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Islandness fixed-links and tourism along Florida's Gulf Coast

Russell Thomas Fielding
The University of Montana

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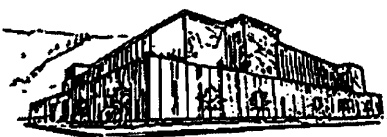MANSFIELD LIBRARY**

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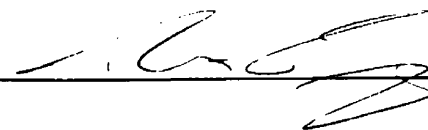
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ISLANDNESS, FIXED-LINKS, AND TOURISM
ALONG FLORIDA'S GULF COAST

by

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B.S., University of Florida, 2000

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Islandness, Fixed-Links, and Tourism Along Florida's Gulf Coast

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Small islands are undeniably popular tourist destinations. Pull factors such as the island's remoteness, boundedness, and insularity combine to create a state of "islandness" that is one of the most attractive—and elusive—characteristics of small islands. The state of islandness can be attributed, at least in part, to an island's separation from the mainland and to the effort required to access the island. No island's isolation is total. Every island depends, to some degree, upon links to the mainland. The nature of these links can be one of the most defining characteristics of an island's insularity. It is ironic then, that one of the main contributors to an island's attractiveness as a tourism destination—its islandness—can be diminished by the availability of fixed links (i.e. bridges, tunnels, or causeways)—links which are present only to facilitate access by tourists, the very market to whom the concept of islandness is most crucial.   In this paper, I examine the tourism industries on three uninhabited, state-administered islands along the west coast of Florida which are linked to the mainland by various means. Through interviews with state officials, environmental groups, and tourists themselves, I will show evidence for the effects upon islandness of various degrees of linkage between islands and the mainland.

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SINGING PRAISES

What should we do but sing his praise
That led us through the wat'ry maze,
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own?
—Andrew Marvell, "Bermudas"

Because the contributions of so many were vital to this project's success, I shall attempt to acknowledge each here. No one contribution was more important than another, so I will not attempt any ordering of those whom I wish to thank.

I must thank those who served as research assistants and traveled with me to the islands to conduct interviews: Simone Allen, Stephen Blaylock, Lindsay Doerr, Andy Fielding, Mary Hudson, Kristin Keen, and Robert Williams. This project would not have been as successful, time-efficient, or enjoyable were it not for their assistance. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Richard Johnson of the Egmont Key Alliance who, though the island of his group's interest was not included in my study area, still made every effort to assist me and provide valuable information. He also graciously gave me a free membership in his organization. I especially appreciate the contribution of my aunt and uncle, Jan and Gary Coffman, who loaned me their boat for the duration of my study. Without their generous sharing, transportation to Anclote Key would have been at best expensive; at worst impossible. Similarly, my brother Andy allowed me to use his truck to tow the boat to and from the launch each day, opting rather to ride his motorcycle to work through thunderstorms so that I would have access to my study sites. When the boat was being disagreeable, Robert Williams and my grandfather, Roy Ellingboe, spent hours with me repairing it. Vincent Luisi of the Dunedin Historical Society also spent hours

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: EVERYTHING'S SEAMLESS AND ALL THINGS SUNDER

Santa Cruz Island – Channel Islands National Park, California, USA

John Donne tells me and doubtless it's true,
"No man is an Island, entire of itself..."
There's much to be said for his point of view;
One book seems sterile alone on a shelf.
Today, unaccompanied, I strolled the beach;
Islands were strewn to the far horizon
Each in its solitude, each within reach,
Each in the separate sea it plies on.

Fruit of the mainland, each has its savor,
Part of a family, yet quite unique;
Always that difference, some special flavor
Taunts you and teases, its onenesses pique.

Everything's seamless and all things sunder,
This is the burden, this is the wonder.
   —Charles E. Wadsworth, "John Donne and Islands"

An island, surrounded by water and finite, has been called "geographically perfect."[1] When one reads descriptions of islands—not of particular islands, for as Wadsworth muses above, each is unique, but of islands in general—the terms *precise, secluded, unambiguous, bounded,* and *remote* are often used. There is something mysterious about a place described by such words. To get to an island one must leave the mainland—the solid, familiar, boundless *terra firma*—and must, as Stephen Royle says, "make a dedicated and unusual journey over water."[2] This journey creates an air of romance or adventure for the traveler. In fact, those who write about islands often borrow language from those who write about human relationships. Thus, this thesis is a look into what Thurston Clarke calls "the most passionate and enduring geographic love affair of all time—the one between mankind and islands."[3]

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[1] David Weale, "Islandness," *Island Journal* 8 (1991): 82.
[2] Stephen Royle, *A Geography of Islands* (London: Routledge, 2001), 11.
[3] Thurston Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe* (New York: Ballantine, 2001), 2.

The romance of islands is often used by marketers of tourism as an enticing characteristic of their advertised destination. According to Tom Baum, small islands are popular tourist destinations because of their remoteness, boundedness, and insularity[4]—a combination of characteristics David Weale calls *islandness*.[5] Royle and others comment that this concept of islandness can be diminished or lost altogether when a fixed link, such as a bridge, causeway, or tunnel is established between the island and the mainland.[6]

Ilan Kelman states that insufficient research has been done regarding the degree to which an island's insularity, or islandness, is lost when it is linked to the mainland:

> In debating the construction of fixed links, fears are often expressed about the expected loss of island characteristics. Working out how much 'islandness' has been lost due to a fixed link is difficult. Islandness could be gained, with the fixed link bringing the island community closer together and emphasising the value of island communities and characteristics.[7]

Weale, writing from Prince Edward Island in Canada, does not agree:

> Proponents of the link have said that it will only enhance the Island way of life. That is quite absurd. You might reasonably argue that it will enhance the economy of the province, or that it will make travelling on and off the Island more convenient, but you cannot reasonably argue that it will enhance the Islandness of our way of life. You can no more enhance the Island way of life by building a fixed link than you can enhance the forest by cutting down the trees. Economically, socially, psychologically, the construction of a fixed link will reduce our insularity. It moves us in the direction of peninsularity, which as the word itself expresses, is a state of being almost an island. There is nothing wrong with that, but we should not pretend that it makes no difference.[8]

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[4] Tom Baum, "The Fascination of Islands: A Tourist Perspective," in Lockhart and Drakakis-Smith, eds. *Island Tourism, Trends and Prospects* (London: Pinter, 1997), 5-6.

[5] Weale, "Islandness," 82.

[6] Royle, *A Geography of Islands, 11*; also Godfrey Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?* (Charlottetown: unpublished, 2004), 1; Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe,* 11; Mary Spicuzza, *A Bridge Too Far.* 2004; Weale, "Islandness," 82-83.

[7] Ilan Kelman, *The Intrigue of Islands—What Are They?* (London: Oxford, 1999), 2.

[8] Weale, "Islandness," 82.

Clearly there is some disagreement on the basic nature of a fixed link's relationship to an island. Is it a benefit or a detriment? Does it present a problem or a solution to the island's insularity? Before one can answer the latter question, one must first determine whether the idea of insularity itself is a problem that needs to be solved. For better or worse, the concepts of insularity and linkages are central to any discussion of islandness. Islands depend upon links to the mainland for their survival, but require the separation from the mainland to remain what they are: insular, separate pieces of land detached from the mainland—in a word, islands.

There exists some latitude in the degree to which an island can connect itself to the mainland and still remain an island. On one extreme end of the continuum are islands that are linked only by water-borne vessel, but without regular service such as a supply ship or ferry. These islands, one could argue, possess the highest degree of insularity and that insularity increases with the distance across the waterway between the island and the mainland. Examples of this type of island include Pitcairn Island in the South Pacific Ocean and Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic Ocean, both far removed from any continent.

At the other end of the connectedness continuum are the islands that lie offshore and are connected by a fixed link to the mainland. Such islands are often integrated into the culture and economy of the mainland to a degree that eclipses their identity as islands and causes some to forget their insular status. Examples of this type of island include Manhattan Island in New York and Sjælland in Denmark, the island on which the Danish capital, København (Copenhagen), is found. Are either of these landmasses still functionally islands? Both are connected to the mainland by multiple fixed links and

both are wholly integrated into the culture and economy of the mainland. When one

drives over the Brooklyn Bridge to Manhattan or rides the unusual train-on-ferry

combination to Sjælland, does the destination retain its islandness?

Between these two extremes lie the islands that are connected by mobile link,

usually in the form of regular ferry service. This type of linkage is found in places such

as Vancouver Island in Western Canada and—at least at the time of this writing—Sicily,[9]

in Italy. Many options are available for linking islands to the mainland, but at what level

of connectedness—if any—does an island begin to lose its insularity; its islandness?[10]

This thesis will seek to test the hypothesis that has been offered by several island

geographers[11] that proposes that the level of islandness felt on a certain island is inversely

proportional to the level of connectedness between that island and the mainland. To

show this phenomenon in action, I shall consider the case of three islands off the west

coast of Florida: Honeymoon Island, which is linked to the mainland by a causeway;

Caladesi Island, which is accessed by regular ferry service; and Anclote Key, which is

accessible only by private vessel. Because these islands are set aside by the Florida

Department of Environmental Protection as state parks, none has an indigenous

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[9] Plans are currently being negotiated to construct a bridge connecting Messina, Sicily to the Italian mainland. For more information, see Mary Spicuzza, *A Bridge Too Far?* (PBS, 2004).

[10] Another factor in an island's level of insularity is air linkage. Although the presence or absence of air access to an island is a great factor in an island's insularity, I will not address it within this thesis because none of the islands in my study area has an airport, nor would it be logical for one to be constructed. My focus is upon offshore barrier islands for which air access would be a needless extravagance. It would hardly make sense to fly to an island that is clearly visible from the mainland and whose total length is barely longer than a runway. Many remote islands are reached only by air and rely upon air service to supply imports, transportation, and tourists. Perhaps the most insular of all islands are those that are not served by regular ships and have no air access. These islands are becoming increasingly rare, but still some exist. One notable example of this most disconnected category of islands is St. Helena, in the South Atlantic Ocean. It is no surprise then, that the construction of an airport is one of the most talked-about projects within St. Helenian government, and has been for some time. For a thorough case study of St. Helena's struggles with insularity, see Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 210-226.

[11] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?*; Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*; Royle, *A Geography of Islands*; Weale, "Islandness."

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population, thus the best—or only—judge of islandness on each will be the tourists. It is the perception of these tourists that I shall present and use in the evaluation of the level of islandness. Therefore the goal of this study is two-fold. After elucidating some of the differences that do exist among islands with differing degrees of linkage to the mainland—and showing that these differences are attributable to the manner of linkage itself—I shall show evidence that each island attracts a different type of tourist. Each island, in other words, has its own niche market and is favored over the others by a certain segment of the tourist population. This too is attributable to the island's linkage, as my results will show.

The comparative approach taken by this study will isolate the method of access variable, and thereby compare tourist perspectives on similar islands with different levels of accessibility. The results will show why people are attracted to each of the islands and to what degree the method of access affects each island's attractiveness. This comparison will serve to fill a gap in the literature noted by Lockhart:

> The image of island life and landscapes among tourists is certainly very attractive. Exactly why this is so, however, remains largely a matter of speculation because few researchers have examined the motivations of visitors in depth or attempted to make comparisons between visitor perceptions of different islands... Comparative research and overviews of the processes underlying the evolution of island destination development have a less extensive literature.[12]

Also, by focusing upon the variable of transportation, or method of access, and seeking to determine its importance to island-goers in the overall evaluation of their tourist experience, this study will provide specific information that, according to Butler, is lacking from island tourism research:

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[12] Douglas G. Lockhart, "The Fascination of Islands: A Tourist Perspective," in Lockhart and Drakakis-Smith, eds., *Island Tourism, Trends and Prospects* (London: Pinter, 1997), 5-9.

In much of the work on transportation, the significance of travel for pleasure, recreation, and tourism has been ignored. In research on tourism, the nature of the travel component of a tourist trip is often... not studied separately. There is relatively little known about how tourists view the travel component of their vacation; whether they regard it as a necessary evil to be overcome, or whether it is a major part of the attraction of the vacation.[13]

Before I compare the islands in my study area specifically, it will be necessary to provide substantial background information. According to the renowned geographer/philosopher, Yi-Fu Tuan, "literature, rather than social science surveys, provides us with the detailed and finely shaded information on how human individuals perceive their worlds."[14] Because of this, I shall first discuss the concept of islandness as an enduring theme in art and literature. It has been said that "no place is a place until it has had a poet,"[15] and islands have had many. After a sampling of the popular or artistic literature regarding islands, I shall turn to academia, another realm in which much has been written about islands. The uniqueness of islands from a biological perspective has been well documented since the time of Darwin,[16] but the emerging academic field of island geography seeks, at least in part, to identify the effect of insularity upon the human experience. Through a survey of some of the scholarly writings of island geographers and other social scientists, I shall construct a definition of islandness so that we may understand exactly what is being sought by the tourists on the islands and what stands to be lost through too much connectivity to the mainland.

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[13] Richard Butler, "Transportation Innovations and Island Tourism," in Lockhart and Drakakis-Smith, eds. *Island Tourism, Trends and Prospects* (London: Pinter, 1997), 36.

[14] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 49.

[15] Wallace Stegner, "The Sense of Place," (online: Random House, 1992).

[16] For example, Darwin's research into the biological islolation of the Galápagos Islands, which led to such works as the famed *On the Origin of Species* (London: John Murray, 1859).

After establishing the concept of islandness I shall examine, specifically, the literature regarding island tourism. Islands, especially those found in tropical and subtropical climes, are popular tourist destinations, and much has been written about their appeal. Following the section on island tourism, I shall review the literature regarding tourist/traveler type and the idea of diverse marketing to a variety of traveler types.

Next, I shall examine some of the writing that specifically focuses upon the fixed link and the introduction of automobiles to islands. Both the construction of a link and the importation of automobiles can have a profound effect upon an island's level of development, and I shall examine literature that deals with their effects upon the character of islandness itself.

The final part of the literature section will focus upon the most widely documented case of a fixed link's construction and its effects, the case of Prince Edward Island in Canada and the Confederation Bridge, which connected Prince Edward Island to New Brunswick—and thus, mainland Canada—for the first time in 1997. Though there are several differences between Prince Edward Island and the islands in my study area, there are sufficient similarities to justify a comparison.

After reviewing the literature on the above topics, I shall introduce the islands in my study area: Honeymoon Island, Caladesi Island, and Anclote Key. I shall describe each through the maps, photographs, observations, historical writings, and local literature. Next, I shall explain the methods of my own research into the effects of linkages upon these islands' appeal to tourists and present my findings. After a thorough discussion of these findings, I shall state my conclusions and place them within the context of the field of geography.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND: WHERE IT ALL BEGAN
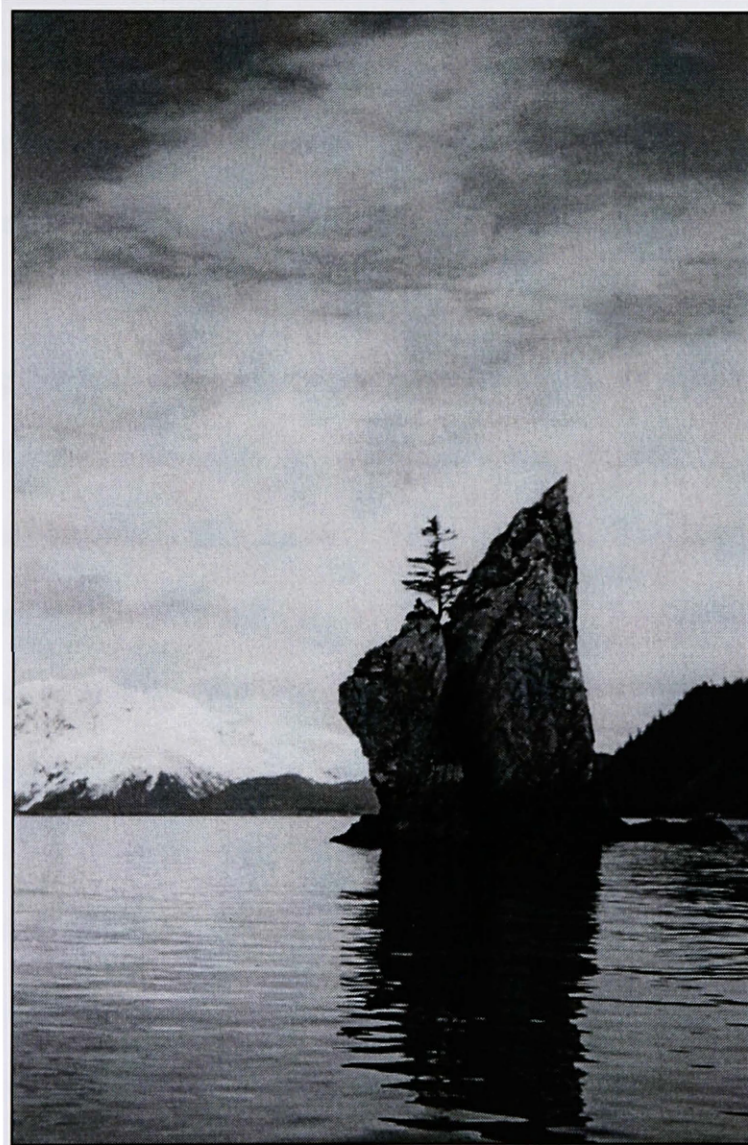
Small, unnamed island – Kenai Fjords National Park, Alaska, USA

Will they come again
To this lonely island?
Will they stay away
From their old homeland?
Will they come again
To this lonely island,
Across the rolling waves
To where it all began?
                    —Jimmy Rankin, "Lonely Island"

Islands are a most interesting form of geography. These pieces of land,

surrounded by water and isolated, have inspired writers of all styles, from the academic to

the artistic, and some whose writing has had elements of both. In this section I shall

examine the place of islands in the Western world's literature, beginning with that of the

fiction writer.

Following this look at the artistic approach to islands, we shall turn our attention

to the scholarly literature relevant to the conceptual background of this thesis. One of the

major goals of this research is to determine whether the addition of a link to the mainland

can cause an island to lose its islandness. In order to do this, it is necessary to provide a

thorough definition of exactly what islandness is. Through a survey of the writings of a

variety of geographers, I shall examine that question in the second section of this chapter.

Following our look at the concept of islandness, both from an artistic and an academic

perspective, we shall review the literature on the topics of island tourism, traveler type,

and the fixed link. This chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of the most famous

case study of an island's controversy surrounding a fixed link, that of Prince Edward

Island in Canada.

The Island in Art and Literature: Heaven's Own Tales

Beyond those waves, strong hearts are longing
For Heaven's own tales, sweet wounds of the psalter.
Fair be our breeze, as outward we bear
Our Christ, our Crown, our song and our Altar
To far blue isles, sweet sounds of the psalter
Bear Christ, our Crown, our song, our Altar.
—Traditional Scottish Hymn, "The Iona Rainbow"

Because the appeal of islands depends largely upon human emotion rather than economic profit or strategic location and is "often so primal that it is not easily expressed"[17] we depend for our written record of our fascination with islands upon those who undertake the challenge of writing about such profound things. Or, as Weale puts it, "what we might describe as the 'islandness' …[is] best expressed, not by politicians or academics or journalists, but by artists and poets."[18] It is for this reason that I have begun each section of this thesis with a quote from an artist or poet concerning some aspect of islandness and will now devote this section to examining the artistic approach to islands.

The appeal of islands affects many genres of artistic expression. It is at the root of the popularity of music by Bob Marley or Jimmy Buffett. Renowned authors such as Hemmingway, Stevenson, Shakespeare, and Poe have used the island setting to intensify the sense of isolation in their writings. Throughout history, the authors of popular fiction have chosen islands as an integral part of their stories and characters. According to Royle, "the thought or concept of islands has informed literary, artistic, scientific and popular culture."[19] According to some literary analysts[20], the modern usage of the island

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[17] Weale, "Islandness," 82.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 11.

setting in literature began in 1719 with the publication of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

According to Clarke, the character Crusoe became synonymous with remote islands the world over in a way that no other work of literature has done with another geographic landform.

> No other story, of course, haunts a geographic feature the way *Robinson Crusoe* haunts islands... Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn owns the Mississippi but not the Nile or Amazon. The Congo, but only the Congo is Conrad's. Walden Pond belongs to Thoreau, and Odysseus has the Mediterranean. But the shadow of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe falls over every island... Robinson Crusoe is one of Western literature's greatest stories. No other novel has produced so many imitations and adaptations. There have been two hundred English editions and six hundred foreign ones, in almost any language you can imagine, so that when a Burmese lands on an island in the Mergui Archipelago, or a Panamanian canoes to one of the San Blas islands, he or she arrives... carrying Crusoe.[21]

Defoe's classic island novel[22] loosely follows the facts of Alexander Selkirk's four and a half years as a castaway on Isla Juan Fernández, an island in the South Pacific Ocean off the coast of South America. It is the story of a man making a life for himself after surviving a shipwreck and being washed ashore on a deserted island. Much more than a survival story, *Robinson Crusoe* is the story of prosperity. Crusoe does not merely hole himself up and wait for a ship. He spends his time farming, building, and hunting. From numerous vantage points he can observe the entirety of the island. He becomes what, to a degree, all island-goers aspire to become, the lord of his insular domain. This is the root of the book's widespread appeal.

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[20] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 2; Green, *The Robinson Crusoe Story*, 1; Diana Loxley, *Problematic Shores* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 4-6.

[21] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 2.

[22] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Bath: Robert Frederick Ltd., 1719).

Though *Robinson Crusoe* is heralded as the progenitor of modern island literature, it is, according to Loxley, only an iteration of an older theme. Loxley contends that the original story of this genre was written by the Bard himself:

> It is Shakespeare's *The Tempest* which deserves this doubtful honour...
> *Robinson Crusoe* can retrospectively be designated as a rewriting of *The Tempest* in the sense that it attempts to provide a resolution to the problem of the relationship between master and slave.[23]

In *The Tempest*, the setting of the island is essential to the plot of a shipwrecked father and daughter and their struggle to accept the island and its few strange inhabitants as friend or foe. The ownership of the island is often called into question, with the newly arrived castaways accused of attempting to steal it from its self-declared owner, Caliban:

> This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
> Which thou tak'st from me.[24]

As the story progresses, the protagonists grow in their understanding of the island and cease to fear it and its inhabitants, a dynamism much like Crusoe's with regard to his island and its sole other inhabitant, Man Friday. We can see from both of these early examples of island-based fiction that there exist basically two uses for the island setting in literature: the island as a prison and the island as paradise. Perhaps *The Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe* are such classic examples of island literature because each work narrates the transformation, in the mind of the castaway, of the island from prison to paradise.

Green calls attention to a distinct difference between the two works. Comparing it with Robinson Crusoe, he writes that "*The Tempest*'s version of castaways on an island is fantastic and not factual" and that "*The Tempest* treats more or less the same subject as

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[23] Loxley, *Problematic Shores,* 6
[24] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* Act I, Scene II

Robinson Crusoe, but it is not 'superficially realistic,' and so no one imagines himself or herself living on Shakespeare's island."[25]

Whether one accepts Shakespeare or Defoe as the original author of modern island literature, the genre has grown well beyond its beginnings. An island, in literature, has become a device, a canvas on which to paint a story that requires the element of insularity. There exists, then, a feedback loop between popular perception of islands and the place of islands in literature, with each serving to reinforce and define the other. Royle says that "[t]he appeal of islands is both fed by and feeds upon the use of the concept of island in reality or metaphor by artists and writers."[26]

He goes on to explain that writers "have found islands convenient places to allow characters to become free from normal social constraints and permit their more 'primitive,' because less socially-constrained, sides to emerge."[27] Likewise, George Orwell sets the criterion that "an adventure story must of its nature be more or less remote from real life."[28] Literature certainly uses the island setting as a remote place where characters can be free from the standard mores because normal social constraints need not apply. This being the case, it is easy to see that an island can become either a prison or a paradise depending upon one's perspective. For example, in William Golding's 1951 *The Lord of the Flies*, those shipwrecked schoolboys who rose to the top of the barbaric struggle for power would consider their island first to actually be *theirs* and second to be paradise, free from the constraints of their familiar British society and

[25] Green, *The Robinson Crusoe Story*, 10-11.
[26] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 13-14.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] George Orwell, *Collected Essays* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1961), 13.

their position of deference as children—truly "remote from real life."[29] Conversely,

those boys who became the island's lower class, such as the pitifully nicknamed "Piggy,"

would certainly consider the island to be a prison, full of unbearable torture and the fear

of death.

In H.G. Wells' 1896 *The Island of Dr. Moreau*, we again see the dualistic nature

of islands in literature. For the doctor himself, the island is a paradise "free from normal

social constraints"[30] where he can practice his unsanctioned surgical experiments[31]

without exposing the dreadful consequences to the outside world and its authorities. For

those human/animal hybrids that are the results of his experiments, Dr. Moreau's island is

certainly a prison, as it is for the protagonist, Montgomery, who finds himself

incarcerated by the island's shores.

A more modern example of island literature is Alex Garland's 1998 *The Beach*,

which tells the story of a young British backpacker[32] who is given a map that leads to a

"paradise" island in the Gulf of Thailand. This island is inhabited by a free-spirited

commune of young world-travelers who work cooperatively to sustain themselves and to

keep their existence secret. What seems like an island paradise however, takes on

characteristics of an island prison as one resident is injured and is denied, by the

commune's leader, transportation to the mainland for medical care because it would

jeopardize the secrecy of the island community. Other developments that threaten the

dynamics of the group serve to further hasten the protagonist's view of the island. By the

end of the story, the entire image of the island has shifted from that of an undiscovered

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[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 14.

[31] In the 1996 film version of this story, which is set in more modern times, the hybrid creatures are created through genetic engineering rather than surgery.

[32] This backpacker's nationality changes to American in the 2000 film version of this story.

paradise to that of an unbearable prison and when the inhabitants finally leave they are glad to go. It is a reversal of the transformation found on the islands of Crusoe or Caliban, but simply a variation on the same theme of the island in literature.

The island, it seems, can be very useful to an artist, poet, or author. Because the concept of an island is so rich with meaning and packed with human emotion, it is often used by those who wish to give a sense of remoteness, isolation, paradise, or mysteriousness to their work. Whether seen as a paradise or as a prison—or as a progression from one to the other—the island has become one of the most enduring geographical devices used in literature. From the epics of Homer that made use of the island setting millennia ago, to the reggae of Marley that enjoys worldwide popularity today, the island has inspired the writers of verse to muse about the exotic. Though I will endeavor to examine the appeal of islands academically, I must bow to the "artists and poets"[33] who have best captured their romance.

Islandness: Stealing the Senses

There is no forgetting the islands, I said,
Where the sun has left no shadows.
They will fill your eyes with richness
Till they have made you blind;
And on your lips will crush bright poisons
That steal the senses, leaving sound.
　　　　—Geoffrey Drayton, "Seeds of the Pomegranate"

While much fictional literature has benefited from the island setting, islands have also been given a great deal of attention from the academic community. Here also, we see that the island can be viewed dually as paradise or as prison, depending upon one's

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[33] Weale, *Islandness*, 81.

perspective. Much has been written expounding upon the island's role as prison, or in other words, about insularity as a limiting factor to an island's economy, political potential, or power over exploitation.[34] However, since the scope of this thesis is limited to islands as tourist destinations it seems fitting to focus the literature review upon the model of island as paradise, not as prison. Thus, we will now survey some of the available literature regarding islandness and its positive rapport with humankind.

Russell King, in his essay that blends the philosophy and geography of islandness almost seamlessly, summarizes the appeal of islands thus:

> An island is a most enticing form of land. Symbol of the eternal contest between land and water, islands are detached, self-contained entities whose boundaries are obvious; all other land divisions are more or less arbitrary. For those of artistic or poetic inclination, islands suggest mystery and adventure; they inspire and exalt. On an island, material values lose their despotic influence; one comes more directly into touch with the elemental—water, land, fire, vegetation, and wildlife. Although each island naturally has its own personality, the unity of islands undoubtedly wields an influence over the character of the people who live upon them; life there promotes self-reliance, contentment, and a sense of human scale.[35]

Two important statements must be noted from King's essay. First is the idea of obvious boundaries. A child who lives on a small island can easily find his or her home on even a small-scale, non-demarcated map of the physical world. Nature has outlined the child's home. When this is contrasted with the difficulty by which a child living in the middle of a vast continent can locate his or her home, it is obvious what King means when he states that "all other land divisions are more or less arbitrary."[36]

The second point that is most notable from King's essay is his personification of

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[34] See, for example, Royle, *A Geography of Islands, 50-51.*
[35] Russell King, "The Geographical Fascination of Islands," in *The Development Process in Small Island States* (London: Routledge, 1993), 13.
[36] *Ibid.*

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islands. "Each island naturally has its own personality," he states.[37] When one considers

a study of geographical place names, it becomes obvious how many islands are given

names that would (and in many cases did) befit people. Examples of islands with human

names include Diego Garcia, Tristan da Cunha,[38] and the many "Saint" islands of the

Caribbean. As James Lewis states in his broad-ranging anthology, "no two islands are

alike and few are even closely similar"—a statement that would apply equally well to

members of the human race.[39] Regarding the appeal of islands to the human race, Dodds

notes that

> [i]slands can and do provide the perfect conditions for invoking cultural
> difference because of their apparently distinct territory, which could be
> easily defined and defended from unwelcome external influences.[40]

This separation is also mentioned by Baldacchino, who writes of an island's effect upon

the self-sufficiency of those who live upon it.

> Small islands, with their small size and geographical precision, are
> excellent examples of peripheries. They have an identifiable terrain– being
> surrounded by water–while small size reduces the options for self-reliance
> in a whole range of goods and services.[41]

This submission to these physical limits is what causes the sense of place that is felt upon

an island. According to Stegner, "only in the act of submission is the sense of place

realized and a sustainable relationship between people and earth established."[42] In

addition to these practical reasons for the sense of place belonging to islands, such as

their defensibility and their insistence upon self-reliance, Ramsay describes the more

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[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Originally *Tristão da Cunha*, named for the Portuguese admiral who first sighted the island in 1506. See for example, James Glass and Anne Green. *A Short Guide to Tristan da Cunha.* (Edinburgh of the Seven Seas, Tristan da Cunha: self-published, 2003), 1.

[39] James Lewis, *Pieces of the Continent* (http://islandvulnerability.com, 2003), 4.

[40] Klaus Dodds, *Pink Ice* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 137.

[41] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap*, 1.

[42] Stegner, "The Sense of Place."

intangible "island of dreams" which is characterized by a "never-spelled-out popular

mystique of islands."[43] All of these factors contribute to the distinct sense of place felt on

islands and sought by island-going tourists.

Concerning sense of place, much of the literature relates the experiences and

feelings of islanders, those who live permanently on a small island. Though the three

islands in my study are virtually uninhabited and visited only by tourists, I contend that

the islander literature still applies.[44] The reason is this: part of the attraction of small

islands is the chance to become an islander for a short period of time. When one travels

to an island, one leaves the familiar and sets very strict limits on one's physical world.

One accepts the boundedness of the geographical setting; and in fact, relishes it. The

temporary community of islanders, made up of the finite set of tourists who happen to

have traveled to the island on a given day, shares many of the same values and

characteristics with permanent islanders. Perhaps the trip offers a chance to role-play, or

perhaps the islandness, at least in part, dictates the behavior. Island life, according to

Baum, offers

> physical removal from the normal parameters of work routine, a slower
> pace of life and different social and cultural characteristics... All these
> benefits may well be available in non-island locations as well, but
> insularity, in its literal sense, truly encapsulates the desire to get away
> from it all.[45]

[43] R.H. Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, (New York: Ballantine, 1972), 91-92.

[44] The fact that the islands in my study area are uninhabited may even increase their insularity. According to Dea Birkett, *Serpent in Paradise* (New York: Anchor, 1997), 14-15:
> [a]n island, to be perfect, to be paradise, ought to be empty; "uninhabited" is a word attached only to islands, never to land. Land suggests borders, which can be crossed, violated, invaded; but an island, being empty, can be all ours. Everything about an island suggests a complete and private world, upon which you can make your mark. You can plant your footprints in a circle around the shore.

[45] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 22.

It seems appropriate, then, to examine some of the literature regarding permanent

islanders to better understand what these temporary islanders are seeking to emulate.

Weale, himself an islander, states that

> [w]herever we look in the world we discover peoples whose lives and
> cultures have been shaped by their environment... The people who live on
> Prince Edward Island are Island people. This is more than a statement
> about our location. It is a statement about our very nature and essence. It
> is deeply and profoundly who we are. If we deny it, we betray ourselves;
> and for a society, no less than for an individual, it is a matter of great and
> grave seriousness to deny or compromise your essential being.[46]

UNESCO's report on island environments states that "islands are much more than

a writer's inspiration, a scientist's laboratory. They are home to islanders, who are both

the same yet different to everyone else."[47] When a tourist visits an island, to some

degree, he or she tends to adopt some of these differences and entwine them into his or

her own character. The tourist becomes, though temporarily, an islander. On islands, as

is true everywhere, humans affect the place where they are. But, perhaps more on an

island than any other type of land, the place also affects its inhabitants. The effect of an

island is often upon the imagination. Yi-Fu Tuan has written extensively about sense of

place and its home within the field of geography. In his classic volume, *Topophilia*, Tuan

mentions the imaginative effect that islands have had upon humanity:

> The island seems to have a tenacious hold on the human imagination.
> Unlike the tropical forest or the continental seashore it cannot claim
> ecological abundance, nor—as an environment—has it mattered greatly in
> man's evolutionary past. Its importance lies in the imaginative realm.[48]

Some islands have existed entirely in this imaginative realm. The pursuit of an

unknown, idyllic, and sometimes nonexistent island has been the motivation for many an

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[46] Weale, *Islandness*, 82.
[47] UNESCO, *Island Agenda* (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 3.
[48] Tuan, *Topophilia*, 118.

exploration. From Ponce de León to Captain James Cook, the intrepid searchers have set off by ship seeking the reality behind the legends, the islands of dreams. Legends abound of places such as Atlantis, the islands of St. Brendan, and The Fountain of Youth. There have been islands sighted and charted, never to be seen again.[49] An example of these "phantom" islands is one that appeared off the coast of Ireland on various maps beginning in 1497, but does not actually exist. It was called *Hi-Brasil,* or *O-Brasil*, or sometimes just *Brasil* (see Figure 1).
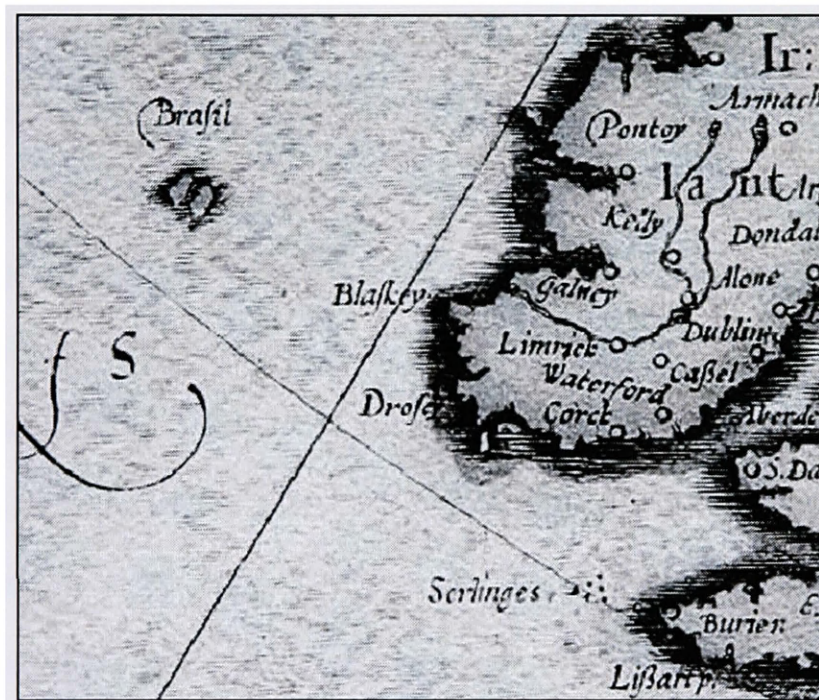
Figure 1: The mythical island of Brasil (left), off the coast of Ireland (right), in this detail from the 1595 Mercator Atlas. Used courtesy of Islomania.com.

The same island appeared as late as 1850 on the British Admiralty Chart and was labeled *Brasil Rock*.[50] Wrapped in mystery, islands are often subject to the imagination of sailors and cartographers alike. Of all the world's geographies, perhaps none has occupied more of human imagination than the island.

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[49] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 7.
[50] Chris Jennings, *Islomania.com*.

It can be seen, then, that islands offer a two-fold, paradoxical appeal. Their boundedness and natural limits encourage self-reliance and provide defense, while their removal from the mainland offers a sense of independence and risk that is difficult to find on the continent. According to Clarke, it is this "combination of freedom and security that is an appealing feature of geographically remote islands."[51]

Another notable feature of the relationship between humans and islands can be seen from our language. When one wishes to describe the location of something related to an island, he or she almost always uses the preposition *on*, as opposed to *in*, which is used when referring to mainland locations. For example, one might say, "We spent our honeymoon *on* Maui and now we are looking to buy a house *in* Missoula." Neither preposition implies that one place is preferred over the other, it simply emphasizes the fact that islandness exists as a different state of being than that to which most mainland residents are accustomed. One is expressing a different relation to his or her environment while on an island. In this way, among others, islands are like mountains. One finds oneself *on* a mountain and *on* an island, while another is *in* the desert, *in* the forest, or *in* the city. This mountain-island connection has been mentioned often in the realm of physical geography. Rachel Carson, among many others, refers to the islands and island chains "sea mounts" and "mountain ranges" of the oceans.[52] Undersea ridges are compared often to terrestrial mountain ranges and the islands to the highest of the undersea peaks, simply the ones that extend above sea level. Because of isolation, remoteness, and accessibility concerns, mountains often possess a level of insularity similar to that of islands. A thorough examination into the similarities between islands

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[51] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 122.
[52] Rachel Carson, *The Sea Around Us* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 70-71.

and mountains from a social science perspective would certainly be a fruitful undertaking for any geographer interested in human/environmental relationships.

Why do people love islands? Because they are distinct. Their limits, their boundedness, their freedom, and their beauty contribute to a unique sense of place that can be felt only in an insular environment. Though some of the appeal can be "never-spelled-out,"[53] it is the aim of this project to spell out just what is appealing to tourists about three small islands off the gulf coast of Florida, and how that appeal is affected by the islands' various forms of linkage.

Island Tourism: Come on and Smile

Feeling out, feeling down,
This feeling wouldn't leave me alone.
Then up came a one that said,
Hey Dread, fly Natty Dread and smile.
You're in Jamaica, come on and smile...
...Soulful town, soulful people
Said, I see you're havin' fun,
Dancing to the reggae rhythm
Oh, island in the sun, I'll smile.
    —Bob Marley, "Smile Jamaica"

Islandness is a powerful pull factor for tourists. The combined population of all the world's islands has been estimated at 65 million people[54] or about 1% of the world's population. Because the vast majority of the world's population dwells on continents, traveling to an island offers the chance for many to experience a setting that is very different from that to which they are accustomed. Cohen puts it this way:

> Travelling for pleasure (as opposed to necessity) beyond the boundaries of
> one's life-space assumes that there is some experience available "out

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[53] Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, 91-92.
[54] Lewis, *Pieces of the Continent*, 1.

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there," which cannot be found within the life-space, and which makes travel worthwhile. A person who finds relief from tensions within his life-space, or does not perceive outside its boundaries any attractions the desire for which he cannot also fulfill at home, will not travel for pleasure.[55]

Islands remain popular destinations because of their uniqueness and distinctness from the mainland as well as for their "innate romanticism."[56] According to Lockhart, "islands have become one of the most attractive destinations for tourists."[57] With tourism now, "the world's largest industry"[58] and islands being such popular destinations for tourism, the study of island tourism has never been more important. The timeliness of this sort of research is explained thus in the introduction of a recent publication that compiles the work of various researchers of island tourism:

> Since the 1950s small islands have been popular locations for study by geographers and researchers in cognate disciplines and, as a result, a wide-ranging literature exists. Topics that have attracted attention include emigration and return migration, transport and accessibility, resource limitations such as water supply, and economic development policies. Tourism, too, has been the focus of much research activity. This largely reflects the long-standing attractiveness of islands to tourists. The earliest localities to experience the impact of tourism were offshore islands close to major urban industrial areas... Recent decades, however, have witnessed the most intense period of tourism development. Coastlands have been transformed by hotel, apartment and villa construction and by supporting infrastructure, including roads, entertainment and shopping complexes and marinas... Greater amounts of leisure time and disposable income have ensured that the demand for island-based holidays has increased vastly since the 1960s, while the tourism industry has responded by making available inclusive tour and package holidays to a wider range of more exotic island destinations. Much of the appeal of islands to tourists has always been related to their geographical separateness, which has often helped preserve the historical and cultural distinctiveness. These features and the almost universal appeal of 'sun, sea and sand' or the

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[55] Erik Cohen, *A Phenomology of Tourist Experiences* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Droit, 1984), 13.

[56] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 193.

[57] Douglas Lockhart, "Islands and Tourism: An Overview," *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects* (London: Pinter, 1997), 3.

[58] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 188.

possibility of visiting an 'undiscovered paradise' have provided powerful themes to market islands to potential visitors.[59]

The importance of tourism to islands (and thus, the study of island tourism) is further emphasized by Royle, who warns that "[t]here are penalties for an island economy that has not been able to develop tourism fully."[60]

Some islands promote their accessibility in addition to their remoteness. While the idea of "accessible remoteness" may seem like a contradiction in terms, it is a powerful marketing tool to tourists who long for an island experience without the inconveniences or unfamiliarities of sea or air travel. A prime example is the Florida Keys. Tedeschi explains:

> Among their many attractions, the Florida Keys and Key West's most unique attribute is that they are a collection of islands—yet are completely accessible by car. Furthermore, heading either south or north on the Overseas Highway between Key Largo and Key West, visitors will have no trouble locating all the major and minor attractions by the road markers (numbered from Key West north), that serve as informal addresses. Off the highway, travelers will discover that the Keys are not only a one-of-a-kind driving experience but that each key has its own distinct personality. Here, in this unique combination of land and sea, vacationers can enjoy one of the most remarkable travel experiences available in America.[61]

In this brief paragraph, Tedeschi refers to the unique sense of place found in the Keys because of their islandness but adds the appeal (to some tourists) of easy access by automobile. It is no surprise that the Florida Keys are a perennial favorite among visitors to the state. They have successfully attained a reputation for both remoteness and accessibility.

[59] Douglas Lockhart and David Drakakis-Smith, "Preface," in *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects*, ed. Douglas Lockhart and David Drakakis-Smith (London: Pinter, 1997), xiii-xiv.
[60] Stephen Royle, "Tourism to the South Atlantic Islands," in *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects*, 342.
[61] Tony Tedeschi, "Florida Keys and Key West," *Audubon*, 1997, 15.

With regards to island tourism then, the paradox exists that the sense of remoteness must be maintained to attract tourists but the remoteness itself must be overcome so that they can actually arrive on the island. Because different tourists are willing and capable to put forth various degrees of effort to reach an island, it follows that islands with differing degrees of linkage will attract various types of tourists. In the following chapter we will examine some of the literature that has attempted to categorize tourists based upon their expectations and willingness to seek novel or more inaccessible destinations.

<center>Traveler Type: Your Way and My Way</center>

How about we put up a wall
Between the houses and the highway?
Then you can go your way
And I can go my way.
  —Ani DiFranco, "Fuel"

The human focus of this thesis is the tourist experience. This differs from the experience of other types of travelers such as business travelers, religious pilgrims, and refugees because tourists travel for pleasure. In the past, travel was primarily seen as an often difficult means to an end. In fact, the word *travel* has the same root as the word *travail*, a word reserved for the description of difficult labor or even childbirth. Both *travel* and *travail* come from the Latin *triplire*, a verb meaning "to torture with a *tripalium*," a medieval torture device with three flesh-piercing stakes.[62] Given the etymology of the word, it is easy to see that travel was often regarded as an at best difficult, at worst tortuous, ordeal. The reward was often great and the destination was

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[62] *American Heritage Dictionary* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000).

often beautiful and so many locations first explored for wealth later became tourist destinations as well, after the travail of travel was alleviated by modern transportation. William Dampier, whose portrait in London's National Portrait Gallery bears the subtitle, "Pirate and Hydrographer,"[63] and who is credited with reviving the genre of travel literature with his 1697 *New Voyage Round the World*, unashamedly admitted that gold was the primary motivation for his voyages.[64] However, many of the destinations he explored—Indonesia and Australia, among others—are now popular tourist destinations. Had it not been for the motivation of profit, perhaps the tourists would never have known of these places.

Tourists and the tourist experience have been rigorously studied and classified by many researchers since at least the mid-1970s with the work of Stanley Plog.[65] Figure 2, below, shows a continuum compiled by Basala and Klenosky[66] that displays the terminology used by three different researchers—Cohen, Smith, and Plog—to describe the different types of tourists. Each researcher held to one basic truth and simply defined the intervals differently. The basic truth is that some travelers seek familiarity, some seek novelty, and there are many who are looking for something in between.

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[63] It is my hope, that if I am ever immortalized in a portrait, it will bear a similar subtitle.

[64] Green, *The Robinson Crusoe Story*, 30.

[65] John Crossley, et. al. *Introduction to Commercial Recreation and Tourism* (Champaign, Illinois: Sagamore, 2001) 358.

[66] Sandra Basala and David Klenosky, "Travel-Style Preferences for Visiting a Novel Destination," *Journal of Travel Research* 40 (2001) 172-182.

Researcher	Seeking Familiarity						Seeking Novelty
Cohen	Organized mass tourists	Individual mass tourists		Explorers			Drifters
Smith	Charter tourists	Mass tourists	Incipient mass tourists	Unusual tourists	Off-beat tourists	Elite tourists	Explorers
Plog	Psychocentrics			Mid-centrics			Allocentrics

Figure 2: Basala and Klenosky's novelty-familiarity tourist continuum

The tourists seeking familiarity are more "conservatively oriented" and "prefer to return to familiar travel destinations where they can relax and know what... to expect."[67] At the opposite extreme is the tourist seeking novelty who is attracted to destinations offering "adventure in a variety of activities" and "prefers to... explore non-touristy areas before others have visited the area."[68] The most extreme of this type seeks to visit "the most undeveloped destinations."[69] The fact that these tourists seek "adventure" is especially telling when one examines the root of the word *adventure* itself. According to Junger:

> The word comes from the Latin *adventura*, meaning "what must happen."
> An adventure is a situation where the outcome is not entirely within your control. It should be pointed out that people whose lives are inherently dangerous, like coal miners or steel workers, rarely seek "adventure."
> Like most things, danger ceases to be interesting as soon as you have no choice in the matter. For the rest of us, threats to our safety and comfort have been so completely wiped out that we have to go out of our way to create them.[70]

One would expect, then, to see tourists choosing destinations based upon personal character traits and deeply held values, and not just randomly. Specifically to this study,

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[67] Crossley, et. al. *Introduction to Commercial Recreation and Tourism*, 359.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Sebastian Junger, "Colter's Way," in *Fire* (New York: Norton, 2001) 150.

it would seem logical that on each island, one would find tourists who chose that island specifically and were perfectly happy to be there and not anywhere else.

One interesting aspect of the continuum above is the way in which the various traveler types interact. The presence of accommodations that appeal to travelers seeking familiarity effectively renders a destination undesirable for those seeking novelty. Because of this, the tourists seeking novelty hold a certain amount of resentment toward those who would demand such "improvements." To them, these developments ruin a destination and force them to seek another place to travel. The tourists seeking familiarity are seen by those seeking novelty as naïve simpletons who are easily duped into enjoying (and financially supporting) events and people who are not "authentic." According to Cohen, who uses the term "recreation" instead of "familiarity," this resentment is misplaced:

> The recreation-seeking tourist, hence, thrives on what Boorstin calls "pseudo-events." But the depth of contempt in which he is held on that account by intellectuals and "serious" travellers is misplaced: the tourist gets what he really wants—the pleasure of entertainment, for which authenticity is largely irrelevant.[71]

Misplaced or not, the contempt in which novelty-seekers hold familiarity-seekers is very real. As I shall show in the results section below, interviewees on all three islands reported traveling there to escape the tourists, with the largest number of this type of responses given on Anclote Key, the least connected island in my study area.

The difference that exists among travelers is of key importance to marketers of tourist destinations. This is especially true of destinations that cater to familiarity-seekers because they can be the most impressionable. According to Cohen:

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[71] Cohen, *A Phenomology of Tourist Experiences*, 7.

The recreational tourist is primarily "getting away." Hence, he is often equanimous as to the choice of possible destinations for his "holiday," thus providing the advertisement industry with plentiful opportunities to tilt his decision in a variety of competing directions.[72]

The familiarity-seeking tourist then, appears to be attracted to the accommodations, activities and facilities of a place and not necessarily to the place itself. Therefore, it is the duty of the advertisers to promote their locations' attributes to their clientele, who may or may not have even known of the place beforehand. Perhaps the novelty-seekers are not as subject to the siren-call of advertisers because they intentionally seek places not yet found by or advertised to the masses.

The most important fact to be gleaned from the traveler-type literature is that different people seek different experiences when they travel. To those seeking familiarity, a well-developed destination that is easy to access is more appealing. To those seeking novelty, the ideal destination is left in its natural state and access is more difficult, or as they would say, adventurous. When traveling to an island, the boat ride, at least in the minds of those for whom it is not a regular mode of transportation, is often more subject to *adventura*—what must happen—than a drive over a bridge. We shall now examine more specifically the issue of transportation to islands.

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[72] *Ibid.*, 8.

The Fixed Link and Automobiles: The Changin' of Our Land

> *Just for a day our king and queen*
> *Would visit all these islands and saw everything.*
> *How would they feel about the changin' of our land?*
> *Could you just imagine if they were around,*
> *And saw highways on their sacred grounds?*
> *How would they feel about this modern city life?*
> —Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, "Hawai'i '78"

As we narrow our scope more directly toward the specific focus of this thesis, we find that the body of relevant literature that exists on the topic becomes smaller. Many have written about tourism, economics, and biology as they relate to island life but relatively few have addressed the effects of a fixed link, especially from a social science perspective. Most of the literature is based upon the so-called "islacide"[73] of Prince Edward Island in Canada, which, in 1997, was linked to the New Brunswick mainland by the construction of the Confederation Bridge. This case will be addressed in the next section of this chapter. Here, though, we will survey the extant literature regarding the fixed link and its effect upon islandness. It is important to note that there exists no literature that directly compares islands linked by mobile links with those that remain unlinked, except in passing references on a case-by-case basis to a specific island's remoteness.[74] It is, therefore, one of the duties of this thesis to provide a comparison between truly unlinked islands and islands with mobile links to the mainland. We shall address this comparison in a later section. Presently, we will examine the fixed link.

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[73] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 11.

[74] An example of this kind of reference would be Royle's 1997 article, "Tourism to the South Atlantic Islands" in which he compares the mobile linkages of Ascension Island and The Falklands with the unlinked Tristan da Cunha and with St. Helena, an island whose final form of linkage is still being decided. The article does not focus on linkage, but rather on tourism potential and acknowledges the vital role that access plays in tourism.

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Why the fixed link? Upon what basis would the residents of an island or of a coastal community choose to go to the enormous expense of bridging a waterway to connect an island to the mainland? What is the basic problem of islandness that a fixed link is intended to overcome? The answer to all these questions is insularity. An island, by its very definition, is an insular remote piece of land separated from the mainland by a body of water. To access the island, this body of water must be negotiated. According to Royle, this can be done "by boat, plane, via a bridge, causeway or tunnel, or by swimming or wading."[75] There is usually a cost involved in the travel over the water, whether it be in the form of a transportation fee such as a ticket for a ferry or airplane, or a toll paid to cross a bridge.

There are those rare islands that can be reached by land. Such islands lie just offshore and are only separated from the mainland during the high tide. Examples of this type of island would be Mandø in Denmark and Mont Saint Michel in France. These landforms can hardly be considered true islands, and would not have been by the Vikings, to whom an island was only an island if the body of water between it and the mainland could be navigated by a ship with a rudder in place. A similarly precise definition was that of the 1861 Scottish census, which defined an island as area of land surrounded by water, inhabited by man, where at least one sheep can graze. These old definitions[76] show the importance of insularity and livability in defining islands.

Insularity can be both an advantage and a disadvantage. Among the advantages is the fact that the physical remove of an island from the mainland can protect its inhabitants—human, animal, and vegetable—from disease. During the 1840s, as Royle

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[75] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 43.

[76] Both have been cited in numerous pieces of island literature, including Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 12; Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 9; and King, *The Geographical Fascination of Islands 13-37.*

describes, much of the Irish potato crop was lost to blight, but the potatoes on the Aran Islands off the coast of Ireland were not affected.[77] Similarly, yet disadvantageously, the residents of Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic Ocean have not developed immunities to common diseases found among mainland populations. The older residents are known to seek refuge indoors when the rare tourists arrive aboard the supply ships. Another advantage of insularity is the sense of isolation it provides to an island's human inhabitants. For this reason many monasteries and other places of religious seclusion have been built upon islands. Examples include Caldy Island off the southern coast of Wales and Pemba, off Tanzania. Finally, and most relevant to this thesis, an island's insularity is a tremendous advantage to its appeal as a tourism destination. This advantage has been covered above.

After expounding upon some of the benefits, or attractive qualities of insularity, Royle turns his attention toward some of its disadvantages:

> However, more usually the nature of insularity is a handicap. Islands are either oceanic and, thus, incredibly isolated or, at best, are adjacent to continental landmasses in which case they are merely peripheral. Being peripheral carries with it the penalty of being at a remove from the dynamism of the national heartland. In addition, islands are often relatively and/or absolutely small which brings handicaps in terms of competitiveness and comparative advantage, in that few economies of scale are possible. Finally, there is the essential defining characteristic of insularity, the stretch of water around the island. The crossing of this carries with it a time, cost and inconvenience penalty which inevitably makes island life and the operation of an island economy more expensive and difficult than life on the mainland.[78]

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[77] Stephen Royle, "A Human Geography of Islands," *Geography* 74 (1989): 112.

[78] Stephen Royle, "Bridging the Gap," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 14.2 (2002): 242.

[I]t is still true that with regard to an island location there must always be greater transportation costs, there is always that one extra journey to be made, often requiring a transfer from one mode of transport to another.[79]

These penalties and costs can be severe enough to drastically limit an island's economy and to magnify its insularity to a level that is often unacceptable to those living on the island or in the adjacent mainland community. Thus, many islands now have fixed links to the mainland. The idea is that the enormous, but one-time, cost of building the bridge will off-set the ongoing costs of insularity.

> Another coping strategy is to try to lessen the adverse effects of, if not peripherality, at least isolation, by trying to provide a fixed link between the island and the mainland. Such fixed links reduce the costs and inconvenience of island life considerably by removing, or at least lessening, reliance upon the ferry service.[80]

It is undisputed that the construction of a fixed link provides easier access to an island, allows for greater volume of tourists, improves the economy, and reduces insularity.[81] Why then, would a bridge not be built to every island for which it is physically, or at least fiscally, possible? Certainly it would be possible to build a bridge to all three islands in this study, as none is more than three miles offshore. As is described further in the Anclote Key section of the Study Area chapter of this essay (pp. 64-69), a causeway to Anclote Key was approved by the Tarpon Springs City Council in 1977 but no plans have as yet been drawn for its actual construction.[82] According to many of the interviewees for this project, a bridge to Anclote Key would completely ruin the island's atmosphere and would cause them to find another place to visit. To some researchers, including Butler, the decision to build a bridge can be based solely upon the

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[79] Royle, "A Human Geography of Islands," 112.
[80] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 243.
[81] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?*, 1; Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 243.
[82] Brent Weisman, *Guiding Light to Safe Anchorage* (Tampa: University of South Florida, 1998).

distance of the island from the mainland, "islands... unless close enough to neighbours or mainlands to make a bridge feasible, can only be reached by boat or air."[83] For what reason would an island population, or an adjacent mainland community, choose to leave an island unlinked when a link would be possible, or even simple, to construct? We turn again to Royle:

> Given, thus, the long standing nature of a fixed link policy, the universality of its application and the evidence of its success, one might imagine that it would be welcomed everywhere it was technically feasible to build such a structure. However, this is not necessarily the case. In the modern era a number of major problems are evident regarding fixed links. The first relates to the environmental consequences of what are now, perforce, major engineering projects—the easy and obvious spannings having been constructed. Inevitably, fixed links have environmental impacts on land by increasing traffic onto the island and channeling movement into the narrow corridor that is the fixed link... There is also clamour from those who oppose a fixed link on the grounds that it affects the society, the very nature of an island, by removing from it its insularity.[84]

So we see that the decision to bridge or not to bridge is more than just a "numbers game." Attitudes, perceptions, and sense of place can trump even economics when the subject of fixed links is raised on an island. There exists a sense of adventure in stepping aboard a boat, be it a ferry or a private vessel, and setting off toward an island on the horizon. On both Caladesi Island and Anclote Key, a recurrent theme mentioned by tourists was that they came to that particular island because of the "boat ride." It was my personal experience that travel by boat, especially for someone who, like myself, does not have that opportunity on a daily basis, is an enjoyable and novel form of transportation that carries with it its own intrinsic level of adventure. Captain Richard Johnson, of the Egmont Key Alliance, told me that many people visit Egmont Key simply because it

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[83] Butler, "Transportation Innovations and Island Tourism," 37.
[84] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 243-244.

"gives boaters a destination."[85] In other words, they first decide to go out by boat and

then choose to visit the island. The use of a novel form of transportation is assumed to be

an enjoyable and necessary part of island-travel by Baum who writes,

> There is little doubt that, in the minds of most tourists, islands offer
> something different to those destinations that are part of larger land
> masses. There is something special about getting into a boat or an
> aeroplane as a necessity in order to reach your destination as opposed to
> driving or using the railway. Once there, the feeling of separateness, of
> being cut off from the mainland, is also an important physical and
> psychological attribute of the successful vacation.[86]

He goes on to explain that islands that build fixed links to the mainland lose their

islandness and thus, their uniqueness that distinguishes them from the mainland. The

sense of adventure felt by traveling over water by boat is not experienced to nearly the

same degree by driving over a bridge in an automobile.

The romance of sailing can be undermined if there is an easier way to access the

destination. The construction of a fixed link makes boat travel unnecessary and thus it

can seem superfluous to go to the trouble of towing, launching, and sailing a boat to a

place that can easily be reached by car. This rule held true in my study area, as I found

that on Honeymoon Island, with its causeway linking the island to the Dunedin mainland,

only one interviewee used any mode other than automobile to reach the island. This one

participant came by bicycle. Thus, 100% of my respondents on Honeymoon Island used

the causeway to reach the island. This same phenomenon, in which the construction of a

bridge eliminates or at least reduces travel by boat, is found in other places in the world,

such as Scotland:

> The Scottish island of Skye was bridged, rather controversially, in the
> 1990s. The project did not meet with universal acclaim, partly because of

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[85] Richard Johnson, personal interview by author, 2004.
[86] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 21.

expensive crossing charges, but much protest was based around the rather romantic notion of the purity of the island being in some way violated by making it an appendage of the mainland. The existence of the universally-known *Skye Boat Song* with its 'over the sea to Skye' refrain did not help the proponents of the bridge, although they won in the end. So Skye is functionally just a peninsular... Perhaps the absence of the romance of making a sea crossing does take something away from these islands.[87]

Similarly, Baum writes that a fixed link

> somehow devalues the 'islandness' and, therefore, the real fascination of locations for visitors. It also reduces the sense of adventure associated with getting to and being on an island... Travel becomes seamless between the interior of the mainland and the actual transfer to the island, whether by car or train, and the risk element, the romantic notion of being cut off and isolated on the island by storms or similar natural challenges, is also removed.[88]

In addition to the ease of access, a fixed link—or even a mobile link that provides ferry service for automobiles—introduces something else to an island: cars. Several interviewees on Caladesi Island and Anclote Key referred to the lack of cars as one of the most attractive features of those islands. An increasing number of Florida beaches, including the famous Daytona Beach, allow beachgoers to drive their cars directly onto the beach itself. From personal experience I can attest that on a sunny weekend day at Daytona Beach, one will find a line of cars that stretches from horizon to horizon, parked on the sand, radios playing loudly. Many interviewees saw the lack of vehicles as essential to an island's appeal and many mentioned the lack of cars as a reason why they preferred island beaches to mainland beaches even though the percentage of Florida beaches that allow visitors to drive on the beach is relatively small. This aversion to cars on islands is not a new trend. Almost 100 years ago it was an issue to the tourists on the island of Bermuda, including one tourist who would later become President of the United

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[87] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 244.
[88] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 24.

States. Woodrow Wilson wrote, in a petition to the Bermuda Legislature on 1 February 1908:

> We, the undersigned, visitors to Bermuda, venture respectfully to express the opinion that the admission of automobiles to the island would alter the whole character of the place, in a way which would seem to us very serious indeed. The island now attracts visitors in considerable numbers because of the quiet and dignified simplicity of its life.... It would, in our opinion, be a fatal error to attract to Bermuda the extravagant and sporting set who have made so many other places of pleasure entirely intolerable to persons of taste and cultivation.[89]

Similarly, the poet Reginald Murray laments the arrival of automobiles on his favorite seashore in his poem, "Palisadoes Peninsula:"

> *Along a sea-flanked roadway the gleaming autos flow*
> *Where Indian chevied scuttling crab a mort of years ago.*

Perhaps Wilson and Murray would have found Honeymoon Island's "gleaming autos" completely unbefitting to a "person of taste and cultivation," but many people that I interviewed there found the "admission of automobiles" to be one of that island's most attractive characteristics. Whether the introduction of cars to an island is seen as positive or negative, there is no doubt that its effect is profound.

The addition of mobile links to islands is also a controversial topic, though not as hotly contested as that of fixed links. To many islanders, any innovation that would make their island more accessible is seen as an intrusion. One group of islands that has seen many link-related innovations is the Hebrides, off the coast of Scotland. One of the islands, Jura, is accessible only by a long, infrequent ferry from the Scottish mainland town of Craighouse. In 1992, a new ferry was proposed which would make Jura much more accessible. But,

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[89] Arthur Link, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (Princeton University Press, 1974): 609-610.

there was also widespread opposition to making Jura less un-get-at-able. A group of businessmen from the mainland and Islay, a more populated and developed neighboring island, had proposed an "Overland Route," a direct ferry service across a narrow point in the sound between Jura and Islay... One might have expected the islanders to embrace the Overland Route... But Jura's residents, perhaps reasoning that if this ferry would put them within day-tripping distance of Glasgow it would also put 650,000 Glaswegians within day-tripping distance of them, rejected the route in a 1992 referendum, and rejected it again four years later by an even wider margin.[90]

Lockhart also comments upon the islandness-reducing quality of ferries and the introduction of cars to an island. Regarding the special journey undertaken to reach an island, he writes that "the journey, which was once a major attraction, has lost much of its appeal with the introduction of roll-on/roll-off ferries."[91]

All of this discussion on fixed links serves to support one basic truth: there is no universal solution to the dilemma of linking an island or leaving it unlinked. Thus, it is essential that our world contain islands of all degrees of linkage and that the resident island populations, if any, be consulted regarding their wishes before any link project commences. The most notable and well-documented case of an island population's reaction, both before and after a bridge was built, is that of Prince Edward Island. Let us turn our attention to this island as a study of a link's effect upon islandness.

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[90] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 152-153.
[91] Lockhart, "Islands and Tourism: An Overview," 6.

Prince Edward Island and the Confederation Bridge: A Precise Home

> *Since I'm island-born*
> *Home's as precise as if a mumbly old carpenter,*
> *Shoulder-straps crossed wrong,*
> *Laid it out,*
> *Refigured to the last three-eights of shingle.*
> —Milton Acorn (Prince Edward Island poet), "The Island"

In the literature, the most widely discussed case study involving a bridge's effect on an island is that of Prince Edward Island and the Confederation Bridge. Prince Edward island is a small island province in southeastern Canada (though, at 5,660 sq. km., it is much larger than any of the islands in my study area). The population in 2000 was about 139,000.[92] The people of Prince Edward Island[93] call themselves "Islanders"[94] and, by and large, identify very strongly with the insularity of their home. The Prince Edward Islanders are prolific writers. In fact, it is often the case that islands produce more writers per capita than similarly populated regions of the mainland. For instance, the island nation of Iceland publishes more books proportionally than any other country in the world.[95]

Regarding the fixed link, there was much debate surrounding the construction of the Confederation Bridge, which was completed in 1997. A panel was formed to evaluate the wishes of the Islanders. It was difficult to find consensus because

...for some Islanders a fixed crossing would violate the natural fact of PEI's separateness and would present a philosophical problem, while other

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[92] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 244.

[93] Though the initials *PEI* are often used for Prince Edward Island, I will spell out the name of the island throughout this thesis—except in direct quotes—in order to honor the preferences of the Islanders themselves. As one elderly Islander who was quoted by Weale said, "A place as beautiful as this shouldn't be abbreviated. Say it right out, dear, 'Prince Edward Island'." (Weale, *Islandness*, 82).

[94] Usually spelled, as here, with a capital "I."

[95] Joe Bindloss and Paul Handing, *Lonely Planet: Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet, 2004) 36.

Islanders would welcome the change. It is impossible for the Panel to determine, in the long term, which scenario would be of greatest value to PEI.[96]

Transport to and from Prince Edward Island has always been a problem. One major obstacle is the fact that the Northumberland Strait, which separates the island from the mainland, freezes in the winter—but only partially. Because it is more difficult to traverse a partially frozen body of water than one that is completely frozen, the pre-bridge Prince Edward Island became much more insular each winter.[97]

The first proposed fixed link for Prince Edward Island was an undersea/above-ground tunnel, suggested in 1885 by the senator George W. Howlan. Various tunnels, causeways, and bridges were proposed during the following century, until the design for the Confederation Bridge was released in the 1980s by Public Works Canada.[98] Many Islanders were opposed to the bridge, citing economic, environmental, and cultural reasons. Among the latter were notions that the bridge would reduce the islandness of Prince Edward Island. Though there was opposition, the people voted in 1988 by a 59 percent majority to support construction of the bridge.

After the bridge was approved conceptually, the Canadian government sponsored an environmental impact assessment to determine whether the proposed bridge would adversely affect the marine ecosystem of the Northumberland Strait. The panel that conducted the study returned in March 1988 with the warning that the bridge would negatively affect the environment to a degree that was "unacceptable."[99] In addition to the direct environmental impact of the bridge, the panel also warned about increased

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[96] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 250-251.
[97] *Ibid.*, 246.
[98] *Ibid.*, 248.
[99] *Ibid.*, 250.

island tourism that the bridge would bring—a prediction whose outcome is still unclear.[100] After the assessment was complete, the panel offered the following conclusion: "…the risk of harmful effects of the proposed bridge concept is unacceptable. The Panel recommends, therefore, that the project not proceed."[101] Despite the strong opposition of the panel, the bridge project was approved by the Canadian government and the official word to proceed was given on October 8, 1994.

The bridge was built between 1994 and 1997 when it was opened for traffic on 31 May 1997. It is now the longest continuous span in the Western Hemisphere and the longest bridge in the world over seasonally-frozen waters (Figure 3).
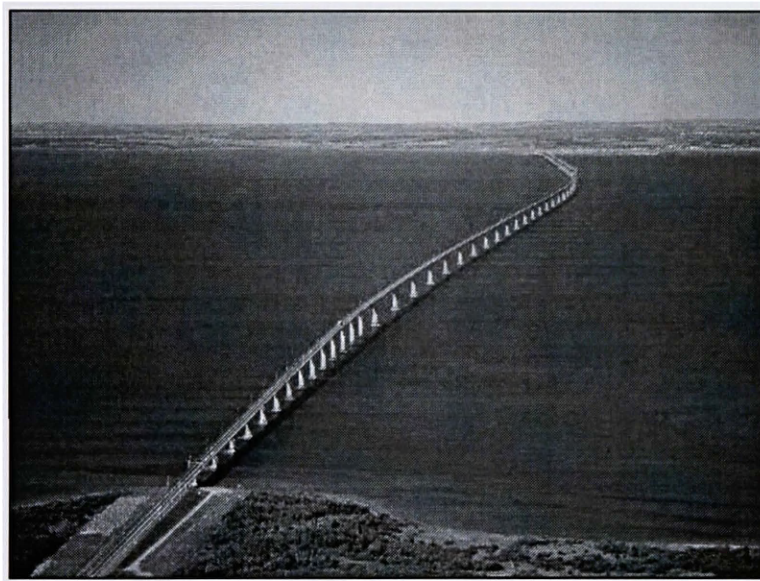
Figure 3: The Confederation Bridge. Photo courtesy Dalvay by-the-Sea Inn.

The Confederation Bridge receives mixed reviews today. Some, such as former Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, appreciate the access that it gives tourism and commerce to the island.[102] Some Islanders though, choose not to use the bridge—effectively isolating themselves in winter when the ferries are not operating. It appears

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[100] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?*, 1.
[101] Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 251.
[102] *Ibid.*, 252.

that the Confederation Bridge, with its massive physical and economic scale, is subject to the same extremes of human opinion as all island-linking bridges. Just as is the case with the islands in my study area, certain people prefer access rather than adventure, and others are searching for their undiscovered island.

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY AREA

BACK ON THE EASTERN SHORE

Wading Ashore at Anclote Key, Florida, U.S.A.

Gulf coast nights, flounder-lines,
I'm back on the Eastern shore.
With my history of wrecks,
I think it's time to check
The crab-trap of life once more.
            —Jimmy Buffett, "Tonight I Just Need My Guitar"

The coastline of Florida is virtually outlined by small barrier islands (Figure 4) and the state's beaches are recognized by many as being among the most beautiful in the world. The gulf coast is especially known for its expanses of powdery white sand, clear warm water, and famous sunshine. The barrier islands are no exception. In fact, as is true with all islands, the proportion of coastline to total land area is quite high as compared to mainland beaches. It is, therefore, no surprise that many of the barrier islands have been developed and marketed as ideal tourist destinations. This development varies in degree from island to island. One aspect of development that varies widely among Florida's islands is the concept of the fixed link.

In this project, I focus on three of these gulf coast barrier islands (Figure 5). In order to isolate the link variable, I have chosen three islands that are alike in all ways except for the link and the resultant level of development. The three islands are located in the Gulf of Mexico, off the western coast of Florida. All are designated as state parks by the Florida Department of Environmental Protection and all are uninhabited, except by resident Park Service employees and a small compound of condominiums outside of the park boundaries on Honeymoon Island. Geographically, the islands are relatively the same size, support similar flora and fauna, and are affected by the same weather systems.
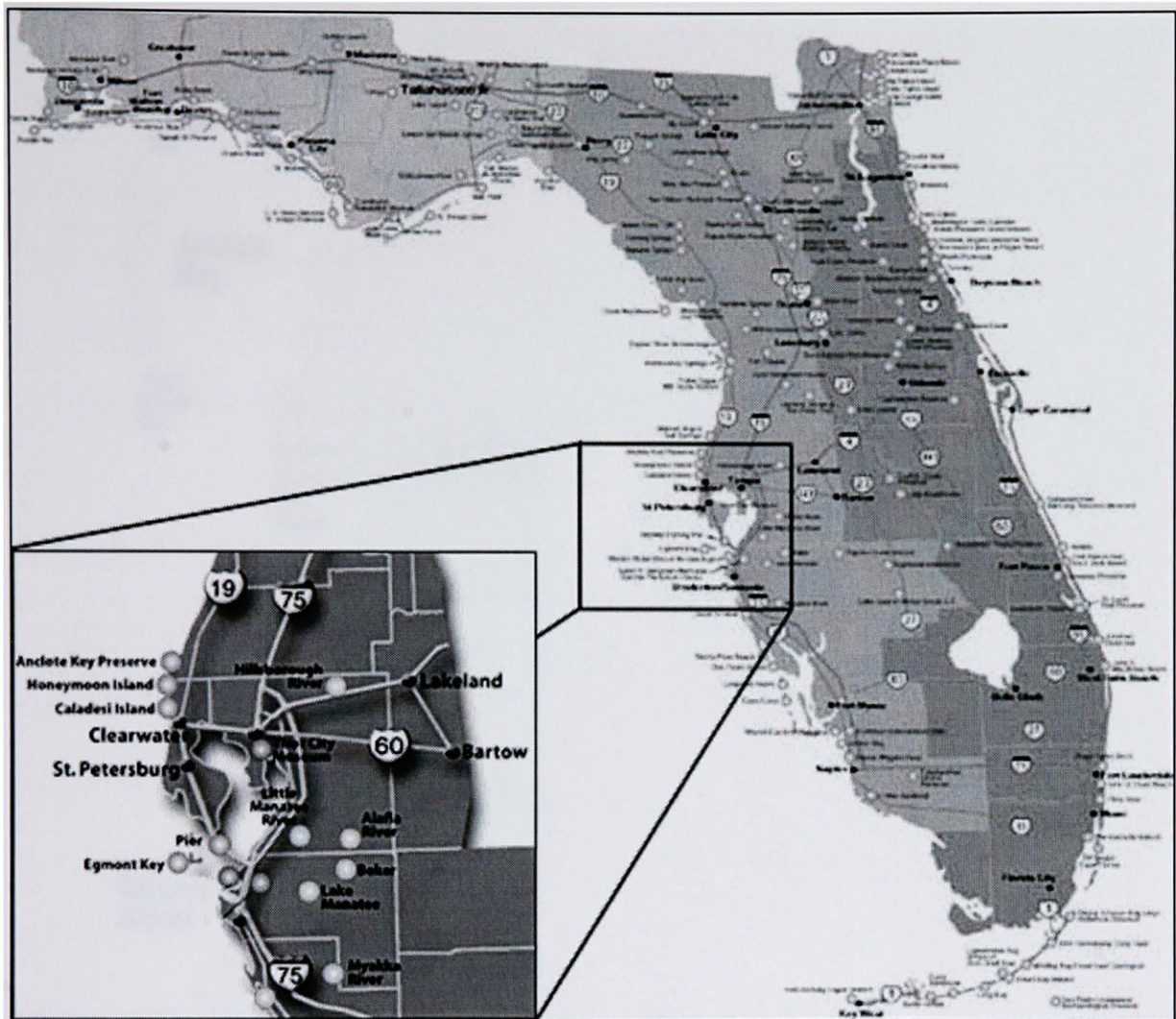
Figure 4: Map of the state of Florida with inset map of the Tampa Bay area, where the islands in the study area are located. Base maps obtained from Florida State Parks website.

Each of the islands in this study is, to a different degree, linked to the mainland. Honeymoon Island has a fixed link in the form of a causeway, making it the most easily accessible. Caladesi Island is accessed by a mobile link—specifically, regular ferry service from the mainland. Anclote Key, the most disconnected of the islands in my study, is accessible only by private boat.
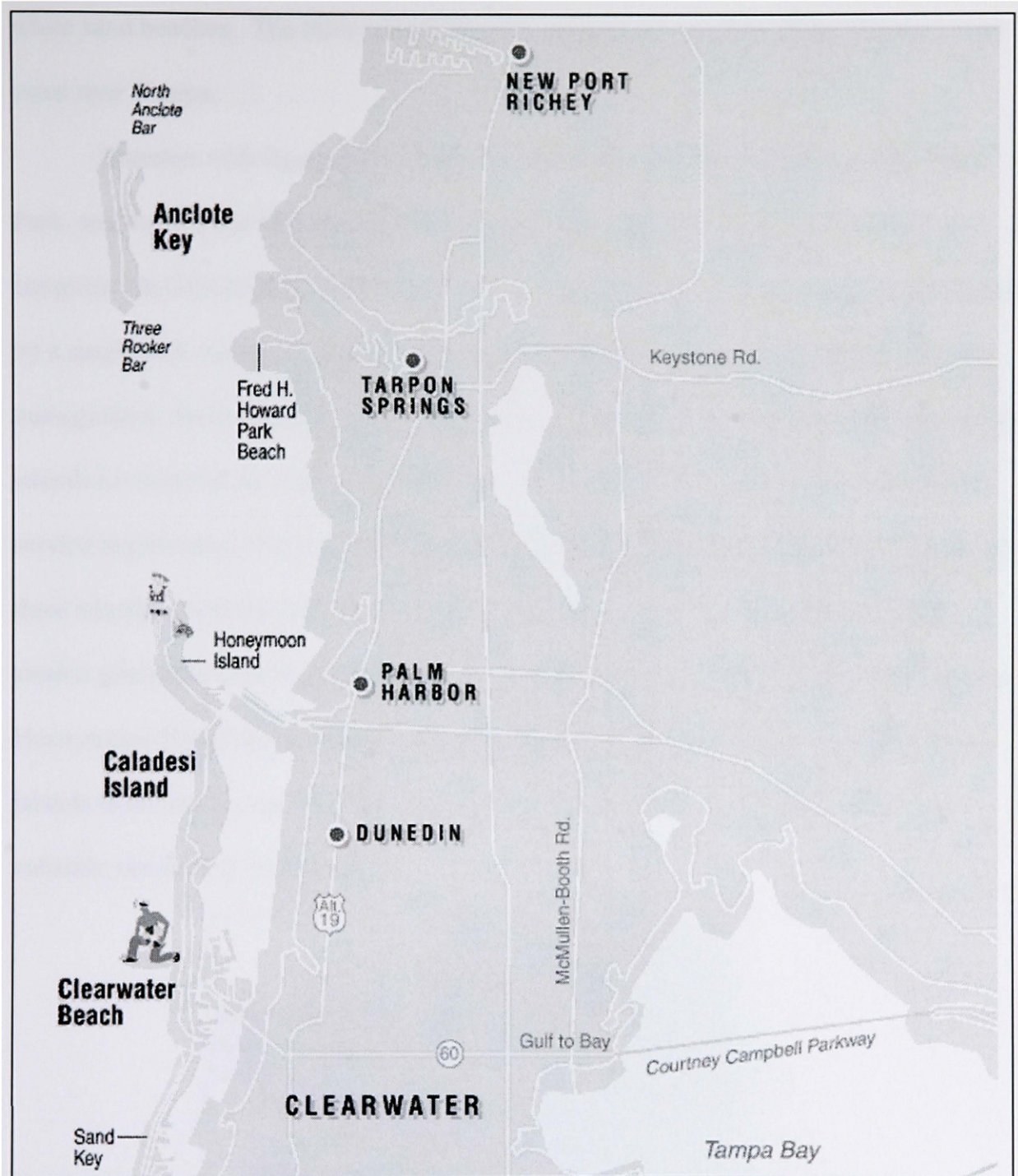
Figure 5: Study area along gulf coast of Florida showing study the islands (north to south) Anclote Key, Honeymoon Island, and Caladesi Island. Map reproduced from FLAUSA tourism board website.

The three islands in this study are of relatively the same size (Honeymoon and

Caladesi Islands are approximately 400 acres each and Anclote Key is about 200 acres)

and natural appearance. They are covered with pines and palms and are ringed with

white sand beaches. The three islands lie very close to one another along Florida's west coast near Tampa.

Together with Egmont Key Preserve State Park, the Skyway Fishing Pier State Park, and the Werner-Boyce Salt Springs State Park, the three islands in the study area comprise the Gulf Islands GeoPark (Figure 6). The Gulf Islands GeoPark is administered by a single park manager, Scott Robinson, and his staff. In addition to the official state management, there are several non-governmental organizations with vested interest in the islands involved in my study. One of these, The Gulf Islands Alliance is a community service organization that plans restoration and preservation activities for volunteers on all three islands. Another, the Friends of the Island Parks (FIP), is an organization with similar goals, but with a dues-paying membership. FIP specifically focuses its efforts on Honeymoon Island and Caladesi Island. Though not directly involved with any of the islands in the study area, the third organization, the Egmont Key Alliance, is also a valuable resource in the region.

Figure 6: The Gulf Islands GeoPark

I was born and raised in Tampa, Florida. The Gulf Coast beaches and islands are familiar holiday destinations for my family and myself. Having spent countless weekends and summer days walking the sands and swimming in the warm waters of these very beaches, I can personally attest to their beauty and value as state-protected lands. This project has a personal interest to me because of its potential to offer direction to decision-makers regarding the infrastructure and access points to these islands.

In this chapter, I shall introduce the reader to each of the three islands in the study area. The descriptions will focus upon such aspects as place-names, settlement, history, development, physical geography, and tourism. Through descriptions, stories, maps, and photographs, I shall attempt to convey a sense of place about each of these islands. This chapter will conclude with a brief description of Egmont Key, an nearby island not included in the study area, but interesting nonetheless owing to its controversial linkage to the mainland.

Honeymoon Island: Acres of Uncluttered Land

Here's to our Honeymoon Island
And its acres of uncluttered land,
Where the Pelican breeds
'Mid the rushes and reeds
And Nature is still in command!
—E. Scott Pattison, Untitled

Once given the slightly less romantic name of *Hog Island*, Honeymoon Island has undergone many changes to reach its current status today as a popular Florida State Park. Before mass European settlement of North America, the area now known as west Florida was inhabited by the Tocobaga tribe of Native Americans. The archaeological record of Honeymoon Island bears witness to its presence. As was often the case, the natives

found themselves vulnerable to the new diseases brought by the incoming Spanish explorers. As their population declined and eventually disappeared, the island that would become Honeymoon was visited by pirates, traders, and fishermen. Tampa Bay was a thriving place for piracy and the Gulf Coast barrier islands made excellent offshore starting points for all sorts of swashbuckling endeavors.[103] The island's reputation for contraband resurfaced during the prohibition when it belonged to Ed Haley of Clearwater, Florida, who was suspected of using it as a base for his rum-running operation.[104]

The island was given its first name on U.S. maps in the 1830s: Sand Island.[105] Because most islands in the area could easily merit the very same name, Sand Island left itself open to renaming. This occurred in 1880 when it was called Hog Island, after the livestock raised on the island's first farm.[106]

The island's most notable event, geographically speaking, was the hurricane of 1921. Until 2004, this was the last hurricane to make landfall on Florida's Gulf Coast. It cut a deep-water channel through the middle of Hog Island, now called Hurricane Pass, and also created the newly separate entity of Caladesi Island. The two islands remain separate to this day, Hurricane Pass being used as a shortcut by boaters sailing from St. Joseph sound, on the leeward side of the islands, to the Gulf of Mexico.

After its humble beginning as a hog farm and its questionable use by pirates and bootleggers, Hog Island was reinvented as a subtropical paradise for newlyweds. C.M.

[103] Florida State Parks Website http://www.floridastateparks.org/.

[104] Dunedin Historical Society, *Honeymoon Island* (Dunedin: Dunedin Historical Society, n.d.).

[105] This historical fact and most others in this section, unless otherwise noted, were drawn from the wonderfully thorough book by Bill Davis and Al Cline, *Dunedin Through the Years* (Charlotte: Delmar Printing, 1978).

[106] Florida State Parks Website http://www.floridastateparks.org/.

Washburn of New York bought the island in 1939 for $30,000,[107] and promoted it as "Honeymoon Isle" to couples that were looking for a place where they could get away from it all. Tourism on Honeymoon Island was born. For the task of creating an advertisement poster, Washburn commissioned James Montgomery Flagg, the celebrated artist whose "I Want You" Uncle Sam image (Figure 7) was called "the most famous poster in the world."[108] Using the popular motif of the wild and deserted island, or the "island of dreams,"[109] Flagg created a Crusoesque design that depicts a man with a stern look and brandishing a sword while a woman takes refuge behind him (Figure 7). Both figures are larger than life by comparison to the miniscule island upon which they stand. Perhaps this alteration of scale was meant to emphasize the smallness of the island, and therefore, its islandness. This direct relationship between smallness and islandness is considered obvious by Royle: "The impact of insularity is, of course, usually more significant on small islands."[110]

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[107] According to The Dunedin Historical Society. Another figure—$25,000—is given by Davis and Cline, *Dunedin Through the Years*, 116.

[108] Never an overly-meek man, Flagg himself bestowed this honor upon the work, according to the Library of Congress Website, "American Treasures of the Library of Congress."

[109] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 188ff.
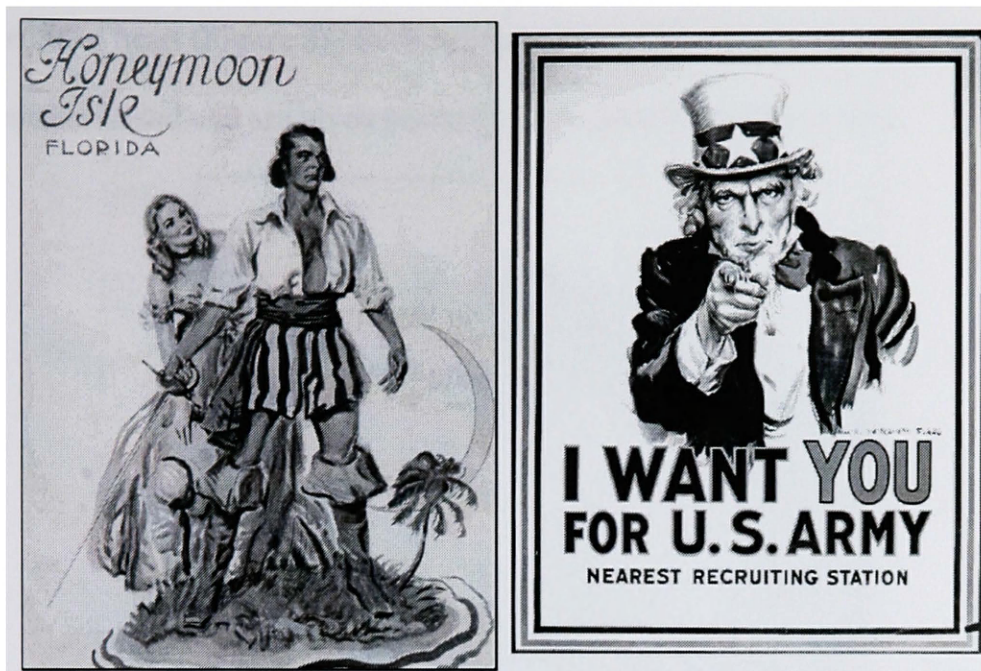
[110] *Ibid.*, 1.

Figure 7: Two works by James Montgomery Flagg

Washburn's "Honeymoon Isle" became very popular among American newlyweds. On this island, which lies within plain view of the Florida mainland and the city of Dunedin, guests were transported to a world of "undiscovered pleasures" including "thatched bungalows, or cottages, subtropic climate and balmy breezes."[111] There were fifty of these thatched cottages built, plus one dining hall and a chapel. Church services were held every Sunday by volunteer ministers from Dunedin congregations. Marketing for Honeymoon Island soared. The image of the remote island was used copiously in newsreels and magazine advertisements. At this time, no causeway had yet been built between Honeymoon Island and Dunedin. Instead, guests were transported to the island aboard the *Seabiscuit*, at which time they were awarded membership in the "Adventurers' Club," which was signified by the raising of a flag. Another ceremony that took place upon arrival was the autographing, in red lipstick, of a

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[111] Florida State Parks Website http://www.floridastateparks.org/.

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large wooden heart (Figure 8). Such activities were endearing to the guests of

Honeymoon Island and are given posterity in the island's present name.

Figure 8: Guests at Honeymoon Isle signing the large wooden heart in red lipstick, ca. 1941

The honeymoon ended, as it were, on that infamous day in 1941 when another

island thousands of miles away was the scene of the horrific attack that brought the

United States into World War II. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, America's focus

became the war. Honeymoon Island was leased by the Jack & Heintz Corporation of

Cleveland, Ohio, a company that produced aircraft components for the military, as a

holiday resort for its workers. Even after the war was over, Honeymoon Island never

returned to its days of former glory. The island changed hands several times and plans

were made, but none materialized.

The next major development in Honeymoon Island's history is the one that is

most pertinent to this thesis: the building of the causeway. By 1958 the island was

owned by Curlew Properties, Inc. (CPI) and its president, the famously named yet

unrelated Robert E. Lee, filed a proposal with the City of Dunedin to build a causeway, at

CPI's expense, in exchange for the right to dredge and fill approximately 3000 acres of submerged land around the island. This deal was created to benefit both the city and CPI. The city would get the causeway at no cost, plus the revenue from the proposed development on the island, and CPI would get 3000 acres of newly created land straight from the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. After numerous lawsuits, referendums, and financial problems,[112] construction was finally begun on the causeway in 1961. The project was pronounced complete on December 7, 1964 (the anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack, the event which contributed greatly to the decline of Honeymoon Island's first major tourism industry). At this time the plans for the island still included major development and an estimated population of 16,750. There were plans for a strip mall, a golf course, churches, and schools.

A visitor to Honeymoon Island today (Figure 9) would notice immediately that these developments, including the dredging of the 3000 acres, never took place. There is a small compound of condominiums on the eastern side of the island, before the state park boundary begins. Between 1974 and 1982, the State of Florida bought or received as donations all parts of the island and set it aside for protection as a state park. Inside the park boundaries, developments are relatively minor and non-commercial. There are the typical state park picnic shelters and ranger station, the typical beach bathhouses with showers and toilets, a concession stand and a ferry terminal. There is one main beach, a hiking trail, and a "Pet Beach" where dog owners and their pets can play together on the shore and in the water (Figure 10).

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[112] One interesting problem in the financial/legal category involved the notorious Teamster, Jimmy Hoffa. Hoffa was a trustee of one of the organizations providing loan money for the causeway project when he was indicted in Orlando. Nine of the banks that were to supply the capital placed a hold on this money awaiting the resolution of Hoffa's legal issues (Davis and Cline, *Dunedin Through the Years*, 118).

Today Honeymoon Island is known for its fishing, its bird and plant life, and of course, its beaches. The beaches are frequented by fisherfolk, pet-owners, families, and people of all ages. Its proximity to and easy access from the mainland cities of Dunedin and Tampa are two of its major pull factors.[113] It is popular both among locals and those who have traveled considerable distances. It was on Honeymoon Island that I met the greatest number of foreign tourists. The countries of Canada, England, France, and Germany were represented, among others.

Figure 9: Postcard showing an aerial view of Honeymoon Island with northwest orientation. Note the causeway to the east, Hurricane Pass and Caladesi Island to the south. Photo copyright J. Cook Photographics, used courtesy Florida State Parks.

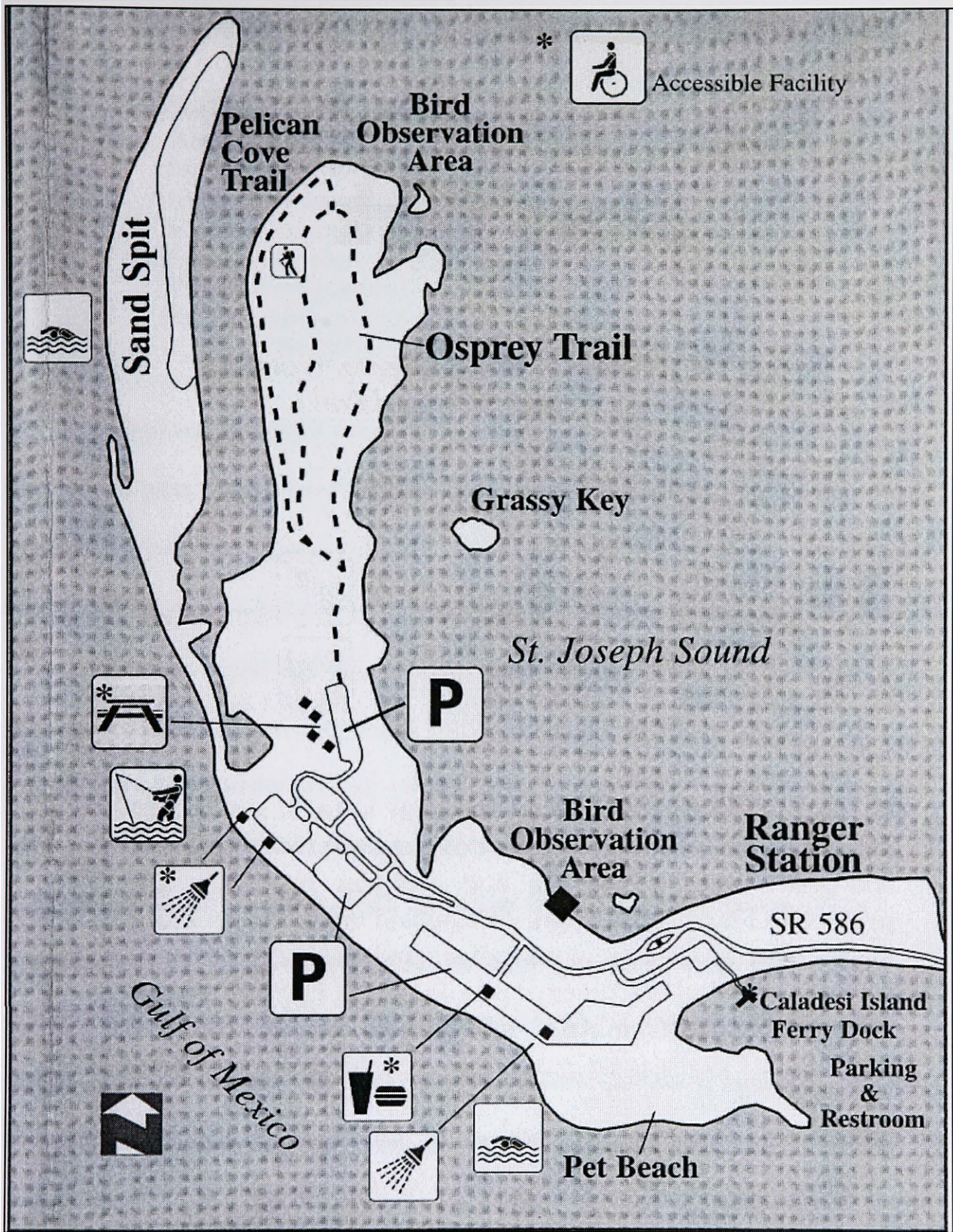[113] Scott Robinson, personal interview by author, 3 July 2004.

Figure 10: Map of Honeymoon Island, reproduced from Florida State Parks brochure

Caladesi Island: One Boat Alone… to Carry Sturdy Hearts Afar

One boat alone beyond the bar
Is sailing outward blithe and free,
To carry sturdy hearts afar
Across those wastes of sparkling sea;
Staunchly to seek what may be won
From out the treasures of the deep,
To toil for those at home who sleep
And be the first to greet the sun.
　　　　—Lucy Maud Montgomery, "Sunrise Along Shore"

The history of Caladesi Island, like the land itself, was connected to that of

Honeymoon Island until the hurricane of 1921. It was that geography-defining storm that

created Hurricane Pass, separating what is now Caladesi Island from Honeymoon Island,

though at that time, the entire landmass was known as Hog Island. At the meeting of the

U.S. Geographical Board in Washington, D.C. on 1 February 1928, it was formally

decided to call the newly created island "Caladesi Island," which was the presumed

original name of the whole pre-1921 island. As is often the case with geographic place-

names, controversy surrounds the origins of the word *Caladesi*. On the ferry ride from

Honeymoon Island to Caladesi Island, the captain of the boat gives a speech, which I

heard many times, explaining some of the historical facts of the islands. One of these

"facts" is that the name *Caladesi* means "beautiful bayou" in Spanish. While it is true

that the word *cala* is Spanish for *bayou* or *cove*, the word *desi* has no meaning in Spanish

except that it is a common given name. One possible explanation for the origin of the

island's name is that it was once owned or inhabited by a Spaniard named Desi, and was

therefore known as *la cala de Desi*, or Desi's cove. This name was eventually shortened

to *Caladesi,* and the name of the island was born.

Although it would appear that a Spaniard gave Caladesi Island its name, it was a Swiss farmer who gave it its history. Henry Scharrer, of Wagdenswil, Switzerland, was the first person since the days of Spanish exploration to live on Caladesi Island. His story is quite remarkable, and is told in his daughter Myrtle Scharrer Betz's beautiful and detailed autobiography, *Yesteryear I Lived in Paradise*.[114] What follows is an abbreviated paraphrase of Mrs. Betz's story.

In 1883, at the age of 23, Henry Scharrer arrived in New York after a three-month journey across the Atlantic Ocean. His mission was to travel to Wisconsin and investigate the American dairy industry for comparison with the dairies in his native Switzerland. This task did not take Henry long and soon he found himself traveling throughout the country, working on farms and learning to speak English. His travels crossed the United States and eventually led him to Tampa, Florida, where he purchased a sailboat with the hopes of sailing to and exploring South America. On the maiden voyage of his new boat, Henry was caught in a storm and ran aground on a small island to the north of Tampa; the island that would later be called Caladesi Island.

Henry spent the next day waiting for high tide and exploring the island on which he found himself marooned. After just a few hours, Henry had decided that he had found his own paradise. When the tide rose and freed his ship, he did not proceed on to South America. Instead he returned to Tampa and began the process of acquiring the island for himself. This was during the time of the Homestead Act and there was a relatively simple set of requirements for one to obtain a piece of land. Henry was required to live

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[114] Myrtle Scharrer Betz, *Yesteryear I Lived in Paradise* (St. Petersburg: Palm Harbor Chronicle, 1991).

on the island for five years, clear land, build a house, and plant crops. After this time, the island would be his.

To fulfill these requirements Henry needed patience, capability, and money. While his character provided him the former traits, the latter needed to be earned. He took several jobs on the mainland, including that of a fishmonger. On his rounds, selling fish door-to-door, he became acquainted with the young woman that would later become his wife, Catherine McNally. Attracted to his self-sufficient island life, Catherine soon joined Henry at his Caladesi Island home.

Henry and Catherine soon became the parents of a baby girl, Myrtle, but shortly after her birth Catherine took ill and died. For the rest of Henry's life, he lived on Caladesi Island alone with his daughter (Figure 11). Farming, fishing, and rowing to the mainland to attend school and church were mainstays of the Scharrers' lives.

Figure 11: Myrtle and Henry Scharrer on Caladesi Island,
1902.Reproduced from *Yesteryear I Lived in Paradise*, by Myrtle
Scharrer Betz.

In 1912, a family moved to the northern part of the island, which would become

Honeymoon Island after the 1921 Hurricane. Also homesteaders, they became friendly

neighbors to Henry and Myrtle. In 1914, at the age of 16, Myrtle married Herman Betz, a

young acquaintance of her father's, and moved to the mainland. She dreamt of her island

home all the years that she lived in Miami and St. Petersburg, and after four years she and

Herman had saved enough money to move back to the island and begin the construction

of a house. Living on the island again, Myrtle helped her husband and her father with

their fishing and farming business. When Herman and Myrtle had a daughter of their

own, they moved back to the mainland so that she could attend school without having to

row across the sound every morning as her mother did. When Henry's health worsened,

he moved off of the island and into Myrtle's mainland home so that she could care for him. On Christmas Day, 1934, Henry Scharrer, the man who settled Caladesi Island, turned his head towards the west, as if to gaze once more upon his beloved island, and died. Myrtle lived the rest of her life in Dunedin as a local folk-hero and one of the communities few true islanders.

After Henry's death, the island was divided and sold to twenty-one different landowners. None built or settled there and the island began to return to its natural state. In 1965, the Dunedin City Commission set out to make Caladesi Island into a state park. Two years later, the park was established and developments were begun. A marina was built and trails were created. As the original plans for the park dictated, Caladesi Island would never be linked to the mainland with a bridge or causeway. In 1978, the ferry service was chosen as Caladesi's linkage, and has been in place ever since.

Today, Caladesi Island is known for its ferry access (Figure 12), beautiful beaches (Figure 13), and interesting history (Figure 14). Its guests enjoy the ferry ride and the uncrowded beach, which consistently ranks in the Top Ten U.S. Beaches List, compiled by Dr. Beach, a pseudonymic professor from Florida State University.
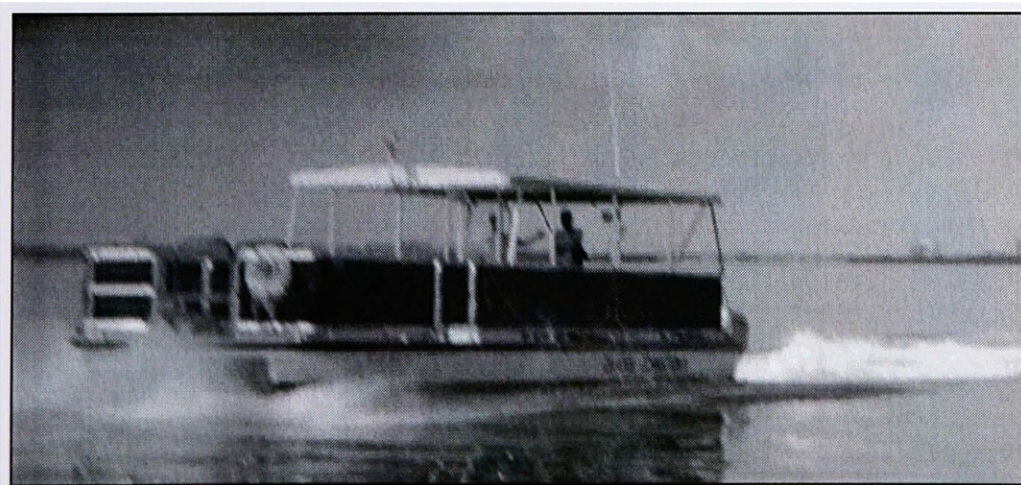

Figure 12: Pontoon boat, operated by Caladesi Island Ferries, crossing St. Joseph Sound.

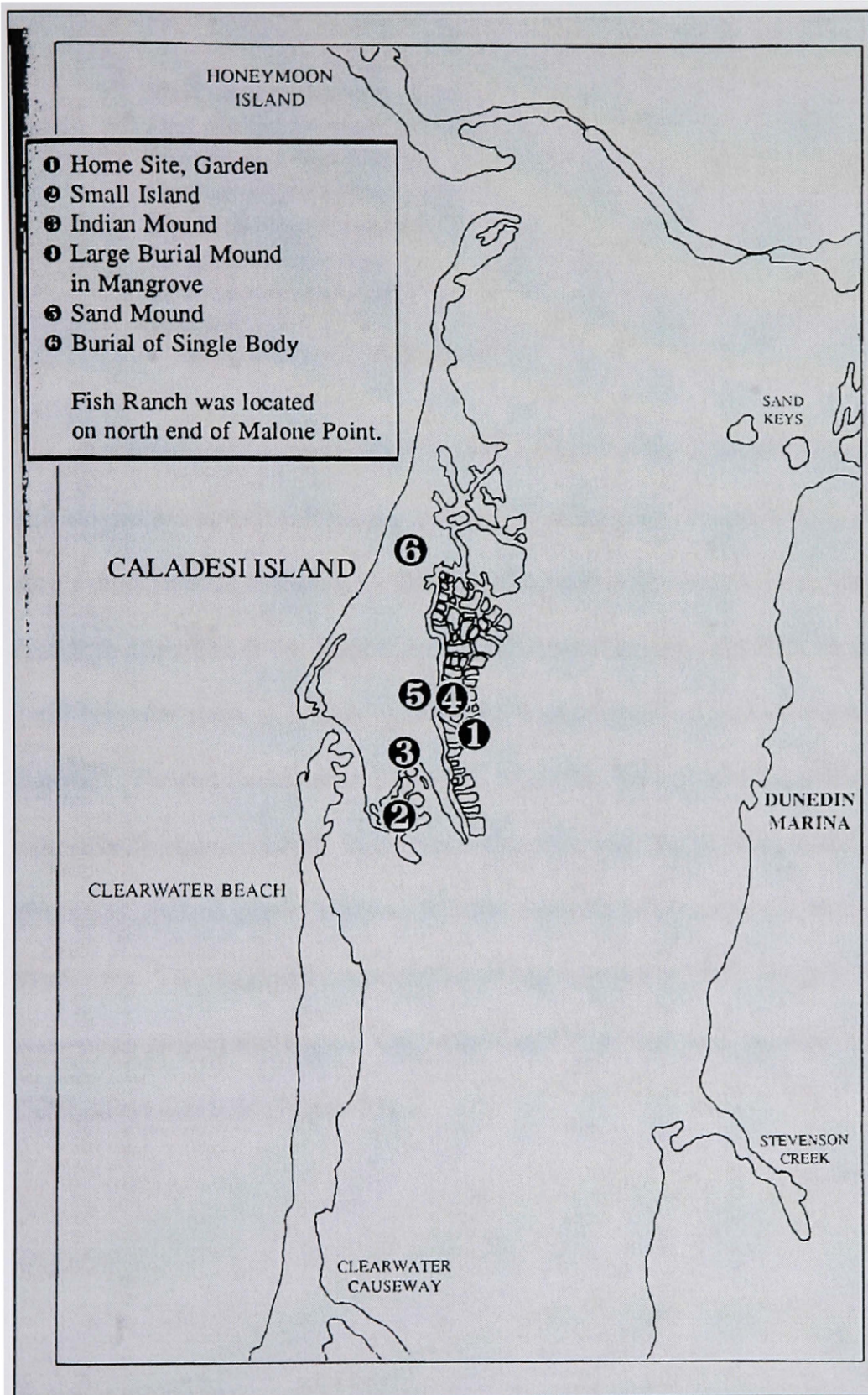Figure 13: Caladesi Island's north beach. Photograph used courtesy of Florida State Parks.

Figure 14: Map showing the historical sites on Caladesi Island, from Betz 1991

Anclote Key: Solitude

Walk on a gulf-shore, alone.
Feel the sea beneath your feet.
Stretch on a beach towel,
Protected by a lullaby pine.
Touch the magic oneness,
Bereft of loneliness,
God created the word,
Solitude.
  —Carol Lee Furey, "Walk Alone"

Anclote Key is a classic island. With no links to the mainland, fixed or mobile, it is only accessible by private boat or, as one pair of interviewees proved, by jet-ski. Anclote Key's most famous feature is its lighthouse, constructed in 1887. According to an 1887 *Notice to Mariners* at the Tarpon Springs Historical Society, the light on Anclote Key "will hereafter show as a flashing red light, with intervals of 30 seconds between flashes." The red flashes ceased in 1985, when the Anclote Key Lighthouse was officially decommissioned. In the years that followed, the lighthouse and its supporting structures, such as keeper's house, fell into disrepair and became the victims of vandalism. The mainland communities rallied together in 2003, and a lighthouse restoration project was begun. On September 13th of that year, the Re-Light the Light Celebration was held (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Advertisement for Anclote Key's Re-light the Light Celebration

Like Caladesi Island, Anclote Key has also harbored its share of outlaws. In 1828, the United States Army reported that pirates were known to have camped on the island, and it is suggested that they may have left buried treasure behind.[115] These pirates, mostly of French and English descent, used Anclote Key as their base for raids against Spanish forts along Florida's west coast. The pirates increased in strength as their raids increased in severity. Finally, in 1682, their reign of terror was ended when a group of Timucua Indians overran the pirates along the Suwannee River, preventing their return to Anclote Key.[116]

In 1851, after Florida had become a possession of the United States, the Lighthouse Board, a newly-formed government organization, proposed building a lighthouse on Anclote Key. After much legal and financial wrangling, the lighthouse was finally constructed in 1887 (Figure 16), and on September 15th of that year the Anclote Key's first lighthouse keeper, James Gardner, lit the light.[117]

The light was intended to be only a small-scale aid to local navigation, but during the early twentieth century the nearby port town of Tarpon Springs grew into the "Sponge

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[115] Craig Pittman, "River's History Runs Deep, From Pirates to Pariahs," *St. Pete Times.*
[116] Geoffrey Mohlman, "Anclote Keys Lighthouse," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (1999): 163.
[117] *Ibid.*, 165.

Capital of the World," and the Anclote Key Lighthouse became the beacon that would guide sponge ships in their international trade. For about forty years, the spongers came and went from Tarpon Springs until a blight destroyed the sponges in 1947.[118] By this time, the tourism industry had grown in the area and Anclote Key was host to hundreds of tourists each year who would travel by boat either from Tarpon Springs or from Cedar Key, an island sixty miles to the north of Anclote Key.

Anclote Key's appeal to tourists grew over the following decades. The light was automated in the 1950s and the State of Florida declared the island a wildlife refuge in the 1960s. The latter measure attracted more tourists to the island, some of whom had motives that were less than noble. The keeper's house and the lighthouse itself suffered damage from vandalism and the U.S. Coast Guard, who maintained the structures, was spending almost $8,000 per year for repairs.

In 1984, the Coast Guard gave up the fight and decommissioned the lighthouse on a trial basis, and, receiving no complaints, permanently switched off the light in 1985. Throughout the late 1980s, several groups showed interest in restoring the lighthouse and protecting the island, which had been turned over to the Bureau of Land Management, but they lacked the authority to pass any protective legislation. Finally, in 1994, Larry and Pat McSparren of Tarpon Springs, together with Florida Congressman Mike Bilirakis, coordinated the transfer of the island to the State of Florida. The island was then designated as a state park—a status that protects it to this day.

Today, visitors to Anclote Key enjoy the island's remoteness, its tropical feel, and

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[118] *Ibid.*, 169.

its good fishing and shelling.[119] The lighthouse, now restored (Figure 17) and powered

by solar energy, remains an attractive feature of the island, though one author calls it "the

ugliest lighthouse I have ever seen."[120] The island remains unlinked to the mainland,

though a causeway project was approved in 1977,[121] and one tour company, Sunline

Cruises of Tarpon Springs, offers sightseeing tours that circumnavigate the island without

landing. The causeway was "never seriously considered" according to the Tarpon

Springs Historical Society, and the tour company is prohibited from landing because of

an agreement with the Florida State Park Service that does not allow commercial tour

companies to land on Anclote Key.
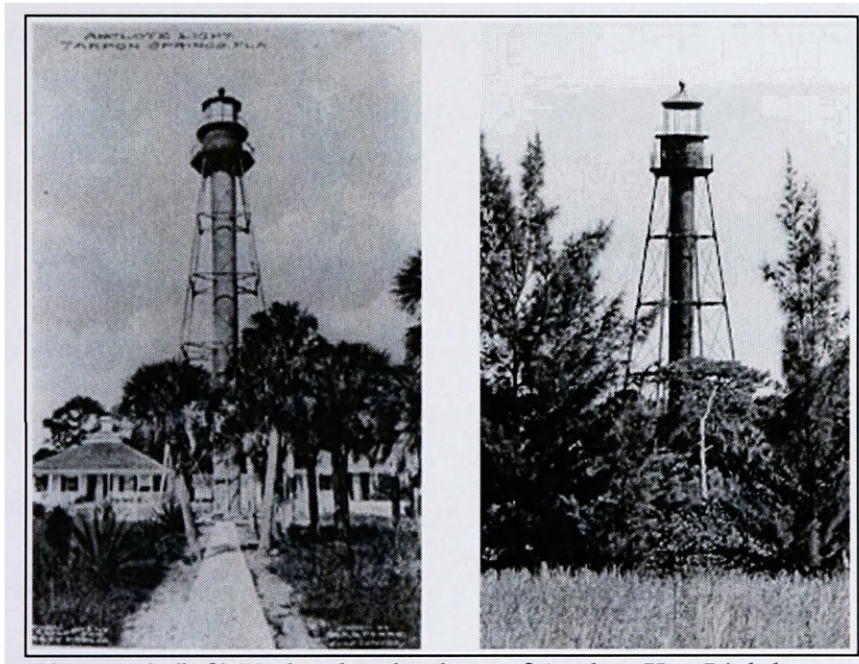
Figure 16: (left) Undated early photo of Anclote Key Lighthouse.
Photo by George W. Perry, reproduced courtesy of Tarpon
Springs Historical Society

Figure 17: (right) Post-restoration photo of Anclote Key Lighthouse. Reproduced
courtesy of Tarpon Springs Historical Society

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[119] The term *shelling* may be unfamiliar to some. It refers to the act of walking along a beach and picking up shells deemed pretty or interesting. Shelling is a very popular activity on the beaches of Florida's gulf coast, including the islands in my study area.

[120] Steve Kornacki, "Anclote Key Lighthouse Has Special Place in Author's Heart," *Tampa Tribune* (14 June 2004): 2.

[121] Weisman, *Guiding Light to Safe Anchorage.*

On the last day of my field season, I traveled with one research assistant to Anclote Key. It happened to be a Sunday, and a beautiful Florida day. As we rounded the southern point of the island, where the lighthouse stands (Figure 18), we noticed an enormous gathering of boats at anchor. They stretched nearly half the length of the island, from the midpoint to the north end, and there were more anchored at the sandbar off of the north point. Both the island and the sandbar were sprouting shade umbrellas like thick stands of palm trees. People were in the water, on the beach, and on the boats. Jet-skis navigated among the skiffs and yachts while fishermen vied for open water in which to cast. Being researchers, our first thought was about the large quantity of potential data that could be gathered from such a crowd. This thought was quickly followed by our realization that this was the perfect location for a beach party. Here, on the windward side of the island, out of sight of the mainland, this crowd was enjoying islandness to its fullest potential. Their view took in only the island itself and the vast expanse of the Gulf of Mexico. Aside from the occasional Marine Patrol vessel, they were left alone. They had found their "island of dreams."[122] As we went ashore and began conducting interviews, we realized that this was a regular Sunday event. Each group of friends or family members would refer us to the next by name. Some even laid claim to certain sections of the beach. "See these three palms? We always set up in front of these trees," one man said. Refreshments, children, and laughter passed freely from one group to the next. Music blared from small stereos and huge in-boat sound systems. With people in such close proximity, the various sounds from the stereos would inevitably cross and drown one another out. Several times I heard one beachgoer ask another to turn his or her stereo down. The one clear and predictable exception to this

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[122] Royle, *A Geography of Islands*, 188ff.

rule occurred when one boat arrived playing music by Jimmy Buffett, Florida's most famous musician, at a very high volume. No voices, only glasses, were raised in that captain's direction.
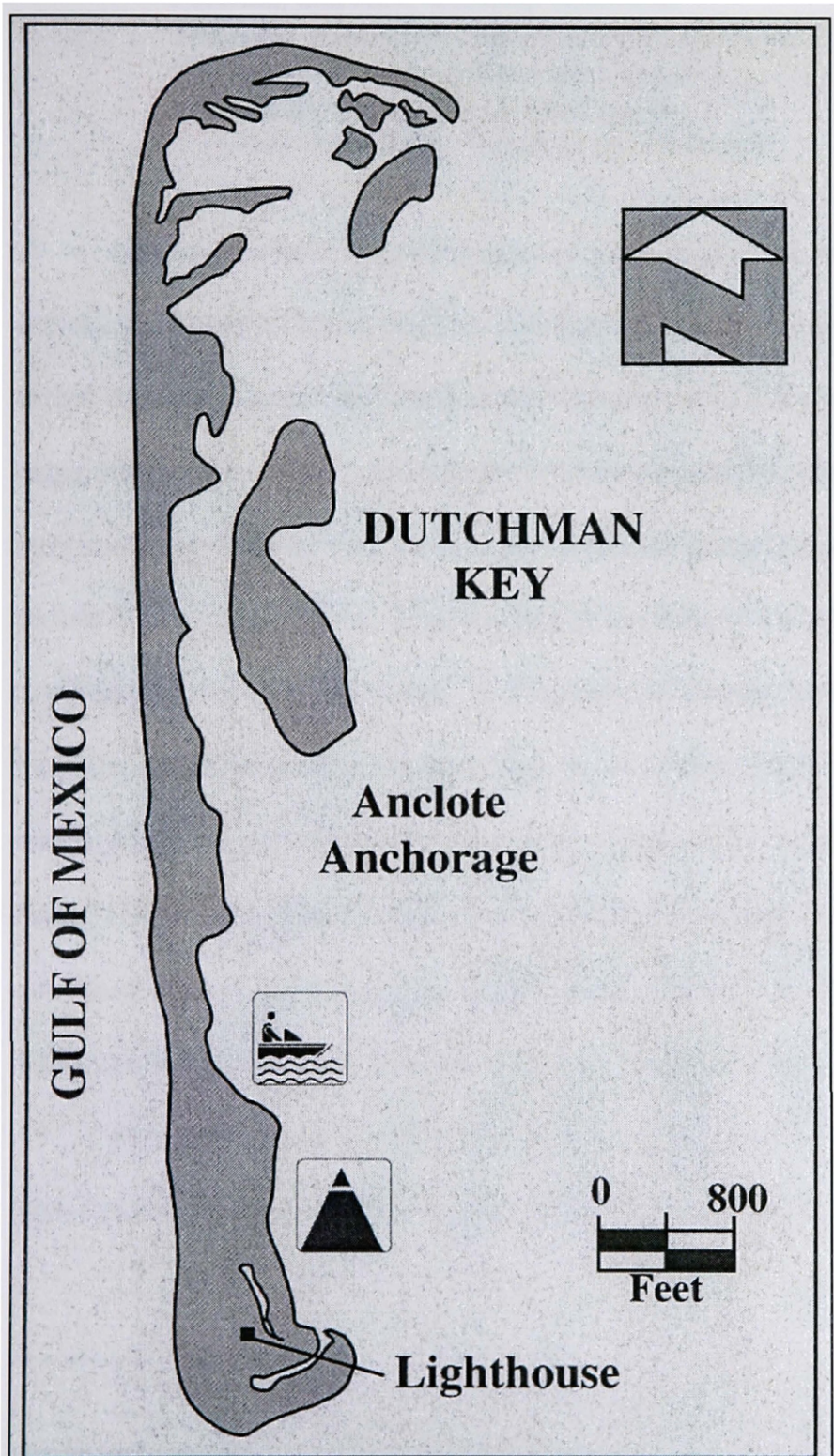

Figure 18: Map of Anclote Key, reproduced from Florida State Parks brochure

Egmont Key: Beacon-Head for the Mariners' Guiding

> *The long blue arm of the sea, dividing*
> *The island shore from its mother-land:*
> *Fortress, and rock, and deep dark cave,*
> *The scent of the wave and the sound of the wave:*
> *The beacon-head for the mariners' guiding;*
> *And wondrous beauties of tinted sand.*
> —Mary Gordon Leith, "Sketches from Recollection"

Lest anyone believe that the issue of fixed and mobile links is not both a key and controversial topic in island tourism, I offer the case of Egmont Key—another island within the Gulf Islands GeoPark, but one whose level of linkage, at least officially, is still being determined. When one visits the Florida State Parks website and reads the information on Egmont Key, the image of a remote island that is accessible only by private boat comes to mind. This is owing to the website's own claim that "Egmont Key is accessible only by private boat."[123] However, when one drives to Fort DeSoto State Park, the site of the marina that most boaters use to launch their Egmont-bound vessels, one is presented with signs along the road that point drivers toward the "Egmont Key Ferry" (Figure 19). This puzzles many visitors, not the least of whom was myself. I contacted Richard Johnson of the Egmont Key Alliance[124] to find out more. The information that follows is from the interview, that I conducted with Captain Johnson.

Egmont Key is a complicated island. Its ownership is divided between the Federal Government, which owns three-fourths of the island and the United States Coast

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[123] Florida State Parks Website, http://www.floridastateparks.org/.

[124] The Egmont Key Alliance (EKA) is a citizen support organization that is dedicated to preserving Egmont Key. The group participates in beach cleanups and other environmental pursuits. They also conduct fundraisers and serve as interpretive volunteers on the island. The EKA has been in existence since 1989.

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Guard, who owns the remaining one-fourth. The island is jointly administered by the Federal and State governments.

Figure 19: Sign for Egmont Key ferry, Fort Desoto State Park

The issues of Egmont Key's ownership are complicated, but fairly stable. The most instable attribute of the island is its access. According to Johnson, the main attraction of Egmont Key is that its beaches are accessible only by boat. People who wish to spend a day boating will stop at Egmont Key because the island "gives them a destination."[125] Many area beaches restrict boats, but certain beaches on Egmont Key welcome them.[126] With a major shipping channel separating Egmont Key from the mainland, it is highly unlikely that a bridge or causeway would ever be constructed (Figure 20). Therefore, it seemed certain that Egmont Key would remain an unlinked island, accessible only by private boat. Recently though, six companies have begun operating ferry services, delivering passengers to Egmont Key. This is both

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[125] Johnson, interview, 30 June 2004.

[126] Other beaches on Egmont Key are off-limits due to their status as protected areas. According to personal correspondence with Sally Braem of the Florida State Parks, "Because of sensitive habitat and the nesting shorebirds, several species of which are federally or state protected, much of the beach accessible areas are off limits to beach goers. One can anchor off-shore, but, in designated areas, access is restricted due to the nesting birds."

"unwelcome" and "illegal" in the eyes of the Federal and State governments.[127] The

ferries increase the number of visitors on Egmont Key, yet do not remove trash, as they

are required to do on islands that they serve legally. The ferry services are operating

unchecked, owing in part to the complicated joint ownership of the island. Ideas are

being discussed, including the licensure of the ferry services with an agreement similar to

that of the ferries at Caladesi Island, where the government contracts one or more

operators to provide passage to the island, in exchange for payment and services, such as

trash cleanup.

Figure 20: Map of Egmont Key area. Note that Egmont Channel lies between Egmont Key and Fort DeSoto Park. Photo courtesy of St. Petersburg Times.

According to Johnson, anyone could theoretically start a business ferrying

passengers to Egmont Key and, although "everyone ferrying now is operating illegal,"

they would face little risk of prosecution because the laws are not currently being

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[127] *Ibid.*

enforced. It should be noted that the government does not want to stop the ferries outright; rather, it simply wants to regulate and organize the service. The government would also like to further develop the island's sparse infrastructure (Figure 21) in order to better serve the increased visitation that ferry service provides.

One positive aspect of the ferry service is related to this increased visitation. According to Johnson, the ferries make Egmont Key accessible to a different kind of tourist than is able to access the island by private boat. Private boaters are usually local "boating people" who stay close to their boats, rarely venturing inland and not generally concerned with learning about the island's history or ecology.[128] Conversely, the clientele brought to Egmont Key by the ferries is generally older, from farther away, and tends to show greater interest in learning about the island—hence the need for better trails, more interpretive volunteers, restrooms, and a visitor center.

One can see from the example of Egmont Key, as well as the other islands in the study area, that islands beg to be visited. Since the Sirens of Homer's *Odyssey*, there has been some unknown voice beckoning humans to cross the water and visit the islands. When access is a problem, people will find a way. Bridges will be built; boats will be launched. As Clarke writes, "an island not worth a visit is inconceivable."[129]

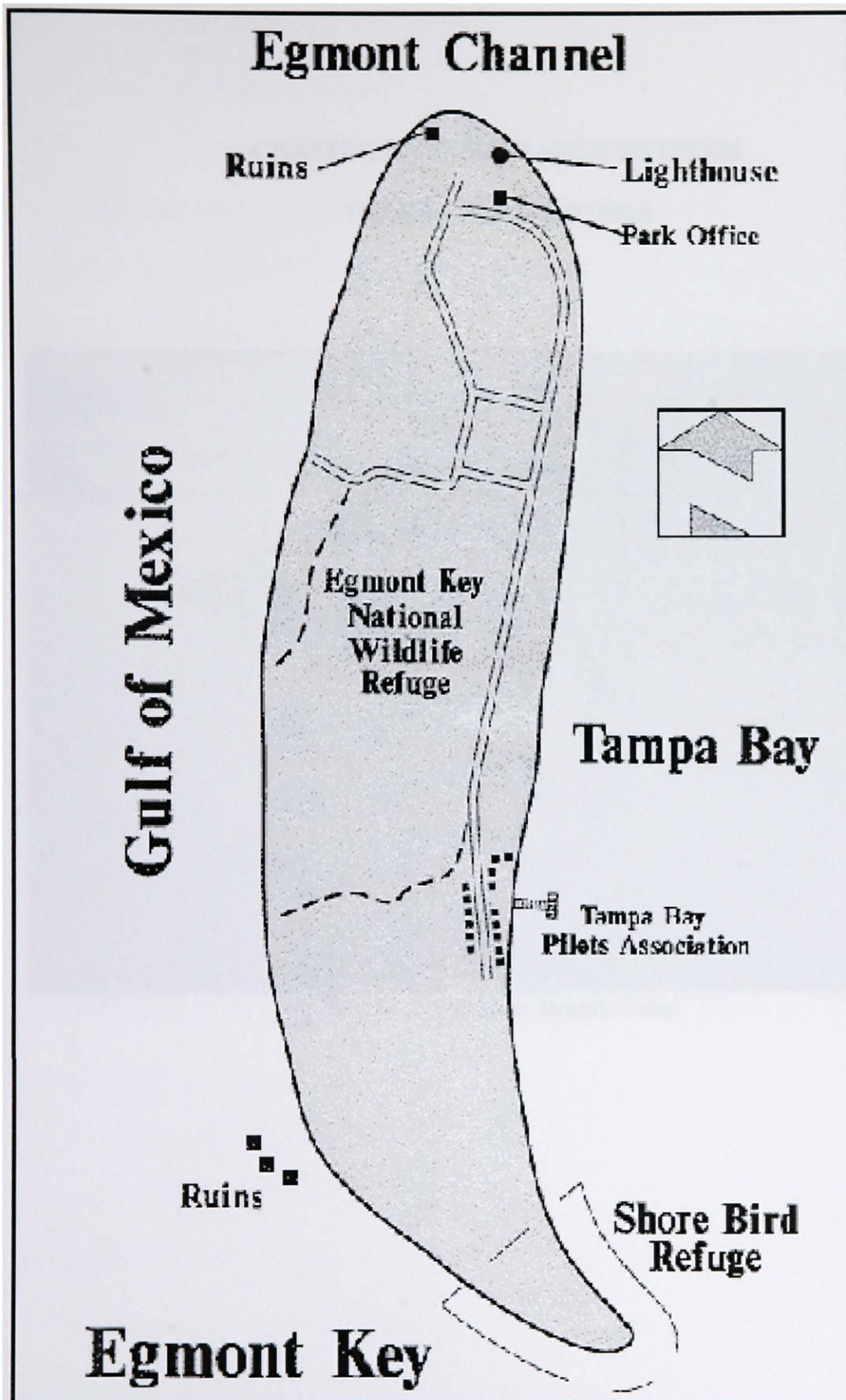[128] *Ibid.*
[129] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 1.

Figure 21: Map of Egmont Key, reproduced from Florida State Parks brochure

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

TRAVEL FOR SOME ISLE

Sunset at Varadero Beach, Cuba

But I told you, did I not,
Ere night we travel for your land - some isle
With the sea's silence on it?
　　　—Robert Browning, "Pippa Passes"

Had Browning accompanied me to Florida's Gulf Coast islands during the summer of 2004 he would have found "the sea's silence" upon just one of them. Only Anclote Key remains relatively isolated, and only here was I able to experience "some isle with the sea's silence upon it." This silence—though incredibly attractive to all who visit Anclote Key, including myself—was counterproductive as it created a challenge in finding sufficient participants to interview. In the end, however, patience and persistence prevailed over isolation, and my goals were met.

As described earlier, I carefully chose the three islands in my study area to be alike in all ways except for the manner of linkage to the mainland, thus isolating the variable being tested. Using a comparative methodology, I sought to isolate characteristics of each of the three islands that were unique, and therefore could be comfortable in the assumption that these characteristics were related to the island's linkage, that being the only major variable among them. I also gathered data to support my hypothesis that each of the three islands attracts tourists with a unique set of expectations and values related to travel.

I first wanted to establish whether these islands were indeed affected by their linkages (or lack thereof) to the mainland. Once the existence of this "bridge effect"[130] was detected in this geographical location, I began to examine its specific implications. My focus was upon the impact of the bridge effect upon tourism and tourist perceptions of islandness. To gain this information, I first had to go straight to the source—to the

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[130] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?*, 1.

tourists themselves. The responses from these interviews provided the bulk of the original data for this thesis.

In this chapter I shall describe the setting and logistics of the daily, on-site interviews with tourists on the islands and explain the methodology used to analyze the data gathered. I shall then explain the other methods of data collection, one of which consisted of interviews with "officials" or those involved in the tourism industry on the islands in something of a supervisory or protectorate role. Finally, I shall provide information on the gathering of the historical data used to construct the brief histories of each island given above in the Study Area chapter.

Interviews with Tourists

The part of my research that involved on-site fieldwork occurred during the month of June, 2004. The bulk of this fieldwork consisted of semi-standardized interviews with a random sampling of tourists on each of the islands' beaches. I would initiate each interview by approaching a tourist and introducing myself by name. Then, stating my affiliation with the Department of Geography at The University of Montana[131] and my purpose of the request, I would ask whether they would be willing to participate in a short interview.

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[131] This affiliation, and the specific mention of Montana, almost always drew comment. Reactions were sometimes those of fondness, sometimes disbelief, but usually simple curiosity. One notable example of a negative reaction was a man who wondered—aloud and profanely—why a "yankee" was coming to his beach asking questions anyway. His concern was only alleviated by my self-identification as a Florida native "born and raised." This example is given to show the sense of ownership and exclusivity that can occur on small islands, especially those in the southern United States.

In general, the response was very positive. In fact, of the 328 people approached for interviews, only twenty-eight of those who would have been eligible (i.e. those eighteen years of age or older) declined. Most of these refusals were not outright refusals to participate in the interview, but rather, refusals to sign the consent form required by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). It is unfortunate that, in the spirit of protecting the participants, the IRB form actually served the purpose of dissuading them from even participating. Nevertheless, my response rate was very high: 300 out of 328, or 91.5%. Several reasons existed for this high rate. First, the interviewees were in a relaxed, comfortable environment—namely the beach. I found the tourists on the beach to be generally very receptive to my interview requests. Many offered me a spot under their shade umbrellas; several offered me refreshments; one offered me a fish. Another reason for the high response rate is that I employed the assistance of a variety of research assistants—both male and female. All were young, knowledgeable, and gregarious, and I am indebted to them for their part in this project's success.[132] I have no doubt that the rate at which potential participants agreed to the interview would have been much lower had my research assistants not had the level of competency that they had.

After receiving approval to conduct the interview, and explaining the IRB's Informed Consent Form, I would begin the interview. I explained to each participant that I would first ask a few questions about their trip to the beach *today* and conclude with a few questions about their travel in general. Most participants enthusiastically answered the questions and seemed to enjoy being given the opportunity to talk about traveling.

The vast majority of the interviews were conducted in English. I also interviewed five participants in German and three in Spanish. The German interviews were

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[132] See also *Acknowledgements*, pp. viii-ix.

conducted through an interpreter and I conducted the Spanish interviews myself.

Depending upon the loquaciousness of the participant, the interviews lasted between ten

and sixty minutes. The interview consisted of the following ten questions, some with

follow-up probes:[133]

1. Tell me about (name of island). Why do you like to visit here?
2. How did you get here today?
    a. Do you or your family own a boat?
3. How did you find out about (name of island)?
4. What activities are you participating in today?
5. Have you also been to (the other islands in the study area)?
    a. How do they compare to (name of island)?
6. When you are planning a trip to the beach, what sort of things affect your decision of which beach to visit?
7. Do you prefer island beaches or mainland beaches?
    a. Why?
8. What other places have you visited recently on vacation?
9. What is your favorite method of transportation on vacation?
10. Describe your ideal travel destination. Money is no object.

When these interviews were completed, I had 300 interview forms, each with

answers to ten standard questions and many comments freely given on what was usually

one of the interviewee's favorite subjects: the islands where they like to spend their free

time. I entered this data into three spreadsheets, one for each island visited.

Interviews with Officials

The interviews with tourists provided an excellent survey of opinions regarding

many facets of islandness and travel preferences. However, to support my findings on

these islands, and their linkages in particular, it seemed important to talk with people who

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[133] See Appendix A (pp. 115-116) for an explanation of the research goals of each of the interview questions.

were linked personally to the islands. I conducted interviews with three long-term stakeholders in the Gulf Islands GeoPark.

The first was Scott Robinson, employed by the Florida Department of Environmental Protection as the manager of the GeoPark. This interview took place in Mr. Robinson's office, located in the ranger station on Honeymoon Island. It lasted for about one hour and covered a variety of topics related to the three islands in my study area. In addition to the formal interview, I also spoke with Mr. Robinson on several other occasions, less formally, while I was conducting my research. During the formal interview with Mr. Robinson, I asked him the following questions:

1. Tell me about each of the islands in the Gulf Islands GeoPark. Why do people like to visit them?
2. What are some of the unique characteristics of each island that distinguish it from the others in the GeoPark?
3. Describe each island's average tourist.
4. How does the current mode of access affect tourism on each island?
5. Have there been any suggestions of alternate modes of access?
6. What are your thoughts on the mode of access to each island?
7. How do you feel the tourism industry affects each island?
8. What do you think would make each island even better?

I also interviewed Richard Johnson, director of the Egmont Key Alliance. This interview was conducted over the telephone and also lasted for about one hour. Egmont Key is a very interesting island to this study because of its unauthorized ferry service from the mainland beach of Ft. Desoto Park. Captain Johnson is a long-time sailor and sailing instructor, and knows the area well. His input was extremely helpful to this study and his knowledge was by no means limited to Egmont Key. He has been visiting the islands in the area since the 1970s.

Third, I interviewed Betty Hemphrey, member of the Friends of the Island Parks, a citizen support organization that is interested in all three islands in my study area. Mrs.

Hemphrey was personally acquainted mostly with Honeymoon Island and Caladesi Island, where she was once employed in the tourism industry as an interpretive guide. Her input was especially useful because it came from a unique point of view, one that was acquainted with the islands both from the tourist perspective and the administrative perspective. I met Mrs. Hemphrey at a meeting of the Friends of the Island Parks and conducted the one-hour interview at her home in Dunedin in the company of her polar-opposite dogs, a chihuahua and an Irish wolfhound.

Because Captain Johnson and Ms. Hemphrey were both involved in organizations that support the islands in the Gulf Islands GeoPark, I asked them the same set of questions:

1. Tell me about (name of island[s]). Why does your organization focus on it/them?
2. What drew you, personally, to this organzation?
3. Why do you think people visit this/these island(s)?
4. What are some of the unique characteristics of this/these island(s) that distinguish it/them from the other islands in the Gulf Islands GeoPark?
5. What are your thoughts on the mode of access to this/these island(s)?
6. How does the current mode of access affect tourism on this/these island(s)?
7. Have there been any suggestions of alternate modes of access?
8. How do you feel the tourism industry affects this/these island(s)?
9. Describe the average tourist to this/these island(s)?
10. What do you think would make this/these island(s) even better?

The data gathered from this set of interviews was not subjected to statistical analysis, but was used to construct a background view of each of the islands and the issues regarding their tourism industries.

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In order to place my findings into their proper historical context, I spent some time at the Dunedin Historical Society and the Tarpon Springs Historical Society, perusing the archived documents held there. Both institutions have considerable archives that contain all sorts of information regarding the islands and the evolution of their relationships with the communities of Dunedin and Tarpon Springs. Each island has its own distinct history, yet each is inextricably linked, historically, to the mainland.

For historical information regarding Honeymoon Island and Caladesi Island, I went to the Dunedin Historical Society, where Vincent Luisi, the Society's director, gave me access to both the displayed and archived information regarding both islands. For many hours I searched, white gloved, through boxes, albums, and display cases, photocopying, transcribing, and photographing the relics.

The Tarpon Springs Historical Society was in a state of transition at the time of my research, so much of the information was boxed and stored at various locations throughout the city. I found the majority of the accessible information at the Safford House, an historical Tarpon Springs house that was built in 1883 and has been restored several times since then. The curators of the Safford House provided me with all of the Anclote Key information that they had, and even gave me original photographs of the Anclote Key lighthouse, two of which are reproduced in the Study Area section.

I feel that the historical information gathered at the Dunedin Historical Society and the Safford House is invaluable to this thesis. The goal of geography is to understand a place, and for one to understand a place it is necessary to know its history.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

RETURN TO PORT

Wild Goose Island – Glacier National Park, Montana, USA

> *But the right journey*
> *Is motionless; as the sea moves round an island*
> *That appears to be moving, love moves round the heart —*
> *With encircling salt, and the slowly travelling hand*
> *Knows its return to the port from which it must stand.*
> —Derek Walcott, "Omeros"

This chapter describes the relationship among the linkages, islands, and tourists on Honeymoon Island, Caladesi Island, and Anclote Key, as determined from the results of my interviews conducted in June, 2004. Carefully blending qualitative and quantitative data, I shall show just how the "bridge problem"[134] plays out in this particular place.

This chapter will be structured as follows: I shall present the interview data in an order corresponding roughly to the order of the interview questions themselves. When necessary, I shall depart from this structure to show connections among various pairs of questions that may not occur consecutively. Throughout this chapter, I shall refer back to the Conceptual Background chapter to draw comparisons between my findings and those of previous researchers.

The Appeal of the Islands

Tell me about this island. Why do you like to visit here?

In beginning each interview by asking the interviewee to describe their location and why it is appealing to them, I hoped to give them a chance to use their own words, free from even unintentional leading, to express what draws them to an individual island. If my hypothesis held true, interviewees on Anclote Key would use insularity-related

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[134] Baldacchino, *Bridging the Gap?*, 1.

words[135] at the highest frequency, showing that they perceive a higher degree of insularity, or islandness, on Anclote Key than do the tourists on Honeymoon or Caladesi Islands. To test this hypothesis, I examined the interview results spreadsheet, marking insularity-related words for each of the three islands and then compared the three sets of results to see which had the higher occurrence.

The results did indeed follow the pattern predicted by my hypothesis (Figure 22). Honeymoon Island's tourists had the lowest incidence of insularity-related words at 25%, while Anclote Key's tourists had the highest at 53%. As expected, Caladesi Island's tourists ranked between those of the other two islands with 33%.
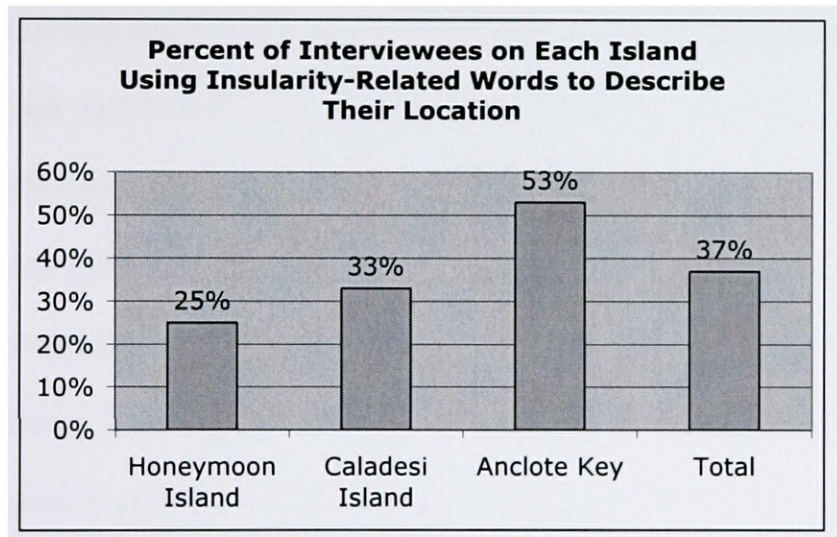

Figure 22: Description of island by interviewees

These results indicate that the island without fixed or mobile links appeals to tourists to a greater degree based, upon its islandness, and also that it possesses a higher level of islandness than the islands with fixed or mobile links. On the opposite end of the

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[135] For the purpose of this study, I have compiled a list of insularity-related words, or words expressing the concept of islandness, from several of the authoritative pieces of literature mentioned in the bibliography. This list and the sources from which it was drawn can be found in Appendix B, p. 117.

continuum is the fully-linked island, which did not seem as insular, but appealed to tourists based upon, among other traits, its accessibility, as we will see below.

The words used provide qualitative evidence of the feelings that people have about the islands they visit. On Anclote Key, tourists[136] used words such as *remote, secluded,* and *desolate*—words that emphasize the insularity of the place. On Honeymoon Island, I heard common descriptors such as *convenient, close to home,* and, disappointingly, *you can park close and don't have to walk far.* These descriptors emphasize the island's accessibility. In fact, 27% of those interviewed mentioned Honeymoon Island's accessibility as one of its major attractive qualities (Figure 23), including the two respondents who commented that they did not like Honeymoon Island, but they came here only because it was conveniently accessible from their homes. By comparison, only 13% of the "beachgoers" interviewed on Anclote Key mentioned ease of access as an attractive characteristic of that island. Accessibility was mentioned by only 3% of the respondents on Caladesi Island. This may appear an anomalous figure at first glance, because it does not fall between those of Honeymoon Island and Anclote Key, as the general hypothesis would predict, but one should remember that, for all but four of the interviewees, the trip to Caladesi Island involved a ride on the Caladesi Connection Ferry. Royle's "one extra journey"[137] oftentimes means trading convenience for adventure, which is what the ferry service aims to provide at the best exchange rate available. Because 100% of the interviewees on Anclote Key owned their own boats,

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[136] It should be noted that many interviewees on all three islands, but most frequently on Anclote Key, upon being told that my project involved "tourism" would immediately inform me that they were "not tourists." Native Floridians often have a strong aversion to this label, and I would always accommodate their wishes by not referring to them as such. This was often quite ridiculous, as I would just use a synonym for the word *tourist,* such as *person who visits the islands,* or *beachgoer.* However, this taught me the valuable lesson that when one is conducting fieldwork, it is important to speak the local language.

[137] Royle, "A Human Geography of Islands," 112.

perhaps this extra journey was seen more as an enjoyable part of the trip than as a burden or a hindrance to the island's accessibility.

Percentage of Interviewees on Each Island Referring to Accessibility as an Attractive Feature of Their Location
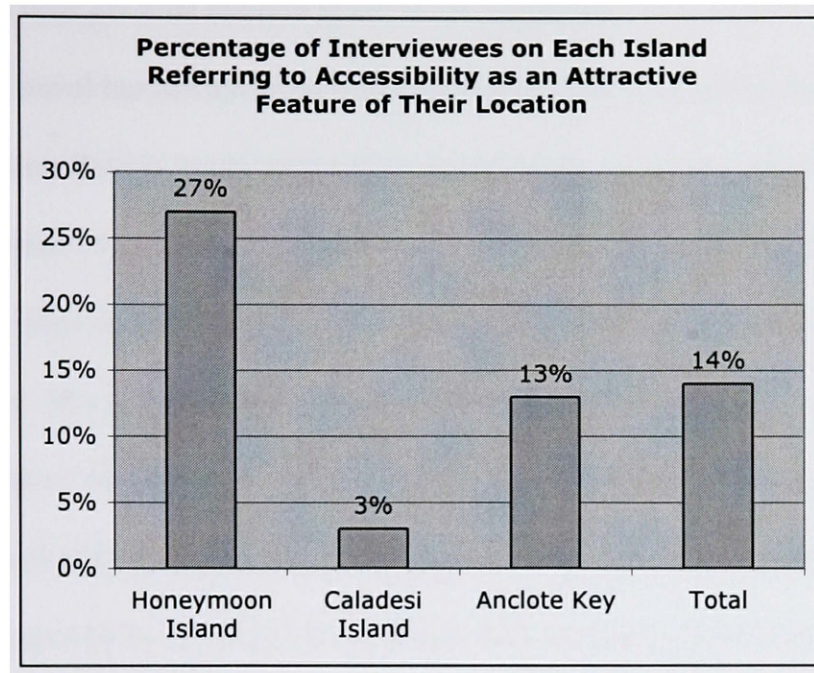
Figure 23: Description of island by interviewees

Aside from remoteness and accessibility comments, the most common descriptors given by those who liked the island where they were interviewed[138] were about the natural beauty of the island. Tourists on all three islands remarked about the color of the water, the fineness of the sand, and the warmth of the sun.

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[138] Only a small percentage of people had negative comments regarding the island where they were being interviewed (Honeymoon Island 5%, Caladesi Island 1%, Anclote Key 0%).

Transportation

How did you get here today?

What is your favorite method of travel on vacation?

Budget travel has always been important to tourists, even since the days of the eighteenth-century British travel writer who produced the peerlessly titled *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour Through France. Wrote by An Officer of the Royal-Navy, Who lately travelled on a principle, which he most sincerely recommends to his Countrymen, viz. Not to spend more money in the Country of our natural enemy, than is requisite to support with decency the character of an English Man.*[139] Though it was mentioned specifically by only a few of the interviewees, it seems clear that the cost involved in transportation to either of the islands that are not accessible by automobile would be prohibitive to many. According to Royle,

> it is still true that with an island location, there must always be greater transportation costs, there is always that one extra journey to be made, often requiring a transfer from one mode of transportation to another.[140]

Many undoubtedly chose Honeymoon Island because a visit to that island, although it harbors no "natural enemies," would not involve spending "more money than is required to support with decency the character of an Englishman," provided that the Englishman did not require ferry fees or the costs involved in boat ownership. In other words, Honeymoon Island has the lowest cost of access among all of the islands in the study area, and probably attracts many of its tourists primarily for this reason.

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[139] Philip Playstowe (Bristol: Farley, 1766); cited similarly by Tim Moore, *The Grand Tour* (New York: St. Martin's, 2001), 79.

[140] Royle, "A Human Geography of Islands," 112.

This being the case, it is still true that tourists choose their destinations based not solely upon economic concerns. The actual transportation may play a role. One of the goals of this research is to provide data for the question raised by Butler, namely that

> [t]here is relatively little known about how tourists view the travel
> component of their vacation; whether they regard it as a necessary evil to
> be overcome, or whether it is a major part of the attraction of the
> vacation.[141]

On Anclote Key, 35% of interviewees reported "boat" as their most preferred method of travel on vacation (Figure 24).

Preferred Mode of Transportation

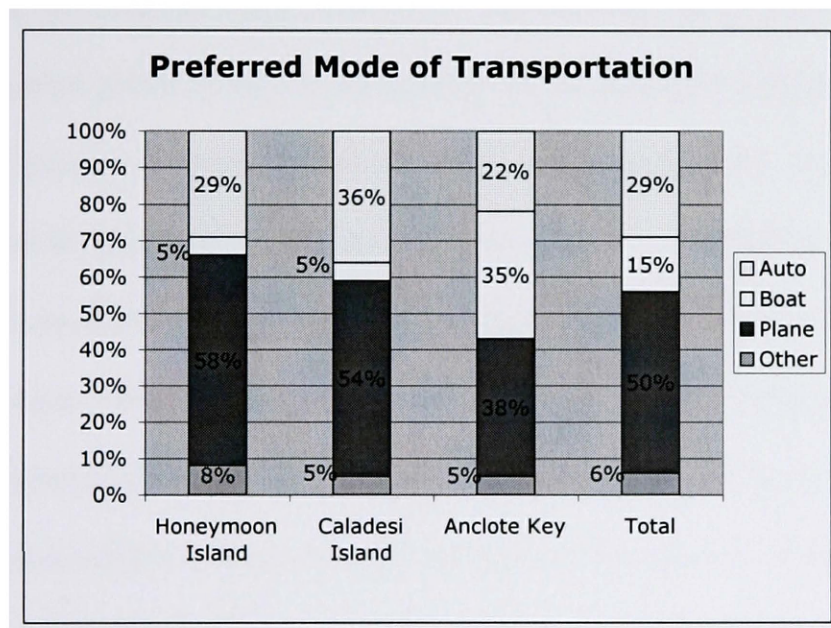|	Honeymoon Island	Caladesi Island	Anclote Key	Total
Auto (top)	29%	36%	22%	29%
Boat	5%	5%	35%	15%
Plane	58%	54%	38%	50%
Other	8%	5%	5%	6%

Figure 24: Preferred mode of transportation

It is unsurprising that these individuals chose to visit an island that requires the use of a boat for access. Compared with the 5% of interviewees who prefer boats on each of the other two islands, this data indicates that the mode of transportation was "a major part of the attraction"[142] of Anclote Key. The fact that only 5% of those interviewed on Caladesi Island prefer to travel by boat corroborates the explanation of why that island had the

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[141] Butler, "Transportation Innovations and Island Tourism," 36.
[142] *Ibid.*

lowest incidence of "accessibility" being mentioned with the reasons for its appeal. Anclote Key, with 35% preferring to travel by boat, seems much more accessible to people who consider themselves fortunate to get to use their favorite mode of transportation to travel to their destination. Because 36% of the tourists on Caladesi Island prefer automobile to all other modes of transportation, the fact that the island is not accessible by automobile would limit its perceived accessibility.

Among the answers grouped as "other" on the graphs above were such varied modes as *horse, train, motor-home, motorcycle,* and *anything but an airplane.*

The answers given for the second question of the interview were highly predictable. Almost everyone interviewed arrived at the island by the "common" mode of transportation for that island—that is, on Anclote Key 100% arrived by private vessel (ninety-eight by boat and two by jet-ski); on Caladesi Island 96% arrived on the ferry and 4% by private boat; and on Honeymoon Island, 100% arrived by crossing the causeway (ninety-nine by automobile and one by bicycle). It should also be noted that Anclote Key is effectively inaccessible to most of the interviewees on Honeymoon Island and Caladesi Island. While, obviously, everyone interviewed on Anclote Key had access to a private boat, only 17% of those on Honeymoon Island and 9% of those on Caladesi Island reported owning or having access to a private boat in the Tampa Bay area. On each of these islands, two interviewees reported that they owned a boat, but that it was moored in their hometowns, many miles from Florida and impractical for transportation across such great distances. Rental boats are available in Tarpon Springs, but this option is not often used for travel to Anclote Key. No one who I interviewed had arrived by rented boat.

The results of these questions about transportation were very telling. People do not tend to travel by unusual modes, although the mode of travel does affect their choice in destination. My data indicate that the mode of travel is an important part of a vacation, and that it does have an impact on the overall travel experience. In casual conversation with some of the interviewees on Anclote Key, I mentioned the causeway plans that were approved in 1977 but never acted upon. In every case, the person with whom I was speaking showed disappointment at this information and often voiced their opinion that this would "ruin the island." Transportation certainly does affect the overall travel experience and, in this study area, it has a notable effect upon islandness as well.

<div style="text-align:center">Marketing Islandness</div>

How did you find out about this island?

In order to determine the methods by which information about these islands was being disseminated, I asked each interviewee how they had first found out about the island. For many, this was an exercise in long-term memory because they had been visiting the islands for so long. Others, I interviewed on their first visit to the island, and they knew exactly how they had first "discovered" it.

I coded the results into four categories (Figure 25) of the general source of knowledge about the island reported by the tourists. These categories are:

- Word-of-mouth: any information from an individual, but not available to the general public
- Local: long-term knowledge based upon residence in the area
- Media: published information in newspapers, books, television, etc.
- Exploring: "finding" the island while not necessarily looking for it (i.e. while out driving or boating); This category also includes those who found the island on a map and decided to visit it.

<div style="text-align:center">91</div>

Source of Information About Location

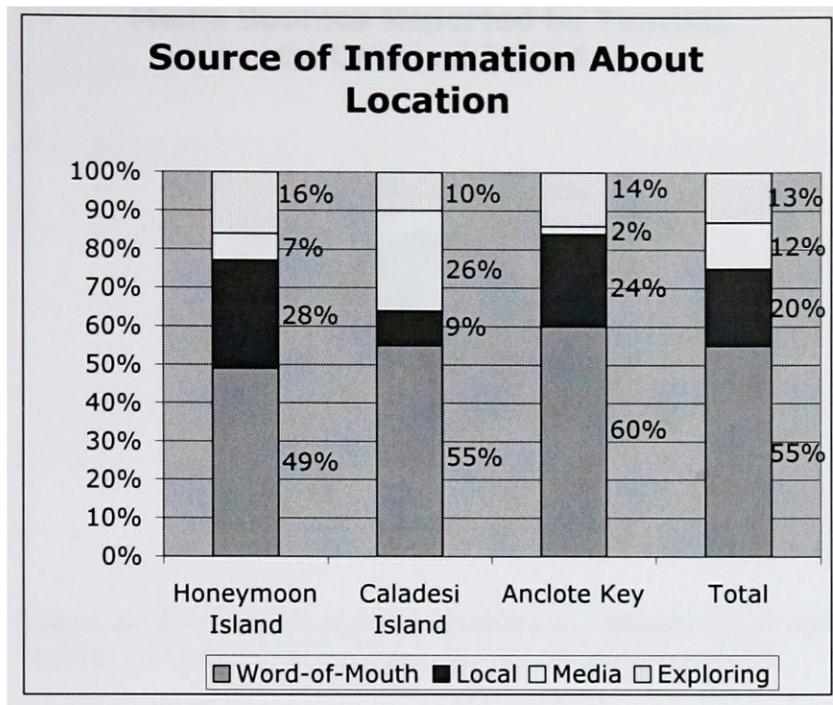|	Honeymoon Island	Caladesi Island	Anclote Key	Total
Exploring	16%	10%	14%	13%
Media	7%	26%	2%	12%
Local	28%	9%	24%	20%
Word-of-Mouth	49%	55%	60%	55%

□ Word-of-Mouth ■ Local □ Media □ Exploring

Figure 25: Source of information about location

As is obvious from the above graph, all the islands in the study area were represented by similar methods of information dissemination. One notable exception was Caladesi Island, where a decrease in tourists with local information was counterbalanced by an increase in those who had learned of Caladesi Island through the media.

To examine this occurrence more closely, I looked at the specific media sources mentioned by tourists on Caladesi Island (Figure 26). From the graph, one can see that the majority of information about Caladesi Island was obtained through the Internet (38%), with newspapers and tourism brochures as the second most common source (19% each). Much has been published about Caladesi Island, often with reference to the ranking as *Fourth Best Beach in the USA* as mentioned in the Study Area chapter above.

Media Sources Reported by Tourists on Caladesi Island

Other 8%
Guidebook 12%
Tourism brochure 19%
Television 4%
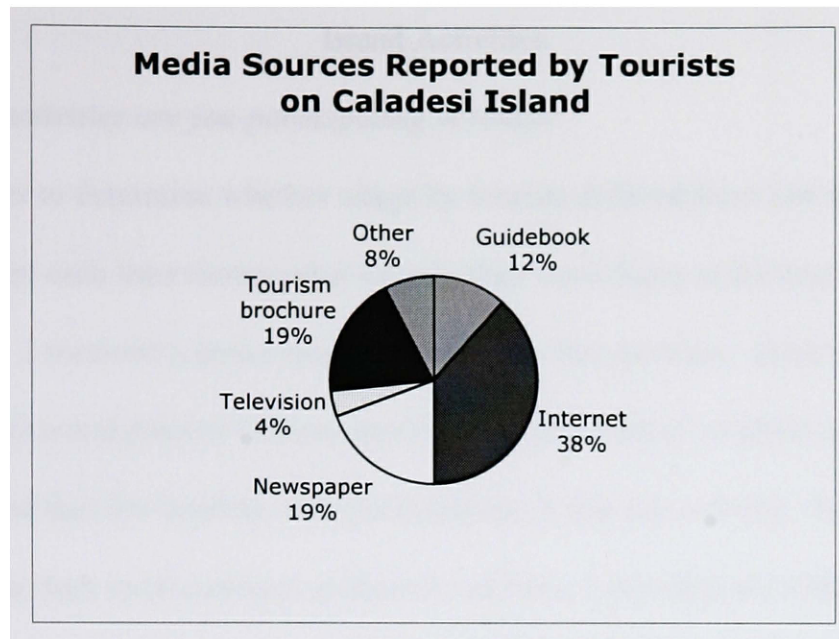Newspaper 19%
Internet 38%

Figure 26: Media sources used by tourists on Caladesi Island who reported "media" as their primary information source about the island

The abundance of existing published material about Caladesi Island can explain why so many tourists reported *media* as their source of information about the island, but why does the increase in *media*-derived information coincide with a decrease in *local* information, rather than another category or all categories equally? As the graph in Figure 25 shows, the *word-of-mouth* and *exploring* categories are not significantly reduced for Caladesi Island. I believe that this is owing to the fact that, in general, tourists who travel to more novel destinations (i.e. those found by *exploring* or *word-of-mouth*) are less likely to visit a place that has a strong presence in the mass media. Evidence of this aversion to familiar or popular destinations can be seen in the Traveler Type section above.

Island Activities

What activities are you participating in today?

In order to determine whether usage by tourists differed from one island to another, I asked each interviewee what exactly they were doing at the beach on the day of the interview. I received a broad range of answers to this question. Each island attracted its share of active and passive tourists, participating in a variety of beach activities. It should be noted that few tourists were participating in just one activity. Rather than ask them to choose their most common or favorite activity, I recorded all of the activities listed by each interviewee. For this reason, the graph below (Figure 27) contains more than the standard 100 responses per island.
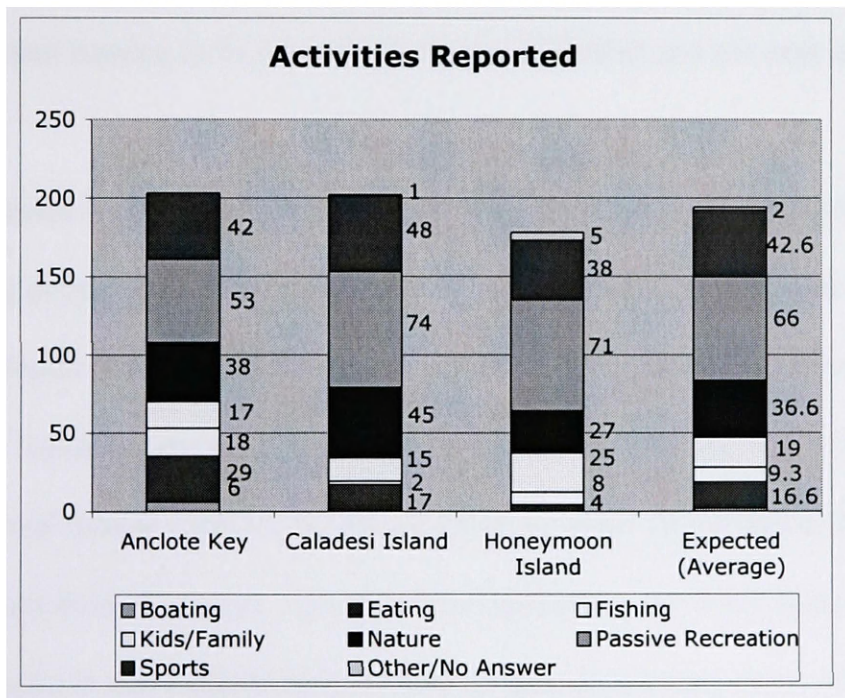
Figure 27: Activities reported on each island

There was little significant difference in usage among the three islands. Still, there are some interesting facts that can be learned from the responses to this question. I

coded the responses into eight categories for ease of analysis. The categories, with some examples given when necessary, are:

- Boating
- Eating: picnics or eating at the the café if applicable
- Fishing
- Kids/Family: playing or socializing with family
- Nature: shelling, hiking, birdwatching
- Passive Recreation: sunbathing, reading, sleeping
- Sports: kayaking, swimming, jogging, soccer
- Other: religious activities, no answer given, etc.

Boating was only reported as an activity by six interviewees on Anclote Key and one on Caladesi Island. Although we know from the Transportation section above that many more traveled by boat, these answers are significant because they show how many people considered boating to be one of their leisure activities and not only a means of transportation.

Honeymoon Island was the location with the fewest number of tourists who reported eating as one of their activities. This is surprising because it is the location with the most developed cafeteria and the closest access to stores at which picnic supplies can be purchased. Equally surprising, Anclote Key had the greatest number of tourists who were eating, even though it has no facilities except for a few picnic tables in a clearing about 100 meters from the beach. One possible explanation for these seemingly anomalous figures is that a trip to Anclote Key usually lasts longer than a trip to either of the other islands in the study area. Therefore it is logical that someone visiting Anclote Key would plan to have a meal while on the island.

Anclote Key also had the greatest number of people who were fishing. One interviewee explained to me that the snook (a type of fish) spawned in the small bayou on

the south side of the island and that made it an ideal location for fishing. Caladesi Island had the fewest fishermen. This is probably owing to the fact that it is difficult to carry all of the necessary equipment aboard the ferries, which are often crowded.

The greatest occurrence of family activities was found on Honeymoon Island, although the differences among the three islands were not great in this category. According to many interviewees, Honeymoon Island's accessibility and facilities make it appealing to tourists with children.

Caladesi Island had the largest number of tourists seeking nature. This is probably owing to the fact that Caladesi Island has the most developed and accessible hiking trail of the three islands. Anclote Key's trail is still under construction and Honeymoon Island's was closed during much of the study period because of prescribed burning that was being done by the Park Service.

Unsurprisingly, the most common activities reported fall into a category that I have called passive recreation. Beaches are often places of comfort and relaxation, and many of the interviewees in this study were enjoying this aspect of the islands. The smallest number of tourists participating in passive recreation was found on Anclote Key, which was unsurprising when considered alongside the traveler type information below. Those tourists who are attracted to a more remote location are often more likely to be active participants in their recreation activities.

The three islands had relatively the same number of tourists participating in sports activities. Because no island in this study had any more sporting facilities (for example, volleyball nets or horseshoe pits) than another, it follows that they all appeal equally to the sporting set.

Looking at what activities are taking place on each island is a good way to determine their appeal to different groups of tourists. For a further and more specific comparison, let us consider the following, more direct approach.

Direct Comparisons

Have you been to the other islands in the study area?

If so, how do they compare to this island?

Because this project is comparative by nature, it seems profitable to examine comparisons of the islands drawn by the interviewees themselves. On Anclote Key, the majority (58%) of the tourists had also been to Caladesi Island and Honeymoon Island. This was not the case on either of the latter islands, where only 8% and 15%, respectively, had visited both other islands in the study area (Figure 28).
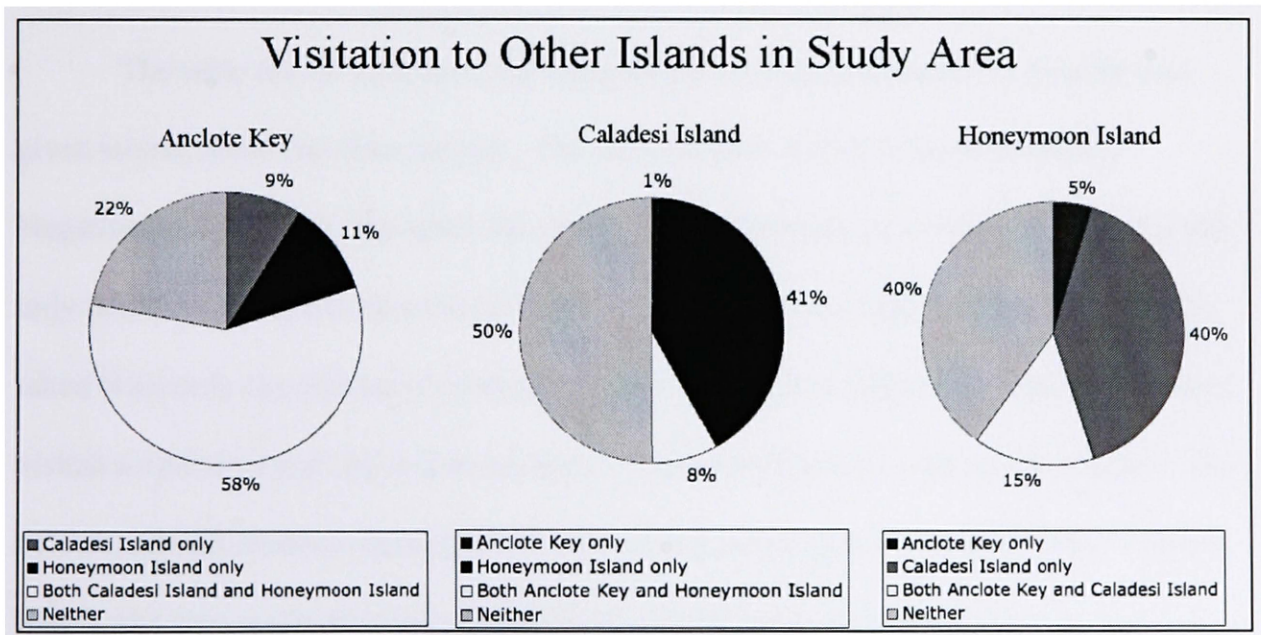

Figure 28: Percent of tourists on each island that have visited either, both, or neither of the other islands in the study area

Whether an interviewee had visited both of the other islands or only one, I was interested in any comparisons they would make. Most of the comments given lend

themselves very well to binary categorization, either positive or negative, though some must be considered neutral, conflicting, or absent (Table 1).

Comments About Other Islands in Study Area							
By Tourists on:	Regarding:	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
Anclote Key	Caladesi Island	14	21%	41	61%	12	18%
	Honeymoon Island	10	14%	46	67%	13	19%
Caladesi Island	Anclote Key	3	33%	5	56%	1	11%
	Honeymoon Island	1	2%	40	87%	5	11%
Honeymoon Island	Anclote Key	7	35%	9	45%	4	20%
	Caladesi Island	16	29%	20	36%	19	35%

Table 1: Comparison among islands in study area by interviewees

The table above represents the categorization of the comments by tourists on a given island, about the other islands. The first number in each column (Positive, Negative, and Neutral) represents the total number of people on a certain island who had only positive comments about the island in question. The percentages shown above are taken from only the number of tourists who had visited that island. If a tourist had never visited a certain island, his or her comments were not included in these calculations. The column labeled *Neutral* represents not only neutral comments ("I used to fish at Anclote Key"), but also conflicting comments ("Caladesi Island is nice but the ferry is too expensive") or the lack of any qualitative comments at all ("I have been to Honeymoon Island").

This table provides the most compelling data about the perceptions of tourists regarding the various islands in the study area. On Anclote Key, tourists have many more negative comments than positive about both Caladesi Island and Honeymoon Island. Many of the comments called into question the islandness of Caladesi Island or Honeymoon Island, remarked about how crowded they were, or otherwise slighted them.

> *"Is Honeymoon even considered an island?"*
> *"Honeymoon Island is attached to the land."*
> *"Caladesi Island is predominantly gay."*
> *"They are fine for tourists but Anclote Key suits me."*

Most of the positive comments about Caladesi Island and Honeymoon Island by tourists on Anclote Key were made with regard to the facilities (docks, restrooms, café, etc.) that are provided on those islands.

On Caladesi Island, the comments about the other two islands were also more negative than positive.

> *"Honeymoon Island is creepy. People do creepy things."*
> *"Anclote Key is rough and has no facilities."*
> *"Caladesi Island has softer sands. Honeymoon Island has more stones."*

The chief complaint about Honeymoon Island was the rockiness of the beach. It is true that Honeymoon Island's beach is rocky. Scott Robinson, manager of the Gulf Islands GeoPark, said that it is an ongoing project to keep sand on the beach and that each storm washes away the sand that had been placed there, exposing the rocks. I can personally attest that the rocks on Honeymoon Island's beach make walking into the water a difficult and sometimes painful experience. Aside from the rocks, the majority of the negative comments about Honeymoon Island recorded on Caladesi Island had to do with the crowds that can be found there. Access by a limited number of people is a

feature of islandness[143] and the fact that Caladesi Island is accessible only by ferry clearly limits its accessibility. To those who do access it, Caladesi seems more insular. As one interviewee said, "it seems like you've gone off to an island." I would add that it doesn't only seem like it—you have.

Anclote Key fared only slightly better than Honeymoon Island in the opinions of tourists on Caladesi Island. Those who commented positively about it said that they liked the seclusion that could be found there. Negative comments were based upon Anclote Key's perceived dirtiness, lack of facilities, and difficult navigation. It should be noted that Anclote Key is surrounded by sandbars that are affected by tides and can make boating hazardous (Figure 29).
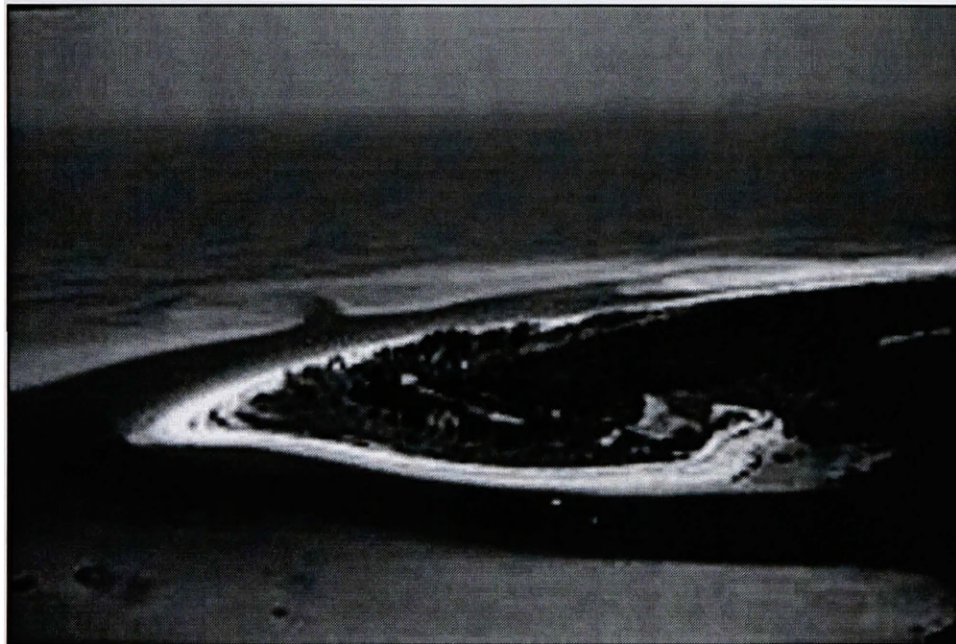

Figure 29: The south end of Anclote Key, with sandbars. Photograph used courtesy of USGS.

On Honeymoon Island comments were not as decidedly negative as they were on the other islands in the study area, but many still clearly showed their preference:

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[143] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 24.

"I don't like the people on Anclote Key. They are old."
"I don't like Caladesi Island at all. You have to go by boat, no one is ever there, and there is nothing around."
"They are both nicer, but more expensive and less convenient."

Regarding Anclote Key, the positive comments were based upon the lack of crowds, the quality of fishing, and the fact that one must go there by boat. Negative comments about Anclote Key involved mostly the difficulty in accessing the island. Other unfavorable comments were that there were too many trees, not enough waves, or that that it was visited by an undesirable type of tourist. Tourists on Honeymoon Island disliked Caladesi Island's lack of people, its difficult (or expensive) access, and its lack of facilities. One tourist reported that after being dropped off by the ferry on Caladesi Island he "felt stranded," an evaluation hearkening back to the idea of an island as a prison (p. 13ff). Favorable comments about Caladesi Island involved its prettiness, lack of crowds, and absence of rocks. One tourist reported that Caladesi Island has dolphins, and one said that it was better for children.

It is interesting that on every island, there were more negative comments about the other islands than positive comments. This indicates that people chose their destination deliberately and not simply based upon proximity or chance. The majority of interviewees were found on the island that, among the three in the study area, they liked best.

Choosing a Beach

When you are planning a trip to the beach or an island, what sort of things affect your decision of which beach or island to visit?

Do you prefer island beaches or mainland beaches?

Knowing, then, that the majority of interviewees preferred the island on which they were found, it is important to ascertain just which qualities of a beach or island are most appealing to them. I asked each interviewee to describe the characteristics that they look for when choosing a beach or an island to visit. As above, I categorized these answers based upon the incidence of the aforementioned "insularity-related words." As expected, Anclote Key was where the greatest number of tourists used insularity-related words to describe desirable characteristics of a beach or island, with 43%. Caladesi Island followed closely at 38% and Honeymoon Island was only slightly behind Caladesi Island at 31% (Figure 30). This indicates that tourists on all three islands value islandness similarly, with the value slightly increasing as the island's attachment to the mainland decreases.

Percent of Interviewees on Each Island Using Insularity-Related Words to Describe What They Look for in a Beach or Island
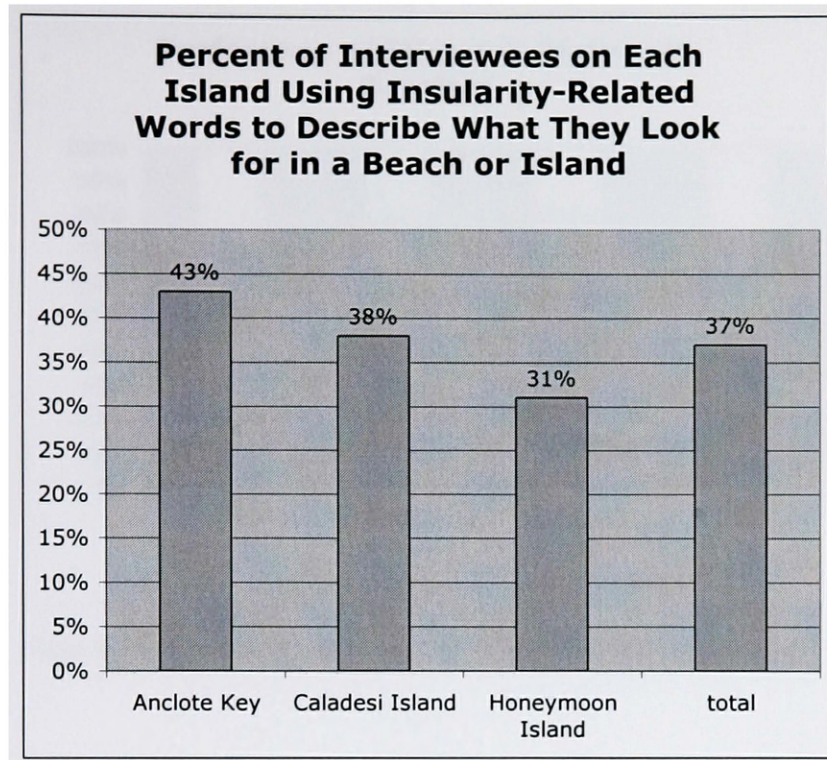
Figure 30: The value placed by tourists upon insularity when choosing a beach or island to visit

Rather than basing my assessment of the tourists' preferences solely upon inference, I asked them outright whether they preferred island beaches or mainland beaches. The results to this question followed the predicted pattern, but were rather extreme. Almost all (93%) of the interviewees on Anclote Key preferred island beaches to mainland with only 2% preferring mainland and 5% reporting no preference. The results on the other two islands were nearly identical to each other, with the tourists on Caladesi Island preferring island beaches slightly more than those on Honeymoon Island. On both linked islands, the majority of people reported no preference between island and mainland beaches (Figure 31).
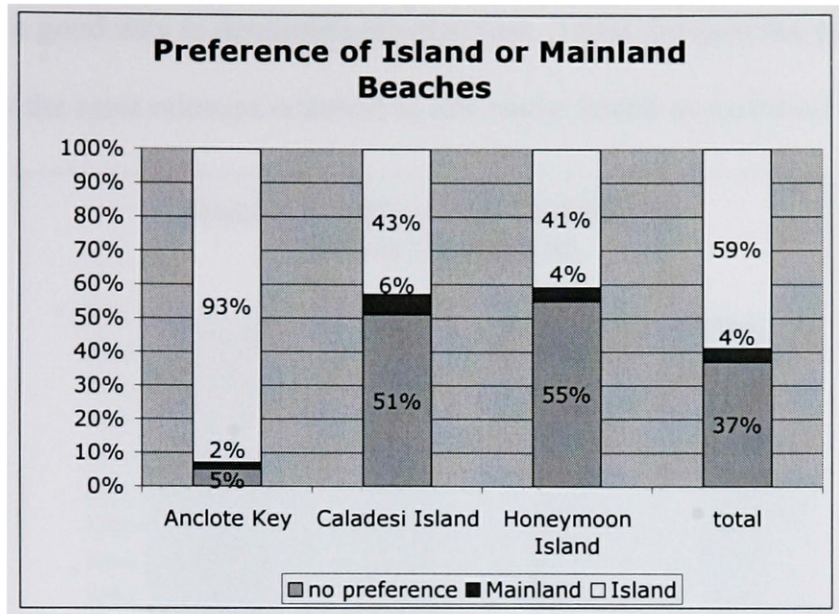
Figure 31: Tourists' preference for island or mainland beaches

Travel History and Dreams

Describe your ideal travel destination. Money is no object.

What other places have you visited recently on vacation?

Based upon the information gleaned by the above question (Figure 31), it would

appear that Anclote Key attracts a different type of tourist than does Caladesi Island or

Honeymoon Island. To test this, I wanted to ascertain how important the concept of

islandness was to the tourists interviewed on each island. The best way to do this, I

determined, was to ask each interviewee about his or her dream travel destinations and

recent travel destinations. If I were to ask tourists directly to assess themselves or their

travel style, the responses might be subject to embellishment, as many people might like

to project themselves as being more adventurous than they actually are. It seems logical

that evaluating each tourist based upon his or her dream destinations and recent

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destinations is a good way to determine traveler type. I first grouped the given dream destinations by the most relevant criterion to this study, island or mainland (Figure 32).
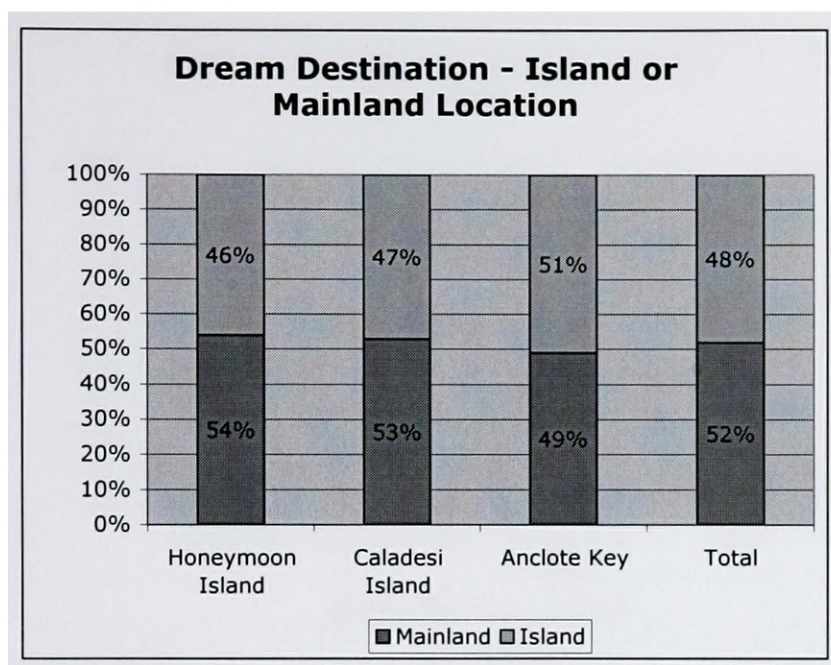

Figure 32: Dream destinations, categorized by island or mainland location

The results to this question show virtually no predisposition of the tourists on any island toward island destinations, as can be seen above. If one relied solely upon the island/mainland distinction of dream destinations, it would appear that tourists on the three islands in the study area were not distinguishable from one another in the value that they placed upon islandness. However, considering the results to the question about recent destinations, it becomes clear that, while all interviewees may dream of islands equally, those on Anclote Key were the ones actually visiting the islands.

As is obvious from Figure 33 below, tourists on Anclote Key had recently visited island destinations more often than tourists on Caladesi Island or Honeymoon Island. The fact that those on Honeymoon Island had recently visited more islands than those on Caladesi Island was a bit of a surprise, although tourists on both linked islands visited

more mainland destinations than islands. A small percentage on each island reported no recent travel for pleasure.
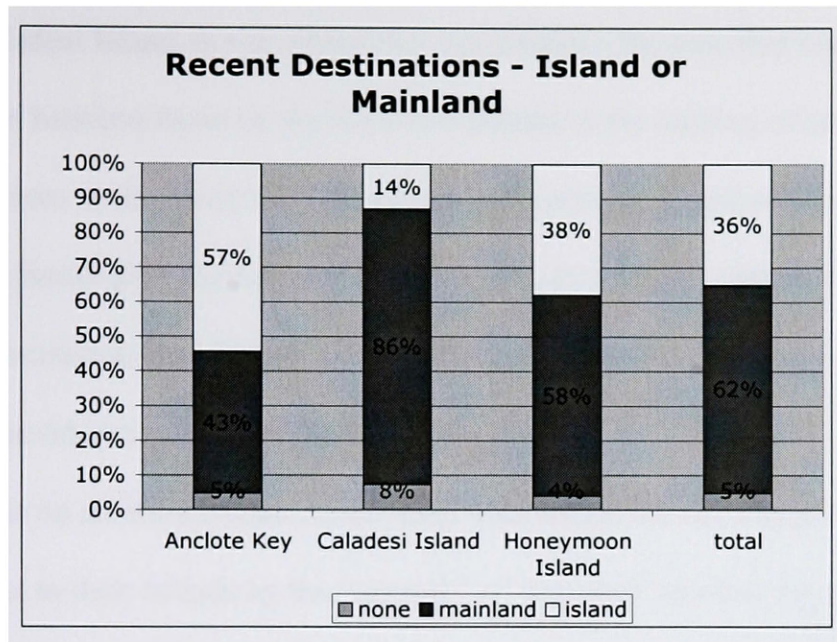

Figure 33: Recent destination categorized by island or mainland location

So we find that tourists on the three islands differ from one another in very predictable ways. Those on Anclote Key seem to value islandness the most, evidenced by their propensity to use insularity-related words when describing both the Anclote Key and their hypothetical preferred beach destination. They vastly prefer islands to mainland beaches both in word and in deed: 93% of them say that they prefer island beaches to mainland beaches and they tend to visit island destinations much more often than tourists on the other islands in this study. When at the beach, they are involved in less passive recreation and more fishing and are more likely to prefer to travel by boat than are tourists on the other islands.

Tourists on Honeymoon Island are more likely to value accessibility when describing what they like about their island and tend to value islandness the least of the

three groups. This can be seen in the lack of insularity-related words that they use to describe both Honeymoon Island itself, and their hypothetical ideal beach location.

On Caladesi Island, it was often—but not always—the case that tourists would fall somewhere between those on the other two islands in the ranking of responses. Some notable exceptions to this trend were the facts that tourists on Caladesi Island relied more upon the mass media for information about their island, were more likely to participate in nature-based recreation, had visited mainland destinations most frequently, and valued accessibility the least when describing their island.

Tourists on all three islands in the study area shared certain characteristics. All tended to travel to their islands by the "normal" or "standard" modes: by automobile to Honeymoon Island, by ferry to Caladesi Island, and by private boat to Anclote Key. When asked about their dream destination, tourists on all three islands gave responses that differed very little in their island or mainland location. Finally, tourists on each island who had visited one or both of the other islands seemed to prefer the island on which they were being interviewed, as is evidenced by the tendency of their comments about the other islands to be more negative than positive.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

A PART OF THE MAIN
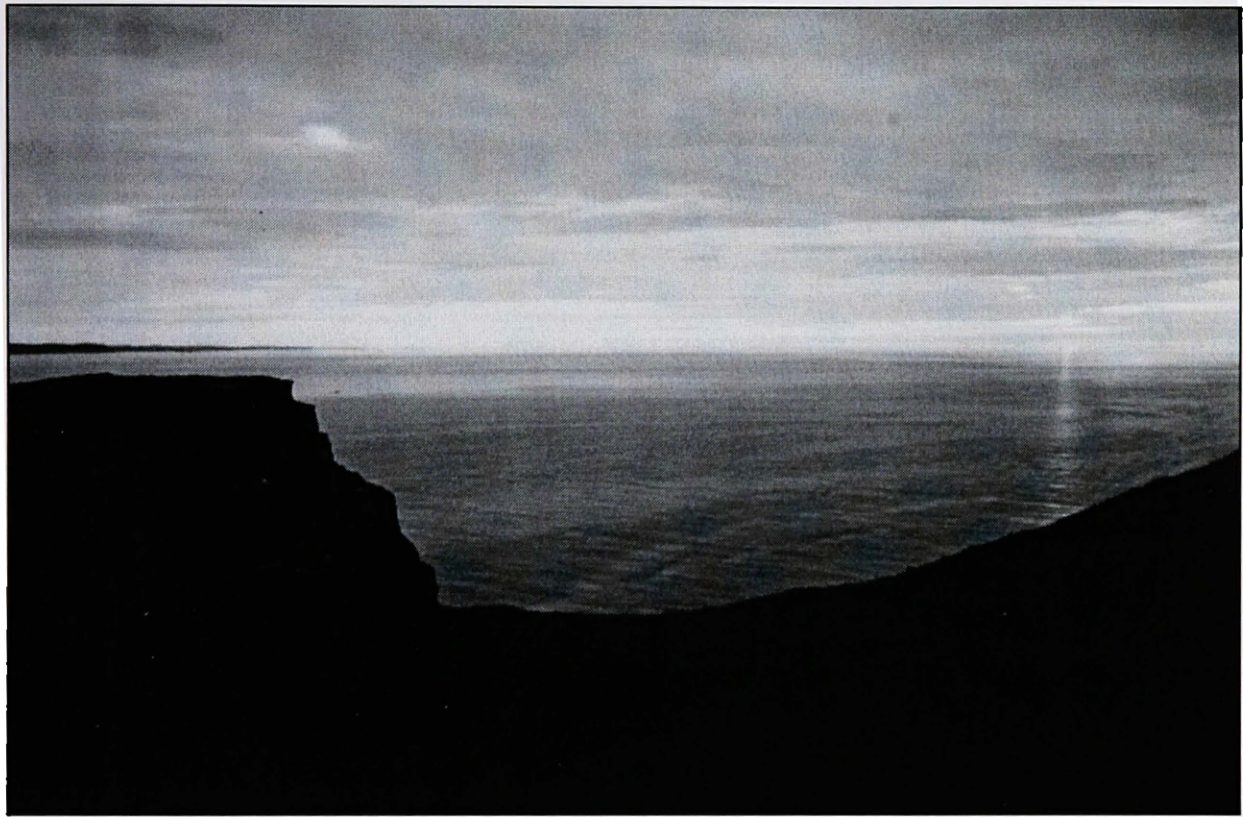
Midnight sunset – Drángey Island, Iceland

No man is an island, entire of itself;
Every man is a piece of the continent,
A part of the main.
If a clod be washed away by the sea,
Europe is the less,
As well as if a promontory were...
Any man's death diminishes me,
Because I am involved in mankind,
And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls;
It tolls for thee.
　　　　　—John Donne, "Meditations XVI"

In order to buttress and tie together the data gathered from the tourists, I

interviewed two individuals with longer-term involvement in the islands of the study

area: Scott Robinson, manager of the Gulf Islands GeoPark; and Betty Hemphrey,

volunteer with the Friends of the Island Parks.[144] Each provided valuable information

that can only come from someone with continued involvement and commitment to a

place. Throughout the explanation of the following three conclusions, we shall allow Mr.

Robinson and Mrs. Hemphrey to be our guides.

An Island's Form of Linkage Has a Profound Impact Upon Its Islandness

This is of course the central conclusion found by this study. Whether and how an

island is linked to the mainland is perhaps the most significant determinant of the amount

of islandness that is felt by tourists who travel there. According to Robinson, "each

island [in the study area] would be totally different with different access." Hemphrey

agrees and offers that the mode of access for each island "should stay this way." By

choosing three islands that are virtually identical except for the variable of linkage, I am

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[144] All quotes from Mr. Robinson and Mrs. Hemphrey are from the personal interviews conducted 3 July and 2 July, respectively.

able to attribute most of the differences gleaned from my interviews with tourists to the link itself. If the 1977 plans to build a bridge to Anclote Key were ever realized, the island's character would change drastically. Likewise, had the causeway never been built to Honeymoon Island and the ferry *Seabiscuit* was still its only link to the mainland, it would be a very different place from what it is today. As an island's link to the mainland becomes more regular, more concrete, its islandness becomes more obscured. This is evidenced by the fact that Caladesi Island usually falls between Honeymoon Island and Anclote Key on most measurements of islandness in my Results section. Simply put, as linkage increases, islandness decreases.

<center>Each Island Plays a Different Role</center>

Anclote Key, unlinked to the mainland, possesses the highest degree of islandness of the three islands in this study area. Many features of Anclote Key affect its insularity, including the adventure involved in getting there by boat, the different social mores that exist there and allow practices—such as nude sunbathing—that are not acceptable in other locations, the lack of automobiles, the limited number of people that are able to access the island, and the relaxing atmosphere felt there. Robinson says that Anclote Key's greatest appeals are its "lack of regulation and supervision and its remoteness." Regarding the remoteness, this is attractive to most visitors to Anclote Key and overcoming it to reach the island is seen as a pleasurable or adventurous experience, rather than an obstacle. Robinson provided a very informed assessment of Anclote Key's appeal when I asked him what that island needed. His response, "A resident manager,

<center>110</center>

safety, security, and resource management," was to be expected, but then he added that he thought "this will take away from some tourists' experience." The untamed, remote nature of Anclote Key is what gives it its appeal—and its islandness.

Honeymoon Island, with its fixed link to the mainland, offers an island experience with the easiest access of the three islands in the study area. Both Robinson and Hemphrey mentioned the ease of access as one of Honeymoon Island's main appeals to tourists. Robinson pointed out that Honeymoon Island is the only beach in the area besides Clearwater Beach which, with its high-rise hotels and carnival-like "Pier 60," is unappealing to many in search of a more relaxing day. Though it is clear that Honeymoon Island's causeway detracts from its islandness, this is not an issue to many of the tourists there. Of all those interviewed in this study, the tourists on Honeymoon Island placed the least amount of importance upon islandness when choosing a beach destination.

Caladesi Island, linked to the mainland by regular ferry service, provides the adventure of boat travel and appeal of islandness without the commitment, risk, or cost of traveling by private boat. Caladesi Island's mobile link has, to some degree, diminished its islandness yet it still has many insular characteristics including limited crowds, lack of development, and the adventure of travel by unusual means. These characteristics were all mentioned by both Robinson and Hemphrey, as well as by many tourists.

Tourists visited the island that they preferred.

According to my results, and supported by Robinson, it is clear that the majority of the tourists interviewed in this study had deliberately chosen which island to visit. Tourists to whom convenience and access were important factors chose Honeymoon Island owing to its easily accessible scenic beauty. Those who enjoy boating, value islandness the most, visit novel destinations, or were seeking a place with fewer rules, less supervision, and a more remote feeling are more likely to visit Anclote Key. The ferry ride to Caladesi Island appealed to many with its combination of convenience and adventure in accessing a truly beautiful island destination. Each of the islands in this study area is loved by those who visit it. Each has characteristics that engender its appeal to a certain kind of traveler who is seeking a certain kind of island experience. It is important that a variety of islands be maintained for future generations. Development should be encouraged in some places and limited in others. It is unfortunate that the developments that are intended to provide access to these special places are often instruments in the destruction of the very qualities to which we were first attracted. This relationship that exists between mankind and islands is a precarious one, and it is our task as geographers to understand and maintain it.

Therefore, I turn to Clarke to explain why his "geographic love affair" has endured for so long. He says, in the conclusion to his travelogue and in stark contrast to the classic verse quoted at the introduction to this chapter, "Forget John Donne, every man *is* an island, and we love islands because they are the only geographic features that

echo our isolation and individuality."[145] This is certainly the case on the west coast of

Florida in the Gulf Islands GeoPark, where the islands echo the individuality of the

tourists themselves. Isolated or popular, accessible or remote, tourists will seek the

destination that suits them best. The most important conclusion of this thesis is that while

a fixed or mobile link does have a profound impact upon an island's insularity, it is

important to maintain a variety of linkages among island destinations so that everyone

can find his or her "island of dreams."[146]

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[145] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 328 (emphasis in original).
[146] Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, 91-92.

Small island in Helinsøen, Norway – Used courtesy of Cory Fielding

Appendix A – Interview Guide and Research Goals

Following is a repetition of the interview questions asked to tourists, each

followed by a brief description of the qualitative and quantitative research goals intended

to be answered by that question.

1. Tell me about (name of island). Why do you like to visit here?

Qualitative – descriptors of what people enjoy about a particular island
Quantitative – occurrence of insularity-related words

2. How did you get here today?

Quantitative – percent who travel by "common" or "uncommon" methods to each island

    a. Do you have access to a private boat?

Quantitative – percent who have hypothetical access to all three islands

3. How did you find out about (name of island)?

Quantitative – success of various marketing techniques for each island

4. What activities are you participating in today?

Qualitative – descriptors of what people do on each island
Quantitative – percent of each activity to see if usage differs among islands

5. Have you also been to (the other islands in the study area)?

Quantitative – percent who have visited all/some of the islands

    a. If so, how do they compare to (name of island)?

Qualitative – descriptors of other islands
Quantitative – favorable, unfavorable reports of other islands

6. When you are planning a trip to the beach or an island, what sort of things affect
your decision of which beach or island to visit?

Qualitative – descriptors of pull factors
Quantitative - occurrence of insularity-related words

7. Do you prefer island beaches to mainland beaches?

Quantitative – percent who prefer islands

    a. Why or why not?

Qualitative – descriptions of concept of island vs. concept of mainland
Quantitative – occurrence of insularity-related words

8. What other places have you visited recently on vacation?

Qualitative – types of places participant has recently visited
Quantitative – help to determine traveler type using Plog's (and others') scales; occurrence of island places, remote places, etc.

9. What is your favorite method of travel on vacation?

Quantitative – percent who prefer each method

10. Describe your ideal travel destination. Money is no object.

Qualitative – types of places participant would like to visit
Quantitative – help to determine traveler type used Plog's (and others') scales; occurance of island places, remote places, etc.

Appendix B – Insularity-related Words and Concepts

1. Adventure in getting there[147]
2. Detached, self-contained[148]
3. Different social mores[149]
4. Freedom and security[150]
5. Island of dreams[151]
6. Islandness lost or reduced by bridge[152]
7. Isolation, remoteness[153]
8. Limited number of people with access[154]
9. Mysterious[155]
10. No cars[156]
11. Opportunity to escape, get away[157]
12. Paradise, uninhabited[158]
13. Slower pace, relaxing[159]

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[147] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 24; Royle *A Geography of Islands*, 11.

[148] King, "The Geographical Fascination of Islands," 13.

[149] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 22; Royle *A Geography of Islands*, 14.

[150] Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 122.

[151] Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, 91-92.

[152] Baldacchino, "Studying the 'Bridge Effect'"; Clarke, *Searching for Crusoe*, 11; Royle, "Bridging the Gap," 243-244; Weale, "Islandness," 81-83.

[153] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 24.

[154] *Ibid.*

[155] King, "The Geographical Fascination of Islands," 13.

[156] Link, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*.

[157] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 24.

[158] Birkett, *Serpent in Paradise*, 14-15.

[159] Baum, "The Fascination of Islands," 22.

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As a dreamer of dreams and a traveling man,
I have chalked up many a mile,
Read dozens of books about heroes and crooks
And I've learned much from both of their styles.
—Jimmy Buffett, "Son of a Son of a Sailor"

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