

Land Management Contestation in a Rural Coastal Zone: A Western Australian Case Study

Disputas por la gestión del territorio en una zona costera rural: un estudio de caso en Australia Occidental

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Abstract

Conflicts over land management on the coastal plain of Dandaragan, ca. 100 kms north of Perth in Western Australia, revolve around protection of a threatened natural environment, Indigenous land and cultural rights and the presence of informal holiday shack settlements, all within a broader context of growing development pressures. This article traces the area's distinctive settlement history to illuminate the background to these conflicts and uses the conceptual lenses of the multifunctional rural transition and dissonant heritages to explain the differing values of the competing stakeholder groups.

Keywords: multifunctional rural transitions; dissonant heritages; informal shack settlements; coastal planning

Resumen

Los conflictos en torno a la gestión del territorio en la llanura costera de Dandaragan, a aproximadamente 100 km al norte de Perth, en Australia Occidental, giran en torno a la protección de un entorno natural amenazado, los derechos territoriales y culturales indígenas, y la presencia de asentamientos informales de casas de veraneo, todo ello en un contexto más amplio de crecientes presiones de desarrollo. Este artículo analiza la particular historia de asentamiento del área para esclarecer el trasfondo de estos conflictos y utiliza los marcos conceptuales de la transición rural multifuncional y los patrimonios disonantes para explicar los distintos valores de los grupos de interés en competencia.

Palabras Clave: transiciones rurales multifuncionales; patrimonios disonantes; asentamientos informales de casas de veraneo; planificación costera

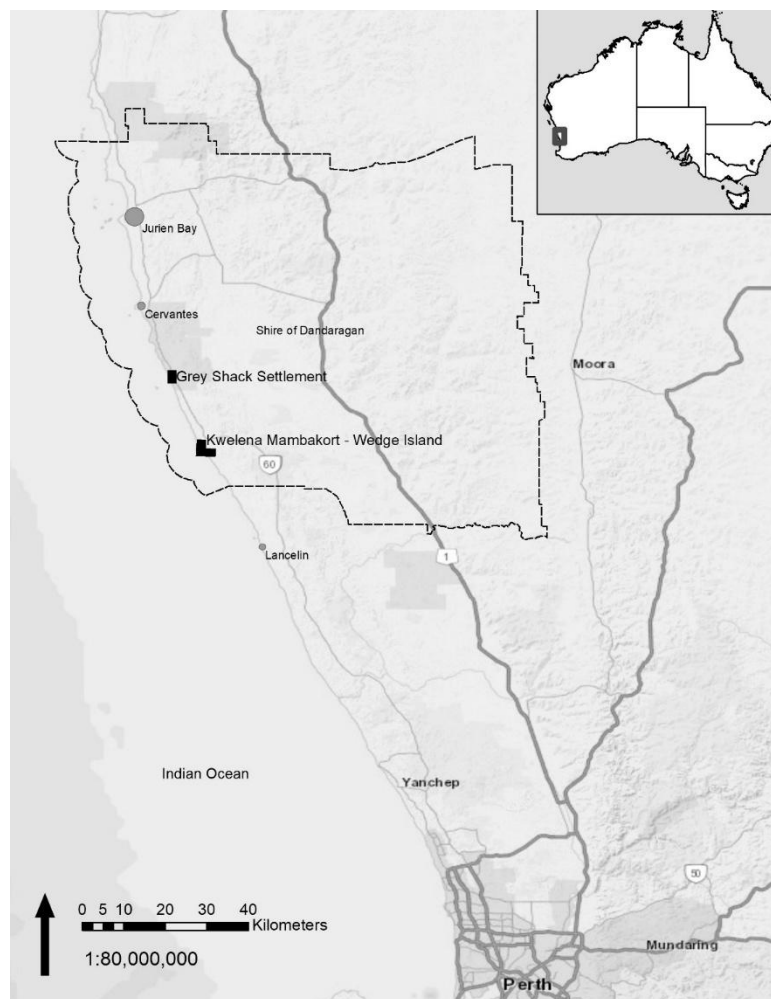
Introduction

With reference to the theme of ‘Rural-Urban Disputes’, the website for the Mendoza IGU-SRS Colloquium contends:

The boundaries and borders between cities and rural spaces have been transformed, becoming less obvious and more hybrid. New uses and activities in cities as well as processes of rural gentrification emerge. In addition, new and old land users lead to territorial tensions and disputes. (<https://sites.google.com/view/31colloquiumigu-englishversion/conference/thematic-sessions>. Accessed 30/6/2025)

The following article is a case study of evolving and hybridising, rural-urban “tensions and disputes” over land management. Territorial disagreements currently characterise planning for the coastal plain within the Shire of Dandaragan, a rural locality some 100 kilometres north of Perth, the Western Australian state capital (Figure 1). These tensions and disputes have developed over a comparatively long period of time and result from the differing land management priorities and perspectives of a range of “new and old land users”. However few, if any, of these land users/interest groups can now be classified as simply rural or urban. As the IGU- SRS document argues, they are hybrid entities resulting from the transformation if not the elimination of the boundaries and borders between cities and rural spaces.

Figure 1. Location map of the Dandaragan coastal zone



Source: Author's own elaboration

We will use two conceptual lenses through which to view this local arena of dispute or contestation. The first concept, that of a multifunctional rural transition (Holmes, J., 2002; 2006), is primarily concerned with the processes of rural change. Holmes contends that to view rural change processes in the developed world as a move towards a post-productive countryside is an oversimplification (Mather, A. *et al.*, 2006). Indeed, some critiques of the post-productive countryside concept have focussed on its perceived Eurocentric bias (e.g. Argent, N., 2002; Roche, M., 2002) and Holmes has consciously sought to devise a framework for the study of rural change that he sees as more applicable to settler societies, such as Australia and Argentina. He argues that “at its core, the multifunctional transition involves a radical re-ordering in the three basic purposes underlying human use of rural space, namely production, consumption and protection” (Holmes, J. 2006, p. 142). He sees this re-ordering as resulting from “(t)hree basic goals (that) can be linked to the forces driving the transition to multifunctional rural occupance, namely agricultural overcapacity (the production goal), the emergence of market-driven amenity uses (the consumption goal) and changing societal values (the protection goal)” (Holmes, J., 2006, p.143). Furthermore, he sees this transition as manifesting itself in different ways in different localities as the production, consumption and protection **values** (our emphasis, but also Holmes’s preferred term) espoused by the local protagonists or land management interest groups interact and contest. Holmes (2006, p.156) sees clashes between these value systems as leading to “a complex geography of power, contest and participation”, a description which certainly applies to the events occurring in the Dandaragan coastal zone.

These rural transitional processes can be tracked over time to understand how and why present-day land management contestations have come about. However, the disputes which result from these change processes are, to a large extent, fuelled by the varying ways in which local, non-local and hybrid interest groups in the present seek and have sought to use their differing understandings of the past to support their own contemporary values and viewpoints and to oppose the values and viewpoints of other stakeholders. These selective uses of the past in the present can give rise, as has been the case in Dandaragan, to what Tunbridge J. and Ashworth G. (1996) have termed dissonant heritage. Heritages (i.e. the meanings that individuals and groups choose to take from their real or imagined pasts) become dissonant when different groups **value** (again our emphasis) and therefore valorise different aspects of the pasts and the presents of the same localities for different reasons. Just as the concept of a multifunctional rural transition questions the simple duality of a productive rural past and a post-productive rural future, so does the acknowledgement of dissonant heritages question the apparent binary of an establishment-endorsed and more centralised Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith, L., 2006) which competes with a proletarian and more localised Heritage from Below (Robertson, I., 2008; 2012). Neither Smith nor Robertson see these concepts as constituting simple opposites and, indeed, contemporary heritage realities both in coastal Dandaragan and elsewhere (Carter, T., *et al.*, 2020; Jones, T., 2024) are characteristically far more complex.

The local information presented here has been obtained from: field visits to the area over a period of several decades; informal conversations and semi structured interviews with a range of stakeholders; and desktop research encompassing the academic, official and informal literature on the various land management controversies. In the following sections of this paper, we will trace the evolution of the land use and land management regimes which have governed the Dandaragan coastal plain over the last two centuries, paying particular attention to the interplay of production, consumption and protection values over this time. We will then describe how, particularly in the post-World War Two period, these values have come into conflict and how various interest groups have sought to use differing concepts of heritage to pursue their own agendas. In conclusion, and with reference to the concepts of both the multifunctional rural transition and dissonant heritage, we will consider the extent to which a land management regime

for the Dandaragan coast can adequately accommodate the aspirations of the various stakeholder groups.

Local land management prior to european conquest

Prior to the establishment of the Swan River Colony by the British government in 1829, the dunal and lightly vegetated Dandaragan coastal plain (Figures 2 and 3) had been occupied, for tens of millennia and on a seasonal basis, by the Yued people of the Noongar Aboriginal nation (McConnell, M., *et al.*, 1993; Hallam, S., 2014). Over an annual cycle, their subsistence-based land management practices involved occupying the coastal plain in the spring and summer, when local food and game were more abundant, and moving some 50 kilometres inland to what is now termed the Dandaragan Plateau for the remainder of the year. While the Yued were totally dependent on this extended territory, in Aboriginal terms their 'Country', for their survival, their relationship with this land was not simply economic or 'productive'. They saw themselves as being part of, and therefore as being responsible in perpetuity for, the land that they occupied (Nannup, N., 2006). This relationship to Country was simultaneously functional, cultural and spiritual. It therefore encompasses and even transcends the production, consumption and protection values enumerated by Holmes (2006).

Figure 2. Coastal dunes and the shack settlement of Grey



Source: H. John Selwood 8/18/09

Figure 3. Coastal plain vegetation and the Indian Ocean Drive

Source: Author's own elaboration(10/28/12)

Whether or not Australian Aboriginal land management practices can be construed as a form of agriculture remains a subject of academic debate (Pascoe, B., 2014; Sutton, P. and Walshe, K., 2021). However, the leader of the first European exploration party to cross the Dandaragan coastal plain noted the existence of “native villages” of “well-built huts” together with networks of tracks and yam gardens and concluded that these were more than he “could have believed in the power of uncivilised man to accomplish” (Grey, G., 1841, np, cited in Broome, R. *et al.*, 2020). While the Yued were clearly the only local stakeholder group before European settlement took place, rural and urban designations were inapplicable to the Australian context prior to that point in time.

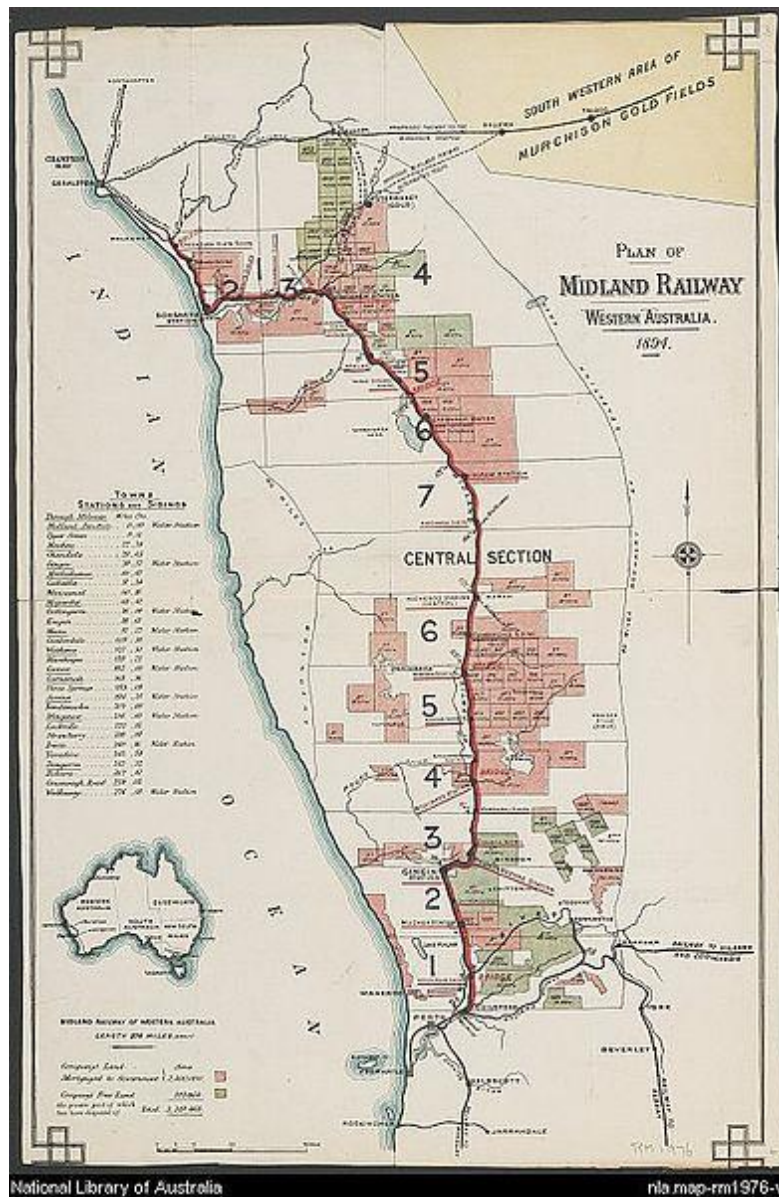
A land management lacuna ca. 1850-1945

Notwithstanding Grey's positive comments on the Yued's land management practices, his party “nearly perished from thirst and starvation” (McConnell M. *et al.*, 1993, p.13) on their expedition and their report on the limited productive potential of the Dandaragan coastal plain merely corroborated the negative views of the area previously expressed by shipwrecked Dutch sailors in 1658 (Henderson J., 1982) and French explorers in 1801 (Marchant L., 1982). When the British laid claim to the western third of Australia in 1827 and established the Swan River Colony around Perth in 1829, the new settlers therefore had little interest in the Dandaragan coastal plain. The colonial government was therefore a non-local and an urban (and largely uninterested) stakeholder in relation to this area. By contrast, the inland plateau was seen as having greater productive potential. British shepherds were (illegally) grazing their flocks there by the 1840s and, by mid-century, they were being granted pastoral leases over this section of Yued land. While this led to violent clashes between Noongar groups and the settler population (Green N., 1984), the spread of European diseases, especially the measles epidemics of the 1860s and 1880s, were more significant causes of Aboriginal deaths (Haebich A., 1988). Traditional Yued land management and social practices were therefore disrupted across the whole of their former territory by these settler incursions. By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the remaining Aboriginal population had either moved to the pastoral properties on the plateau or to the nearby

New Norcia mission which had been set up by Spanish Benedictine monks in 1849 to “Christianise and civilise” them (Haebich A., 1988, p.7).

Although the Yued had been to a large extent displaced from the coastal plain by the mid to late nineteenth century, the settler population left this area essentially untouched for a considerable time period. A stock route, formally designated in 1862, from Perth to the town of Geraldton further north crossed the plain, but this could only be used seasonally when sufficient water supplies were available. In 1894, a railway from Perth to Geraldton was constructed immediately east of the Dandaragan plateau and land close to the line was made available for agricultural settlement (Figure 4). However, the coastal plain lay to the west of this development zone and this “effectively reinforced the isolation of the Coastal Plain. Poison plants, deficient soils, a shortage of water and a rugged coastline ensured that the area remained largely unoccupied” (McConnell, M., *et al.* (1993, p.101).

Figure 4. Map of the Midland Railway Western Australia 1894



Source: National Library of Australia

This lack of productive occupation of the coastal plain meant that the area initially needed little official protection but, as the twentieth century progressed, its potential for consumption began to be recognised. In a process replicated on many parts of the Western Australian coast (Selwood, J., *et al.*, 1996; Selwood, J., & Tonts, M., 2006; Jones, R., & Selwood, J., 2012) from the 1920s if not before, farming families would, following the harvest, trek on rudimentary tracks to nearby coastal locations where they could camp, fish and recreate for the remainder of the summer. Before long, many of these recreationists began to create rudimentary holiday shacks to which they would return on a regular basis. Within the Shire (at that time the Road District) of Dandaragan, this practice had become sufficiently established by 1929 for the local authority to designate one area, at Sandy Bay, as a reserve and to impose a charge of five shillings a year on anyone who constructed a shack there.

A decade or so later, a distinctive set of protection values became paramount locally as Australia, and particularly Western Australia, faced the threat of invasion from Japan during the Second World War. Perhaps because of its isolation and lack of population, Jurien Bay was identified by the Australian government as a potential invasion site (Chappell, J., *nd.*, pp. 7-8). The Dandaragan coast therefore became a major part of a series of coastal defences extending from Perth's port of Fremantle to Geraldton and beyond. Underlying this shift from consumption to protection values, a number of the holiday shacks were removed. 20,000 troops were stationed in the Dandaragan area and the local track system was extended and improved to support coastal surveillance, gun emplacements, radar systems and even an airfield (Jamieson, W., 1978). Although no invasion eventuated, these infrastructural improvements would facilitate a significant increase in informal consumption/recreational usage of the coastal plain in the early postwar period.

Multifunctional rural transitions in the postwar period

On land at least, productive activities have remained unimportant in the postwar period, though apiarists began to use the recently expanded network of bush tracks to place their hives in the biodiverse native bushland. Along the coast, however, a rapid expansion of the crayfishing industry took place (Crombie, G., 2001). The fishing fleets were mainly based in Fremantle and Geraldton but, in the early postwar years, many crayfishers also built coastal shacks for their temporary use. By the 1950s, these had become an important component of the, formerly recreational and still informal, settlements on Dandaragan's sheltered bays (Suba, T. and Grundy, G., 1992; Logan, G., 2012). As this industry grew in importance, the state government designated two townsites, at Jurien Bay in 1956 and Cervantes in 1963, where plots of land were provided for fish processing facilities, residences and even the provision of basic services. By the 1970s, sealed roads connected these settlements to a new Perth-Geraldton highway (Highway 1 on Figure 1) which ran close to the inland edge of the Dandaragan coastal plain.

These transport developments, together with the sealing of a road from Perth to the coastal town of Lancelin (Figure 1) added to the wartime increase in the accessibility of the Dandaragan coast. This factor, together with the rapid postwar increase in the population of Perth, from 255,000 in 1940 to 680,000 in 1970 and to over 2 million today, and significant increases in levels of car ownership resulted in considerable growth in the use of the Dandaragan coast for consumption (i.e. recreational) purposes. What came to be termed the 'shackie' population grew rapidly in the early postwar decades as holidaying urban families from Perth became the dominant inhabitants of the coastal shack settlements. Suba, T. and Grundy, G. (1996) noted that there were over 1,200 informal holiday shacks in Dandaragan and its two neighbouring coastal shires in 1994. Of this total, 25% were concentrated in the informal (and illegal) settlements of Wedge and Grey (Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1994).

Particularly in recent decades, and especially since the construction of the sealed Indian Ocean Drive (Highway 60 in Figure 1) in 2010, the Dandaragan coast has become an increasingly popular location for what might be considered to be more mainstream tourism and recreation, or what Holmes, J. (2006, p.143) termed “the emergence of market-driven amenity uses”. The area, which is now marketed as “the Turquoise Coast” (Morrison S., *et al.*, 2006), is readily accessible for day visitors from the Perth metropolitan area, many of whom use four-wheel drive vehicles to reach fishing and bathing beaches. The Indian Ocean Drive is also popular with interstate and international tourists travelling round Australia. Both Jurien Bay and Cervantes are now popular holiday resorts and second home locations. In 2021, Jurien Bay housed 350 resident families, but possessed 1,573 private dwellings, underlining the local predominance of holiday homes. Cervantes is adjacent to the important geotourism site of the Pinnacles which receives 250,000 visitors a year.

This increase in the importance of consumption values along the Dandaragan coast has been matched by a steady expansion in the “protection of biodiversity and indigenous land rights” (Holmes, J., 2006, p.144). At the end of World War Two, the Dandaragan coastal plain was largely designated as Crown Land, i.e. land that was owned by the state government, but not granted any special status nor allocated for any specific purpose. However, the temperate southwest corner of the Australian continent is isolated by deserts to its north and east and oceans to its south and west. It therefore contains unique assemblages of flora and fauna in an area that has experienced rapid and recent population and economic growth. As such, it qualifies as one of 36 valuable and vulnerable biodiversity hot spots globally (Myers, N. *et al.*, 2000). Within this wider region, the very neglect of the Dandaragan coastal plain over much of the period since initial European settlement has meant that it has largely retained its original and endemic biodiversity. In response to Holmes’s “changing social values”, the state government has therefore placed an increasing amount of the coastal plain under environmental protection regimes. This began with the designation of the Beekeepers Reserve in 1956. Three further “C” class reserves were designed between 1973 and 1979. These reserves were amalgamated into a single area as Nambung National Park and given increased environmental protection as an “A” class reserve in 1994. By that time, 80% of the Dandaragan coast had been given some form of conservation reserve status and 100% of the offshore area was within the boundaries of a marine park.

Over the same time period, and in line with social value shifts in many settler societies around the world, Indigenous heritages and rights were being given increased territorial and governmental acknowledgement. The Western Australian government passed the Aboriginal Heritage Act in 1972. This gave it the power to identify and the responsibility to protect important Aboriginal sites across the state. Even though there has been some weakening of these powers over time (Herriman, N., 2013), the significance of these sites must be taken into account in the state’s planning and development processes. In 1992, and on the opposite side of Australia, a case brought against the Queensland government by Torres Strait Islander, Eddie Mabo, overthrew the (up until then) nationally accepted legal doctrine of *terra nullius* i.e. the belief that, in taking over Australia, the British acquired an empty and unoccupied continent. This decision caused the federal government to pass the Native Title Act of 1993. This act established a Native Title Tribunal to assess land claims from Indigenous bodies over any land that was not in private freehold ownership. As Crown Land, the bulk of the Dandaragan coastal plain falls within this remit. The South West Land and Sea Council (SWALSC) is the (Perth-based) Aboriginal body that acts on behalf of the Yued and several other Noongar groups in Native Title matters. In 2015, the West Australian government and SWALSC concluded the largest Native Title settlement in Australia to date. It provides for both financial compensation and land allocations to be made to local Noongar organisations over the coming decades. While precise negotiations are ongoing, the state government acknowledges that the Dandaragan coastal plain contains:

Areas of significance to the Yued and form(s) part of a traditional songline that extends from Dongara to Yanchep. Wedge and Grey were important locations for the Yued for thousands of years as a meeting place, for camping and ceremony, and as a food and water resource (Department of Biodiversity, Conservation and Attractions, 2019, pp. 8–9).

In addition to these separate environmental and Indigenous protection developments, the state Department of Biodiversity, Conservation and Attractions and its predecessors have been actively pursuing initiatives to include the involvement of Aboriginal organisations in the co-management of its national parks (Jones, R. *et al.*, 2024).

Holmes, J. (2006, p. 144) identifies seven “generalised modes” of the transition towards multifunctionality within Australia. In his peri-metropolitan mode, he anticipates that there will be “intense competition” between production, consumption and protection values. While postwar developments on the Dandaragan coastal plain certainly bear out his contention, they also exhibit contestations within as well as between these three value sets.

Dissonant heritages in the postwar period

In the early postwar decades, heritages, dissonant or otherwise, were not seen as a significant component of land management processes on the Dandaragan coastal plain. Nevertheless, both state and local governments began to express concerns over the rapid expansion of the coastal shack settlements over this period, especially on environmental grounds. These concerns related to issues including the use of unsafe building materials, notably asbestos, the location of shacks on dune systems subject to coastal erosion and the pollution of groundwater by untreated sewage. Accordingly, in 1968, the state government set up a committee to report on the illegal use of Crown Land on the coast north of Perth. The resulting report recommended the removal of all the shacks and, in 1980, legislation “for the express purpose of providing the necessary means to remove squatters from public lands” was enacted (Suba, T. and Grundy, G., 1996). Responsibility for shack removal was delegated to the local shires and, within Dandaragan, priority was initially given to the removal of shacks within and immediately around the designated townsites of Jurien Bay and Cervantes.

One upshot of this strategy was that some of the displaced shackies, both from within Dandaragan and from the neighbouring coastal shires, relocated and rebuilt their shacks at the remaining informal settlements of Wedge and Grey. By this time, these two settlements had been in existence for decades and several generations of recreationists had experienced the shackie lifestyle. Furthermore, some of the children and grandchildren of the original shackies were articulate, educated and politically aware individuals who were eminently capable of making their views known to government and of using the media to assist them in their aims (Selwood, J. and May, A., 2001). Formal community associations were established in Wedge (1968) and Grey (1969) (Logan, G., 2012). Both a government report (Suba, T. & Grundy, G., 1996) and a submission by a visiting academic (Selwood, J., 1991) drew their attention to the heritage protection that had been afforded to some shack settlements on other Australian states. The associations therefore added a heritage dimension to their arguments for the retention of these two settlements (Figure 5) and they were successful in having a heritage report commissioned by the National Trust of Australia (WA). This report, by interstate heritage consultants (Logan, G., 2012) recommended the inclusion of the Wedge and Grey shack settlements on the Western Australian Register of Heritage Places and requested “the State Government Minister for the Environment (to) develop a holistic management plan which conserves and interprets the cultural heritage values of these precincts”. Negotiations on the fate of Wedge and Grey between the community organisations, the Shire of Dandaragan and the state government are ongoing.

Figure 5. Heritage messaging at the Grey Open Day

Source: Author's own elaboration (10/28/12)

The Wedge and Grey communities have explicitly invoked heritage arguments in their attempts to preserve both the fabric and the way of life associated with these two settlements. By contrast, governmental policy initiatives to preserve the area's ecological and landscape values have assumed rather than foregrounded its unique and threatened natural heritage importance. Nevertheless, clear evidence of heritage dissonance is evident in the official concern expressed in government publications over the adverse environmental impacts of the shack settlements:

Opportunities for sightseeing, bushwalking, nature appreciation, picnicking, coastal camping and four-wheel driving, all within a couple of hours drive from Perth, have meant large increases in visitor activity and commercial tourism in the area. Under their current tenure, many activities taking place in the nature reserves are not consistent with their primary purpose. These include camping, lighting of campfires, and off-road driving which causes a proliferation of tracks and degradation of dune vegetation. These problems are exacerbated by the presence of squatters' shacks at Wedge and Grey.

(Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1998, p.1).

The increasing conservation values of the coastal plain are coming into increasing conflict with visitors' recreational activities. Another dimension to this tension is that imposing greater controls over the shackie settlements to address their environmental impacts would undermine a social aspect of their heritage claims since they would no longer be distinctive "shack" communities. This would also raise other issues relating to infrastructure requirements and regulatory compliance which the State Government would need to address.

A further dimension of heritage dissonance relates to the current and former Indigenous presence in the area. A number of Aboriginal sites have been formally designated and delimited by the state government (Figure 6). Particularly at Wedge, Aboriginal heritage sites are located within the shack settlement and are potential, if not actual, flashpoints where the values and interests of the shackie and Indigenous groups overlap on the same piece of ground. On the Dandaragan coastal plain, Holmes's tripartite system of production, consumption and protection values is therefore juxtaposed with three- shackie, natural and Indigenous- heritages. In different ways, the various stakeholder groups invoke these heritage perspectives, and they all draw on aspects of Holmes's aforementioned value systems as they seek to survive, if not prevail, in the face of considerable local development pressures.

Figure 6. Delimitation of Indigenous land at Wedge



Source: Author's own elaboration (4/22/19) AC

Conclusion: Value dissonances in transitional times

The Dandaragan coastal plain faces a complex array of land management challenges. In part, these challenges result from the area's former lack of development and consequent administrative neglect and from its relative proximity to an urban centre which has experienced explosive growth over recent decades. However, the challenges cannot be simply explained as "rural-urban disputes". As the Colloquium documentation contends, they are more "hybrid". The vast majority of both the informal (shackie) and formal (second-home owner) residents of this rural area are urban and largely Perth based. The recent value shifts that have given rise to the protection of natural environments and greater respect for Indigenous cultures are global, rather than urban or rural in their origins.

The distinctions between "new and old land users" are also less clear cut. Indigenous occupation of the area may have occurred over tens of millennia, but its legal recognition by settler governments is very recent and its formal designation on the ground is ongoing. The local natural environment may have long supported the Yued people, but its ecological, scientific and tourism importance has only recently received formal acknowledgement by the state government. With regard to the settler population, the informal shackie settlements are of greater antiquity than the formal townsites and tourist developments.

Local planning measures therefore need to accommodate both the multifunctional nature of the rural change processes that are taking place and the inherently dissonant nature of the heritage values that are driving many of the disputes that arise from these processes. It is therefore encouraging to note that at least some recent land management initiatives appear to be cognisant of these constraints and complexities. The Wedge and Grey community associations (Lutton, G. & Chessels, M., 2018) have developed planning proposals for Wedge which envisage the removal of shacks from vulnerable coastal dunes, sites with water table contamination issues and areas of Aboriginal significance. On their part, state and local governments are consulting with shackie and four-wheel drive organisations before proposing restrictions and one of their recent publications (Government of Western Australia *et al.*, 2025, p.2) clearly reflects the state and local governments' implicit appreciation of both multifunctional rural transitions and dissonant heritages, as evidenced by this extensive quote:

This section of isolated, rugged and dynamic coastline is situated on the northern fringe of Perth and extends to just North of Leeman. Its proximity to the city and surrounding rural and coastal communities ensures consistent use throughout the year. Visitors are able to undertake a wide variety of nature-based recreation activities either independently or with commercial tours. The remoteness, challenging terrain, sense of isolation and beauty of the coast has become the domain of four-wheel drive owners. It is these users, whose numbers are rapidly increasing, who are altering this fragile landscape and contributing to diminishing conservation and cultural values. Increased visitor numbers, conflicts of user types and alteration of landscape values will continue as more people buy and use four-wheel drive vehicles for recreational and tourism use. It is this Recreation Master Plan's aim to protect those landscape values through enabling efficient management and encouraging sustainable recreation use of the lands and waters of the Coast in the Shires of Coorow, Dandaragan and Gingin.

This document refers to landscape values rather than heritages. Nevertheless, it does demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the complex processes – and of the values that underlie them – at work in this region. In "Heritage is movement: heritage management and research in a diverse and plural world", one of us (Jones, T. 2024, p.2) argues that there is a need to "rethink heritage in ways that are open to multiple worldviews and sources of authority". Appreciating and

balancing these different perspectives is fundamental to the resolution of the land management and heritage conflicts that currently characterise the Dandaragan coast.

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