Chapter One: Introduction

Pressured by the decline of extractive industries and agriculture, many small towns are trying to acquire a share of the tourism industry (Davis and Morais 2004:3).

Two significant but very different landscapes are central to the contemporary travel experience and thus to the construction of the traveller self: the natural environment and the city...

When considered through the lens of tourist encounters with nature, many have argued that the traveller experience can be one where local environments and peoples are respected, and enriching human-to-human and human-to-environment interactions privileged. It is less easy to be so idealistic about travel through, and to, urban space. The landscapes of urban tourism are often detached from the lived and the everyday and thus provide the traveller with safe, mediated experiences of the city and its cultures. These precincts and the travel experiences they frame are frequently global and universal in form and content – devoid of meaningful encounters with the local. Increasingly, the interplay between the global and the local has become the most significant factor in shaping contemporary tourist cultures and the traveller self (Wearing, Stevenson and Young, 2010:75; 91-92).

As a landscape architect, as a long time traveller/tourist, as an educator, and at one time as a tourism provider, I am interested in the design and planning of tourism in small towns. As the first quote above indicates there is an ever increasing demand for tourism development in small towns. However the travel space in towns is very different from designed spaces in natural environments, where the landscape is the primary focus, or in tourism districts found in cities, where spectacle and commercial entertainment spaces dominate. Small towns are a vital part of the travel circuit in New Zealand, and small town travel space is a unique situation where global visitors meet the people and lived spaces of the local everyday.

For tourism is about movement. Connecting small towns to global tourism flows creates positive impacts associated with economic development for the town, while negative impacts include a spreading ‘global’ placelessness. From a design perspective a number of questions arise: how should small towns provide spaces for tourists who are looking for specific kinds of experiences while also maintaining the needs of local populations? And, how should spaces/places be shaped to mediate these transitions where global tourists interact with local places?

This shaping occurs in a complex context where ‘places’ are not only material spaces but also have history and meaning, both real and imagined, which provide experiences, and for some, a sense of identity.

The real spaces of travel are the destinations – the beaches, the wildernesses and the cities, as well as the roads and transport links. Travel is about movement though space to place. It is about an engagement with visited and traversed places as well as with those encountered in the destination space. The travel circuit is one of movement and performance – departure, mobility, arrival, departure, mobility and arrival. Flows and located pauses, if you like. Also important are the artefacts and physical objects that surround the travelling/traveller body and that are encountered in the travel space. But the travel space is also about the metaphoric and the imaginative (Wearing, Stevenson and Young, 2010: 134).
This is further complicated as travel space is not homogenous. Travellers expect different spatial settings, facilities and experiences. Many small towns in New Zealand are promoting tourism to increase economic diversity. In order to attract and better provide for tourists, and to ‘improve’ their position in the travel circuit, these towns are making changes to the spatial arrangements of facilities and character of their main streets and public space. There are also new private developments, which are guided by district plans, and which are also being revised to accommodate the new demands and opportunities. Landscape architects contribute to these changes through the design and (re)configuration of physical spaces for tourism. Many recent design solutions have focused on streetscaping or ‘beautification’ using plant material, and creating or improving the town’s image through signage and inventing town themes. The intent of many of these solutions is to meet the needs and expectations of tourists, but there has been little systematic investigation into whether this has been achieved, or what other implications the changes have for the life and character of small towns.

Small towns, in general, and their attempts to engage with travel circuits in particular, have been neglected in academic research in tourism and design disciplines, which has focused on high profile destinations and urban areas, and is primarily concerned with economic and marketing issues. Furthermore, while the character of tourism in small towns is starting to get some attention, it appears planners and designers are not treating the provision of tourist facilities any differently in their design process. As a result, towns are becoming more homogeneous and stylized (gentrified) as global processes affect the reshaping of towns for tourism. Design disciplines contribute to this by following normative design practices that primarily consider visual experiences and instrumental design techniques (add objects, focus on consumption, sanitizing and organizing). These changes affect place identity and ultimately how they are interpreted and valued by locals and visitors alike.

This research is an exploration of the design implications and process of developing small towns for tourism. The focus of the study is upon the design of public open space for ‘global’ tourists, and it is based upon three separate but linked case studies. Each case study looks at a specific town that represents a different category in a simple typology of tourism towns. Grounded in observation and tested with resident and visitor responses, the research explores issues of global travel in a local setting using a performance perspective in design. It particularly focuses upon the way public space in small towns act as "transitional space" where tourists refocus from being global travellers to local visitors.

1.1 Theoretical Approach

The thesis is based on six key theoretical concepts: global to local; travel circuit; authentic experiences; embodied performances; tourism stage and staging. The concepts are briefly introduced below and then defined and expanded upon in chapter two.
The global to local concept introduces the nature of contemporary tourism in New Zealand, which involves movement of people from around the world into small towns and communities in New Zealand, and connects these towns with international capital and technologies, and is thus a form of globalisation.

The New Zealand national tourism strategy suggests the need to diversify regional economies so that small towns can ‘capture’ the tourists moving to and from the iconic destinations used to market the country as a whole (New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2015, 2007). The travel circuit explains how tourists experience small town New Zealand by travelling along particular travel routes and itineraries, which in turn shapes their interaction with the small towns along their route.

Authentic experience explains a key part of the motivation for tourism in New Zealand, branding and marketing suggests that tourists are seeking the ‘real’ New Zealand, branded as “100% Pure”. However authenticity is a problematic concept, and needs critical evaluation.

The next concept considers how we perceive our world and is of utmost importance in how we ultimately shape it for our use. Both in tourism studies and in design, there has been a turn from visual perception to a more holistic sense of experience. The concept of embodied performance explains this and why there is a need to know how we experience sense of place, in order to design for it. The performance metaphor is explained in detail and how it has influenced tourism research.

The concept of the tourist stage looks closer at the strategy of providing for tourism. How do we provide for tourism in small towns? Do we follow the strategies used in urban precincts where places are differentiated to create ‘uniqueness’ and/or invented with themes and applied symbolism to build brands and sell place. I draw from Edensor (1998, 2000, 2001, 2007) and consider the concepts of taskscapes and touristscapes as well as enclavic and heterogeneous space in this discussion.

The last concept is that of staging. This section describes how spaces are designed, and the physical details that make up the tourist space. Landscape architects are responsible for these activities of creating space which ultimately affect our social use and understanding of public space. This section takes a look at some of the assumptions we have about the nature of and process of design, conventions which are often taken for granted. I also question whether how we design and the decisions that are made are adding to the problems of global placelessness, rather than providing solutions.

With these six key concepts and the goal to explore the nature of tourism in small towns in New Zealand through the lens of the performance metaphor, a single research question is put forward:

How can the performance metaphor inform and enable the design of small towns for tourism?
The objectives of this research are therefore:

1. to investigate the current use of tourist-related public space in a range of small towns
2. to explore how these spaces are designed for tourism and their relationship with the town
3. to better understand what this means in terms of designing spatial experience and designing for both local residents and tourists

1.2 Organisation

Chapter two expands upon the key concepts and their use in the theory of tourism design. Chapter three explains the research strategy and methodology. This research uses a reflexive interpretive strategy, based upon three case studies. It combines participant observation, in-depth interviews, a design studio and a design experiment. The research was initially exploratory and inductive, using my own experiences, observing how visitors and locals use space, and reflecting upon the tourism literature. This produced an initial conceptual model of tourism performance stages. The model identifies that towns can be differentiated on the travel circuit, according to their role in tourism. However the model does not explain what this means for designing the spatial arrangements and characteristics for a specific town. Three travel town types were identified that provide different combinations of travel spaces ranging from local everyday to a focus on the tourist. The town types were then considered as case studies.

Chapters four through seven are the data chapters and describe the case studies of three towns that represent different town types on a travel circuit. Prior to the case studies a travel circuit model is introduced along with other general observations made while scoping for case study locations. Information was gathered from participant observation, informal interviews, and secondary sources: documents, websites, and brochures. The case studies are focused on the tourist places in the towns and an interpretive understanding of ‘how’ and ‘why’ these stages came into being. The case studies are analysed using performance as metaphor: as stages, scripts and performances.

Analysis of the first case study, Akaroa, was based entirely upon participant observation. Analysis of the second case, the town of Methven, the gateway community, also used a design studio to gain depth understanding of the design process using the performance metaphor and of the issues associated with designing for tourist places in a small town. Students as co-researchers provided a range of perspectives on tourism and design related issues. This studio experiment identified a number of design attributes that contribute to a stage’s or place’s sense of being a touristscape (touristy) or taskscape (local). These attributes were then tested in the next design experiment.
The third case study, the town of Geraldine, representing the town along the route in the travel circuit model, used participant observation but extended the methods to incorporate a design experiment which is reported separately in chapter seven. The design attributes identified by the students in Methven were used to create four design scenarios that were used as visual aids to prompt questions regarding designing tourist places in the town of Geraldine. Each of the four design approaches represented a level of design ranging from ‘local’ to ‘global’ in character. These design approaches were then used during semi-structured interviews to elicit the participant’s perceptions of tourism development and their preferences. A cross section of locals and independent tourists were interviewed, as well as landscape architects and tourism consultants.

Chapter eight discusses the case study findings and what this contributes to tourism studies and for landscape architecture and design. This chapter includes discussion on the importance and urgency of understanding the impacts of global tourism on local places, as represented here in small rural towns. The discussion also examines the concept of the tourism circuit and the three tourism town types. The key findings of the case studies are presented as well as a critique of the performance metaphor, and implications are discussed for planning and design, global and local issues, ambivalence in tourism design, design theory, methodology, role of research in practice, and professional design practice. The thesis ends with some summary and concluding remarks and a final comment asking designers to be more reflexive and challenge the conventions of current practice.

### 1.3 Key Findings

Three key insights are outcomes of this research. First, the performance metaphor provides a new perspective that helped understand space as not only an arrangement of material objects, but also as places of performed activities with social meaning and significance for those performing. Secondly, the lens of the performance metaphor revealed inherent bias in the nature of design process. Some students in the design studio found the performance metaphor helpful to consider space as the venue for social activity, while others were designing spaces from preconceived ideas of tourism, design and design norms that have become conventions through repeated use. This becomes problematic when convention is unchallenged and design produces spaces that are taken-for-granted, and in terms of performativity are unreflective and produce a hegemonic and homogenised world. The third insight is that tourist space is fluid and there is a multiplicity of perceptions and understanding from tourists and local residents. Designers therefore are challenged to balance a range of needs and expectations, and provide not only traditional tourism markers and activities, and preserve ‘authentic’ sites and spaces, but also design responses that provide an opportunity for tourist improvisation and innovation where tourists co-create their experiences.
Chapter Two: Key Theoretical Concepts and Theoretical Lens

Landscape architecture is distinguished from other disciplines studying tourism, such as tourism studies, sociology, geography, business, economics and anthropology, by its focus on ways to “guide change in the character of the landscape” and to “protect and enhance their intrinsic physical, cultural, and ecological qualities” (Murphy 2005:2). It is this active engagement of modifying the tourism landscape, to improve its utility and value, that value that distinguishes a design discipline from other tourism perspectives.

Hence while tourism is an industry (Hall and Page 2006), a social and cultural phenomenon (Wearing, Stevenson and Young 2010), and a “significant economic enterprise in cities and regions throughout the world” (Wearing et al 2010:2), from a landscape architect or designer perspective, tourism needs to be understood through a lens as it relates to the experiences of travel and tourism, the construction of tourism space, and the shaping of tourism places. Designers draw upon a range of other disciplines in order to understand how and what changes to choose and direct. Wearing et al.’s understanding of tourism is useful here:

…tourism comes to be regarded as an ‘arena of interaction’ which is played out through the tourist’s encounter and engagements with the spaces, places and cultures of travelled destinations (Wearing et al. 2010:5).

These arenas are found at destinations and also in the spaces between destinations. “Tourism is about travel through space to space” (Wearing et al 2010:76). Modifications to tourism townscape therefore need to consider the movement of people through spaces, places as destinations and the way that urban landscapes shape experiences. ‘Place making’ is involved, as are issues of ‘authenticity’ and constructing representations of place identity. Linking these together is the experience and activities of tourists themselves as ‘performers’.

The chapter is structured around six key concepts that articulate the context and motivation for a performance perspective and its application in townscape design: the global – local transition; the travel circuit; authentic experiences; embodied performance; the tourist stage and staging. The first two concepts- the global and local, and travel circuit- situate the nature of tourism in general and in New Zealand specifically. The third section considers the contentious issue of authenticity as it relates to travel experiences. The fourth section, entitled ‘embodied performances’ explains the performance metaphor as theoretical lens, and what this means for understanding tourism and for its design. The last two sections consider how tourism space is constructed first as a spatial strategy, the tourism stage, and then considers the use of design and design details to create the staging for tourism.
2.1 Global to Local Transition

The first key concept considers tourism as the movement and transition from global to local. This concept is based on an understanding of globalisation and place, and explores how international tourism requires the movement of global tourists from their home countries to a destination country and subsequently the transitions to local places.

2.1.1 Globalisation

Globalisation has three key aspects that affect tourism and subsequent design. First, globalisation expresses a networked society (Castells 2000) in a world where there are increasing flows of information, capital, people, images and symbols and a “rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life” (Tomlinson 1999:2). Connectivity is key, where there is “increasing global-spatial proximity… what David Harvey (1989) has referred to as ‘time-space compression’ ” (Tomlinson 1999:3). Tomlinson explains further:

> What is involved here is a sense of the shrinking of distances through the dramatic reduction in the time taken, either physically (for instance, via air travel) or representationally (via the transmission of electronically mediated information and images), to cross them (1999:3).

There is a strong relationship between globalisation and tourism. As the planet ‘shrinks’ global tourism becomes more accessible. More and new people are travelling, travelling further and more often (Shaw and Williams 2004). Shaw and Williams (2004) identify five key aspects of the globalisation of tourism that demonstrate this relationship: tourism is highly implicated in globalization; tourism is subject to the intensification of interconnections; tourism has grafted onto existing tourism landscapes; tourism has resonance for identities and meanings; and, globalization has modified the location of power and nature of tourism dependency. The lesson for landscape architecture is that places of tourism are not isolated entities but are interconnected and dynamic as tourism flows carry people, material and information into and out of the local.

Another implication of global tourism is the impact global connections have on place. With changing ideas of what comprises cultural tourism, where more areas of consumption are being viewed as ‘cultural’, and tourists are increasingly mass consumers (Richards 2007) there have been changes to the places of tourism. Cultural homogenisation and landscape uniformity (Shaw and Williams 2004) are cited as consequences of globalisation.

Globalisation has been complicit in creating a ‘fast world’: ‘… a world of restless landscapes in which the more places change the more they seem to look alike, the less they are able to retain a distinctive sense of place, and the less they are able to sustain a public social life’ (Knox 2005:3 in Carmona et al 2010:124).

Homogenisation is a result of tourism supply providing forms of tourism bringing cultural uniformity, where ‘McDisneyization’ and ‘McDonaldization’ are sought by tourists wanting ‘homogeneous,
calculable and safe experiences wherever they are to be consumed (Urry 2000:38 in Shaw and Williams 2004:11). “The homogenization thesis presents globalization as synchronization to the demands of a standardized consumer culture making everywhere seem more or less the same” (Tomlinson 1999:6). However in tourism, places compete for the consumer’s attention and spending, and local identities and distinctiveness provide the basis for tourist products (Richards 2006). Along with global homogenisation is the countervailing process of localization where “local communities work to establish new identities and reclaim their heritage” (Richards 2006:3). Tourism therefore creates a tension in developing places where on one hand there is a push towards connecting to and providing for the global market while on the other the connections greatly impact social life and local place and frequently stimulate a reaction. Global tourism paradoxically is therefore both a pressure for homogenization and also a catalyst for greater attention to place making.

2.1.2 Place

Landscape architects conceive place as a complementary concept to landscape (Swaffield 2002). Tuan’s (1977) book ‘Space and Place’ has been highly influential (Jackson 1980) and details how space becomes place from our experiences and perceptions of how we make sense of our world. Place is culturally determined and socially organised. “Places are at once the sedimented layers of historical experience, cultural habit, and personal and collective memory and continually remade by ‘lived bodily movement’ ” (Minca and Oats 2006:20).

Antrop situates landscape as the link between local and global and the significance of place.

Landsceapes consist of places and places have a strong existential meaning. Landscapes contain the memory of the history of the land (Muir 2000). … (C)ountryside as something stable, endurable and not superficial. Rural landscapes can be seen as ‘lieux de mémoire’, the roots of collective memory (Lowenthal 1997).… New landscape elements and structures, looking all alike, emerge and show no link with the specificity of the place. Gradually, the history and memory of the place are erased and the genius loci is lost (Antrop 2000b). When the break with the past is achieved, seldom a new distinct identity is realized. New landscapes are often experienced as alienated (Vos and Klijn; Kolen and Lemaire 1999 in Antrop 2004:86).

For designers it is this ‘sense of place’ that is important in ‘place making’. Place is associated with ‘character of place’, ‘sense of place’ ‘spirit of place’ and ‘genius loci’. Although there are critical distinctions between these terms, for example “genius loci arises most particularly from the experiences of those using places rather than from deliberate ‘place making’” (Jivén and Larkham 2003:67), landscape architects attempt to design for places with ‘character’ through ‘place making’ with the intent of providing for desired experiences. Spaces may also (intentionally and unintentionally) be designed to represent spaces that could be anywhere - having neutral aesthetics – and become ‘non-place’ (Relph 1976). Airports and shopping malls, and even road ways (Edensor 2003) are examples of non-place.
Many theorists have attempted to understand place by capturing the qualities of ‘good’ place or by mapping the features of what makes space a place. Most notably Gordon Cullen and his book ‘The Concise Townscape’ (1961) considered place to be ‘central to contemporary concepts of urban design’ and looked at place dimensions such as the visual and external appearance, focused on the ‘street scene’ and façadism (Jivén and Larkham 2003). Cullen’s technique of using a series of framed related views moving through space, or ‘serial vision’, continues to be used in design school as an aesthetic approach for designing space as moving experiences. Cullen’s work identifying desirable qualities of good urban environments has been criticized for differing with the more ‘objective’ analyses of Lynch (1960), however it introduced a systematic framework for “those elusive qualities which affect the emotional experience of, and reaction to, places” (Jivén and Larkham 2003:69). Kevin Lynch’s book ‘The Image of City’ (1960), also central to urban design, looks at visual inventories, its ‘imaginability’, and the elements (paths, districts, edges, nodes and landmarks) that provides structure to a city. He did this by mapping people’s perception and evaluation of urban space, their mental maps, and then uses this information to improve community appearance. Knowing people’s visual element preferences and their understanding of a city’s legibility however ignores meaning, and focuses on structure and identity (Jivén and Larkham 2003:70). This understanding does little to (re)shape spaces with a ‘sense of place’.

To help with ‘place making’, designers have looked to phenomenology, a way of describing human experiences perceived through sensations (Merleau-Ponty 1945, 2002). The work of Norberg-Schulz “explores the character of places on the ground” (Jivén and Larkham 2003:69) and was instrumental in developing the concept of genius loci. Influenced by the work of Husserl and Heidegger, Norberg-Schulz’s book ‘Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture’ (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) explains genius loci as “representing the sense people have of a place as understood as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment” (Jivén and Larkham 2003:70). Norberg-Schulz extends Lynch’s concept of place from a primarily visual analysis to include the “lived or experienced realm” (Jivén and Larkham 2003:70). ‘Genius loci’ is now used by designers and planners to describe and understand the personality of a place or its essential character of the past. Describing the sense of place is however subjective, and therefore there can be many different faces to the character of a place.

The last issue associated with place to be considered is the idea of non-place- places of transience that are not significant enough to be regarded as places (Augé 1995), or ‘placelessness’ (Relph 1976). The transitions from places with character to urban landscapes as placelessness (Relph 1976) are commonly cited as negative consequences of globalisation. Relph (1976) provides a comprehensive discussion on space, types of space, place, identity of place, sense of place and placelessness from primarily a phenomenological perspective. He identifies ‘existential’ space or lived-space as ‘our concrete experiences of the world as members of a cultural group” (Relph 1976:12). This is space as
culturally defined (by the group) and experienced by the individual, and as Relph notes, this is “not merely a passive space waiting to be experienced, but is constantly being created and remade by human activities” (Relph 1976:12). Space needs to be used to exist. Existential spaces create, unselfconsciously, patterns and structures of significance through the building of towns and making of landscapes (Relph 1976).

Existential spaces are used in structuring the serial vision of townscapes (Cullen 1971) and the features of the townscapes as mental maps (Lynch 1960) developed from experiences people have of particular places. As noted above, the work of Cullen and Lynch is highly influential in landscape architecture, and being taught in studio still today, as they identify structural components of space. However as Relph points out, Cullen’s analysis is too visual and Lynch’s analysis is “biased by being aggregated and mapped into the cognitive space of formal street plans” (Relph 1976:20). Relph believes Norberg-Schulz’s vertical and horizontal structures of existential space provide a more formal analysis. This structuring analysis focuses on layers with different scales which range from the nation down to the city, street and to the home. Essentially, it understands place as “centres of meaning, or focuses of intention and purpose” (Relph 1976:22).

Relph’s work provides insight for the designer who attempts to mediate change, and whose goal is place making:

The changing character of places through time is of course related to modifications of buildings and landscapes as well as to changes in our attitudes, and is likely to seem quite dramatic after a prolonged absence. On the other hand, the persistence of the character of places is apparently related to a continuity both in our experience of change and in the very nature of change that serves to reinforce a sense of association and attachment to those places (Relph 1976:31).

Relph also identifies community has an important relationship with place.

The relationship between community and place is indeed a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements (Relph 1976:34).

The relationship with community can be deepened as people become ‘rooted’ within place. Relph explains:

To have roots in a place is to have a secure point which to look out on the world, a firm grasp of one’s own position in the order of things, and a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular. … The places to which we are most attached are literally fields of care, settings in which we have had a multiplicity of experiences and which call forth an entire complex of affections and responses. But to care for a place involves more than having a concern for it that is based on certain past experiences and future expectations – there is also a real responsibility and respect for that place both for itself and for what it is to yourself and to others (Relph 1976:34).

Relph develops the notion of place identity which is more than a description of where it is located or what it is named, but those characteristics that make it distinct and recognisable as a separate entity (Lynch 1960 in Relph 1976:45).
What is required is an approach and attendant set of concepts that respond to the unity of ‘place, person, and act’ and stress the links rather than the division between specific and general features of places (Relph 1976:44).

2.1.3 Place and Performance

Early expressions of the ‘performance metaphor’ are apparent in Relph’s writings on place. Building upon the work of Wagner (1972:49 in Relph 1976:44) he commented: “Place, person, time and act form an indivisible unity. To be oneself one has to be somewhere definite, do certain things at appropriate times”. Relph recognises the importance of the fusion between meaning, act and context, where “generalisations of places cannot be formulated” (Relph 1976:44) and he argued that to “capture, comprehend and communicate ‘essential character’ depends largely on artistic insight and literary ability” (Relph 1976:44). Relph provides examples of novelists giving verbatim accounts of inhabitants as applying this approach and then dismisses this approach too ‘specific’ and not offering much towards understanding of places as phenomena of experience. Relph therefore understood that: “… it is not just the identity of a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has with that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or as an outsider” (Relph 1976:45).

Relph’s three fundamental components of place are the physical settings, activities, and meanings, which are “interrelated in a place, and it is their fusion that constitutes the identity of that place” (Relph 1976:48). He offers his concept of ‘insideness’ and ‘outsideness’ as a way to understand identity as a basic feature of our experiences of places. Experiencing place from the inside is knowing where you are and from the outside “you look upon a place as a traveller might look upon a town from a distance” (Relph 1976:49). Distinctions are made between existential outsideness, objective outsideness, incidental outsideness, vicarious insideness, behavioural insideness, empathetic insideness, and existential insideness (1976: 51-55). From these different ways of experiencing place, place identities and images are created with the “social distribution of knowledge of places within and between individuals, groups and the mass” (Relph 1976:56). This indicates the multiplicity of creating place identity and how it is experienced.

2.2 Travel Circuit

The second key theoretical concept in this thesis is the travel circuit. Unlike ‘stay put’ or all inclusive destinations, circuit tourism (Gunn 1979) is the commodified form of the mobile experience (Wang 2006). Travel experiences are commodified by taking intangible experiences and turning them into tangible products by way of itineraries. “(I)tineraries are the “tangible” temporal-spatial carrier of intangible travel experiences, which can be produced, circulated (in the form of tourist brochures), and sold in the tourist market” (Wang 2006:68). Circuit tourism involves multiple stop itineraries with sightseeing as the major activity (Forer and Pearce 1984).
Tourism is divided up into well-defined circuits. Even when not travelling, people know the places they might visit and the sights at which they might look. The habit of visiting the familiar sites that define the tourism circuits gave rise to the expression “Been there done that” (Fainstein and Judd, 1999:7).

In New Zealand the travel circuit is how most tourists experience the toured places. They travel along routes and itineraries and consume places as inclusive packages (often as mass tourists) or independent self drive tours (FIT or free independent tourists).

The itinerary is a system of links between the temporal and spatial arrangements of tourist activities on the tourist journey. From the perspective of the tourism industry, an itinerary is a saleable product that links, bridges, and puts together the various components that are necessary to the consumption of tourism. These components include accommodation, transportation, restaurants, attractions, entertainment and tourist sites” (Wang 2006:67).

The NZ travel circuit follows itineraries that indicate flows from gateway communities (entering New Zealand) to iconic destinations and back again. Based on studies of spatial travel patterns and tourist flows in New Zealand (Forer and Pearce 1984, Forer 2005) tourists move along selected highways (for safety and time) and through towns on their way to destinations. From these studies we know the most common tourist itineraries and when tourists visit certain places, but we are still unaware of what they are actually doing along the journey, especially in the small towns on the travel circuit.

Travelling to multiple destinations (Gunn 1979; Lue et al. 1993 in Becken 2005) and experiencing the journey comprises the New Zealand travel experience. This framework suggests tourists use a travel circuit, often in self-drive hire cars or camper vans as independent travellers, or on guided coach tours (package tourism), moving along public roads through multiple cities and towns to the primary destinations where people predominantly view natural scenery (Becken 2005).

Coach tours in New Zealand usually follow a tight schedule, a result of the main tourist attractions being spread over about 1,500 km on the two main islands. In this sense, New Zealand is a good example of a destination that includes multi-destination travel, with the different attractions having an agglomerative rather than a competitive effect for visitors who come from faraway countries (Kin and Fesenmaier 1990 in Becken 2005:25).

The corridors that sheath the travel circuit or ‘sightseeing circuit’ (for a complete description see Forer and Pearce 1984) become the places tourists move through and engage for their travel experiences. Gunn (1979) distinguishes between touring and destination tourism – where the touring type is slightly more passive, visited only once by the tourist and restricted by time constraints. This research is interested in where these global tourists intersect with local people in small towns.

2.3 Authentic Experiences

The third key concept is the tourist search for particular ‘authentic’ experiences. While moving along the travel circuit independent tourists want, among other things, a ‘place-based experience’ which “entails negotiations of meaning, identity and otherness in specific places” (Minca and Oakes 2006:1).
Tourist places enable and afford experiences by providing representations for nostalgia, simulacra (Baudrillard’s sense of the word as simulation of reality) and other experiences. Tourists also utilize towns as infrastructure for their services and facilities. Experiences are negotiated, as places are performed by acting and doing rather than simply read as a representational account of ‘social’ and ‘material’ worlds (Haldrup and Larsen 2010). Relph unpacks the complexity of place to include an authentic sense of place, (as unself-conscious and self-conscious) and as authentically created places (Relph 1976:63-78). Such authenticity is negotiated- “(a)s authenticity has no objective quality, it is socially constructed and thus negotiable” (Cole 2007: 945). This section will look at issues of ‘authenticity’ and what this means for spatial ‘representation’.

2.3.1 Authenticity
Dean MacCannell (1976, 1999) has asserted that tourism is a quest for authenticity found in other historic periods and other cultures. MacCannell’s assertion, fundamental to tourism studies, has initiated a continuing debate on authenticity (Cole 2007). MacCannell argues that in order to sell experiences - tourist suppliers provide ‘staged authenticity’ to recreate the past or cultural attributes for tourist consumption. “A common view in the literature has followed: tourism turns culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists, resulting in a loss of authenticity” (Cole 2007:945). This perception however neglects the fact that “visitors (are) not passive recipients of heritage tourism experiences” (Caton and Santos 2007:373), instead are “mindful” of associative and affective dimensions and are guided by multiple tourist motivations (Caton and Santos 2007). Authenticity is also “not an absolute notion but rather a relative, interpreted, and socially constructed concept” (Yang and Wall 2009:3). This notion of the ‘real’ also becomes more contentious when considering tourist places as stages for performances (see later sections).

Wang (1999) questions the usefulness of the unitary concept of authenticity due to its ambiguity and inherent limitations. He instead differentiates among three types of authenticity in tourist experiences: objective, constructive (object-related), and existential (activity-related). “Objective authenticity involves a museum-linked usage of the authenticity of the originals that are also the toured objects to be perceived by tourists. It follows that the authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the toured objects as authentic” (Wang 1999:351). The second type is constructive or symbolic authenticity, which refers to the “authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourists or tourism producers in terms of their imaginary, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers etc.” (Wang 1999:352). The third type of authenticity, which unlike the first two types is activity related, provides an explanation for a greater variety of tourist experiences. Wang calls this third type existential authenticity which “refers to a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities … within the liminal process of tourism” (Wang 1999:352). Wang explains that during tourist activities people feel “more authentic” and more freely ‘self-expressed than in everyday life,
not because they find the toured objects as authentic but simply because they are engaging in non-
ordinary activities, free from the constrains of the daily” (Wang 1999:352).

Others have studied authenticity and have arrived at different conclusions—most notably Dovey
(1985), and Knudsen and Waade (2010). Dovey (1985) theorises authenticity as a “property of
connectedness between the perceived world and the believed world” or “the “integrity in person-
environment relationships … a way of being-in-the-world, a connectedness born out of our act of
appropriation” (Dovey 1985:47). This then requires the observer/performer to have knowledge of a
place’s history and process. However this is not always the case in the mobile and ephemeral nature
of tourism and perceptions of authenticity are still made. Knudsen and Waade (2010) challenge
Wang’s theoretical construct and drawing from Pine and Gilmore (2007) believe that authenticity is,
more than ever, ‘what consumers really want’ and suggest:
the reaction to, or the longing for, something other than a mediatised, commercialised and socially
constructed reality is neither a ‘thing’ you can possess nor a ‘state of mind’, but something which
people can do and a feeling which is experienced. In this sense authenticity is performed (Knudsen and
Waade 2010:1).

Knudsen and Waade build upon Merleau-Ponty’s bodily phenomenological view and claim that the
explicitly mediated character of places (tourist designs) “increases the feeling of authenticity within
the tourist and traveller” (2010:6). This is based in part by Barthes’s theory of photography where
there is a ‘relation of primary emotional, affective and sensuous impact’ from “moving the center of
interest from the image itself to the relation between the viewer and the image” (Knudsen and Waade
2010:7). They see this as performative authenticity:
Regarding performative authenticity, the gaze, the place and the imagined audience play an important
role, but the concept of performativity covers more than visual signs, gaze and imaginations.
Performativity also includes a tactile body, movements, actions and emotions. This represents a move
away from a hermeneutical perspective towards a more corporeal and inter-related perspective. Our
point here is that performative authenticity not only signifies that we do and perform places by our
actions and behaviours, but that places are something we authenticate through our
emotional/affective/sensuous relatedness to them (Knudsen and Waade 2010:7).

2.3.2 Representations
How spaces are designed and represented will be explored later in the ‘tourist stage’ and ‘staging’
sections of this chapter but it is important here to make the connection between the issues of
authenticity and place representation. Authenticity is not one finite way of understanding the world,
but, as the theories put forward by Wang, Dovey, and Knudsen and Waade suggest, it is a negotiation
of the relationship between the performer and place. One aspect of this relationship is place
representation, or the identity of place as image, text or narrative (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). Place
representation as images, text, symbols and myths are presented and then negotiated to communicate
identity and used in tourism promotion (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). It is subjective and based on
perceptions, (visual and embodied) prior knowledge and expectations, and the experience of being
there. Representations are also considered scripts – providing narratives on ‘how to use’ tourist
stages. Scripts are created by guidebooks and promotional material (Edensor 2001) as well as previous experiences and spending time in place (Harrison 2003). Scripts along with stages are manifestations of place representations which inform but do not outright determine experiences (Edensor 2001, 2006, 2009).

This is an important point within the authenticity discussion, because towns prior to tourism development have place representation created, negotiated and expressed from cultural history and rural geographical location (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). This is nested within a larger representational context for New Zealand in general and is also negotiated with representations specifically for tourism (See Ateljevic and Doorne 2002 for a detailed discourse of historical development of tourism imagery and ideology in New Zealand). The designer therefore needs to contend with place representation from the point of view of local residents, community decision makers, national images, rural identity (notions of townships) in general and from the perceptions of tourists and images created within the tourism industry. With this multiplicity of images and text, designer’s make decisions to intentionally change or reshape spaces to become tourist places (one aspect of this is discussed in a future section on taskscapes and touristscapes). How the physical stage is changed to provide for tourist experiences has the potential to change the perceived authenticity of the place. A town’s authenticity will depend upon how it is perceived according to connections with its past, how people (both tourists and locals) perform the town, and the symbolic and experiential nature of being there.

Changing the nature of towns contributes to how people perceive its authenticity and contributes to people’s perception of appropriate and inappropriate developments. Green (2008) conducted a survey of community perceptions of communities along Australia’s Great Ocean Road. He found that there was a “high degree of consensus with respect to environmental assessment in the towns” (Green 2008:50). Residents could recognise ‘inappropriate development’ such as new structures that were “incompatible with existing town character and the loss of valued landscape features” (Ibid 50). He provides an example:

In Lorne, as in other coastal towns, an integral experience of place involves the darkness one sees looking out to sea at night. Unlike the old pier, the new Lorne pier features a strip of bright lights running its length, which give it the look and feel of an airport landing strip (Green 2008:52).

Green’s work foresees the future challenge ahead as towns will need to respond to issues of change, in Green’s case from climate change, or in this thesis the changes imposed from tourism development. Design needs to understand what features contribute to the character of place and how people perceive the ‘authenticity’ of changes made if they are to be sustainable as desirable places to live and to visit. The changes are not only physical materials, but what the materials represent and what they afford as experiences in the space.
Designers also need to contend with representational images as constructed from national images of identity. Although this is a separate topic in and of itself, it is worth noting here the current change in how New Zealand is marketed and branded. New Zealand has used the branding ‘100% Pure’ for the past ten years which promoted ‘stunning landscapes and awesome scenery’ (http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/about-us/100percent-pure-history; accessed July 9, 2011).

More recently Tourism New Zealand has created a new marketing campaign that personalises the experiences to ‘New Zealand 100% Pure You’.

The new message, 'New Zealand 100% Pure You', aims to personalise the New Zealand holiday experience and bring to life the diverse tourism experiences available in New Zealand. Authentic and memorable experiences become the major draw card, while New Zealand's beautiful scenery and environment will continue to be a vital part of the ongoing story as the backdrop.

New Zealand 100% Pure You aims to capture the imagination of our target market whether they are in Melbourne, London, Guangzhou, Los Angeles, Berlin or Tokyo. Through the communication of a special combination of activities, landscape, people and culture that create a uniquely New Zealand experience, people actively considering New Zealand as their next holiday destination understand New Zealand as 100% Pure.

This change from marketing place as scenery to personal experiences indicates a fundamental shift from perceiving the world as object authenticity to more experiential or performative authenticity. This however is not a simple transfer, where Buchmann, Moore & Fisher (2010:245) note, “for experiential authenticity to be accepted it must be grounded in some form of objective authenticity”.

2.4 Embodied Performances - Performance Perspective/Metaphor

This review so far has revealed that there have been quite significant shifts in how tourist’s perceptions of their travel settings are theorised. Recent geography and tourism studies literature highlight a ‘turn’ from a visual perception and experience of place to one that is embodied, negotiated, and performed. The turn is “in opposition to the ‘tourist gaze’ and other representational approaches privileging the eye (Haldrup and Larsen 2010:3). This ‘turn’ was, according to some, a critique of aspects of the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry 1990), which strongly influenced tourism writing in the 1990s, but ignores the cultural and geographical setting central to understanding the tourist experience (Perkins and Thorns 2001). A number of researchers have suggested (see listings in Perkins and Thorns 2001, Haldrup and Larsen 2010) and requested alternatives for understanding tourism not only as ‘seeing’ but based on being, doing, touching, and seeing (Perkins and Thorns 2001).

The ‘turn’ in tourism studies have been influenced by work in cultural studies where “(m)uch cultural tourism research has been concerned with how tourists are drawn to and experience – sense and represent – destinations, and the performance turn continues in that direction” (Haldrup and Larsen 2010:3). The shift contends that place is involved with embodiment (Thrift 2003) and uses phenomenological concepts and metaphors to understand tourism, including: performance “(Edensor 1998), encounter (Crouch 1999) embodiment (Crouch 2000) and mobility (Urry 2000)” (Wearing et al
This thesis explores the performance metaphor as one new way of perceiving tourism places – through embodied performances, and in the following section the literature related to the turn toward the performance metaphor and its use as theoretical lens is reviewed. It also reviews the performance metaphor by how it has been used and its potential for new understanding in landscape and for application in design.

2.4.1 The Performance Metaphor/Perspective

The origins of theoretical conceptualisations of ‘performance’ have been located in anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics (Tulloch 1999:2-3 in Jordan 2008:1) and in performance art, theatre studies as well as feminist philosophy, queer theory and dance studies (Nash 2000:654). Two distinct fields of enquiry, in geography, focusing on different aspects of performance have been used to “explore the construction of identities in and through social performances” (Jordan 2008:1). The first is Judith Butler’s work on ‘performativity’ which conceives the concept as “an attempt to find a more embodied way of rethinking the relationships between determining social structures and personal agency” (Nash 2000:654). Although her work attempts to understand gender as learned social practices that become routine and enacting sexual identities, it has also been applied to nationhood and ethnic identities (Nash 2000). The second concept and the focus of this study is the performance metaphor.

In explaining ‘staged authenticity’ and the division between front-stage and back-stage regions, MacCannell (1976, 1999) draws on the work of Goffman (1959) and his understanding of what he called social dramaturgy. In his seminal work The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Goffman (1959) introduces the metaphor of theatrical performance, where:

(E)ach person in everyday social intercourse presents himself (sic) and his activity to others, attempts to guide and control the impressions they form of him, and employs certain techniques in order to sustain his performance, just as an actor presents a character to an audience (Goffman 1959, back cover).

People act or perform in a certain way to communicate and transmit information of who they are and how they want others to see them. Individuals need to express themselves (perform) in a certain way that sends the right impression to those who are interacting with the individual. Goffman explains:

Interaction (that is, face-to-face interaction) may be roughly defined as the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another’s actions when in one another’s immediate physical presence. … A “performance” may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants (Goffman 1959:15-16).

The performer and the observers are negotiating an understanding of the parts (attributes) being played and whether they are believable or not. The performance is for the audience and for the benefit of the individual’s own belief in the impression that he/she is making upon himself/herself (Goffman 1959). The term ‘front’ is used to describe “the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his (sic) performance” (Goffman 1959:22). ‘Setting’ is
one of the fronts used to construct a performance. The setting involves “furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it” (Goffman 1959:22).

It is this aspect of the front and performance that is of particular interest to landscape architects and designers. Goffman describes that settings stay put and performance begins and ends with a specific place other than in exceptional circumstances such as a funeral cortège or civic parade, where the setting follows along with the performance. Goffman’s writing does not indicate the scale of the setting where there may be a need to consider settings ranging from a street scene measured in meters to regional or even national scales. His writing also does not consider mobile settings such as found on charter tours or with independent self-drive travel, where the tourist performs in motion and performances may extend beyond one setting.

The ‘new mobility paradigm’ is helpful here, which studies the relationships of social life and experiences on the move (See: Urry 2002, 2007; Sheller and Urry 2006; Bærenholdt and Granås 2008; Edensor 2007). With links to Goffman (1972 in Sheller and Urry 2006) and with place production and globalisation (Bærenholdt and Granås 2008), the mobility paradigm suggests performances and the (re)construction of place also occurs while moving. Binnie, Edensor, Holloway, Millington and Young (2007:167) in describing mobility and place in the everyday explain what occurs in circuit tourism travel and how this happens, where people repeatedly perform as tourists:

> As mundane space and place-making endeavours, everyday travels rely upon a combination of practical competencies of how to get about … knowledge about where the shops are and which are the best routes to get to them. Through the application of these capabilities, people synchronize their quotidian, small scale activities with others, building up a shared knowledge of travel procedures, destinations and places en route which enable them to meet for pleasure, get to work on time, and pick up the kids up from school. This familiarity with forms of transportation also produces an embodied, embedded and often unreflective sense of place which is not merely confined to the locations that are joined together by regular journeys but also inheres in the experienced of mobility en route. The repetitive encounters with familiar features, in the everyday or during the tourism travel, “are apt to consolidate a sense of spatial belonging that may extend across space to encompass the serial features of town, region or nation…” (Binnie et al. 2007:167).

Two limitations of the performance perspective seem apparent. One limitation of Goffman’s theory of the performance perspective is his “insistence on the instrumentality of role-playing certainly captures many areas of social performance—and some tourist roles—but it conjures up a continually self-reflexive individual, intentionally communicating values to an audience” (Edensor 2007:202). Edensor suggests that most social and cultural performances are unreflective and habitual. “The performative competencies that we acquire are gained within familiar spatial, social and cultural worlds which are the stages upon which we enact our everyday lives” (Edensor 2007:202). This is understood not as an either-or situation, but as a situation where most tourism is likely to be a combination of reflexive and unreflective performances. What we need to know is that social performances are both reflexive and habitual and occur on stationary and mobile stages.
The second limitation, as noted by Haldrup and Larsen (2010), is the Western assumption that “performing is deception, a trickster world of false impressions” (2010:6). Haldrup and Larsen recognise this has plagued tourism studies before, and explain this is not the case.

The common ontological distinction so prevalent in Western modernity between an authentic world of natural being and an inauthentic one made up by performers has haunted tourist studies for a long time. For example, in MacCannell’s (1976/1999) writing, it sometimes seems that modern tourism is nothing but performative illusions because it is a mobile world of staged authenticity: modern tourism is therefore permeated with inauthenticity. However, we will argue that all cultures and places are constructed through performances and connections with other places and therefore in a sense contrived or inauthentic; they are fabrications in the sense of something made (Rojek and Urry, 19997; Duncan and Gregory, 1999:5). Moreover, Goffman’s argument was not that all the world is trickster stage. Goffman’s dramaturgical sociality is embedded with a thick moral universe, and his claim is not that our social world is a theatrical one but only that a performance lens is a revealing optic on social life. Similarly, we argue not that tourism is a performance but only that a performance approach makes interesting studies of how tourism takes place and is practiced (Larsen, 2009) (Haldrup and Larsen 2010:6-7, italics in original).

The performance perspective has gained attention in geography and tourism research and applied to different contexts and subject areas. Some tourism performance research has focused on well known or spectacular tourism sites such as the Taj Mahal (Edensor 1998), the walled historic city centre of York (Mordue 2005), backpackers in Fiji (Doorne and Ateljevic 2005) and Venice (Quinn 2007), but others have studied performances on: beaches (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry 2004); on a coach tour of New Zealand (Tucker 2007); snowboarders vs. skiers (Edensor and Richards 2007); and Cetaceans in New Zealand (Cloke and Perkins 2005) to name a few. Haldrup and Larson (2010:13) point out tourism performances happen “across multiple sites, ordinary as well as extraordinary, where many mundane everyday practices are also performed”. Performances also occur as imagined events in ‘ordinary places’ such as impromptu re-enactments of scenes from Lord of the Rings occurred in the middle of fields (Buchmann et al 2010). The performance metaphor is therefore not limited to traditional or conventional places of tourism.

The use of the performance lens as explained here has the potential to also provide interesting research insights into how designers create tourism places and how landscape architecture occurs and is practiced.

2.4.2 Performance in Landscape Architecture

The term ‘performance’ has been used in landscape architecture for a number of decades. Halprin (1969) and Meyer (2008) have both used ‘performance’ in different ways in their design discussions. Halprin uses the term performance in a ‘musical’ sense. In his work, The RSVP Cycles, Halprin (1969) uses scores or ‘symbolizations of processes’ to record his creative process. His interest was with how the environment, and his wife’s interest in dance, are non-static and are process oriented so there was a need to describe and evoke processes and this would help in creating better design that is free from problematic goal-oriented thinking. The ‘P’ in the RSVP Cycle represents ‘performance’ which Halprin defines as “Performance which is the resultant of scores and is the “style” of the
process” (Halprin in Swaffield 2002:48, italics in original). Halprin’s performance approaches the metaphor used here, as practicing an act, which supports the ‘openness’ of how people interpret an act and the difficulty of recording its dynamic nature (scoring).

In contrast, Meyer uses ‘perform’ and ‘performance’ to mean ‘something it provides’ or the ‘accomplishment of a task’ as in ‘parks perform in two ways’. Meyer’s writing on aesthetics and ecological design includes understanding of ‘performance’ as not only ecological function but also as emotional or ethical revelation, where beauty and aesthetics affect our understanding and concern for sustainable design and an ecological design agenda.

I believe that works of landscape architecture are more than designed ecosystems, more than strategies for open-ended processes. They are cultural products with distinct forms and experiences that evoke attitudes and feelings through space, sequence and form. Like literature and art, images and narratives, landscape architecture can play a role in building sustained public support for the environment (Meyer 2008:10).

Meyer’s understanding of sustainability is thus not limited to ‘providing something’ that is instrumental, such an ecological process, but can also be considered ‘performance’ based (in terms of Goffman, Butler and Edensor) where the landscape is understood through shaping sites, considering form and appearance (stage), constructing experiences (performance) and affording an environmental ethic (script).

The related term ‘performative’ has also been used recently in describing the emergence of landscape urbanism. Shane (2006) describes a history of landscape urbanism as a reaction to the effects of modernism and renewed interest in ecology in city making. It has an understanding where decentralised post-industrial form operates “in spaces between buildings, infrastructure systems, and natural ecologies” (Shane 2006:59). James Corner in explaining his understanding of landscape urbanism uses ‘performative’ to illustrate preparing “the setting for programmed and unprogrammed activities on common land” (Shane 2006:59).

Corner traces this performative approach back to the work of Rem Koolhaas and Bernard Tschumi, who in turn drew on the time-centered work of Cedric Price and Archigram. Corner saw Tschumi’s Park de la Villette project (1982) as a “prepared ground” for Paris, with pavilions and exceptional park regulations allowing walking on the grass, football, bicycling, kite-flying, picnicking, and even equestrian events. Koolhaas (with Xaveer de Geyter) protected the beautiful landscape territory of Melun-Sénart by “linear voids” of nondevelopment in his New Town Competition entry (1987). … For Corner these spaces are “prepared grounds,” flexible and open, like the British commons or Indian maidan, allowing the “ad hoc emergence” of “performative social patterns and group alliances that eventually colonize these surfaces in provisional yet deeply significant ways.” (Corner, “Landscraping” 124 in Shane 2006: 60).

Corner’s performative approach is not new (Shane 2006 ties Corner’s approach to Ebenezer Howard and McHarg), however this perspective provides a (re)new(ed) interest and understanding of urban space as shifting, changing and layered. The lessons learned from landscape urbanism are still emerging and the concept has had mixed reviews. However, as Shane concludes, the results of
applying the performative perspective through landscape urbanism are opening new possibilities for how we design, plan and use our cities.

The emerging practices surrounding landscape urbanism offer many lessons for urban designers wanting to link structures to specific flows of populations, activities, construction materials, and time. The greatest strength of these practitioners lies in the determination not to accept readymade formulas of urban design, where “New Urbanist” or “generic” urbanist megaforms à la Koolhaas. Landscape urbanists want to continue the search for a new basis of a performative urbanism that emerges from the bottom up, geared to the technological and ecological realities of the postindustrial world. … Landscape urbanists, equipped with a sense of shifting and changing urban morphologies, create new and unforeseen recombinations and hybridizations, liberating the urban design discipline from the current, hopeless, binary opposition of past and present, town and country, in and out (Shane 2006: 60).

Corner’s (2006) writing on landscape urbanism expresses the need to challenge traditional ways of understanding as binaries and as separate entities and opposites, and instead consider them as hybrids that retain aspects of difference. Corner sketches out four relevant themes. First he points out that processes over time that include capital accumulation, globalization, and environmental protection are much more significant for the shaping of urban relationships than are spatial forms (2006:28). He challenges the modernist notion of urban design, arguing that the idea that New physical structures would yield new patterns of socialization has exhausted its run, failing by virtue of trying to contain the dynamic multiplicity of urban processes within a fixed, rigid, spatial frame that neither derived from nor redirected any of the processes moving through it. … this suggests shifting attention away from the object qualities of space (whether formal or scenic) to the systems that condition the distribution and density of urban form (Corner 2006:28).

The second theme is the importance of the ground plane or ‘field’ of action where surfaces are used to connect different levels and to integrate infrastructure where “urban infrastructure sows the seeds of future possibility, staging the ground for both uncertainty and promise” (2006:31). The third theme, the operation or working method, indicates a reconsideration of traditional, conceptual, representational and operative techniques. Corner suggests:

The possibilities of vast scale shifts across both time and space, working synoptic maps along side the intimate recordings of local circumstance, comparing cinematic and choreographic techniques to spatial notation, entering the algebraic, digital space of the computer while messing around with paint, clay, and ink, and engaging real estate developers and engineers alongside the highly specialized imagineers and poets of the contemporary culture – all these activities and more seem integral to any real and significant practice of synthetic urban projection. But the techniques to address the sheer scope of issues here are desperately lacking – and this area alone, it would seem to me, is deserving of our utmost attention and research (Corner 2006:32).

The final theme of landscape urbanism is the imaginary. Corner explains the importance of imagination:

There is simply no point whatsoever in addressing any of the above themes for their own sake. The collective imagination, informed and stimulated by the experiences of the material world, must continue to be the primary motivation of any creative endeavour. In many ways, the failing of twentieth-century planning can be attributed to the absolute impoverishment of the imagination with regard to the optimized rationalization of development practices and capital accumulation. … Public spaces are firstly the containers of collective memory and desire, and secondly they are the places for geographic and social imagination to extend new relationships and sets of possibility (Corner 2006:32).

All four themes describing landscape urbanism resonate with the performance perspective upon tourism. Using this metaphor in the design process for tourism places provides the framework to
consider processes that affect tourist performance and staging surfaces. It offers a working method that ultimately questions spatial activity and meaning, and challenges the imagination to provide opportunities beyond conventional tourism. The performance perspective, like landscape urbanism, according to Corner, provides the critical means to prevent the failures of past designs where the intimacies with things that characterize rich experiences were lost from “the oversimplification and the reduction of the phenomenal richness of physical life” (Corner 2006:32). It is therefore imperative for designers to be reflective of their process and goals, and the normative rules that guide their thinking and ultimately their design.

Other landscape theorists have also been challenging conventional design thinking. Gastil and Ryan’s book ‘Open New Designs for Public Space (2004) exemplifies this very well, where a varied group of designers discuss current issues in public space design. Although the discussion is focused on large cities, the issues that arise (also revealed in this study) include challenges in managing the relationship between public vs. private space; between formal, informal and mixed uses; providing flexibility for future uses; encouraging and allowing spontaneity and new rituals; questions of identity; and utilitarian spaces for active and passive recreation.

By designing an environment that allows relationships to play out in complex scenarios, architects can encourage something dynamic: the emergence of a new city precinct that will generate its own continuous energies and habits. All the people and all the related material elements might start to behave like a complex system” (Ross Gibson Pol Oxygen Magazine in Gastil and Ryan 2004: 31).

Process-based design where there is a capacity for growth, change, adaptation, flexibility and unfinished products has also gained attention as exemplified in the work of Desvigne, a French designer. He notes that “(p)ractices of organizing processes and catalysts for transformation involve skills with orchestration, choreography, management, and cultivation, all time-based practices that differ from the typical static, formal compositional mode of physical design” (Corner in Desvigne 2009:8). In contrast, conventional ways of design, where architects and planners have seen cities as ‘machines for living’ (see Spellman 2003) “perpetuates the passivity and immutability of architectural structure achieving static resolution rather than celebrating as landscape architecture the ongoing evidence of dynamic and competing loads in the anticipation of growth and change” (Waldman 2003:145).

Non-traditionalists are also considering the ephemeral nature of spaces where static representations are contested. There are new perspectives of what space is, does and can be. In a roundtable discussion of ‘open new designs for public space’, artist Mark Robbins suggests,

It would be interesting to explore public spaces that have been rediscovered and transformed and the guerrilla appropriation of spaces, which are made for one thing but get used for another. Though this is ancient history, the cruising areas in the Meat Packing District were a classic. Trucks, which were parked alongside each other at night, made little alleyways, where people coming out of clubs could hook up. During the day the trucks left and those spaces evaporated and so did the activity, and at night, it would reconstitute itself (Gastil and Ryan 2004:13).
These ‘performative’ approaches to landscape are focused on ‘nature–dominated development’ and
dynamic growth as guiding principles (Dettmar 2005) where ‘mutations’ are sought considering ‘new
nature’ (Girot 2005) and the complex interactions between humans and non-humans and, artifice and
nature (Balmori 2010). Applied to urban brownfields and abandoned waterfronts the resulting
solutions have been considered successful and widely replicated.

This brief review of the ‘performative’ dimensions of recent landscape architectural theory indicates
that although the performance lens (as defined in the tourism literature) has had limited use by
landscape architects and other designers; there is some shared thinking common to the two contexts.
First, there is a shared misgiving about the dominance of the gaze and designing for visual
consumption.

One of the fundamental difficulties in our highly visual age – and incidentally not just for new students
of landscape architecture - is being aware that landscape by no means exist on a pictorial level only. It
is never mere scenery, but there could well be an infinite number of invisible, inextricably linked
components that shape the essence, the meaning and ultimately the way that landscape is perceived
overall. … Latz suggests. “Could it not be that we mean our memories of the fresh fragrance of a
flower meadow, the twittering of the birds and the mild air when we find an open space, a landscape,
beautiful? Could it not be that the bitter cold that burns our faces the fresh wind tousling our hair and
the powdery snow our feet are crunching through make us find a landscape beautiful- the space is also
only or above all a possible source of experiences (Weilacher 2008:169).

Second, traditional approaches are not providing the desired results. Weilacher argues that landscape
understanding has

‘essentially been rooted in certain ideal notions for over two centuries. These make it more difficult to
generate the necessary new design and development approaches to dealing with today’s landscape

Hence there has been a recognition of the need to perceive things differently.

2.4.3 The Regulation of Tourist Performance- touristscapes and taskscapes
Edensor’s (1998) work, *Tourists at the Taj*, introduces the metaphor of performance and identifies
how tourist space is constructed and regulated. He begins by highlighting that representations are
integral to tourism and the tourism industry where “(s)ymbols, images, signs, phrases and narratives
provide the ideas that fuel the commodification and consumption of tourist sites” (Edensor 1998:13).
Places of tourism are framed and narratives arranged that reproduce the predictable, “the already said,
written and photographed” (Ibid: 13). He suggests the “process of representing tourist space is
continual, constituting a hermeneutic circuit in which tourists contingently (re)produce representations
of tourist space as well as consuming them” (Ibid: 14).

Construction of place then, relies on familiar codes to excite tourists. These codes have assumed
qualities that have been incorporated into mediascapes as well as into local production shaped by
distant influences. Places however have a “‘shifting process of identity formation’ where vernacular
interpretations of symbolic sites contest commodified versions and ‘inhabitants often resist any
‘manipulation of culture and history’ which contradicts local understandings” (Kearns and Philo, 1993:25 in Edensor 1998:15). It is therefore necessary, according to Edensor, to ‘identify which representations are inscribed with dominant ideologies’.

Edensor’s key insights (Edensor 1998, 2000, 2001, 2006, 2009) are organised regarding constructing tourist space in Table 1. This table is organised by separating tourist space by how it is regulated as both strongly circumscribed and framed (Enclaves) or weakly classified – heterogeneous space (Edensor 1998:41-60). According to Edensor the nature of tourist sites and itineraries affords the tourist experience.

The theme and scale of tourist itineraries which intersect at a particular site can reveal the various ways in which visitors make sense of the route they follow, or highlight the significance or status of the site in the journey as a whole” (Edensor 1998:21).

Table 1 Compilation of Edensor’s Regulation of Tourist Space – Stage Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly circumscribed and framed- Touristscapes</th>
<th>Weakly classified- heterogeneous spaces- Taskscapes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organised and bounded tourist spaces -Enclaves</td>
<td>Everyday space with some tourism; ‘Heterotopia’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central planning and commodification of spaces; separate public and private; separate from local population; hierarchies; symbolised</td>
<td>Merge: routine and unpredictable, public and private; local population contributes to space; everyday space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetically regulated &amp; monitored through surveillance- prevent inappropriate behaviour</td>
<td>Aesthetically undetermined; monitored by the gaze of others and reflexive self-awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage landscapes- situate symbolic forms and draw attention to architectural and vernacular features</td>
<td>‘Fairground’ sensibilities- placed together arbitrarily and in flux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided public discourse- signs, maps, guides guide books, that mark the boundaries of significance and value; minimise tourist disorientation</td>
<td>Wider range of opportunities- facilitates imaginings and memories, open to interpretation; blurred boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delineation of Purified space – identifies the ‘outsider’, regulates movement and constructs spaces assigned to the other</td>
<td>Refuges, homes, destinations for those who consider themselves or are labelled marginal or transgressive - place for exploration and self-expression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themed- motifs from media culture; sceneography</td>
<td>‘Other’ space feared and avoided but paradoxically also fantasised and imagined as realms of desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetics strictly maintained by landscaping, watering, eyesores removed, monitored aesthetic with hint of ‘exotic’; imposition of design codes producing homogenised, international landscape, disguised predictability with ‘staged remarkable’ local features</td>
<td>Taskscapes- form created through repeated use/performances eclectic aesthetic; local landscape with locally constructed features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct movement- reduce points of entry/exit access is seamless, efficient, move from one spectacular site to another, attractions are selective, group oriented</td>
<td>Self directed, open to distractions and barriers, likely to have non-tourist related sites and sights- some maybe offensive to some people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rhythms and choreographies of enclavic space are characterised by purposive, directed movements which follow a limited number of demarcated paths, usually designed to maximise selling possibilities</td>
<td>Movement is locally derived, open to improvisation, multiple choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile enclaves – environmentally controlled travel-buses, planes and trains, move from enclave to enclave to fixed accommodation/attractions</td>
<td>Random movement, open to getting lost, delays, requires decision making and route finding, exposed to external local conditions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enclave and heterogeneous spaces described in Table 1 are ‘ideal’ and highlight differences. In reality these conditions are more fuzzy and likely hybrids of the ideal. Table 1 indicates the differences in the tourist strategy between touristscapes and taskscapes while Table 2 (later in this discussion) indicates the sensual (or staging) differences between enclaves and heterogeneous spaces.
Elsewhere, Edensor develops the notions of touristscapes, taskscapes and tourist taskscapes (Edensor 2001, 2007; Ingold and Kurttila 2000) and the nature of everyday in tourism (Edensor 2007). Edensor borrows from Ingold and Kurttila (2000) to describe ‘taskscapes’ as “everyday spaces that are fostered by the ways in which habits and habitation recreate local and domestic space and render it comfortable and homely” (Edensor 2006:28). His explanation continues:

Strikingly, despite the geographical focus of space as text, as representation, or a power-laden, the most common spatial experience is sensed through the everyday life, where familiar space forms an unquestioned backdrop to daily tasks, pleasures and routine movement. This is the taskscape, the terrain on which quotidian manoeuvres and modes of dwelling are unreflexively carried out, a habitat organized to enable continuity and stability, and recreated by regular existential practices. As I argue, although taskscapes have been conceived as local and everyday, they can also be likened to the many tourist spaces to which we become accustomed (Edensor 2006:29).

Touristscapes are tourist places where “particular kinds of tasks are accomplished and reproduced, constituting the work of tourism” (Edensor 2006:31, italics in original). These tasks are what tourists want to do, it is their desired experiences. He further develops that to achieve these tasks there are a series of techniques that help to achieve these aims.

Much tourism is carried out in a languorous state of distraction, but more purposive actions to reach desired states of becoming are facilitated by the familiar amenities and an infrastructure comprising tour operators; health, sports, and beauty facilities; shops; banks; and information spaces that infest many tourist spaces. Many such spaces are devised to accord with familiar and comfortable sensual experiences, and therefore possess serial affordances. And these stages are organised to accommodate and perpetuate performative conventions, which are also consistently reproduced by the enactions of tourists who have ingested notions of how and where to perform in these settings (Edensor 2006:31).

A touristscape is much different from a taskscape and is a representation of place where tourist practice or performances occur. Edensor explains the need for touristscapes:

The coherence of normative tourist performances depends on their being performed in familiar “theatres”. Accordingly, different tourist ventures are carried out upon particular stages – on beaches and mountains, in cities, heritage sites, museums, and theme parks. These settings are distinguished by the extent to which they are bounded spaces, where physically or symbolically, and the degree to which they are organized – or stage-managed – to provide and sustain common sense understandings about what activities should take place.

Although taskscapes exist in the local and everyday, Edensor also argues that taskscapes can also exist within tourist spaces.

Enmeshed in our tourist routine, we possess a practicle, unreflexive knowledge of such spaces: what to do there, where to go, how to look, and what to look at (Edensor 2006:29).

In other words tourists become familiar with types of tourist places with continued and repetitive use. Tourist taskscapes are familiar where performances are unreflective. They become tourist taskscapes because of habitual reproductions or that they resemble everyday taskscapes. Edensor follows with a caution, that this does not ‘diminish the salience of the local’ which actually may become more central “as resistance to the homogenising tendencies of global capitalism proceeds – and in tourism this might be understood as re-emphasizing the specifically local” (Edensor 2006:32). There is ambiguity here, where the sense of place proves unsatisfactory because of its ‘predictable and habitual character’ while the other elements of place, ”the complex, the unassimilable otherness of unfamiliar places, the
external intrusions from outside, and the peculiar, surprising sensual qualities – might be sought” (Edensor 2006:32).

Table 2 The Sensualities of Tourist Enclaves and Heterogeneous Spaces – Staging Qualities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclave – Homogeneous space</th>
<th>Heterogeneous space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home-from-home characteristics: familiar, ordered, packaged; single purpose space, ‘environmental bubble’</td>
<td>Unpredictable, incongruous juxtapositions, diverse social and cultural activities; multiple purpose space, understood by feeling and imagination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International standards - all sensually apprehended and practically engaged with by prior knowledge and sensation- tourist taskscapes</td>
<td>Variegated set of sensual stimuli produce affect – intense and sensual experience of otherness that escapes signification , improvisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blur tourist and everyday- affordances same as Western shopping spaces</td>
<td>Attempt to escape the tedious ‘paramount reality’ of the overregulated life world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purified tourist spaces – shut out ‘extraneous , chaotic elements’ and reduce visual and functional elements to a few key images; Homely décor; minimize ambiguity and contradiction</td>
<td>Confound familiar forms of comfort and mundane sensual experience; Sensibility accepts indeterminacy; ambiguity and contradiction occur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct gaze: frame views, sights, photograph points Towards selective items: commentary, information boards and markers, signpost and signs (recommend photographs to be taken)</td>
<td>Search for sensory stimulation in the flux – flaneur-like, roaming, discovering obscure experiences and residual processes, revealing, wandering, fleeting incidents, search for hidden delight and body sensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-sensualizing vision by removing tactile, auditory and aromatic qualities from artefacts; ‘blandscapes’</td>
<td>Revelling in the carnival, unbounded, in excess and obscenity; smellscapes rich and varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local artefacts on display in a controlled international ambience</td>
<td>Shake up of experiential order, jarring sights intrude regulated space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smooth surfaces- walls &amp; floors, clutter &amp; dirt removed</td>
<td>Potentially uneven, patchy, various forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamless linear movement- even floors-body undisturbed;</td>
<td>Multidirectional flows of different bodies and vehicles, wide range of movement; weaver around obstacles, alert to traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stages managed &amp; choreographed – how should space be used: repetitive, performative conventions</td>
<td>Sensual delights that flow through flux and mixing of people, activities and desires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archetypal modern spaces emerged from: modernist planning &amp; design: ‘McDisneyization’- efficiency and calculability;</td>
<td>Characterized by mild regulation and labyrinthine structure, bricolage of designs and signs mingle among carefully decorated and unkempt facades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear, linear sight lines- purposive progress and undistracted mind</td>
<td>Emerging from romantic imagination and fuelled by dynamism of modernity, sensibility wallows in the contingent and the indecipherable in search of sensation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The performance perspective or metaphor therefore has the ability to encapsulate the complexities of tourism and its potential use in design. “Metaphorically, tourists can be considered to enact a range of performances on distinct stages. Their enactions are distinguished according to various factors, including their competence, reflexivity, the extent to which they are directed and regulated, or participate in group or solo performances” (Edensor 2000:322). The metaphor of performance is important as it acts as a bridge between theory and application while maintaining a necessary level of complexity useful in design decision making. Edensor’s development of the dual notions of touristscapes and taskscapes are used in the case study analyses as a way to capture the subtleties of the implications of the performative perspective for the design of tourism stages.
2.5 Tourist stage

The tourism stage is the fifth key concept. The term ‘tourism stage’ denotes the strategy used to develop the material places for tourism. This becomes a fundamental question of what place representation (visually and embodied) do we want to construct? How does a town want to represent itself and what ‘identity’, in Goffman terms, does it want to present to residents, who form their own identities from place, and to ‘outsiders’ or tourists, who co-construct their experiences from these representations. MacCannell (1976, 1999) initiates this discourse when he suggests the predominant strategy is to provide ‘staged authenticity’ where places are constructed as ‘front-stages’ for the benefit of a globalised mass tourism market. The front-stage experience however does not provide the desired ‘back-stage’ experiences for some tourists as the authentic places desired in a late capitalist world. The dilemma then is how should tourism development proceed? This section will address this by looking at three separate but connected subsections. The first will look at research specifically focused on tourism development of towns. The second area of investigation looks at the issues associated with designing for tourism in general and the third considers how the process of design affects how landscape architects proceed with tourism.

2.5.1 Tourism Development in Small Towns

Towns develop natural and cultural assets to attract tourists for a range of reasons. The style of development may also range from least developed, modifications to taskscapes, to highly developed and ‘fantasy’ touristscapes. A common goal is maintenance of the experience of ‘small town atmosphere’ (Simmons & Fairweather 1998; Harrison 2003):

> It is thus through travel that once can leave the apparent vacuousness of modern life behind, to visit a world rich in aesthetics and old, if not ancient history. … According to the travel literature, such real life or premodern experiences are to be found in quaint English villages, the romantic towns of the Italian and French countryside … It is not found in the suburban sprawl of North American cities… (Harrison 2003:179-180).

Small towns can protect their ‘small town atmosphere’ by preserving their heritage assets, such as fortified walled settlements (Ashworth and Bruce (2009), indigenous settlements (Boyd and Singh 2003) or by creating new cultural attractions such as wall murals (Koster 2008). Small towns provide the opportunity to meet local people, where according to Simmons & Fairweather (1998:1) tourists are motivated by the “friendliness and acceptance of local residents”. Such towns also provide access to natural features, such as marine mammals in Kaikoura (Simmons & Fairweather 1998) or develop in conjunction with leisure activities such as golf or mountain sports or as “craft and tourist shopping villages” (Boyd and Singh 2003:20). Small towns can also develop to become resort towns, for instance evolving from working coastal communities into a seaside resort community, or may be further “developed around an enclave-type resort development” (Ibid: 20).
Ashworth and Bruce (2009) identify a different range of spatial design strategies for tourism and although these strategies are specific for ‘walled towns’, several can also apply to small towns with natural, cultural or social heritage values as described above. The strategies include:

- **Preserved ‘gem’ option** - treat the town as a museum exhibit “in which the preservation of the object takes precedence over its contemporary uses” (Ibid: 307).
- **Theme park option** – in sharp contrast to the ‘gem’ option, this is the historic theme park strategy, also known as the ‘Bourtange option’ in the Netherlands and ‘Louisbourgh option’ globally (Johnston, 1995; and Krause, Corbin, & O’Shea 1995; in Ibid: 308).
- **Dual city option** – “a common resolution to the preservation/development dilemma is to do both but on different locations, close enough to have a functional relationship” (Ibid: 308). Transport, accommodation and most services are located outside the conserved town.
- **Defensive Honey pot option** – “where visitors are distracted from the ‘authentic’ preserved resource by a more attractive, and to them even more authentic experience of an intervening opportunity. The interpreted, animated or reconstructed alternative siphons off much of the visitor flow and thus protects the resource while simultaneously selling it to a heritage market” (Ibid: 309).
- **Preservation for a specialist purpose or ‘Città’ option** – where they restrict the number of tourist facilities such as hotels within the historic core and ‘develop artfully with the constraints of an historic envelope’ (Ibid: 309). This option is connected to the Cittàslow or slow town/tourism movement where tourists are encouraged to linger and experience the ‘real’ aspects of the town.

In taking a travel circuit approach to tourism promotion and management, New Zealand has developed national ‘scripts’ representing the country as ‘clean and green’ (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002), as ‘scenic wonderland myth’ (Bell 1996 in Ateljevic and Doorne 2002) and as ‘striking place’ representation (Cloke and Perkins 1998). Tourism strategies selected by small towns in the circuit therefore need to negotiate with these circulating representations. Three broad strategies are apparent. The first is to maintain the status quo and provide limited or minimal infrastructure for tourists. This provides more opportunities to meet locals and experience the pace and ‘atmosphere’ of the small town with a few supporting services but provides limited economic advantages and has had little attention in the literature. Some (re)shaping of the town and commodification is necessary to benefit from tourism. The second strategy is to construct commodified landscapes that complement the town, and the third broad strategy, direct commodification, is to focus on the consumer and develop enclavic resorts that are separated from the authentic town.

Creation of commodified landscapes includes the creation of ‘tourist shopping villages’ where towns use place-specific identities and activities to construct commodified landscapes (Panelli, Stolte and Bedford 2003). Panelli et al (2003) explains landscapes as text and as symbolic landscapes and describe the ‘commodified landscape’ of a town – “beyond the traditionally studied ‘countryside’ or natural’ or ‘wilderness’ landscapes”. They draw from Mitchell:

Mitchell’s attention to a town-scale rural landscape is adopted in her analysis of how St. Jacobs, Canada, has been constructed by entrepreneurs establishing a ‘heritage shopping village’. Cumulatively the use of historic and rustic themes throughout a barn-shaped mall, village site and adjacent market formed the townscape through which consumer-tourists could take the ‘St Jacob’s Country Day Tour’ complete with horse-drawn trolley. These symbolic rural landscapes are in a sense more imagined than
‘real’ and frequently portray a nostalgic iconisation of certain aspects of the region’s history (Panelli et al 2003:383).

This strategy, as ‘symbolic destination’, purposefully remakes a subset of rural landscapes for the consumption of tourist populations (Panelli et al 2003). Panelli et al also recognise that townscapes can be conceived as theatre (they acknowledge Cosgrove and Daniels 1988 and Cosgrove 1993) and reconstructed as a stage for tourism-related business interests. They provide a case study of Tirau, New Zealand and how buildings constructed as ‘The Sheep’ and ‘The Dog’ have been used to reinvent the identity of this town.

As part of the second strategy, many towns have turned to ‘theming’ as an economic-development strategy (Frenkel and Walton 2000). Towns take on new identities by reconstructing place physically and symbolically as centres for consumption (Urry 1995 in Frenkel and Walton 2000). This strategy considers: the emulation of other theme towns, authenticity, visual difference and place marketing. Emulation is a key force behind landscape change as “successful examples will ensure success” and “serves as a legitimizing narrative for new projects” (Frenkel and Walton 2000:566). The production of tourist landscapes is heavily based on written texts and rural towns have drawn on a variety of how-to books to replicate examples from elsewhere (Ibid). As well as copying successful places it is important to represent the place as real or authentic (Ibid). Authenticity used here, as pointed out, is ‘staged authenticity’ where concerns are primarily with the ‘perfect likeness’ or quality of the copy.

Places with questionable objective authenticity (Wang 1999) translate authentic as ‘visual conformity’ based on archetypal villages and thus “become a theme park” (Frenkel and Walton 2000:569). There are no illusions of the authenticity of a themed town, and being visually different as a novel environment to shop, eat and play is the key. The consequences of themed towns as can be imagined is often successful for those in the tourism industry, but other residents derive little benefit and may express dissenting sentiment- “How much more do we have to give up for tourism? … Get your head out of the sand and quit letting tourism bury us” (Waters 1980 in Frenkel and Walton 2000:577).

The third strategy of constructing tourist space is to develop tourism as enclaves in and around rural towns, often as partnerships with an outside company (Davis and Morais 2004). Enclave development is tourist-oriented, often large-scale, and physically separated with a town’s taskscape. Enclaves function by capturing the tourist market through theming and marketing and ‘holding’ tourists within the enclave. This type of development is financially successful for the owners of the enclave, but is ‘socially unsustainable’ for the rest of the community. Un-sustainability, according to Davis and Morais (2004) is a result of a number of issues, including: the scale of the enclave, the rate of growth, the attitudes of residents and cooperation towards tourism and the multiple attitudes of the various factions within the community.
The tourism and design literature therefore identifies a number of possible spatial strategies for tourism stages- including specific design approaches such as museums/theme parks/honey pots/slow towns (Ashworth and Bruce 2009), or more generally, strategies that are focused upon the status quo, creating destinations, or creating enclaves. The distinction between taskscapes and touristscapes weaves throughout these options. In the next section, the challenge of designing tourist space is considered at a more detailed scale.

2.6 Staging

The last key theoretical concept is staging. Staging is used to denote site design or the design details of implementing the tourism stage strategy. MacCannell uses ‘stage set’ or ‘set’ and distinguishes between the front region, — purposefully a display ‘worked up’ for tourists” (MacCannell 1999:100) and the back region which can be a ‘staged authenticity’ set for tourists or not intended for outside visitors. Staging uses a design process (See Murphy 2005; Swaffield 2002 for design process and theories) regardless of the type of site, and front or back stage, and staging for tourism does not have any new or specialized techniques or materials that are specific only to designing tourism. Murphy (2005) offers an important insight:

The artist Josef Albers said, “To design is to plan and organize, to order, to relate and to control. In short it embraces all means opposing disorder and accident. Therefore it signifies a human need and qualifies man (kind)’s thinking and doing” (1977:75). Design is the process of forming things or places to bring about improvement - to make them more useful, economical or beautiful, for example. Unfortunately, there is a growing body of evidence that the quality of the environments we collectively create, as well as those left unaltered, is declining rather than improving; in part because they have been conceived, executed, and maintained as static features embedded in the dynamic matrix of a fluid environment (Murphy 2005:16-17, emphasis in original).

Gunn (1979, 1988) provides a typical consideration of the planning and designing tourist regions and sites in just such a ‘static’ way and offers examples of ‘well-designed places’ as they are visually understood and according to the designer’s intent. The examples do not critique how the places have fared or how tourists and locals perceive and use these spaces. Gunn’s work in effect provides an example of the ‘conventional’ or prototype way of developing tourism, using similar approaches to design used in other settings.

MacCannell however, argues those tourists ‘sets’ are different from other social spaces:

Characteristics of sets are: the only reason that need be given for visiting them is to see them—in this regard they are unique among social places: they are physically proximal to serious social activity, or serious activity is imitated in them; they contain objects, tools and machines that have specialized use in specific, often esoteric, social, occupational and industrial routines; they are open, at least during specified times, to visitation from outsiders (MacCannell 1999:100).

Not only are the characteristics of tourist space different, but they are also perceived differently (from everyday space) in how designers, their clients and the users of the space, perceive details and materials affording the perceptions and performances of people using the space. Tourist places are
places of consumption (the type and amount of consumption however is not fixed) (Shaw and Williams 2004), are public and privately owned, carry notions of being different from everyday place (MacCannell 1999), and according to Rojek (1997:53 in Shaw and Williams 2004:167) have the following main elements: strongly demarcation process to distinguish from ordinary places; the nature of the demarcation is cultural; the demarcation has been undermined by ‘television culture’ where codes of tourist sights have been repeatedly viewed in a range of contexts in the media. Tourist stages thus use representations where symbols, ‘images, signs, phrases and narratives provide the ideas that fuel the commodification and consumption of tourist sites (Edensor 1998:13), but sometimes the stage is not easily ‘read’, therefore cues are needed to inform the performer of the script for a particular stage (Nassauer 1995; 1997). Tourist attractions can be highly choreographed through using material objects such as signs, paths, benches and view platforms (Haldrup and Larsen 2010).

At most historical sites, omnipresent signs and clearly demarcated paths instruct tourists how and where they are suppose to walk and ‘sight-see’, and they may forbid inappropriate performances such as touching, climbing and playing on ruins. Their job is to prevent unnecessary and potentially harmful physical contact between tourist bodies and the precious object of the tourist gaze and to secure safe and smooth walking and guiding to the major viewing stations (Haldrup and Larsen 2010:67, italics in original).

This form of directing the tourist is common in mass tourism where controlling movement and performances is thought to be necessary to keep the focus on consumption. Landscapes have been shaped to focus attention within a place, especially enclaves, by blocking views, by providing all the necessary services and by creating a ‘coherent image theme’ that do not connect to the surrounding town (Davis and Morais 2004). Edensor (1998:12) paints a bleak picture of packaged tourism facilities:

Through place-marketing and the construction of tourist attractions, potted historical narratives are produced, only certain features of attractions and tourist space are highlighted, and the movement and time of tourists must fit in with this packaging. Accordingly, as places become locked into this international tourist system, increasingly controlled by fewer and larger concerns, the spatio-temporal organisation of tours, the form of holiday, and the standards required appear to conform to particular notions of convenience, comfort and consumability.

Directing tourists using normative understanding of tourism however may be counter productive as many tourists prefer the opportunities to explore and make their own choices. (A)ccounts of tourist performances often fail to see mundane performances of walking and strolling in the urban landscape of towns, cities, and holiday resorts. Yet strolling around in such landscapes often occupies plenty of tourists’ time. … Navigating, drifting through and even inhabiting promenades, alleys, shops, restaurants and cafes of tourist places are major practices through which tourists make themselves at home through interpreting and incorporating the material spaces of their holiday (Haldrup and Larsen 2010:69).

William Holly Whyte was one of the first to “provide facts for architects and planners who were designing by intuition” (LaFarge 2000: v) by approaching the city without preconceived notions and basing his findings on what he saw. Similar to the performance perspective, the value of spaces were apparent when people filled them, “He only began to see things when the people were in them” (LaFarge 2000: iv). Whyte concluded that successful urban places required people … “(W)hat attracts
people most … is other people" (Whyte in LaFarge 2000:307). Successful streets, Whyte suggests, also had certain elements including:

Buildings flush to the sidewalk; Stores along the frontage; and doors and windows on the street; second-story activity—with windows, so you can see it; a good sidewalk (slightly crowded at peak: fifteen feet for side streets and twenty-five feet for main streets; Big trees; Seating and simple amenities (Whyte in LaFarge 2000:307).

Whyte’s work has been highly influential and applied in many public spaces. Whyte however did not see his observations as ‘rules’ to follow but he found some of the best spaces are accidental ones and that “some of the most useful items of street furniture function more out of inadvertence than design” (Whyte in LaFarge 2000:308). Whyte also cautioned about designing too much:

“Too many pedestrian malls and redone streets are over-designed. There’s too much unified signage, too many award-winning light standard—too much good taste in general, or the pretension of it, and since many designers have the same good taste, the result is a bland conformity” (Whyte in LaFarge 2000:308).

There is a balance to be struck, therefore, in trying to direct and choreograph tourist performance through design and design elements. Shaftoe (2008) looks at convivial urban spaces in European cities and compiles a list of ‘do’s and ‘don’ts, and Stevens (2007) in “The Ludic City” suggests the scope of everyday life in urban spaces “is never completely subordinated to the achievement of predefined, rational objectives” (Stevens 2007:1). Public space is not merely instrumental, and he identifies a need for more play (a distinctive character and social behaviour of urban experience). Stevens considers urban play with habitus and: interpersonal distance and orientation; paths, passage, intersections, choice, distraction, boundaries, props, and thresholds.

Stevens draws from Jan Gehl, who has gained much attention recently and has influenced designing urban public spaces by providing guiding principles. Gehl (1987) suggests there are fundamental desires of people and essential elements that contribute to people’s enjoyment of public spaces. Gehl’s process starts with grounded analysis and then creates a vision to what type of public life the community wants to build for everyday streets. Gehl’s (1987) key points are: provide various social contact levels; activity attracts, seating preferences, gradual transformation (give time for people to adapt); and consider multiple seasons and daily rhythms. Whyte, Stevens and Gehl all seem to agree that how people are using space in cities is what makes the city attractive and an attraction of itself. Tourism in cities and smaller towns for that matter therefore need to understand how people use space to design for tourism.

Tourism as performance can be both existing conventions and provide opportunities to challenge them. Yet many stages devised by the industry are typically designed to promise a carnivalesque experience but are usually “sites of ordered disorder” which encourages a “controlled de-control of the emotions.” (Edensor 2001:78-79).

Staging tourism is not a straight forward task. This chapter highlights the many different theories that affect the strategy (the stage) and the implementation (staging) of tourism in small towns. Multiple and complex theories contribute toward the ambivalence of tourism design and development. Design
practice has potentially added to this ambivalence through over simplification (reductionism) and “naïve functionalism” of theories (Rowe 1998) towards design solutions. Ambivalence is also created with the gap between theorists and practitioners on the ground, where theories are not completely understood or are very difficult to implement (such as Halprin’s RSVP cycles). The difficulties of implementing theories are further complicated with the likelihood that clients (residents, local councils, private business) will have an unwillingness to spend limited resources and funding on unproven or abstract design solutions. It is easier to accept design solutions that have already been built and proven to work than to ‘take a chance’ on a design that provides the ‘potential’ for a desired experience.

2.7 Summary

This literature review has collected a range of diverse and complex theories and knowledge that is considered important and relevant to this discussion. There are six key concepts.

First, tourism is about movement and flows of people, goods and information in an interconnected and interdependent world. Small towns as ‘places’ on this global network have been impacted primarily through global tourism influences and the homogenisation of local space.

Second the travel circuit is a specific kind of multiple destination tourism found in New Zealand, to create itineraries that are ‘sold’ in the tourism market. The spaces in between the destinations are as important as the destinations in creating the tourism experience.

Third, is the need to understand tourism as authentic experiences that are multi-dimensional and are also ‘co-constructed’ by the tourist ‘performing’ and by representations in the ‘staging’ by the tourist provider.

Fourth, the performance metaphor provides a critical perspective that provides a new understanding of place and how people use space, beyond the passive and the visual. Edensor’s explanations of the construction and regulation of tourist space as either enclaves or heterogeneous, and as touristscapes, taskscapes and tourist taskscapes sheds light on how tourist spaces are ultimately performed.

Fifth the tourist stage provides a spatial strategy to develop the material places for tourism. This requires an understanding of a town’s ‘place identity’, the types of experiences a town wants to offer and a tourism goal for the community. Designers, in practice, have inadvertently added their own biases into these strategies and consequently add to the homogenisation and replication of ‘traditional’ tourism places.
The last key concept is the staging or design details of the tourism stage strategy, in which design details can be seen as affordances that are negotiated in creating a tourist experience. A careful path must be followed between the desire to provide facilities designed specifically for visitors, that are functional and recognisable, and the need to leave everyday spaces in which tourists can innovate and perform as individuals.

The discussion of theoretical concepts has highlighted a need for landscape architecture to reconsider how it perceives tourism, small towns and how it designs for them - to see place as less instrumental, and instead as culturally negotiated and constructed, and to be more innovative in design. This thesis proposes the performance perspective is one way to do this, and in the following chapters the concepts described here have been used to interrogate and explore examples of design for small town tourism.
Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Research Aim: Improving design for staging tourism in small towns.

This research seeks greater understanding of the processes that shape the tourism landscape in small New Zealand towns. Tourism in New Zealand is a global process linking international and domestic tourists to the everyday spaces in small towns where the global tourist meets local place. These towns are more than tourist sites as they are also communities comprised of people living their everyday lives, who among other things have identities and a connection with place. The specific interest is a landscape architect’s or designer’s perspective of the built environment, which includes the social construction of meaning as well as the physical shaping of objects and spaces and how people experience them. This research is also concerned with how space becomes place, how place is used by people, and how to improve place through the (re)configuration or design of space. The focus here is how to better understand and improve the way small towns realize their public spaces to attract and accommodate tourists.

The research strategy uses the performance metaphor as a critical lens that informs and enables thoughtful, innovative and sensitive design of small towns for tourism. The research design follows a reflexive model of inquiry where the research question and theoretical framework evolve and change according to the outcomes of the process and introduction of further questions. The research question ‘How can the performance metaphor inform and enable the design of tourism in small towns?’ was created after first scoping the tourism situation in New Zealand. A travel circuit model was created from observations and literature review including travel flow theory. This model was explored through interpretive inquiry into the three tourism towns identified and presented as case studies. The design of tourism space was developed further through two complimentary design experiments which viewed tourism space through the performance lens from a designer’s perspective and from people who develop and use these spaces.

3.1 Research Strategy

The “agenda of thought and action”, the ‘why’ of the investigation (Deming and Swaffield 2011:3) or strategy behind this research is to explore tourism in small towns by considering the use of the performance metaphor as a critical lens that informs and enables thoughtful, innovative and sensitive design of small towns for tourism. The goal ultimately is to sustain a town’s localness, the unique characteristics that give the town a sense of place or genius loci, the reason why people choose to live in a particular place as understood in notions of space and place, and also potentially providing for the spatial travel needs of tourists travelling in New Zealand.
Knowledge builds and tests theory. This strategy is not intended to create instrumental theory (Swaffield 2002, Deming and Swaffield 2011) “aimed at prediction, control and practical action” (Deming and Swaffield 2011:30) but to explore theory as *critical*, which “challenges status quo and stimulates change” and *interpretive*, “that enhances understanding of meaning and context” (Deming and Swaffield 2011:30). Currently tourism spaces appear to be shaped from instrumental theories and resulting in global tourist places. It is the intent of this research to challenge the design status quo and through the use of the performance lens enhance the critical understanding of meaning and context of tourism spaces in small towns.

The way people say they use space can be quite different from how they appear to actually use it and how they appear to use it depends upon the context of the observer. An interpretive approach is premised on the assumption that experiencing the world is subjective and best understood in terms of individuals’ subjective meanings, rather than the researcher’s objective definitions (Rowlands 2005:83). I gained understanding of the structure of the phenomenon, tourist spaces/places in towns, through the meaning assigned by me (researcher as instrument) and as assigned by others through their actions of using space and by what they shared through informal discussions and interviews. Meaning is derived from what people say and what they do. An interpretive process is necessary to critically consider what has been *observed* and *said*, and thus provides insight into the deeper structure of tourist places in towns that has, to date, been relatively under examined in the literature.

The goal of qualitative research is “building descriptions, explanations and theories that are rich, nuanced and comprehensive. This requires the qualitative researcher to probe beyond the superficial and the explicit” (O’Toole, 2010:121). It also requires the researcher to keep the study manageable with a narrow focus or ‘appropriately bounded range’, therefore retaining complexity and depth of the research phenomena. According to O’Toole (2010), an attempt to build a complete and ‘accurate representation of the phenomena’ requires the inclusion of space in understanding of social life, as well as the attitude to never ‘take anything for granted’ or ‘treat things as obvious and familiar’ (Kociatkiewicz and Kostera, 1999:37 in O’Toole 2010:121). I have followed this principle by initially applying a grounded inductive approach and then developing this further by comparing what was found with design practices and people’s perceptions of built space.

### 3.2 Research Design

Research design is the “logical order or structural composition of an investigation” (Deming and Swaffield, 2011:3). This research’s design started as grounded inquiry and developed reflexively as research questions evolved, understanding improved, and new questions appeared that needed answers. The research began as an exploration of the little known area of tourist space in small towns, providing a real world origin, which was critical and provided the foundation for further and deeper
inquiry. Grounded theory was the first approach used in this process. Groat and Wang (2002:180) describe grounded theory:

In grounded theory, the researcher seeks to enter a setting without preset opinions or notions, lets the goings-on of the setting determine the data, and then lets a theory emerge from that data. Once the theory is proposed, other similar settings can be studied to see if the emergent theory has explanatory power.

The pilot study or initial grounded investigation used in this study is more of a hybrid of ‘grounded theory’ and a more theoretically driven approach, since entering the setting was not completely free of preset notions. My growing understanding of tourism, particularly notions of travel itineraries and travel flows, and a developing idea of the performance metaphor both influenced how the settings were observed, considered as data, and interpreted.

The design was modelled after Castells’ (1983) work as described in the book *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural theory of urban social movements*, which uses a reflexive model of inquiry where the research question and theoretical framework evolve and change according to the outcomes of each stage in the process and introduction of further questions. Figure 3.1 outlines this process and identifies the changing research questions (Q) and subsequent findings (F) leading to further questions.

![Figure 3.1 Stages of Inquiry](image)

This reflexive approach was used to understand the everyday situations of tourism in small towns as understood through participant observation, and was also applied to two design experiments. Hence there was a reexamination of all data throughout the life of the research project with a double back-and-forth between data collection, coding (data analysis) and “memoing” (theory building) (Strauss 1987:19 in Groat and Wang 2002:201). The design experiments themselves are considered ‘natural settings’ as they exist in worlds that are ‘real’ in themselves - a design studio and people’s
interpretation of design approaches for a real setting. These settings are interpreted and acted upon (designs by students and preferences by key informants) as any other ‘real’ or lived world situation.

3.2.1 Design Stage 1
Initially an inductive approach in the pilot study was used to ground the phenomenon to the real world. “Inductive research, in broad terms, is the generation of descriptions and explanations of relationships in the world through strategies of inquiry grounded in the world of experience and empirical evidence.” (Deming and Swaffield 2011:3). Observations, including participant observations (see Jorgensen 1989) were critically considered through reflection, and filtered through an ongoing literature review, particularly emphasising the lens of the performance metaphor.

3.2.2 Design Stage 2
With the pilot study understanding gained in observations and filtered through theory, the emerging concepts were then tested in a design studio experiment. The use of a design studio with students working as co-researchers was an important step to test the performance perspective as a theoretical lens in the design process. Student designers provided a ‘test’ of how the performance metaphor would assist in the design process and what outcomes and outputs this lens would have on design solutions. The way the studio experiment was organised and constructed is detailed below. The studio experiment’s findings were the result of analysing the design work and student interviews. The design solutions created by students and the ideas they expressed through interviews were compared with and developed as an evolving understanding of the performance metaphor and its contribution to design processes.

3.2.3 Design Stage 3
The key results from the studio project were then further tested in a second design-experiment asking locals, tourists and consultants their perceptions of four design approaches. The design approaches used the design elements identified by student work, field observations and tourism and design literature, specifically including tourism enclaves. The results of the second design experiment were analysed and layered into earlier results in the process to frame the research discussion.

3.2.4 Case Studies
A case study approach is the "preferred strategy when (a) 'how' or 'why' (rather than 'what', 'where' or 'how many') questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (Yin 2009: 2). This research is an exploration of ‘how’ space is used and created as ‘tourist places’ and why this occurs using the performance lens.
Three case study towns were selected to represent the travel circuit model that was created earlier in the study. “We gain better understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part” (Gerring 2007:1), in this situation—three key parts. “Case connotes a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time” (Gerring 2007:19). Akaroa represents a destination town, Methven as a gateway, and Geraldine the stop along the route. These units (towns) are not perfectly representative of the population of all tourist towns, but were selected as diverse cases “illuminating a range of variation” (Gerring 2007:89) of tourist towns. The towns vary by geographical location (although similar in distance from Christchurch – the main source of international and domestic tourists for the area) and their theoretical tourism role (destination, gateway and stop along the route) on the travel circuit model. The selected towns are ‘typical’ of New Zealand towns, in the sense of their histories and their landscape context where Akaroa is a coastal town and Methven and Geraldine are both rural service centres. Using Gerring’s (2007:28) covariational typology, this research is several cases with no temporal variation therefore is considered a comparative method.

Data for the case studies was gathered from a range of research methods including: participant observation; informal interviews; secondary sources: documents, websites, and brochures; and as already explained design experiments. This investigation was interested in how spaces are used and why they are used this way by ‘mapping’ the towns according to identifiable stages and basic physical features of these stages, and by recording what was experienced through field notes and photographs. Data for the first case study, Akaroa, was based entirely upon participant observation. Methven had an additional dimension through the use of a design experiment, and Geraldine was also further explored through the use of a design experiment combined with depth interviews.

3.2.5 Design Experiments
The research methods used to understand tourism spaces in small towns in the design studio project and in the Geraldine key informant interviews are ‘design experiments’ (De Jong and Voordt, 2001 in Steenbergen 2008). The design experiments are useful to ‘test’ and confirm the findings of the observations and interviews. The key informant interviews are not a ‘true’ experiment since a formal hypothesis was never stated or tested, and nor were variables analysed separately. Instead, scenarios were created with different variables to create different site characters and these provided stimuli for research subjects (locals, tourists and professionals) to response to and discuss their views of these changes. Steenbergen (2008) describes the nature of design experiments by distinguishing between: plan analysis; design experiment; typology and experimental design (Table 3.1). The methods are further categorised as ‘design research’ or ‘research by design’ depend upon where the methods sits as object determined or object variable. The Methven and Geraldine investigations were both Design Experiments in Steenbergen’s classification, as the setting was determined by the content/object variable.
Table 3  
Research Design: the Variability of Object and Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Variable</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Determined</td>
<td>Plan analysis</td>
<td>Design experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Typography</td>
<td>Experimental Design</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(After De Jong and Voordt, 2001 in Steenbergen 2008: 20. This research uses design experiment.)

Unlike a classical empirical research model where context and object are determined, this research considers ‘designs themselves must play a deciding role’ where the context is determined and the object variable (De Jong and Voordt, 2001 in Steenbergen 2008:20). The design studio experiment begins with a determined context, the town of Methven, and variable objects, as created by the students and expressed in their designs for the site. It is considered important to do research by design as studio because it provides an opportunity that “by engaging students as “active and willing research partners” (Bowring 1997) there is a real chance to begin to uncover and develop new areas of knowledge to inform the education and practice of design” (Berger, Corkery and Moore, 2003:1).

Berger et al. go on to emphasise Bowring’s point

...the value of designing a studio project as a creative and investigative activity is underrated. During the course of the studio, a considerable amount of work is generated, relating to the investigation, analysis and imaginative application of ideas to resolve various problems. The parallels with research are obvious (Berger, Corkery and Moore, 2003:1).

The studio based design experiment was not the end of the inquiry but was used to inform the Geraldine key informant interviews, a second design experiment, and bring the exploration full circle back to an applied context. The next section will discuss the research methods or “procedures of investigation” (Deming and Swaffield, 2011:3).

3.3  Research Methods

So far this chapter has identified the research strategy as an interpretive exploration of tourism places and design, using the performance metaphor as a critical lens, and the research design as a reflexive model of inquiry where the questions and theoretical framework evolves iteratively as data is collected through the case studies. This section describes the research methods and specific procedures used to collect evidence or data. None of these methods is unique to the case study (Gerring, 2007:69).

This research uses four methods: direct observation, participant observation, a studio based ‘design experiment’ and design experiment-participant key interviews. These methods are explained here.
3.3.1 Direct Experience and Participant Observation

I made a number of trips scoping the South Island for possible study sites and to gain a better understanding of ‘how tourism works’ in New Zealand. With a focus on small towns, I followed the travel scripts (where to go and what to do) as offered by guide books Lonely Planet and Rough Guides as well as the recommendations found on a number of tourism web pages and i-SITEs (information centres) found along the way. Even after my case study sites were selected I continued to critically observe and record my travel in New Zealand, including a trip to the North Island and at least three additional tours of the South Island and a trip to Steward Island.

This research started from an inductive interest in how towns were responding to tourism. I gained valuable direct experience by conducting a number of familiarisation or scoping trips, a total of eight trips altogether, of South Island, New Zealand. The trips were primarily driving tours and varied in length (day trips lasting six hours to 14 day excursions) and in destination. All but two trips were conducted as solo trips and the other two trips had a friend or family members accompany the researcher. Four additional trips were conducted after the case study sites were selected which assisted in gaining a broader understanding of tourism in New Zealand in general. All trips occurred between April 2007 and February 2011. Locations for possible case studies were sought and considered. As a ‘student researcher on tour’ I interacted with fellow tourists, tourist operators, tourist places, locals and local places as well as fellow travel companions. I did not hide the fact that I was a researcher interested in tourism and design, and was also a tourist at the same time. Field notes and photographs were taken to record my observations. A Travel Circuit model was created from grounded observations from my familiarisation tours and critical thinking of what it means to transition from home to tourist destination. Three types of towns: destination; gateway community; and stop along the route, were identified for further study (See Chapter Four).

Tourism in New Zealand is quite specific where the focus of the experience is primarily on natural attractions and travelling to multiple places (Simons and Fairweather 2005; Forer 2005; Swaffield Moore and Fairweather 2005). Three towns were selected; all located in Canterbury, South Island that best represented the theoretical proposed travel circuit towns and were accessible given the resources available for this research. These towns were considered as case studies and were selected as particular examples of tourism towns and not as representations of general populations.

3.3.2 The Studio Based Design Experiment

The second case study, the town of Methven, the gateway community, began with direct experience and participant observation, in a similar way to the first case study, but then used a design studio to gain depth understanding of the design process using the performance metaphor and of the issues associated with perceiving and designing for tourist places in a small town. This studio based design-experiment gave insight into how students as co-researchers provided a range of perspectives on
tourism and design related issues, and also provided a range of understanding of Methven as a town and how tourism plays a role. It focused upon investigating the relationship between designers and their perspectives of tourism spaces in small towns when given the task to ‘improve’ the town for tourism.

Students were informed of necessary concepts and objectives of the project through a design brief. The design brief explained the performance perspective, the goals of the project and the outputs required by the students (See Appendix A). The brief provides some control over the ‘conditions’ where all student designers were given the same tasks and same amount of time to complete them. The methods used in the design-experiment are the observation and conversations with students during the studio, and interviews with student designers regarding their final work, as well as content analysis of the student’s work as designs ‘on paper’. Going into the studio, it was thought that students would have preconceived ideas of ‘tourism’ and how landscape architecture would ‘design for’ tourism in small towns. How students proceeded to investigate tourism as a design problem by collecting data, proposing solutions and choosing a solution would indicate the various way(s) tourism is considered as ‘conventional wisdom’ or a ‘common sense’ approach. This experiment is exploratory and wanted to get a better understanding of how people perceive tourism in small towns in general and how they would perceive tourism in a small town through the performance lens and what this would mean for designing for tourism.

This project was the second of four studio projects, required course work for this studio-based paper in the first semester of 2009. The overall studio goal was to introduce students to various ways of understanding space and apply this understanding to the design process. The students were enrolled in their second year in the Landscape Architecture programme at Lincoln University, New Zealand. The 30 students in this studio were a mix of domestic (23) and international students (7), who as second year undergraduate students are at their beginning stages of their design education and learning the intricacies of design studio and design culture. This particular studio emphasises a pedagogical approach emphasising the social sciences and formal design approaches (Salama and Wilkinson 2007). The studio brief provides a framework for the students to work within and desk critiques with the two studio tutors provide feedback and suggestions; introducing and reinforcing the nature of the design process to the students, as well as discussing the issues associated with design issues associated with public space, multiple clients, tourism and the performance metaphor. As a teaching method the studio provides opportunities to develop student’s design vocabulary and a chance to tackle real world problems. Studios are often criticised for not providing projects ‘that architects work on in the real world’ (Habraken 2007:15). This studio project however provided a ‘real world’ opportunity for the students to transform the ‘real’ town of Methven to meet the needs of tourism. The performance metaphor was thought to help in this process as the students needed to understand the actors (both tourists and residents), the stage (the physical setting) and the scripts (how people use the spaces and
the meaning given to those actions). This depth of understanding of the town and people was intended to help in shaping the town for tourism beyond design as pattern making, making space by adding objects, duplicating precedence or over simplifications where social use is ignored. Using the performance metaphor was also intended to help designers look beyond design as two dimensional spaces in plan view and consider how space is used (embodied) and given meaning.

The Methven project: Performing Methven was assigned two weeks for completion. At the end of two weeks, after marking and a final grade given, all student work was collected and analysed by themes that emerged from the work. For instance, a category was created when students indentified the problematic nature of the town square. The problem itself was noted, specifically identifying the particular issue, (students identified different issues for the same space) and the way the students resolved the issue was recorded. After completing the studio and grades being finalized, students were asked to participate in a follow up stage to the research by volunteering to be interviewed regarding their process and their use of the performance metaphor in design. Participating students (11 in total) were then interviewed using semi-structured interviews. A list of the interview questions is found in Appendix B. These interviews were recorded, transcribed and then hand coded by themes that emerged. This studio experiment identified 15 broad design attributes that contribute to a stage’s or place’s sense of being what was termed a touristscape (tourist related) or taskscape (local resident related). These attributes were then tested in the next design experiment conducted in Geraldine.

Themes emerging from the experiment were identified by systematically arranging the student design work into categories according to their analysis and their design solutions. These categories are based on how the students responded to the four design questions mentioned above, as well as the thinking, behind the student’s design interventions. Similar intentions were grouped together and identified as one theme or core category. The number of times a theme was used was also recorded and indicated by a number in brackets, hence ‘(4)’ represents a theme that was mentioned by four different students. Themes that emerged from the student interviews were also recorded in this manner. The intent of this thematic analysis was to use a grounded approach to identify a range of perceptions of tourism, spatial design and the use of the performance metaphor. This data was then used and tested in the next stage of inquiry. The strength of this process is how the three case studies work in conjunction with another, building on the insights of each stage of inquiry to portray a more holistic understanding of design and tourism in small towns.

3.3.3 The Design Experiment-Participant Key Interviews
The third case study, the town of Geraldine, represents the town along the route in the travel circuit model. In addition to the systematic participant observations that were made and recorded in the field, a second design -experiment was conducted to further develop the insights found in the Methven studio experiment. The design attributes identified by the students in Methven were combined with
theories of tourist space regulation that distinguishes between enclave and heterogeneous space (Edensor 1998) to create four design scenarios that were used as visual aids prompting questions regarding designing tourist places for the town of Geraldine. The process was considered a ‘design experiment’ because the key informants are responding to the stimulus of four scenarios (or four types of tourism space) where spatial variables have been changed through design to represent four different stage types, ranging from local characteristics to more global ones. All participants were given the same four scenarios, in the same order, and the same explanations given for what the scenarios represented. A site, near existing tourism facilities, was chosen for the design experiment which could logically be used for tourism. Each of the four scenarios represented a level of design ranging from ‘local’ to ‘global’ in character. ‘Local’ characteristics were those that fit within existing conditions in relation to scale and spatial relationships. The more ‘global’ characteristics were determined and represented by enclavic spaces most notably those similar to design and spatial characteristics found in airports and shopping malls.

These scenarios were used as visual prompts during semi-structured interviews to elicit key informants’ perceptions of tourism development and their preferences. Key informants were chosen using an opportunistic and referral selection process which considered a cross section of locals and independent tourists, as well as landscape architects and tourism consultants. The key informants are represented by (the numbers indicate individuals or small groups- representing a single entity): 14 locals, 9 tourists, 3 tourism professionals and 9 landscape architects. The key informants do not represent their respective category as local, tourist or professionals. Key informants in this study represent single points of view and their concerns regarding tourism in small towns. The intent of this research and choice of methods is not to make claims of representativeness and probability that people in general see and do things in a certain way, but rather to identify that people involved in the cases do see things and use space in certain ways. They perform space on social stages as negotiations allowing meaning and performances to change over time and space. Accepting the key informants as dynamic individuals who have socially important yet separate perceptions of small towns, tourism spaces and their relationships is important for this study and for design in general.

Participants in the second design experiment were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. A list of interview questions is in Appendix B. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and hand coded according to emerging themes. A thematic analysis was carried out by organising selective themes (specific to the research questions) in core categories and noting the number of occurrences for each category. When a theme did not ‘fit’ within an existing thematic category, a new one was created. The researcher developed sensitivity (Corbin and Strauss 2008) to the theoretical basis of the research through literature review, conversations with landscape architects regarding design and small towns, and reflective analysis of asking ‘why’ students and key informants were responding as they did.
The data from both the studio work and interviews and from the key participant interviews have been retained within the context of each case study, and this was important in order to retain the link between the coded data, specific persons, and to the understanding of design and tourism in the particular case. The categories for analysis therefore represent perspectives upon each of the cases, and each case is a whole in which variables interact in complex ways. The analytical categories were initially established from the grounded data and were then analysed and recoded by theoretical themes, as determined through interpretations of the performance perspective.

In summary, therefore, the research strategy begins as grounded research, and moves to include a reflexive approach and re-examination of how designers, beginning with student designers and later those in practice, as well as tourism professionals, locals and tourists, perceive and understand tourism in small towns. The data is analysed using a reflexive approach where the coded data is reconsidered as theory is developed. The theoretical understanding is case specific and hence the data has been presented within each case study. The use of quotes from individual respondents connects the grounded data with the emerging theoretical themes.

3.4 Research Limitations

There were three primary limitations, all relating to time, in this research. The first was the length of time for the studio design project which had to be scheduled to fit within the existing curriculum and provide an educational component that was appropriate for a second year design studio. The performance perspective was deemed compatible with the other studio content (Whyte’s social life of small urban spaces, Cullen’s Townscape and Lynch’s Image of a City) and was given two weeks from beginning to end. This is a short time period for a project that required students to first learn the performance metaphor, then visit the site which is approximately a two hour drive, develop an understanding of small town tourism, and begin to understand studio culture which requires learning many new skills such as developing a working relationship with the tutors and fellow students, time management and improving their graphic representation skills. The two week time frame was a challenge for the students and with hindsight could usefully have been longer, had the wider circumstances allowed.

The second and third limitations were found in the Geraldine experiment. In developing the experiment, initially a video was created that provided a context of the township into which the four approaches were inserted. The video was created using Sketch-up, a 3-D computer program, and lasted about two minutes for each of the four design approaches and about four minutes for a Geraldine context video. The videos were basic ‘sketch’ style and pilot testing revealed the overall process would be time consuming for respondents to interpret, and it was decided to use a single graphic image (created with the Sketch-up programme) of each design approach to inform the key
informants and assist them in answering questions and in developing a dialogue. My own verbal
description of the site was used to compensate for the information lost by not using the video material.
The videos were initially intended to situate the designs in a more ‘embodied way’, incorporating
movement in the experience of space, whereas the single image graphics were a more traditional and
possibly more static means of representation. Nonetheless, the three dimensional graphic
representations were considered very helpful to locate the designs in context and provide a visual
prompt to discussion.

The third limitation was the time required to interview tourists. It became obvious quite soon in the
interview process that tourists had tight schedules. The majority of tourists stopping in Geraldine were
stopping for less than thirty minutes to buy food and use the toilet. Coach tours were particularly on
tight schedules. Approaching people with such short time frames was considered inappropriate as pre-
test interviews were almost of equal length of time. Shortening the interviews (reducing the questions
to a few key ones) to meet the limited time tourists were stopping was rejected as insufficient to
adequately ground the work in a tourist perspective. Instead, key informants were identified in the
holiday park who were spending the night and had time to participate in an interview. It was assumed
that these tourists are also more likely to spend more time in small towns and support new tourism
developments. Tourists who are on tightly controlled itineraries and schedules were considered less
likely to venture away from the existing facilities. Observations confirm this. The professional key
informants, besides providing expert understanding from a tourism and design perspective, can also be
considered as tourists- that are regional tourists- who use Geraldine in ways similar to other tourists.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

This research followed the guidelines and procedures set by the Lincoln University Human Ethics
Committee, and followed ethical protocol by maintaining proposed methods, confidentiality
provisions, interviewee selection and recruitment techniques, data security strategies, and consent and
information practices. Separate ethics applications were required and obtained for the participant
observation/design experiment and the studio experiment phases.

It should be noted that the initials used in the text to represent individuals in both the Methven studio
and in the Geraldine key informant interviews were created by the researcher, and are not the person’s
real initials. The initials were fabricated to retain confidentiality of the participant’s identity. Initials
were used to indicate individuality so comparisons could be made between who said what, and to
indicate that respondents were people with separate identities and unique perceptions of the research
topic. The surrogate initials therefore retain a sense of the individual, but provide confidentiality
without having to create another way of identifying each person.
Chapter Four: The Tourism Circuit and the Destination

4.1 Introduction

This chapter has two parts. The first section presents a model which depicts how towns function in a travel circuit. The travel circuit model was important as a way to organise and distinguish town types and their tourism roles along a travel circuit and assisted in selecting three case study locations for further study. The model was developed from the experience of travelling as a participant observer. The second part of this chapter explains and interprets the first case study, the coastal destination town of Akaroa. Akaroa was critically observed through a performance lens with the purpose of testing the performance metaphor in a ‘real’ world situation and gain a better understanding of a town and its characteristics as a tourist destination.

4.2 Tourism in New Zealand: The Tourism Circuit

New Zealand is well suited for tourism with its many dramatic natural features such as rugged coast lines and stunning mountains; ‘a land of little landscapes’ (Hayward & O’Connor 1981), where there is considerable variation in the land’s character in relatively short travel distances. These quick changes of scenery appeal to tourists looking for new and varied experiences in a limited amount of time.

These ‘little landscapes’ are distinct from one another and they more often than not occur in regional patterns. Within a region, communities identify with ‘their’ landscapes and often refer to them as having a particular combination of attributes and features that give them a distinctive ‘character’ (Boffa Miskell, 2010:10).

For international tourists, time is always a limiting factor to how one conducts and experiences a holiday trip. Even in the land of little landscapes, and relatively short driving distances, much of holiday time is spent in a vehicle moving between places and not at the destination sites. Through necessity most international tourists have a fixed time frame, approximately two to six weeks (Average intended length of stay for international visitors is 21.3 days (Ministry of Economic Development) and 3.2 days for domestic holiday trips (www.tourismresearch.govt.nz; accessed May 25, 2011)) and follow a travel itinerary that connects the iconic destinations into an organised route giving more time ‘getting to know’ those selected places.

These travel itineraries are prescribed by the physically challenging New Zealand terrain which results in a limited choice of roads. Guide books and tourist information map the main itineraries which most tourists experience. Along these routes tourists move in and out of local situations and tourist services and facilities such as holiday parks, hotels/motels and roadside services, which create an everyday life of a tourist. A tourist’s everyday is comprised of a mixture to two primary activities. First, like the everyday situations back home, they have essential human needs and basic living tasks that need
attention. The day is full of somewhat mundane everyday decisions regarding food, shelter, travel and navigation, health, comfort and rest. The second type of activity is what makes travel a holiday. These are decisions of what we want to do that interest us and make a holiday worthwhile. These ‘holiday’ activities may include trying new food, sightseeing, socialising with travel mates and people we met along the way, participating in physical activities such as hiking (tramping) and sea kayaking, and having new experiences. Some of these activities were are pre-planned, self determined as ‘must do’, such as visiting Abel Tasman National Park and wine tasting at a local winery, while other activities were more serendipitous like attending a Saturday morning market in Nelson or staying in a slightly ‘off the beaten path’ campground in the Marlborough Sounds area. It is difficult to pinpoint one definition of what travelling New Zealand actually means since there are multiple ways of experiencing this country. For many it is standard to move along travel circuits and experiencing the iconic destinations while for others it may include the standard ways of experiencing New Zealand but also include alternative experiences such as learning new skills, such as bone carving, or exploring less popular areas.

Many travellers are independent travellers driving an individual hire car for the freedom it gives with time and route selection. Other tourists choose to have their trip planned and organised for them on a coach tour, particularly those from cultures that are not familiar with the New Zealand way of life. The facilities along the main travel routes provide for the coach tours with larger facilities and parking areas to accommodate bursts of people in a short amount of time. The tourist ‘everyday’ is a rhythmic experience where many people are starting their days, stopping for lunch, and arriving at destinations on similar itineraries and time frames, occurring in a common and repetitive way. While the coach tours are somewhat fixed in their timing and itineraries, independent travellers can organise their own scheduling and decide where to experience more people in a place or avoid them all together. The facilities that cater to mass tourism are obvious with their size and often located at iconic destinations. The iconic sites are considered as necessarily tourist focused since they were locations important to many tourists. An example of this is Milford Sound, which is highly developed with packaged tours and a modern visitor terminal to accommodate the thousands of tourists who visit this natural wonder. The terminal functions like an airport successfully guiding people to the right place at the right time for a safe and carefree experience. Much of the New Zealand travel experience however is not direct and immediate. Many of the experiences I enjoyed as an independent traveller were not at the iconic tourist places but occurred while moving between destinations and were a part of the ‘everyday life’ of a tourist. The iconic destinations at times seemed like backdrops to more immediate experiences that were occurring such as taking photographs or talking to a fellow traveller. The iconic destinations were like a container that held things together but the real flavour came from the other ingredients that were added to the bowl.
Figure 4.1 New Zealand Travel Circuit. The intent of this diagram is to represent the relationship between tourism itineraries and towns, as a generalist model, where towns take a specific role in this system. The model does not represent a specific place but indicates the spatial relationships between towns and tourism movement.

Travel space in NZ is not homogenous as travellers experience different spatial settings and facilities, and towns play different roles. The travel circuit model (Fig 4.1) considers the range of towns that appear along the travel circuit. Their characteristics are defined by use, and by differing functions, with a mix of taskscape and touristscape characteristics (see chapter 3).

The travel circuit model was conceived by considering the physical location of towns in relation to tourism flows and how towns have responded in providing for tourism. As an island country, most tourists enter New Zealand through international airports near major cities. These comprise the national and regional gateways. Tourists then travel to natural (and cultural) destinations and the communities associated with those destinations. Tourists follow predetermined routes where services catering specifically for tourism have been developed. Towns found along the way are not homogenous and provide varying levels of tourist facilities and experiences. Some towns are ignored and bypassed (unconnected towns on the model) therefore not playing a part in tourism. The most obvious and well known towns according to tourism are the destination towns. Between the tourist destinations and unconnected towns are a range of towns that support or service tourism by providing facilities for nearby destinations (gateway communities) and as stops along the route.

A destination town provides all facets of tourism from services and entertainment to the main attractions. In New Zealand, Queenstown is largely recognised as a main attraction on South Island and considered a destination. Towns as destinations develop for tourism and manage for both the positive and negative aspects of tourism development. Destination towns are reconfigured from everyday taskscape to touristscape where spaces are (re)formed to provide travel and holiday experiences for visitors. Everyday spaces are modified to meet the influx of larger numbers of people and provide services associated with tourism therefore becoming touristscapes. Although destinations have taskscape, they become the backstage (MacCannell 1999) to the touristscapes which provide the primary function and of the destination. Gateway communities, often originating as rural service
towns (taskscapes) are towns which support a site or region that becomes a tourist attraction. The gateway community, such as Fox Glacier village, supports the neighbouring tourist destination. The gateway community differs from a destination by not being the attraction, but only having a supporting role. The *stop along the route* is the third type of tourist town and like the gateway community is not a conventional attraction but provides rest stop services on route to a destination. These travel circuit town types have been identified according to the spatial relationship of tourism development with towns; where the focus of tourism development is in the town, near the town or in support along a travel route. Although I have identified three distinct town types, tourism towns are better described as a continuum of the amount and type of taskscape and touristscape development in a town. To test this model each of these travel circuit town types will be examined in more detail. The next part of this chapter looks at the first of these travel circuit towns: a destination.

Figure 4.2 Map of New Zealand. This map of New Zealand indicates the location of major entry points into the country and to each of the main islands. Also located on the map are the three case study towns and locations mentioned in this research.
4.3 Akaroa: Tourist Destination

Akaroa was chosen to represent the destination: an ‘end of the road’, scenic seaside community that is considered by many to be a successful small town destination for both domestic and international tourists. Akaroa provides a pilot case study to apply the performance perspective and explore how this lens helps to understand how people use places. A key part of this analysis has been the identification of distinctive ‘stages’. The insights found in this case study were then explored further in the next case study and helpful towards better understanding of designed space and ultimately how to design tourist space in small towns in New Zealand.

Observing how and where locals and tourists use public space in Akaroa revealed a number of obvious stages within the destination where people chose to perform tourism. These stages are open to both locals and visitors and appear to be socially scripted where people know how to act and know what to expect in each stage. The separate stages in Akaroa are organised along the linear main street and framed between the harbour and the background of hills. Each stage is easy to comprehend, as conventional representations, without the need for obvious signs and symbols. Signs do however exist and they inform visitors of the nature of a stage, such as the planting of ‘signature trees’ such as the exotic Norfolk pine to indicate the coastal environment.

Akaroa’s multiple stages provide a range of activities and experiences in a small yet scenic setting. They provide for scripted performances that include: parking along the main street and using the vehicle as temporary ‘home’; strolling from one end of the town to the other; playing with water and sand; eating and drinking in cafes; looking at heritage; and just relaxing and observing life go by. Well defined stages, a simple and light handed (basic representations) theme, and a range of consumption options from free of charge to luxury, make Akaroa an attractive small town tourist destination. Other positive attributes include: a scenic, if not exciting short drive from Christchurch, the wharf which acts as a gateway to harbour cruises, and other local activities such as the tramping on the privately operated Banks Peninsula track. Akaroa operates as an obvious tourist town that is successful in part because it retains a local town sense that connects the town to its historical past and provides spaces with appropriate scale and character representative of Akaroa’s past and other non-tourist communities with similar contextual conditions. The success is also due to the range of tourist services and the image.

4.4 Akaroa’s Stages

4.4.1 Physical Context

Akaroa is located approximately 85 km (1.5 hour travel time) southeast from Christchurch and it had a population of 567 people in the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The town is situated on
the coast of Akaroa harbour, the remnants of a volcano, on Banks Peninsula. Banks Peninsula is a place whose history of Maori and European settlement has shaped the landscape, including the built communities. The current landscape is a result of extensive agricultural practices and slow landscape change creating a rich historical legacy.

Figure 4.3 Sketch: Akaroa’s tourists flow over the hills into town, along main street, past the beach and to the newest tourist area near the main wharf. The town’s public space is primarily left of the black arrow while to the right are private homes and rental accommodations

4.4.2 The imagined script
Akaroa’s colonial history provides a ‘theme’ for this resort town. A short French presence as well as German, and later British colonial influences (Tremewan 2010), along with intentions to preserve historical features has provided a thematic ‘script’ for this community. Sixty three French colonists arrived in 1840 and established a settlement that still retains a French influence. Akaroa associates itself with its initial French historical narrative and expresses this among other things, with the use of French names (street names and the names of business), French themed events and French symbols. Authentic ties to French culture and history, and the use of a French theme is unique to Akaroa in New Zealand. Place names and French-influenced historic buildings, narrow streets and French flags, and French signage are reminders of the town’s French heritage (Burgess and Whybrew 2010). The use of things ‘French’ however is restrained and the number of French flags and other symbols are not visually dominant. Views out toward the water, which draws the eye, do not contain French symbols. Flags are found only on the hillside of the main street. A man dressed in ‘French’ colonial attire and waving a French flag is noticeable, but unobtrusive and ephemeral. While the French theme is relatively subtle, the town however is more British colonial in its heritage buildings. Burgess and Whybrew (2010) describe the character of Akaroa’s historical streetscaping and architecture:
Although a small number of buildings survive(s) from the period 1840s-1860s, most of the historic buildings and structures in Akaroa township date from the 1870s through to the early 1900s, when Akaroa was developing its rural and maritime servicing roles. Genuine French design elements are to be found in the area such as the metric width of the streets (12 metres) and French European trees, roses and vines descended from French originals. However, Akaroa’s architectural character is predominantly British colonial, with its buildings typified by weatherboard construction, steeply pitched roofs with dormer windows, verandahs and sash windows. Collectively, Akaroa’s buildings and structures contribute to the streetscapes and the interrelationship between the town, hills and sea. (Burgess and Whybrew 2010:7).

The colonial theme with restored historic buildings and a pedestrian pace provides the tone for the town as less hurried and simpler life. As a destination, for domestic tourists there is an expectation of a relaxed getaway (from urban life) for families (nightlife is limited) with a regional focus on water-based activities (boating and fishing). Visitors perform Akaroa as written in the guide books: “a very relaxed air well suited to gentle strolls followed by quality cuisine and a comfy bed. These factors combine to make Akaroa a popular Kiwi holiday destination: a full two-thirds of its houses are baches” (Harper, Mudd and Whitfield 2004:638).

International visitors were found to use Akaroa at the beginning and end of their trips to New Zealand. The ‘small town’ charm provides the right place to start a trip, as it is a short drive from Christchurch International airport and is scenic, with the right amount of services, outside of the city. It is also used to end a trip for the same reasons. When staying at the Akaroa Holiday Park, I found it to be alive with people beginning and ending their trips and sharing their experiences and knowledge of travelling in New Zealand. Domestic tourists and holiday home owners also add to the town’s character. International tourists want to meet ‘locals’ (from New Zealand in general) and get some sense of what the place is like.

4.4.3 Access

Travelling to Akaroa is one of the features that make this town an attraction. There are two main ways to travel from Christchurch to Akaroa. One is by Summit Road where, according to The Rough Guide to New Zealand, you need ample time on your hands and a taste for exploration (Harper et al. 2004). The drive is along narrow winding and steep roads with access to walking tracks on Banks Peninsula. The second and more convenient travel choice is by State Highway 75 which runs south from Christchurch to Akaroa. Akaroa’s close proximity to Christchurch provides opportunities for day trips and results in increased visitor numbers on weekends and during the summer/school holiday season. Many motorcyclists enjoy the challenge of the steep winding roads and scenic views. The ‘journey’ to Akaroa provides the start of the Akaroa experience and the transition from urban and ‘everyday’ to an accessible yet rural coastal setting.
Figure 4.4 Sketch: Driving through Banks Peninsula - is an attraction in and of itself

Figure 4.5 1) Imagined script: hints of French history with flag and French names 2) view from Hilltop into Akaroa Harbour; 3) motorcyclists make the trip
**Akaroa’s stages**

4.4.4 *Recreation Stage*

Located at the north end of the town, the boat launch - cricket field parking is the first ‘stage’ you encounter as you arrive into town. The boat launch area is a recreational taskscape. It is a functional space for accessing the water, temporary vehicle and trailer parking and a more permanent boat storage area. It is a sealed parking lot that is connected to the cricket pitch and views to the water and back to the hills behind Akaroa. The openness of the space provides views that are not accessible from the main street.

The boat launch area makes little attempt to be formally organized or ‘dressed up’ as a tourism space. There are signs providing information primarily for fishers and ‘boaties’. Amenities include a few picnic tables, benches and public toilets. Some plantings have been added to screen the water’s rocky edge as well as a concrete border between the vegetation and parking surface. The parking space is primarily a blank slate where habitual use by locals and regional recreational users have written the script for the space’s use. The primary features (vehicles and trailers) are brought in by the users. Vehicles and trailers move in and out and provide a visual indication of the number of people out on the water at any one time. There is an ebb and flow of people and their equipment and a shared
choreography of people waiting and using the boat launch. Boaters prepare their boats, organize their supplies and equipment and socialize between themselves. Boaters are seen eating lunch and ‘tinkering’ with things before and after their trips onto the water. It is a relaxed atmosphere, vehicles moving slowly, reversing and moving forward, water draining off boats and trailers, people interacting and helping, making the change from land to water as efficient and as enjoyable as possible. An occasional shout is heard to warn the driver reversing or to inquire about the missing life jacket.

Locals and seasonal residents move through this space as access to the cricket field and skateboard park, to walk the dog, or as part of a daily route. Locals also use this space to access the cricket and skateboard facilities. Although the reason for this space is to temporarily store vehicles while their owners are out boating, the space is open to interpretation and could be used for other activities while not in use by the boating community.

The space is not intended for the mass tourist. Non-boaters walk thru the space as if walking through a market, looking at and sneaking a touch of the equipment. Non-boaters were observed walking thru and then sitting at water’s edge to ‘take in’ the boater’s performances and the harbour view. A bench and picnic tables have been provided that are used by the boaters and their non-boater audience. Non-boaters also use the parking lot, especially the independent tourists parking their campervans in the first parking lot as you enter the town. The lot provides an interesting everyday life performance of boaters going about their routines and practices as well as a view out into the harbour, right from the comfort of the campervan. For an ‘outsider’ the performance is a glimpse into an unfamiliar world. Tourists using campervans are observed sitting in their vehicles, reading, having lunch, organising and watching the world out on the water.
The boat launch and parking lot is a public space that is changing throughout the day and since it is not connected to a commercial retail operation, boaters and non-boaters are relaxed in how it is used. There is no obligation to move on as felt in a holiday park, retail parking lot or metered parking. For a tourist, this space gives a behind the scene look at pleasure boaters and a quiet out of the way place to get a 360 degree view of the Akaroa area and waterfront.

Adjoining the boat launch the cricket pitch provides an open turf-covered space. This place is familiar to most people as a park or turf based sport field. It is well manicured and groomed for playing cricket. Picnic tables as well as parking are found on the south side of the field. Toilets and potable water are located near the boat launch and available for public use. People sit under small trees for the shade along the south road and along the main road. They use the open grass field to throw a ball, practice cricket, run around, or watch a cricket game. This area also hosts a skateboard park and dirt track for bicycles. This is a familiar space in New Zealand and is available in most towns as a town domain. For visitors it is free available space that is open to interpretation. Similar to the boat launch and parking area, this space can be used for various activities outside of the intended use of cricket.
The parking along the south side is very popular with people to park and walk, and for picnics. Because it is a free and public space, people linger and enjoy the open views from the fields.

Visitors have access onto a cricket pitch that is not usually available to public access. The ‘off to the side’ appeal of the 90 degree parking along Rue Brittan, is away from the main traffic, shaded by trees and when empty does not look out of place. The openness of the playing field commands your attention and the parking area ‘blends in’ even when not in use.

Figure 4.10 Sketch: flows through the recreational stage are unregulated for pedestrians and somewhat more regulated for vehicle traffic. Building beside cricket pitch is the club house.

Figure 4.11 1) parking along cricket ground; 2) public use of open space; 3) dirt bicycle track beside skate park and cricket pitch

The cricket pitch and boat launch spaces share a parking lot and work well together without separating barriers. This space is open to interpretation, or improvisation using the performance metaphor by the performer. As a place, it is informal, free open space that is improvised and provides opportunities to interact with both local, regional residents and visiting tourists.
To the north of the cricket field and boat launch area is a boat storage area, an extension of parking from the boat launch, a garden, tennis court, grass area, small park beside Highway 75 (Jubilee Park) and a large parking area used for the business facing the main street. These spaces are used in a similar way to the parking and turf based fields as already mentioned. They are recreational taskscapes that are primarily used by locals and regional recreationalists but are consistently used by a number of tourists looking for parking, but more importantly, looking for out of the way places to spend quiet time, interact with other people or organize their lives.

4.4.5 Main Street

Akaroa’s main street is Rue Lavaud. As an extension of Stage Highway 75, Rue Lavaud runs the length of the central business district (CBD) to the public beach where it becomes Beach Road. Rue Lavaud is Akaroa’s main street where most of the local shopping and social interaction occurs. It is the shopping hub and the town’s taskcape (where people go about their daily business). Since Akaroa’s business is tourism there is an emphasis on providing for tourists as well as the ‘everyday’ local business. Rue Lavaud has a history of local use, where residents live, work and play. The spaces that make up Rue Lavaud were, in their day, ordinary places, constructed with taskscape materials of asphalt and vernacular materials. The preservation of the historic fabric has made the once ordinary into something special as object-related (Wang 1999) authentic historical artefacts.

The narrowness of Rue Lavaud and perpendicular side streets creates an intimate feeling of this main street. The sidewalks are also narrow making pedestrians slow down and more aware of other people and things on the sidewalk.

The preservation of Akaroa’s distinctive visual character, its physical setting, buildings, and open spaces and gardens has not been left to chance. Recognised by the local community, New Zealand Historic Places Trust and initially the Banks Peninsula District Council, now the Christchurch City Council, a set of guidelines have been legislated to protect the town’s special character with the understanding of its importance for cultural and aesthetic reasons as well as the economic advantage it promises for retaining property values for residents and as a holiday destination (Christchurch City Council, 2007:2). Set within the Banks Peninsula Plan, the guidelines consider the built spaces, buildings and townscape, and the natural areas and how they contribute to the ‘relaxed convivial atmosphere of a village’ (Christchurch City Council, 2007:7). The focus of the guidelines is to ensure any new construction preserves or enhances the appealing aspects of Akaroa. To accomplish this, the guidelines consider: compatible design for restoring old and introducing new contemporary buildings (maintain proportions, scale, materials, textures, colours); relationships with the wider landscape; and maintaining streetscapes with ‘harmonious’ rhythm and scale (Christchurch City Council, 2007:11). The specific guidelines consider roof forms; cladding, texture and roofing materials; windows; colours; verandahs; setbacks and fences; parking and garages; signage; and site work. The guidelines
are for specific zones described as the Akaroa Historic Area and does not include some residential and recreation area in the township. The guidelines do cover most places where tourists are likely to visit including the tourist zone which I will describe later.

The main street has kept a colonial aesthetic. The streetscape is picturesque with restored historic buildings, framed with small fences and over grown gardens spilling over onto the sidewalk. The church yard having large trees and open space is used for markets and people looking for shade. The stage is set where one could imagine what it was like a hundred years ago. Retail shops provide glimpses of what is inside by displaying placard signs or merchandise outside. The few buildings that are ‘modern’ in style are small in scale therefore respectful of the surrounding heritage sites. The street has mixed uses of retail, accommodation, and food services, as well as historic and residential spaces that are not consumption based.

![Historic buildings; sidewalk and public space; taskscape materials](image)

Leading off the main street there are three smaller nested stages worth noting. First is the space between Rue Lavaud and the harbour. This area is an extension of the main street and recreational stages where small businesses, homes, and a bowling club are located. As place it is a taskscape, a town’s backstage which is more or less considered ‘ordinary’. The second space, a touristscape, is in contrast to the surrounding taskscape. This space includes the I-Site (information centre) and public toilets. This space is located off Rue Lavaud and by nature of its location beside the information centre and as a ‘cleaned up’ space, it is a tourist place to stop and rest. It provides for the tourist with benches, flower gardens, and free public toilets. A sculpture of an artist painting is also found here where people interact with the sculpture playing the part of the canvas subject. Visitors are not told how to behave but many people ‘play’ with the sculpture in a similar way. There is placard advertising on the sidewalk that indicates this as tourist space. Visitors, especially backpackers were observed waiting in this space. It is a common place to wait for rides to backpackers (cheap accommodation) or farm stays. They were observed sitting with their large packs, reading and organising themselves. This space was quite busy and therefore less likely a place for local use (unless for the public toilets).
The third ‘nested’ space is an enclosed area beside the information centre where the town’s war memorial is located. It is a walled garden with a central Gothic spire and stone benches. As a monument commemorating past wars, it appears larger than most found in similar sized towns in the area. Like other small towns this space is used as the central stage for ANZAC day ceremonies. This place has also become a stage for tourists in Akaroa. On most trips to Akaroa, on hot sunny days, visitors were observed lying on the grassed surface of the reserve. It is a peaceful place where people rest. The waist high wall that defines the space from Rue Lavaud has also be appropriated and substitutes as a bench and play structure. The memorial reserve is in contrast to its surroundings, between the more active information/public toilet area and the town beach. Although people are using the ceremonial space for other purposes, tourist performances are respectful to the original ceremonial script. Tourists perform in this space to orient themselves, plan their next move and use the toilet facilities. Since many tourists are on holiday, they are playful and interact with the sculpture in an improvised way. Locals move through this space, but because it is congested with tourists they do not linger.

As mentioned earlier, Akaroa has more remnants of its British colonial history than its short French one. For some, mostly domestic tourists, Akaroa is not really French, and are quick to point out the ‘Britishness’ of the colonial buildings. These same people however still enjoy Akaroa for the area’s coastal and relaxed setting. The coastal stage is emphasised and marked with exotic palm trees and Norfolk pines. With the exceptions of introduced ‘historical’ street light posts, Rue Lavaud remains a ‘typical’ small town street with on street parking and few modifications.

4.4.6 Beach and Promenade
Located next to the war memorial and on the water’s edge is the town beach. Between the sand and the sidewalk of Beach Road there is a small grass area that is shaded with a few trees. It is at the same level as the sidewalk, above the beach. This shaded, elevated space is quite popular as a place to sit with legs hanging over the edge of the retaining wall and watch the performances taking place on the beach. The bottom of the retaining wall is also a popular place to sit and lean against. There are few fixed objects on the beach. It is simply an open expanse of sand. People need to bring their own
chairs and other beach ‘props’ as well as their understanding of how to perform the beach. The people using this beach appear to use this beach like any other where performances are focused on family time, digging and shaping the sand, playing in the water and tanning. There are no lifeguards or other beach equipment to inform the performers what to do.

A subtle but very important stage that contributes to Akaroa is the road and sidewalk that connects the main street to the newer ‘tourist area’, what will be referred to as *Harbour side*. The sidewalk runs parallel to Beach Road. It is approximately 1.8 km return trip from the information centre to the main wharf. Although this sidewalk was not designed as such, for purposes of this research, it will be called a promenade. Starting at the war memorial, the promenade follows Beach Road, and is raised above and over looks a sandy beach and tidal area on the way to the main wharf. The road and sidewalk are paved, like many small towns, and have no other improvements. The surface is smooth and appropriate for prams and strollers. The sidewalk is wide enough to walk shoulder to shoulder but requires some negotiation when two groups pass. The promenade is unremarkable in appearance but provides the opportunity to walk along the beach front, a time to chat with changing views of the town and harbour.

![Image of promenade and beach]

Figure 4.14: Sketch: People flow along the promenade from Main Street to the harbour view area. Pedestrians have a choice to walk on the sidewalk beside the road or, below street level, on the beach where there are opportunities to explore. Vehicles park along the road (in the shade) allowing for easy access to the promenade, beach and to the harbour view area.

One performance that stands out in Akaroa could be described as the ‘ice cream stroll’. People were observed buying ice cream from shops on Rue Lavaud and strolling along the main street, past the beach, and towards the main wharf area. It was a family performance where the group, with ice creams in hand, would slowly move along the sidewalk, pausing to look in shop windows or to point
out something, like a sail boat on the water, or to pay greater attention to their melting snack. Many people practiced this performance and have likely performed this before here in Akaroa or elsewhere. The ice cream stroll, as well as performing with the artist statue, are copied performances (people copy what others are seen doing) and add to the experience of being on holiday in Akaroa.

A fence runs along the sidewalk to protect people from the level change from the sidewalk to the beach level. The fence is simple: painted wooden posts with a single heavy gauged chain. The white paint on the posts is peeling and the bare chain is strung so it droops and creates a repeating pattern between the posts. Although visually the fence provides a marker to the sidewalk edge, it also provides a tactile ‘object’ for the stroll along the promenade. Children were observed running their hand(s) along the chain as they walked along with their families. Their hands would move with the curve of the chain and jumping over the wooden posts. A rhythm was created, hand sliding along the chain and pauses over the posts. A game was created to continue this performance until the end of the promenade. This occurred on a number of occasions.

Figure 4.15: perspective cross section sketch of beach, promenade and road

Along the promenade is one set of stairs that provides access from the sidewalk to the beach. A choice is given to walk on the sidewalk overlooking the beach, or to walk along part of the beach and tidal area. The beach walk option is dynamic with changes in tide levels and the tidal ecology. In lower tide and good conditions people are able to explore the beach area looking for shells and ‘lost treasure’. With high tide the place becomes more challenging and becomes a game of trying to keep your feet dry with the changing tide. The stairs also provides a place to take photos down the beach.
with the war memorial in the background. People were seen posing and having fun taking pictures from this spot.

Figure 4.16: 1) fence along promenade; 2) families performing the stroll 3) photos at the beach stairs

The promenade provides a range of views of the township, the harbour and up into the hills behind the town. It is well used by locals (walking dogs, running) and by visitors.

Beach Road, like the promenade is a plain taskscape, but is an important asset to performing Akaroa. Parking along Beach road is desirable as it is available to campervans and provides needed shade in summer. Campervans are not allowed to camp in the tourist area (described next). Parking along Beach Road is also popular as it provides front row seats to watch people walk along the promenade and activity out in the harbour. It is also ideal for families that need to return to their vehicle often to get things for their children. People were observed reading, preparing and having lunch in their campervans parked on Beach Road. Parking here is also attractive as there are no restrictions to all day parking.

The promenade is a very important stage in the script and performance of Akaroa. Walking from one section of town to the other, along the beach or on the sidewalk, is what people do to spend time in Akaroa. Shopping is only so satisfying, especially for repeat visitors who practice this place repeatedly. The movement through the town provides stimulus for the body, and for the mind, there is being in the company of friends or family and the sensual stimulus of the water, the sounds of bird life, the surrounding hills and changing perspectives. The stroll along the promenade is a social performance, a time to talk and be with other people. It is also very sensual where people experience moving through the town and the changing nature of the water front. People perform Akaroa by walking the promenade.

4.4.7 Harbour Side

Connected to the promenade is the stage that is most developed for tourism. While the other stages are more closely associated with taskscapes, this stage, what will be referred to as the harbour side is a touristscape. As a touristscape the space is designed and shaped to attract visitors and provide tourism specific services. As place, touristscapes are sanitized by removing potentially offending smells and
sights. In Akaroa the harbour side has been modified with coloured pavers, matching street furniture, and markers identifying the entrance into the ‘zone’. The transition from the ordinary materials of the promenade is marked with a concrete wall, flower beds and dark blue street bollards. The harbour side is also the only one way street in Akaroa and the only place where street parking has time limits and campervan restrictions. This stage uses unifying street furniture- bollards, street lights, and rubbish bins, all similar with their dark blue metal construction. This stage is consumption focused, providing products and services commonly associated with tourism such as outdoor dining, souvenir shops and tour operators. Most of these consumer operations (traditional touristscapes) are on the hill side of Beach Road. The harbour side of Beach Road is mostly public space with one small historic building used for tourist purposes. The public space on the water front contrasts with the controlled and modified, even ‘sanitized’, aspects of the tourist spaces on the landward side, allowing people to freely move about and be exposed to unmitigated sights and smells of the water front.

Figure 4.17: Harbour side modified cross section

Unlike the consumer side of the tourism zone, the public space along the harbour is more open to improvisation and time spent in this space is controlled more by gaze of other visitors rather than commercial interests. Historic artefacts are used as sculptural elements which support the town’s colonial theme. Much attention in this area is given to objects that stir the imagination and let people touch and play with the objects. A good example of this is a canon found near the public toilets in the tourist zone. The canon provides an established visual cue of Akaroa’s past and acts as an object authentic symbol of colonial life. However, for many children it is much more, the canon is a thing to touch and climb on, and as a prop used to trigger imagined worlds. The canon is located off a busy pathway (to the main wharf and toilets) and is situated for easy access especially to children. The canon is situated on grass and has not been elevated or signed. The grass area however has been fenced with a low slung spiky chain that is easily traversed.
In addition to the historic props that attract attention, other, more ephemeral objects are brought onto the harbour side stage. Motorcyclists park their bikes in clusters (bright colours and attractive shapes) on the sidewalk and spaces of the public space. People wandering through this space need to walk around the bikes, pause and gaze, and often conversations are initiated with the bike’s owner or with other visitors about the bike or experiences of travelling in New Zealand. The motorcycles as props, and their owners dressed in leathers and the latest helmets become characters and perform for and with other visitors.

Another ephemeral performance in the tourist zone public space, also occurring beside the water’s edge are kayak instruction sessions. Prior to guided kayaking trips, paid customers are introduced to equipment and techniques of kayaking on dry land. Wearing the appropriate kayak costumes and surrounding their instructor, they listen, talk, practice what they are being taught and take pictures. They are lively and quite noticeable with their brightly coloured equipment and clothing. Other tourists walking through this space need to negotiate this small spectacle and walk around or through this group, often pausing to comprehend what is going on and sometimes taking pictures. This is street theatre on a holiday stage. The act is not a traditionally scripted theatrical production, but an everyday performance that is, for some people (non-kayakers), unique or out of the ordinary. The paying customers become an attraction which adds to their holiday experience. The sport
performances by the kayakers in public space also adds a vibrancy to the space, if only momentarily, which contributes to the overall tourist focus of this stage. This same space also works well (doesn’t appear as void) when not occupied by the kayaker’s performances.

Figure 4.19: 1) playing with cannon; 2) kayaker performances 3) harbour side- café experience

The informal improvisational nature of the public space (water side of the tourist zone) creates a quite different stage than across the road in the controlled consumptive space. This ‘privatised’ tourism stage (controlled consumptive space ) is performed by tourists as everyday practices: orderly walking as groups; waiting- by sitting on benches or in cars; window shopping; eating, socialising and people watching in the alfresco dinning spaces; and interacting with other tourists. The public space, only across the road, is more informal and improvised by the performer. For example, the change in surface material from concrete paver to aggregate (as well as the change from shopping area to sea side) saw people lying on the ground and sun tanning which was not observed on the more consumer focused side of the road. With their backs to the commercial side of tourism, the water front public space provided a different stage for visitors. People were more likely to linger in the space longer, be more playful, start up conversations with strangers, feed and interact with birds, and take more photos. I found myself preferring the performance that involves buying a take-away and sitting on a comfortable bench overlooking the harbour to have my lunch rather than sitting in an organized outdoor dining area on the landward side, with a constant flow of people passing by. The consumptive side of the harbour side is visibly marked with more signs on the buildings and placards on the sidewalk.

4.4.8 The Main Wharf
Stemming off the harbour side is the town’s main wharf. As a working wharf, this stage acts more like the rest of Akaroa, as a taskscape, rather than the touristscape of the harbour side. Tour and fishing boats, as well as recreational motor and sail boats still use the services of the wharf. The end of the wharf is also well used by people fishing. The wharf does provide for tourism with commercial operations on the wharf using the marine theme to help sell pearls and other jewellery as well as being the staging area for swim with the dolphins’ tours. The drying wetsuits provide the sensory cues to what takes place out on the water. People wait here, sensing the smells and sounds of the coast and the tour’s props, building up the anticipation before their experience with the dolphins. The wharf
itself has not been changed for tourism. The building housing the jewellery shop and the dolphin tours was created specifically for tourists. Also specifically for tourists, a local fisherman has also set up a small kiosk selling fresh fish beside his moored boat.

Figure 4.20: 1) wharf connects to promenade and harbour side; 2) fresh fish off the boat 3) End of wharf is a social space

4.5 Summary

This chapter has provided the initial framework for understanding tourist performance. First, drawing upon participant observation, a travel model is proposed that identifies three different town types on a travel circuit. This model suggests towns have different tourism functions and therefore should potentially have different stages to meet those functions. They offer different combinations of ‘tasksapes’ and ‘touristscapes’, and it was also found that tourist performances could be unpacked to include a tourist everyday life, where basic life necessities are habitually attended, and the more familiar notion of holiday life providing novelty or other desired experiences and various forms of entertainment. The tourist everyday is important in all types of town, and may play an important part in how towns participate with tourism and the travel circuit in New Zealand.

The second part of the chapter provides an interpretation of Akaroa as a representative of a tourism destination town, the first of three types of towns on the travel circuit model of interest. The performance metaphor was used and was helpful to unpack the complexity of the multiple spaces found in Akaroa. When analysed as separate stages, with associated scripts and resulting in a performance, the task of identifying important features became easier. For instance, the boat launch stage is not simply a parking lot with access to the water. There are multiple choreographies occurring: boats entering and exiting the water, other boat users on land and water: waiting, planning, preparing, fixing and socializing, locals and visitors watching the routines, yet others walking through or looking for solitude, the stored vehicles and trailers provide physical structure separating the water from the street, and, an empty parking lot welcomes the campervan occupants a view to the harbour. The simple signage with rules and rustic features suggest casual performances and improvisation when the time is right. The boat launch area provides an alternative to the more tourist area at the opposite end of town.
The results of exploring Akaroa, a destination town, using the performance metaphor provided a number of fresh insights into understanding space and how it is used. These insights are organised in the following categories: theoretical, applied and methodological.

From a theoretical perspective, the critical lens of the performance metaphor maintains the complexity of ‘real’ life as script, stage and performance, resisting over-simplification and reduction of stages to static material objects. Furthermore, since some people perceive the town as local while others see it as overly ‘touristy’, the use of this metaphor helped to critically examine town spaces as local taskscape and touristscape. The distinction between these two stage types also identified that the kind, number, and arrangement of stages may influence the over-all character of the town. The separation of spaces into stages also indicated the range of performances that were available and likely contributed to the success of this town as a tourist destination.

The Akaroa case study also resulted in new applied understanding which can be used in the design process. Firstly, it is important to understand that while individual stages can be designed, they are set within a fixed setting that is beyond the scope of designers. Most tourist destinations by their nature have physical attributes that are desirable for tourism, such as a waterfront (views and recreational use), access to nature and recreational spaces, and scenic topography. Akaroa is blessed with all of these attributes. Secondly, the location of the town is important as ‘easy’ access (effort and time), as well as an ‘enjoyable’ journey influences the perception of the destination. Akaroa is ideally located near the city of Christchurch and is accessed by a selection of scenic and ‘challenging’ routes. Thirdly, Akaroa can be experienced in a number of ways due to the variety of stages that are available. Visitors have multiple choices including a range of pedestrian options; a range of private and public spaces; a range of historic and modern town character; a range of tourist and everyday places, a range of active and passive opportunities; and a range of stages to perform on or participate as audience. The fourth insight suggests the importance of performance improvisation where space is used differently from its original or intended programme or design. For example, motorcycles parked on the sidewalk are improvised as ‘temporary art’ and opportunities to meet people with certain interests. This way of perceiving space and activity increases the possibilities of how spaces are used and experienced. The fifth observation is concerned with social surveillance and control, specifically the use of access controls: fences, signage, bollards, and coordinated street furniture used to distinguish public and private open spaces and provide visual cues to appropriate performances. Performance cues give meaning to space and make them places. Meaning is also given to stages with changes such as ‘upgrading’ or ‘gentrification’ and the representations of space as taskscape or touristscape. The sixth insight is the importance of planning and design guidelines. The protection of historical buildings and spaces has helped Akaroa retain valuable economic and cultural resources that underpin its character as a tourism destination. The last insight is that destinations are subject to seasonal and diurnal cycles and stages need to accommodate for these fluctuations. Akaroa adjusts by providing the
range of stages, as already mentioned, at a scale that is in line with the low tourist season and local performances. The significance of the performance metaphor is how it helps to refocus the perception of space or stages as material objects that enable performances or activities that have social meaning and significance to the performer.

This case study also provided some methodological insights into the performance metaphor. First and most importantly is that the performance metaphor is easily applied to a real life context and retains a complexity of understanding that is important in the design process. Secondly the use of the participant observation method was important to ground the study in reality and use a data gathering strategy (field observations) that is understood and accepted by designers. The performance metaphor was found to be an appropriate lens to understand space and people’s use of it by considering a place as script, stage, and performance.

The Akaroa case study describes a destination using the performance metaphor and provides a number of insights of this theoretical lens and the stages associated with a tourist destination. This case study identifies that there are different stages and different types of performance but does not describe or explain the nature of the staging. The next case study will use these insights and apply them to another town on the travel circuit, the gateway. The gateway as represented by Methven will first be described using the performance metaphor, and the performance metaphor will then be tested by collaborating with students in a design studio, applying the performance lens to a design problem concerned with tourism in the township of Methven. The Methven case study will start to investigate the design implications of staging, and the questions and issues associated with determining the script and the impact that has on staging.