotions, and in this case through emotive language, can therefore reveal important motivations behind development patterns. Discourses of place making are clearly evident in this passage and demonstrate the active social construction of place over time. By paying attention to the relational links across time and place, land use and migration literature may be significantly strengthened through understanding how emergent realities come into being.

Tinne’s account provides numerous examples demonstrating the pivotal role of affective experiences, feelings, discourse and ultimately power in producing emergent landscapes. Furthermore, the account speaks to the inherent social construction of place through the above means, exemplifying the power within subjective everyday experiences to inform landscape and land-use.

5.3.5 Freehold and Land Sales

The Kaihu Flax Company retained the lease until around 1878 when a freehold title was secured under the Kaihu Fibre Company (Auckland Star, 1878 Vol IX, Issue 2440:3; Mold, ND). Henry Morton related how it was Tinne’s plan “to form an industrial village in the Kaihu Valley and to cut up the remainder of the land for the purpose of a special settlement from which intoxicating drink should be excluded” (1925: 124). To stimulate growth, Tinne invested in expensive and new machinery (Stallworthy, 1916). Speaking directly to the discourses motivating Tinne’s actions these accounts frame Tinne as a respectable man who wanted to increase commercial activity and moral values in the community. There is no mention however of the role of local Māori in this scheme and whether they too benefit from Tinne’s development plans. Furthermore the coastal strip was still not utilised within this grand plan, in line with earlier discourses of its redundancy if it did not contain immediately exploitable benefits.

THE WHOLE OF THE NEW ZEALAND FIBRE CO.'S

FREEHOLD PROPERTIES,

As Under.

—
KAIHU,

NORTHERN WAIROA, KAIPARA.

40,638 ACRES, KNOWN AS KAIHU No. 1. Situated at

North Kaipara. Bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean for thirteen miles, and on the east by the Kaihu River for ten miles.

There are several large buildings and numerous cottages on the property.

The land is of mixed quality; that along the river consists of rich alluvial flats, covered partly with heavy bush of kahikatea, puriri, rata, and other valuable timber, and partly titree and flax. Numerous and extensive swamps run inland from the river, all being easily capable of drainage. Between the swamps the land consists of varying quality, but the fact of white clover now spreading itself over them shows that even these portions of the block are capable of supplying food for stock. The western or coast side consists of undulating land of the well known stamp of "West Coast Lands," which readily take grass and clover when the fern is burnt off.

This Grand Estate, containing sixty-three and a half square miles, will be offered at the low upset price of 5s per acre. Distance from Auckland, a hundred and twenty miles by rail and steamer. Title under the Land Transfer Act.

Figure 2 Auction advertisement for the Kaihu No.1 Block. Source (Advertisements Column 3, New Zealand Herald, 18th March 1885, Vol XXII, Issue 7279: 8).

Tinne's visions however, did not eventuate and the business collapsed after being twice destroyed by fire and was sold off in auction in 1885 (New Zealand Herald (NZH), 1906, Vol XLIII, Issue 13364: 8). The auction advertisement (Figure 2) emphasises the fertile alluvial river flats whilst the coastal strip is simply referred to as "west coast lands" that can be grassed after burning away the fern (NZH, 1885, Vol XXII, Issue 7279: 8). Following general European perceptions, little value was awarded to coastal areas and development focused around forested areas and waterways. Kaihu No.1 was eventually sold to Irishman James Nimmo who prospected the land for coal and oil, but when this failed leases to extract gum were provided to Mitchelson and Co., flax milling continued, and James Trounson leased and eventually sold a portion (Mold, ND; Morton, 1925). Later on the Mitchelson

brothers purchased the block and on sold to Messrs B. E. Williams and Co. (Stallworthy, 1916). A continued discourse of place value as equal to its productive value continued to pervade. These discourses of place making continued to see development occurring around river flats whilst coastal areas were largely ignored due to their lack of productivity.

Not long after the Mitchelsons obtained freehold from Nimmo, local residents and the county urged the government to purchase the land, offered at £20,000, which it refused (NZH, 1906, Vol XLIII, Issue 13364: 8). Occurring in the early 1900s this public lobbying was a sign of a different valuing system of land, where recreation and scenic beauty were beginning to prove desirable. Had the government taken the offer, the entire future of the Kaihu block and Bayly's Beach may have been different. Nevertheless, this moment points to a shift in the value of the coastal areas as merely barren, unproductive land and an increasing recognition of its inherent value as a recreational area.

The activities pursued on the land under Mitchelson's ownership were largely centred on the Kaihu River and the nearby railway line, whilst the coastal strip was largely neglected due to its lack of exploitable primary resources. Despite the lack of value in terms of productivity and resources, however, there were clearly other values within the community as reflected in the request for the government to purchase the block. Interpreting such actions in terms of affective experiences and expressions of emotion reveals the increasing criticality of everyday experiences and increased recreational time available. Such experiences are in turn expressed through emotion and discursive practices, which subsequently see physical land management and development practices framed to meet these imaginaries. Considering the sale experiences of the Kaihu No.1 Block in this way would perceive the mundane actions of these land sales and activities as highly reflective of environmental values as expressed through everyday interactions with and experiences in place.

Lending weight to the importance of context and the situated nature of coastal development experiences, a unique feature of the block has been its avoidance of Crown alienation. Despite large tracts of the surrounding areas being acquired during this period, the marginal nature of the land's resources and access saw it untouched by the Crown, except through the gifting of road and scenic reserves. Mr Heale, inspector of surveys, notes the extent of land acquisition elsewhere in the Kaihu area, stating:

'Their great highways are the magnificent tidal rivers which permeate the county, and form the large estuary known as the Kaipara, and so by the projected line of railway from the head waters of the Kaipara at Helensville, direct to Auckland.'

'... at least one fourth part of the land purchased in the North in everything that can be desired for settlement in respect of soil, levelness, and accessibility...' (Inspector of Surveys to the Hon. The Native Minister, 16th July 1875, Session I: C-05).

Consequentially land purchases were restricted to readily accessible areas and generally nearer inland waterways and sheltered bays. Despite these extracts saying little for affective experiences or expressions of emotion, they do indicate important everyday experiences that influenced the areas in which land was acquired and developed. In particular, the everyday struggles of accessibility and availability of exploitable resources largely determined what land was valuable. Such experiences are typical of the aforementioned discourses shaping land development in the area as seen in the lack of value ascribed to coastal lands and the need for easy access. Even though boats were by now beginning to be replaced by trains, the trains followed lines where there was already development. In this way, earlier discourses of access largely set the precedence for development patterns in the future, which included the bypassing of the coast.

An additional and related unique feature of the Kaihu No.1 block is that it has not been subject to any Waitangi Tribunal claims. It can only be speculated that the prominence of the chiefs named in the title, leasehold and sale of the block, as well as the later timing of the sale, meant that the sale was considered legal (Māori Land Court Minute Books (MLCMB), 1871; 1876; 1877; 1880). The legitimacy of the sale however is unknown and open to speculation, especially as the block has not featured in either the Te Roroa Claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992) or The Kaipara Report (2006), which are the two Waitangi Tribunal reports covering the area. Further, as reflected in Figures 3, 4 and 5 (p.74 and 75), all the blocks surrounding Kaihu No.1 were subject to land claims, and during its title investigation the Kaihu No.1 Block was used to set the precedence for the title claims to other nearby Waipoua block and other northern blocks (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Potentially then, the fact that Kaihu No.1 possessed far less natural resources and was less accessible than surrounding blocks, and the fact that it was occupied by chief Parore Te Awaha close to the river, were critical everyday factors that influenced the way the land was managed. Furthermore, the use of the Kaihu No.1 block as a test dummy demonstrates its comparable lack of value to surrounding areas, which is attuned to earlier discourses of place making that have largely seen the coastal strip ignored. Speculation however, can only be made, as it is not for certain why the block has not been pursued.

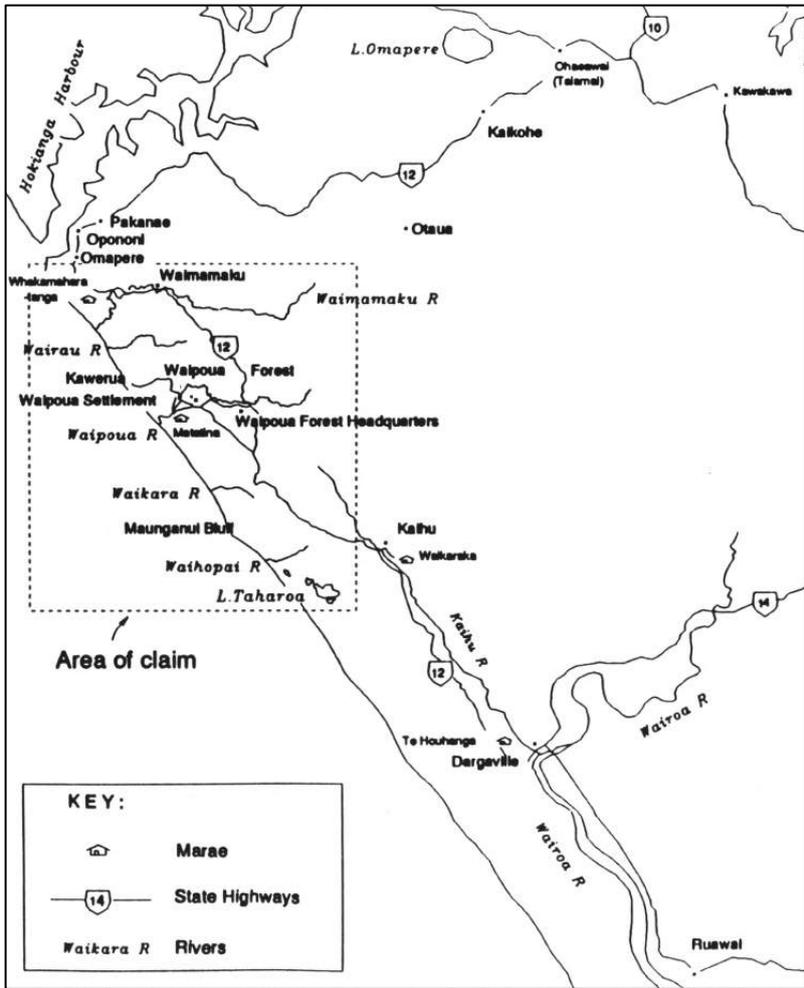


Figure 3 Map of the Te Rōroa claim area. Source (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: viii).

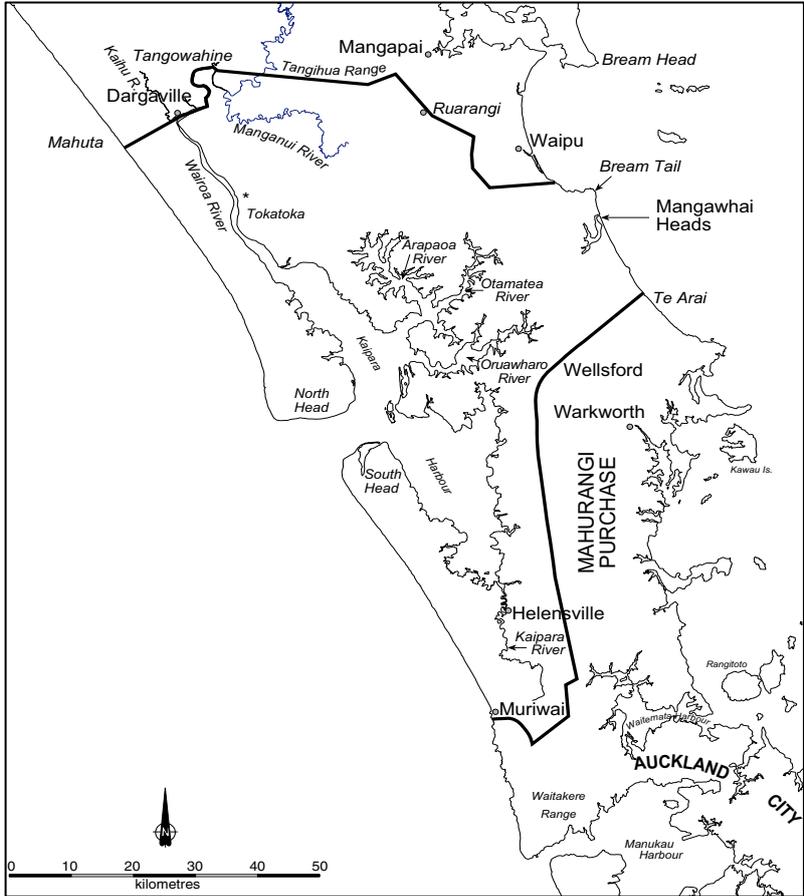


Figure 4 Map showing area of the Kaipara inquiry. Source (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006: xvi)

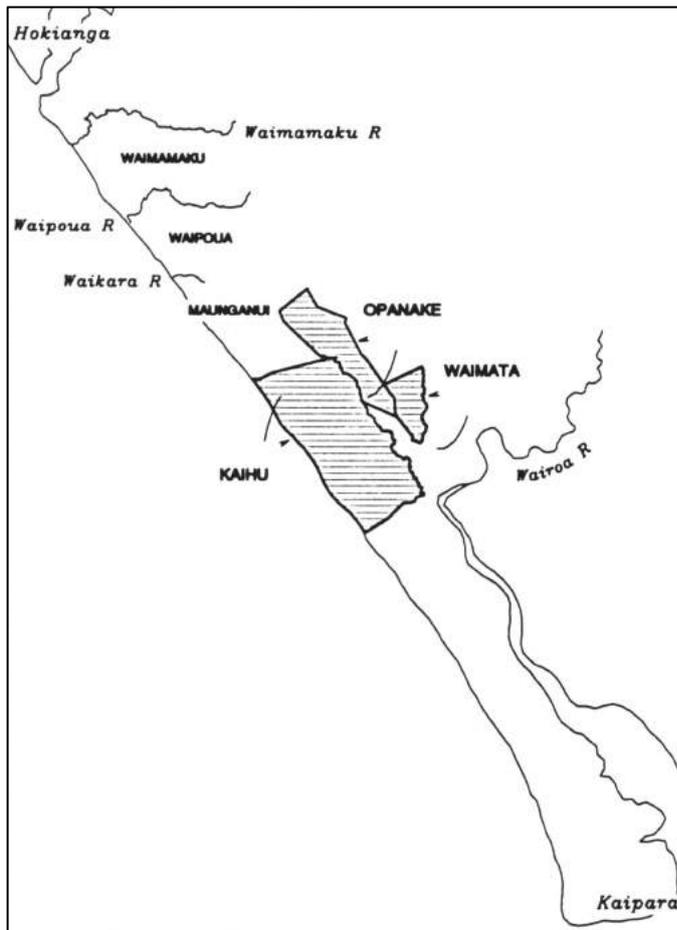


Figure 5 Map of Kaihu, Opaneke and Waimata blocks. (Department of Survey and Land Information, Wellington, Cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 1992: 45).

Evidence of relationships emergent from everyday interactions with European settlers suggest that this may have also contributed to the legal status the block's sale. Trust and respect produced from affective experiences and interactions over time are suggested as having played a critical role in the management and use of the land. Again, these accounts are produced from a European perspective, and descendants of those mentioned, and as such caution must be taken in accepting them as truth. Expressed by a descendent of the Chief Parore, Poaka Parore, an example is seen his interactions with James Trounson:

‘For many years I had dealings with James Trounson over land and cattle and other matters, and no written agreement was ever used between us. We trusted each other absolutely. Our word was sufficient’ (Trounson, 1988: 18).

Affective experiences and relationships in terms of respect and trust may then have proven pivotal to obtaining land leases and free-holding blocks of land. Such relationships are also persistent over time, as many of the early powerful families have retained large sections of land as well as powerful roles within the community. Furthermore such interactions tended to occur between powerful Māori and Europeans, with such a dynamic having been retained over time, although the European power has extended. If the land had not been legally sold and was subject to these Waitangi Tribunal claims

the future of the current Bayly's Beach may be different. The process-based nature of development over time ties in deeply with this and demonstrates how everyday experiences in the past may have dramatic consequences for the future direction of development.

The early European period is represented by discourses of place making that focus on productive, exploitable land potential and easily accessible land. Such discourses resulted in the river flats and surrounding areas being readily populated legitimated as a noble act to create a buffer between feuding tribes. The discourses employed during this time effectively saw the coastal strip as redundant with a lack of resources and dangerously exposed to the elements. Over time, however, there have been shifting perceptions and values towards the coast as reflected in the early lobbying for the Crown to purchase the Kaihu No.1 block. This shift in value towards the coast represents a critical shift in development patterns and emergent new everyday experiences.

5.4 Camp Clubs and Moeatoa Estate

5.4.1 Bayly's Estate

Following the sale of the Kaihu No.1 block to B.E. Williams and Co. there is a general lack of information regarding how the land was managed and developed up until 1914. In 1908, however, an announcement in the NZH stated that a Mr George Bayly had paid £15,000 for a strip of land "one mile wide, extending along the coast for the whole length of the land lately held by Messrs. Mitchelson Bros" (Local and General News, NZH, 7th May 1908, Vol XLV, Issue 13743: 4). Bayly's influence on the future development of coastal lands would be phenomenal, although there has been rather little recorded about Mr Bayly's everyday life. His intentions were clearly recorded however, giving a clear indication of the discourses guiding his everyday decisions.

One rare example frames Mr Bayly as "a shrewd cattle [man] from down south" (Bradley, 1973: 133). Bayly's farm management techniques changed the way in which coastal lands were valued in the area, with reports that his "property, which a few years ago was looked upon as almost worthless because it contained no gum, now bears a decidedly prosperous appearance" (Local and General, Kaipara & Waitemata Echo, 5th June 1912: 2). Similar accounts express that prior to Mr Bayly's arrival "this class of country was despised, and its market value was a few shillings per acre[, whilst today] it exhibits beautiful pasturage" (Kaipara Lands, NZH, 25th August 1911, Vol XLVIII, Issue 147678: 5). Bayly's horticultural experiments led to an agricultural expansion along the coast, which simultaneously increased the market value of the previously unproductive lands. The Evening Post stated that:

'Even the poor lands can be turned to profit. This has been shown by Mr. George Bayly, late of New Plymouth, who some time back bought some land on the coast... that most people considered practically useless. But Mr. Bayly thought otherwise, and

began cultivating, and secured such results that unimproved land in the vicinity increased with a bound...'

'It was Mr. Bayly and other Taranaki men who showed the western north what could be done with their land, and incidentally showed them the value.' (Dargaville and its Districts, Evening Post, 24th February 1917, Vol XCII, Issue 48: 10).

These reports demonstrate the continuing discourse of the importance of productivity to the region and the valuing of land based on its productive potential. The effects of this localized agricultural revolution saw land values along the coast increase significantly, signalling an important shift in the importance of coastal land.

'In no part of New Zealand are values so low as in the Northern Wairoa consistent with the quality of land, and in no part of the country are values increasing as rapidly as in the Northern Wairoa and the town of Dargaville' (Important Land Sale, Hastings Standard, 5th February 1914, Vol III, Issue 347:2).

Horn (1954) confirmed the link between agricultural uptake along the coast and increased value but also added that the increased fertility of the land enabled farmers to dispose of sections for other settlers, and that greater respect for the land also occurred in line with increased permanent settlement and capital investment. Such discourses of place making exemplify the value of productivity to in-migration and development in the area. A shift from earlier discourses, however, is seen in the increased long-term investment in land, which saw more care taken to maintain land rather than just exploiting it for raw materials. This could be considered as a very physical form of place attachment for new settlers rather than the more commonly described place attachment that results from continued experiences in place. These accounts advance previous notions for land value being determined by its productivity, rather than in terms of its natural features or experiences and attachments to natural features. Increased interest in agriculture within the area also allowed owners that had benefited from such technological advances, such as Mr Bayly, to capitalise and sell sections of land, which he eventually did.

5.4.2 The Camp Clubs

Increased physical investment and permanent settlement in the Northern Wairoa, and its coastal back blocks in particular, also enabled increased time for recreation. Representing a fundamental shift in the discourses of place making, around the first decade of the 1900s there are increasing accounts of trips to the west coast beach and Christmas holidays at the seaside. Although not explicitly stated, it could be deduced that alongside increased farming and development of coastal blocks, access to the coast for locals was also increased. Recreation and access to the coast provided the perfect contextual conditions for the realization of what would become the most influential experiences towards the development of the current Bayly's Beach settlement – the formation of camp clubs. The emergence of camp clubs and their histories provide the richest sources of the every affective

experience and expressions of emotion in place, especially considering that the camp clubs of Bayly's Beach continue to survive today. The experiences reflect a shift in value for the coastal environment, where natural beauty, ruggedness and isolation were celebrated and enjoyed.

Numerous factors intertwined to produce the influential role of the camp clubs in the current coastal development experiences of Bayly's Beach. As will be demonstrated, the development of the camp clubs involved commonly held land and sets of rules through which the clubs were discursively maintained. Important interactions of power over the years since the emergence of the camp clubs have also greatly contributed to their sustenance. Furthermore, the physical location of the camp clubs on the beachfront has been critical to the area's development and appearance, as well as to affective everyday experiences of the wider Bayly's Beach settlement. Power, emotion and knowledge reside within all of these factors, interacting to produce the prevailing discourses that have, over time, critically shaped the current landscape, affective experiences and expressions of emotion.

The Bayly Town Camp Club (BTCC) was the first of two camp clubs to materialise in Bayly's Beach recording the beginnings of their club in their celebratory anniversary booklets. They state that:

'In 1914, Mr G T Bayly... was approached by Mr G N Hayes, J Hempell and R J Masefield, with a request that he sell a few acres of land for a camp club. Mr Bayly would not sell the land, but he was willing to lease a portion for up to 25 years. The Masefields and Hayes rode out from Dargaville to see about the site, and after looking at both Chase's and Bayly's Gorges decided the latter. They chose the site, and invited 14 others to join them' (BTCC, 2014: 7).

Soon after the BTCC secured their lease, the Chase's Gorge Camp Club (CGCC) was founded on the site that the BTCC discounted. Both camp clubs leased the land from Mr Bayly until 1927, when they successfully obtained freehold title over their respective sections (BTCC, 2014; CGCC Minute Book 1, c.1927-1946). Early everyday experiences of the camp clubs did much to solidify the discourses of holiday living that would pervade through to present time. Several aspects of the camp club experiences demonstrate important relations of power and the weight of discourses and affective experiences as made known through expressions of emotion and everyday routines. Here, I draw on the importance of power in terms of the individuals and families linked to the camp clubs and their role in the development of the area; the pervasive issues of access and erosion that have permeated over the years and continue to plague everyday concerns today; and the ways in which the everyday experiences in place have produced affective histories and place attachments which discursively frame the Bayly's Beach experience today.

The camp clubs' emergence was highly reflective of power in terms of wealth, influence and land ownership in the area, and is reflected the names of some of the first members. These included a

resident engineer of Dargaville, a solicitor of Dargaville, an architect and engineer for the Hobson County Council, a bank manager of Dargaville, a doctor of Dargaville, the manager of the Northern Wairoa Dairy Company and various local farmers (BTCC, 2014). The professional status of many of these positions points towards the likely power and wealth of these people within the district, a trend that continued in early sales of camp club interests. A critical example of this was a sale in 1924 of a BTCC membership, which saw Mr Gordon Coates acquire the interests of cottage 2 in the camp club (BTCC, 2014). Gordon Coates would go on to become Prime Minister the following year having already held the parliamentary seat for Kaipara since 1911, and continued to hold the cottage until his death in 1943 (Bassett, 1996). Other important local figures and families that emerged as interests in BTCC during its first ten years included the Dargavilles, Mr James Trounson, the Hardings, and the Gouldings (BTCC, 2014). Many of these interests have been retained over the years, creating lasting place attachments and histories through their experiences. It was wealthier families that were able to afford the extra money to lease land for holiday campsites and eventually afford the freehold price. Power, therefore, more than likely played an important role in the early development of Bayly's Beach, a power that continues through to today, albeit in a more unique form than might be expected from interplays of power and beachfront property.

The free-holding of the camp club land also points towards the power and discursive actions on the part of the Bayly Estate. The BTCC have recorded that in 1926 "negotiations were entered into with the Bayly Estate for the purchase of the freehold land. After protracted discussions and offers, and numerous consultations, the purchase of the property was finally agreed to in 1927." (BTCC, 2014:7). CGCC also noted in their annual meeting minutes for 1927 that £25 had been paid as a deposit for the freehold of the camp club, with the total sum being £275 (CGCC Minute Book 1, c.1927-1946). At the same time Bayly had either gifted or sold (this is unclear) a portion of his estate directly behind the camp clubs to Mr J. P. Kelly who had been a long time general manager for Mr Bayly, including being the overseer for the breaking-in of Bayly's Kaihu estate (Kaipara & Waitemata Echo, 1912; Department of Lands & Survey, 1926, BAJZ-5155-A1259-40/d-1). In 1926 Bayly still owned the beachfront sections where the camp clubs existed, and the land behind owned by J.P Kelly was being proposed for subdivision to develop the town of Moeatua. The move to part with all three sections around the same time and at the expiry of the camp club lease not only demonstrates Mr Bayly's business thinking but also of his power when you consider the fractional size of the land that he sold, in comparison with the balance of the estate, and the fact that he still had various estates across the country. The discourses utilised by Mr Bayly and the camp club residents are different in their motives and values. Whilst Mr Bayly was looking to profit off the sale of a small section of his land, the camp club members' motivation lay in recreational value, which would prove to be a pivotal discourse that would pervade till present day.

At the same time that the camp clubs gained freehold of their land, Mr Kelly was planning to similarly profit off his land acquired from Mr Bayly in line with the camp club's recreational discourse. As previously mentioned, place naming also plays an important role in place making processes. A critical

aspect of Kelly's proposed subdivision was its name – Moeatua. The spelling, most likely drawn from Mr Kelly's map of Kaihu No.1 (Figure 1), differs from that noted by Tinne in 1873 where he had spelt the name as Moeatoa. Likely intended as a hark back to the original stream that is today culverted and now a constant issue, Kelly's failure to properly spell the name led to years of contestation over the spelling, and ultimately the name was abandoned as by the time the issue had been addressed in 1949 the name of Moeatoa had already been assigned to a locality and post office near Te Kuiti (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1949). There is no mention as to how the name of Moeatua came to be chosen for Kelly's subdivision, or how it then became Moeatoa by the time the auction poster was revealed. By 1953 however, Bayly's Beach was the official name for the area and the name 'Moeatoa' had been largely lost (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1953). The loss of the name Moeatoa exemplifies the importance of everyday experiences in broader development processes as a small mistake led to the complete renaming of the settlement. The power of place naming can therefore be seen to have very real effects on the development of physical places, affecting the ways in which places are known and experienced. With the loss of the name Moeatoa, a large portion of the history is lost, seemingly only beginning with George Bayly's acquisition. This is an issue that has pervaded through New Zealand history, as traditional Māori place names are lost and early European settlers experiences are privileged. The naming of Bayly's Beach also speaks to the importance of people's everyday experiences in shaping places and values in the area as reflected in Mr Bayly's role in the settlement's development. Place naming is therefore a critical aspect of the development of place and the ways in which place is understood and experienced.

Mr Bayly's power also extended into the deed provisions for the camp club freeholds, although evidence of these provisions has only been found within the BTCC. Whilst still under the leasehold arrangement, a range of rules set out between Mr Bayly and the camp club were followed, of which many were retained in the deed, including for example:

- 'No parking of cars on Club land'
 - 'No dogs, horses or other animals allowed'
 - 'No infectious diseases between 1st Dec to 14th Feb'
- (BTCC, 2014: 12).

Many of the rules have been retained in spite of their redundancy. For example the insistence of no dogs has been retained by the BTCC despite this rule originally applying due to the proximity of the camp clubs to Mr Bayly's stock (BTCC, 2014). The retention of such rules points to the importance of everyday experiences and past experiences in place shaping routines and current experiences. In this way such everyday experiences critically shape current place experiences and development processes through their relational affective meanings and experiences. These everyday experiences in place became important to the discourses and expectations that went along with 'going to the beach'. The emergence of these camp clubs and the rules that were to frame their experiences set in

motion a pervasive discourse of holiday settlement that has become entrenched within the Bayly's Beach community.

Everyday experiences of place, and affective experiences and expressions of emotion regarding the beachscape, produced lasting effects on the development of the area and its value to the area. Although there are many aspects that could be explored, particular attention is paid to general place experiences and interactions with the beach, the value of Toheroa, and recurring issues of access and erosion. Collectively these experiences within place provide important insights into the relational experiences and interactions over time that have produced the current place attachments and expressions of emotion in relation to place, which are critically the product of affective experiences.

Realisation of the value of the beach within the area was largely linked with accessibility. Since the inception of the camp clubs, and the allowance of public access to the coast through the Bayly property, there were increasing reports of the asset of the beach to Dargaville and its district (NZH, 1924, Vol LXI, Issue 18607:8). Camp clubs were popping up along the coast and being heralded as summer seaside resorts as access to the coast became easier.

[A] road is being formed which will give direct access from Dargaville town right through to the sea coast. This road is the nearest outlet from Dargaville at the present time to the magnificent and popular beaches on the West Coast, and will be largely availed of, by the people of the district' (Important Land Sale, Hastings Standard, 5th February 1914, Vol III, Issue 347:2).

The road establishment itself involved important interactions of power and influence within everyday experiences, which have ultimately affected the processes of coastal development at Bayly's Beach. At the time of this road development, access to the coast was serviced by a right of way through the Bayly Estate (BTCC, 2009; 2014). Mr Bayly had originally offered a strip of land to the Hobson County Council free of charge on the condition that they fence the road, although the Council declined the offer (NZH, 1924a, Vol LXI, Issue 18889: 12). Once established, the camp clubs made an agreement with Mr Bayly to access the land, which the public slowly started to take advantage of, also accessing the beach through the camp club access (NZH, 1924a, Vol LXI, Issue 18889: 12). The camp club's role in establishing the road was pivotal. It was their interactions with the Bayly Estate that allowed for future public access to Ripirō Beach, with the Hobson County Council only taking over the roadway after Mr Bayly closed the access to everyone except for the leaseholders. Ensuing public outcry pushed the council to take over the road, as reported in various local newspapers.

'Owing to the thoughtlessness of a number of people the residents of Dargaville and the surrounding districts are in danger of losing access to the popular seaside resort at Bayley's [sic] and Chase's Gorges.'

'Recently, people have been causing considerable annoyance to the owner of the property by leaving gates open, letting stock out, and travelling over the property at places other than those laid down in the agreement with the leaseholders.' (A Beach Road Closed, NZH, 11th December 1924a, Vol LXI, Issue 18889: 12).

Expressions of emotion in relation to place and place attachment can be interpreted from both the motivations behind Mr Bayly's actions and the actions of the public and council. The closure of the road by Mr Bayly is a physical expression of emotion deeply influenced by affective experiences on his land. In the same way, the public outcry and lobbying of the Hobson County Council to acquire the road for public use is equally expressive of emotion as a result of past affective experiences within place. Had Bayly not felt the need to restrict access to the beach, the road may have stayed in private hands for many more years, as the Council clearly didn't have any urging desires to take over the road. Had the processes of gaining public access to the beach been different, the future development of Bayly's Beach would also likely be different, especially considering Bayly only sold the land after the road was taken over by the Hobson County Council. Although these general experiences of access to the coast are a recurrent theme throughout New Zealand coastal development history, the everyday experiences behind such moves are specific to place and time, with this example highlighting such situational importance. Furthermore, interpreting these experiences in terms of changing land use and migration reveals how migrants tended to be local interests and that slow shifts in discourses of values and technology enabled beachside holiday resorts to be realised.

The road itself was barely accessible, as reflected in recollections of how "a trip to the jungle (Babylon) or Bayly's Beach would mean grinding this heavy sand, and a trip to Kaihu was considered a feat" (Bradley, 1973: 153). Such experiences were much alike the rest of the district, where reports of the "Roadless north" and "Pulling Northland out of the mud" (Poverty Bay Herald, 2nd April 1919, Vol XLVI, Issue 14876: 5) were common between 1900-1925 (Beardsall, 1976). Depictions of the average motorist travelling with spades, axes, ropes, wire and chains to extract themselves from the mud further reflected the lack of road development and the continuous issue of access in the area (Beardsall, 1976). Overall the lack of roading and access contributed to the isolation and rurality that has persisted within the district over time, although it is also these aspects that are so treasured in the experiences of Bayly's Beach. The inaccessibility that was previously the hindrance to development was now a special part of the experience of going to the beach.

Power held by influential well-known families in the area were also influential in the road development, as it was a Vivian Trounson and Gordon Coates who pushed to get the Dargaville-Hokianga Highway road put in, and it was also Gordon Coates, who at the time was the Prime Minister, who had established the National Highways Board and enjoyed taking a ministerial car to his residence in the BTCC (Bassett, 1995; Beardsall, 1976; Trounson, 1988). Power and discourse most likely played an important role on Coates' behalf in the lobbying to get better roads near the coast as the Dargaville-Hokianga highway goes right past the turn off to Bayly's Beach. Much of the progress made in the

Northern Wairoa occurred during Coates' time as Kaipara's representative (Horn, 1956). Roads and access go hand-in-hand with power and discourse and both have played important interactional and affective roles in the experiences of development within Bayly's Beach. Links towards the role of power and place attachment may also be relevant as Coates' experiences at Bayly's Beach are also well documented and record how returns to the beach for Christmas holidays and always retained a loyalty to his electorate till his death (Horn, 1956; NZH, 1933, Vol LXX, Issue 21673: 12). Place attachments developed through everyday experiences in place, may then be critical to practices or discourses of power used to shape development in the area.

The lack of accessibility to Bayly's Beach also meant that families would spend the entire summer period at the beach, as the journey was so difficult. Bayly's Beach fell into a framing as a summer holiday resort because of these early everyday experiences that saw permanent settlement unfeasible – a framing that has been discursively and actively pursued right through till today.

'In the camps along the West Coast known as Chase's, Bayly's, Maule's and Mahuta Gorge, stretching at intervals for four miles southwards from Dargaville, there are now, under canvas or in shacks, considerable over three hundred people. Grocers, butchers, milkmen and an enterprising Chinaman, call regularly, so that it is not surprising that the coast is, each year, becoming a more popular holiday resort.' (West Coast Beaches, Auckland Star, 31st December 1927, Vol LVII, Issue 309: 5).

'... [I]n the summer months these camps become small townships... [and are] within a few miles of Dargaville' (Land of Possibilities, Auckland Star, 27th April 1923, Vol LIV, Issue 99: 10).

Accounts such as these reflect what became a common framing of Bayly's Beach as a satellite and asset of Dargaville that was to have its future as a seaside resort for locals and Aucklanders (NZH, 1924, Vol LXI, Issue 18607:8; 1937, Vol LXXIV, Issue 22755: 10). Within Hobson County Council's Centenary there is similarly little said about Bayly's Beach apart from acknowledging its campground and other tourist facilities (Beardsall, 1976). The camp clubs likely contributed to this framing as they were originally only occupied during summer months, although this was largely due to the state of the road. The holiday resort framing has continued to be discursively applied to the area, with local Dargaville residents being regular occupants and visitors, and planning proposals also following the same framing.

The form of development within the camp clubs are critically specific to place and time, and tied strongly to the discourses of the summer holiday at the beach. At least two of the original baches in the BTCC were built from remnants of baches from the Harding's camp at Mahuta Gap after a storm in 1916 damaged all of the baches and none were replaced there (Beardsall, 1976; BTCC, 2014). Had the storm not occurred when it did these baches may not have had a life at Bayly's Beach,

despite both eventually succumbing to fires before 1930 (BTCC, 2014). The recycling of the baches indicates the importance of everyday experiences specific to place and time in shaping coastal development processes. Within these everyday experiences, storms, flooding and erosion are recurrent issues over times that have contributed to the processes of development within Bayly's Beach over time. Penny Harding recalled the experience leading to the removal of the baches from Mahuta to Bayly's, reflecting,

'As we watched, we saw erosion in action, the sides of the gorge crumbling and flopping into the tearing waters...

When we got above the houses, there was a scene of desolation. All the houses except ours, which was higher up the slope, had been damaged. Some had fallen completely into the gorge, down on their knees as it were. Two has been washed on to the beach, and all had suffered' (Beardsall, 1976: 95).

Within the BTCC similar accounts are recorded across the histories of several baches. Cottage 1 for example has had its foundations damaged more than once from flooding and a whale has even been recorded as lodging under it, before the bach was moved up and back from the beach (BTCC, 2014). CGCC have also recorded a long history of erosion problems washing out the poor roadways and sand dunes surrounding their property (CGCC Minute Book 1, c.1927-1946; CGCC Minute Book 2, c.1947-1976 CGCC Minute Book 3, c.1977-2012). A history of erosion and flooding is evident in all accounts and experiences within Bayly's beach, which seems to have been wilfully neglected in the present day, as will be seen in the coming discussion of more recent developments.

Another critical aspect framing development experiences within the camp clubs has been the common ownership of their respective land (although part of the CGCC is apparently private property (Northland Times, 1983), with none of the owners having individual titles to their lots, but rather owning a share of the whole section. Both clubs are still held in common ownership to this day and are still privy to rules that restrict the nature of development on the sites, although many rules have been altered over the years. A selection of the rules regarding development within each of the camp clubs is presented in Table 2 below, reflecting how the consequences of the camp clubs being held in common had various effects on the lands management and development.

Table 2 Selection of rules from BTCC and CGCC. Source (BTCC, 2014: 7-12; Minutes of Committee Meeting, CGCC Minute Book 3, 10th April 1982).

Bayly Town Camp Club	Chase's Gorge Camp Club
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No member is entitled to call for title individually for any real property of the Club. • Membership of the club to be limited to 17. • Any member desiring to transfer membership is to submit in writing the name of the proposed transferee, and the application for membership, to the secretary. The secretary will, within 14 days, conduct a secret ballot... One sixth of the total votes recorded against shall exclude the applicant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trustees shall have the right to mortgage, subdivide or sell or otherwise dispose of the real property of the club, upon such terms and conditions as they see fit, provided that they shall have received the written consent of at least 66% / 2/3 of the club... • Membership to be limited to 17 in

<p>from membership.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No member is to build or extend a wall within 12 feet of his neighbour, and may not build or extend without permission of the club. 	<p>number.</p>
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Unfortunately, where the BTCC has a record of the rules set out in the deed when the land was made freehold, the information for CGCC is not as readily available. The critical point however, is that within both clubs development had to be approved by a clear majority of members which greatly affected what development occurred. The voting system employed by both clubs also enabled the retention of the camp clubs in common ownership as both clubs have on at least one occasion put the issue of individualising unit titles to the vote where it has always failed (BTCC, 2014; CGCC Minute Book 3, c.1977-2012). Through the use of rules and general codes of conduct within the camp clubs, the nature of development has remained subtle in style and scale and has therefore had an immense influence on the processes of coastal development in Bayly's Beach over time. Critically, the nature of the camp clubs and the rules by which they are governed has seen the two large sections on the beachfront retain a modest character and have not succumbed to 'McMansion' style development. The rules themselves, however, are social constructs that are deeply reflective of the discourses of what the camp clubs should be and what Bayly's Beach should be. Everyday experiences within place and the early experiences of the beach have thus shaped the rules and experiences of development over time as seen in the many practices and experiences directly linked with the camp club development and experiences.

Everyday experiences of Bayly's Beach prior to electricity connection in the 1930s provide recurrent stories of gathering lignite for fuel and cooking, gathering water for the day ahead, collecting Toheroa, swimming as a group on incoming tides, innocent camp rivalries and New Years celebrations (BTCC, 2004; 2014; Campbell, 1963; Northland Times, 1983; NZH, 1924, Vol LXI, Issue 18607:8). The lignite used was the same lignite mentioned in Tinnes early map of the coal seams, which ran across the beach. Whist not quite the commercial coalfield production Tinne predicted, the lignite did provide an important everyday resource for beachgoers. Predominating isolation and lack of services was all part of the beach experience (Northland Times, 1983). Even Prime Minister Coates was regularly reported to enjoy these everyday routines of Bayly's Beach:

'Coates found the temporary change in life-style an elixir.' (Bassett, 1995: 79).

'Advanc[ing] on the incoming tide... [and a]ttired in army shorts and a thin shirt, gone in the back, the Minister was first in, hauling on a net in the breakers... Coates shouldered a kerosene tin, and his companion a spade, to unearth the wily but delicious toheroa.' (Day at the Seaside –Charm of the West Coast, NZH, 15th January 1924, Vol LXI, Issue 18607:8).

The depiction of the prime minister in banal clothing and doing everyday activities is highly reflective of the discourse that went along with going to Bayly's Beach. It was the simplicity of the

everyday experience in an isolated environment that was now so valued, rather than valuing the area for its material extractive resources.

Swimming on an incoming tide was a well-known routine for locals and is frequently referred to in memories and current discussions about beach safety. Recollections from camp members affirm this including Liz Heywood:

[W]e always swam on an incoming tide and mostly it was a gathering of families. Mum was a great teacher of swimming – she would take any child who was too scared to enter the water and gradually coax them in and teach them to appreciate the sea not be afraid of it.' (BTCC, 2014: 72).

The importance of beach safety was pivotal considering much of the everyday experiences took place in and around the water. Communal swimming and beach safety became ingrained in many of the camp club members minds, with knowing to swim on an incoming tide being a common way to tell apart locals from outsiders. Everyday interactions between the two camp clubs also led to the emergence of the annual cricket match between the camp clubs – the Toheroa Cup. In 1925 the Toheroa Cup was created from the melted down roofs from the Mahuta Gap baches, with the BTCC and CGCC competing ritually, until the 1960s when the Dargaville side and eventually the Dargaville Fire Brigade took over from CGCC (BTCC, 2014). The Toheroa Cup represents just one of the many social events, gatherings and interactions that solidified the relationship between the camp clubs and the place of Bayly's Beach. These everyday experiences influenced the future of the settlement and the individuals themselves, and is reflected in a piece by a BTCC member, Josie Smith:

'My earliest memories of my 72 years at Bayly's would be of me and my siblings collecting our pyjamas and toothbrushes and trekking off to Mahuta for the night, unannounced to visit Granny Harding... Then I remember the big fights against those Chases kids. Either they would come over and throw sandstone on Ralf and May Harding's roof (now owned by the Harding sisters) or we would start things off by doing the same to the end baches at Chases.'

'After 24 years of summers at Bayly's, Keith (he was a chase-ite) and I got married after courting in the sand dunes, like many others before and after us! We were very lucky to be able to buy the bach that Keith's grandparents built' (BTCC, 2004: 50).

Josie's account reveals how everyday experiences in place produce place attachments and affect the future actions of individuals as well as contributing to the way place is perceived and developed (or not). Additionally the influence of powerful families within the area is also seen in the fact that the Hardings had property along the coast and also retained their position in the BTCC and wider Kaipara to this day. There have been several marriages across the camp clubs over the years which further

reflect the criticality of place experiences in both shaping people through their interactions in place as well as shaping the physical environment through discourses influenced by their past experiences in place. The pervasiveness of the camp clubs and their associated discourses that frame Bayly's Beach are critical to the place making that has occurred around the camp clubs. The style of baches and the streetscape within the camp clubs plays a fundamental role in the experience of Bayly's Beach, which has been maintained through the rules and broader discourses within the clubs.

Direct expressions of emotions or affective experiences that have enabled the continuation of the camp clubs over the years have been limited, although it can be interpreted from the memories and past experiences in place that the everyday experiences within Bayly's Beach were critical to solidifying people's place and identity in the Bayly's Beach community, and also their desire to buy property there. Furthermore, as the first forms of development in the settlement, the camp clubs formed around the two natural access ways to the beach and have managed to somewhat hold the coastal development fort through their use of social standards and rules that are heavily shaped by the early camp club experiences. The early everyday experiences within the camp clubs have proven crucial to the development of the area and also helped to set the context for what types of development belong in Bayly's Beach.

In terms of land use change and development, this period signified a critical shift as bach houses emerged and second homeowners started to build there. Interestingly this experience is very similar to recent trends in coastal development, although the scale of development seen in today's second-home buyer market is markedly increased. Those who were members of the camp clubs tended to be from local surrounding farming areas and were usually well known names in the area. Productive and recreational uses were therefore emerging back in the 1910s and today's experiences may be interpreted as mere repetitions of the same experiences and discourses played out in a more developed setting.

5.4.3 Moeatoa Estate

Following the freehold of the camp clubs and the land behind them, the Moeatoa Estate marked the only other major development in the historical processes of coastal development within Bayly's Beach, which ultimately led to permanent settlement within the area.

Following the early successes of the camp clubs, the Moeatoa estate was similarly framed and proposed as seaside residences for summer use (Department of Lands & Survey, 1926, ACGT - 18190-LS1-1833-25/1036). The successful function of the discourses of Bayly's Beach as a holiday resort in earlier days was used to bypass planning regulations in order to fit the most lots on to the site. This is revealed in communications between the Surveyor General of the Department of Lands and Survey and Chief Surveyor for North Auckland, where the chief surveyor states:

'... the Local Authority when approving the subdivision were fully aware of the position [of the lot boundaries,] but they considered that the matter of forty feet frontage might be waived in this case for the reason that the lots are intended for seaside cottages only and there is little likelihood of the locality being used for permanent residential purposes.' (Department of Lands & Survey, 1931, ACGT -18190-LS1-1833-25/1036: 1).



Figure 6 Moeatoa Beach Estate auction poster. Source: BTCC 90 Year Anniversary, 2004: Inside back cover).

Within the auction poster, seen above (Figure 6), the framing of Bayly's Beach further demonstrates the pervasive discourse of Bayly's Beach as a holiday resort for local residents. The poster highlights that the site's location is only 20 minutes drive from Dargaville and the location of the coast in relation to the lots. Both examples, but primarily the correspondence within the Department of Lands &

Survey, indicate the role of discourse in shaping physical development at Bayly's. As place develops over time through processes of everyday relational interactions between people and the environment, such forced framings usually fail to produce the intended outcomes, which is exactly the case seen here. The repercussions of such discourses that aim to assume motivations and future settlement patterns are seen in the numerous reports of poor planning and access in the decades following.

One repercussion of these discourses within planning is seen in the interactions between the Cossils', the Hobson County Council and the Commission of Crown Lands. Having purchased three of the Moeatoa lots on Bayly Street, the Cossils' asked the Council for permission to purchase part of the plantation reserve adjoining one of their lots (Grieves & Cossil, letter to Commissioner of Crown Lands (CCL), 1966, BAJZ, 5155/A1259/40/d/1). The following extracts from these interactions highlight the power of discourses and everyday experiences in the processes of coastal development and the recurrent theme of access.

'The reason for our request is that our residence is situated 150 feet approximately above the level of Bayly Street, therefore we have very poor access to the usable area of our property.

It is our feeling that owing to the fact that it has not been kept tidy by the local council the said area in the summer months creates a fire hazard to ours and other immediate neighbours.

The said property would give our land the only reasonable access possible [and has] no real future as an asset to the area, but would be very beneficial to us' (Grieves & Cossill, 1st June 1966, Letter to the CCL, BAJZ, 5155/A1259/40/d/1: 1).

Responses from the initial Department of Lands and Survey report provides a much different perspective of the value of the land the Cossils' were requesting.

'[T]his area was planted several years ago in Pohutukawas by a Mr Thorne. These trees have established quite well... and in the future will be a decided asset to the area providing attractive shelter. This is a very exposed area and any shelter is almost invaluable.'

'In my opinion these people must have purchased these sections knowing what the nature of the access was and therefore must accept the position as it is.'

'I cannot possibly agree that the reserve has no future asset to the area. While it is possibly a little untidy it is only 12' wide and cannot constitute a very great fire hazard. It is certainly no greater risk than most of section 31 [the Cossils' land] is anyway' (Department of Lands & Survey – Whāngārei, Letter to CCL, 22nd July 1966: BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1: 1-2).

Within the report several neighbours interviewed perceived the reserve to be an asset to the community, regularly kept tidy by residents, and in one case Mr Philpott argued that the reserve had largely influenced the price paid for his sections (Department of Lands & Survey, 1966, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1). The Council promptly declined the application, although it was raised again in 1970 with a considerably different perception reported (BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1). In the 1970 report, the District Field Officer (DFO) perceived the reserve as having a “limited amount of scenic attraction” and that it “serves no practical purpose” (O’Brien, CCL, to Childs, DFO, 28th October 1970, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1: 1). Furthermore, Mr Philpott was now happy to see the reserve go as it was blocking his views and, although the DFO thought the Cossil’s had no one but themselves to blame, he was of the view that a section should be sold to them (CCL – Auckland, 1970, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1). Despite this report, the Hobson County Council rejected the request arguing that the retention of the reserve and the trees were “desirable and necessary” (Vugler, County Clerk, letter to CCL, 29th January 1971, BAJZ, 5155/A1259/40/d/1: 1). These accounts demonstrate some everyday issues that emerged as a result of the failed planning of the Moeatoa estate and the discourses framing the value of natural vegetation. Experiences and interactions with the environment in this way produced real effects on the landscape especially evident in the fact that the reserve was abandoned and provided as an access way to the properties, although it is not clear when this occurred. Framing Moeatoa as a holiday resort and the neglect to address potential future needs such as car parking, points towards the ways in which everyday experiences in place over time actively (re)shape coastal development processes and how discourses can restrict or enable such development.

Similar accounts of access issues were common throughout the Bayly’s settlement in the coming years. Whilst some were easily resolved such as that between Mr Williams and Mr Brady where mutual rights of way were given (Department of Lands & Survey, 1949, ACGT -18190-LS1-1833-25/1036: 1), others created decade long disputes over access. An example in stark contrast to that of Williams and Brady saw the CGCC stuck in a bitter dispute with the Wards over their shared right of way access that spanned over twenty years, involved various confrontations, dismantling of property, and even a firearms encounter, only ending at the tragic death of Mr Ward in a boating accident (CGCC Minute Book 2 c.1947-1976; CGCC Minute Book 3, c.1977-2012; Pers. Comm. CGCC member, 2016). Issues of access as a result of the poor planning of the subdivision can then be interpreted for the ways in which it influenced how place was experienced in everyday life and contributed to the affective experiences of people in place.

A crucial difference between the early camp clubs and the development of the Moeatoa estate was the role of power in terms of affluence and influence. Whilst the camp clubs have a history of influential families, prime ministers, mayors and other famous or well-known characters, the Moeatoa estate has developed through the experiences of a range of different demographic groups, motivated by different everyday experiences at different points in time, although the affective experiences and expressions of emotion in relation to place are very much the same. There is however, little

information during this period from which to interpret the real effect of affective experiences and expressions of emotion and there are also gaps in information, which make it difficult to interpret the processes occurring over time. What is clear however, is the shared value of the beachscape and a desire to live at the beach despite its extremely inconvenient access.

From the information available there was a clear shift from the early purchasers of the Moeatoa sections, who tended to be wealthier and bought several lots, and later residents from the '50s onwards who tended to be less wealthy. Interpreted from the early correspondence with the Department of Lands of Survey over the Cossils' request for the plantation reserve, the majority of the surrounding landholders owned between two to four lots and tended to have respected jobs within the Dargaville community including a County Clerk, sports good dealer and a Minister of Religion (O'Brien, CCL, to Childs, DFO, 28th October 1970, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-40/d-1). Additionally, the BTCC also purchased part of this estate (BTCC, 2014), further entrenching their power and influence in the area. Indicative of the continued power and discourses in the area these lots were largely used to construct seaside cottages and develop the seaside resort branding of Bayly's Beach. By the late 1950s there is evidence of increasing permanent residency despite still being largely regarded as a suburb and seaside resort of Dargaville. Littler, District Valuer, initially reported progress to be slowly improving with mostly weekend baches and limited amenities such as a bus service with only one return trip daily in the summer months, no school or post office and poor housing, leading the valuer to decline applications for financing property purchases (Littler, District Valuer, 9th April 1957, BBEM, 22847-A941-12). Within two years of his initial perspective however, Littler's assessment of the area changed remarkably as he stated:

'Bayleys [sic] beach as well as being Dargaville's main seaside resort has now a number of permanent homes and there is residential development. The good soil, pleasant surroundings and low rates is appealing to more and more largely businessmen and workers and with the improvements of the road to town further progress is anticipated' (Littler, District Valuer, 7 September 1959, BBEM, 22847/A941/12).

Littler's changing assessments demonstrates the importance of discourses and perspectives in actively shaping physical development and people's everyday lives, as well as revealing the shift in framing of Bayly's Beach as not just restricted to seaside summer residences. Perspectives of the viability of permanent settlement and the appropriateness of the housing were largely subjective and are reflected in the range of evaluations made by the various District Valuers over the years. By the early 1980s a new District Valuer had reaffirmed Littler's earlier expressions of the lack of planning, services and amenities within Bayly's Beach claiming that the poor planning of dwellings resulted in enlarged baches that were not acceptable standards for permanent residence or financial security (Algie, District Valuer, 16th September 1983, BBEM, 22847/A941/12). When Mr Garton occupied the role during the late 80s the view shifted again and all the applications were accepted as he perceived

the properties to be good coastal residential dwellings despite accepting that they were largely “cheaply built bach[es] typical of the locality” (Garton, 6th May 1980; 25th October, 1989, BBEM, 22847/A941/12). Clearly reflective of the criticality of subjective perceptions of place, these accounts reveal the affective consequences of such perspectives to the development of Bayly’s Beach.

The work undertaken by the District Valuers and that done by the District Field Officers represents the critical issue of lacking communication between agencies. Whilst the valuers were employed to process applications for property financing, the field officers were dealing with acquired Crown lands separately, which resulted in one of the biggest missed opportunities for the Bayly’s Beach settlement. In 1975, over 20 years after Littler noted increased interest in permanent settlement, the CCL, J.D. O’Brien (4th March 1975, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-37/d-5/38-1) informed the Whāngārei DFO that the lot purchased from Mr Wilson in 1958 on the south side of Bayly’s Coast Road was surplus to the Regional Education Board’s requirements and requested for its surveying and valuation for proposed sale back to Mr Wilson. Ultimately Mr Wilson and the Department of Lands and Survey could not agree on a price and the land was retained and subdivision considered, although this too was rejected in 1977 because of the unfavourable economic climate (Cartwright, 14th July 1976; McMillan, 30th September 1977, BAJZ, 5155-A1259-37/d-5/38-1). Meanwhile, and well after this time, the district valuers were rejecting applications for housing finance because of a lack of amenities and services. Potentially, if there had been better communication and planning in place for the community, the development of the school would have created the imperative for water and sewerage reticulation. The discourse framing development at the time however were still largely reflective of the beach side resort because of its lack of amenities and access, which has seen the area continue with its isolated experience.

There is also clear evidence that the specific everyday circumstances of the applicants were critical to the acceptance or declining of applications. For example in one case, the fact that a relative of the applicant was a builder contributed to the approval of a loan, whilst in other cases the location of applicants’ employment in Dargaville requiring a daily commute influenced the declining of several applications (BBEM, 1952-1987, 22847/A941/12). Increasing desires for permanent settlement in the area have also been claimed as being directly related to affordability of housing as reflected in an assessment by the District Valuer, who stated:

‘There has been of a late a slight upsurge of interest apparently primarily due to the scarcity of properties in the medium to lower price range in Dargaville.’ (District Valuer, ND, BBEM, 1952-1987, 22847/A941/12).

Such claims are echoed in the employment status of those applying for property financing in Bayly’s, which included solo parents, beneficiaries and single people (BBEM, 1952-1987, 22847/A941/12). Additional biographical stories of migrations to Bayly’s and Council statements similarly point towards the importance of affordability and the economic climate at the time in influencing the increasing

permanent settlement in the area from the 1950s onwards. In an extract from the story of Gwenda Irvine, one of the founders of the Dargaville Little Theatre (Haynes, 1997), the everyday experiences of living at Bayly's Beach is expressed:

'By the end of 1946 the marriage was at an end, with Peter and Janice (*her children*) she moved back to Dargaville. And not just to Dargaville but to Bayly's Beach to live – not for the first time, nor the last. For the next few years she coped as best she could...' (Haynes, 1997: 12)

Almost a decade later in August 1952 after having moved to Tauranga, she met Jack Irvine and moved back north to the Hokianga the family moved to Bayly's Beach again.

'There were three babies. There was no money. It was one of the most difficult times in Gwenda's life. She was forty years old. Existence was frugal. Toheroas helped, as did fish caught on the line. There were no conveniences... It was a return to the pioneer days. The days were long and sleep was one of exhaustion.'

'Things picked up slowly. Jack got a job with the NAEPB and they bought a tiny house at the edge of the hill as the road turns from Baylys to Chases. It was originally a public works hut but it was added to and improved over the years. Gwenda was to stay there for 30 years.' (Haynes, 1997: 13).

Gwenda's experience reflects the ways in which affordability of housing within the immediate area made Bayly's Beach a more desirable location to live, but provides much more insight into the affective everyday experiences that were part of this reality. Gwenda's story also hints towards the role of place attachment and place experiences in decisions of where to live. This is especially seen in the return to Bayly's Beach and the purchasing and development of an old building it into a permanent home. Distinct from the earlier camp club experiences, the shift in demographics of those moving to the Bayly's Beach area signified a plurality of value systems and discourses now at play within the locality. Whilst earlier camp club members tended to be wealthy and buy a bach at Bayly's Beach for recreation, later migrants into the Moeatoa estate tended to be less well off and moving to the area because of the affordability along with the scenic value.

The period of development that was the Moeatoa Estate largely influenced the physical development of the current day Bayly's Beach community alongside the already well-established camp clubs that guard the beachfront access points. Framing of the settlement as a holiday resort and the general slow uptake of development across the years saw this settlement remain relatively rural for a long time. The slow spread of services and amenities to the area is revealed in the fact that electricity was not extended to the settlement until the 1930s, the Bayly Coast Road was only metalled in 1957 and sealed in 1961, and water was not reticulated until after 1976 (Beardsall, 1976). Furthermore, the

CGCC originally owned the vehicle access to the beach after they obtained the freehold and only gifted it to the Council in 1943 (CGCC Minute Book 1 c.1927-1946). These experiences contributed to the isolated feelings of Bayly's Beach and, alongside the camp clubs existence, have resulted in the current settlement through the relational interactions between the everyday experiences and the contextual circumstances.

Discourses used to frame Bayly's Beach as a seaside resort when the subdivision was first planned in 1926 have also contributed the current experiences and physical nature of the current settlement. As part of the Moeatoa Estate's reserve contributions, the Bayly's Beach Campground was established. Interestingly, and unlike many of the coastal campgrounds around New Zealand, the campground is still under Council ownership, although privately managed, and has in fact extended over the years rather than being sold for private development as is the case in many coastal campgrounds.

5.5 Summary

Despite numerous other experiences and encounters contributing to the area's development during this time, the Moeatoa estate and the everyday interactions and coastal development processes produced as its consequence provide the most critical insights into the way in which the settlement formed during this period of time. The pervasive discourses shaping development forms and experiences is clearly seen through the expressions of emotion and everyday life discourses apparent within the area. This section has demonstrated the ways in which affective experiences and expressions of emotion are critical to informing and operationalising discourses of place making. It is clear that experiences specific to place and time have had critical roles in shaping the development of Bayly's Beach and the way in which it is perceived by both residents and visitors. The time period between 1910 and 1930 saw the majority of the Bayly's Beach development occurring and also signified a critical time in the formation of place identity. The discourses utilised during this period of time have been powerful in framing the course of development and also in shaping individuals identities. Despite the formation of camp clubs and the Moetoa Estate during this time period, these two development features or experiences have endured over time, as will be reflected in the following chapter. In this way, the power of discourses to actively shape place and experience becomes clear and the apparent lack of growth and development in the present day experiences can be related directly to these early discourses and experiences.

The following section continues from this period of time to consider the next major event to shape the development of the settlement and how understanding these discourses of place making can help to re-politicise coastal development research. It becomes clear that the slow growth experienced at Bayly's Beach relates strongly to earlier discourses and experiences. The relational meanings between experiences in the early 1900s and those experienced today tells a lot of the discourses of place making and their power in shaping future development. Whilst much of the literature focuses

towards present-day experiences of coastal development and opposition to coastal development, the following chapter reveals that more insightful meaning can be discerned from understanding past everyday experiences and place making discourses. Despite a jump in time towards the present day, it must be remembered that little occurred between the 1920s and the 2000s, which in itself says a lot for the slow growth patterns occurring at Bayly's Beach. Understanding these past discourses of place making and their relational effects on present experiences can therefore reveal important understandings in regards to the criticality of experiences across place and time, rather than merely in place, as is of common focus.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX– FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION PART 2

RE-POLITICISING COASTAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH – RECONNECTING PAST AND PRESENT

6.1 Introduction

Having explored the discourses of place making developed and deployed over time that have shaped the Bayly's Beach coastal development processes, I now explore the present day formation and experience of Bayly's Beach. This chapter discusses how past discourses of place making can be interpreted and analysed in order to understand current experiences of coastal development within Bayly's Beach. I argue that the past emergent discourses of place making that have framed the area as a banal seaside hamlet and poor productive area, have persisted over time and are essential to understanding the identity and coastal development experiences within Bayly's Beach.

Within this chapter I argue that attention to past discourses of place making, both specific to the Bayly's Beach locality and the wider area, enable interpretation of the settlement in terms of their power in shaping coastal development processes. In particular I argue that the discourses intertwined within the camp clubs have produced a development style and character that has become entrenched within the locality. The importance of nostalgia and memories is revealed in the dominance of past development discourses that have been operationalised and maintained within the physical landscape and everyday experiences. Furthermore, past relationships of power linked closely with discourse enables interpretation of the naming and framing of place within present day experiences to highlight how past discourses are operationalised and maintained over the landscape. I argue that these discourses have been so pervasive that, despite subdivisions and development having occurred within the area, the discourses of the mundane, bach-style seaside holiday resort have remained dominant.

Such an interpretation of coastal development processes contributes to existing migration and land-use change literature by re-politicising everyday experiences to attend to the specificities of time and place and their relational links with past experiences. By attending to the criticality of context and everyday subjective experiences, understandings of amenity migration and land-use change can be strengthened through highlighting the role of these factors in any given migration experience of change of land-use. Furthermore, attention to affective experiences and expressions of emotion in place and over time, allows for examination of the importance of nostalgia and memories in shaping values and discourses that contribute to experiences and coastal development.

In this way, incorporating subjective experiences with the criticality of place and time, allows for heightened understandings of place-specific coastal development processes and demonstrates the

relational links between affect, discourse and coastal development that may be otherwise neglected through attention to present, physical affective experiences. The chapter explores how more recent developments fit in with the existing settlement, with the aim of, in the conclusion, demonstrating how attention to past experiences in place, as explored through documentary analysis, can contribute to coastal development related literature of migration and land-use change.

6.2 Present Day Bayly's Beach

Portrayed below in Figure 7, the Bayly's Beach has barely expanded since the development of the Moeatoa Estate (outlined in red). The two extensions of the settlement to the north and east of the estate are the only significant developments to have occurred in the area since the 1930s. The northern subdivision – the Sunset West subdivision – is of a larger scale, is more dominant, and has been more contested than the development to the east. Despite these extensions of the settlement, Bayly's Beach has managed to retain its character and aspects of place to which people relate and have attached themselves. The discourses of place have been maintained within the camp clubs and the overall area has retained its isolated, low-key feel. Whilst permanent settlement has increased with increased technology and services, there are few mansions and a range of styles and ages of houses. Broadly speaking, these initial observations demonstrate how past discourses of place making associated with the camp clubs have managed to persist over time to shape and frame current and future development.



Figure 7 Satellite image of Bayly's Beach c. 2012. Adapted from (Google Earth Pro Maps, 2016).

The Sunset West development was extremely slow off the ground, taking nine years to commence, having been sold to new developers before it even began (Campbell & O'Neil, 2013). Expected increases in population from roughly 200 to almost 300 ratepayers were projected (Campbell & O'Neil, 2013), but there are less than ten houses that have been built as of April 2016. The interactions, processes and contextual factors that have contributed to this present reality can reveal much about the reasons for such an outcome. Such a slow take-off is similar to the experience of the older Moeatoa estate subdivision and it could be argued that these two developments, roughly 80 years apart, are very similar in that they both aimed to capitalise off the existing discourses of a seaside holiday resort, both initially aimed towards more affluent people, and both were slow to eventuate. Furthermore, the Moeatoa and Sunset West developments both involved relatively mundane forms of development in terms of the character and style of the dwellings constructed. In this way, it could be argued that the discourses framing the subdivisions were very similar and highlight how past discourses of place making are reiterated and drawn on even when planning for future development.

Interestingly, a previously proposed subdivision from 1949, initiated by the Powell's and which gained approval by the Chief Surveyor and the Minister of Lands (Correspondence between Dick, Surveyor General, and Roe, Chief Surveyor, 19th August 1949, ACGT, 18190-LS1-1833-25/1036), was very similar to Sunset West. It seems the approval lapsed in 1957, however (ACGT, 18190-LS1-1833-25/1036), and was not brought forward for consideration again until 2005. Not only does the existence of this previous development attempt point towards a similar experience of slow take-off and slow growth, but it also speaks to the role of power. The Powells have been a significant family in the area over time and their power in terms of affluence has intertwined with place discourses and affective experience, which has enabled the family to frame and shape the area. For example, the Powells not only owned the Sunset West land and produced the first proposed development plans, but they were also responsible for the eastern subdivision and still reside on, and own, a large portion of land around the Bayly's Beach settlement. Furthermore, the fact that one of the realtors for the Sunset West subdivision is a Powell, based in Dargaville, speaks to the power of the family in framing who becomes purchasers of the sections. When considering these factors it is clear that past experiences of the Powells that enabled them to come into such a position of power, have been important to shaping the discourses of development utilised in both of the subdivisions. Such discourses of place have seen the broader character of the area retained and any new development that has occurred does not detract from the broader place experience and identity.

Since the land was sold to developers, however, the ability to control and frame development becomes much more restricted. Interacting relations of power involving differing values and discourses becomes more evident when considering the processes involved in the emergent development. Whilst those such as the Powells and the camp club members held power and tended to be affluent, the discourses of place utilised were entrenched through past affective experiences

and memories in place. In contrast, the actants involved in the Sunset West development tended not to have past affective links to Bayly's Beach and did not have a vested interest in terms of the character and 'feel' of place. Email conversations between the original developer, Chris Cochrane, and the Chief Executive of the Kaipara District Council at the time (Jack McKerchar) in March 2006, reveals how, early on, relations of power were critically important to the successful application of the development, and how such actions were entirely removed from the contextual nature of Bayly's Beach.

'Good Morning Jack and Mark,
Just to summarise our meeting Wednesday 1 March.
...We briefly discussed further development at Baylys Beach and explained that we would like to prepare a presentation for Council to promote this development for inclusion in the next District Plan Review. We felt that you were supportive of the idea and you indicated that we should go ahead.' (Chris Cochrane, 7th March 2006, Kaipara District Council, RM040312-2).

'Chris,
Happy with the summary of the meeting...
My position [is] that it is inevitable that there will be development at Baylys Beach. [If you] or any other person has a proposal it would be good to consider it as part of the District Plan review process. Equally I would be happy for it to be promoted as a separate Plan Change.
... Jack.' (Jack McKerchar, 11th March 2006, Kaipara District Council, RM040312-2).

Direct interactions between the developer and the Chief Executive of the Kaipara District Council, the positive support and presumed inevitability of development at Bayly's Beach, hint towards the role of power relations and discourses that frame coastal development as a natural inescapable future. Such discourses, much like the case of Moeatoa Estate, create issues when they disregard the criticality on context in terms of economic climate, place values, as well as the past and present, social and environmental everyday experiences. Attention paid to past experiences would highlight that Bayly's Beach has a history of slow growth and the values associated with the area were largely in conflict with the proposal. The overall failure of this development, as expressed earlier in terms of its lack of sales is reflective of such a failure to understand the critical context of place, values and the pervasive discourses shaping the identity and values of the Bayly's Beach community.

Negative effects from some of Mr Mckerchar's other dealings whilst in power, namely in the collection of rates and the bungled Mangawhai Wastewater Scheme, have led to the current Council dealing with massive debt and a very angry electorate, with Mr Mckerchar being taken to court by the Kaipara District Council for his role in the failed scheme and general management of the district's finances (Kaipara District Council, 2014). The case has been fast-tracked to the Employment Court as it is "of

such a nature and of such an urgency that it is in the public interest that it be moved to the Employment Court” (Dinsdale, Northern Advocate, July 1st, 2016). The feelings from within the community were expressed across blogs, forums and newspaper comment sections with an example here posted after hearing that Mr McKerchar had taken a \$260k pay-out when he resigned early, after bankrupting the Council.

‘The bald faced arrogance of some people... Well if it was up to me... I’d have this guy in the stocks for about 3 days so that the people of the region could show their ‘appreciation’ for the ‘work’ he’s done in that time. You know via throwing rotten tomatoes etc.’ (DAVO36, Dug Another Hole Blog, August 22nd 2012).

Expressions of anger and distrust across the region emerged across the district, very similar to the sentiments shared in the comment above. In regards to Bayly’s Beach, under the original Sunset West scheme, only temporary sewerage facilities were developed with the idea that a community wastewater scheme was imminent (Campbell & O’Neill, 2013), as had been said for many years. After the fallout of the Mangawhai wastewater scheme and the huge debts, the Bayly’s Beach wastewater scheme has been put on hold indefinitely. Highlighting the critically relational nature of development processes across places as well as time, this demonstrates the fundamentally relational and affective experiences influencing coastal development processes within Bayly’s Beach. Furthermore, this issue also hints towards the preoccupation with Mangawhai and larger settlements within the district.

The relevance of this experience with the Council CEO lies in the failure to account for the broader values and discourses of everyday life within the wider district. The preoccupation with second-home development in Mangawhai for the wealthy was largely at odds with the rest of the districts desires and everyday values, which was still supported by a large rural productive industry and small-scale coastal hamlets usually occupied either permanently or on weekends by local families. Ignorance towards the district’s past discourses of development also greatly contribute to such failures and disenchantment, highlighting how neglect for past experiences that shape values and discourses can result in misaligned development processes. In the case of the Sunset West subdivision, attention paid to past experiences of subdivisions and growth patterns would have surely revealed that such a development would not be suitable for Bayly’s Beach in terms of services, demand and general values of those who migrate to, and live in the area.

As part of the application for the Sunset West development the discourse utilised by the developers framed the development as a subtle addition to the Bayly’s Beach area. In assessing its potential effects the developers argued it was a “logical and orderly extension” of the existing area (Reyburn & Bryant 1999 Ltd, 2005: 4, RM050118), and that there was no susceptibility of the site to natural hazards, nor was it located on a dominant ridge line or within the coastal environment (Reyburn & Bryant 1999 Ltd, 2005, RM050118). Furthermore, the assessment regularly compares the development’s effects in regards to the existing residential settlement to the south, with little regard to

its effects on the landscapes to the north, stating that the landscaping may have positive effects on the landscape values and that the land “does not contribute significantly to the natural character of the coastline or the outlook of existing residential properties [and therefore]... the potential effects on the landscape are considered to be negligible” (Reyburn & Bryant 1999 Ltd, 2005: 15, RM050118).

Compared to other experiences of development such as those of Mangawhai, the proposal may well be considered to have minor negative effects on the physical environment. However, when considered against the specific contextual history of the area and the discourses that have shaped it, the assessment of effects on the environment and area neglect to consider past experiences, both subjective and objective.

Claims that the development would not be visible from the beach and that the increased activity (from the additional 80+ houses) would not have a significant effect when considering the present situation (Reyburn & Bryant 1999 Ltd, 2005, RM050118), were highly biased and discursively framed with the intention of downplaying such effects. Largely flawed through its subjective view of the effects on the landscape, the framing of the potential environmental effects as negligible alongside the support from a now disreputable ex CEO however, most likely had a great part in influencing its approval. Part of the settlement is visible from the beach and it is clearly different in style and character to the existing settlement. Despite the Sunset West’s clear distinction from the existing settlement and its visibility from key locations in the settlement, the location of the development has allowed for the overall character of the settlement to be retained. Although there are clear distinctions in the discourses used to frame the Sunset West development and the general Bayly’s Beach settlement, the pervasive nature of the discourses of place making brought into the present by everyday actions of existing residents has allowed for the bach-style character to be retained. Additionally, as it was the Powell’s who had sold the land, there was already an existing discourse framing development in terms of where any future development would be located. The power of the Powells along with their historical connections to place have helped to ensure that any development that does occur, occurs in an area that will not significantly detract from the overall character of the settlement.

Further highlighting the discursive nature of the proposal’s assessment of effects, the site was only marginally outside of the defined coastal environment area and had an extensive and well-documented history of flooding and stormwater issues within the existing settlement, with flooding and erosion occurring within the first stages of its development. Residential zoning of the land only occurred through a private plan change in 2001 as it was originally zoned within the coastal environment (Kaipara District Council, 2012, RM120065). Additionally, residents expressed concern for increased runoff with one claiming it was the first such event she had seen in her eight years at Bayly’s, whilst Mr Mckerchar stated it was not Council’s issue until the development had been signed off (Dargaville & Districts News, 3rd May 2006, RM040312-2). The CGCC minute books also provide constant references to the effects of stormwater runoff, flooding and erosion from as early as 1945 (CGCC Minute Book 1, c.1927-1946). Erosion and flooding once again are part of the everyday experiences shaping people’s responses towards development and the wider settlement. Although

there are clear demonstrations for the neglect of past experiences in the planning of the Sunset West development there is little information directly concerning the affective and emotional responses to the development, but a general feeling of concern and apprehension can be indirectly taken from the experience. The experiences relayed here demonstrate the competing discourses of place and development being utilised simultaneously in place. Migration and land-use change literature tend to insufficiently address the critical links between past everyday affective experiences and present day expressions of emotion or actions that are deeply entrenched in discourses of place making. The conflicting discourses at play here demonstrate how the residents' and developer's experiences and perceptions are informed by differing knowledge sources and past experiences. Residents' perceptions are drawn from past discourses of place making and past interactions with the landscape, whilst developers tend to have different motivations and less entrenched interests in place. By attending to these interactions in place that occur prior to new migrants moving in, more can be understood regarding coastal development processes specific to place.

A clear neglect for the community's values and affective experiences in place during the planning process can also be interpreted. In one example the developer had proposed giving three sections of the subdivision in lieu of cash payment for their reserves contributions, with the purpose being that they could develop a community hall, playground and carparking (Kaipara District Council Development Manager & Community Spaces Manager, 2008, RM050118-1). Despite being recommended for approval by the Kaipara District Council Development and Community Spaces Managers, as well as being favourably received by the community, the proposal was ultimately denied. The rejection of the offer largely went against the community's values and desires for community facilities, with the settlement only now (almost 10 years later) beginning to develop its plans for a joint community hall, lifeguard station as well as sleeping and cooking facilities, as a result of a private donor from the community (Bayly's Beach Society AGM notes, 2016). Interestingly, although requests for surf lifesaving and community facilities have been ongoing for years, the settlement did originally have both, located within the CGCC up until around the late 1950s when records seem to stop (CGCC Minute Book 1, c.1927-1946; CGCC Minute Book 2, c.1947-1977). A similar issue arose from a local astronomer's request to the Council and developers to use low-light emitting street lighting to protect her observatory, which was her everyday income (Hamley, 2006, RM040312-2). In letters to the Council following a meeting with Council representatives, the local astronomer states that:

'I greatly appreciate the extra funds which the developer is willing to spend... in order that the dark skies at Bayly's Beach are preserved. This will mean my facility, into which I have invested my life savings, can continue to attract overseas astronomers, and tourists rather than stopping the starlight that has travelled millions of years to reach our eyes in the last millisecond of its journey.' (Hamley, Letter to Kaipara District Council, 5th September 2006, RM040312-2).

Despite sounding like there was initial agreement to support the astronomer's view, a new streetlight was installed right outside her property and the observatory is now gone. This account can also be interpreted to provide an example of how everyday experiences are a critical aspect to affective experiences, attachments to place and ultimately processes of development. The ignorance towards community desires is largely reflective of the history of planning within the community where discourses played out by developers and the governing agencies tend to ignore the everyday circumstances and context of the settlement.

Both of these examples demonstrate the conflicting discourses of place at work and the issue with neglecting critical everyday experiences in place, over time. In neglecting to account or acknowledge the importance of past everyday experiences and their role in shaping current discourses, affective experiences and subsequent expressions of emotion, there is a lack of understanding for the importance of these memories in current discourses and framings of place. Despite the loss of the observatory and the increased erosion and runoff, the experiences of these events have led to increased social capital in the community with increased community efforts to restore sand dunes, beautify the beach entrance and tend to weeds and local walking tracks in the community. In this way, development in the area has spurred increased social activism through banal everyday activities aimed to entrench existing discourses of place. Such discourses have seen the retention of the basic bach style camp clubs and their brightly coloured façades as well as attempts to emulate these early baches and maintain an open, basic coastal hamlet. The experiences point to the power of affective experiences and expressions of emotion in producing nostalgia and shaping the values regarding place and everyday practices. Attention paid to past everyday experiences is therefore critical to understanding both place development and social structures.

The last aspect of the Sunset West development I wish to address is its timing in regards to the economic climate. Most unfortunately for the developers, within six months of applying for consent, a presentation to the Kaipara District Council by Quotable Value warned that despite demand for property in Bayly's Beach, increasing land values by 94% and capital values by 64% over the past three years, they must be cautious as a downward turn had begun (Barrington, 26th November 2005). By 2012 the original developers had sold the project, and an application for a time extension was made by the new developers stating that "the current property market within the Bayly's Beach area is significantly depressed and there are still numerous sections available for sale from the initial stages of development" (Reyburn & Bryant 1999 Ltd, 25th June 2012, RM120065). In 2015 another application to the Kaipara District Council from the developer requested re-staging the final development stage into a further four stages to allow a progression of lots on to the market (Roos, Kaipara District Council Principal Planner, 1st July 2015, RM150106). As of April 2016 there were less than 10 houses built and still many lots for sale. The Moeatoa estate subdivision suffered a very similar experience, further speaking to the importance of exploring past experiences. Paying attention to the ways in which physical place changes align with past experiences is therefore important to understand the context-specific nature of any coastal development processes.

As mentioned previously, the Powell family developed the subdivision to the east of the Moeatoa estate (Pers. Comm. Bayly's Beach Society member, April 2016), which is much more set in to the landscape and back from the beach. The positioning of the subdivision itself, nestled behind the existing shop and houses contributes to its non-intrusive nature in effecting the character of the settlement. Personal attachments to place by the Powells most likely contributed to the non-intrusive nature of the subdivision, with the mindfulness to retaining the character of the area evident in its hidden position and location further back from the beach.

A further point of interest in this subdivision is the naming of the two streets – Moeatoa Lane and Alcmene Lane. Although seemingly banal to visitors and those not familiar with the history of the area, these two names hold particular importance to the Bayly's Beach settlement. As discussed in the previous chapter, these two names represent critical features and events in the early history of the area; Moeatoa being the creek running down the gully, which is now Seaview Road; and Alcmene being the ship wrecked along its coast in the 1800s. These references to important historical markers within Bayly's Beach point to the importance of place naming in maintaining the history of place as well as the importance of place attachments and power in the naming of places. In contrast to the Moeatoa Estate which included street names such as Seaview Road, Kelly Road (in reference to the owner) and Bayly Street; and the Sunset West development which included Sunset Drive, Pipi place and Snapper St; the names chosen for this subdivision have actual reference to the past of the area. The fact that the Powells developed this subdivision demonstrates the role of nostalgia and place attachments in including street names that were not just banal words. Past experiences in place and knowledge of place can then be quite influential in development processes. Furthermore, this speaks to the power of affective experiences and expressions of emotion in producing nostalgia and the values shaping discourses of place making. This point may be reflected in comparison to the naming of the Sunset West subdivision, where a letter to the Kaipara District Council from the Bayly's Beach Society calls Sunset West "a redundant oxymoron to say the least" (Bayly's Beach Society, 14th February 2006, Kaipara District Council, RM040312-2). The naming of streets therefore is a critical part of the identity of Bayly's Beach and is a physical hark back to the past place experiences and events that culminated to created the settlement.

The power of past discourses of place making therefore have been largely retained through powerful interests with specific connections to place. Along with the Powells, the camp clubs have maintained a dominant position over the beachfront, reflective of their critical role in the history and character of the settlement. Further solidifying their powerful position in the community in terms of physically 'holding the fort' against beachfront development and shaping the character of Bayly's Beach, the Kaipara District Council seemingly acknowledged their importance in allowing them to name their respective private roads. Both camp clubs were given the opportunity to choose the official names for their streets with the CGCC naming theirs Chases Terrace in 2006, and the BTCC naming their road Cynthia Place after a life member of the club. The naming of these similarly demonstrates the power

of experiences in place over time and place attachment more generally. Discourses of place making entrenched in nostalgia and past experiences have therefore been critical to the physical naming and shaping of the Bayly's Beach settlement.

Despite there being further discussion to be had regarding the interactions of past affective experiences, expressions of emotions and discourses of place making in shaping Bayly's Beach, there is limited scope here to do so. I have aimed to address the pivotal aspects of the community's development over time, whilst working within the limits of the available information. I have argued that despite conflicting discourses being utilised during the process of the Sunset West development's approval, the pervasiveness of the discourses that have shaped the settlement in the past have enabled the overall character to be retained. Furthermore, I have argued that powerful families within the area have also enabled the character of the settlement to be retained as their actions in developing place have been informed by discourses embedded in nostalgia and past affective experiences. In this way, explorations of changing land-use and migration can be greatly strengthened by attending to both past and present discourses of place making and their relationship to conflicting discourses over time. Such explorations can reveal the processes of place making and reflect how seemingly banal physical and social features may be representative of much more highly charged subjective discourses.

6.3 Re-politicising Coastal Development Research - Theoretical Findings

Having addressed the way that the present development experiences within Bayly's Beach are reflective of past discourses of place making and inherently related to nostalgic past experiences in place, I now demonstrate the way these findings can contribute to the re-politicisation of coastal development research. In Chapters One and Three I argued that associated coastal development research has a tendency to produce apolitical assessments and frame coastal development as a homogenous experience failing to explore the range of experiences occurring across place scales. The preoccupation with population statistics has promoted the image of increased migration to coastal areas and apolitical understandings of the motivations and factors contributing to such movements. These framings provide paradigmatic accounts that fail to address the complexity and diversity of coastal development experiences across places and times. Despite attempts within political ecology to address the roles of power and discourse in cases of amenity migration, I have argued that neglect for the criticality of the spatiotemporal context in which such coastal development experiences are occurring still remain. In this way coastal development research effectively marginalises the role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion as well as the socially constructed nature of landscape change over time. Choosing an approach that does not focus on the processes of migration and land-use change, which tend to dominate in rural and coastal literatures, I have focused on the criticality of context and the socio-spatial interactions that have occurred over time to produce current experiences in place. The findings generated contribute to understandings of coastal

development and its research by re-signifying the importance of place *and time* through attention to everyday affective experiences and expressions of emotion.

The discourses of place making utilised over time can provide critical insight into understanding current experiences of development and their relationships with the existing settlements. Some trends within existing migration literature can be related to the experiences within the Bayly's Beach case such as the influence of global trends. Unlike a lot of the literature, however, it does not involve booming development occurring on the back of global technological advances. Conversely, the timing of the Sunset West development failure aligned with the global economic downturn of 2008 and was a key aspect in the slow growth of Bayly's Beach. Whilst the migration patterns within Bayly's Beach slightly follow migration literature in terms of second home development, the form of development and the types of migration are largely different. Migration patterns within Bayly's Beach seem to follow a pattern of either permanent settlement or second home ownership from migrants within the region rather than from metropolitan urban areas. By highlighting this difference along with the knowledge of the past development experiences, more informed understandings of development patterns emerge. Furthermore, whilst affluence has played an important part in the development of Bayly's Beach, the form of power has been in the ability to retain the bach-style character of the settlement, rather than capitalise off the views.

When considering the findings against amenity migration literature it is clear that this has been a feature of the area's development for many decades, spawning from the camp clubs. Whilst amenity migration frames growth as unplanned and sporadic, the experiences at Bayly's Beach reflect several efforts made by Kaipara District Council to create growth plans and spur development, which all failed to eventuate. By paying more attention to the discourses and experiences specific to place, it is clear that the processes of migration occurring at Bayly's Beach differ from typical migration literature in that it has a long history of amenity migration occurring at a very slow rate over time. The Bayly's Beach case allows expansion of the scope of existing migration literature to address a broader range of experiences that may be deeply related to place experiences over time.

In regard to land-use change, the Bayly's Beach case similarly goes against traditional literature that frames development occurring at the demise of productive land-uses and follows the line of multiple emergent land-uses. Such increased heterogeneity in land-uses occurred back in the 1910s and since then there has not been a large diversification in the surrounding land-uses. Furthermore, unlike typical gentrification literatures that argue between gentrifying and suburbanising patterns of change, I would argue that neither of these trends fit. Instead, Bayly's Beach has been able to maintain its laid-back bach style character with a lack of kerbs, fencing and stylised landscaping, which are features of urban landscapes. The specific timing and discourses of development that have produced the experiences at Bayly's Beach over time are critical to interpreting the current physical form of the settlement. Context and everyday experiences in place over time therefore are critical factors to

understanding processes of both migration and land-use change and highlight the situated nature of such experiences.

A critical observation that is apparent across time has been the dominant position of men in both being authors and subject of accounts. Typical of many historical accounts there is little mention of women in earlier experiences, and where there is it is likely written by “white, literate, power-wielding men” (Domish & Morin, 2003: 262; Roche, 2008). Recognising this omission is important to affirm that there can never be complete pictures, as many without power had insufficient means to present their accounts and experiences except from through observations made, usually by European men.

Through the explorations of coastal development across time in Bayly's Beach, I have demonstrated the influential role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion within everyday interactions with socio-spatial environment. I argue that interactions with, and perceptions of, the environment are heavily influential to coastal development processes and can be interpreted as essentially the result of affective experiences, which are expressed through emotions. In some instances this is clear such as during the tribal wars where past conflicts at Moremonui and Te Ika a Ranganui were critical to everyday experiences along the west coast, as seen in the development of the buffer zone and the expressions of fear that Tinne reported. The relational and emergent nature of these experiences, and the development processes following, are also clear, as seen in the requests for European settlement and the entrenchment of the buffer zone. Furthermore, the situated nature of these experiences highlights the criticality of place and time in the emergence of these socio-spatial patterns. Being critical of these actions also highlights the place making discourses that have been utilised over time to create desirable outcomes and produce the current patterns of development.

Another example of the relational influence of affective experiences and expressions of emotion can be interpreted from the histories of the camp clubs that hold the prime positions along the beachfront. Despite being much more indirect and interpretive readings of everyday experiences, I argue that these still reveal hints towards affective experiences and expressed emotions through practices and in some cases emotive language. The everyday experiences from the early days without electricity or running water shaped many of the everyday routines and are considered influential in forming nostalgic memories and social ties that have permeated through the years. Although there have not been direct expressions of emotion or accounts of affective experiences regarding these everyday routines, the stories shared through the camp clubs over the years demonstrate the critical role of these experiences in shaping current attachments and feelings towards place. Accounts of swimming together on incoming tides, annual social gatherings and competitions between camp clubs have produced shared histories in place that influenced not only development within the settlement but also the identities and futures of residents, as reflected in the numerous inter-marriages across the camp clubs. Everyday experiences in place, therefore, are pivotal in shaping socio-spatial futures through their relational interactions over time. Furthermore, these experiences point to the emergent nature of place and culture that have developed over time through interactions in place. The camp clubs'

endurance over time has meant that the beachfront of Bayly's Beach has been retained in common ownership, a feature that is extraordinary compared to many other coastal New Zealand settlements. Tracing the affective histories of the camp clubs alone would produce indispensable understandings for the role of subjective experience in coastal development processes, as well as highlighting the criticality of time in producing the emergent landscapes.

The two experiences noted here are prime examples of the fundamental role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion that shape development processes in place. It is within everyday experiences that these affective experiences and expressions of emotion become apparent and provide meaning to the physical changes occurring over time. These experiences are the fundamental features of the discourses that have pervaded over time. Addressing such past experiences and tracing their relational nature to development processes can therefore contribute to understandings of place development and the criticality of socio-spatial and spatio-temporal context in terms of coastal development processes. Attending to these interactions over time enables more grounded understandings of place development and provides important information to enable planning and development aligned with place character.

Power and discourse were clearly pervasive factors in the development of Bayly's Beach over time. Throughout the explored history of coastal development processes surrounding Bayly's Beach's growth, the role of power in terms of affluence and influence have been clear. Power on the part of Gordon Coates and Mr Bayly has been clear in terms of respectively enabling access to the coast and developing surrounding areas' highways, as well increasing coastal land productivity. Land values were clearly linked to interactions and experiences in the landscape that were specific to place and time, and which relationally influenced the ensuing development patterns. In earlier experiences, pervasive discourses linking land value to accessibility also greatly moulded coastal development processes in the area. This relational influence between accessibility to primary resources and land value rendered the coastal area worthless, a trend that continued until Mr Bayly acquired his portion of the Kaihu No.1 Block and developed it for agriculture purposes.

Exploring historical socio-spatial interactions can therefore provide insights into the values and perspectives behind discourses shaping coastal development processes and highlight critical points in time in which places started to be valued for more than their productive potential. Latter discourses within Bayly's Beach that emerged alongside early influences of power enabled the development of the camp clubs and solidified the framing of Bayly's Beach as a holiday resort for local Dargaville and Kaipara residents.

Understanding where such powerful discourses emanate from is critical to place current experiences and evaluating the meaning behind attachments to place and processes of coastal development. In this way, power and discourse also provide insightful contributions to explorations of coastal development processes over time by demonstrating the influence of powerful people and powerful

ideas in shaping experiences over time. Furthermore, these experiences also entrench the relational nature of socio-spatial interactions over time and the criticality of social constructions framing places. Attention paid to the interactions of power and discourse within everyday interactions and actions can therefore contribute to coastal development research by highlighting critical socio-spatial power dynamics over time and hinting towards the role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion within discourses applied to place over time. These interactions may prove critical to community planning by providing insight into the relationships with place and the importance of past experiences to future desires and current experiences.

I argue that place and time are the most critical factors in shaping the coastal development processes within Bayly's Beach. As detailed across the exploration of historical coastal development at Bayly's Beach, there have been many critical points specific to place and time that have irrevocably shaped the direction of development. A few examples can be noted in the titling, leasing and sale of the Kaihu No.1 Block, which occurred outside of the times of the worst land alienations; the leasing of land to the camp clubs and Mr Coates acquiring an interest in 1924; the storm at Mahuta Gap that wiped out many of the baches and saw some moved to Bayly's, and the Toheroa Cup created from their lead roofs; and, the sale of the camp clubs and the Moeatoa estate at the end of the camp club lease period. All of these events occurred at specific moments in time and place that fundamentally shaped the future development of Bayly's Beach. If the land had been sold earlier or to a different person, Mr Bayly may have never ventured into agriculture on the coastal soils, and the land may have been utilised for other purposes or left untouched for decades more. Had the influential Dargaville businessmen not acquired the camp club leases and had Mr Coates not bought an interest, the Bayly Coast Road may have never been constructed and never taken over by the County Council. The timing of the storm at Mahuta Gap saw several families and their baches moved up to Bayly's Beach, intertwining their histories and producing new family traditions and experiences that may have never occurred had the storm not destroyed the settlement. Finally, the permanent settlement of Bayly's Beach may have never occurred had Mr Bayly decided not to sell the land to the camp clubs and transfer a portion of the block to Mr Kelly at the end of the leasehold period. The criticality of all of these experiences to the context of place and time demonstrate its utmost importance in shaping future development and experiences in place. Not neglecting historical experiences and processes emergent over time is essential to developing in-depth understandings to place attachments and experiences in place over time, and their influence in physical land development through practice and aspirations.

Exploring coastal development processes over time has also revealed the presence of persistent issues that can be easily neglected when only exploring present-day experiences of coastal development. In the case of Bayly's Beach, recurrent issues of flooding and erosion had been well documented since the early 1900s and regularly recorded in newspapers, camp club minutes and personal journals. Understanding these past experiences of flooding and erosion, as well as the practices and routines that emerged in response to these issues over time, provides useful insights

into the development of place and everyday experiences at Bayly's Beach over time. The emergence of working bees for planting and road repairs in response to erosion and flooding have become well entrenched in the numerous social organisations within Bayly's Beach, such as the CGCC and the Bayly's Beach Society. These actions largely emerged in response to issues within the area and are reflective of critical social ties that hold these groups together through interests and values regarding place. Exploring the criticality of issues such as erosion and access within the everyday experiences of Bayly's Beach highlight the relational nature of affective experiences and development processes. Additionally, past experiences of flooding and erosion are also neglected within planning processes as is reflected in the Sunset West subdivision's claim of no recorded natural hazards, and its subsequent approval. Ignorance towards past experiences of erosion, flooding and other place experiences has had vast socio-spatial repercussions, as has been noted in the increased run off within the settlement and the loss of attractions such as the observatory, and changed sense of place and attachments to place.

Considering recurrent issues over time therefore are critical to re-politicising and re-framing understandings of coastal development processes. This is achievable by drawing attention to the critical role of recurrent issues in everyday practices and the physical environment, through their relational interactions that have emerged over time. In this way, attending to everyday historical experiences in place contribute important insights into the relational nature between past and present experiences, which are pivotal to gain deeper understandings of place development processes.

While first appearing as a seemingly ordinary or banal locality undergoing little change and development, the Bayly's Beach coastal development experience becomes increasingly exceptional when uncovering its processes of development over time. The case study has exemplified the critical spatiotemporal and socio-spatial contexts in which change and coastal development processes take place. I consider it is therefore insufficient to address broad processes of coastal development changes and amenity migration without attending to the specific interactions that have occurred over place and time to create current attachments and experiences within place. Coastal development experiences are emergent processes that occur within everyday experiences through relational interactions of socio-spatial imaginaries both shaping, and being shaped by, power, discourse, and affective experiences. Thus, current coastal development processes such as migration and land-use change studies can be then be strengthened by addressing these critical aspects of place change and re-politicise their overtly broad, paradigmatic framings of coastal development experiences at all scales.

7.0 CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the key goals of this thesis in terms of addressing a more banal case of coastal development in order to re-politicise the associated migration and land use literature. In order to do so I took an approach that mixed subjective and objective methodologies in order to highlight their relational links. In particular, I aimed to explore affect and emotion through document-based and discourse analysis. The ensuing chapter draws together the overarching findings of the thesis and discusses the successes and pitfalls of having taken such an approach.

I have clearly demonstrated the inherent relational links between affective experiences, expressions of emotion, discourse, and place development over time in the past two chapters. From these chapters it is clear that current approaches to coastal development related research can be complemented by addressing past experiences. Whilst much of the current literature on place and subjective studies focuses on performance and observation, I have aimed to highlight the way that practice and subjective experience can be seen within historical documents and accounts of past experiences. While the last chapter dealt in part with the ability to re-politicise coastal development research, the focus here is on the role of affect and emotion as explored through documents and discourse. The chapter concludes with the broader conceptual outcomes of the thesis and its contribution to existing coastal development literature.

7.1 Affect and Emotion Within Documentary Sources

An aim of this thesis was to explore the usefulness of applying such a subjective lens in the absence of engaging directly with human participants. I briefly re-state the main reasons for adopting such an approach in light of predominant academic disavowal, before addressing the benefits that have materialised, as well as the limitations to the thesis' approach.

7.1.1 Documentary Sources and Discourse Analysis

The focus on experiences and changes *over time* renders documentary evidence inevitable in some form within the thesis. I have argued that qualitative approaches that privilege performative methods and face-to-face interactions to obtain data have effectively marginalised document-based approaches and normalised presentist, solicited accounts of socio-spatial phenomena. I suggested that the solicited nature and presentation of memories as truth neglect the way such memories and recollections are processed and perceived differently over time, while the potential for participants to produce answers influenced by the research itself may also occur (Hoggart *et al.*, 2014). An alternative, I proposed that an approach based on historical data provides insights capable of investigating unsolicited accounts of experiences, influenced only by the factors of the place and time

contexts in which it was produced. Documentary analysis was then adopted as a way to explore past everyday experiences entrenched in place and time.

Studies of affect have tended to move away from ideas of language and discourse under the premise that they are incapable of addressing the embodied, affective nature of subjectivity (McAvoy, 2015). In contrast, a focus on practical deployments through affect and discourse allow the binaries to be blurred by attending to the inter-subjective interactions that are part and parcel of the relational nature of phenomena (McAvoy, 2015; Wetherell, 2013). As a more exploratory study I aimed to reinvigorate debate into these dualisms and attempted to apply newer ideas of affect to previously discarded attention to language and discourse. Following ideas that affect can only ever be represented within language, affective experiences have been framed through the expression of emotion as its physiological interpretation, which makes affect knowledge and open to analysis (Pile, 2010; Thrift, 2004). In an attempt to overcome the binary distinctions between affect and language, I have explored coastal development processes at Bayly's Beach through documentary sources with attention paid to expressions of emotion as manifestations of affective experiences.

Documents produced are themselves by-products of everyday interactions and affective experiences, and are therefore representations of socio-spatial relations constructed within the spatio-temporal context in which they were produced (Mills *et al.*, 2010). Additionally, such documents are biased towards the views of the author who produced it, as well as the social, spatial and temporal contexts. Utilising documentary analysis allows access to historical subjects that can no longer be contacted, as well as being a less obtrusive form of research (Bowen, 2009). Applying a critical discourse analysis to documentary data enables a critical reflexivity with the data where socio-spatial and spatio-temporal experiences can be analysed for their underlying social processes that shape experiences over time.

Limitations to documentary analyses, such as insufficient information or selective information, has been no different in this case. There is a range of reasons that have resulted in this lack of data. For example, the small size of the physical locality itself, compared to the neighbouring Dargaville and Te Kopuru areas, and the fact that government did not have much influence over the land during its early days, probably played an important role in the lack of official information regarding Bayly's Beach. Furthermore, there is a collection of local Dargaville newspapers that have not been digitised with other historic newspapers because of a lack of money to do so. The information gathered regarding Bayly's Beach within newspaper accounts have consequently come largely from national and regional sources rather than more intimate recollections that would be likely seen in the more localised newspapers.

7.1.2 Affect and Emotion within Documents

The thesis' exploration of affect and emotion through a documentary analysis has, I consider, been somewhat successful. Whilst there are clear examples, as recalled above, where affective experiences and expressions of emotion can clearly be linked with development processes within the

area, there are also times across history where there was no mention of experiences except for factual accounts.

Employment of documentary discourse analysis has allowed useful insights into past affective experiences, expressions of emotion and the power and discourse intertwined with these relational interactions with place over time.

Following Wetherell's (2012) calls for more attention to interaction and inter-subjectivity within affective studies, this approach has provided one way to re-signify the relationships between affect, emotion and discourse through specific attention paid to time. In this way, the approach taken provides a lens for exploring affect through its relational inter-subjectivities across socio-spatial and spatio-temporal dimensions.

I argue that being critical of the interpretation and need for reflexivity within subjective studies provides the ability to produce meaningful accounts of coastal development processes over time through documentary discourse analyses, despite the lack of human engagement. Interviews can be equally neglectful of affect and emotion if the researcher is not critically reflexive and accepting of their interpretation of accounts provided. In this way, I see that it is the researcher's criticality of the material, more than the material itself that enables or disables useful insights. Despite specific representations of affective experiences of expressions of emotion, interpretation and critical reflexivity towards power, discourse and relational experiences enable equally important findings as typical interview-based studies.

Furthermore, I have attempted to reinvigorate debates into the discourse, language, affect and emotion in order to break down arbitrary distinctions between the studies. Within the findings, although discourse has been much more closely aligned with power, there are expressions of emotion as representative of affective experiences in place over time that are seen within the discourses shaping Bayly's Beach as a seaside resort. These links are clear within the experiences of the camp clubs where early everyday experiences produced place attachments deeply soaked in past affective place experiences. Such experiences and attachments have been retained in forms through camp rules, housing styles and through the retention of the properties in common ownership, which has been discursively framed by past influences.

The ability to explore experiences over time has been one of the most productive elements of the approach taken. Time is often neglected within subjective, qualitative studies because of the insistence towards performative, personal research methods, which sees past experiences only understood through their representations as perceived at the time of expression. In contrast, my approach is critical of the context in which expressions are made and sees historical accounts as more truthful than perceptions of memories created in hindsight. Furthermore, the critical consideration of time demonstrates the relational aspects of experiences and how time moulds and

shapes these experiences. Additionally, time cannot be as thoroughly analysed through common research approaches to affect and emotion that see any past experience, or written account as being a representation and therefore inadequate to explore affective experiences. Because representations are largely dismissed within affective studies there is little room to explore changes over time, which is a problem to producing meaningful insights that address the criticality of context. In this way, the approach taken has provided a way to address affect and emotion over time, although not in the way that would typically be taken by other affect-focused academics. There is still much room to explore the potential of this approach and I argue that what is most critical is being reflexive and critical of the material in order to draw out understandings that may be overlooked.

7.2 Limitations With Combining Affect and History

Despite being able to produce many useful insights that can contribute to place and migration literature there are several issues that emerge as a consequence of combining two disparate concepts. The biases within the selective material available, and the complexity in inferring meaning from past accounts, represent the largest limitations to the findings of this thesis. Whilst the findings produced provide new direction for research, such an approach would most likely be better suited alongside other methods such as ethnographic based studies.

One issue related to the historical nature of many sources is the biases and interpretations of texts by both the authors and the readers. As previously stated, the fact that many accounts came from more affluent European men meant that the perceptions might be skewed, and accounts of the experiences by women, children, Māori and other minorities are left to the perspectives of these accounts. The historical nature of these experiences also means there is little way to prove the subjective accounts except through various perspectives available. In the case of Bayly's Beach there has been little data available in this sense and therefore the history purported is generally reflective of the powerful influences, except in the cases where government offices handled domestic housing requests. The bias in terms of authors and neglected voices is a theme pervasive across the social sciences and is one that is difficult to overcome when addressing historic sources. The inability to fact-check accounts also poses an issue, however the way an account is presented in itself can also be revealing for the discourses and motives behind the framing of an issue. There will always be levels of uncertainty in research based on historic documents, but I would argue that it is more important to run the risk of being privy to these potential issues rather than completely disregard historical experience as a cautionary measure to avoid uncertainty. Furthermore, uncertainty is a critical part of place change as it is inherently emergent and there will always be multiple understandings, discourses and memories in relation to any given event. In this way, there will always be a need to interpret and represent subjects and navigate around limitations such as bias.

Texts are argued to have compounded the problems of addressing socio-spatial experiences through the inability to investigate inner meaning making, dialogue and negotiation within texts, which helps to understand how texts are intended to be presented and interpreted (Fairclough, 2003). Additionally

there is still the pervasive issue of the inability to represent affect. Although I have argued my position on the value of expressed emotions as being reflective of affective experiences, there is still persistent debate that the amount of interpretation and negotiation within affective experiences means that emotions are already represented forms of affect (Pile, 2010). Similar issues have already been raised within planning spheres, in terms of the inability to relay subjective place experiences into common planning terms such as character, and how they are applied and interpreted (Buser, 2014). Consequentially there is always the issue of interpretation that may produce numerous accounts. Multiple accounts however, should not be regarded as a limitation for planning; rather acceptance of multiple interpretations is needed in order to provide fuller understandings of place experiences and development. Producing multiple accounts that are in conflict with other approaches provides room for debating the relevance and importance of multiple knowledges and understandings. Acknowledging that multiplicity and complexity are an inherent part of the world should enable multiple approaches to exploring issues and research problematics rather than boxing approaches into right or wrong.

The complex nature of interactions over time, and the inability to understand fully the everyday experiences from all factions of society, contribute to the inability to ever provide a complete account of the intertwined socio-spatial histories of any locality. Contributing further to this inability to provide complete accounts is the issue of exploring the range of affective interactions and relations that extend across spatio-temporal scales (Woodward & Lea, 2010). Despite the inability to address every aspect of the settlement's history and inhabitants, an overarching understanding can still be produced that reflects the dominant events and discourses that have shaped the area over time. In this way, whilst there are numerous inadequacies to the approach taken here, I would argue that it is better to risk running into such limitations in order to gain some understanding of the past experiences in light of their critical relations to present conditions and experiences.

The thesis broadly aimed to provide an alternative approach to exploring coastal development experiences. Having explored the ways in which affect and emotion intertwine with everyday place experiences to inform discourses that shape place and development, I have demonstrated an alternative approach to exploring coastal development that can compliment migration and land use change literature.

My exploration of coastal development processes through attention to place and time rather than processes of migration and land use change, has demonstrated an alternative analysis of coastal development that speaks to the criticality of experiences in place over time. Through this focus, I have highlighted the critical roles of power and discourse, as well as affective experiences and expressions of emotion in relation to place, and how these coalesce over time to produce coastal development experiences. Unlike typical approaches to coastal development research that focus towards migration motivations and discourses framing development in the present time, I have shown how past experiences are equally, if not more, critical to understanding the motivations and values behind discourses shaping place development. My aim has not been to contradict existing research, but

rather to explore aspects that have been previously dismissed because of their assumed inability to speak to affective, subjective experiences. In this way, coastal development research can be strengthened by attending to the importance of historic experiences and the relational links between these, subjective experiences and current experiences specific to place.

Though the method of analysing historical and documentary sources has limitations due to the range and nature of accessible material, fundamental insights into historical everyday experiences and their relational influences to present experiences can be recovered. I have reflected this most effectively in the affective experiences surrounding the tribal wars and the initial development of Bayly's Beach as a publicly accessible settlement. Despite being limited, direct links to the role of affective experiences and expressions of emotion over time, together with obvious interpretations between everyday experiences and the discourses framing place, reveal the importance of subjective experiences. The thesis has also enabled reinvigorated debate into the usefulness of exploring subjective experiences through discourse and language, as well as highlighting the neglect for time that has occurred simultaneously with increased efforts towards affect.

Specifically, the attention paid to discourses of place making highlighted how everyday experiences particular to place and time have been created and operationalised across the landscape over time. Whilst there is a lack of engagement with living sources of information, the historical data gathered provides a succinct representation of the discourses of place being negotiated and utilised over time. Despite following a different method of analysis, the thesis has demonstrated how affect and emotion can be successfully applied within documentary and discourse based analyses to provide understandings of place change. Furthermore, the approach itself provided a way to re-politicise coastal development related research by attending to the criticality of space and time.

The Bayly's Beach case study provided a fitting case to explore an alternative approach to coastal development research as it has experienced slow growth for decades, and its relational location to Auckland within three hours of the city, made it a textbook location for second home development. The slow growth and lack of modern feel to the settlement also provided a sense of a banal settlement with little change. Having explored the historical experiences that have led to the current pattern of development within the settlement it becomes clear that there is a range of intertwined relational experiences over time that have contributed to its appearance. The criticality of place and time are the two recurrent features that demonstrate the situated and complex nature of development experiences and have been well documented within Chapters 5 and 6. Seemingly banal cases in this way may provide more insightful findings when considering past experiences and their role in relation to other development experiences.

Generally, this thesis has provided complimentary insights towards traditional approaches to coastal development research such as migration and land use literature, through re-politicising commonly neglected considerations of place, time, affect and emotion within everyday experiences.

Furthermore, the thesis has attempted to revitalise interest into language and discourse through explorations of purely subjective ideas of affect and emotion. There is clearly room to develop these ideas, however, and more research is needed to explore the potential of such an approach to other settlements in order to fully explore its potential to understanding place development and experiences.

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