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THE ARTICULATION OF TOURIST MEANINGS IN LANDSCAPE DESIGN

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Introduction

Landscape is a dominant attraction in tourism, outdoor recreation, leisure in general and also an important point of reference in local and regional identities. It encompasses not only space, soil, water, nature and human settlements, but also geological and human history, all linked to particular interests of living people. Because it is connected to a long history of events that influenced its form and functions, the landscape is 'loaded' with a complex meaning reflecting the present as well as the past. Different relationships to the landscape create and have created 'meaning': functionality or the use people make of it, the perceptual impact it has on the 'eye of the beholder', the narratives linked to it and the modes of ownership. Design for leisure landscapes has been predominantly oriented to utility functions, perceptual values (aesthetics; orientation et cetera) and particular requirements formulated by landowners such as local authorities, tourism entrepreneurs and recreation management organizations (Brinkhuijsen, forthcoming). The narrative aspect came into view only recently. Narratives may consist of personal histories (the landscape of my youth...) and above all imply shared knowledge.

In this paper we take the narrative of a defence line that has been created in the eastern part of the Netherlands. The line, a complex of concrete dams, harbours, water feeder and bunkers, located in and along the river IJssel, was built in the nineteen fifties of the 20th century in order to inundate the eastern border of the country in case the Soviets should decide to invade Northern Europe. The construction of the defence line stopped before its completion, but it left many traces in the landscape. Local volunteers in one village turned elements of the line into a recreational and tourist attraction.

The assignment of our project was: to conceptualise landscape narratives, to apply these to different approaches to the same general story about the defence line and to find material 'figures of speech' for design in order to make the landscape and the narrative more or less 'readable' and understandable for visitors.

Landscape discourse and tourism

We can understand landscape as organized space. As such it is a rather problematic concept. How is space organized in order to be a landscape? In his well known book *Landscape & Memory* the historian Simon Schama points at the significance of the word 'landscape'. The word became part of the English vocabulary, as Schama (1995: 10) contends, 'as a Dutch import at the end of the sixteenth century. And *landschap* [] signified a unit of occupation, indeed a jurisdiction, as much as anything that might be a pleasing object of depiction'. The migration of the word landscape is directly linked with the then developing genre of Dutch landscape painting.

Etymologically 'landscape' is related to the active process of shaping, in particular by human practices. Land refers to the material aspect of space, while *schap* or *scape* refers to 'creation'. Land can also be understood as: belonging to human groups or individuals, as property, created and appropriated.

The discourse of landscape reveals itself clearly within the historic European context of at least many hundreds of years. After the 'internationalisation' of the very word landscape, the discourse around its *meanings* showed a great interconnectedness within a European context, involving travellers, painters, writers, garden architects and, later on, landscape *architects* and planners. Until the beginning of the 20th century landscape architecture mainly comprised garden and park design. Developing as a technical and even academic discipline landscape architecture reflects this historical background, but seems to have lost much of its symbolic and narrative connection over the years. As James Corner phrases it:

"Originally, art and architecture were understood as a unity between *techne* and *poiesis*. Here, *techne* was the dimension of revelatory knowledge about the world, and *poiesis* was the dimension of creative, symbolic representation." (Corner 2002a: 19/20)

"As a discipline, it has been increasingly estranged from a sense of traditional and poetic value. In particular, this refers to what might be perceived as the current inability of landscape architecture to simultaneously engage the recurrent and thematic workings of history with the circumstances peculiar of our own time." (Corner, 2002b: 20)

Furthermore, Corner contends that landscape architecture mainly entails a 'prosaic and technical construction' (idem: 20).

In contemporary international tourism the word landscape receives new connotations from the perspective of *observers* for instance as a motive for short or long distance travelling, linking the originally European discourse of landscape to the international and often non-western contexts. Here the object of landscape architects, who more or less began to 'own' the discourse of landscape during the last century, appears to receive a new discursive context. New voices come into the discourse, creating a lot of confusion, conflicts, and new claims on interpretation. This in turn raises indignation and resistance from the part of 'vested interests' of landscape architects. In the Netherlands landscape architects were involved in the design of new leisure landscapes after World War II. But, they made their designs after the traditional discourse of landscape architecture with little insight in the meaning of landscape for leisure purposes such as outdoor recreation and tourism (Brinkhuijsen 2007). They perceived the significance of landscape in terms of general aesthetics and functionality. In the last two decades of the 20th century they added an ecological element to the landscape discourse (Koh, 2004). But recreation and tourism maintained suspect connotations, as if they were dirty words.

It was Dean MacCannell (in 1979) who convincingly introduced the idea that the attraction of a place is primarily related to the meanings that come from particular narratives. (Op. cit. 114 B&C). Places which signify general meanings such as a mountain, a house or a field become 'special' and attractive because they are described as the highest mountain, the birth house of

a celebrity or the battlefield of a historical period, for example Verdun. MacCannell's well-known example of the *Bonnie and Clyde shootout area* (op. cit.: 114). The area is 'no more than a patch of wild grass' with nothing to see. The additional question here is whether the story truly happened at this particular location or was merely invented. The proclaimed birth house of Freddy Mercury in Stonetown Zanzibar, now the Zanzibar Gallery and a tourist attraction, is a few blocks away from the house where he was actually born.

MacCannell identified a process, which he called 'sight sacrilization' (op.cit.: 43). First he distinguished a 'naming phase', the linguistic identification of the place. After that followed: framing and elevation involving protection and enhancement; enshrinement (a particular distinction from its environment); mechanical reproduction (photographs, prints et cetera); and finally social reproduction (identification by social groups with the object).

In the last ten years landscape architecture in the Netherlands has incorporated a new interest in history and the preservation of the past in the present (Belvedere, 1999). But comparable to the orientation on ecosystems, the past is conceived of as a given, and to be defined by experts. This concurs with the technological approach of design that meets well-objectified conditions and assignments. A tourist description of historical attractions almost automatically seems to be 'inauthentic' and subjective, because it is developed as a product to serve a highly commercialized market. Landscape architecture also seems distanced far from the *poiesis* of cultural appreciations of average people. In the past the taste of the elites was what counted. The cultural democratization of society made the cultural tastes, in particular those of the masses, more than suspect.

Up to now, the only acceptance of the appreciation of and emotional responses to landscape that come from ordinary individuals are the objectified and generalized stimulus – response outcomes from (predominantly positivist) environmental psychology. Only those are able to serve as orientation for landscape design. Again, the condition is the objectified and generalized input from experts.

Where direct opinions of individuals or social groups are concerned, landscape architects feel uneasy towards two backgrounds of taste and appreciation: that of common people and that of the tourist. The first category stays put in their daily environment and the second happens to be the same, but is now on the move. But if we want to conquer this uneasiness, the next question is: how can we incorporate the motives, interests, imaginations and 'imagineering' of tourism into landscape design? Tourism is one of the main mechanisms in attributing meanings and narratives to landscapes. Tourism also entails a process of 'production' of environments and active intervention into existing physical and meaningful elements.

Landscape narratives

According to Vroom (2006) the Western landscape discourse comprises three main 'meanings':

- the landscape conceived of as *wild nature or wilderness* (the world as it was created or developed in evolution),
- the *agricultural landscape* (the product of human intervention) and
- the *sanctified landscape* in which the material world is deeply loaded with symbols and religious or social representations, and connected to the aesthetics of the sublime experience (the product of imagination). This is the landscape as an 'ingenious connection' between culture and nature, in which the shaping of the landscape results from human meaning that goes beyond the production of food and safety.

In tourism the wilderness concept has played an important role in many ways. Wilderness can also be understood as sacred. That is the way many landscape creators and observers see it. As Schama (id.:7) memorizes, the 'founding fathers of modern environmentalism', Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, in the 19th century proclaimed that 'in wilderness is the preservation of the world'. The recent biodiversity debates highly add to the strongly articulated ecosystem conceptions of wilderness. In tourism this has resulted in a concept of ecotourism.

The agricultural concept of landscape is visible in the medieval religious Books of Hours, showing the landscape in relation to the changing seasons and according to the sequences in social everyday life. The agricultural routines represent (to a large extent) predictability and repetition, as well as the accomplishments of mankind in dominating and possessing nature. The agricultural landscape also involves a slow manifestation of time and change. It seems to be exactly this quality that defines the attraction of the rural landscapes for recreating people, fleeing the urban world for a few hours or days. In international travel this notion has led up to the concept of 'agrotourism'.

The sanctified landscape relates to both narrative and perceptive aspects. The artistic representations of past or exotic landscapes offer, so to speak, a narrative ideal type of beauty and appreciation. Goethe, in the late 18th century, described in his Italian journey the wonders of the changing landscapes he travelled through. His story signposts a new romantic longing of being lost in admiration for another spatial setting, away from everyday life. The appreciation is highly aesthetic, preferably undisturbed by down to earth traces of human toil and ambitions. The narratives of the landscape can refer to literature, art or the past as another 'foreign country' we can long for (Lowenthal, 1985). Romanticism seems to be a side-development of the Enlightenment and the progress of scientific knowledge of nature. When nature ceases to be a threatening mystery, human individuals and cultures can afford to attribute new mysticisms to it. In tourism the quest for the aesthetic is often linked to the cultural history of the landscape. History is a great source for landscape narratives. The metaphor of the biography of the landscape (Kolen, 2004) even suggests that the landscape can be read as a (beautiful or thrilling) book.

The idea that a landscape can be 'read' implies different assumptions. First, the physical appearances constitute a language that can be spoken, read and understood. As Whiston Spirn (1998:) puts it in her book *The language of landscape*:

"The landscape has all the features of language. It contains the equivalent of words and parts of speech – patterns of shape, structure, material, formation and function. Like meanings of words, the meanings of landscape elements (water, for example) are only potential until context shapes them. [] Verbal texts and landscapes are nested: word within sentence within paragraph within chapter, leaf within branch within tree within forest."

Language is instrumentally linked to practices. If Whiston Spirn is right, we must immediately add our comment that the landscape can only be read by somebody who knows how to 'read' and is culturally linked to these practices. James Corner (1999: 5/6) correctly underlines this with the following statement:

Over time, landscapes accrue layers with every new representation, and these inevitably thicken and enrich the range of interpretations and possibilities.

To assume that every society shares an American, English, or French view of landscape, or even that other societies possess any version of landscape at all, is to wrongly impose on other cultures one's own image."

Augustin Berque asserts more or less the same, writing:

“Landscape is not the environment. The environment is the factual aspect of a milieu: that is, of the relationship that links a society with space and with nature. Landscape is the *sensible aspect* of that relationship. It thus relies on a collective form of subjectivity... To suppose that every society possesses an awareness of landscape is simply to ascribe to other cultures our own sensibility.”

Taking the multi-lingual approach to landscape understanding one step further, we can also assume that the language of landscape can be not only a particular language, merely understandable to a cultural community, but a dialect as well. The last narrows its readability down to an even smaller community of readers.

In 1960 Kevin Lynch wrote his book ‘The Image of the City’ in which he introduced the idea of ‘legibility’ of the city. People are able to read and understand their environment in the sense that they develop a mental map, structured by physical elements such as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Some elements have a history that is widely known. But the predominantly functional understanding is not the same thing as being able to read stories from the environment.

The second assumption is an elaboration of the first. The assumption is that the connection between the ‘real world’ of space, objects, and events, is closely connected to the ‘conceptual world’ of mental constructs, cognitive and affective schemes that exist in the minds of the observers, and finally the ‘signs’, arranged in the structure of a language, that relate to these constructs.

The structure of language implies that signs/mental constructs are also related to other signs/mental constructs in order to produce coherent meanings. Charles Sander Pierce (1058), the founding father of semiotics, added the relationship between observers or interpreters and signs as an important condition for understanding. The relationship between interpreters and signs is produced and reproduced in social interaction. The last statement contains also the implication that the relation between sign as ‘signifier’ and what is ‘signified’ is not fixed, but negotiated and agreed upon. This potentially unstable relationship raises the question how easily a landscape can be read.

The third assumption is that there is such a thing as an unequivocal script that can be read from the landscape. Certainly, we can read the difference between wilderness, agricultural landscape or the industrial or urban landscape. The synchronized meanings are widely understood and agreed upon, because their actual functionality is a condition for survival. But, what about the so-called sanctified landscape? Particularly the diachronic meanings of landscape are problematic. The landscape is never a ‘tabula rasa’. With time, one event is followed by the other at the same spot. Each story follows another. Meanings and memories replace each other. How readable are these stories? Sometimes they are found in archives. Sometimes they literally get ‘excavated’. How adequately can stories be reconstructed and told in a relationship between object, mental construct, sign and social reproduction?

The answer to these questions is that social interaction creates selective and eclectic stories, signs and agreements on meanings. This process resembles the way our memory works. We do not remember directly what happened once, but we remember memories.

The geographer Tuan (1974) had a good understanding of how these reconstructed collective memories contribute to a ‘sense of place’. In human geography this sense of place and spatial identities have become key concepts. Nevertheless, landscape architects still aren’t very active in translating these meanings into design. They cling to the somewhat mystical concept of ‘genius loci’, which leaves ample space for the designers own sense of poesis.

The booming practices of tourism add to this a much more dynamic negotiation of meanings. This opens a challenge not only to designers, but also to social scientists to understand how these negotiations take place, how translations can be made, how they work selectively and who play key-roles in defining the meanings and their material translations. In the next paragraph we briefly describe the material and historical object of our exploration, in which we combined a designer's and a social scientist's perspective.

The IJssel defence line

After the Second World War the relationship between the Western countries and the communist states of Eastern Europe deteriorated at high speed, particularly after the intervention of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia in 1948. The establishment of the NATO led to coordinated strategies for defence against possible Soviet attacks. The Dutch government participated by constructing a defence line at the eastern border. The defence line was based on inundation of a strip of land. In the Netherlands, inundation for defence goes back to the 17th century. The main reason for repetition was not the proven success, but the very low investments needed, according to good Dutch business mentality. The idea was to branch off the river Rhine into the river IJssel with the help of 3 floating barrages, which could be sunk. By raising the water level and deflecting the water into the IJssel (which flows north along the eastern border), combined with letting water in from the IJsselmeer (a lake connected to the river IJssel), a strip of 5 by 120 kilometers could be turned into a marshy area. The level of the inundated area was supposed to be too low for boats, but inaccessible to tanks and other military vehicles. The result was an ingenious complex of interventions in the landscape. The three barrages were stored in newly built harbours. In order to defend the barrages, bunkers were built on strategic locations along the line. On some spots they placed anti-aircraft guns and old Sherman and Ram tanks were dismantled from their engines and secured in concrete. And last but not least, inlets were made to let the water through. If the defence line was brought to work, around 400.000 inhabitants had to be evacuated. The defensive work was top secret. Most likely none of these hundreds and thousands of inhabitants knew about it. Still, the armed forces experimented with the inundation and created considerable inconvenience at one moment by making the area soaked with water. No civilian understood why this had happened.

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When West Germany joined the NATO in 1955 the strategy changed, moving the defence line much further eastwards. The IJssel line became superfluous. The Ministry of Defence decided to dismantle the line in 1964, even before it was entirely completed. Dismantling however, was expensive and some bunkers, a medical aid post, tanks cast in concrete and other infrastructures such as dikes and harbours remained.

In the Netherlands many people are enthusiasts for military objects. There is a foundation called Menno van Coehoorn, which is a voluntary association for the conservation of historical defensive works and a foundation called Functioneel Bunker Management (Functional Bunker Management). In a small town next to a part of the defence line (Olst) local enthusiasts started to maintain the relics of the defence line, turning it into local cultural heritage and a tourist attraction. They established a museum, repaired remnants, placed information panels and developed a hiking trail along the defence line. In other locations the residual parts of the line remained unknown and undeveloped.

A large part of the IJssel defence line is located in an area between Arnhem and Nijmegen, two large urban concentrations on both sides of the river Rhine. This area has great ecological qualities, but is attractive for urban recreationalists and (mainly) German cross-border tourists as well. Moreover, the Dutch government decided to declare the area as one of great historical value. The regional authorities created a development plan in which they formulated the intention to make the landscape and the culture-historical values 'readable' with the help of landscape design instead of only using information panels. The defence line received the function of an important supporting element.

Different narratives and figures of speech

There are only a few pioneers in landscape narratives and the language of landscapes. For the translation of the defence line story into landscape design we used the theoretical perspectives from the books of Mathew Potteiger and Jamie Purington (1998) and Ann Whiston Spirn (1998).

From the foregoing paragraph we can distill a good story about the object and its elements, the technology of inundation, the ministry, the uninformed regional population, the context of the Cold War and the changes in the European political environment. Which story should be told? The few existing narratives came from military object enthusiasts. It is most likely though that many different narratives exist, depending on the story-teller. Potteiger and Purington distinguish nine different types of narratives: Narrative experiences (1), Associations and references (2), Memory landscapes (3), Narrative setting and topos (4), Genres of landscape narratives (5), Processes (6), Interpretive landscapes (7), Narrative as form generation (8) and Storytelling landscapes (9). It is beyond the scope of this paper to expound all these distinctions (as we carefully did in the basic study, Westen and Westerink, 2006). For translation into a narrative landscape design the amount of types is too high. Some types, however, show great overlap, while others are not applicable in design or have no interactive relationship with the landscape (when the landscape appearance has no direct connection with the conceptual world). For these reasons we reduced these nine types to four main types of stories. For explanation of these four types we will refer to the original and applicable types of Potteiger and Purington.

The four narrative types are built on our two assumptions about a physical appearance that is understandable and the connection between space and objects and the conceptual world.

1. Chronicle

This type corresponds with Potteiger and Purington's *Processes* (6). The physical landscape reflects natural or cultural processes. The narrative underpins these changes.

The visibility contributes to understanding of the diachronic formation of the landscape by the observer. On the other hand, the story clarifies the connections between the physical shape and structure, and the processes that created them.

2. Report

This type reflects *Genres of Landscape Narratives* (5) and *Interpretive Landscape* (7).

Landscape elements constitute a take-off for story telling. The story has a great consistency, but the relationship with the physical landscape is not necessarily strong.

3. Memoirs

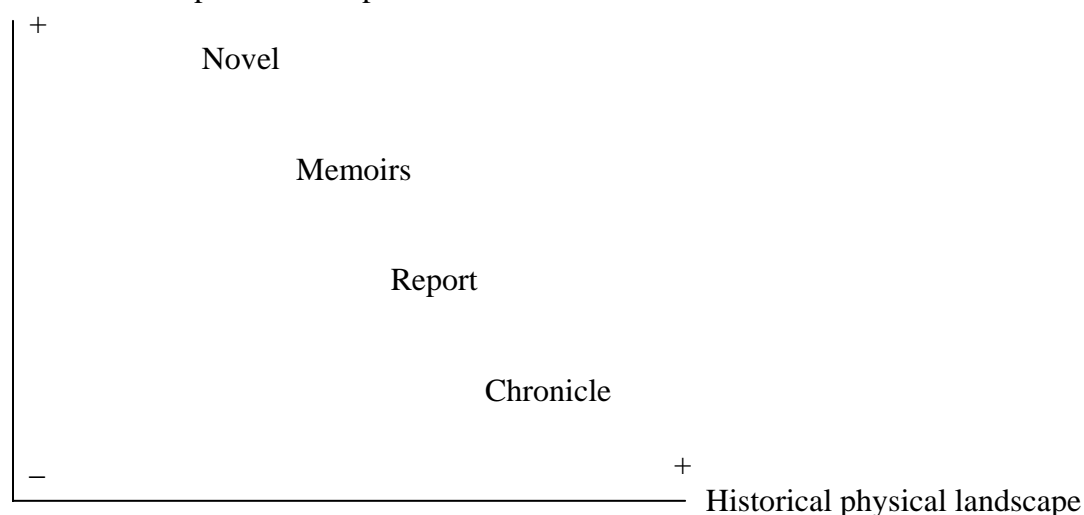
This type includes *Memory Landscapes* (3) and *Associations and References* (2). Physical elements and places have particular memorial significance for individuals or social groups. It is not the whole story diachronically, but it is a selected fragment of what happened over time. The relationship between object or place and the narrative is strong.

4. Novel

This type relates to *Storytelling Landscapes* (9) and *Genres of Landscape Narratives* (5). The relationship between story and landscape is weak, but it creates an interpretation of physical elements that predominantly comes from the imagination. The story has a distinct plot. But as a product of imagination it is just a myth that attributes new meanings to the environment.

These four types show the importance of our third assumption that it is social interaction that creates meaning and understanding. This is particularly illustrated by the narrative types *Report* and *Novel*. All four types are connections between the material and the mental/conceptual world. At the same time the translation into design that elaborates and articulates these types of narratives, requires different degrees on a continuum of directive intervention depending on how much is left to predominantly the imagination of the beholder or to what extent it is related to the historical physical landscape.

Mental/Conceptual landscape



The continuum of directive intervention raises the question what the design *media* are that are able to produce a connection between physical landscape and the mental world. Here we took the work of Ann Whiston Spirn (1998:216-235) as our source of inspiration. On the one hand we have to distinguish the material aspects of the landscape: vegetation, objects, spatial structure (open-closed, flat-undulating, micro-macro et cetera), paths and roads, soil types, and water. On the other hand we have 'figures of speech' in terms of landscape language. Whiston Spirn makes a vast division between many figures of speech, which can be placed under 6 categories: accent, climax/anti-climax, anomalies, metaphor, paradox/irony and address.

Figure 1 Categories of figures of speech or rhetoric media→Even kijken naar de opmaak.

Accent	Climax/ Anti-climax	Anomaly	Metaphor	Paradox/Irony	Address
Place	Climax	Anachronism	Synecdoche	Antithesis	Apostrophe
Framing	Anti-Climax	Prochronism	Metonymia	Oxymoron	Aposiopesis
Contrast		Anachonism	Personification	Antiphrasis	Exclamation
Exaggeration		Anastrophe	Euphemism	Litotes	
Distortion			Conceit	Meiosis	
Sound			Allegory	Dramatic Irony	
Rhythm			Cliché		

The distinction Whiston Spirn makes relates to ‘too much *poiesis*’ to explain in detail in this paper. In the four landscape representations that we will present later on in this paper, we will refer to all these distinctions, which will clarify to some extent the meanings of these 28 figures of speech.

These figures of speech describe a particular use of the material aspects of the landscape. We must emphasize that we have not yet had the opportunity to empirically establish the relationship between the material aspects and the 28 figures of speech, nor to test the theoretical assumptions of Whiston Spirn in any way. From here on our exploration takes a rather experimental turn in order to establish whether we could be able to create materialisations of different narratives.

Four different landscape narratives

In this paragraph we present four different narratives about the IJssel defence line and the way they are ‘told’ with the help of figures of speech and material media. The location is an area between the cities of Arnhem and Nijmegen. The river Rhine runs between those cities and below the south bank is a ‘polder’ (the Ooijpolder) with great potential for nature development and recreational tourism. The square includes the location of the defence line.

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The Novel of a nuclear war threat

The novel is predominantly a mental construction, but directive interventions in the material world of the landscape can help to support this type of narrative. From the overall story about the defence line, we took the context and the ‘raison d’être’ of the line: the Cold War. The period of time in which the Cold War took place covers the second half of the 20th century, from 1949 until the fall of the Berlin wall. In the beginning the mutual fear of the USA and USSR led to a great expansion of nuclear and conventional weapons. The novel as developed in our exploration took the fear of a nuclear war as a starting point. A global issue got its representation on the micro level of the polder and the defence line. The nuclear threat was also one of the reasons for abandoning the defence line, because it was regarded to be useless. The general story is not directly recognizable in the design. The inner and outer borders of the defence line are used to enclose the interventions. Additional communication devices such as GPS and the Internet help to tell the story. Clusters of pollard-willows are chosen to represent nuclear weapons: one tree for 100 bombs (*exaggeration*). Important years from the Cold War period are used to position the trees.

A board with a date stands next to a cluster of trees (*anachonism*). *Anachonism* differs from *anachronism* as it places something not out of its time, but out of its context. The clusters of

trees and time-boards show a development in time (*rhythm*). Increasingly great clusters of trees suggest the increasing fear of the people. The clusters of trees are *allegories* of nuclear weapons and fear.

The clusters of trees are at the same time a *conceit*. *Conceit* according to Whiston Spirn means a very extensive comparison, here representing nuclear weapons by trees. But the trees are much more friendly than the weapons they represent (*meiosis*). *Meiosis* is a figure of speech that makes something less important than it in fact is. The destructive force of nuclear weapons does not 'speak' from the trees.

The clusters are situated at the borders of the defensive area: on the side of the defenders the trees represent the allied forces; on the other side the trees represent the supposed aggressor. The clusters have a grid of willows connected by lines in concrete. This creates a strong *contrast* with the surroundings. The species of the trees also varies on different sides of the roads. Date boards and varying tree clusters force the visitors (*exclamation*) to think about their meaning, possibly about the relevance today.

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Memoirs of military boredom and escape to the pub

Soldiers of the military engineers were encamped in the bunkers near Nijmegen for many weeks in succession. For recreational purposes and in order to distance themselves from the military authorities for a while, they looked for leisure opportunities. Going to a pub on the northern bank of the river was a favourite outing. When the soldiers from the southern bank went to the pub they had to cross the river at the location of a barrage, with the help of the colleagues 'pontooneers' who were able to transport them across the river. It took a walk of 45 minutes to get to the pub. This is a true story, situated between 1950 and 1964. The line was partly under construction, partly ready and well guarded. A true story, a real location and an actual itinerary, offer the inspiration for the design of a recreational route. Following this route and being told the story more or less coincide. The itinerary leads along different remainders of the defence line. This may stimulate the interest of the visitor in these elements. The itinerary can be seen as a *metaphor* of the story of the IJssel line. But the design of the route also appears as an element that opposes the present surroundings, as an *anachronism*, with the help of deviant materials, painted with footsteps, specifically located.

This route connects different places that the soldiers used to encounter on their way, such as the bunker/workplace, other bunkers where they collected their colleagues, the commando place, the harbour, the defence dike and finally the pub. A ferry connects the two riverbanks. Different locations related to the story are connected by a uniform design (*rhythm*), which helps the visitor to recognize the coherence of elements within the story. Reconstruction of old situations creates an *anachronism* with the present situation, accentuated by vegetation and a vegetation-cutting regime. On different specific locations artworks will emphasize different moments in the soldiers walk to the pub. Together these works of art represent the totality of the itinerary (*synecdoche*). The *synecdoche* has the iconic quality of referring to a larger whole, for example: the Eiffel Tower refers to Paris.

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Report of a defence strategy

The report expounds the actual working of the defence line. The barrages necessary to inundate a great part of the east of the Netherlands asked for a good defence. Attacks could come in different ways: from the land, from the river or from the air. The engineers decided to

construct concentric circles of defence in order to keep the enemy away from the barrages. The time span of this narrative is 1950 to 1964. The original structure gets underlined in the present-day landscape, without turning it into a museum. The organization of the defence becomes tangible with the help of physical landscape elements, such as avenues flanked with trees. The present road infrastructure mainly coincides with the structure of the defence line. The present structure, however, shows a *contrast* with structure of the past, because it deviates from the formerly open structure of the landscape. The representation of the defences against land, water and air attacks is articulated as a more 'closed' *antithesis* to the originally open structure. Each mode of defence receives a different treatment in the design, but each mode shows a particular *rhythm*. From the landside it is a particularly rhythmic plantation of trees along the roads. The same roads that give access to the area and the visitor centres, also, so to speak, tell the story. The *contrast* of open landscape and bordered avenues accentuates defended and undefended areas. Along these structures the bunkers get new cannon cupolas, which is an *anachronism* that draws the attention (*exclamation*). The defence against land attacks on the south side of the river gets the same treatment by planting the same trees behind the existing dike. Here it creates *contrast* as well, which is enhanced by the cutting down of existing strips of trees and the creation of an open landscape that opposes the closed structure of the defence.

The air defence was scattered over a greater area, but was situated in a large circle around the barrages in the same way as the land defence. The locations of the anti-aircraft guns get accentuated with the help of an elevation and four poplars. The plantation of poplars creates a deviant way of marking the place. According to the 'figures of speech' this is an *Anastrophe*, which is an inversion of the normal or expected order of things. This creates a characteristic spatial configuration recognizable for visitors and the poplars point at the air (attacks).

The water defence used the river foreland. Here water cypresses indicate the places of defence. The centre of the concentric system, the barrage, cannot be replicated because of the present passage in the river. Nevertheless, a kind of glass footbridge indicates the place, magnitude and direction of the barrage. This element creates a place to stop for visitors as well as a view of the river.

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The IJssel defence line Chronicle

The part of the defence line near Nijmegen was in service between 1950 and 1964. The Dutch army occupied the barrage and the bunkers. The army kept the elements of the line in good shape until 1964, when the Ministry decided to dismantle it. The elements outside the dike caused a lot of hindrance to passing ships. The Ministry chose to blow up these elements. They filled up the harbour and removed the cannons from the top of the bunkers. In the following decennia the bunkers became overgrown and part of the landscape where nature developed freely. The open landscape made way for a landscape with dense vegetation.

The main elements of the Chronicle cover this period in which at first the line of defence was operational, later dismantled and finally became dilapidated. The narrative is one of decline, but still in the context of the Cold War and the changing political perspectives. At the same time the period illustrates the rise of a new concept of nature development in the Netherlands.

Different stages of time are settled in the design:

- (1) the situation as it was in 1950;
- (2) the present situation.

The river Rhine functions as a natural boundary between the two representations. The north side represents the original situation in 1950. Bunkers and harbours are reconstructed. Also, an open landscape is created around them. By applying an *anomaly* in the present landscape, by means of an *anachronism*, the attention goes to the location and structure of the defence works.

At the south side of the river decline is the theme. The motivation for this choice is dual. On the one hand, most relics are left here and absorbed in the natural landscape. On the other hand, at the north side most relics have disappeared and the reconstruction is the only way to provide a new experience of the line. Reconstruction uses the *rhythm* of the bunkers. Between the two different areas there is a great *contrast*, perceptible from a ferry between the two riverbanks, linking the harbour and a ferryman's house.

Routing along the bunkers at both sides underpins the perception of decline (*apostrophe*) in three stages: original/reconstructed, partly present and disappeared. The first two are recognizable by its presence (and some information boards) and the last is indicated by a bend in the route. The bend stimulates the visitor to wonder why the road changes direction so abruptly (*aposiopesis*). In *Aposiopesis* a reference or argumentation breaks off and imagination has to complete the story.

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Conclusions

Our paper presented a theoretical framework as well as an experiment, based on this framework, to translate landscape narratives into design for the physical environment. It also linked the traditions of tourism and landscape design. Tourism is a dominant change agent, creating and modifying meanings of the environment in general and landscapes in particular. Understanding tourism and the dynamic tourist meanings helps landscape architecture to understand its challenges for the next future: how to respond to dynamic landscape meanings and how to deal with landscape narratives as part of our culture.

This experiment is supposed to be the start of a combined program of theory development, empirical research and design.

First of all the theories of Potteiger, Purington and Whiston Spirn ask for further elaboration. We gave some indications for the direction of elaboration: the value of the language metaphor for the physical environment, the relation between signifier, signified and interpreter in relation to the tourist landscapes and finally the inspiration of narratives for (tourism) design. Secondly, there is a consequent need for research in order to establish: the influence of knowledge of narratives on the experience of the environment (see Karmanov, 2007), the role of narratives in past and actual design processes (see Brinkhuijsen, 2007) and the legibility of the landscape for visitors.

The assignment to follow these two lines is a multi- and interdisciplinary one. Understanding narrative meanings can be accomplished by applying cognitive psychology as well as through the anthropological or phenomenological approach. So far, this broad project seems to cover much still unclaimed land. Not only tourism studies benefit from this. Also landscape architecture does.

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