Mediating the alpine archiscape: design and publicity for New Zealand's Tongariro National Park 1928-1984

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

At Massey University,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand

Jacqueline June Naismith

2013

Abstract

Mediating the alpine archiscape: design and publicity for New Zealand's Tongariro National Park 1928-1984

This thesis explores tourism publicity representing New Zealand's Tongariro National Park and the Chateau hotel in the twentieth century, focusing specifically on how leaflets and brochures publicising the park worked as designed agents in the process of subjectivation. The thesis investigates how the documents' representation of social actors in tourism landscapes rhetorically configures particular kinds of subjectivities. The objective of these investigations is to build and demonstrate a theory of 'emplacement' as a specific kind of subjectivation in tourism representations. This emplacement theory holds that subjects and places are co-constituted, such that the subject recognises itself in relation to the archiscape (defined as the built and natural elements of the place environment). The thesis uses this theory to analyse the historical specificity of emplacement. Publicity leaflets and brochures produced between 1929 and 1984 are selected as data for the case study. Emplacement processes in the brochures are investigated using the methods of critical semiotic and discourse analysis. Analysis has shown the rhetorical significance of luxury, and therefore of class and gender, for emplacement in the park. It has also shown how this emplacement has shifted over time. Four distinct historical moments are identified. In the late 1920s the park was constructed as a *national recreation ground* in which the absence of luxury is expressed as a spartan frugality. In the 1930s the park was reconstructed as a *luxury playground* and the subject's status is elevated through elite scarcity. With the *de- luxe family leisure-field* of the 1960s, the consumption of 'de-luxed' leisure articulated middle-class family status. Finally, as the *liminal pleasure zone* of the 1970s and 1980s, a 'post-lux' permutation focused on the hedonic individual and a fleeting engagement with place. The thesis thus demonstrates the value of theorising emplacement as a process through which the subjects and archiscapes of representations are co-constituted and change over time.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Arthur Naismith and to my mother Lois Naismith.

Acknowledgements

There are many people who I need to thank and acknowledge. I am privileged to have had the rigorous and inspiring supervision of my supervision team – Dr Brennon Wood, Dr Amanda Bill and Dr Avril Bell. I was fortunate to have had their combined expertise available to me at different times throughout my enrolment. The discipline and rigour that my primary supervisor Brennon Wood has offered throughout the process is inspiring. Thank you to all of you. I would also like to thank my family and friends who stood by me for many years while this work was underway. I am especially grateful for the unwavering support of my daughter Phoebe Naismith Thomass, and my mother Lois Naismith. Thank you to all of my family, extended family and friends who offered conversation, humour, insight, encouragement and sustenance that made the progression and completion of the project possible. Thank you to Gaye Naismith for the backup in the weeks before submission which enabled it to all come together under difficult circumstances. Thanks to Ross Collings for your calm and staunch confidence over the final period.

The School of Design in the College of Creative Arts at Massey University has provided ongoing concrete support that has facilitated the completion of this project. Thank you to my colleagues, Lynne Ciochetto, Dr Claire Robinson, and Rodney Adank for your encouragement as my line managers at various times throughout my candidature, and to Dr Julieanna Preston and Patricia Thomas for your generous collegial backup as fellow lecturers. Thank you to Massey University for the research time made possible through Advanced Degree Awards, and to Dr Allanah Ryan of the School of People Environment and Planning for your encouragement in the final year of the project. Many thanks also to Christine Alexander and the librarians at the Wellington campus library for their assistance and understanding.

I was privileged to attend the 'Women Writing Away' retreats at Tauhara facilitated by Barbara Grant, University of Auckland, at points throughout my candidature and would like to recognise the expertise generously made available to me by the other participants. I would also like to thank Barbara Lyon, ephemera archive librarian at the Alexander Turnbull library, for her assistance with the location of archival material. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the work of the anonymous designers who produced the material that was fortunately saved in the archive for future research.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Tourist training

One summer holiday in the early 1970s I remember playing a locally produced board game called *Tourist Trade*.[1] With dice and counters, the game was played out on a map of New Zealand with each player cast in the role of a tourist "visiting the beauty spots and wonders of New Zealand" (Tourist Trade box text, 1969). The stated object of the game was "to be the first player to jet back overseas with the most fun points and having completed all of your itinerary" (ibid). The naming of 'overseas' as a place to go 'back' to points to the tourist from overseas as intended audience. Ironically for a local audience, however, the winner's prize of 'jetting back' overseas positioned the now touristed home as a place to consume and then to depart from.[2] Most significantly, when played by local 12 year olds *Tourist Trade* set in place a training regime for the consumption of local places as tourist destinations; the game was in effect a primer for the subject position of tourist 'at home'.

This imprint of New Zealand as a network of tourist sights may have had something to do with my early interest in road trips to 'see' New Zealand, as opposed to 'jetting' overseas. It was also possibly encouraged by the *Don't leave home until you've seen the country* campaign that was given wide media coverage in the late 1970s. This subjective experience provides some evidence of the ways in which the heuristics of the medium of the board game can produce a subject position through powerful discourses. Like *Monopoly*, it was an early example of the discursive practice now known as 'gamification' in which the player is inducted into a political or economic discourse through the social and competitive process

1 The particular edition of the game that I played is referred to here from memory only. I suspect it was a subsequent edition to the 1969 version reproduced here.

2 Little training was needed for departure as it gained momentum among my generation in subsequent decades, but that is another story.

of participating in the structures and rules of the game. Just as *Monopoly* was the first lesson for many in the practices of capitalism, both the earlier and better known Holdson's *Educational Tour of New Zealand* and this more obscure product *Tourist Trade* (Figure 1) functioned as discursive resources that configured New Zealand as a set of iconic tourist sites.

Figure 1: Tourist Trade, ca 1969 (early edition), the game board, 440mm x 580mm.

Visiting some of these sites in the late 1970s offered further education in the production of an iconic tourist site. While the dramatic features of the scenic attractions were immediately recognisable, the strategically positioned on-site hotel clearly claimed the role of co- producer of the 'destination'. These state owned structures, dominant in their remote

locations, played an important role in defining the destination and the specific qualities of the site. Their corporate unity as Tourist Hotel Corporation Hotels drew the sites together as a set, underscoring each as one in the collection of destinations that made up the 'tour' (see Figures 2 and 3). Inscribing the site with an architectural identity, their spaces offered commoditised hospitality and fashioned recreation.

These environments, far beyond my student means, were demarcated as belonging to the international tourist network and to affluent locals.[3] The interior spaces of the hotels situated within outdoor recreational environments invited the female subject to perform the scripts of conspicuous leisure. These spaces, it seemed, offered an alternative mode of leisure to the physical work and athleticism that the still dominantly masculine discourse of mountain/outdoor recreation had perpetuated.[4] Their interior spaces/stages encouraged a fashioned performance of a gendered subjectivity glamourised by the grandeur of the landscape backdrop.

Acting on the instructions, *Don't leave home until you've seen the country,* problematized the meanings of home, country and self at multiple levels. The discourse of international tourism, and the hotel structure in particular, meant the experience of 'seeing the country' rhetorically positioned the subject as 'tourist at home' within gendered and classed structures. This experience lacked the starker definition of self and other that the overseas experience offered. It nonetheless highlighted the intensity of the relationship between tourism and the self. This placing of the self occurred amidst a process of New Zealand's

3 The hotels were well used by locals. The attraction of local guests was one of the Corporation's objectives. The Tourist Hotel Corporation's 21st anniversary publication (1977) stated that it was its objective to provide accommodation for both international visitors and New Zealanders (p. 2).

4 This is not, however, to discount the active participation of women in tramping and mountaineering since both were established in New Zealand as recreational activities, and participation grew in the inter- and post-war periods. Women did participate as a minority and the gender codes of the activities themselves were reconfigured accordingly (see Ross, 2002; Wevers, 2004; Morin, Longhurst, & Johnston, 2001). These activities have their own histories of gendering beyond the specific focus of the data analysis of this thesis. The dominant masculine gendering of mountain and bush environments was also actively shaped by the less visible practices of hunting and fishing. These activities took place off the track, beyond the tracks and huts of the tramping and mountaineering clubs and organisations, and were dominantly male cultures.

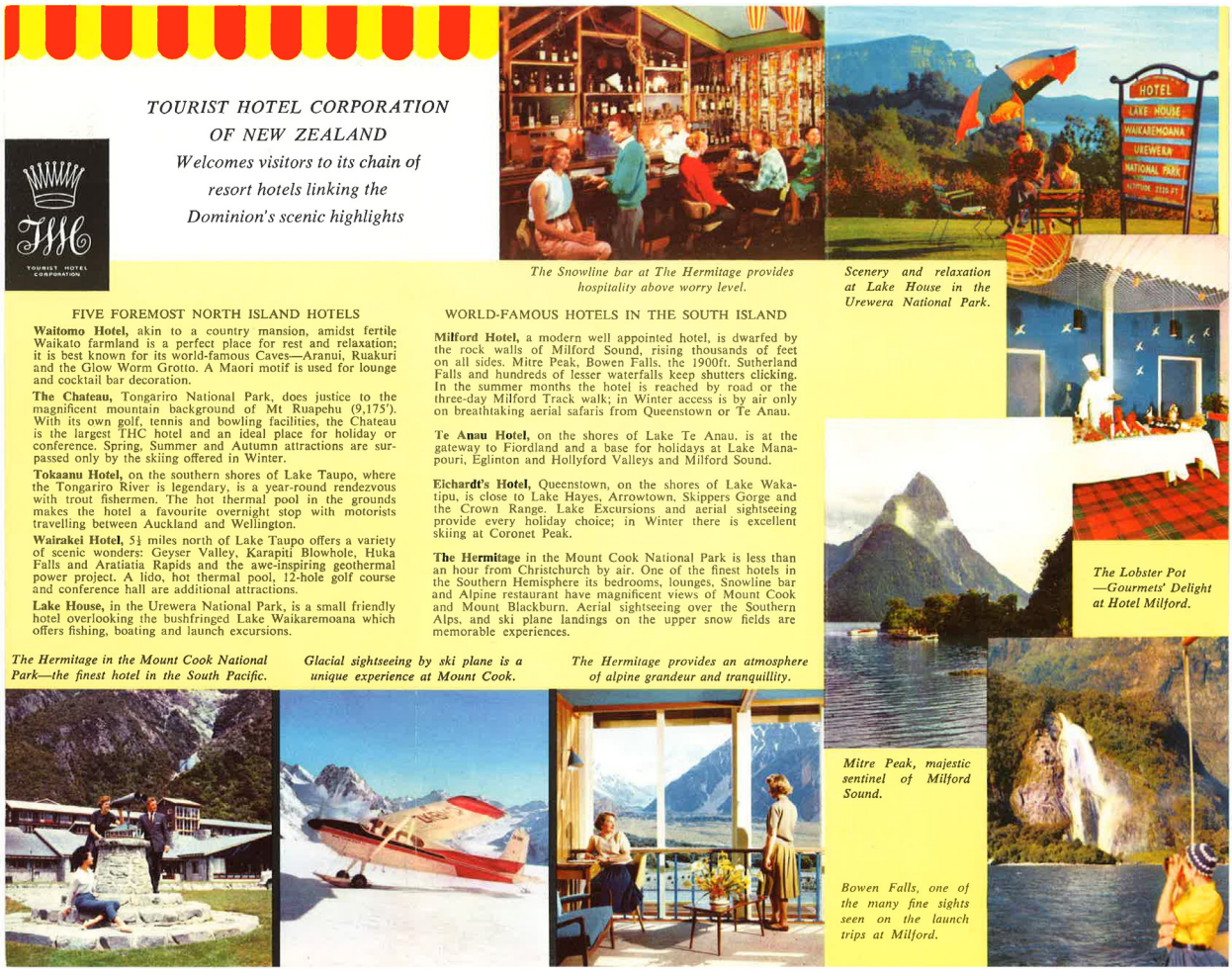

Figure 2 (top): Tourist Hotel Corporation brochure c1960, trifold 6 panel brochure, front, back and right reverse panels

Figure 3 (bottom): Tourist Hotel Corporation brochure ca1960, trifold 6 panel brochure, inside panels.

formation of a set of iconic places for international tourists. The onsite hotel was a central element in this formation. It drew together discourses of commoditised hospitality, luxury and comfort, social mobility and gender to reproduce the sites' iconicity within a new rhetoric of conspicuous consumption.

Twenty years later

In the late 1990s Tourism New Zealand embarked on a new cycle of intensive publicity for New Zealand as tourism destination. The *New Zealand 100% Pure* campaign featured high-profile billboard and poster images of New Zealand in key international tourism markets. It set out to create a unified and global brand under which New Zealand was re-launched as holiday destination to the rest of the world (Tourism, New Zealand 1999, 2001, 2009). In anticipation of considerable growth in the industry in the following decade, *New Zealand 100% Pure* represented a high investment campaign, tailored for specific international markets, and it was highly visible both locally and internationally. The dominance of the campaign, and the growth in international visitor numbers that its success produced, drew attention to the scale and impact of the industry.[5] Multiple environmental impact studies have been commissioned throughout the history of the growth of tourism in New Zealand, and these proliferated in the period of expansion in the early 2000s. It is notable, however, that little if any research (recent or historical) has investigated the processes of local subjectivation that are the by-products of tourism development imperatives.

1.2 Place marketing and visual representation

Visual and textual representations of the real and imagined qualities of New Zealand landscapes dominate our visual history. The aesthetic commodification of landscape is a deeply embedded part of New Zealand's visual identities as a colony, dominion, and as nation. As a colony offering a 'better' life to attract potential immigrants, success relied on place marketing and the stimulation of the desire to emigrate. The early presence and subsequent growth of tourism has ensured that representations of scenic landscape have

5 This highly successful campaign resulted in a growth in international visitor numbers to see approximately 1.8 million international visitors arrive in 2000 (100% Pure: 10 Years Young, Tourism New Zealand, 2009). By 2002, the early goal of 2,000,000 international visitors annually was achieved. In 1999 New Zealand's population was 3,827,700 (New Zealand Year Book, 2000). This level of visitor numbers represents a high ratio of visitors to residents. This out-of-scale result suggests that the impacts of the discursive configurations of marketing strategies are likely to be social as well as environmental.

remained a dominant visual signifier of New Zealand's identity internationally.[6] Tourism has been positioned as a national strategy for New Zealand's economic growth in a number of key historical moments since the early twentieth century (see McLure, 2004, for further discussion). State initiatives as well as state and private partnerships were followed by privatised development of tourist sites, accommodation and operations.

Alongside its place in tourist publicity, 'scenic New Zealand' has also featured as the underpinning rhetoric of much nineteenth and twentieth century landscape painting. It has also been widely manifested in mass media landscape photography. The glossy surfaces of tourism publicity material obfuscate the social structures that lie beneath them. It is this separation of the visual elements of landscape from the social aspects of place that contributes to their seductive dominance. The construct of scenic landscape has been useful politically in its guise of neutrality where identity is negotiated in a complex colonial and decolonising environment. The positioning of scenic landscape has been discussed as a state identity tactic that lies within New Zealand's dependent relationship to the economy and processes of tourism (see Werry, 2011, p. 13). These traditions of representing New Zealand places with a commercial or economic benefit in mind have their foundations and imperatives therefore in the intertwined histories of colonisation and tourism.

The dominance of 'the scenic' as representation of New Zealand identity has been widely critiqued and problematized by authors over the last three decades (see for example Pound, 1983; Barton, 1992; Park, 2006; Stephenson, Abbot & Ruru, 2010). The emphasis on landscape as scenery has been identified as occluding many kinds of meaningful relationships that people and communities have to New Zealand places.[7] This critique of the scenic has provided stimuli and departure points for new kinds of socially-focused investigations of relationships between landscapes and identities (see Stephenson, Abbot, & Ruru, 2010, p. 14). Landscape is a central element in the process of place formation. The concept of place sits at the confluence of intellectual inquiry concerned with social, spatial and historical practices and the processes of representation. Closer attention to the social processes of place formation support the recognition of place as a central concept in sociological inquiry and interdisciplinary research in New Zealand.

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6 This includes the marketing of New Zealand through film tourism, in particular The Lord of the Rings and The Hobbit, which has relied on landscape augmented by the fictional narrative of the literature and films (see Leotta, 2011, for a discussion of these relationships).

7 Also see Park (2006) for further discussion of relationships between landscape, belonging and people in New Zealand.

1.3 Place matters

"How do places come to be the way they are and how do places matter for social practices and historical change?" These questions were posed by Gieryn in an article contending that "sociologists have a stake in place no matter what they analyse or how" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 463). Place, he notes, is "filled up by people, practices, objects and representation" (Gieryn, 2000, cited by Rosing, 2003, p. 190). That place is under-theorised in sociology is also asserted by Rosing (2003), who stated that "after embodiment, the social sciences urgently need emplacement in a very wide range of topics, rather than a sociology of place" (p. 190).

The concept of place as it is relevant to this study has been extensively theorised within and across a number of disciplines (see for example Hubbard, 2004; Ringer, 1998; Scollon, 2003; Shields, 1991; Tuan, 1977; Soja, 1996; Dovey, 1999). Gieryn (2000) draws together a range of scholarship in a definition that provides a useful reference point for this study. He identifies three essential features of place: its geographic location, its material form and representations, and its investment with meaning and value (pp. 464-465). These elements are interdependent in their production of place, while autonomous in their own right. This structure provides a useful tool for considering the interaction of the specifically social (material forms and representations and their meaning and value) with the specifically spatial (geographic location) components of place production.

The idea of 'genius loci', or the 'spirit of place', recognises that the physicality of place in combination with climatic forces generates an environment with a spirit and energy of its own (see Thompson, 2003, pp. 67-69). Maori understand place in this way, as do many pakeha. The location is the feature of the place that prevails. Autonomously, it is the unpeopled environment. When inhabited, the physical geography and experience of the location draw people together over time and inevitably unify a diverse array of experiences. The location is also a positioning point – a coordinate that situates locations in a relation to other locations. Locations therefore can be characterised by their proximity to other locations and related to practices of spatial mobility. In these ways then the location becomes associated with social practices that are specific to its site. As Rogoff (2000) has noted, "…the meaning of a named place is never its designated activity or physical properties, but their interaction with far less obvious subjectivities and with the actions and signifying practices that elicit or mask these" (p. 23).

That place and subject are co-constitutive, in that each is defined by each other through the sets of relations that occur, is a central theoretical premise of this thesis. This idea originated in phenomenological studies that theorised the experience of space and place (Tuan, 1977). It has subsequently been important to the ongoing definition and theorisation of place as concept. As Massey (1994) states, "A place is formed out of a particular set of social relations which interact at a given location. And the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur)" (p. 168). Following Massey then, what determines the singularity of any place are the social relations that take place there. Representations, which Laws (1995) suggests can be considered descriptions of places (p. 255), inscribe sets of relations between places and subjects. It is within these sets of relations that the co-constitution of place and subject occurs.

An understanding of place formation as a fundamentally social process of meaning making activates inquiry into the cultural products and social processes that form places. Positioning place as a social product that is reproduced through the dialectical relationship between structure and agency draws attention to the social 'work' of the built environment and material artefacts. As Lawrence and Low (1990) point out, following Durkheim, "the built environment is not only the product of classificatory collective representations based on social forms but also a model for reproducing the social forms themselves" (p. 449). The built environment as cultural representation, and its meaning in a process of social reproduction, is positioned in this thesis as pivotal to an understanding of place.[8]

1.4 Material artefacts, communication design and place publicity

Design strategies are central to the production of the material artefacts that, in turn, represent and produce places as social environments. Places "come to be the way they are" (Gieryn 2002, p. 463) through multiple kinds of representations. In the first instance they are represented by the constructed elements that constitute their real or physical environments. Another layer of interpretation is added when they are represented in visual media. Place publicity texts work to pre-figure places, and engage in a process of mediation between place and subject that is material, rhetorical and discursively constructed. Many

8 In this project the huts, the hotel and the skifield are the elements of the built environment at the Tongariro National Park that are addressed.

material forms of place are the cultural products of human design and making. These include built structures and forms, constructed landscapes, and all kinds of representations. Material forms activate constructed concepts. The 'park', for example, as abstract concept is activated through its signage, boundary fences, tracks and information texts. Material forms are the sites of connection between material and social processes.

Visual representations of places are reliant for their meaning on the symbolic relationships between compositional elements. A number of factors, proximity for example, can be rhetorically altered to change the specific meanings that result from relations between elements. Unlike the constructed physical representation that remains fixed in place, the visual representation is more fluid and ephemeral. Visual representations therefore provide a useful source of data to provide evidence of specific kinds of relations between structural elements and their change over time. Analysed in terms of the sets of relations between things, visual representations of place are interpreted in this study as cultural reproductions that document a particular set of discursively constructed social conditions. Thus this relational framework differentiates this project from previous work concerned primarily with the aesthetics of destination publicity as illustration of historical change. Establishing this relational framework calls for the methodological resources that I assemble and outline in Chapter 3.

Designed publicity texts are paper artefacts that rhetorically configure the relationships between the natural, built and populated elements of the places they represent. They draw together and assemble social relationships through their functional, spatial and aesthetic codes. Communication design practices have been historically related to the maintenance of dominant discourses and hegemonic structures. This practice has been engaged as a powerful agent of social change. Recently published volumes of New Zealand tourism history and New Zealand poster history include a generous selection of tourism publicity posters.[9] These publications reproduce a selection of the considerable number of posters publicising tourism and travel that were produced in the first half of the century in New Zealand, by several commissioning bodies including the Tourist and Publicity Department, the Government Tourist Department and the New Zealand Railways publicity studio (see Section 3.4, for further discussion). The poster archive[10] has been catalogued and curated

9 See Atkinson (2007); Alsop (2012); McLure (2004); Thompson (2003).

10 Many original posters remain in the public collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library and National Archives, as well as in private collections.

as evidence of aesthetic and technical values, or drawn on to support socio-historical arguments. The tourist publicity brochures, however, many of which also remain in public archives, have received little attention from any direction.

Brochure publicity texts are ephemeral material forms. Their function may be primarily informative or they may go so far as to turn places into complex visual products. They are representations (of representations) that assemble sets of symbolic elements linked to wider discursive structures. As designed texts, their content is arranged and organised according to the communication objectives of their producers. Hierarchies, compositional strategies, rhetoric/narrative and aesthetics are deployed to represent place with specific social outcomes. They are a multimodal form of communication in which the visual components drive the storyline.

The visual language of tourism I discuss in Chapter 2 engages a set of visual/linguistic/aesthetic conventions in its representation of places for consumption. The success of international tourism as twentieth and twenty-first century industry has meant that this language is widely disseminated. Its seductive aesthetic power constructs a layer of impenetrability around these texts. Thus to investigate the significance of place formations at a social level this project engages with how discourses operate within the representational structures of tourism publicity.

The thesis will problematize the conventional tropes of international tourism, which commodify, abstract, other and classify places, and address their implications for local subjectivities. The imagined projection of the self into a space/place other to everyday life is a central component of the desire for tourism/leisure or recreational experiences. Tourism theory has suggested this desired 'otherness' from everyday life may take a range of forms, which include the cultural, racial, educational, ludic, sensual and liminal (Goss 1993; Cohen 1995; Dann 1996a, 1996b). It has also suggested that leisure activities become classed acts of conspicuous consumption by the status rankings of the places visited (Thurot & Thurot 1983), and by the photographs, which document the tourist subject's experience of place (Larsen, 2005, Haldrup & Larsen 2006). Further, the formation of the local tourist subject (in New Zealand), it is argued, is differentiated by the tourist's particular relationship to tourism's opposites of 'home' and 'other'. What is 'other' to everyday life still remains, in the national sense, at home. Tourism publicity texts therefore assemble and order multiple forms of material representations of place. Place meanings and interpretations are multiple and subjective and, as has been frequently pointed out, often

contested. This thesis shows how the analysis of place publicity is one way we can glean insights into how subjects and places come to be co-constituted. As material representations of place, with an explicit function of subject address, their discursive structure shows and tells how places are socially produced and reproduced.

Destination places: hotels, national parks and tourist subjects

National parks and tourist hotels have, in combination, formed iconic tourist destinations in New Zealand. The data collection for this study focused on brochure publicity material for hotels at iconic national park sites. The discourses of 'the national park' and 'the hotel' draw together the aesthetic/visual/scenic and social/'domestic' components of tourism. They are complex institutions that both rely as much on the social inhabitation of people ***in places*** as they do on the visual qualities ***of place***. The establishment of a tourist hotel at each of the iconic destinations was a primary factor in the twentieth century development of the sites' iconicity (see, for example, Figure 4 below).

"The Chateau" Tongariro, National Park building which will be situated on the Whakapapa Hut site.

Figure 4: Tongariro Tourist Park Company publicity brochure, 1929, back panel, – illustration of the soon to be built Chateau Hotel.

The 'product' that publicity texts for these destinations are advertising is an intangible sensory/visceral 'experience', the 'quality' of which is ultimately reliant on the response of the subjects' body. These experiences are both active and passive, and include (at this destination) different kinds of seeing (looking/gazing/observing) and a range of other sensory and physical activities. These experiences are pre-figured by the rhetoric of the publicity texts, which contribute alongside other variables to the individual's sense and performance of the self ***in place***.

Produced to support the strategic expansion of the tourism industry, these representations of tourist sites document the socio-spatial dialogue between the natural environment of the park and the built environment of the hotel. They were selected for this study because their primary address to the visitor subject ensures the positioning of the landscape is never separated from the social. The unpacking of the relationships between the hotel and the national park reveals a series of interwoven discursive strategies which traverse the structures of class and gender. National parks and luxury hotels are both situated within the wider framework of public/national landscapes environments, tourism, and recreation/leisure.[11]

It is important to note here that there are complex relations between Maori and pakeha embedded in the history of Tongariro National Park. These are outlined in detail in the following section. The race of the subjectivities that are represented in the publicity for the park and hotel in the time periods that this study addresses is pakeha/European. Maori subjectivities do not surface in the archive of publicity for the park/hotel in these periods. This documents the social condition of the 'national' park in these periods in terms of race and suggests that it was not, as the founding agreement had laid out (see section 1.5), represented as a partnership between Maori and the Crown. This has been endorsed by the recent Waitangi Tribunal Report, *Te Kahui Maunga, The National Park District Inquiry Report*, which found that "the Tongariro National Park Act 1894 as a whole failed to meet the legitimate expectations of Ngati Tuwharetoa…" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013a, para. 5). The absence of Maori in the representations highlights the dominance of the discourses specific to shaping the alpine archiscape.[12] It is the rhetorical construction of these discourses that this study sets out to unravel.

Gender, class and leisure in New Zealand

This thesis advances an argument about how shifts in the representation of subjects emplaced at the park advanced the development of iconic tourist sites. At the same time these shifts produced new kinds of gendered subjectivities and established participation in kinds of leisure as a form of class coding, at specific moments in New Zealand's twentieth century history. Support for this argument can be found in research that argues for the role of gender as a dominant structural category throughout New Zealand's history (James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999).

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11 National park tourism is a specialist subject in its own right. For further discussion see Frost and Hall (2010).

12 Maori subjectivities feature dominantly in representations of other kinds of tourist archiscapes in New Zealand during the same time periods.

Further, by arguing that participation in specific kinds of leisure is a covert form of class coding, the thesis challenges the dominant myth of egalitarianism, or classlessness, as a foundational and enduring characteristic of New Zealand society. As Bloy has pointed out, discussions of the issue of class in New Zealand history have been infrequent and not fashionable (Bloy, 2005, p. 173). The relationship between leisure and class coding in New Zealand has received infrequent attention (see Daley, 2003; Dawson, 2001; Morin et al, 2001). I show in this thesis how gender and class co-operated to emplace the subject at the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau as iconic site in the mid-twentieth century. It was the siting of the tourist hotel at the iconic national park site that enabled the commodification of site as tourist destination. I argue, with evidence from the case study analysis and interpretation, that leisure lifestyle consumption and its attributed status codes operated as a process of class mobility. This lifestyle consumption revised the scripts of gendered subjectivities to activate a process of emplacement at the park archiscape.

1.5 History of the case study site: the Tongariro National Park

The Tongariro National Park in the North Island's central volcanic plateau holds an important place in the national imaginary. Its startling topography and dominant mountain forms assert a commanding physical presence, which visually and geographically dominates the volcanic plateau region. The park's elevated and central location in the North Island means that the mountain peaks can be seen from many directions – their forms anchoring and marking place.

For Maori, and in particular Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Rangi[13] who relate to Tongariro and Ruapehu respectively as tribal mountains, the mountains are tapu, and as tupuna hold a central place in iwi whakapapa.[14] As maunga korero, they are the repositories of tribal experiences and histories. The fixed and permanent nature of the mountains, embedded in the meaning of the word 'mau', provides an enduring link between generations and link the

13 Alongside the 41 groups who constitute nga iwi and hapu of te kahui maunga. These mountains include Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu.

14 The name Tongariro was used by Maori to include Ngauruhoe, Tongariro and Ruapehu.

present to the past on an everyday basis.[15] A close relationship between iwi narratives and the geophysical relationships of the volcanoes in the wider North Island group defined the people as a part of this specific place at both a physical and spiritual level. This inseparable relationship between lives, histories and landforms is central to the Maori worldview.

The peaks and mass of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu, their unpredictable volcanic activity, moody alpine weather patterns, and the arterial system of powerful rivers that rose on their slopes provided no shortage of anthropomorphic analogies for the colonial observer. In particular, it was the park's central location, mass and dominance that inspired its rhetorical positioning by early commentators. Cowan noted in 1927 that:

> The geographical situation and physical contour of this Tongariro region give it a peculiar fitness considered as a national park. It occupies, with New Zealand's largest lake, the very heart of the North Island, a pinnacled dome crowning the prairie and forest country that swells up to it from every side (Cowan, 1927, p. 10).

The early positioning of the park as 'heart' introduced a rhetorical resource that represented it both geographically and metaphorically and was to be reiterated in the park's evolution.

The Tongariro National Park location featured in the Mount Cook Tourist Company's early plan to establish a central North Island site. A new company, The Tongariro Park Tourist Company, managed by the same director, was formed in 1927 and in the same year submitted a proposal to the Tongariro National Park Board to lease the site for the construction of the hotel to be called the Grand Chateau. The park's location in the centre of the North Island was a significant factor supporting the Tongariro Tourist Company's case for the construction of the Grand Chateau at the site. The company prospectus stated:

> The park is undoubtedly a wonderful asset to the Dominion. Being situated in the heart of the North Island where two thirds of the population live and that is rapidly increasing in population, its value as a holiday resort will steadily increase as the years go by (Foreword, Prospectus of Tongariro Park Tourist Company, 1929, p.10).

15 The volcanic activity of the North Island chain of volcanoes was, following Arawa narratives, a response from the gods to provide warmth for the ancestor Ngatoro at a time of need (Cowan, 1927, p. 26). Thus mythological and geophysical relationships are interwoven.

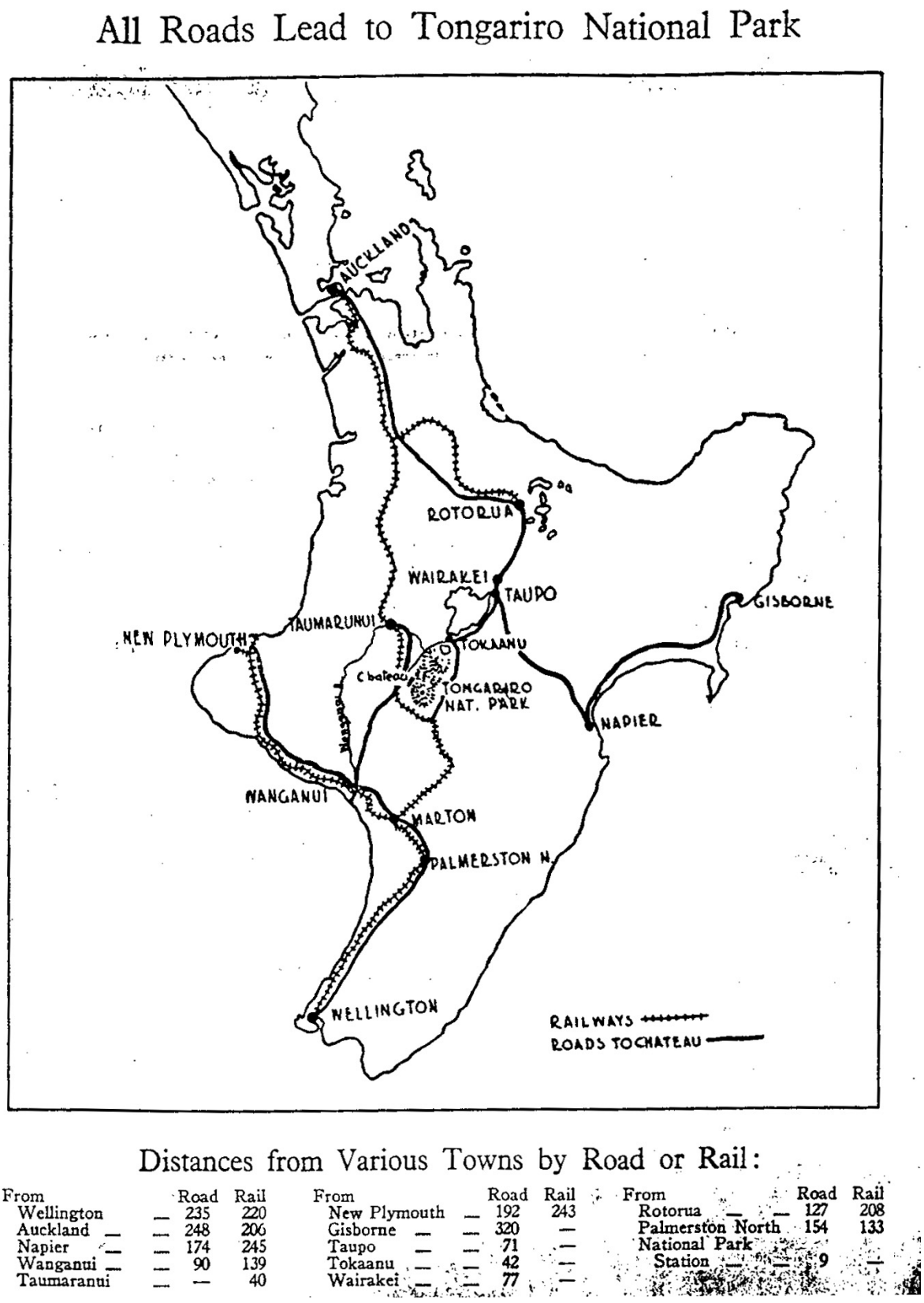

Figure 5: The Chateau (Tongariro Park Hostel) prospectus of the Tongariro Park Tourist Company, 1929, inside front cover, detail.

On the adjoining page in the prospectus is an illustration titled "*All roads lead to Tongariro National Park*" (see Figure 5). This mapping of North Island transportation routes reiterates the centrality of the Tongariro National Park, in support of the economic prospects of the Chateau development at the site.

The park, New Zealand's first national park, resulted from what is historically referred to as the gifting[16] of the mountains by Horonuku Te Heuheu in 1887. The cultural significance of the kahui maunga[17] for Maori alongside the park's subsequent histories as recreational and tourist site underscore its importance as a national place. Dual Unesco World Heritage status awarded in 1993 endorsed international recognition of the park as cultural landscape as well as a unique geological zone. Its position in the shared histories of Maori and pakeha have resulted in its formation as place where multiple discourses have intersected and at times competed for dominance. The social condition of the park as place has accordingly shifted in relation to different effects of human agency. This can be traced through the publicity material produced in response to the national and commercial imperatives to publicise the park. All of these factors contributed to the site's selection as the case study focus of this study.

National park: gift and institution

The agreement to gift the mountains by Horonuku Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa and the subsequent formation of the Tongariro National Park in 1887 was a significant moment in New Zealand's colonial history. Many of the first pakeha to explore the region were surveyors, and the colonial relationship to the land, as Byrnes (2000) has noted, was one of "claiming" through measurement, mapping and delineation of boundaries (pp. 66-67). The gifting concept for the purposes of a national park, following the precedents of Yellowstone and Yosemite in nineteenth century America, was, Cowan (1927) suggests, supported by

16 The Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 1130 Te Kahui Maunga published on 12 November 2013 found that while "historically Te Heuheu's gesture has been referred to as a noble gift … the Tribunal found this description to be inaccurate". The report states that "the tuku was not as the Native Minister believed, an English-style gift of the mountains to the Crown but, rather, an offer of partnership with the Queen as joint trustee and custodian of the mountains".

17 the chiefly group of mountains which include Tongariro, Ngāuruhoe, Ruapehu, Pīhanga, Hauhungatahi, and Kakaramea (ibid).

Horonuku Te Heuheu and seen as a way of avoiding the division and sale of the land into private ownership (pp. 29-33). The gift both recognised the special status of the mountains and protected them from the processes of colonisation.[18] Following the gifting of the mountains by exchange of letter between Horonuku Te Heuheu and the New Zealand Government in 1887, the park was subsequently entrenched in law with the passing of the Tongariro National Park Act in 1894. Exclusively dedicated to the Tongariro National Park, the Act established the park as an institutional structure overseen by a Board of Trustees. The Tongariro National Park Board was formed by Act in 1922. The 1894 Act's naming of the site as a national park recognised the significance of the gift and identified it as a public place for the use and benefit of the nation.

The Tongariro National Park Act, and the naming of the gift as national park, firmly linked the park to the American national park movement. There were clearly a number of parallels between the idea in the American context and in New Zealand. The idea that 'wilderness' recreation was good for spiritual and physical wellbeing, a central principle behind the national park idea, was compatible with values that grew up around outdoor recreation and a robust healthy body in New Zealand.[19] The formation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 has been recorded as the result of an egalitarian 'new world' vision of a number of early American explorers (Sellars, 1997, pp. 8-9). This vision saw the unique scenic environment of the Yellowstone National Park institutionalised as a national public space. The American national park idea was based on a number of values that included: preservation, or protection of the land from private ownership and commercial development; the belief in the value of a wilderness recreational experience; and the egalitarian belief that these places should be public places for the people (Jones & Wills, 2005, p. 66).

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18 Tribal politics were also involved, as tribal ownership of land was accorded on the basis of the presentation of land claims at the 1886 land court held at Taupo. While the Tuwharetoa claim to the western side of Tongariro was clear, Ruapehu was then and still is subject to claims by Ngati Rangi (see Innes, C., & Mitchell, J. Whanganui and National Park Alienation Study, research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal 2004 Wai 903 A66 Whanganui Inquiry).

19 This idea was central to Cowan's positioning of the park in 1927 (see Cowan, 1927) and also to the Tongariro Tourist Company's proposal for the construction of the Chateau hotel at the park (see Tongariro Park Tourist Company: prospectus of the Chateau (Tongariro Park Hostel), 1929). This positioning overwrote the nineteenth century formation of the wilderness park as hunting sport zone for the elite.

The public ownership of the national park was a powerful discourse in early formations. Development and speculative interests, alongside the ideological power of the 'national' park idea, were also inevitably vested in the formation of many of the early parks. As Sellars (1997, pp. 17-22) has argued, the establishment of the national park was closely linked to the economic interests of both railroad developers and entrepreneurs who saw the potential value of tourism. The national park, therefore, mobilised a platform for development in both public and private interests and changed the way that natural environments determined to be of national significance were organised, used and managed.

While the pragmatics of development focused on resource values, it was the poetic and philosophical view that nurtured the late colonial imagination. The uplifting qualities of scenic beauty and the power of the sublime were key tenets of the English Romantic movement in both painting and literature. This view was reiterated in nineteenth century landscape painting of New Zealand, reproduced and circulated to prospective English migrants.[20] Romantic philosophy positioned nature as the binary opposite to eighteenth and nineteenth century industrial expansion in France and England. Representations of 'scenic New Zealand' were revered not only for the aesthetic qualities of the landscape, but also for their Arcadian pre-industrial qualities and pastoral potential. While mountain grandeur and the 'weird' qualities of volcanic phenomena clearly had poetic and touristic appeal, these scenic landscapes were also often seen as unusable in terms of settlement or farming. The preservation of nature, central to the national park movement, arose from a desire to protect unique environments from private ownership and subsequent development. Preservationist thinking was well supported when applied to land otherwise designated as 'useless' in terms of colonial priorities (see Harlen, 1999, for further discussion). This facilitated the ready assertion of egalitarian values including public access to wilderness places through the national park idea (as opposed to the restrictions imposed by class-based land ownership in England).

While there were similarities with the American national park idea and movement, there were also important differences in the case of the Tongariro National Park. The concept of the gift, in a colonial environment recently characterised by land wars, meant that the Tongariro National Park was formed as an institutional structure mobilised to negotiate a

20 The qualities of New Zealand alpine environments had already been articulated through the romantic landscape painting of Petrus Van der Velden and others in the 1890s. These visions of the power of the natural sublime met well with the current taste of an educated leisure class.

relationship between indigene, settler and land. The gift provided a means by which the Maori relationship to the land could be retained, while giving up their exclusive right to a special relationship with the mountains. The park became the form in which the colony institutionalised the site as a national place. Combining the concepts of 'national' and 'park' resulted in a blending of ideologies surrounding the national and those surrounding the natural in late nineteenth century settler contexts. This mixture of ideologies included egalitarian, recreational, aesthetic and preservationist principles. A complex and competing set of foundational frameworks therefore left the new national park as an institutionalised entity yet to be defined by its use and representations.

For the park to become a place that people visited, used and stayed at, the provision of accommodation was deemed a necessity. Remote locations were not necessarily seen by New Zealand urban dwellers in the 1920s and 1930s as desirable places to visit. In its progressive development as a peopled space, the park became the site of an evolving relationship between the natural and built environment, as accommodation facilities were constructed. The huts were the first structures, temporary and rudimentary dwellings designed to meet the basic needs of the visitor, and were used primarily by local enthusiasts. The hotel, which belonged to a vision that saw the park as an international tourist destination, followed in 1929.

Early recreation and hut accommodation

In the early decades of the twentieth century following the National Park Act in 1894, while outdoor recreation enthusiasts invested interest and effort, the park was not widely used (Graham 1963). He notes, "The park showed signs of becoming a favoured haunt of a select few– lovers of nature, solitude, mountains – but by no means a national playground on a mass scale" (p. 21). Further, as Esler (1965) noted, "access was difficult and few people had the leisure to visit or explore" (p. 15).

Although difficult to access, the volcanic plateau area had, nonetheless, been visited by settler explorers and surveyors since the mid 19th century. Despite their tapu status, the mountains were ascended by colonists in the 1830s, 50s, 70s and 80s. This included George Grey's ascent of Ruapehu in 1851. Surveys of the area were conducted by Cussens and Simms in the early 1880s prior to the 1884 Act. The Desert Road from Waiouru to Tokaanu was constructed in 1893, which provided access to the first centre of park recreation, the Allen Bros Summer Camp, located on the western side of the mountain near

the Waihohonu Stream (Esler, 1965). The Allen Bros. Camp catered for hardy summer climbers, trampers and mountaineers. The release of Rainbow trout into the headwaters of the Tongariro River in 1898 indicates that the environment was also being quietly fashioned as recreation ground according to a more leisurely colonial vision.

The former 'Haunted Whare' built near the Tawhai Falls on the Whakapapanui River is generally attributed the status of the first building, a slab hut built in 1880 (Esler, 1965).[21] The Tourist and Health Department built huts at Ketatahi in 1901 and Waihohonu in 1903/04. These huts were the first state-managed, purpose-built visitor accommodation in the park. The Waihohonu Hut provided accommodation for pioneer skiers on the eastern side of the mountain. The building of a state owned hut at the Ketetahi Springs indicates an early interest in the tourism value of the hot water springs. It was a controversial construction, however, in its assertion of a state tourism presence within the Ketetahi block, an area excluded from the National Park due to the significance of the springs to Ngati Tuwharetoa (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013, pp. 1191-1197).[22]

The botanical and topographical surveys conducted respectively by L. Cockayne and E. Phillips Turner in 1908, identified and recorded unique geological phenomena and native species, strengthening the case for the park's national significance. These surveys resulted in recommendations for the expansion of the park area. This expanded area included a wider range of vegetation and geology and offered better prospects for recreational development.[23] The completion of the main trunk railway on the western side of the mountain in 1908/09 shifted the park development focus to the sites on the west. Proximity to the railway meant that Whakapapa site was selected for the construction of larger scale hut accommodation. The Whakapapa Hut (initially known as the Whakapapa Camp) was constructed by the Tourist and Health Department in 1920 (see Figure 6).

The location of the Tongariro National Park railway station at the Waimarino settlement was followed by the renaming of the settlement as 'National Park'. This renaming extended

21 The whare was to become a noted park attraction, which featured in all of the early publicity material due to its history as murder site, subsequent haunting, and repeated destruction by fire.

22 As the springs were tapu, Ngati Tuwharetoa opposed the public use of the springs from the outset, although they were used for bathing until the 1980s. The present hut is used as a day shelter only.

23 Further land was added to the estate over the following decade, and at the time the Tongariro National Park Board Act was passed in 1922 the area was 149,470 acres (over double its size at formation).

the profile of the park, embracing the township as its primary conduit. The Tourist and Health Department assumed management of the park in 1914, and in their period of stewardship (until the newly instituted Board took over in 1922) many of the early state-managed huts were either transported to or built on-site in the park. These include the first Mangatepopo Hut and the Ohakune Hut. The Ruapehu Ski Club built at Salt Flat in 1922 was the first ski club hut built in the park.

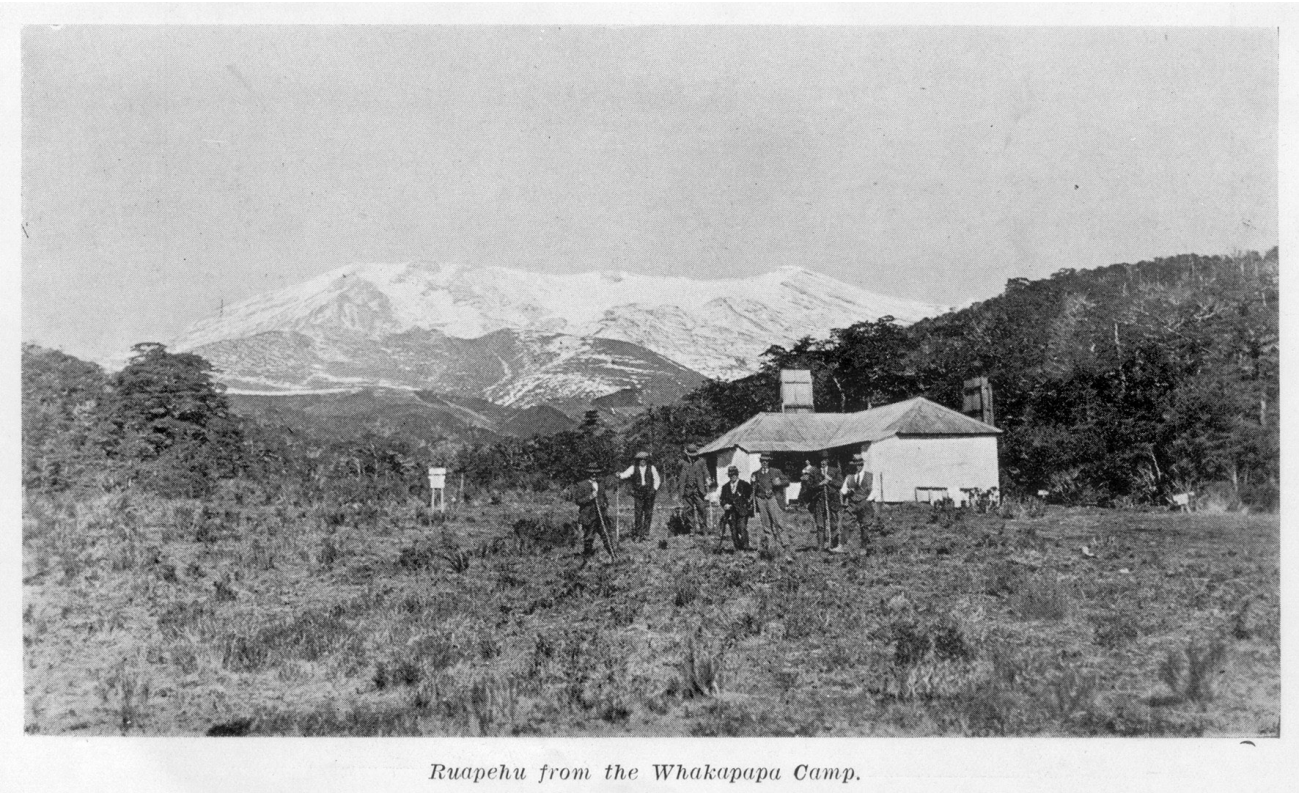

Figure 6: Whakapapa Camp, showing Whakapapa no 1 Hut erected 1920. Source Cowan, J. (1927, Plate 35), ***The** Tongariro National Park New Zealand: its topography, geology, alpine and volcanic features, history and Maori folklore,* Wellington, Tongariro National Park Board.

The identification of the need for more accommodation in the area, and the call for proposals for a hostel, were projects of the Tongariro National Park Board established in 1922. Their vision to develop the park accommodation was encouraged by the current government, who had already identified the economic potential of tourism (McClure, 2006, p. 133). The national park movement had been also been influential in Canada and the close relationship established between national parks, hotels and railway companies there provided an important precedent and reference point for the subsequent development of the Chateau Hotel at the Tongariro National Park.

1.6 Position of this research in its field

In the preceding section I outlined the history of the case study site, the Tongariro National Park, and introduced the early structures that were built there. In this section I establish the location of this research within its field. This is an interdisciplinary project located in the interstices of sociology, cultural geography, graphic and spatial design history and cultural/media studies. It does not set out to be a history of tourism publicity, a study of national park tourism, or a history of the Tongariro National Park or the Chateau Hotel. Other theses have examined these areas and have been valuable references for the context in which this project is located. These include Khoey's economic history of the Grand Chateau Hotel (Khoey, 1995), and the history of the Tongariro National Park in the context of other national parks in New Zealand (Harris, 1974). In addition, the processes of colonisation, recreation and tramping in the park have been examined (Ross, 1999), as has the development of tourism in the park (Harlen, 1999). McLure (2004) has discussed the park, the hotel and their significance within a wider social history of New Zealand tourism. None of these studies, however, has addressed the central concern of this thesis, the discursive work of publicity texts in relation to the co-constitution of subject and place.

The thesis attends to tourism publicity to unravel the processes of place and subject formation. It employs linguistic and discourse methodologies to analyse and interpret the multimodality of the publicity texts. While situated within a visual tradition, the leaflet and brochure material selected for this study draws on both visual and written modes and productively engages with the relationship between them. Thus the project draws together discourse analysis with social semiotic analysis to examine processes of subjectivation in the visual publicity and to show change over time. Place formation is understood as co-constituted by and with its subject (following Massey, 1994). It is the gendering and classing of place and subject in support of a development imperative that forms the platform on which this thesis builds its argument. Thus, located within a field of interdisciplinary scholarship that addresses the socio-spatial construct of place, this thesis aims to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between representational processes and subject formation through a theory of emplacement.

1.7 Research aim, primary objectives and research question

The primary aim of *Mediating the Alpine Archiscape* is to theorise how the discursive construction of tourism destination publicity, specifically that of the tourism brochure, has contributed to the social formation of place and subject at the case study site, New Zealand's Tongariro National Park.

A review of the literature on tourism representations, place and subjectivity (see Chapter 2) concludes that the interconnectedness of subject and place in brochure representations is yet to be adequately theorised. In response the thesis proposes that theorising subjectivation as a process whereby subject and place are co-constituted is one way that that this gap might begin to be addressed. I argue that the brochures can be interpreted as placing devices that simultaneously inscribe subjects into places and places into subjects. I theorise this combined process as emplacement.

In order to achieve the research aim, the three primary research objectives of *Mediating the Alpine Archiscape* are to:

1. Conduct an exploratory interpretive case study of archival brochures publicising the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau Hotel.

2. Interpret the brochures selected for the case study as placing devices. In order to understand how subjects and park are shaped by each other in the representations, the thesis draws on a range of tools offered by discourse and semiotic methodologies. Following Fairclough (1992), the brochures are analysed as discourses that are assembled through the work of rhetorical strategies. These strategies include the brochures' compositional organisation and material form and the relationship between their semiotic elements. The rhetorical strategies at work in the brochures simultaneously inscribe the subjects of the park and the park archiscape, investing both with complementary qualities that vary significantly over the four periods analysed. The hybrid term "archiscape" (see Hellstrom, 2007) is used in the thesis to refer collectively to the architectural, landscaped and natural elements of the park environment. Appadurai (1990) uses the suffix "–scape" to encapsulate the imaginary dimensions of a mediated social landscape. Thus the concept of an archiscape emphasises the imaginary dimensions of the park

environment and the historically shifting relationships between the two dominant elements of its infrastructure – architecture and landscape.

3. Build and demonstrate a theory of emplacement as a specific kind of subjectivation in tourism representations. This theory is developed in the specific contexts of each of the four substantive chapters of the thesis and is more formally explicated in the concluding chapter.

Taken together, these three objectives generate the primary research question – *How have the rhetorical strategies of the publicity brochures co-constituted subjectivity and the archiscape to emplace the subject at the Tongariro National Park in the time periods studied?*

1.8 Thesis overview and structure

Mediating the Alpine Archiscape emerged as a case study of the co-constitution of place and subject in representations publicising the Chateau Hotel and Tongariro National Park between 1928-1982.[24] I have organised the substantive chapters of the project as a chronological series that charts the shifting formations in key moments across this period. Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and research literature relevant to the research question and aim of the thesis. It addresses how tourism and subjectivation has been theorised and assembles this literature as a series of chronologically organised theoretical turns. It discusses how this theory has informed research that has addressed the object of study to which this project attends, the publicity brochure. This review delineates the space for the theoretical contribution of this thesis – a theory of emplacement in representations as a process of subjectivation in tourism practices.

The methodology that structured the research process is charted in Chapter 3. I begin this chapter by declaring the interpretivist theoretical perspective within which the work of the thesis is positioned and discuss methodological issues related to this perspective and the interpretive case study. In this chapter I show how, following the initial period of archival collection and selection, a process of refinement and closure of the data set took place. Initial analysis resulted in the identification of the dominant semiotic structure of natural environment, built environment and subject as present in all of the data analysed.

24 This period was selected as it aligned with significant periods in the institutional history of the park and hotel. This period predates the significant institutional change that was to occur in 1987. In that year the newly formed Department of Conservation took over the management of the park, and the Chateau hotel was sold to international owners following the passing of the State Owned Enterprises Act.

The powerful discourses that operated on the specific representations of the park in each time period were then detected through the rhetorically configured relations between this set of semiotic elements. The built structures emerge as the dominant indices of human presence in the park environment. This dominance determines the theoretical positioning of the semiotic elements within a framework. Thus the built structure anchors and mediates relations between the natural environment of the park and the subject. Furthermore the representations of the spatial codes and zones of the building structures are indexically related to the gender of the subject who might inhabit them. This triadic relationship between environment, built structures and people, provides a theoretical and structural unity for the substantive chapters and defines the term 'park formation' when used throughout the thesis. Chapter 3 outlines how the implementation of this interpretive apparatus generated an inductive development and refinement of the research question and thesis argument central to *Mediating the Alpine Archiscape.*

The four substantive chapters that follow the methodological discussion, Chapters 4 to 7, address the central question and lay out the evidence that supports the thesis argument. They unfold as a chronological series of formations differentiated by the discourses that emplace the subject in the park. Luxury in various forms, from its absence to its excess, was identified in the analysis as central to the difference between the formations in each of the selected historical periods. In each chapter, emplacement, which I argue is a central outcome of the representational strategies, is interpreted and named through the lens of the luxury.

Following this method, the substantive section of the thesis enters the park's history in 1928 at the end of the first decades of its formation. At this time the park was a network of huts and tracks mostly used by physically fit males. Chapter 4, titled *The National Recreation Ground*, names this foundational mode of emplacement as spartan refusal. This interpretation is supported by the analysis of an *Information for Visitors* leaflet published by the Tongariro National Park Board in 1928.

I then turn in Chapter 5 to the early publicity for the Chateau Hotel project, which was opened to the public in late 1929. As the analysis of a period of emplacement interpreted through the lens of luxury, Chapter 5 is titled *The Luxury Playground.* The chapter addresses material produced by both the hotel's developers, the Tongariro Tourist Company in 1929-31, and that produced in 1933 by its subsequent managers, the Tongariro National Park Board. I show how these representations shaped the park as an international tourist

site through the strategies of entrepreneurial tourism development and the discourses of elite luxury and leisure. The representations of the Chateau in these texts spatialised the park in new ways, premised on early twentieth century modes of leisure consumption as aspirational commodity. This new spatial formation provided a theatre for the performance and display of a new order of recreation defined by the leisured subject.

It has been argued that the economic and cultural construction of New Zealand in the first half of the twentieth century was driven by the dual imperatives of national differentiation and internationalisation (see Dibley, 1997 and Hilliard, 1999). These imperatives provide the contexts for Chapters 4 and 5. The programme of active outdoor recreation addressed in Chapter 4 was shaped by the discourses of physical achievement, resilience and resourcefulness. These discourses supported the imperatives that drove the differentiation of New Zealand as a unique and distinct emerging nation. On the other hand, the programme of leisure and tourism addressed in Chapter 5 produced a cosmopolitan subject for whom leisure was a mode of consumption and social display. Defined through the markers of European civilisation and social distinction, the Chateau project responded to the imperative of cosmopolitan internationalisation also driving New Zealand's development at this time. This shaped the idea of New Zealand as a progressive modern society, responsive and connected to the urban cultures of the European centre.

The dominant discourses that draw on a set of key symbolic elements to shape the early period of the park are established in Chapters 4 and 5. These elements then function in the thesis as residual formations, and provide a reference point for tracking subsequent formations. The park and hotel progressively differentiate both symbolically and institutionally. The next two substantive chapters chart this differentiation.

The first of these, Chapter 6, titled *The De-luxe Family Leisure-Field,* charts shifts in the representation of the park formation in the post-World War Two period. The opening of the first ski lift on the mountain in 1954 marked the beginning of a new period in the park's history. The ongoing development of the skifield throughout the late 1950s and 60s was reliant on mass visitor numbers for its success, and this development strategically reconfigures the park as a family leisure-field. Redefining the park as destination, the skifield upstaged the hotel as the dominant built structure in the park. It engineered new ways of being in the park, mobilising the subject into areas that were formerly difficult to access, and enabling the adrenaline high of the downhill run.

At the same time the Chateau Hotel continued to confidently co-opt the landscape and comfortably appropriate the Maori gift. The lustre of its positioning as zone of elite luxury, however, is now de-luxed, as the hotel settles into place, at home, as part of the park furniture. Its established social spaces at the base of the mountain offer a comfortable resource for the family activity that took place across the park, in club huts and at the skifield. I argue that the subject is emplaced in the park in this period through the symbolic structure of family de-luxe leisure. It is in this period that participation in ski recreation at the park becomes a code for the performance of middle class status. Driven by the commercial desire to populate the skifields, the park opens to wider participation. The natural environment of the park, now augmented by hotel, skifield and club huts, is recast as a de-luxe middle class environment – as white as snow in winter and dominantly consumed by pakeha. The skifield links the park to an international network of European and North American alpine leisure and ski-sport places and mobile participants. This international participation inflects place and subject with a European signature, enhancing its middle class consumers with both physical and aspirational mobility.

Titled *The Liminal Pleasure Zone*, Chapter 7 charts the form that emplacement takes within the 'post'-narratives of the 1970s and early 80s. I show with evidence from the representations how the Chateau symbolically becomes separated from the park. This occurs against a contextual background whereby the park begins to recuperate its indigenous/native and national identity within a bicultural framework. The Chateau, as former centre of the park, is displaced by the park visitor centre structures. Now de-centred as a liminal place the hotel is no longer able to confidently co-opt the landscape. The established European civilisation narrative becomes a thin veneer, against the new momentum of park development as a site where a bicultural national identity is progressively being enacted.

At the same time, the unity of the family utopia of the preceding period is dismantled. The 'liminal pleasure zone' builds on the gendered scripts of place formation established in the earlier chapters but, as I show, the utopian values of family recreation are displaced by a new kind of othering of the hotel/park. In this new formation the utopia of the de-luxe family leisure-field is now reconfigured as heterotopia.[25] The subject represented has an 'affair' with place, the hotel/park is now an escape from family as opposed to site of family bonding, a place that is not home – a heterotopia to visit and depart from. I show how

25 Following Foucault's definition in Of Other Spaces (1986, pp. 22-27), see footnote 89 this document for further expansion.

the representation of the subject, drawing on the specific hedonic pleasure codes of the period, genders the park within a language of female sexuality where interest in the body displaces that in the landscape. Thus I argue this place formation constitutes a subject who has an affair with place, who is de-indigenised, casualised, hedonistic and threatened with boredom. This is a subject and hotel that is out now 'out of place'. Chronologically this chapter closes at the beginning of the 1980s, a period in which significant political change in New Zealand was gaining momentum. The formation I interpret in Chapter 8 is soon to be reconfigured by significant institutional and social shifts marked by the selling of the Tourist Hotel Corporation in 1987 and the formation of the Department of Conservation in the same year.

These later developments fall beyond the scope of the thesis. The empirical analyses sketched out above have their specific interest but are undertaken here to serve a more general theory building objective. The sequence of the four chapters serves the logic of interpretive case study and theory building, as each chapter progressively develops and nuances the theory of emplacement. Taken as a whole, the thesis thus demonstrates the value of theorising emplacement as a process through which the subjects and archiscapes of representations are co-constituted and change over time. The theory relevant to the research objectives will be reviewed in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

Literature

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the theory relevant to the research objectives . A primary objective of the thesis is to build and demonstrate a theory of emplacement as a specific kind of subjectivation in tourism representations. This objective indicates that an overview of how the relationship between tourism and subjectivity has been theorised will be of central relevance to the work of the thesis.

There are multiple literatures related to tourism and subjectivity. The entry point that this thesis elects to engage with the literature is through a historical reconstruction of tourism theory, focusing on the relationship between tourism and subjectivity. As tourism theory has, from the outset, focused in the construction of the tourist subject, it provides an important resource to support the research objective stated above. Tourism theory, however, spans numerous disciplinary interests and is therefore horizontally not hierarchically distributed. The first part of the chapter assembles and lays out the literature as a sequence of intellectual currents and theoretical turns since the mid-twentieth century. After outlining how the dominant turns in tourism theory have addressed representation and subjectivation, I then address how the specific object of study, that of the tourism brochure, has been theorised within critical frameworks.[26] I focus specifically on how the extant studies of tourist brochures have theorised the representation of place and subject respectively in order to establish a platform for the second stated objective of the thesis, to interpret the documents selected for the study as placing devices. The theory and research precedents outlined in this chapter provide a context for the analytical and interpretive

26 Research on tourist brochures includes both critical approaches and quantitative marketing methodologies that assess image effectiveness. Research selected for discussion is drawn from that work employing critical approaches.

work of Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Together these chapters build a theory of emplacement as a specific kind of subjectivation in tourism representations.

It is important to note at this point that a significant body of the wider tourism literature sits outside of the primary concerns of this thesis and is therefore not discussed in any detail here. This includes the body of anthropological work concerned with interactions between tourists from developed western cultures and third world cultures. Central to that work is the relationship between the tourist and the cultural other and the theorisation of issues surrounding authenticity. The 'tourism as a form of imperialism' thesis (Nash, 1977), and its subsequent revisions and challenges (see for example the more recent work of Hall & Tucker, 2004), have also occupied a key position in that scholarship. These issues, while important, are not specifically relevant to the objectives or data of this thesis. Other research not discussed in this review is the phenomenological work of Cohen from the 1970s (for example Cohen, 1979), as it sits outside of the methodological domains of the study.

Other literature that is relevant to the thesis is not addressed in this chapter but is addressed in the substantive chapters where it supports the interpretation of the sample cases. This includes literature that relates to the technical and material production histories of the selected cases as well as research and theory that supports interpretations related to the gendering and classing of place.

2.2 Early approaches to theorising tourism and subjectivity

The tourist and tourism was to first attract the interest of sociologists and anthropologists in the late 1950s and 60s during the post-World War Two growth of mass tourism as consumer product. This work included studies by Boorstin (1964), Hibbert (1969) and Mitford (1959). An inchoate but influential body of literature followed these early commentaries and included publications that were to become primary references for subsequent decades (see E. Cohen, 1972a; Culler, 1981; Graburn, 1977; MacCannell, 1973, 1976). This early theory opened up the discussion of the social construction of tourism and subjectivity, in particular its relationship to visual practices, semiotics and the performative, all of which are central to the theoretical context and contribution of this thesis.

Daniel Boorstin, in his publication *The Image – a guide to pseudo-events in America*, first published in 1962, critiqued mid-century American consumer society, arguing that

'pseudo-events' reliant on image and performance had come to pervade American life. The pseudo-event included inauthentic and contrived products developed specifically for tourists, which were not otherwise part of everyday life. He claimed that the American traveller/tourist "has demanded that the whole world be made a stage for pseudo-events" (p. 80). The tourist was critiqued as passive consumer of packaged and commodified tourist events and products, unlike the former heroic traveller. The traveller (il travailleur) adventurer actively worked for the experiences of education and enlightenment that travel rewards. The tourist, he argued, was removed from an authentic experience of place and culture. The pseudo-event, while positioned as spurious and contrived when compared to the higher status authentic event, contributes to an early theorisation of tourism as performed activity in which the tourist participates as consumer.

Boorstin's discussion of the tourist and inauthenticity was challenged for its derision and lack of attribution of agency to the tourist. The tourist's relationship to the inauthentic was rapidly displaced by theory that reconfigured the tourist as a subject with agency in search of authentic experiences (see MacCannell, 1973; Turner & Ash, 1975; Turner & Turner, 1978). Thus issues of authenticity and inauthenticity were to occupy a central position in theorising tourist subjectivities in the following decades. Cohen (1972b) challenged Boorstin's generalisation of the tourist experience, and advanced a phenomenological approach to an understanding of the tourist. To address the shortcomings of generalisation, Cohen differentiated tourists by developing a set of tourist typologies.[27] Thus Boorstin's early critique of the tourist and tourism provided provocations and multiple departure points. His identification of the relationship between the aesthetics of representations, and consumer culture-tourism in particular, provides an important early reference point for this study.

Dean MacCannell's influential and now classic work *The Tourist*, first published in 1976, positioned tourism as set of commodified practices enacted in actual places that included the visual practices of sight/site-seeing and performances of staged authenticity. MacCannell traversed multiple theoretical domains in *The Tourist,* and two of these are of particular relevance to this study. The first is his theorising of sightseeing as performative practice. The second is his theorising of the tourist attraction as constituted by a relationship between

27 Drawing on Simmel's 1908 theory of the stranger, Cohen's typologies were established according to how familiarity and strangeness were negotiated in different environments and social situations. By 1979 these included five modes or tourist types that described the preferred social experiences of tourists. He named these as: the recreational, the diversionary, the experimental, the experiential and the existential (Cohen, 1972).

a tourist, a sight and a marker (MacCannell, 1989, p. 41). Markers are representations of tourist sights/sites that he defines as information about tourist sights, both visual and verbal, on- and off-site. It is the first contact that the tourist may have with the site/sight[28] (pp. 110-112). These representations of tourist sights include guidebooks and brochures as well as verbal reportage. His theorising of the attraction (destination) as consisting of tourist subject, sight or place, and representation, provides an early model of co-constitutive relationships in the production of tourist places.

The importance of tourist markers, MacCannell argues, is that they are a set of elements that constitute the place. For example, he notes that "Sightseers do not in any empirical sense see San Francisco. They see Fisherman's Wharf, Golden Gate Bridge, Union Square … perhaps Haight Ashbury … As elements in a set each of these is a symbolic marker" (MacCannell, 1976/1989, p. 111). Considerable attention is paid to the semiotic construction of the material attraction, but the representations of visual publicity are seen simply as form of sight signifiers or markers. Their modes of address are not considered in any detail other than to establish the importance of the sight in the production of the attraction/destination.

Importantly, the significance of representations to the pre-figuration of the tourist experience is recognised. MacCannell points to their dialectical action in the production of tourist places when he notes, "As the marker is turned into a sight, the sight turns into a marker, and the aesthetics of production are transformed into the aesthetics of consumption and attraction" (MacCannell, p. 120). This importantly locates tourism within the wider spectrum of aestheticised modes of lifestyle consumption. In this sense MacCannell's work anticipated the themes of aestheticised cultural production articulated in the 1980s by Baudrillard (1981), Jameson (1985), Ec0 (1986) and others.

MacCannell's use of semiotic theory in the 1970s to establish relationships between the representations of tourism and tourist places was one of the first structuralist contributions to the theory of tourism. Significantly for this thesis, his writing of the tourist subject into a constitutive relationship with the marker and the sight offers an early model for theorising subjectivity and tourist places. More generally it established a theory of tourism and subjectivity based on semiotics and signification.

28 MacCannell uses the homonym 'sight' to describe both the location, the 'site', and what is seen as tourist attraction, the sight.

Roland Barthes's contribution to semiotic theory in the 1970s established semiotic methods of analysis as a means of accessing processes of subjectivation. His 1967 publication titled *Elements of Semiology* drew concepts for use in semiotic analysis from De Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1915). These concepts included early articulations of the work of the signified, the signifier and the denotative and connotative functions of the sign. He subsequently used this set of elements to develop his theory of 'myth' as an applied semiological system, and analysed a wide variety of cultural practices using semiotic tools, naming them mythologies. In his essay 1979 essay titled *The Eiffel tower and other mythologies,* he explored the semiotic work of the Eiffel tower as signifier of place (Paris), as visual apparatus, and as vantage point for the panoramic view (Barthes, 1979, p. 10). This interpretation of architecture through semiotic theory establishes the tower's representational functions at multiple levels and integrated semiotic analysis with an understanding of visual practices and modernity.

Relationships between signification, semiotics and tourism were advanced throughout the 1970s and were eventually drawn together by Jonathan Culler (1981). Culler uses this theory to elevate the status of Boorstin's widely denigrated 'tourist' to that of semiotician. In this way, recognition of semiotic processes makes sense of the tourist experience, and returns agency to the tourist. He argues, "in their most specifically touristic behaviour tourists are the accomplices of semiotics. All over the world, tourists are engaged in semiotic projects, reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems" (p. 140). Thus the hierarchical division between the heroic traveller and the derided tourist, which had dominated contemporary discussions of tourism, is challenged. As Culler and other subsequent scholars note, the preferred 'traveller' is a concept located in the past and alongside old modes of travel. New modes of mass travel have produced new types of travellers, now known as tourists. A semiotic and structuralist analysis allowed the institutions of tourism to emerge as key agents in the production of the tourist subject.

The tourist as new paradigm replacing that of the traveller comes with new implications for the consumption of tourism products. While the traveller is associated with authentic experiences, the tourist, as consumer of 'productions', is associated with the inauthentic. The tourist, Culler argues, seeks authenticity through the semiotic markers of tourist attraction. He notes, "a marker is any kind of information or representation that constitutes a sight as a sight; by giving information about it, representing it, making it recognizable, it marks something present or absent as a site for tourists" (p. 133). Following Walter

Benjamin and McCannell, therefore, Culler argues that the marker as reproduction heightens the value of the authentic original (see Benjamin, 1970).

The tourist who emerges from Culler's discussion is not a passive consumer who unwittingly engages in sequences of inauthentic experiences for the benefit of social status, but a subject who understands the significance of signs and their role in the production of the tourist experience. It is in this sense that Culler (1981) argues for "tourism as an exemplary case for the perception and descriptions of sign relations. The sightseer confronts the symbolic complex head on and explores the relation of sight to its markers" (p. 134). Following McCannell, Culler concludes that:

> … tourism is an attempt to overcome fragmentation by articulating the world as a series of equivalent spectacles … each society with its characteristic monuments, lifestyles, cultural practices and scenery, all of which are treated as non-functional displays of codes. To see the world is to grasp each culture as a series of signs of itself (p. 140).

At the end of the 1970s Erik Cohen (1979) drew together the debates that had characterised the decade, recognising that significant shifts had taken place in the sociology of tourism. He argued that the "conceptual schemes" describing the tourist that had been advanced throughout the decade required further elaboration, and proposed a shift from universal conceptualisations of the tourist, such as MacCannell's, to a theory of tourist types based on the specific experiences and motivations of tourists (pp. 28-32). It was MacCannell's work, however, in particular his concepts of "staged authenticity" and "sightseeing", which remained key to the development of a theory of the tourist in subsequent decades.

MacCannell's assertion in 1967 that sightseeing was a form of interface between the modern and pre-modern worlds was to embed the early definition of the tourist with a privileging of the visual senses. The visuality of tourism also underpinned the discussion of authenticity/inauthenticity in relation to tourism productions and tourist experiences. Thus understanding the visual mediation of the tourist experience was central to the theoretical outcomes of the early work. Equally importantly, the early period of theorising the tourist and tourism established an understanding of tourism as socially constructed practice. Its specific contribution to this study is the relationship advanced between tourism, signification and semiotics. An understanding of tourism through semiotic methodologies

following MacCannell's early lead continued to be advanced throughout the 1990s (see Frow, 1991; Rojek, 1997). Significantly for theory building in this thesis, an understanding of tourism as semiotic practice established the importance of the marker, sight and tourist subject relationship as one that was co-constitutive. This sets out groundwork for the present study.

While the representational strategies of publicity were identified as central processes in the production and consumption of tourist places, their specific visual and linguistic construction was, however, yet to be addressed. This left the ground open for subsequent theory and research to focus specifically on this area. Semiotic methodologies have continued to be deployed as central tools in the analysis of the visual representations of tourism.

Technology, visuality and scopic regimes

A diversity of travel and tourism practices have been theorised within a framework that has asserted a relationship between tourism, subjectivity and visual technologies, in particular photography. These include Adler's (1989) discussion in which the sensory experience of sightseeing is positioned as a key component of ritual and as "one dimension of the human 'embodiment', of the travel art" (p. 8). Adler outlines the historical evolution of travel and seeing, arguing that the constructed and "longstanding association between travel and vision, tourism and sightseeing, demands closer scrutiny" (p. 8). Summarising the ascendancy of the visual senses and "sightseeing" as a mode of travel experience throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, she argues this "style of travel performance which privileged the eye for comprehensive inventory served as one of the rituals through which European … elites sought to take title to 'the whole world' then coming into view" (p. 24).

Sightseeing, Adler suggests, shifted from a process where knowledge was recorded both aurally and textually, to become an aestheticised visual experience augmented by visual framing devices. Preceding photography these included the Claude glasses, a framing device that aided the process of recording the view by sketch or watercolour (p. 22). The act of taking photographs, the role of the eyewitness in travel and tourist experiences, the scopic regimes of tourism photography, and the relationship between photography and cultural imperialism has subsequently been widely explored (see for example, Albers & James, 1988; Chalfen, 1979; Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Larsen, 2005; Osborne, 2000; Pratt, 1992; Schwartz & Ryan, 2003).

The term 'scopic regime' is important in this theoretical context. Metz (1985) coined the term to discuss constructed 'ways of seeing' as opposed to the idea of 'natural' vision. Scopic regimes include ways of seeing imposed by technologies and media, for example, drawing systems such as Cartesian perspective, cameras, photographs and film. They also include ways of seeing constructed through specifically gendered or politicised gazes. Significantly for this discussion, different scopic regimes serve to position the subject in specific ways in tourism representations. Tourism has its own repertoire of scopic regimes, shaped historically by the histories of landscape painting, the technology of the camera, and the politicising (including gendering) of the gaze.

The relationships between visuality, scopic regimes and the representation of the landscape in western culture from philosophical, art historical and geographical directions provide a theoretical context for the interpretive chapters of this thesis. These include the typologies of landscapes, notably those of the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime (see Schopenhauer, 1818/1985), the work of the frame as cultural and aesthetic device (see Mitchell, 2002; Pound, 1984), and the representational processes through which landscapes become classed and gendered (see Coleman, 2003; Scharff, 2003).

The viewing subject and the symbolic possession of the viewed landscape are concepts that have their roots in Western landscape painting. They have been discussed from geographical and anthropological directions, as well as art historical. As Urry and Larsen (2011) note, "the visual sense enables people to take possession of objects and environments often at a distance … it facilitates the world of the other to be controlled from afar, combining detachment and mastery" (p. 158). The empowering capacity of the panoramic view for example, discussed by Barthes (1979, p. 11) among others, is a practice central to sightseeing and tourism. Following the early work, in the 1990s a body of theory and research consolidated around travel and tourism as a dominantly visual experience and as a practice of visual consumption.

2.3 Visual consumption and the gaze

The framing of tourism as a mode of visual consumption was advanced by Urry's widely influential theory of the tourist gaze (Crang, 1997; Urry, 1990, 1995). Urry's (2002) argument furthered the centrality of vision and visual technologies to the practices of

tourism.[29] The tourist gaze offered a powerful theory that drew together the desire for travel/tourism with the practices of sightseeing and photography in a historical and contemporary context. Urry argued for the historical concurrence of the advent of the tourist gaze and the invention of the camera and photography. Following the observations of Sontag (1979), he argued the lens and frame of the camera produced a separation between subject and object. The visual technology of the camera irrevocably changed the way places were seen and understood. Thus he states, "from 1840 onwards tourism and photography came to be welded together and the development of each cannot be separated from the other. Both sets of practices remake each other in an irreversible and momentous double helix" (p. 149). Urry's theorising of tourism through the theory of the tourist gaze therefore drew strong connections between tourism and the histories and theories of visuality and representation.

The advance of theories of representation in the 1990s is of central importance to this thesis. The concept of representation enters tourism theory at the very moment that it is to be troubled by post-modern theory. Urry (1990) identified multiple ways in which visual strategies were embedded in tourism practices. He notes that post-modernism problematizes the distinction between 'representation' and 'reality'. Signification is increasingly visual so there is a closer, more intimate relationship between the representation and the reality than where the signification takes place through words or music" (p. 77).

Theoretical frameworks related to visual consumption of signs and representation as spectacle published some decades earlier laid down important groundwork for Urry's theory. Debord stated in 1967 that "In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived had moved away into a representation" (Debord,1967/1994, p. 12). The ascendance of the power of the sign (Baudrillard, 1981) resulted in a transference of power from objects to systems of signs. As Crouch and Lubbren (2003) state, "the power of signs shifts from the objects themselves to their circulation in representation" (p. 8). This position was central to an understanding of tourism as structured by processes of signification and mediated by representations.

29 Urry's theory of the tourist gaze traversed many aspects of tourism. Urry argued for the tourist gaze as a concept that differentiated tourist practices from everyday life. This concept is not discussed in detail here as it sits outside the primary focus of this study, tourist representations. I have concentrated on those aspects of the theory that are concerned with relationships between tourism, subjectivity and the visuality of the tourist gaze.

The mediation of tourism by representations, and their subsequent circulation was also embedded in Shields's (1991) concept of the place myth. Shields suggests, "these images and stereotypes, an imaginary geography of places and space, are shown to have impacts which are empirically specifiable" (p. 14) The place myth, as Crouch and Lubbren (2003) point out, is an important trope for considering the way in which tourism publicity impacts on the tourism experience. Place myths, they suggest, "are conglomerates of place images … stereotypes and clichés associated with a particular location" (p. 5). From the perspective of this study, the place myth as a visual pre-figuring of place is interesting as it recognises the circulation of representations as formative in terms of the way places are understood. The visual place myth as a way of theorising tourists and places has informed studies of tourist brochure texts (see section 2.9).

The ascendance of theories and histories of visuality in the early 1990s was a response to the rapid advance of mass visual communication and reproduction technologies. Urry's theory of the tourist gaze is therefore a response consistent with this impetus. At this time the fields of cultural, media and visual studies drew attention to the complexity of visual representations and their relationship to subjectivity formations (see Evan & Hall, 1999). However, any discussion of visual culture (including tourism) and subjectivation requires in the first instance the identification and specification of the particular subjectivities under discussion. The relationship between visual culture and the production of subjectivities involves multiple subject positions in its production and consumption. These include the producer subject, the subject in the representation, the reading/viewing subject, and the embodied subject who iteratively performs the scripts of the visual representation.

It is notable that the visual culture theory that addressed looking/seeing/viewing and subjectivity in the 1990s attended more closely to the production of the reading/viewing subject than it did to the specific visual strategies by which the represented subject was rhetorically positioned. That the viewing subject is produced in response to the subject of visual/textual representation was extensively argued from multiple directions by authors including Althusser (1969/1971) and Mulvey (1973/1989). As Mitchell subsequently stated, "the picture is a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, bodies and figurality" (Mitchell 1994, p. 16, cited in Evan & Hall, 1999). Further, Tagg (1988) argued that the language of representational realism of the photograph projected a "mirror of reality" back to the reading subject. This mirror of reality, he argued concealed the photograph's conventions of construction, entwining the reading subject in an act of

self-recognition. Thus the realism of the photograph was implicated in a specific process of subjectivity formation. This process of subjectivation was seen to take place between the bodies and figurality of the representation and the reading subject (p. 100).

The idea that viewing/looking or reading subjects consume signs, and that subjectivity formation is an outcome of this process, underpinned the social constructionist position advanced by Lash and Urry (1994). They argued "what is increasingly produced are not material objects but signs", and that the consumption of aesthetic signs as postmodern goods is producing a new kind of aesthetic self-reflexivity (pp. 4-5). Aesthetic self-reflexivity, they argued, "entails self interpretation and the interpretation of social background practices" (p. 5). This position provides support for the theoretical platform for the work of this thesis, that subjectivities are shaped through the production and consumption of representations.

This shift in theorising the focus of production from material object to immaterial sign marked a shift towards understanding representations as discursively constructed. While it was recognised that subjects consume signs, how the representational space was rhetorically configured (or produced) as sign for consumption was given less attention. This was attended to in part in the following decades by discourse analysis from a sociolinguistic direction. The tourist gaze therefore enabled tourism and processes of subjectivation to be theorised through the lens of visuality and visual practices. Its value for the rhetorical organisation of tourism representations, the focus of this thesis, is specifically located in the understanding of tourism as discourse.

The gaze as mechanism of institutional regulation

Urry's (1992) theory of the tourist gaze drew on Foucault's theory of the institutionalised gaze to suggest that the tourist gaze was, like the medical gaze, based on an institutionalised discourse (p. 1). As Urry states, he set out to "consider the process by which the gaze is constructed or reinforced, who or what authorises it, what its consequences are for places which are its object and how it interrelates with other social practices" (p. 1). This framing of discursively constructed power relationships within tourism practices initiated the trajectory of critical and discursive approaches to research and theory in the field.

The theory of the tourist gaze made connections to both visual and discursive intellectual currents. It drew the intellectual current of the visual turn together with the sociology

of tourism. The gaze shifted the way tourist subjectivities were theorised. It enabled the multiple strategies employed in the production of the discourse to be seen as a set of formative elements that institutionalise tourist practices. This development of a strong connection between visual culture and tourism opened up new modes of theorising the tourist that moved outside of the debates around authenticity, inauthenticity, otherness, and hosts and guests that had dominated from an anthropological direction. The visual turn produced a proliferate body of work on the range of visual representations of tourism, from tourist art to travel photography, in which the theory of the gaze remained a central reference point within a broad discursive frame. Despite a recognition of the importance of advertising publicity as a primary signifier in tourism practices, however, relatively little close attention was paid to this area until the later 1990s (see Dann, 1996a; Morgan & Pritchard, 1999; Selwyn, 1996).

2.4 Critique of the tourist gaze

Urry's theory of the tourist gaze as an ordering and regulating mechanism drew on multiple theoretical currents to work its way into every corner of the tourism experience, becoming both totalising and at times ambiguous. It has been critiqued for its lack of reference to the body of scholarship in visual theory and its use of Foucault's concept of the gaze in a confusing way (see for example Lieper, 1992, pp. 604-607, cited in Hollinshead, 1999, pp. 8-9). The metaphor of gazing as a mode of looking implies passivity, and therefore, it has been argued, denies the perceptual, cognitive and emotional processes and responses that are involved in the act of looking (Crouch & Lubbren, 2003, p. 8).

I have identified how the multiple dimensions of the theory of the tourist gaze provide a platform for this case study of the visual and textual medium of representations such as the tourism brochure. While Urry notes the importance of representations in 1990, his focus however is not on their specific semiotic and rhetorical work. He states "much of what is appreciated is not directly experienced reality itself but representations, particularly through the medium of photography". "What people 'gaze upon' ", he noted, "are ideal representations of the view in question that they internalize from guidebooks and postcards (and TV programmes and the internet)" (Urry, 1992, p. 78). This claim, that reality is only available through representations, suggests that representations do not represent an external reality – they construct it. Analysis of the specific linguistic structures and rhetorical operations of tourist publicity, however, awaits sustained attention.

While discursive theorising of the visual and visual representations had begun to gain momentum by the mid-1990s, both in tourism and other areas, Mitchell in 1994 drew attention to the need for further research into the work of images, troubling the discursive turn. He stated, "we still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood and what is to be done with or about them" (Mitchell, 1994 p. 13). However, despite these observations, by the end of the 1990s the centrality of the visual to theory building in the field was already in decline. The linguistic and rhetorical construction of representations was only minimally addressed within tourism theory, and was subsequently attended to from critical discourse and sociolinguistic directions. This points to the rise of discursive theorisation and the sidelining of the materiality of representations in tourism theory. [30]

While Urry (1992) continued to develop the concept by embodying and mobilising the gaze in subsequent editions of the publication (p. 152), the turn to the performative in the late 1990s critiqued the gaze for privileging the visual sense. This rapidly displaced its dominance and reconceptualised tourism within a multi-sensory and embodied framework. This turn to the performative meant a shift of attention in tourism away from representations at a time when their discursive theorisation had barely been initiated and their material status still remained unresolved.

2.5 The rise of performativity and embodiment in tourism theory

While the performative turn is generally associated with the late 1990s and 2000s, the lens of performance and metaphor of the theatre, as I have pointed out, had provided a framework for the theorising of tourism since the 1960s. Boorstin had positioned tourism as (pseudo)-event and MacCannell had employed Goffman's dramaturgical metaphors. Adler's discussion of travel as a performed art in the late 1980s addressed the relationship between tourism guidebooks, activities and traveller accounts and argued for their importance in preparing the tourist for the (performed) experience. In this sense tourism publicity is positioned as script for the performance of the tourist subjectivity. This position, while not explicitly concerned with the rhetorical construction of the texts, is important to this study in that it recognises the work of publicity texts as both representational and performative.

30 At the same time attention to materiality has burgeoned in other fields including design history and material culture studies, where the "material turn" has seen considerable attention paid to the materiality of artifacts and material evidence as resource for historical and contemporary research.

While the early theory encompassed issues of both visual consumption and performativity, the theories of the tourist gaze and place mythologies advanced in the early 1990s drew attention to the visuality of tourism and subjectivation. The dominance of the visual sense in tourism theory opened the space for the critique of the tourist gaze driven by the growth of performance theory. As Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry (2004) argue, an "understanding of place suffers from a hegemony of vision that reduces places to visual formations constituting place images" (p. 5). Thus performance theory seeks to further an understanding of an embodied experience of place, as opposed to its representations.

At the same time as the gaze dominated, other work had concurrently argued for the multi-sensory experience of tourism (Jokinen & Veijola, 1997; Wearing & Wearing, 1996). The primary position underpinning the critique of the gaze was that it paid insufficient attention to the embodied and physically enacted tourist experience (see Perkins & Thorns, 2001). This attention to embodiment and the 'doing' of tourism, it has been suggested, prepared the ground for performative approaches (Baerenholdt et al., 2004, p. 5). As Larsen (2005) asserted, "ideas of embodiment and performance have been crucial in destabilising the visual hegemony of images, cameras and gazes in tourist studies" (p. 416). Support for the performative turn is evidenced by studies in the late 1990s and early 2000s that drew on metaphors of staging and/or performance to theorise tourism practices (see Cloke & Perkins, 1998; Coleman & Crang, 2002; Crouch, 2002; Desmond, 1999; Edensor, 2000; Jokinen & Veijola, 1997; Urry, 1999, 2002).

While the turn to the performative appeared as an oppositional challenge to the visuality of the gaze in tourist studies, this was not the case in other disciplines. In geographical theory from this period, for example, aesthetic and embodied practices were instead positioned together within encompassing frameworks such as that of an 'encounter' that included the interaction of all of the senses (see Crang, 1997, 1999; Crouch, 1999). Further the theorising of tourist places within this inclusive framework of engagement (embodied and performed as well as visualised and textualised) saw them as " dynamic flows of tourists, images and cultures … as fluid and created through performance" (Coleman & Crang, 2002, p. 1).

The revival of performativity, and in particular, dramaturgical metaphors, as central to tourism theory and tourist subjectivity drew strongly on the foundational work of MacCannell and Goffman. Goffman's (and MacCannell's) work was, as Larsen (2005,

p. 149) has noted, subsequently drawn on by Crang (1994) and Edensor (1998, 2000; 2001) to theorise tourism within a performative framework. Edensor (2001) specifically used Goffman's metaphors of the front and back stage, and the script. He used these concepts to interpret the spaces of tourism, the relationships between tourists and locals, the performance of tourist products, and the performance of tourist subjectivities (p. 60). Importantly these frameworks enabled tourism to be theorised within contexts of everyday practices, problematising the distinction between tourism and other, and home and away (Larsen, 2005, p. 421).

While Goffman's dramaturgical theory was extensively utilised to build a theory whereby tourism was staged and performed, it was not used to discuss tourism representations. Its primary use was to discuss the spatial organisation of tourist places. The visual publicity of tourism though, including guidebooks, can be positioned as a script or meta-script within this framework.[31] Goffman's analysis of gender representations in print advertising revealed patterns through which subjectivity is performed by actors (Goffman, 1979). Little scholarship, however, has specifically investigated the visual publicity of tourism within this framework. Thus performative theory as it was developed in tourism research in the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s was not focused on representations.

The performative turn in tourism theory drew on theories of the performativity of culture in other areas of cultural production and consumption. Chaney (1993), for example, expanded the notion of the public spectacle by analysing public drama and performance to show "the relevance of a vocabulary of drama to describe how our sense of collective experience is expressed" … and "to use aspects of public drama to illuminate the social order of modernity" (pp. 1-3). Butler's (1993) theory of performativity and identity has arguably had less impact on tourism theory. Larsen (2005) differentiates Butler's concern with the discursive construction of identity from the practice-based notion of performance embedded in Goffman's work (p. 149). These approaches can be further differentiated by the understanding that there is an essential self lying under the performing self in Goffman's theory of performance. Butler's concept of performativity, however, undoes the stable subject through a theory of the ritual citation and reiteration of performed identities. As this project deals with representations, it is Goffman's (1979) work that addresses gender representations and advertising that provides the primary theoretical reference for theory building. The differentiation of subjectivities embedded in both of these

31 It is debateable, however, whether or not a script is a representation.

positions nonetheless is essential for this thesis because it disaggregates subjectivity. This disaggregation creates the space for a subject position that exists inside representations. This is the space that this thesis attends to.

The embodied nature of performance saw a concurrent rise in interest in theories of embodiment as a means of understanding the tourist and the tourist experience (Crang, 1997; Crouch & Desforges, 2003; Crouch, 2004). This focus asserted the importance of the interaction of all of the senses and emphasised the tourist experience as always embodied, further sidelining representations. This work took preceding scholarship concerned with experience forward to address subjectivation through the idea of the tourist self. Scholarship focused on the tourist self as performed identity, as a way of narrating the self, and as an embodied experience of place (see for example Bruner, 1991, from an anthropological direction, and more recently Meethan, Anderson & Miles, 2006).

The concern with actions and processes, as opposed to representations, can be seen as an outcome of the field that has become known as "non-representational geography" (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000). Processes of tourism and subjectivation nonetheless remain at the centre of its concern. Performative theory argues that the tourist subject is shaped by and grounded in sensory perception and doing. This embodied and iterative nature of performativity is epistemologically non- or counter- representational. Within a theory of tourism performance, the visual, while decentred, remains in play in the production of the tourist subject, but from a different perspective. While doing or practising tourism, the tourist as photographed or photographer subject is still actively involved in representational processes and subjectivation. Recent publication has seen the emergence of a group of "non-representational" tourist authors (these include Franklin, 2004; Pons, 2003).

Within the context of tourism theory therefore this review of literature has identified that performativity has focused on four dominant outcomes. The first sees a return of agency to the tourist. The second sees performativity offer a framework that re-theorises tourism to transcend issues of authenticity by configuring all participants in tourist interactions as knowingly engaged in a dramaturgical script. The third, primarily from geography, sees performativity as an embodied mode of engagement with place and landscape that draws on all of the senses to realise multiple dimensions of tourism experiences. The fourth, of particular interest to this study, is the engagement with the material object/artefact. As Haldrup and Larsen (2006) suggest, "emblematic tourist performances involve and are

made possible and pleasurable by objects, machines and technologies" (p. 275). Thus it can be construed it is material representations such as these that make tourist performances possible. As this study attends not only to the representational work of the brochures and leaflets, but also to their materiality as interactive artefacts/objects, this position is of importance to the thesis.

The performative turn in tourism theory therefore evidences a shift of theoretical focus away from the discursive ordering of tourism through institutionally produced visual representations. Nonetheless, as Rose (2012) points out, "For many theorists of both representation and non representation … there is a critical imperative to examine in detail how certain institutions mobilise specific forms of visuality to see and to order the world" (p. 10). The focus on the performativity of the tourist experience has, however, largely sidelined the work of representations. While tourism publicity representations had already only received minimal attention in the visual turn, the shift in tourism theory to performativity meant that the theorising of representations remained an incomplete project in tourism studies. As noted earlier, the study of tourism representation is now located primarily within sociolinguistic scholarship (see for example Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010).

While the theorising of tourism as performative is now accepted as the dominant approach in tourism studies, the relationship between embodied performance and representations has been theorised in a less divisive way in other fields. Thrift (2003), for example, points out that the fundamental division sits not so much in the representation versus lived performance distinction, but more broadly "as two sides of the same coin, namely thinking and materiality" (p. 2019). While recognising the power of performative theory he also recognises that its intangibility and temporality is unsettling.

Performative theory's focus on the non-representational and embodied leaves the concurrently active sites of the material and representational unattended. The partiality and temporality of the performative, however, provides grounds for the reassertion of the significance of the material, the representational and their discursive assemblage and analysis. This position supports the theoretical rationale for this thesis.

2.6 The discursive turn in tourism studies

Theorising tourism as discursively structured was initiated by Urry in the multidimensional theory of the tourist gaze. The tourist gaze, as outlined in section 2.3, drew on Foucault's theory of institutionally produced power relations. The multiple concerns of tourism theory at that time ranged from issues of authenticity to the economics and politics of tourism development. This meant that discursive approaches were not taken forward until later in the 1990s. This occurred through an interest in the discursive production of the representations of tourism, and in particular the tourism image, beyond the parameters of the theory of the tourist gaze. A critical unpacking of the tourism image in terms of power relations was advanced by Morgan and Pritchard in the late 1990s. They point out that the creators of tourism images and representations "not only construct but reinforce ideas, values and meaning systems at the expense of alternative ways of seeing the world" (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 5). These authors note that the primary focus on representations to date has concentrated on the "images used to market destinations, their accuracy, reliability and ability to satisfy or attract tourist demand" (p. 6). This emphasis meant that the space for critical exploration of the discursive work of tourist images was largely undeveloped.

The discursive theorising of tourism representations is of particular interest to this study. It stood outside of the "gazing versus performing" debates and instead attended to the institutional configuration of the field through its representations. Of particular interest is the attention paid to the ways that tourist place promotion gendered and sexualised places (see Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a, 2000b). In this work relations between genders are central to the producing and consuming of tourism images and sites. The authors contend that the gendering of tourism landscapes, the language of heterosexuality and tourism promotion combine to privilege a white male heterosexual gaze. This was posited as an agenda for future research in feminist tourist geographies (Pritchard & Morgan 2000b, p. 115). In this research semiotic methodologies were advanced as tools of discourse analysis, rather than as a system that defined the nature of tourist practice, as MacCannell, Culler, and Urry had deployed them. In their explicit concern with the work of representations, Morgan and Pritchard argue that discursive approaches "provide a much more comprehensive analysis of representations than semiotics in the sense that they are more concerned with the politics of representation" (p. 38). This attention to the visual representations of tourism within critical semiotic and discourse analysis frameworks laid the ground for studies of the spectrum of tourism representations, and advertising publicity in particular.

The discursive approach to analysing tourism representations was developed from the direction of communications and linguistics. As Jaworski and Morgan (2005) stated, it was a response to "the growing importance of the discursive turn in social theory" (p. 4). They link its theoretical origins not only to Foucault and Bourdieu, but also to Goffman, especially his work on the presentation of the self and his dramaturgical framing of the interaction order (pp. 4-5). Goffman's theory therefore provided a connection at that time between discourse analysts working in the area of tourism and the performative trajectory that lay at the centre of tourism theory in the preceding decade.

The attention of discourse analysts to the field of tourism opened out the discussion of tourism representations. Critical discourse, semiotic and sociolinguistic methodologies enabled detailed interrogation of the discursive and rhetorical construction of representations. These methodological tools, as well as the content specific outcomes of research within this discursive framework, are of specific relevance to this study. Jaworski and Thurlow state their objective as "to set out a new field within language and communications studies which is referred to as the "sociolinguistics of tourism" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 1). This work is specifically concerned with representations, focusing on the mediation of global mobilities in particular, and addressing a wide range of representational material from inflight magazines to television holiday shows.

The sociolinguistic frameworks engaged draw on the influential work of Halliday, Fairclough and, in relation to visual images, Kress and van Leeuwen. Such attention to the social construction of language and the specific strategies of rhetorical construction is important to this study. The use of the terms 'lingua-scaping' and 'semiotic landscape' features in their work. This points to a refined attention to the representational space. Thurlow and Jaworski's focus is on how global mobilities intersection with class and the visual and linguistic production of elite spaces, and luxury and privilege are also considered (see Thurlow & Jaworski, 2012, 2006). These authors demonstrate how critical discourse and social semiotic analysis specifically address the subject of the representations. This analysis offers evidence that suggests an affective engagement between the rhetorical construction of the subject of the representation, and the subject reading the image/texts. This thesis, as outlined earlier, specifically focuses on the subject of the representation. Therefore the theory and methodology advanced by this group of scholars is of specific interest. The turn to discursive methods of analysis advanced the theorising of representations and so provides an important platform for the work of this thesis.

2.7 The material turn in tourism studies

The material turn in tourism studies in the late 2000s reasserted the status of the material objects, landscapes and experiences of tourism. This turn to re-theorising tourism through its material practices[32] was consistent with the revived interest in materiality that resonated across anthropology, and cultural geography in particular, in the later 2000s. The material turn critiques the representational and discursive trajectories outlined in the previous sections as 'dematerialised'. Haldrup and Larsen (2006) state, "the hegemonic position of the representational in cultural studies of tourism illustrates the dematerialized nature of much tourist writing" (p. 276). Material culture, these authors suggest, "can no longer be evaded by social and cultural theory because culture and social life is intricately tied up and engaged with various non-humans" (p. 278).

In tourism studies the interest in materiality can be seen as a development enabled by the platforms of performativity and embodiment. The imperatives of non-representational theory and performativity, both characterised by a turn away from the sign value and semiotic operations of representations, attributed a new status to materiality, material objects and 'things'. This was supported by the development of hybrid theories that furthered the theorising of relationships between the human and non-human/material worlds. Morgan and Pritchard (2005) argue for "more experiential and reflexive study of the roles of materiality and memory in the construction of tourist identities and performances (p. 29).

Thus the emphasis on the materiality of tourist practices proposes an alternative to the symbolic emphasis of representational theory, moving as Haldrup and Larsen (2006) state, "from discursive models towards more corporeal and object mediated ones" (p. 278). However, this imperative is not positioned as a further departure from the immateriality of representations, but as a bridging of the material and the immaterial (p. 278). This position therefore opens the space for an inclusive theorising of both the representational and material dimensions of tourist artefacts.

The outline of the theoretical turns in tourism studies laid out in the preceding sections of this chapter shows how representations have been variously attended to over the previous

32 The material objects of tourism had long held the interest of anthropologists (see for example Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

four decades. The early dominance of the gaze and visual theory as frameworks set up conditions for advancing semiotic analysis as a tool for understanding the visual language of tourism representations. The dominance of the gaze theory, and its visual emphasis, was critiqued by theories of performativity and embodied subjectivity in ways that left representations largely unattended to. Importantly for this study, however, performative theories advanced the ways in which subjectivity was understood. Subjectivity in these frameworks was disaggregated, and multiple kinds of subject positions were identified. Relationships between subjectivation and tourism could therefore be addressed at specific sites of textual production and consumption. Importantly for the research objective of this study the disaggregation of subject positions meant that the subject of the representation could be differentiated from the reading or embodied subject.

The discursive turn outlined in Section 2.6 offered new theory and methodological tools of analysis to unpick the politics embedded in tourism representations. This opened out a new space in which the relationships between gender, class, and race and the consumption of tourist places could be untangled. The material turn, aligned with non-representational theory, again critiqued theories of representation and the immateriality of symbolic analysis, but within a negotiated space where the material aspects of tourist artefacts could also be considered within a holistic framework.

The visual representations of tourism have therefore been positioned as both central and peripheral to tourism theory within the above trajectory. The visual emphasis of the early period resulted in a proliferation of studies that theorised relationships between photographic practices and tourism. However brochures, the object of this study, received little attention from a critical direction despite their ubiquity.[33] As the trajectory of tourism theory turned from the visual to the performative, critical attention moved further away from visual representations. The discursive turn and subsequent material turns of the late 1990s, however, offered theoretical and methodological openings that could begin to address the complexity of visual representations, including brochures, in new ways.

In the next section I discuss the small set of studies that have specifically theorised tourist brochures and contextualise them in terms of dominant theoretical trajectories. My specific

33 The brochure (along with other advertising texts) has nonetheless been well researched in relationship to its communication effectiveness. Known as destination image research, this body of research informs strategic decisions made by advertisers and marketers. This is produced primarily from a psychological/behaviourist perspective. For comprehensive reviews of the marketing literature see Chon (1990) and Pike (2002).

focus is the contribution that these studies have made to theorise the work of the brochure in relation to formations of place and subject. These theoretical contributions provide further foundations and departure points for theory building in this thesis.

2.8 The tourist brochure and representations of place

The brochure medium of place publicity emerged early in the history of tourism. It has accompanied the expansion of tourism practices since the first decades of the twentieth century. Authors including Thurot and Thurot (1983), Uzzell (1984) and Dann (1996a, 1996b) repeatedly noted that despite its prevalence the brochure's impact as social text has not been taken seriously. This attitude had shifted, however, by the late 1990s. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) assert the importance of brochures stating that "for many organisations the design, production and distribution of their annual tourism brochure is the single most important and most expensive item in the marketing budget" (p. 79). Francesconi (2011) more recently positions brochures "as pivotal genres within tourism communication" (p. 341). According to Scarles (2004), "brochures communicate vital messages to potential consumers, influencing consumer destination choice and bringing positive place characteristics to life" (p. 45).

The brochure is a print publicity medium that assembles image and text in a folded paper structure. Brochures variously draw on the modes of photography, illustration and expressive typography together with the scripted representation of advertising copy. These elements are ordered within the visual compositions of their pages to promote and visually package tourist places. As Tressider (1999) has stated "it is this packaging that fuels our desires and hopes … we consume the images from the moment we first imagine or select the brochure" (p. 142).

The communicative work of the brochure, as authors have outlined (see Dann, 1993, 1996b; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Scarles, 2004; Molina & Esteban, 2006; Francesconi, 2011), is to represent destinations in positive and persuasively appealing ways to stimulate the desire for travel to the location. The imaginative pre-figuring of the prospective tourist's experience is therefore central to the work of brochures. They picture and script subjects and places in specific ways. In this way brochures mediate a relationship between the reading subject and the subjects and places they represent. These small print artefacts were historically, and remain, a ubiquitous portable medium intended for wide dissemination.

MacCannell (1976) embraced the tourist brochure as one of a number of kinds of portable tourist 'markers' (p. 110). Brochures then not only publicise and represent places in positive ways, but also demarcate tourist places. Their role in preparing the tourist by offering a holiday script is well established. Uzzell (1984) highlighted the "powerful semiotic function" of the tourist brochure, suggesting that "advertisers ought to focus not only on locational qualities, but rather on those attributes of places which may contribute to any identity one wishes to undertake" (p. 97). Significantly for this study, he suggested that brochures not only sell products, but also "sell something more valuable, images of ourselves" (p. 97). Their ideological work, he argued, succeeds because they "require our active collusion … it (ideology) takes us along with it and makes us willing partners in a regenerative process" (p. 97). Adler (1989) has argued that travel literatures have a long history "as means of preparation, aid, documentation, and vicarious participation …" (p. 1367). Dann (1996a) suggested that the "pre-trip" brochure is "the motif of escape (emancipation) from the home environment" that structures the tourism language in advertising texts (p. 140).

In summary, then, there is a general consensus in the critical literature that the primary communicative work of brochures is to socially construct places and subjects through a process of pre-figuring that draws on the semiotic codes of visual and textual language. That this language is rhetorically configured to represent place and subject within a language of desire incites the reading and viewing subject to want to be and go there (Dann, 1993, 1996a, 1996b; Scarles, 2004; Uzzell, 1984). The brochure, as sociolinguists and semioticians have noted, is exemplary in its demonstration of the "language of tourism" (Dann 1996a; Morgan & Pritchard, 1999).

Photographic images have been the primary focus of the visual analysis in the extant critical literature on brochures (see Aitchison, 2001; Buck, 1977; C. Cohen, 1995; Cornelissen, 2005; Dann, 1996b; Dilley, 1986; Echtner, 1999; Edelheim, 2007; Francesconi, 2011; Garrod, 2009; Goss, 1993; Hiippala, 2007; Hillman, 2007; Hummon, 1988; Jalil & Abd, 2009; Jenkins, 2003; Larsen, 2006; Olsen, 2008; Pritchard & Morgan, 1995; Santos, 2004; Scarles, 2004; Selwyn, 1990; Sirakaya & Sonmez, 2000; Uzzell, 1984). As central visual elements in tourist brochures, photographs are engaged in the rhetorical construction of the text at multiple levels. Seminal texts that have drawn attention to the constructed nature of photography have influenced critical interpretations of brochure texts. These include Sontag's and Barthes' work that drew attention to the relationship between subject and

object in photographic practices, and Berger's on the role of advertising photography in producing and maintaining ideological structures. All of these publications have informed the analysis of tourism advertising texts including the brochure (see Berger, 1972; Sontag, 1979; Barthes, 1980). Equally significantly Judith Williamson in her now classic 1978 work analysed advertisements to unravel their representation of dominant ideologies and the processes of advertising, design and subjectivation. It is important to note that research into these promotional domains is differentiated from the wider body of work that deals with tourist and travel photography (see section 2.2).[34]

Early studies of publicity brochures and place

Dann (1996b) has suggested that "interest in brochures has it roots in the seminal analyses of tourist guide books". These he noted included the early analyses of Barthes (1972) and Baudrillard (1968). Buck's (1977) study of brochures for Amish tourism utilised the semiotic concepts of the 'attraction' and the 'marker' (following MacCannell) to theorise not only the work of the brochure as 'guide' but also the demarcation of the physical site that it represented. In addition to these semiotic renderings of tourist places, performative concepts were also used in brochure theorisation. Buck looked 'through' the tourist brochure to theorise Amish tourism sites as 'staged' tourist attractions and as pseudo-events (following Boorstin, 1964). Following McCannell (who had followed Goffman), the concepts of front and back regions were used to theorise relationships between the zones of public performance and display and the private sites of everyday life at the Amish tourist attractions. Buck (1977) found that "brochures advertising staged tourist attractions implicitly encourage tourists to move away from contact with the indigenous population

34 While aligned in terms of place representation, the theorising of travel photography and its social and political relationships sits beyond the scope of this study. The practices of tourists taking photographs, an interesting dimension of tourism and subjectivation, also falls outside of the primary concerns of this project. Insofar as postcards rely on photography, and particularly when they use promotional photography, they are related to the brochure and mediate a relationship between a represented and reading subject. Hillman (2007) has noted that postcards engage with tourists in a co-operative relationship of inducement and authentication. Their use, conventions and form, however, differ from those of postcards in ways that demarcate them as separate objects of study. Nonetheless critical studies of brochures and postcards have frequently addressed common themes. In particular, these comprise the ideological production of political power relationships between represented and reading subjects and the lived relationships between tourists and locals. The representation of otherness including race, ethnicity, gender, and class and themes of nationalism, exoticism, eroticism, the commodification of culture, and the construction of desire and fantasy have all been explored in studies of postcards. These studies have shown how these thematic and structural elements constitute tourism discourse and variously underpin the representation and production of tourism places (see Edwards, 1996; Markwick, 2001; Mellinger, 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2003; Taylor, 1998; Thurlow, Jaworski, & Ylanne-McEwen, 2002; Waitt & Head, 2002; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Studies that have addressed archival postcards as visual evidence of historical formations also provide useful particularly useful precedents for this study (see Mellinger, 1994).

and culture" (p. 195). His research suggested that the brochure works to represent the tourist attraction as a place separated from the backstage lives of its merchandisers, the Amish community. Thus both performative and semiotic concepts were used to critically render these tourist places as highly coded, demarcated and staged attractions for which the brochure functioned as marker.

Boorstin's assertion that tourists were duped or 'induced' by advertising and publicity campaigns was examined by Dilley in his 1986 study. A series of brochures representing nation states[35] as international tourist places were selected. The brochure content was categorised according to dominant themes represented. These included landscape, culture, recreation and services.[36] The study identifies a repertoire of place qualities associated with the visual identity of nations. The brochure, Dilley (1986) argued, reinforces national stereotypes through visual and textual content (p. 64). The study establishes how the selective rhetorical work of brochure plays an important role in how international places are pre-figured and understood.

The idea that brochures were of significance to the formation of tourist places was furthered by Thurot and Thurot (1983). These authors argued that MacCannell attended to tourist behaviours at the expense of the more important work of advertising representations (p. 175). Following Baudrillard's thesis of social signification and the ideological nature of consumption, they positioned advertising as central to processes of tourism consumption (p. 173). The extant work in sociology and semiotics (particularly that of Baudrillard and Pearce) and the theorising of tourism representations had, they suggested, been overlooked by MacCannell. Tourist advertising represents the tourist commodity and is a "recital of a touristic activity of the advertising discourse …" (p. 176). This attention to representations as the site of the semiotic production of tourism asserts the discursive power of the representational space (p. 176). Significantly, they state, "when it is necessary to pose questions about the social codes … of tourism, it would be better to analyse the representation of those behaviours rather than that behaviour itself" (p. 176). These assertions of the discursive (ideological) importance of representations supports an argument for the ways in which social and class differentiation occurs through hierarchies of conspicuous consumption (p. 177). Baudrillard and Pearce contended that tourist/leisure

35 His study drew on a data set selected from twenty-one countries including New Zealand.

36 New Zealand rated the highest in the landscape category, closely followed by South Africa and Switzerland.

consumption works to construct status through the symbolic codes of being seen at places, rather than through ownership of places. With specific reference to examples of brochure advertising, the authors argued that the codes of the aristocratic product continue to define the represented place long after it has been re-differentiated as a site affordable by the middle class. Thurot and Thurot's 1983 study therefore established that brochures work as devices that ideologically structure representational space. Further, they concluded that the representation and consumption of tourist places is closely related to social status and social mobility.

Urbain (1989) furthered the argument for tourism advertising as an ideological construction of place. In this study, the ideology of tourism advertising is positioned as a structure complementary to subjective experience of place, or what is defined as "the narrative consciousness of travel" (p. 107). The study draws on the copy script (but not the images) of advertising texts (including brochures) to build a model of narrative semiotics. He argued that the individual traveller's personal narrative colours or nuances the place-scripts of the representations. The representations nonetheless remain the ordering and guiding strategy. Urbain's study begins to disaggregate the different kinds of subject positions that are embedded in the representational process. The enunciative role (or address function) of the advertising text and the content of the representation are both differentiated from the subject who is addressed (p. 108). This study begins to negotiate how the meanings of places are produced in the space between the represented place and the subject's lived experience of place.

Studies of brochures in the late 1980s from anthropological directions advanced an understanding of tourist places that positioned them as 'other' to that of everyday life. Following Graburn's (1977) influential argument that sees tourism as a ritualised activity of renewal separated from everyday life, Hummon (1988) positioned tourist brochure advertising as "the cultural text that symbolically transforms ordinary places and times into extraordinary tourist worlds" (p. 179). He argued for a conceptual reorientation in the consideration of tourist advertising. In his study of brochures representing the fifty United States he stated, "by emphasizing that promotional material presents an advertised reality, such interpretations fail to consider that the stylized presentation of tourist material might be an expression of tourism as a ritual activity" (p. 180). He argued that brochure advertising provides "the symbolic structure essential for a ritual break from ordinary reality marking out an extraordinary time and place that inverts the reality of daily life" (p. 200). This study furthered the argument that the desire for tourism was predicated on an escape

from a dystopian "urban industrialized" place to a utopian tourist place of non-work and self-fulfilment (p. 200). The anthropological contribution to theorising tourist places in brochures therefore initiated a movement to theorising tourist places through social practices.

2.9 Tourist brochures: realism and representations of place

Other studies in the 1990s theorised the representational modality of tourist brochures. Taylor's (1998) study addressed the work of the brochure in the New Zealand context (pp. 6-8). Following Tagg (1988), he positioned the photographic brochure within a tradition of realism that conceals its processes of production. Stating that "advertisers of place present their textual worlds with an authority that leaves little or no room for internal critique– as mirrors of reality", he contended that the conventions of realism they deploy are naturalised (p. 6). To achieve this, Taylor suggested, they rely on the strategic reconstruction of detail, particularly through their deployment of photographic montage. The advance of photography as central to the persuasive language of advertising has enabled the brochure, he argued, to operate as "as facsimile of reality" (p. 7). The position of the tourist brochure as mirror of reality is reflected on and further developed by Selwyn (2010).

This consideration of realism as a representational modality at work in brochures goes some way to considering how brochures work to discursively construct places. It underscores their power and the necessity for analytical approaches to unravel their discursive structures. Further, as part of a larger system of tourism representations brochures re-cite, as Tagg (1982/2007) stated, "a reservoir of similar texts, by constant repetition, a constant cross echoing" (p. 271). The reiterative and repetitive nature of the brochure scripts is, as others have noted, an important part of the way they work. Taylor's argument, that realism maintains an illusion by concealing reality's "state of constant flux to appear fixed" (1998, p. 7), suggests a process of 'fixing' sets of compositional elements into place. Theorising the work of photographic representations of place as a process of fixing a specific kind of reality offers a useful platform for further theorising of the construction of place in brochures. The focus of Taylor's analysis remains on the photographic elements of brochures and overlooks the significance of the multimodality and compositional rhetoric of the medium.[37] Brochures fix compositional relations into place not only through the work of photographs, but also through an assemblage of discursive operations. The periodicity of this thesis

37 Taylor draws on Tagg's (1987/2007) argument that in realist texts "production is elided" (p. 270). Tagg's argument was, it should be noted, based on the representational work of the photograph as stand alone artefact, not as an element in the context of a brochure publication.

enables comparison between texts to show how this process of fixing was configured differently across the time periods studied.

2.10 Tourist brochures and tourist subjects

Critical studies of brochures had utilised semiotic methodologies to theorise the ideological construction of place representations. In the same period anthropological studies shifted the focus towards theorising the social practices of tourists represented in brochures. Selwyn (1990), for example, followed MacCannell's thesis that the tourist is in search of a pre-modern authentic "other", to interpret a selection of United Kingdom brochures as representations of myth structures. He interprets the brochure from two perspectives. First, that the brochure suggests that the tourist "sets out to recreate the structures which life in the post-modern world has appeared to demolish". Secondly, he interprets "the brochure as myth of a different kind; as texts about contemporary … postmodern culture" (p. 13). These studies of brochures produce meta-theories about both the brochure medium and the kinds of practices within which tourist subjectivities are produced.

The focus of these studies on the tourist subject initiated the theorising of the brochure as site for the engagement with the other throughout the 1990s. The sites and states of paradise, utopia and euphoria were identified as tropic resources for the placing of tourist encounters (Goss 1993; Cohen 1995; Dann 1996a, 1996b). Goss's (1993) study examined advertising material produced to market the Hawaiian Islands over the preceding twenty-year period. He concluded that "the theme of alterity, together with its tropes of paradise, marginality, liminality, femininity and aloha remain persistent elements of the spatializing discourse" (p. 663). Goss's study therefore observed that tourist places are othered in brochure representations by both tropes of place as well as specifics of subjectivity, in this instance gender and culture.

Cohen (1995) focused more specifically on the subjects of brochure representations. This study analysed themes and images in brochure marketing for the British Virgin Islands. Then extant studies, the author noted, had "tended to overlook the role of sexual ideology in maintaining and reproducing (tourism's) systems and structures" (p. 419). She suggested that marketing deploying powerful sexual ideology produces different meanings for tourists and locals. The construction of female British Virgin Islanders as "exotic other of sexual desire" in brochure images, signifies "motherland and nation" for locals (p. 404). These

dualities of meaning point to the "entangled differences" (following Clifford 1994) that occur in the production of the meaning of tourist images (p. 421) and problematize the interpretation of brochure texts that circulate within both 'local' and 'international' tourist audience domains.

The metaphor of paradise as 'other' place provided the primary ordering structure for Dann's (1996) study of representations of people in tourist brochures. These included tourists and locals in Caribbean tourist brochures targeted at British consumers. He positioned locals and tourists as actors to consider how they were represented on the tourism stage (p. 61). Varieties of 'paradise' were established by means of a quantitative analysis of how tourists and locals were represented. Following MacCannell, Dann considered how representations of people were used as markers to define sites in specific ways. His study showed that the paradise separated the destination from its local inhabitants. The brochures primarily represented tourists on holiday, or places without people. This study established that the work of brochures is to cultivate a sense of identification or self-recognition by the reading subject. He argued that "the images define what is beautiful, what should be experienced and with whom one should interact" (p. 79). In subsequent work, Dann (1996a) offered a detailed structure for a linguistic analysis of the media, techniques and register of the language of tourism. Brochures, he suggested, are particularly reliant on visual cliché and the mutual reinforcement of visual and verbal techniques (pp. 195-199). The language of tourism, he argued, is a rhetorically constructed discourse that has grammatical rules, a specialised vocabulary and visual conventions. Dann's work rendered the semiotic and rhetorical construction of brochure texts explicit.

Under the mandate offered by the discursive and critical turns in tourism theory, a number of authors subsequently theorised tourism promotion more widely, and brochures specifically, as discursively constructed representations of power politics. Morgan and Pritchard (1999) argued that "promotional images not only reflect the prevailing cultural values of a society, drawing upon current images and stereotypes, but also play a vital role in shaping these values through their contribution to the process of socialization" (p. 25). These studies used brochures as evidence of tourism's structuring of sexuality, gender, race and class. Issues of the classing of places had begun to be discussed using brochure analysis as evidence (Thurot & Thurot, 1984). Yet, as Morgan and Pritchard (1999) pointed out, the structures of gender and race, "despite the fact that tourism is a field profoundly influenced by perception of image and identity", still sat on the periphery of tourism studies at that time (p. 167).

In a departure from studies of visual representation in brochures, Aitchison (2001) addressed the representation of subjects and place in brochure advertising script/copy. The study corroborated the conclusions of earlier studies of visual representations, arguing that brochures provided evidence of how "place and people are constructed as signifiers of the other, to be consumed by tourists" (p. 135). This offers further support for the position that both place and subjects are constructed and theorised as other, and that representation of gender holds a central place in brochure representations.

In a case study of brochures from the United Kingdom, Pritchard (2001) developed content analysis methodologies to theorise representations of gender. She argued, "since tourism is a product of gendered societies, tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption" (p. 79). Her study confirms findings of earlier investigations into gender and tourism representations. She states, "tourism representation relies heavily on the use of women as sexualized product adornments" (p. 79). This argument is furthered by Sirakaya and Sonmez (2000) in a content analysis of United States state tourist brochures using Goffman's theory of gender display. Their findings suggest "women are depicted in 'traditional stereotypical' poses (ie. subordinate, submissive, dependent) disproportionally more often than men" (p. 353). Positioned within a marketing framework, the study suggests tourist advertisers' strategies are outdated and inconsistent with the radical shift in role and status of women in United States society (p. 353). These studies confirm that tourism advertising continues to be produced within conservative heteronormative discourse. Subsequent studies by Pritchard and Morgan (2000a, 2000b) that address representations of gender in tourism brochures corroborate this.

In a New Zealand study, Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) examine archival twentieth century destination publicity (including brochures) for this country produced by state agencies. Their discourse analysis, they argue, "reveals the imagery of place representations as a reflection of the sociocultural context and underlying ideologies of leisure" (p. 648). Following Thurot and Thurot's (1983) argument that the classing of representations is consistent with the classing of the producers, Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) conclude that "historically, spatial discourses have reflected the institutional structures and social relations implicated in their production" (p. 648). Other studies outlined above have argued that these spatial discourses are carried forward in representations through tropes of otherness (including gender, race, and class). Exactly how the representations do this, however, in terms of the specific assemblages of visual and textual rhetoric, is yet to be addressed.

Brochures and the performance and consumption of subjectivities

Travel brochures have also been positioned as devices that offer examples of what should be photographically recorded at tourist sites. This attributes them a specific role in the performance of tourist subjectivities (Jenkins, 2003; Larsen, 2005; Scarles, 2009). Following Jenkins, Scarles (2009) argues that the significance of taking photographs provides evidence of the centrality of the visual in performing the tourist experience. Hillman (2007) argues that brochures, like photographs, are evidence through which the travel experience is authenticated. These authors draw the visual and performative together, stepping outside of the demarcations of the theoretical turns. As Scarles (2009) states, "the emerging dynamics of visual practice renegotiate new understandings between tourists and place to establish a series of conceptual moments that outline photography as: political artefacts, reflexive performances, the imagination of space, embodied visualities and ethical prompts" (p. 465). Scarles is concerned here with the subject's moment of performatively re-writing and remembering the tourist experience. In contrast, the moment of subjectivity formation that the present study is concerned with is that of pre-writing; the pre- figuration work of the brochure representations.

In an earlier study of brochure texts publicising Scotland, Scarles (2004) investigates "the processes and practices influencing the construction of visual representations of place in tourist brochures" (p. 43). Departing from notions of images as reflections or representations of reality, she draws on the concept of enworlding (following Crang 1997) to theorise tourist images. She argued that "Images act as entrance points through which tourists enter landscapes of place imaginatively, experiencing through individual interpretation and idealisation a destination that is inherently bound in the physical materiality of landscapes" (p. 46). The study addresses the design and production stages through which places are mediated to become the visual text of brochures. It focuses in particular on the relationships between marketing managers and designers. The role of design in conveying the demands of the marketing discourse is highlighted. The brochure text that results, Scarles contended, "encourages individualism that enriches experience in and through engagement and immersion in the image".

While acknowledging that brochures have been positioned as being "infused with exaggerated media discourse that encourages fiction over fact", Scarles suggested that they are both "fantasy and reality, as images offer accurate, yet sanitised representations of material landscapes". The reading subjects' relation to the text is realised "as consumers

embrace and become the product". The tourist consumer, she suggested, "repositions themselves within the ideological structures of the image" (p. 47).

The work of the brochure conceptualised as a process of enworlding relies on the ontological premise that the reading subject recognises itself as the represented subject. The brochure can therefore be positioned as mediating this relationship. The assertion of the relationship between the reading/consuming subject and the subject of the representations shores up the theoretical premise of the brochure's impact argued for in earlier studies. That the reading subject recognises itself in relation to the represented subject and place underpins the imperative for the theoretical work of this thesis. This project, *Mediating the alpine archiscape,* however, focuses specifically on the rhetorical construction of the subject of the representations. It is, nonetheless, the assertion of a communicative relationship between reading and represented subject that gives meaning and significance to these findings.

Addressing the multimodality of the tourist brochure is a differentiating feature of recent studies from a linguistic direction (studies include Edelheim, 2007; Francesconi, 2011; Hiippala, 2007). These studies produced findings that showed how the visual elements of the brochure produce the dominant message that is then expanded and augmented by the textual elements. Francesconi (2011) utilises Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) framework to conduct an analysis of visual and textual elements of brochures produced by the Maltese Tourist Association. The brochure is identified as a "pivotal genre in tourist communication" (p. 341). These studies have contributed new methodological tools to further theorise the work of place and subject representation in brochures.

Theorising the brochure as material object

Theorising of the work of the brochure with reference to the work of its physical folded structure and material substance is rare in the extant literature. The conceptualising of the brochure as metaphorical package (Tressider, 1999, p. 149, cited above), however, initiates movement towards the consideration of the physical materiality of the artefact. It is through these properties as object that the reading subject consumes the brochure and the representations it contains. The material and structural properties of the brochure are, I argue, central to the specificity of the medium. They determine how the texts are placed as marketing products and circulated. Most significantly for this discussion, these material properties determine how the reading subject engages with the object and the

representations it contains. Brochures are small intimate objects that the reading subject takes home for consumption. Consideration of their materiality and physical structure offers another interpretive dimension that augments the visual and textual dimensions already addressed. This position is supported by Edwards and Hart (2004) in their rationale for the positioning of the photograph as object. They state that the photograph is "a three dimensional thing, not only a two dimensional image" (p. 1). This position is furthered by the imperative of the material turn outlined in section 2.7. Following Haldrup and Larsen (2006), considerations of materiality sit alongside those of the artefact's symbolic immateriality. The positioning of the brochure in this thesis, as both a sequence of visual and textual representations and a material and physical object, follows that position. As historical objects, artefacts such as brochures are, as Prown (1982) has noted, "the only historical occurrences that continue to exist in the present … Artefacts may not be historical events, but they are to the extent that they can be experienced and interpreted as evidence, significant" (p. 3).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed how the tourism literature has theorised tourism practices, representations and subjectivation. This review has been organised as a sequence of diverse theoretical trajectories and critiques. In section 2.5, I outlined how emphasis on theories of performativity and the embodiment of the tourist experience shifted attention away from the work of representations. While the turns to performance and embodiment have rejected a focus on the visual in isolation from the other senses, visual representations of tourist destinations and tourists were and continue to be reproduced, mediatised and disseminated on a mass scale. Tourism representations therefore remain highly significant, but current theoretical trajectories in the field have left their theorisation still incomplete. Research that has theorised the representational work of the specific object of study of this thesis, the tourist brochure, has been discussed and theoretically contextualised in sections 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10. Focusing specifically on the ways in which brochures have theorised the representation of place and the representation of tourist subjects, a series of valuable contributions to the theoretical work of this project are assembled. Consideration of the work of the tourist brochure as representation of place in early studies was partial. These studies identified the work of the brochure as marker, but then 'looked through' the brochure to theorise the sites it represented. Significantly, however, an interaction of both performative and visual semiotic theory was central to the early analyses of tourist

places as attractions and tourism performances as pseudo-events. While visual theory and performative theory parted ways in subsequent developments, their early integration combined forces to produce powerful concepts with enduring influence.

That place representations are ideologically structured in brochures was advanced by Thurot and Thurot (1984). Their interest in theorising consumption patterns in relation to class relied heavily on the theoretical work of Veblen, Barthes and Baudrillard. Semiotic analysis of tourism advertising identified dominant discourses/ideologies and was used to augment the theoretical case. This thesis builds on the methodological and theoretical contribution of this early study to further investigate the argument that place representation and consumption is aligned with the representation of social status and mobility.

Uzzell's (1984) suggestion that brochures represent places as sites for the undertaking of identities (rather than 'locational qualities') establishes another important way of theorising the work of brochures that this study builds on. Significantly, his suggestion highlights that it is the relationship between the represented subject and the place that carries the most powerful communicative force. The early discussions of tourism as ritual activity (Hummon, 1988; Graburn, 1977; MacCannell, 1976) offer useful precedents to theorising the 'otherness' of tourist places. Hummon highlights rhetoric in representations that position place as a utopian alternative to daily life. The argument for tourism as an escape or activity of self-renewal was asserted from a number of directions at this time and subsequently (see Rojek, 1993). Hummon's study maintains that a desire to leave 'home', for the consumption of the 'away', is rhetorically embedded in tourist brochure publicity. The study offers departure points for further theorising the ways tourist brochures emphasise the separation between tourist places and everyday life that are developed in the analytical and interpretive work of this thesis.

The important relationship between realism and the visual representation of tourist places in brochures is problematized by Taylor 1998 (following Tagg, 1988). The focus of this discussion is on the mode of realism deployed by photography in tourist brochures. Realist representations, these authors argued, obscure their constructed qualities and facilitate the reading subject's engagement with the representation as mirror of reality. Selwyn furthered this argument in 2010. This is an important contribution to theorising the representation of place in brochures, but elides their understanding as multimodal artefacts that are more than a set of photographs. This discussion, however, initiates the disaggregation

of the subject positions that are engaged in the production of meaning in brochures. A consideration of the work of realism begins to unpack the relationship between the subject reading the tourist brochure and the subject represented in the brochure.

Dann's sociolinguistic studies (1993, 1996a, 1996b) that addressed the representation of people/tourist subjects in brochures developed a methodology that combined semiotic and content analysis to render the rhetorical construction of brochure texts explicit. Of the representation of subjects in tourist brochures, he concluded that "the images define what is beautiful, what should be experienced and with whom one should interact" (p. 79). Thus he established that the work of brochures is to cultivate a sense of identification or self-recognition by the reading subject. This offered further support for the wider pre-figuring work of the brochure discussed earlier and the theorising of representational realism. Dann's 1996a work offered a detailed structure for a linguistic analysis of the media, techniques and register of the language of tourism. While not specifically concerned with the discursive operations at work, the textual focused methodologies developed in Dann's studies assembled a platform for empirically grounded discourse analytical methodologies to build on.

Ateljevic and Doorne's (2002) study specifically addressed New Zealand material to discuss the relationship between tourism subjectivity and the representation of place. However, like Thurot and Thurot's early study and others that followed (see Scarles, 2004), its argument centred primarily on the ways in which ideologies are embedded in production processes rather than the representational outcomes. It is these representational outcomes that are the focus of this thesis. Sociolinguistic methods were the primary force in mobilising the discursive turn in tourism theory that specifically focused on representational outcomes. These approaches drew together a methodological toolkit that could disassemble discursive structures (exemplified by Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010). Discourse analysis further problematized brochure representations by interrogating issues of politics and power in relation to representations of subjects, including their gender, class and race (see Morgan & Pritchard, 1999; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a).

The representations of place and subject in extant studies have been theorised from a number of different directions. A range of methodologies and interpretive frameworks has been deployed. While these offer numerous useful insights into how the tourist brochure represents places and subjects, there are multiple threads running through this set of studies

that are yet to be connected. The major gap that this review of the literature identifies is that the theoretical interconnectedness of subject and place in brochure representations is yet to be developed. This thesis proposes that theorising subjectivation as a process whereby subject and place are co-constituted is one way that this gap might begin to be addressed. I argue that as placing devices, brochures inscribe subjects into places and places into subjects. This I theorise as a process of emplacement.

The methodological work of this thesis is to advance the theorising of place and subject in representations to find out more about processes of emplacement in relation to the specific case site to be studied. A number of methodological tools are utilised by the extant studies that when drawn together offer ways that this interconnectedness of place and subject can begin to be addressed. How these might be used in an interpretive case study to support the objective of the thesis will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Methodology: visual publicity as evidence

3.1 Introduction

The primary aim of the thesis is to theorise how the discursive construction of tourism destination publicity, specifically that of the tourism brochure, has contributed to social formation at the case study site, New Zealand's Tongariro National Park. The discussion of literature in Chapter 2 concluded that the interconnectedness of subject and place in brochure representations has yet to be adequately theorised. In response, the thesis proposes that theorising subjectivation as a process whereby subject and place are co-constituted is one way that this gap might begin to be addressed. To support the process of building a theory of emplacement in representations, the following chapter will discuss methodological issues and their relation to the objectives of the thesis. The specific objectives: to conduct an interpretive case study of archival brochures publicising the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau Hotel, and to interpret the brochures selected for the case study as placing devices, are discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of this chapter.

The chapter begins by positioning the thesis within a social constructivist and interpretive methodological framework . In Section 3.2 the selection of interpretive case study method to address the primary research question will be discussed and supported. This discussion will address the specific status and concerns of the interpretive case study and position its difference in relation to the positivist tradition in which case study method originates. The status of the findings of interpretive methods will be discussed and issues of validity, reliability and researcher subjectivity will be addressed. These methodological discussions will be followed in Section 3.3 by a discussion of the material properties of the object of study, the brochure, and its status as both representation and material artefact. In Section 3.4 the procedures and steps undertaken to assemble and select brochure material for analysis will be outlined in detail. A description of the first phase of data collection

is followed by a discussion of the rationale for the selection of the specific case site, the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau Hotel. The extent of the archive of brochure material is discussed and sampling procedures are outlined. The discourse and semiotic methodologies used to answer the primary research question are discussed in Section 3.5. The primary research question is how have the rhetorical strategies of the publicity brochures co-constituted subjectivity and the archi-scape to emplace the subject at the Tongariro National Park in the time periods studied. How the evidence from the case study analysis and interpretation supports the third thesis objective- to build a theory of emplacement in representations is then outlined. The limitations of the study are canvassed in Section 3.7.

3.2 Social constructivism and interpretive case study method

The work of this thesis is positioned within a social constructivist paradigm. Thus the principle guiding the selection of methods is that social meaning is constructed. It is produced through the subject's interrelationship with the world (see Schwandt, 2003 for further discussion). An interpretive research approach is consistent with a social constructivist world-view in that it "assumes that reality is socially constructed and the researcher becomes the vehicle by which this reality is revealed" (Diaz Andrade, 2009, p. 43).

A primary objective of the thesis is to conduct an exploratory interpretive case study of archival brochures publicising the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau Hotel. The case study was selected as method to facilitate a depth of analysis and interpretation to reveal the complex rhetorical processes of emplacement at work in the representations. The 'how' focus of the research questions and the selected data set as a specific instance of a wider phenomenon all pointed to case study method as the best fit for the study. As Yin (2012) argues, the case study approach is an appropriate method for analyses that seek " to explain … how and why some social phenomenon work" (p. 4). An exploratory case study, with the purpose as Yin notes "to identify research questions or procedures to be used in a subsequent study", well serves the research aims and objectives of this project. In particular, an exploratory case study is recommended when the thesis objective is to build a theory (Yin 2012). It enables theory to be inductively developed out of the data generated. Moreover, a case study approach allows for a depth of analysis that can adequately unpack the full complexity of the brochure as textual object. This follows Yin's determination that "the distinctive need for case study research arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" (p. 4).

The exploratory case study method selected for this thesis proposes interpretive methods of analysis. The selection of interpretive methods of analysis responds to the specific complexities of the research question. The case study method developed by Yin and others includes criteria such as validity (construct, internal and external) and reliability as strategies to address the criticism for lack of rigour that case study method has commonly received from positivist directions (Diaz Andrade, 2009, p. 42). When the research is interpretive however, Andrade argues that adopting criteria developed to overcome criticisms from a positivist direction may not be appropriate and that "Interpretive researchers aiming at theory building need to adapt the case study guidelines" (ibid). His proposal is not to abandon these criteria but to loosen their rigidity and modify them with principles drawn from grounded theory that recognise the inductive nature of theory building. Thus, these adaptions for the interpretive case study see the criteria redefined as follows: construct validity is established through the corroboration of multiple sources of evidence; internal validity is established through theoretical coding; and external validity is established through theoretical/analytic generalisation.

As it is a given in interpretive research that another researcher may produce a different interpretation from the same set of data, reliability depends on the presentation of a chain of evidence and on the quality of argument in order to produce an interpretation that can be trusted, as opposed to repeatable (2009, pp. 47-50). Further as Sandberg (2005) notes, another important criterion for reliability is the researcher's interpretive awareness. He states, "To maintain an interpretive awareness means to acknowledge and explicitly deal with our subjectivity throughout the research process instead of overlooking it" (p. 59). When interpretive awareness is recognised, "…interpretation then becomes a strength rather than a threat to reliable results" (ibid). In this thesis, the criteria of validity (construct, internal and external) and reliability laid out in the case study method defined by Yin are adapted following Diaz Andrade's (2009) outline. This allows the exploratory case study method to function appropriately within an interpretive paradigm.

The rhetorical configuration of emplacement in representations is an intricate process. The interpretive case study offers a method than can attend in depth to the multiple layers of visual, textual and material rhetoric alongside the historical and economic circumstances in which these texts operate. The outcomes of the study can then provide a platform for meaningful theory building and analytic generalisations. As Yin notes, "case studies are generalizable as theoretical propositions" (p. 21). This thesis builds a theory of emplacement

in the case study representations that has validity for wider generalisation to comparable sites. The theory of emplacement can provide a platform for considering how tourism publicity has contributed to historical formations of tourist places and subjects, specifically in relation to their meaning as local New Zealand places.

In this study the analytical focus is on the specific rhetorical strategies used in the selected data. In general terms, these rhetorical strategies are treated as examples of discourse. Gillian Rose's definition (following Foucault) is used in this thesis. Rose defines discourse as:

> … groups of statements that structure the way a thing is thought and the way we act on the basis of that thinking. In other words discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it (Rose, 2012, p. 190).

Both visual and textual 'groups of statements' (Rose, 2012, p. 190) are considered as discursive elements in the visual and textual work of the thesis. That these statements are rhetorically configured underpins the use of the concept of discourse. The discourses unravelled in the thesis together articulate a particular kind of social formation. Each of the publicity brochures discussed in this study has been investigated in these terms as a way of knowing about the park through groups of visual and textual statements. These groups of statements rhetorically configure specific kinds of subject positions.

Following Foucault (1982) the term subjectivation is used to describe the array of processes related to subject formation or the discursive production of subject positions within a social constructionist theory of subjectivity. The position that representational processes come before the formation of the subject is embedded in the operational use of this term in the thesis. In the thesis subjectivation therefore is closely linked to the performance of the subject in representations, and the rhetorical construction of discourse. The use of the term social formation in the thesis follows Barker's (2004) definition where he states that "rather than grasping the social as a 'whole' or totality" the term social formation allows the social to be conceived "as a concrete historically produced complex assemblage composed of different practices (ideological, political, economic)" (Barker, 2004). The term is used to support theorization of subjectivation in the thesis and its usage follows Hall (1985, p. 106) when he argues are that subjects are "positioned by the discursive formations of specific social formations". As Barker notes, "A social formation is said to consist of levels of practice, each of which has its own specificity, that are articulated together in particular

conjunctures where there is no necessary or automatic correspondence or relationship to each other" (ibid). This relationship is rhetorically configured by the discourse shaping the social formation. In this thesis therefore the term offers a way of encasing the particular social world of the set of hotel/park relationships discussed at the case study site. The social formation of the park is organized by a specific set of discursively configured relationships and practices. These relationships and practices are temporary and shifting and it is the work of the interpretive case study to show the specific discursive terrain of the park as social formation in the time periods selected for study.

While institutional histories provide an additional source of evidence, the brochures as designed communication artefacts are the primary evidence. An in-depth analysis focused on the rhetorical organisation of brochure discourses is necessary to reveal how these discourses construct and co-constitute place and subject.[38] The interpretive case study method developed here thus elects to work closely with a select set of brochure data. Developing a comprehensive conceptual framework offers higher value in this instance than a study based on multiple kinds of data.

Yin (2014) recommends that for case studies, "some theory development as part of the design phase is highly desired" (p. 37). The first phase of theoretical work undertaken in the previous chapter isolated the need to develop a theory of emplacement in representations that accounts for the rhetorical co-constitution of place and subject. This theoretical goal has guided the development of methodological resources. The positioning of brochures as material objects supports their interpretation and theorisation as placing devices.

3.3 A note on interdisciplinarity

This is an interdisciplinary thesis. In Chapter 2 I noted that literature relevant to the thesis topic and research question is situated within a number of disciplines. It follows therefore that across these disciplines there are an array of methods available to be drawn on. Studies involving visual material are frequently interdisciplinary in their scope. This interdisciplinarity arises when such studies address not just the work of the visual 'text' but the wider complexities of social meaning in the contexts in which such texts operate. Visual communication media and the images they produce are of interest to researchers across many disciplinary fields. Methods embraced by scholars studying visual materials include those from semiotics, psychoanalysis, discourse analysis and audience studies

38 This analysis of compositional relations is clearly differentiated from a social historical approach where the archival text is used as illustration to support themes derived from other primary sources.

(Rose, 2102, viii-ix). As Rose notes, "the theoretical sources that have produced the recent interest in visual culture and visual research methods are philosophically, theoretically and conceptually diverse" (2012, p. 19).An interdisciplinary approach is invaluable when complex research questions are to be dealt with. In this thesis, an understanding of place and its social meanings is drawn from social science disciplines. Discourse analysis and theories of design offer insights into the rhetorical construction of printed and built representations. The research question addresses intricate relationships between the sites of production (the visual text itself) and the physical sites represented. These dimensions are drawn together the analytical and interpretive processes discussed in section 3.6 in this chapter.

3.4 A note on materiality

As the previous chapter indicated, to date little work has been done on the theorisation of the tourism leaflet and brochure as material object. In this thesis tourism brochures are positioned as objects or artefacts that are an ensemble of visual, textual and material representations. Studies of tourism brochures selected from the historical archive are rare. As both material artefact and a sequence of visual and textual representations, the historical brochure is evidence of material agency. These artefacts are objects that have been in circulation, their pages handled, unfolded and visually consumed. As historical printed objects, they carry forward tangible evidence of how subjects and places have been rhetorically configured. Tourism brochures, however, as the extant studies suggest, are tricky. They are complex multimodal object/texts that communicate with their audiences through rhetorical configurations of subjects and places. Material form, therefore, is central to the brochure's specificity as medium and communicative meaning. The textual and physical structure of this small-scale (A4-A6 folded) ephemeral paper medium relies on folded frames. The typically folded paper structure of the brochure packages and encases its visual and textual content.

The morphology of brochures reveals a wide range of fold types. The following types of leaflet/brochures occur in the sample analysed: single fold leaflet (four panels); single fold brochure (four panels); tri fold (letter fold) brochure (6 panels), gate fold brochure (8 panels); quad fold brochure, parallel folded (16 panels). As these fold types produce different numbers and configurations of panels, brochures are also classified by the number of panels that their structure incorporates. Both of these elements of the brochures' form and structure are used in the thesis to describe and caption the examples discussed.

The specific procedure and order of unfolding, determined by the specific structure plays an important role in presenting the brochure's rhetoric. The brochure orders, conceals and reveals its textual/visual content in a staged and rhetorically considered sequence.[39] It is also a key factor in the material experience of the brochure. The act of unfolding, opening and refolding engages the reader in a tactile and interactive process as the visual and textual contents are displayed and then repackaged. As printed media the selection of paper, surface qualities and production values are all significant material factors that contribute to the brochure's work as communicative object.

3.5 Data collection

The first phase of the thesis research concentrated on the collection of a wide data set to enable a selection of specific brochures for detailed analysis. This phase culminated in the selection of a specific site as a case study and the closure of the data set. Using the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library and National Archives, I located and assembled a set of brochure and poster material produced for national tourism campaigns. These dated from the late 1890s up until Tourism New Zealand's *100% Pure* campaign of the late 1990s. My collection and selection process at this point focused on finding evidence of prevailing visual traditions and conventions alongside inter-textual visual relationships.

As the process of data collection progressed I became increasingly interested in brochure publicity from the formative decades of the early and mid-twentieth century. While the 1990s' *100% Pure* campaign had provoked recent critical discussion, the earlier material had received scant attention from a critical perspective. In particular, I was interested in the kinds of subject positions made available in these formative periods, the ways that places and subjects were co-constituted and how these co-constitutions had shifted over time. These interests resulted in an expansion of the data set to include historical material from the first half of the twentieth century produced for a set of iconic tourist sites. This set included both South Island sites (Mount Cook, Milford, Queenstown and Franz Joseph) and North Island sites (Tongariro, Wairakei, Rotorua, Waitomo and Waitangi). I collected examples of archival poster, brochure and leaflet publicity texts related to these sites and hotel destinations. Destination-focused publicity produced by New Zealand Railways related to each site was also collected. With the exception of the posters, the set of material was studio or anonymously designed, and classified in the archive as ephemera.

39 See Appendix ii. for documentation of the sequence of panels and openings of each brochure analysed in the thesis.

The resulting collection of archival material was produced primarily by the Tourist and Publicity Department, the Government Tourist Department and the New Zealand Railways publicity studio. The scope of the archival research was limited to what was available locally in the Alexander Turnbull Library ephemera collection and in the National Archives collections.[40] It is important to note here that while the brochure documents remained there was little or no information obtainable in the National Archives that related to the commissioning of the campaigns, the design briefs, the design and production process and the selection or contracting of printers. The only supporting materials located were the original photographs for some of the brochure material that National Publicity Studios photographers had been commissioned to shoot. While the name of the production studio was, in some instances, recorded on the brochures and the names of the photographers commissioned were noted on original photographic records, any individual design authorship was not recorded.

While distinctive scenic attractions defined each of the selected iconic tourism sites, it was evident that the strategically positioned hotels completed each site as a tourist destination. While many of the sites progressively became part of newly established national parks, until that point publicity for the hotels was a key mode through which each site was widely represented.[41] For most of the twentieth century, these tourist hotels were owned by the state or its agencies (including the Department of Health and Tourist Resorts, the Government Tourist Department and later the Tourist Hotel Corporation). As commercial operations, the hotels were profit-driven and publicity was an important element of their business. What began to interest me as I worked with the material was the process of a systematic representation of New Zealand as a tourist space made up of a distinctive set of sites or places. Each individual tourist place was differentiated by its locally specific scenic and architectural characteristics, while also being defined collectively as owned by the state.

The interest in the sets of state-owned hotels at park sites oriented the data search towards locating publicity produced for the Tourist Hotel Corporation hotels that were incorporated

40 Much of this material is now more readily available as it has been subsequently published in visual collections of New Zealand's graphic design history and used as illustrative material in histories of tourism, railways and hospitality. These social historical and pictorial publications include Alsop, Stewart & Bamford (2012); McLure (2004); Thompson (2003).

41 National parks created within the timeframe addressed by this thesis were: Tongariro 1894; Egmont 1900; Fiordland 1904/1952; Arthurs Pass 1929; Abel Tasman 1942; Mount Cook 1953; Urewera 1954; Nelson Lakes 1956; Westland 1960; Mt Aspiring; 1964; Whanganui 1986; Paparoa 1987. The 1952 National Parks Act enabled the growth of the national park 'movement' in the mid-twentieth century.

in 1955. Publicity for these hotels offered the most complete set of data, running from the 1950s until the dismantling of the corporation in 1987. The dominant mode of publicity for the Tourist Hotel Corporation was the brochure. The size and portability of the printed brochure renders it an intimate communication medium that draws the reading subject into its representational space through a complex layering of textual and visual rhetoric. As noted, these historical artefacts communicate not only through their visual and textual content, but also through their physical and material properties. All of these elements play a role in how the brochure conditions the fashioning and commodification of place.

3.6 Case and sample selection

The final refinement and closure of the data set occurred with the selection of a single site and hotel for a detailed interpretive case study. The Chateau Hotel situated at the Tongariro National Park was selected. As New Zealand's first national park, Tongariro had an early history of public ownership that provided an interesting counterpoint to the history of the hotel itself, which was the vision of a private developer and site leasee, financed in part by the Crown.[42] The hotel and park were closely aligned both economically and visually in publicity from the early periods of development, especially after the ownership and management of the hotel was returned to the state agent, the Tongariro National Park Board, in 1930. The interplay and tensions between private and public that were evident in the history of the hotel and park raised interesting questions for further exploration. The national archive offered publicity material related to both the Chateau Hotel and the Tongariro National Park from the late 1920s until the late 1980s. This included New Zealand Railways publicity studio posters as well as a set of brochures for the hotel produced by its various owners and operators across the late 1920s to early 1980s period.

Having determined the park as case study site, the next step was to confine the publicity data to one specific object of study. The brochure was selected because it was the preferred publicity medium of both hotel and park (unlike the poster that was the preferred mode for New Zealand state tourism and New Zealand Railways publicity). In addition, as noted in section 1.4, the brochures had not yet received any scholarly attention.

With the selection of the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau hotel as the case study focus of the thesis, the key moments in the institutional history of this site and hotel

42 See section 1.5.

determined the periodisation of the study. While some of this history coincided with the wider national development of the tourism industry and its infrastructure, distinct patterns were evident that were specific to the case study site. The 'luxury' hotel project in a remote region was a highly unusual regional development in New Zealand at the end of the 1920s. The entrepreneurial risk involved exposed the hotel and park to the economic conditions of the 1930s depression. A focus on advertising and publicity was deployed in response to the economic downturn – a strategy that resulted in a useful set of archival data. Due to its remote location advertising remained an important item of expenditure within the Chateau Hotel's budget. This meant that key phases of development in the park were well represented in the archive.

Relevant brochures were selected from the array of ephemeral material available. The collection of brochures offered by the archive included those that publicised both (i) the Chateau Hotel and its Tongariro National Park location in the same publication, and (ii) brochures that publicised the Tongariro National Park as separate entity. As the primary focus of this project is on the relationship between park, hotel and subjectivity, the wider archival collection was filtered to include only brochure material that publicised the Chateau Hotel and Tongariro National Park in the same text. This selection criterion determined a set of twelve brochures. These twelve were what remained in the archive as evidence of the publicity campaigns that supported key phases of development in the Park from the Chateau's construction in 1929 up until the early 1984 (see Appendix i.).

In addition, the earliest publicity document for the Park held in the archive collection was identified for its importance as a foundational document. This single *Information for Visitors* (1928) leaflet, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, documented the Park formation prior to the construction of the hotel. With this addition, the complete set totalling thirteen brochures was then clustered into four institutionally determined periods. These four periods are: (1) the late 1920s, before the construction of the Chateau Hotel, when visitors were accommodated in the park's set of huts; (2) the early 1930s following the construction of the Chateau Hotel and its management, firstly by its developer the Tongariro Tourist Company, followed briefly by the Tongariro National Park Board, and then the Department of Tourism and Industries; (3) the early 1960s, following the transfer

of the Chateau to the Tourist Hotel Corporation in 1957,[43] the expansion of the chairlift facilities at Whakapapa in the late 1950s, and the Chateau's close cooperation with the ski field as a ski hire base in this period; and (4) the 1970s (a period in which the skifield expanded) and early 1980s, prior to the disestablishment of the Tourist Hotel Corporation in 1987. The dismantling of the Tourist Hotel Corporation and the establishment of the Department of Conservation both occurred in 1987. This year marked a number of significant political shifts in New Zealand that followed the passing of the State Owned Enterprises Act in 1986. This Act facilitated major changes in the state sector in a liberal economic climate, clearing the way for the sale of state assets.[44] This date therefore marked a significant change in the institutional structures of both the hotel and the park, providing an appropriate closing point for the historical periods analysed in the thesis.

While the analysis presented in this thesis is argued as four distinct periods, it is important to note that this periodisation does not refer to a strict chronology but rather to a loose sorting determined by the institutional histories of the park. The thesis is not an historical analysis of data from which I then derive periods. It is an historical analysis of cases sorted into periods that are determined by the histories of the institutions that shape the park. The thesis thus does not attempt to exhaustively characterise periods but rather it seeks to organise the cases selected for analysis in order to the serve the interpretive work of building a theory of tourist representations as placing devices.

The specific institutional relationships at the Tongariro National Park meant that in the first two time periods selected the Chateau Hotel assumed a significant role as centre for the park. Brochures from these periods advertised both the Tongariro National Park and the Chateau Hotel. The separation of these institutions began in the 1960s after separate National Park headquarters were established. Thus it is the institution of the hotel that provides the continuity across the periods into which the data is organised.

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43 Established in 1955, the Tourist Hotel Corporation (THC) initially managed ten hotels, branding them as a set under the THC banner. Each hotel while a member of the set was differentiated by the specificity of the location and the hotel architecture. The relative longevity of the Chateau Hotel building and its institutional traditions meant that it held an important place in the Tourist Hotel Corporation set. The 1955 Tourist Hotel Corporation Act lists ten hotels as the initial structure of the Corporation. These were: Hotel Waitomo; Hotel Wairakei; Hotel Tokaanu; Chateau Tongariro; Lake House Waikaremoana; Glacier Hotel Franz Joseph Glacier: The Hermitage, Mount Cook; Pukaki Hotel, Lake Pukaki; Milford Hotel; Te Anau Hotel.

44 'State-owned enterprises are born', URL http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/state-owned-enterprises-act-takes-effect, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 31-Oct-2013.

From the total of thirteen, a set of seven brochures that exemplified the four institutionally derived periods were selected for primary analysis (see Appendix i. for an itemisation of the brochures). While this selection offered good breadth of coverage across the forty years that the thesis addresses, the number of examples that represented each of the specific time periods discussed is limited. This amounted to one leaflet set for the late 1920s period, two brochures for the early 1930s, a larger set of five brochures for the 1960s and two brochures for the 1970s and early 1980s period. To ensure balance across each of the four chapters some further selection of material was required for the 1960s data. Given that similar themes were identified across the five brochures in the archive in the 1960s period, the two largest scale, most comprehensive brochures with the highest production values were selected for primary and comparative analysis. A decision was made to focus on either one or two cases (where available) for each time period to enable interpretative depth, with supporting examples used to emphasise points by highlighting similarities and differences where appropriate. This selection principle allows for indicative, but not statistically representative, interpretations and conclusions in relation to the case study site.

The document representing the early period of the park's recreational history, a Tongariro National Park Board and New Zealand Railways leaflet set from the late 1920s, is a simple typeset, text-based leaflet. The brochure material produced during subsequent periods embraces a range of visual modes including illustration, photography, expressive typography and written text. The written text is referred to throughout this study as advertising copy, or copy-writing. The brochure content contains a wide range of symbolic resources including representations of subjects, built structures and environments, all of which are core elements that define place. As material artefacts the leaflets and brochures offer significant variations while conforming to the conventions of their form.

While the terms brochure and leaflet are often interchangeable in common usage, they are differentiated in this thesis. The 1928 document is named as a leaflet, due to its single fold, small scale, text only format. The other documents conform to the definition of a brochure when defined as "a small book or magazine containing pictures and information about a product or service" (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com). The differentiation between the leaflet and the brochure in this thesis therefore is made on the basis of that those documents that contain images are classified as brochures. The one document without images is classified as a leaflet. The etymology of the term brochure- from the French to stitch, provides a useful metaphor in the consideration of the visual and textual structure of the documents.

3.7 Interpreting the brochures as placing devices: discourse analytic and semiotic methodologies

A primary objective of the project is to interpret the brochures selected for the case study as placing devices. In order to understand how subjects and park are shaped by each other in the representations, the thesis draws on a range of tools offered by discourse and semiotic methodologies. These tools are outlined in this section. Following Fairclough (1992), the brochures are analysed as discourses that are assembled through the work of rhetorical strategies. These strategies include the brochures' compositional organisation and material form and the relationship between their semiotic elements. The rhetorical strategies at work in the brochures simultaneously inscribe the subjects of the park and the park archiscape, investing both with complementary qualities that vary significantly over the four periods analysed.

Following the principles of case study method the thesis analysis explores patterns, themes and presences and absences in the semiotic elements in the data (see Yin, 2014, p. 135). A set of social constructionist tools informed this analytical and interpretive process. An array of analytical and interpretive strategies are available to researchers working with visual materials drawn from many disciplines (as noted in Section 3.2) These include methods that deal with many aspects of visual material including those related to representation, matters related to affect as well as those related to production and audience. The primary method that the analytical and interpretive work in this thesis draws on is critical discourse analysis following Foucault (1982) via Fairclough (1992) and Kress (2001). This is a method that runs across many disciplines, and utilises theories and methods from a range of primarily linguistic origins. The critical discourse analysis toolkit used here was augmented by theories of visual grammar and design (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996), social semiotics (Kress, 2013) and constructionist theories of gender performance (Goffman, 1979).

The logical starting point for analysis was the cover of each of the brochures. The key themes represented on the covers provided strong evidence for the proposition that multiple rhetorical structures were co-operating to emplace subjects within the park formation. These included strategies related to the gendering and classing of the environment. Importantly the rhetorical character of the cover provided evidence of the dominant semiotic categories that constituted the park/hotel formation. These were determined to

be: (1) the natural environment (the park); (2) the built environment (the hut, hotel and skifield); and (3) the dominant subject positions constructed in the representations. These three categories are theorised as co-constituted. The built environment is positioned as mediating the relation between the subject and the natural environment (the park). Once identified and theoretically configured in terms of their relationship to each other, these categories form the framework for a systematic analytical procedure.

Theorising the relationship between the park, the built environment and the subject, whereby the built environment mediates the relationship between natural environment and subject, is supported by the work of other authors. These include Dovey (1999, p. 19) who draws on Giddens and Foucault to address the ways in which spatial programmes mediate power relationships. Dovey's work supports interpretations of the programmatic work of architecture in brochure representations. For example, this work can be seen in the brochures where the historicism of the neo-Georgian style of the Chateau produces a specific kind of subject at the park. Dovey's focus, however, is solely on built form as discourse and representation. The theory built in this thesis extends that focus to include attention to the specifically material, print-mediated representation of built forms.

How each of the dominant semiotic elements was configured in each of the four time periods addressed in the study was named and recorded in summary form in a matrix. This provided a sorting device to begin to determine degrees of change and differentiation across each of the four historical periods. This sorting device was used iteratively to work out shifting patterns, prefacing more detailed analysis to support theory-building objectives. In order to develop an argument for the designed artefact as evidence of rhetorical change, the linguistic, aesthetic and technical, material elements of the brochures were analysed. Each of these elements was considered in terms of its contribution to the persuasive rhetoric of the artefact.

Analysis identified brochure themes and their repetitions in images, typography, textual copy and material form for each historical period. This analysis provided empirical evidence of how the brochures are rhetorically layered and organised in ways that produce distinct subject positions (see Rose, 2012). The brochures' rhetorical organisation was broken down into meaning structures produced by compositional strategies that ordered visual and textual units or "sets of statements" (p.209). These rhetorical structures are analysed as distinctive ways of constructing subjectivity. As Fyfe and Law have noted, "to understand

a visualisation is … to note its principles of inclusion and exclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises" (Fyfe & Law, 1988, p. 1, cited in Rose, 2012). Publicity brochures are dense discursive practices. Using the rhetoric of visual language and of text within a single page, the brochures utilise layers of stylistic structures that systematically connect the visual and textual elements. Here the thesis follows Fairclough's (1992) recommendation that "Analysis … should show features, patterns and structures which are typical of certain types of discourse, restructuring tendencies in orders of discourse, and ways of using these conventional resources which are specific to this sample" (p. 231).

The analysis and interpretation of the brochures was considered in the context of New Zealand social history relevant to the period of each formation, with a focus on dominant gender and class structures. Following Fairclough, analysis focused on "the ways in which discourse contributes to processes of cultural change, in which the social identities or 'selves' associated with specific domains are redefined and reconstituted" (p. 64). This approach supported the organisation of the interpretation as a historicised chapter structure that would show the differentiation of subjects and place formations over time. The argument for the specificity of each historical formation was informed by William's (1977) theory of cultural formation and taxonomy of residual, dominant and emergent elements. The residual, he states, "has been actively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process … as an effective element of the present" (p. 123). By the term "emergent" he means, "that new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relations are continually being created" (p. 123). Williams' theory of cultural formation holds that both residual and emergent contribute to the shape of dominant cultural forms in specific ways. The analysis set out to identify the work of these elements in the representations.

Other scholarship also supported the methodological approach developed in this thesis. Tschumi's (1996) argument for architecture as both a space and event was especially useful in thinking through my interpretations of the representations of the Chateau Hotel. In the event/space the location becomes stage for the performance of subjectivity and appropriate methodologies are needed to analyse the subject position as 'coming into being' in the rhetorical configuration of representations. However, achieving the thesis objectives meant that such discursive approaches needed to work in combination with other methodological

resources. Here the thesis follows approaches suggested by Gill (2009, p. 351) and Lazar (2000, pp. 376-379) in their work on mass media representations, including magazines and public interest poster campaigns. Gill and Lazar supplement the techniques of discourse analysis with social semiotic methods and visual linguistic/grammatical analysis. This combination of methodological resources provided a powerful apparatus to analyse brochure representations.

The social semiotic approach developed by Kress (2013) provided a framework for the analysis of rhetoric and design that bridged the social objectives of the texts as communication and their status as representations. As Kress states, "the dual frame of rhetoric and design permits both: rhetoric as the politics of communication and design as the translation of rhetorical into semiotic implementation" (p.49). Relatedly, a more linguistic/grammatical approach has also been developed by a number of authors, including Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and Fairclough (1992), drawing on the influential framework of linguistic meta-functions developed Halliday (1961, 1975). This framework proposes categories of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. As an analytical toolkit, Halliday's categories offered a useful overarching framework and vocabulary for digging into the compositional work of the representations. Kress and van Leeuwen' s (1996) discussion of compositional meaning and their system of realisations were used to analyse the structures of the brochures and their covers. The first, the ideational, addresses how the elements or participants in a composition connect the representational and experiential worlds. The second, the interpersonal, addresses how the representation projects social relations between the subject positions related to the production and consumption of the text. This meta-function positions the representation as frame that interacts with subjects in a manner similar to that of the repertoire of the camera. The third, the textual meta-function, relates to the ways the specific compositional resources of the text rhetorically configure meaning.

Textual salience, or the way in which elements are given relative prominence in a composition, can be achieved in multiple ways. These include principles relating to the dominant cohering device of the frame such as relationships of scale, centrality and marginality and position (pp. 40-41). To address the rhetorical strategies that configured relationships between subject and place within the space of the representation, the textual or compositional meta-function was the most relevant. All three categories, however, offered analytical tools to open up a level of detail that could begin to address the specifics of how

subject and place were rhetorically configured. Goffman's (1979) analysis of advertising resulted in a series of display phenomenon that he argued consistently differentiated male and female genders and visually represented codes of structured dependency of women and men (pp. 24-47). This classificatory system was utilised in the analysis to support an argument for how subjects and places were gendered.

In general terms, the thesis uses the methodological approaches outlined above in two primary ways. The first is through the rhetorical organisation of discourses that operate as 'sets of statements' and, secondly, analysis focuses on the functional linguistic operation of the elements within the text. This dual approach is necessary to unravel how the brochures work in detail. As Lazar (2000) argues, "not to attend concurrently to both modes of semiosis … would be to offer a less than complete analysis of discourse" (p. 377). Taken together, these methodological protocols produce evidence to corroborate an interpretive argument from multiple perspectives. The methods overlap in their concern with relations between elements. Discursive and social semiotic analysis breaks down the surface of constructed normativity to reveal the power relations evident in brochure contents. Visual and linguistic grammar and the analysis of gender display and gesture augment and corroborate such interpretations with further evidence.

3.8 Theory building

In charting the dominant discourses and their rhetorical organisation in the brochures, a number of elements emerged that supported the building of a theory of emplacement in representations. Initial theoretical propositions were included as part of the research design and these guided the development of the analytical strategies.

Systematic analysis of the case study data progressively assembled evidential support for the theoretical proposition that the brochures emplace subjects in the representations through rhetorical strategies that gender and class place. The primary analytic strategy assembled evidence for this theory though a sequence of methodological iterations designed to show change in the data over the time periods selected for study. The theory-building methodology also drew on existing research to specify subject positions and to differentiate and cohere the periodised interpretations. Luxury was identified early on in the analysis as playing a central role in the formation of the park. The presence (or absence) of luxury was closely aligned with the specificity of class and gender in the representations. The theory of

historical change in the rhetorical configuration of emplacement was therefore reinforced by the shift in the specific condition of luxury in each historical period. Viewed through the lens of emplacement, the state of luxury for each historical period was named.

The interpretive phase of theory building drew on the analysis. This phase was enacted through the writing of the substantive chapters. Theories of visuality and subjectivation, in particular those related to the co-constitution of place and subject, provided the foundational position for the interpretations. Luxury, alongside other concepts and theories specifically related to tourism and subjectivation were drawn into the interpretations. These included: theories of social distinction, consumption and lifestyle (following Bourdieu, 1984); leisure theory, in particular that related to the holiday (following Inglis, 2000); spatial theory, namely that of the heterotopia (following Foucault, 1986); and performativity in representations, in particular that related to gender and sexuality (following Goffman, 1974a, 1974b, 1979). The interpretations in each of the chapters individually, and as a set, support a theory of historical change in the rhetorical configuration of emplacement in the brochure representations that publicise the case study site.

3.9 Limitations of study

The methodological resources and systematic procedures developed for this study can offer a partial and indicative contribution to understanding processes of emplacement in the selected representations. The limitations of the study are addressed below.

Data availability and selection

Working with historical data means that the researcher can only select from what has been left in the archive. A small set of material a related to the Tongariro National Park and Chateau Hotel that met selection criteria was available (see section 3.6). To ensure balance across each of the four chapters some selection of material was required for the 1960s sample. As explained above given that similar themes were identified across the five brochures in the archive in the 1960s period the two largest scale, most comprehensive brochures with the highest production values were selected for primary and comparative analysis. Another researcher, however, may have selected different material.

Discourse and semiotic analysis, interpretation and subjectivity

As noted in section 3.2, the methodology of this thesis is situated within the interpretive tradition. Interpretation is by definition subjective. There has to be an investment of subjectivity in interpretations. The depiction of the data is a response to the author's subjectivity. The reliability of interpretive approaches is based not on supposedly 'objective' criteria but on the quality of evidence-based argument. Rose (2012) notes that discourse analysis aims to be persuasive rather than truthful and advocates modesty in its claims (p. 222). The data is presented visually and detailed in the interpretations. This detail opens a space for the reader to engage with and consider their own interpretation. Inevitably another researcher may have made different interpretations. The strength of interpretive methods and in particular those of discourse and semiotic analysis is, as Rose notes, its effectiveness "at looking very carefully at images and interpreting their effects, especially in relation to constructions of social difference" (2012, p. 225). Interpretive research enables in-depth and nuanced study of specific phenomena and representations and how these might change over time. Its claims to truth however are modest.

In the case of the data selected for this study the interpretation is made by the researcher, supported by the additional source of the institutional histories. As the brochures are classified as ephemeral texts, primary documentation or secondary discussion regarding the design briefs or strategies directing the writers and designers was unavailable. This meant that there was no possibility for an interpretation that could draw on the position of these producers and therefore in essence 'co- author' the interpretations (see Rose, 2012, p. 223). Thus the discourse and semiotic analytic work in this thesis is modest in its claims and recognises the subjectivity of the researcher/ interpreter as an element that is present in the interpretive outcomes.

The results of the interpretive case study undertaken here are generalisable by being used to build a theory that can inform subsequent research. As Yin (2014) notes, case study findings produce analytic rather than empirical generalisations (p. 40). Unlike the statistical generalisations resulting from survey methods, a case study approach cannot be used to empirically generalise the findings or draw conclusions beyond the actual data addressed. An interpretive case study, however, can valuably contribute to theory building.

The subject positions addressed in the study

Theories of subjectivity have identified multiple kinds of subjects and subject positions in relation to representations. These include: (1) the subjects visually and textually 'inside' the representations; and (2) the subjects who read or view the representations. This thesis limits its analysis, interpretations and conclusions to the first category, the subject positions that are rhetorically configured in the representations. It is through unpacking the rhetorical possibilities of the represented subject that this thesis builds a theory of emplacement in representations. The theory built in the thesis nonetheless helps to 'flesh out' the assertion that the viewing/reading subject (2) might identify itself in relation to place. The methodologies outlined above produce theorised outcomes that offer a deeper understanding of how representations construct subjectivities and how these constructions relate to contemporary contexts and change over time. In this way the brochure interpretations developed in this thesis draw out new relationships and propositions to provide platforms for further work.

Periodisation

As stated in section 3.5 the selection of cases is based on the institutional histories of the hotel and park. The thesis is therefore not an historical analysis of data from which I then derive periods. This approach is clearly differentiated from a periodisation that is derived from a random set of examples. The cases are organised by history to build theory. It is important to clarify therefore that the objective of the thesis is interpretive case analysis servicing theory building objectives. It is not an exhaustive analysis of periods. It is a demonstration of the productivity of the approach developed and does not attempt to be fully representational of the stylistic specifics of each of the periods discussed. It suggests that further work specifically related to periodisation could be undertaken with a wider data set.

3.10 Conclusion

In summary the powerful discourses at work in each set of periodised representations were identified, named and ordered according to the dominant semiotic categories of natural environment, built environment and subject. The specificity of each of the set of semiotic elements was identified through both their presence and absence. Following the ordering structures of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), via Halliday (1975), I questioned how these

discourses were assembled through sets of rhetorical strategies and semiotic resources with a particular focus on compositional organisation and salience. Relations between semiotic elements, particularly in terms of proximity and association, were closely considered. Utilising Goffman's (1979) repertoire of gender display I examined how representations of gender were differentiated in relation to each other (with a focus on gesture and display). Furthermore, I considered how gendered subjects were compositionally and figuratively related to the semiotic structures of park and hotel in the data from each of the time periods. These relationships and compositional associations provided evidence for the gendering of these structures as outcome.

As I drew analytical methods together they began to cohere as multiples ways of thinking about relations between elements, at both visual grammatical, semiotic and critical discursive levels. I began to read the brochures/leaflets as topological fields, in which the rhetorical relations between semiotic elements were pushed and pulled by shifting social and economic forces. In order to service the theory building objectives of the thesis, the theoretical framework of the dominant semiotic elements of natural environment (park), built environment (hut/hotel) and subject, provided the primary reference point for the analytical scheme. The procedure extrapolated from the set of dominant elements began with analysis of the relationship between the built environment (hut/hotel) and park. This, in turn, was followed by analysis of the hut/hotel and subject relationship and concluded with the relationship between subject and park. This procedure laid out the structure of each of the four interpretive chapters that follow. The consistency of this approach in each chapter meant that fundamental points of differentiation and shifts between formations were clearly visible. This analysis of rhetorical relations between elements provided evidence to support a theory of emplacement as a specific kind of subjectivation in tourism representations.

The performativity of the brochure's material form was also woven into the chapters. The interpretations opened with a detailed focus on the rhetorical configurations announced by the salient cover panel. Subsequently, where possible, the opening sequence of the brochure provided an ordering device within the chapter sections outlined above.[45] In the interpretive process of writing the chapters, the interpretations were presented as argument with sub-themes supported by evidence from the detailed visual, textual and material analysis of the

45 The opening/ unfolding sequence of each brochure is fully documented in Appendix ii. for the reader's reference.

brochures and relevant literature.

The periodisation of the substantive chapters that follow is driven by the history of the park. This directly connects to the data sampling strategy that is driven by the archive. The naming and dating of each chapter follows this periodisation. The naming of each periodised formation folded the specific representations of luxury (and thereby gender and class) into a more general theory of historical change in the rhetorical configuration of emplacement. The absence of luxury was named as spartan refusal in 'the national recreation ground' (c late 192os), its elite status bolstered the formation of 'the luxury playground' (c 1930s), its de-luxing as middle class comfort facilitated the advance of 'the family leisure-field' (c 1960s) and its post-lux residue sustained 'the liminal pleasure zone' (c early 1980s). The following four chapters, then, detail the rhetorical construction of historically specific emplacement formations.

Chapter Four

The national recreation ground

4.1 Introduction

> *In the beginning … the need for wilderness parks was regarded as something remote from common access, resorts more or less useless to all but the well to do. The increase of population, the diminution of the native forests, the general advance of settlement, and the greatly increased speed, range and ease of travel, have changed early indifference to a very lively appreciation. People have come to look upon the untamed country with a right understanding of its uses as a corrective, physical and spiritual, to the artificial life of cities and towns. They have come to know that a return now and again to an intimate association with the mountains … is a necessary part of a healthy and sane existence*" (Cowan, 1927, p. 9).

This chapter attends to the early information and publicity for the Tongariro National Park that was produced in the late 1920s. The artefact on which analysis and interpretation focuses is the *Information for Visitors* leaflet produced by the Tongariro National Park Board in 1928. The overarching objective of the chapter is to draw evidence from the representation to support an interpretation of the specific kinds of subjectivities represented in the texts produced in this foundational moment. Thus the analysis considers how the publicity text rhetorically configures the park visitor/subject in relation to the spaces and practices of the park and the prevailing social and economic imperatives. This interpretation is based on the understanding that place and subject are co-constituted whereby they are both defined by the qualities of each, present in each other.

The representation of the practices or activities that take place in the 1928 leaflet (including walking, climbing, hut habitation and sightseeing) provides key evidence of how the subject is physically/visually constructed and emplaced in the park. At the same time the distinct

spaces of the interior of the hut and the outdoor terrain are co-constituted by a subject equipped with the skills of outdoor survival. These interpretations are developed through close textual and visual analysis of the publicity leaflet. They focus on the ways in which the texts anticipate, order and lay down the discursive relations between the dominant semiotic elements constituting the park formation – the built and natural environments and the subject who inhabits them. The built structures of the huts emerge as the dominant indices of human presence in the park environment. The built structure anchors and mediates relations between the natural environment of the park and the subject.

Figure 7: Front cover, Cowan, J. (1927), *The Tongariro National Park New Zealand: its topography, geology, alpine and volcanic features, history and Maori folklore,* Wellington, Tongariro National Park Board.

4.2 The 1927 handbook: The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand

The Tongariro National Park Board's 1927 publication, fully titled *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore,* written by James Cowan, was the first comprehensive account of the park designed for a general audience (see Figure 7).[46] This booklet provides an important context, and the content, for the Tongariro National Park Board's 1928 *Information for Visitors* leaflet, the artefact on which this chapter focuses. The interpretation opens therefore by identifying dominant discourses represented in Cowan's 1927 booklet that were carried forward in the Board's 1928 publication.

While scientific surveys had provided general and scientific information on the park,[47] there was an absence of informative material for the general public. The booklet features a four colour illustrated cover and contains numerous black and white photographic reproductions, illustrated end papers, and a fold-out map. Its high production values indicate that it was it was a well-resourced and substantial publication for the Board. Preceding the completion of the Chateau by two years, it is indicative of a significant investment in the development of a public awareness of the historical and scientific importance as well as the recreational potential of the park at this time.

Cowan's descriptive rhetoric cited at the beginning of this chapter indicates a strategic reassertion of the site as national park. In this statement two important positions emerge. The first is the resurfacing of the egalitarianism that influenced the formation of the park in the previous decade. That the park was a site put aside for the use of (all) the people of the nation was embedded within the national park idea. The second position points to the need to dispel notions that the remote park was a fearsome untamed place. To counter this the park is now positioned as a place where an intimacy with nature can be experienced that offers a "corrective" to urban life (Cowan, 1927, p. 9). Importantly this repositioning of the park to popularise its use points to the necessity for a healthy and physically active body.

While these references work to reposition the park as a place of recreational values, with the exception of the final chapter, the 1928 booklet is concerned primarily with scenic

46 Description: 156 pages, 39 pages of plates, includes illustrations, and maps. size 220x 148 cm

47 Botanical and topographical surveys of the park were conducted by Cockayne and Phillips Turner in 1908 (see Section 1.5).

beauty, scientific documentation (geological and botanical features), Maori legend and mythology related to the park and the history of the park formation. Consistent use of anthropomorphic metaphor and comparison to European mythology features in descriptions of the mountains and park. Ruapehu is described as *"ice-mailed monarch of all"* (p. 11), and as a site where "*Mother Earth reveals her inner most secrets … she pulses with never ceasing sometimes fiery energy"* (p. 10). Cowan's interpretations mythologise the site within a European framework. In this sense, while he acknowledges and includes Maori histories, he overwrites the extant place histories and stories with an authorised colonial interpretation.

The final chapter of the 1927 booklet titled *The Development of the Park; a National Recreation Ground* provides a direct source for the content of the 1928 *Information for Visitors* leaflet (see Figures 8, 9 and 10). The 1928 publicity leaflet carries forward the alignment of the peopling of the park as recreation ground with the idea of development. Its role, to provide 'information for visitors', begins to construct the park as a destination. The leaflet sets out to present the park as a recreation ground. For it to be a recreation ground, a place where people go to away from home, it needs to be seen as a place that was sufficiently developed to provide for the visitor's basic needs. The park is presented as a developed place through the presence of the huts, symbolic of a temporary home away from home. The huts' location at the end point of the train journey constructs the park as a destination. In its address to the reader as visitor, the leaflet rhetorically configures the reading subject as park visitor. In this way the leaflet is an agent in implementing the Tongariro National Park Board's task to complete the national park vision by populating the park.

This interpretation will identify spaces and practices as the two primary categories that order the content of the leaflet as representation. The textual register that represents these spaces and practices will be dissected through close analysis of its devices and resources. This process identifies the specific discourses at work in the representations of the park through its spaces (the hut and the natural environment). In these spaces the recreational practices of hut habitation, walking/climbing and sightseeing locate and ground the subject. The chapter works towards interpretive conclusions that specify these discourses and their production of co-constituted subjectivities in the 1928 park. The interpretation that follows unravels the semiotic resources constituting the dominant discourses that form the social and spatial topographies of the park represented in the 1928 publicity leaflet set. Following

Cowan's subtitling in the 1927 publication[48] this interpretation names this placing 'the national recreation ground'.

4.3 The 1928 leaflet: an institutional partnership

The 1928 leaflet is made up of two elements representing the interests of two different institutions. This 'set' of documents consists of a double-sided, single-fold outer leaf produced by the Tongariro National Park Board, and a single leaf, single-sided insert produced by or on behalf of the New Zealand Railway Department. The Tongariro National Park Board component was typeset and printed on paper by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, in Wellington in 1928.[49] As informal and ephemeral small paper leaflet, this medium and scale allows for a large print run and intention of wide public dissemination.

While the 'set' of two elements represents information from two different institutions (see Figures 8, 9 and 10) the folding structure of the Park Board leaflet encloses the loose insert published by New Zealand Railways, positioning it as peripheral. This material/physical relationship between the two supports a hierarchy in which the Park Board leaflet assumes the dominant position. This is further supported by the insert's variation in graphic appearance and textual register, as I elaborate below. Despite its peripheral position as insert however, the inclusion of the Railways leaflet is a significant feature of the artefact. Its presence draws attention to important spatial and discursive relations that will come to bear on the park's future formations

48 Chapter X, The Development of the Park: A National Recreation Ground (Cowan, 1927, p. 138).

49 Size 160mm high x 135mm wide unfolded.

kerosene and methylated spirit for the "Primus" stoves at Mangatepopo huts.

Scale of Fees.

	£	s.	d.
Accommodation—			
*In huts (per person, per night)	0	3	0
In tent (per person, per night)	0	1	6
Camping—			
Tent holding not more than four (per week)	0	10	0
Tent holding between four and eight (per week)	0	15	0
Tent holding more than eight (per week) ..	1	5	0
Guide—			
For one person (per day)	1	0	0
For two persons (per day)	1	10	0
For extra person (per day)	0	7	6
Alpine Equipment—			
Skis—Hire of one pair, for one day ..	0	2	6
,, for more than one day, per day ..	0	2	0
,, per week ..	0	9	0
Ice-axe (per day)	0	1	0
Ropes (per day)	0	1	0
Bath—			
Hot bath	0	1	6
Cold bath	0	0	6
Charges for Admission of Horses and Vehicles:—			
Bruce Road—			
For each motor-car	0	2	6
For each motor-cycle without side-car ..	0	1	0
For each motor-cycle with side-car ..	0	1	6
For each motor lorry or bus carrying less than twenty passengers	0	5	0
For each motor lorry or bus carrying twenty passengers or more	0	10	0
For each motor lorry carrying goods only	0	5	0
For each horse with or without vehicle ..	0	1	0
Ohakune Track—For each horse.. ..	0	2	0
Maps of Tongariro National Park (per copy)	0	2	6

*This does not apply to the Ohakune and Waihohonu huts, where the charge is 2s. per person per night.

[Note.—All breakages and losses must be paid for.]

The foregoing fees are payable to the Ranger of the Park, Mr. A. Cowling, who will give an official receipt for same. His postal address is National Park.

J. B. THOMPSON,
Chairman, Tongariro National Park Board.

Wellington, 1st June, 1928.

W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington.
5,000/6/28—30471

TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK.

Information for Visitors.

THE Tongariro National Park is situated in the centre of the North Island. It contains the extinct volcanoes Ruapehu (9,176 ft.) and Tongariro, and the active volcanoes Ngauruhoe and Te Mari, besides beautiful forests, waterfalls, glaciers, lakes, and other natural features of interest. The most direct route to the park is by the Main Trunk Railway to National Park, where there is a comfortable boardinghouse within half a mile of the station. From National Park Railway-station visitors can either walk or motor to the Whakapapa huts via the Waimarino–Tokaanu Road and Bruce Road. The distance is about ten miles.

Whakapapa Huts.

The Whakapapa huts, situated at the base of Mount Ruapehu, are sheltered by a beautiful beech forest at an altitude of 3,710 ft. above sea-level. There are three large huts at this base, containing bunk accommodation for forty-six persons, also a dining and social room with kitchen attached. The huts are provided with camp-ovens, and have open fireplaces. A special hut is reserved for ladies, and contains extra heating-stoves. The huts are divided into sections, each containing six bunks, and are provided with mattresses and pillows. Attached to the huts are two bathrooms fitted with porcelain baths and washbasins.

These huts afford a splendid base from which to climb the three mountains. The time taken usually to reach the Crater Lake on the summit of Mount Ruapehu is from seven to eight hours. The climb is by no means difficult, and can be undertaken by any average person. The last two thousand feet is over ice or snow. The track for about two miles is through beautiful mountain-beech forest, and crossing the Whakapapa River one emerges into open country, where a splendid panorama can be seen of Mount Egmont to the south and Lake Taupo to the north. The Crater Lake, with walls of ice and containing warm water, is well worth a visit. Another feature of interest is the Silica Springs, distant about three miles through bush, and passing numerous waterfalls and gorges *en route*.

The Taranaki Falls, distant about two miles, can also be easily reached from Whakapapa. Other interesting points are the Whakapapanui Gorge, the Pinnacle Ridge (which affords good rock-climbing), and the Tawhai Falls, situated about half a mile below the "Haunted Whare." Above the last-mentioned falls a splendid panorama of the mountains can be obtained.

Mangatepopo Huts.

The Mangatepopo huts are situated at the base of Mount Ngauruhoe, at an altitude of 4,000 ft. There are two huts at this base, with accommodation for twenty persons. The new hut only is provided with mattresses and pillows, and contains twelve bunks. As there is no firewood in the vicinity of these huts they are provided with "Primus" and "Perfection" stoves for cooking purposes. These huts may be reached by two routes. The first turns off the main road at the fingerpost opposite Sir James Gunson's camp, and proceeds thence about four miles and a half to the huts. A horse-drawn vehicle can be taken along this route.

The second route is from the Whakapapa huts to a signpost about four miles distant, passing the Taranaki Falls *en route*. From this point the track deviates across the plains, thence under the foothills of Ngauruhoe to the huts—total distance from Whakapapa about ten miles. The second route is suitable only for persons on foot or with pack-horses during the summer months. From the Mangatepopo base the craters of Tongariro and Ngauruhoe can be easily reached, also the active Te Mari Crater, Red Crater, Ketetahi Springs, and many other interesting points.

Waihohonu Hut.

The Waihohonu hut, situated on the eastern side of Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle, is divided into two sections, and will accommodate twelve persons. It has one large open fireplace. This locality is particularly interesting, being surrounded by beautiful bush close to the Waihohonu Stream. Visitors to this hut should not miss seeing the Ohinepango Spring, within easy reach from hut. To reach this hut the easiest route is to follow the main track from Whakapapa hut direct to the Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle, from which point the track is poled right to hut, a total distance of ten miles from Whakapapa huts. This route is particularly interesting, as it passes the Taranaki Waterfall, 83 ft. in height; also the Nga Puna-a-Tama Lakes (extinct craters), the larger lake being at an

altitude of 5,279 ft. This hut is not provided with mattresses and pillows.

Ketetahi Hut.

This hut can be reached by branching off from the Tokaanu Road above the Otukou Native Settlement, where a signpost indicates the direction. The distance thence by formed track is seven miles. The hut is not provided with bunks, and is merely a shelter.

Ohakune Hut.

The Ohakune mountain hut is a three-roomed building situated at the head of the Ohakune track, 4,500 ft. above sea-level and eight miles and three-quarters from the Ohakune Railway-station. The route lies through a magnificent forest of ever-varying interest. Cooking-utensils, plates, cups, and cutlery are provided free, and a horse-paddock is located close to the hut.

The highest peak of the mountain is four miles from the hut. The outstanding feature of the trip is the 2,000 ft. slide down the snowfield.

A track also leads to Ruapehu from Rangataua, and another track from Karioi. Both these tracks are more open than the Ohakune one, but the latter has the advantage of the hut at the end of it.

All information in regard to this side of the mountain may be obtained from T. A. Blyth, Ohakune.

General.

For winter sports (ski-ing, tobogganing, glissading) the best months are July, August, and September. The snowfalls vary, but usually good ski-ing can be obtained within easy reach of the Whakapapa huts.

Parties wishing to ascend Mount Ruapehu should engage the services of the Ranger, or seek his advice as to best route to take.

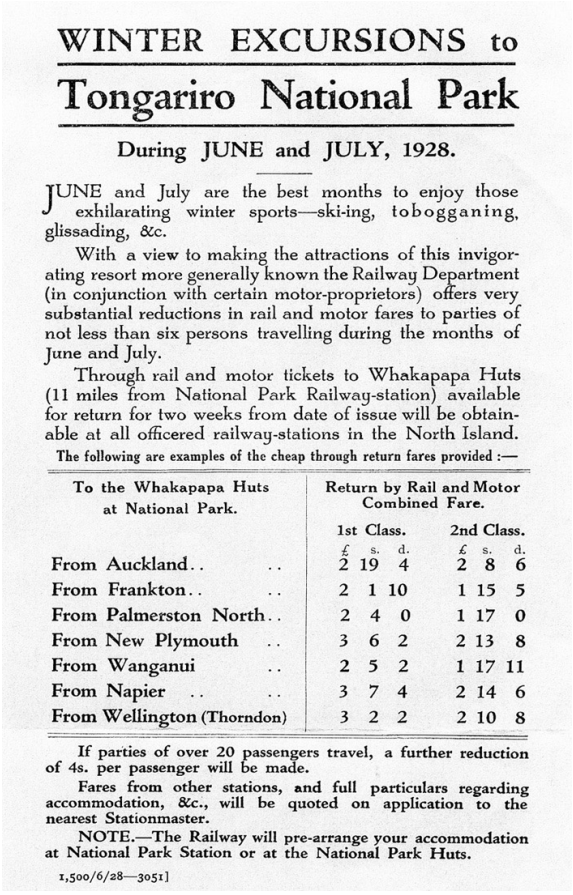
Hauhungatahi can be ascended by a partly-formed track a short distance south of Erua Railway-station; this route was much used at one time, but parties are advised not to proceed in this direction without a guide.

The Ranger resides at the Whakapapa huts, and telephonic communication is established between these huts and National Park Railway-station. Telegrams addressed to the Ranger will receive prompt attention.

Visitors must take blankets, utensils, and food with them, and must arrange at National Park or Ohakune for the carting or packing of their outfits to the huts. Visitors must procure their own firewood from dead trees at Ohakune and Waihohonu huts, and bring

Figure 8 (top) : Tongariro National Park Information for Visitors leaflet, 1928, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Front and back panels.

Figure 9 (bottom) : Tongariro National Park Information for Visitors leaflet, 1928, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Inside panels.



WINTER EXCURSIONS to

Tongariro National Park

During JUNE and JULY, 1928.

JUNE and July are the best months to enjoy those exhilarating winter sports—ski-ing, tobogganing, glissading, &c.

With a view to making the attractions of this invigorating resort more generally known the Railway Department (in conjunction with certain motor-proprietors) offers very substantial reductions in rail and motor fares to parties of not less than six persons travelling during the months of June and July.

Through rail and motor tickets to Whakapapa Huts (11 miles from National Park Railway-station) available for return for two weeks from date of issue will be obtainable at all officered railway-stations in the North Island.

The following are examples of the cheap through return fares provided :—

To the Whakapapa Huts at National Park.	Return by Rail and Motor Combined Fare.	
	1st Class.	2nd Class.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
From Auckland.. ..	2 19 4	2 8 6
From Frankton.. ..	2 1 10	1 15 5
From Palmerston North..	2 4 0	1 17 0
From New Plymouth ..	3 6 2	2 13 8
From Wanganui ..	2 5 2	1 17 11
From Napier	3 7 4	2 14 6
From Wellington (Thorndon)	3 2 2	2 10 8

If parties of over 20 passengers travel, a further reduction of 4s. per passenger will be made.

Fares from other stations, and full particulars regarding accommodation, &c., will be quoted on application to the nearest Stationmaster.

NOTE.—The Railway will pre-arrange your accommodation at National Park Station or at the National Park Huts.

1,500/6/28—3051]

Figure 10: Tongariro National Park ***Information for Visitors*** leaflet, 1928, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Railway travel information insert panel.

In the first instance, this strategic combination of publicity material points to an institutional partnership of mutual benefit, pragmatically, that of an increase in both fare paying passengers and hut fee paying visitors. There is reciprocal endorsement of each institution between the leaflet set. In the Tongariro National Park *Information for Visitors* leaflet the reader is advised is that "*the most direct route to the park is the Main Trunk Railway".* The elevation of the main trunk railway to that of significant feature and proper noun, through capitalisation, qualifies the railway as a central element in the construction of park as destination. It is noteworthy, however, that the best means of access is not described as by train, but by the railway line itself. This asserts the status of the railway as a symbolic backbone of colonial achievement, and firmly links the two components of the package. As a result, as I elaborate further below, the Railways insert configures the national park within the emerging discourse of resort.

Following the logic that getting to the park precedes being at the park, this interpretation will first attend to the work of the Railways insert in the leaflet set. The placing of information about 'how to get to' the park next to information 'about' the park makes a

clear statement about the spatial relationship between the park and its visitor/subjects. Its distance from urban centres, the main source of potential visitors, means that populating the park will be dependent on spatial mobility. The insert advances the relation between park and mobile subject through the discourse of the railway "*excursion*", named in the leaflet heading "*Winter Excursions to Tongariro National Park*" and elaborated in the content that follows. These excursions are marked as communal experiences by the discounted rates for group travel, supporting the Park Board's agenda to popularise the park. This process of popularisation is, nonetheless, socially ordered and this is clearly coded by the dominant graphic element of the leaflet, the fare table, and listing rates for first and second class return tickets. Thus the inclusion of the insert is an early marker of the significance of geographic and social mobility in the park's formation. This attention to mobility foreshadows the importance that mobility of all kinds – geographic, social and physical – will assume in subsequent representations discussed in this thesis.

The discourse of the excursion operates on the park to produce it as destination. The excursion had an established place in the history of rail travel, deployed as discourse that represented the pleasure and sociability of the experience. The destination produced by the "*Winter Excursion(s)*" is described as *"an invigorating resort".* The textual register constructs both excursion and destination as pleasurable experiences and places. Winter itself assumes a new rendering as the season for "*exhilarating*" sports that take place at the park. The elements of pleasure embedded in the meaning of excursion are shored up by adjectives describing the park as a place of physical enlivenment. Not only is the resort "*invigorating*", the winter sports that are to be *"enjoyed"* in June and July *(*skiing, tobogganing and glissading) are all are predicated on the physical mobility of the body. The adjectives *"invigorating"* and *"exhilarating"* paint a scene of high-spirited physical energy, supporting the naming of "*resort*" as a holiday place of replenishment and pleasurable recreation and hence as antithetical to the world of work. The connotations of the noun 'resort' activate the oppositional tensions between pleasure and work. This foreshadows the rhetoric developed between the invigoration of the alpine and the enervating stress of the urban in later representations.

In representing the park as site of physical invigoration and exhilaration the Railways Department insert anticipates the subsequent shaping of the park, not only as a winter resort but more generally as environment defined by a vigorous, inspirited and mobile subject/body. While in the peripheral location of insert in 1928, the discourses shaping the alpine resort as site of physical wellbeing and symbol of mobility will soon move inside

the dominant representational frame of the Tongariro Park Board's publicity. Here these discourses prepare the ground for the language of tourism that in visual and textual modes will be an active force in the representation of the park in subsequent decades.

The last point to be made in terms of the relation between the two components of the leaflet set is the way in which they work together to discursively position the Tongariro National Park at the centre of the North Island. While this location is a fact of the North Island's physical geography, it is discursively emphasised in both leaflets in the set. The Railway leaflet does this through the device of the timetable that presents a graphic scheme in which all trains lead to the national park, with Auckland and Wellington at the top and bottom of the list respectively. This position of centrality is highlighted in the first sentence of the Park Board leaflet, "*The Tongariro National Park is positioned in the centre of the North Island"*. The location between the two dominant urban sites was clearly advantageous in the park's attraction of visitors.

This presence of the discourse of centrality and the park as 'heart' of the nation in the early material is significant as it provides a reference point from which change over time can be identified. The park's location "*in the centre*" held a different meaning in terms of the site's symbolic importance to Maori.[50] The discourse of the centre remained dominant as both metaphor and locating device.[51]

It would be an omission not to make a connection here to the relationship between national railway excursions and national park destinations that underscored the development of North American national railway and national park infrastructures at the end of the nineteenth century. In Canada this programme of development resulted in the construction of grand hotels owned by Canadian Pacific Rail, at national park sites, which became tourist destinations in themselves. The Tongariro Tourist Company, and others interested in the development of the park as tourist destination, were well aware of the benefits of this dual approach to infrastructural and tourist development. The park's proximity to the railway was noted as an advantageous factor of the site in the 1929 prospectus of the

50 See Waitangi Tribunal. (2013b). *Te Kahui Maunga, The National Park District Inquiry Report* (Wai 1130), Lower Hutt, New Zealand: Legislation Direct.

51 Cowan compared the park to a heart – "Her breast is blue-veined with many streams coursing from the swelling heights, sources of the island's greatest rivers" (Cowan, 1927. p. 10). In subsequent decades this metaphor was used to make connections to identity core and origin in support of a bicultural understanding of place.

Tongariro Park Tourist Company, which proposed the subsequent building of the Chateau Hotel. A key point of differentiation, however, between the New Zealand and North American context was that the dominance of rail was rapidly coming to a close by the early 1930s (for further discussion of relationships between rail and tourism see Atkinson, 2007). The North American railroad system and the hotels closely associated with its stopover points and as destinations in their own right were at their peak of popularity and usage at the end of the nineteenth century. By the time both railway and (Chateau) hotel were in place in New Zealand (early 1930s), the demand for rail travel was dwindling following the affordability and rise in private ownership of cars. Further, the vision of hotels connected by railway in New Zealand could never be fully realised. Geographical and financial constraints meant destinations were always some distance from train connections and train and motor combinations were the norm. For these reasons, the vision of institutional partnership represented in 1928 was to result in a peripheral rather than primary collaboration. The attempt to establish the railway excursion as part of the park experience drew on an earlier vision for passenger rail that new forms of mobility were rapidly displacing. The semiotic resources assembled in the leaflet set, however, laid down formative discourses of considerably greater influence and longevity. Importantly the Railways leaflet defined its counterpart, the park, as a new kind of recreational destination.

Leaflet as text map of the park

Set in weighted uppercase type and promoted with a heavy rule, the words **Tongariro National Park** announce leaflet and place with the typographic voice of institutional authority. Positioned in the space of the ideal[52] at the top of the page the carefully kerned letters enable the words to form a separate unit on the page. Their heavy formal order contrasts with the light italicised words *Information for Visitors* centred below.

The formal and spatial separation of the words and letters in the **Tongariro National Park** heading asserts a hierarchy of visual relation between the destination and the new visitor subject. The salient weighted capitals contrast with the tentative light italics denoting the visitor subject, leaving the hierarchical relationship between them in little doubt. Noteworthy as the only spatially detailed feature of an otherwise conventionally typeset document, the open spacing of the typesetting of the words and the wide kerning of the letters textures the representation in its echo of the spatial history of the park – the visual codes of the typography underscore the park as a place 'set' apart.

52 Following Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) theory of composition (p. 223).

The national park 'idea', the concept central to the park's legal formation and now embedded in its naming, is carried forward here. Its social and geographic identity as 'park', however, had largely remained a spectacularly 'foreign' territory. Shaped by colonial processes, this formation was very different to the rural or urban landscaped spaces understood as parks by English settlers. It is in this wider setting that the leaflet represents what kind of place the park was in 1928, what kinds of recreation took place there, and how this place representation co-constituted the identity of those primarily male subjects, skilled in outdoor recreation who participated.

The leaflet is metaphorically positioned as a text map that outlines the spatial and social topography of the 1928 park. This is indicated by its communicative function, as *Information for Visitors* outlined above, and by the specific operation of the textual register of information. The leaflet, from now on referred to as the text map, represents the park through a hierarchically ordered register of information that lays out the social and spatial topographies. This figurative representation of the landscape and features of the park terrain uses repetition to mark out a pattern of huts and their spatial relationship to features, points, routes or views of interest. In cartographic terms, these features belong to a set of visual elements that form a hierarchically coded symbolic system, which forms the top layer of the map. This is the layer that locates the elements denoting features of interest, on top of a more simple geographical layer denoting the contours of the land surface. The textual register of this representation assembles a hierarchy, in which the set of huts structure the text, marking out a pattern of huts to which the other features in the park are related.

Points or features of interest are identified as such on six occasions in the text map, and this pattern of repeated naming draws topographic features and vantage points of the park environment together as a set of sights and sites. The reader is directed to sights/scenes of volcanoes, waterfalls, streams, bush, and sites/vantage points of panoramic views. In this way the device of repetition systematically describes and marks the location of a repertoire of scenic features within the descriptive space of the text map. This mapping process sets out to order nature in the park environment within well-understood conventions of landscape aesthetics, which I will elaborate on in a subsequent section. These conventions draw on a discourse of scenic beauty which operates here by representing the exotic as already known, or in other words, to make the strange familiar.[53]

53 This is a deliberate inversion of the now widely quoted maxim "to make the familiar strange" stated by the 1920s New Objectivity movement in modernist photography who focused on urban spaces.

The text map, however, departs radically from cartographic conventions in the construction of the projection, or perspectival, elevation of the map. Driven by the communication imperative to cover as much ground as possible in the space available, the perspectives shift rapidly in cinematic sequence. The establishing view of the huts in the landscape cuts to the sleeping quarters of the interior spaces, followed by close-ups which point out details important to the subjects self care. The viewpoint then shifts back to that of the track traversing a *"beautiful mountain beech forest"*. This pattern of movement, established in the first hut sequence, is repeated in each of the hut descriptions and is linked together by the tracks, the pre-formed routes by which the expedition party will navigate the park. These sequences of rapidly changing viewpoints are consistent with spaces and practices experienced by a mobile subject. Thus, the agility of the textual register produces a text map that represents the park as sequences of exterior and interior spaces prepared for the subject to move into and through.

This is therefore a map that through its structure, hierarchy and textual devices positions the built environment of the park in the foreground. As symbols of settlement, and of a park prepared for the subject, the huts and tracks dominate. The leaflet was produced in the context of concern about the park's minimal public usage in the 1920s, with the lack of accommodation in the park identified as a significant issue (see section 1.5). The hut spaces and locations in the leaflet discursively represent a 1928 park that was, semiotically at least, well prepared to accommodate the recreational subject, with hut bases enabling access from all compass points.

As stated by its address to visitors, *Information for Visitors*, the leaflet is driven by an imperative to represent the park as recreational environment and to recruit visitors into this space. While specific recreational practices are denoted, this text map operates without the explicit guide of the legend convention,[54] addressing the 1928 recruit/visitor through a direct mode of address. The 'legend' or connoted meaning of the semiotic elements in the text is therefore embedded in the dominant discourse that shapes the recreational identity of the park. This is a discourse understood by the subject addressed. In the 1928 text map these semiotic elements are encapsulated as elements that constitute the discourse of the expedition.

54 The table included on the map that provides definitions for each of the semiotic icons in use.

The expedition as mode of outdoor recreation begins where the railway excursion ends. The discourses of excursion and expedition shape different kinds of spatial practices, and are accordingly represented through different textual registers. Where, as I have shown, the excursion is represented through a promotional language of inspiriting pleasure, in contrast the textual register of the text map draws on the authority of factual information. While these dual discourses exist side by side, it is the expedition that is dominant in 1928.

Expedition as recreation: scripting the subject into place

As the social layer of the text map, the discourse of the expedition fleshes out the spaces of the park represented in the Park Board's 1928 leaflet.[55] In the following sections I will show how the expedition operates as powerful discourse to regulate relations between the dominant semiotic elements in the park, specifically between the built and environmental spaces and the subject.

The expedition as programme was, by the early twentieth century, a refined method of social/spatial interaction and collective mobilisation. Its process was instrumental in the assertion and contestation of dominance over terrain, enabling exploration, discovery, claim and conquest. The expedition's embodiment of collective mobilisation, male heroics and physical toughness had in the preceding decades been exemplified, not only through the World War One campaign, but also in the Antarctica explorations.[56] Central to the wider discourse of empire underpinning the colonisation of New Zealand, the power relations embodied in the expedition, both exploratory and military, were widely understood as normative (see Eskilsson, 2003, pp. 116-117; Morin, Longhurst & Johnston, 2001; Phillips, 1987/1996). The Tongariro Park Board's representation of the park in 1928 directs the expedition into a space designated as recreational and invested with national significance. This expedition carries forward the conventional script for the control and conquest of terrain as a recreational performance. The recreational expedition provides a means through which the still predominantly wild environment of the 1928 park can be understood and defined. While recreational, this kind of expedition remains, as I will show, a goal-focused and collective endeavour regulated by a prescribed set of relations.

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55 I use the term social layer here to describe what in cartographic terms is known as the thematic layer.,a coding system for recording activities related to human intervention on topographical maps.

56 Including the Amundsen, Shackleton and Scott Antarctica/South Pole expeditions between 1907 and 1913.

The recreational expedition focuses on the primary goals of climbing (conquering peaks) and sightseeing (capturing sights). These goals are enabled by the practices of walking, the formed tracks, and the interior spaces of the huts that provide for the temporary settlement that the expedition requires. The winter snow sports "*skiing, tobogganing and glissading*" are also mentioned (see page 3 of leaflet). As the activities featured in the Railways leaflet they are defined, at this time, by the discourse of the excursion. Unlike the expedition the activities related to the excursion are "*within easy reach*" of the excursion destination, the Whakapapa Huts.

The recreational expedition is therefore enacted through walking, climbing, hut-habitation and sightseeing. These take place at the sites and spaces designated in the leaflet and are the means through which the subject partakes in the park. The following sections will demonstrate first how the discourse of expedition operates in each of the park's dominant spaces and practices and, secondly, render an interpretation of the subjectivities produced in this formation. I begin by addressing the hut, the expedition base. I will show how the hut spaces represented in the leaflet are consistent with the programme of expedition and how the practising of these spaces constitutes the 1928 park subject.

Hut spaces, hut practices, hut subject

The built structure of the hut, like the tent it replaced, is a temporarily occupied space. As base camps, the huts have a clear purpose and function laid out by the expedition process. The hut is the base point from which the group expedition proceeds into the park and achieves its mission, in this case walking and/or climbing and sightseeing, and to which it then returns.

The leaflet as representation first locates the huts on the western side of the park in relation to the mountains. The Whakapapa and Mangatepopo Huts are described as situated *"at the base of Mount Ruapehu"* and "*at the base of Mount Ngauruhoe"* respectively. This location of the hut at the base of the mountain is consistent with the situation of the base hut or camp in mountaineering expeditions. The Whakapapa Huts, a group of three huts and the largest on the mountain, are named as the primary base point for a climbing expedition into the park – *"these huts afford a splendid base from which to climb the three mountains".* (*Information for Visitors* leaflet, 1928, p. 1, para 2) It is the huts' function as base that draws hut, subject and recreational practice together as elements of the expedition.

It is worth noting that the sites named here as huts in 1928 were named by Cowan in his 1927 publication as camps. While the huts had replaced tents, the practices of staying in the hut remained similar to those of camping. The name 'camp', associated with a tentative or temporary settlement, carries with it the residue of the pioneer period of New Zealand's colonial history. The changing of the word 'camp' to 'hut' therefore signals a discursive shift in the representation of the park – from that of a park of tentative campsites to one in which the hut structure dominates. It is the interior space afforded by the hut structure that negotiates a space for the subject in the unsettled environment of the park.

The textual register engages a series of semiotic resources to produce the huts as spaces that invite occupation by the subject. Early in the text the huts themselves are symbolically placed in an environment where nature 'shelters' the hut. The text reads that the Whakapapa Huts *"are sheltered by a beautiful beech forest at an altitude of 3,710 ft."*. Thus, as the huts shelter the subject, both the hut and subject are sheltered by nature. The aesthetic of the picturesque is put to work here to frame a composed scene of hut and park, countering a fear of mountain places that Cowan alludes to in 1927. Like the structural framework of the hut, it is the picturesque that structures the subject into an intimate relationship with nature. As Cowan (1927) notes, *"with this increase of intimacy with nature the old fear of the mountains and snows has gone"* (p. 9).

As the sequence of hut descriptions progresses, a pattern emerges in the way each hut is represented. Each one is first described through its situation in the environment, followed by details of the hut's interior spaces including sleeping, cooking/eating and (where present) bathing facilities. Description of the walking routes to the huts and the scenic features of interest en route complete this pattern. The ordering of each hut within this descriptive regime sets up an element of predictability. This regularity echoes the learnt routines that characterise the overnight camp in the context of the climbing/walking expedition.

These representational strategies therefore compose a hut and park scene ordered by familiar symbols and routines. By attending to subjects' basic need for ontological security,[57] or sense of order, routine and wellbeing in the park, the text works to represent the park as a safe, ordered place for the subject and actively debunk the "*old fear of mountains"* that Cowan refers to above.

57 Ontological security is defined as the opposite state to that of existential anxiety (see Giddens, 1991).

At Ohakune Hut, for example, *"cooking – utensils, plates, cups and cutlery are provided free".* Attention to details at the level of eating implements supports this interpretation that the huts provide the structural elements for the maintenance of daily routines, including cooking and eating. At the Waihohonu Hut, "*situated on the eastern side of Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle",* the facilities are clearly more basic but nonetheless it "*is divided into two sections and will accommodate twelve persons*" and there is "*one large open fireplace".* In terms of meeting basic needs, this hut is closer to its origins as campsite, however, unlike the camp that is broken at dawn, the hut remains a park structure ready to accommodate the next group of visitors. The fireplace therefore functions not only as means by which to cook, but as symbol of temporary dwelling place. Therefore dwelling as practice is temporary, but the structure remains, and the process of dwelling is again repeated by other park visitors.

The built structure of the hut represents a ground already settled by those who have been before, differentiating this formation of recreational expedition from its exploratory origins. Thus the huts provide evidence that the ground has been prepared to accommodate the recreational subject. At Whakapapa, for example, *"the huts are divided into sections, each containing six bunks, and are provided with mattresses and pillows"* and *"The huts are provided with camp ovens and have open fireplaces".* The attention given to these details of the huts' interiors establishes an ordered and known interior environment. Thus the hut mediates the subject's relationship with an unfamiliar outdoor environment and symbolically reconciles it through the ontological security of its interior spaces.

These descriptions of the huts' interior spaces, and in particular of details of room divisions, sleeping and cooking/eating arrangements, attend, within the matter of fact register of information, to the subjects' basic needs. The rudimentary minimalism depicted functions within a paradigm of material reduction. This is a space where any notion of comfort is stripped back to the basic needs of the body. This paradigm of reduction to the body was, as Wevers (2004) has noted, a primary element of the walking track narrative, specifically in walking the Milford Track in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (p. 91). The functional simplicity and camping practices of the hut space can, in this context, be seen as an extension of that narrative. Camping at the hut, like the practice of walking the track, was a performance of self-sufficiency in a co-operative relationship with nature, underpinned by ascetic thinking.

The text's focus on the specific details of what is available at the huts also functions, more pragmatically, within the register of information and the discourse of expedition. The register provides prospective visitors with the information to conduct the preparatory phase of the expedition. These details enable the visitor to pack their expedition kit and organise the party in relation to the spaces provided by the park institution. This provides further demonstration of the discourse of expedition at work. It also indicates that the process of reduction to the body practised in track walking and hut-camping is one that requires careful preparation. The process of reduction begins with the preparation stage. It is noteworthy that the factual detail of the textual register focuses on the park institution's provisions for sleeping and eating, omitting mention of appropriate clothing or likely weather. This absence is noteworthy in that is suggests that the subject of address is already well inducted into this discourse and takes individual responsibility for their personal equipment.

The attention to spatial layout addresses matters of mixed gender social propriety that communal sleeping accommodation may raise. At the Whakapapa Huts the denotation of *"a special hut reserved for ladies*", which "*contains extra heating stoves"*, not only endorses the dominant, conventional gendering of the hut space as male, but takes special care to accommodate the female subject, with extra comfort. Other huts do not have separate spaces for women, or bathrooms with *"porcelain baths and basins".*

These statements that specifically highlight extra comforts beyond the spartan equipping of the other huts serve to position the Whakapapa Huts as a place for women in the park, semiotically preparing the ground for the soon to be built Chateau development. At Whakapapa, the most easily accessed huts close to the areas being developed for winter sports, women are clearly rhetorically configured as prospective park recruits. It is interesting to note that the specific mention of *porcelain* bathroom fittings is the only time a material is isolated in descriptions of the hut interior. This forecasts the discourses of material luxury that are to become a central strategy in the park formation discussed in the next part of this chapter. These markers suggest that a shift in the dominant gendering of mountains as masculine recreational places is underway. Importantly they point to the 'comfort' and 'care' of the body as a rhetoric through which the park is re-gendered as inclusive of female subjectivities.

Special arrangements, however, are not made for women in the other huts, and their floor-plans show that they remain closer to the base camp's functional dictates. These are small communal spaces for male walkers and climbers that, following the logic of the representation, exclude women by the lack of extra comfort provided.

Rhetorically configuring the hut subject

The text points to the rules and skills of the kind of recreation represented using semiotic elements from a discourse of outback self-sufficiency understood by those who already understand its semiotic codes. While the text marks out the discourse it does not embark on a process of induction, assuming prior knowledge of the expedition kit and rules. For example, the capitalised and parenthesised *"Primus"* and *"Perfection"* stoves which the text advises are provided at Mangetepopo Huts (see *Information for Visitors* leaflet, 1928, p. 2, para 2) are sufficiently coded by their capitalisation to require no further explanation to those subjects with prior knowledge. This coding of equipment functions as a mechanism through which the dominantly masculine nature of the expedition at this time is reproduced. That this subject is dominantly male gendered is evidenced by the alignment of the assumed prior knowledge with the outdoor survival skills widely taught through male gendered institutional regimes in the 1920s. These include military training, the Boy Scout movement, and outdoor education programmes in (boys) schools. All these regimes required both disciplined self-reliance, including physical fitness and basic needs, alongside communal contribution and teamwork (see Baden Powell & Boehmer, 1908/2005).

The hut, represented by the textual register through the factual details of its interior spaces and details, is an indice of the preparedness of the park space for the subject. At the same time these semiotic details indicate a subject who is appropriately skilled and prepared for hut occupation in the context of the outdoor expedition. In this way the discourse of expedition co-constitutes the hut as facility with a subject who has the requisite skills to use it.

The hut, as I have pointed out, is rendered through its interior spaces and details. This assertion of interior space in the outdoor environment is significant at a time when the Board was embarking on a process of institutionalising the park as a public recreation space. In this context, the hut becomes institutionalised as a structure and feature of the park. Its interior space asserts institutional permanence as the site visited, while repeated flows of

visitors move through it. In this position the hut mediates the subject's relationship to the park. The representation, as evidenced, takes particular care to assure the subject that at the hut a semblance of everyday routine can be maintained.

The huts therefore function as semiotic anchor in both the text and the park it represents. In this way they are a key resource in the recruitment of the visitor/subject. The textual register operates this function in two primary ways. In the first instance, I have illustrated how textual devices are deployed to represent the hut as a safe and accommodating base ***for*** the subject in the course of the expedition. Secondly, the textual register of information deploys specific factual detail about the hut to rhetorically configure the specific subject it co-constitutes.

Mobility and subjectivity in the park: climbing and a culture of physical fitness

In mapping out the park, the text tracks the terrain as sequences of movement to and through the park's spaces. These sequences shift between the interior scenes of the huts and the scenic features of interest of the park. That the subject is walking through the park is a given. The only time walking is stated as specific practice is where there is an alternative, in the case of the journey between Tongariro National Park Station and the Whakapapa Huts. *"Visitors,* for example, "*can either walk or motor to Whakapapa Huts*". One of the routes to Mangetepopo Huts can accommodate a horse and cart, and the second route, from Whakapapa Huts to Mangetepopo, is *"suitable for persons on foot or with pack-horses during the summer months".*

Travel on foot in the 1928 park is named as the practice of climbing. This choice of terminology is noteworthy, given the position that walking as recreational practice had gained since the late nineteenth century in precedents such as the Milford Track. In that context, Wevers (2004) has argued that walking was informed by "aspects of excursive and recreational practices deriving from Romantic ideas of walking as a cultural activity" (p. 40). Climbing, however, names the practice of track walking as a hard physical activity, as opposed to the more gentle cultural activity usually associated with walking. It is noteworthy that climbing has been selected in the leaflet to name the physical practice in the park, as opposed to mountaineering or even mountain climbing. The elimination of reference to mountains implies that this activity at the park is less specialised than the skills required for mountaineering. Walking, as Wevers has noted, belonged within excursive

practices. Climbing, rock climbing, mountain climbing and mountaineering belong to the discourse of the expedition, in which they are both practically and spatially related to the hut's position as base. Unlike the contemplative ambulation defining walking in scenic environments, climbing and mountaineering are goal-focused activities connoting a process of ascent (to the top) and descent. The goal-focused orientation that differentiates climbing from an excursion's walking is an important element in the way the text rhetorically configures the 1928 subject.

That climbing is a hierarchically elevated practice in the 1928 park is indicated by its early introduction in the text in paragraph three. Once the Whakapapa Huts have been located in the park and their interiors sketched out, they are then situated in relation to the practices and objects of the climbing expedition. *"These huts afford a splendid base from which to climb the three mountains"* (p. 1, para. 3). This sentence states a very clear set of relations between the activity of climbing, the function of the hut, and the mountains. The function of the Whakapapa Huts as base for the climbing expedition is emphasised through the use of the superlative "*splendid"*, confirming their specific value in the discourse of expedition. Thus the mediating position of the hut between climber and mountain is established.

Once the text establishes the place of the hut in relation to a climbing expedition to any of the mountains in the park, the next move establishes a relationship between the time usually taken to climb Mount Ruapehu and the fitness of the climber. The climber is advised that "*the time taken usually to reach the summit of Mount Ruapehu is from seven to eight hours",* and subsequently that the climb to the summit of Ruapehu is "*by no means difficult and can be undertaken by any average person".* The sequence in which this information is laid out rhetorically configures a fit climber/subject. The textual register of information quantifies the ascent in terms of time and then qualifies this in relation to the subjects' fitness. This description of the climber/subject as *"any average person*" establishes the level of fitness required for an easy ascent as normative. This strategy both encourages and challenges the climber/subject. A seven to eight hour climb will only be considered "*by no means difficult*" by a subject who is physically fit and sure of their competence.

To gain a perspective on this it is interesting to compare the 1928 information with the 2011 guide to the summit of Ruapehu published by the Department of Conservation (see Appendix ii). This begins with a warning stating, "*These summit climbing routes are*

unmarked and should only be undertaken by experienced, well equipped people who can make effective judgements about alpine and volcanic hazards". Although nearly a century of experience has been accumulated, and the numbers of people likely to attempt the summit have vastly increased, the comparison nonetheless highlights the point made above. Further, this comparison indicates that the later discourses and subject/place constructions are very different.

The introduction to the practice of climbing Ruapehu, the highest of the three mountains, sets in motion a pattern of textual description that discursively shapes the relations between the subject and the park terrain. From the Mangatepopo base, "*the craters of Tongariro and Ngauruhoe can be easily reached"*. Ruapehu, therefore, and the highest points of the mountains, Tongariro and Ngauruhoe, are within easy reach of the subject. This pattern continues in relation to other scenic elements in the park, whose proximity is defined in relation to the subject's base in the park, the huts. The text notes that "*the Taranaki Falls, distant about two miles, can be easily reached from Whakapapa"* and further at Waihohonu, *"the Ohinepango Spring is within easy reach of the hut".*

Thus, this textual strategy affords the climber represented in the text easy conquest of the mountains and easy access to the park's scenic features, a position of control augmented by the huts. This discursive operation of toughening the subject by subduing the land therefore closely supports the interpretation of a subject/recruit formed through the discourses of resilience and self-sufficiency. This then is an *"easy"* environment when co-constituted by a prepared, fit and self-reliant subject.

The climbing expedition, therefore, discursively shaped the 1928 park as a site of productive recreation, based on the goal-focused work and improvement of the body. The practice of (mountain) climbing sets up a very different kind of relationship between terrain and subject to that of walking. It is a relationship whereby the land (through the gradient or degree of difficulty of the terrain) challenges the subject. This, in the 1928 leaflet, is represented as a social performance of masculinity whereby terrain is conquered through fitness. The representation of the terrain as an easy landscape reduces the scale or difficulty of the mountain environment of the park and encourages participation by these able-bodied subjects judged as normative.

In this context it is relevant that Daley (2003) has noted the concern in the early decades of the century over the poor state of physical fitness of New Zealand males, especially in relation to the demands of military performance. She notes the rise of physical culture as a social movement with national benefits in early twentieth century New Zealand (pp. 66-67). The discourse of expedition in the 1928 leaflet supports the physical culture movement, establishing a reference point for physical fitness based on the degree of difficulty of the topography of the national park. The physical culture movement draws on values of self-improvement and it is in this way that the expedition becomes a system of productive recreation in which physical improvement pays dividends for both individual and nation.[58]

The leaflet textual register thus embeds the values of the physical culture movement into the discursive formation of the national recreation ground. It specifically does this by defining socially normative expectations of masculinity through the recreational performance of physical fitness. This embedding of physical culture at the national recreation ground evidences a relationship between ideology and recreation that foreshadows the 1935 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act. Further, it foreshadows formations in subsequent decades in which national ideologies are performed at and through the park.

On the track: the co-constituted climbing/walking and sightseeing subject

Whether climbing or walking, physical locomotion in the park occurs (with a few exceptions as noted earlier) on foot. This core means of mobility, direct reliance on the body, is consistent with the self-reliant, self-sufficient subject, as discussed in relation to the occupation of the huts. The ambulatory nature of walking allows for a sense of physical immersion in the environment (see Ingold, 2000). The reference to views and scenic sites in the text of the leaflet positions sightseeing as an important objective of the walking experience. This is consistent with early tourism's elevation of the visual apprehension of natural environments through the practice of sightseeing.[59] In the 1928 representation of the park, sightseeing practices occurs while moving on foot through the park, with the sights seen from the defined routes and tracks. *"The track for about two miles is through beautiful mountain beech forest and crossing the Whakapapa River, one emerges into open country where a splendid panorama can be seen of Mount Egmont to the South and Lake*

58 See Daley (2003), pp. 66-67, for further discussion of the origins and historical practices of productive recreation.

59 See Chapter 2.2 for further discussion of the practice of sightseeing.

Taupo to the North". Sightseeing therefore in the 1928 park is a clearly a mobile and fully embodied practice.

Walking the track, therefore, is a process of physical inscription of the self onto the landscape, as the practice of walking determines a temporal and physical relation to the environment that affords a depth of perception. At the same time as travel on foot grounds the subject in place, the practice of sightseeing enables the subject to capture or 'take in' place. These dual perceptual modes occur at the same time on the track.

The track is the semiotic index by which climbing/walking is represented in the park and the site from which the sightseeing in the park takes place. While this is an individual embodied experience, the established track mapped out in the leaflet serves to standardise the way the subject travels/moves. In this way the tracks, like the huts, institutionalise the park experience and build a collective body of experience and understanding of place. As a result, the text represents the track as site where a co–constituted climbing/walking and sightseeing practice occurs. Sightseeing in the national recreation ground, where it is concurrent with the physical activities of climbing or walking, is therefore differentiated from other kinds of contemporaneous sightseeing practices both in New Zealand and internationally.[60]

Practices of collection: summits and scenic features of interest

Climbing and sightseeing are both goal-focused practices in which peaks are conquered and sights are captured. They both belong to the discourse of expedition (as opposed to the ambulation of the excursion, to which walking belongs) and are conditioned by the outcome driven objectives of the discourse. Climbing and sightseeing are inextricably linked – the highest site, the conquest of the climbing expedition, commands the best view or set of sights. Together the athletic practice of climbing and the visual practice of sightseeing result in an embodied knowing and claiming of place.

The representation of sightseeing in the brochure lays out the park as a sequential ordering of a set of peaks and a series of scenic features of interest. The park contains, the reader is advised in the first paragraph, numerous and beautiful *"natural features of interest*". Sequences of natural features are denoted as *"interesting"* and *"particularly interesting"*

60 Including rail excursions, site-specific urban sightseeing etc. that do not involve walking long distances.

alongside variations such as "*well worthwhile"* and "*well worth a visit".*[61] This signposting of features of note is established in the first paragraph and subsequently repeated throughout the rest of the text. The Silica Springs, for example, are *"another feature of interest … distant about three miles through the bush, and passing gorges and waterfalls en-route".*

All three mountains are represented as climbing opportunities. The Whakapapa Huts, it is noted, *"afford a splendid base from which to climb* ***all three*** [emphasis added] *mountains in the park*". The park then is represented as container of features of interest – a collection of interesting sights and a set of mountains. Collecting mountains as a set of summits to be reached was an imperative that shaped mountaineering culture in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland (Lorimer, 2008, p. 187). While the three mountains of the Tongariro National Park are a somewhat smaller set than that of The Munros, a set of 284 mountain summits in Scotland (p. 186), the textual register clearly sets out the mountains as a set to be climbed. This systematic annotation of the park draws climbing and sightseeing together into a third practice evident in the text, that of collecting.

The evidence of collection as a means of understanding and coming to know the park in 1928 is significant in terms of the park's former and subsequent representations. It is an echo in scenic and recreational terms of the botanical survey of the park carried out by Leonard Cockayne in 1908. Further, the textual register shapes the park as inventory of features for curation, foreshadowing recreational and educational practices that shaped the park in the 1970s and 80s.[62]

Once identified as being of 'collectible' interest, the features of the park's natural environment are represented through an operative strategy signified by adjectives related to their aesthetic qualities. These features are described in the text as "*beautiful", "splendid"* and "*magnificent".* This operation activates aesthetic ideals to co-constitute environment and subject through the activity of sightseeing. These operations work closely together in shaping the terrain of the national recreation ground as landscape.

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61 The signposting of features as "interesting" generically categorises them but for unspecified reasons. It assumes that natural features of the park will hold interest. This assumption is supported by Kant, who in 'Critique of the Power of Judgement' discussed nature as aesthetic exemplar and therefore of interest.

62 As seen in analysis of publicity material for the Tongariro National Park outside of the data set of this study. By the late 1980s the semiotic elements of the park were being discursively reconfigured to support the recuperation of indigeneity and the emerging state discourse of biculturalism.

Those features identified as interesting include *"beautiful forests, waterfalls, glaciers, lakes"* and the extinct and active volcanoes. This list concurs with the repertoire of natural features belonging to the category of the 'beautiful'. The text evidences then, that those features noted as of interest or worth (with the exception of the active volcanoes) conform to aesthetics of nature based on the theories of the beautiful and the picturesque. A philosophical understanding of the sublime and the beautiful as defined by Shopenhauer (1818) links the beautiful to an aesthetic experience of nature in which the subject is unthreatened and safe, unlike the sublime, which may overwhelm the subject with its power. Gilpin's late eighteenth century development of the theory of the picturesque was situated between the two (see Gilpin, first published 1792). The picturesque (or picture-like), as Carlson (2009) notes, "advocates aesthetic appreciation in which the natural world is experienced as though divided into art like scenes" (p. 4). In this way the theory of the picturesque negotiated a transition between an aesthetics based on the representation of nature in art, in particular landscape painting and an aesthetics based on the direct appreciation of nature. The theory of the picturesque regulated the representation of natural environments by framing the visual apprehension of nature as aesthetically composed scenes. As a powerful discourse, the theory of the picturesque was highly influential in shaping early tourism and the activity of sightseeing, laying down a set of principles for the mechanical recording and reproduction of the scenic image. Thus the picturesque frames the beautiful as the scenic. Captured within this frame, the scenic park is objectified and unthreatening to the subject.

The process of constructing the park terrain as a safe and unthreatening place is further confirmed by the way that potentially threatening (sublime) features are described. Care is taken to ensure that the park is not represented as a threatening environment. The extinct volcanoes, for example, are introduced before the active ones. Ruapehu's volcanic crater-lake contains warm (not boiling) water. The description of the huts as "*sheltered by a beautiful beech forest*" evidences 'the beautiful' as another factor contributing to the subjects' sense of ontological safety in the park. Here, the ontological safety of the environment and hut are positioned within the regime of the beautiful. The framing of the park as picturesque further subdues the potency of the environment. Both aesthetic strategies initiate a process through which the environment becomes object, separated from the subject and perceptually apprehended for scenic pleasure, from a position of ordered safety. Thus, these aesthetic regimes activate a relationship between subject and object where the subject is confirmed in a position of mastery and control, acculturating the national recreation ground as scenic landscape.

The wide locating view of the panorama reiterates the subjects' position of control through a different kind of aesthetic operation. Featuring twice in the representation panorama emerges, in the first instance, in a narrative sequence structured by the movement of the track through the park. The text reads "*the track* (heading towards the summit of Ruapehu) *for about two miles, is through beautiful mountain beech forest and crossing the Whakapapa River, one emerges into open country, where a splendid panorama can be seen of Mount Egmont to the south and Lake Taupo to the north".* In this representation, the panorama establishes the command and reach of the view afforded by the slopes of Ruapehu. The view lays out the surrounding terrain as a map able to be surveyed and understood in its entirety as a set of relations. The representation defines the location of the park in relation to Lake Taupo and Mount Egmont. Thus the elevated plateau and the viewing subject in situ are both in command of the panoramic view. The panoramic moment provides a moment of visual expansion in the track narrative, otherwise compressed by the closer focused views seen from walking on the track.

The panoramic view, therefore, enables the subject to visually behold and survey the landscape. Hence, it has been argued, it positions the subject not only in command, as spectator, but also in possession, as speculator. This is a representational strategy deeply embedded in a colonial relationship to land (see Pound, 1984, for further discussion of framing and the panoramic view). Both positions served to define the seamless expanse of the all-seeing panoramic view as pinnacle in the repertoire of sightseeing in early tourism. Thus alongside the aesthetic ideals of the beautiful and the picturesque, the panorama firmly locates the representation of the national recreation ground within the discourses of the scenic, sightseeing and emerging international tourism.

Sightseeing in the 1928 leaflet, is represented as a practice that takes place as the subject moves through the park in the course of the expedition. The register attends to factual information that names the park as set of "interesting" features. Thus the subject comes to know the park as collection of these features and elements. The practice of collecting features/sights/scenes and summits therefore shapes the park as a site of visual capture and physical conquering. The natural environment is represented as safe and unthreatening by the aesthetic operation of the beautiful and the picturesque. This represents the park within an established framework through which the aesthetics of nature are understood. This is a strategy that subdues the park, representing its strange and potentially threatening terrain as an accessible landscape for the fit and prepared park visitor.

4.4 Conclusion: emplacing the subject in the national recreation ground

This chapter has identified the dominant discourses at work in the shaping of the spaces and practices of the 1928 park in order to understand the specific kinds of subjectivities represented. The textual register of the *Information for Visitors* leaflet is shaped by the dominant discourse of the expedition. The expedition process and practice powerfully operates on the park to cohere all of the dominant semiotic elements. In this interpretation I have shown how the natural environment of the park, the built spaces of the hut and the park subject, are consistently co-constituted within this discursive formation.

The element that predominantly structures the representation of the park is that of the hut. The hut provides the base camp for the expedition, and therefore is the interior space in the park that supports the subjects' expedition endeavour. The hut is a simple, functional, materially reduced space that is represented in terms of its capacity to provide for the subjects' essential routines of self-care. The hut, it is clear in the text, comes with a defined set of practices. Those denoted in the text include cooking with portable gas stoves, camp ovens or open fires, communal co-habitation protocols in small spaces, and obtaining firewood. The subject is implicitly constructed as able to practice these things. The hut spaces are therefore practised by a subject who knows what the hut means as base camp in the context of the expedition, and is equipped with the camping skills for its use. As a 'permanent campsite' structure, the hut representations institutionalise the practice of the expedition in the park and at the same time co-constitute the hut's inhabitant, the expeditionary subject.

The park's huts are connected by a series of tracks and routes. Together, huts and tracks structure the park, and the course and sequence of the expeditions undertaken. The expeditions supported by the structure of base camps are focused on the practices of climbing/walking, and the sightseeing opportunities that occur on the way. The subject who participates in the expedition, loosely connoted as one of a party, is physically fit and ready to be challenged by the terrain. This is a dominantly masculine subject, for whom a performance of physical fitness is an assertion of gender and status. The textual register, however, encourages participation and the language of ease used to describe the terrain potentially rhetorically configures both genders as able to undertake a park expedition.

The masculine dominance of the general discourse of the expedition at this time and the normative masculine skills that it relies on genders the subject and park as dominantly male. I have, however, noted evidence of the strategic interpellation of the female subject as visitor to the Whakapapa Huts. The attention to material detail is an important signifier forecasting the discourses that will place female subjectivities in the subsequent formations of the park. The male gendered national recreation ground is therefore being in a process of being redefined. The huts at Whakapapa semiotically prepare the site for the new formation of the hotel that, in 1928, was already at a well-advanced stage of planning.

The themes of goal-focused self-improvement, challenge and reward are all constitutive of the discourse of the expedition. Though regarded as recreation, the expedition is work, not play. The subject participating in this kind of productive recreation is therefore hard working and morally invests in the expedition process and its outcomes. That this practice takes place at the national recreation ground means that the expedition is institutionalised as a new form of national recreation/education.

In its address to the visitor, the textual register of the leaflet assiduously represents the natural environment of the park as controllable and secure. The subject of the 1928 park is therefore in control of the environment and of their body and their needs. Sightseeing is represented as a practice that occurs while climbing/walking but is an interlude – a moment of aesthetic pleasure and less strenuous recreation in the ever forward movement of the expedition. The subject retains control over the environment through the aesthetic subjugation of the park by the construct of the beautiful. The inventory of interesting features and views to be gained order the park as a knowable set for the collector of sights and summits. Meanwhile the safety of the hut as interior base in the outdoor environment prevails. Thus the structuring institutions of the park co-operate with an instrumental and active subject. This is a subject who values the physical, perceptual and social experiences of outdoor recreation.

By deploying the discourse of expedition, the 1928 representation looks backwards to the preceding years of the park's history and New Zealand's colonial period. While no longer specifically militaristic or exploratory, the expedition nonetheless has retained its utility as organisational and institutional strategy. Its operation was to reproduce the social performance of masculinity as a dominant practice at the national recreation ground in the

first decades of the century. The peripheral reference to a shift in the gendering of the park in the 1928 text, however, indicates that the status quo was soon to undergo change.

Given that this gendering change was to occur so rapidly, as I will address in the next chapter, it is noteworthy that the representation engages only lightly with the discourses of sightseeing and tourism. While the environment is aestheticised and views are privileged, the practice of sightseeing is not named as such. The aesthetic framing of the park initiates a connection to the principles of scenic preservation and tourism potential that were embedded in the foundational national park idea. They are, however, nascent and not activated in any speculative sense. The emphasis on the physical activities of climbing and walking is firmly asserted by the expedition, and sightseeing is an adjunct to the expedition, not a primary motivation.

The natural features of the park exist as semiotic elements laid out on the topographic surface, stating no more than their scenic or recreational interest and their spatial relationship to each other. It is not the map, but the familiar discourse of the expedition, that provides the means of knowing the territory and the foundation of the twentieth century formation of the park as national institution. Thus the discourse of the expedition emplaces the subject in the 1928 leaflet's representation of the park through the co-constitution of a specific discursively constructed place and with a specific subject. In 1928, the place – the huts and the natural environment of the park – offer base camps, tracks and physical challenges that are co-constituted by a (dominantly) fit male subject who understands their regimes and practices of use.

Chapter Five

The luxury playground

5.1 Introduction and overview

> *The Tongariro Park Tourist C., Ltd has acquired a lease of about 63 acres in the National Park and is erecting a commodious and up to date hostel, to be known as the "Chateau", which will be completed by 1st December 1929. The "Chateau" which will cost £80,000 will be modern in every respect, and with its Georgian architecture, plate glass, lounge of 5000 square feet, special parquetry dancing floor, rock garden, sun porches, central steam heating, steam cooking apparatus, cinema room, room telephone connections, garage, children's play room, electric elevators and with suites and a bathroom to every room, it will be the most up-to-date hotel in Australasia. Tongariro National Park Timetable, Fares and Tariffs,* Tongariro Park Tourist Company Ltd brochure, 1929.

This chapter focuses on early publicity for the Chateau Hotel project. It addresses material produced by both the hotel's developers, the Tongariro Tourist Company, in 1929-31, and in 1933 by its subsequent managers, the Tongariro National Park Board. I show how these representations produced the park as an international tourist site shaped by the strategies of entrepreneurial tourism development and the discourses of elite luxury and leisure. The representations of the Chateau in these texts spatialised the park in new ways when compared to those considered in the previous chapter. These new representations were premised on early twentieth century modes of leisure consumption as aspirational commodity. This new spatial formation provided a theatre for the performance and display of a new order of recreation defined by the leisured subject.

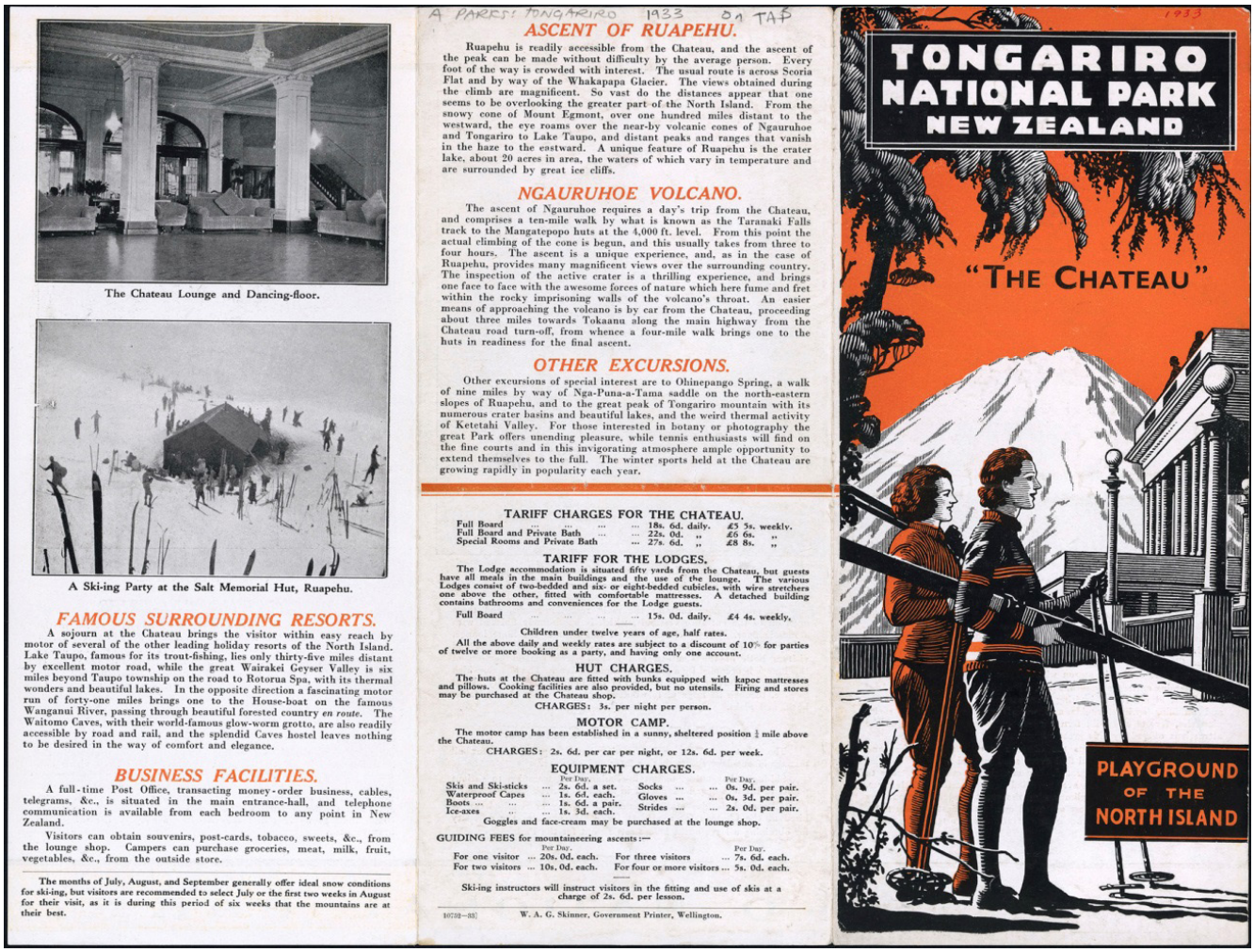
The vision of grand modernity *"to be known as the "Chateau"*, is notable for the foreign naming of the hotel. This initiates the semiotic investment of European cache at the site, something that is furthered in the selection of a (neo) Georgian architectural style for the structure.[63] The brochure excerpt above details a vast stronghold of interior spaces and "*up-to-date"* features to be located in the national park. Attending to the material and social pleasures as well as physical comforts of the subject, the hotel is assembled as a self-contained interior topography. Its exterior appearance and visual command of the landscape are, however, features at the top of the list. Georgian architecture will present a structure defined through the solidity and control of neo-classical style, while plate glass apertures will afford its subject the command of an uninterrupted view. In announcing the construction of the hotel, the above excerpt from the 1929 brochure demarcates a new era of socio-spatial-coding in the national park. It demonstrates the extent to which the material expanse of the new hotel rapidly departed from the discourses of material reduction that characterised the hut/park formation outlined in Chapter 4.

The interior topography of the hotel asserts a new presence in a park formerly characterised by its landforms, wild alpine environment and liminal hut structures. This new interior territory and its exterior form will inevitably reconfigure the park in subsequent decades, incite polemics and assert its dominance well beyond the domain of hotel grounds carefully defined in the excerpt above.

This chapter addresses this period of the formation of the Tongariro National Park through close analysis of publicity material for park and hotel published in 1933 – four years after its opening in 1929, and only five years since the 1928 Park Board publication discussed in Chapter 4. By this time the hotel was under the management of the government Department of Industries, Commerce, Tourist and Publicity.[64] The brochure that provides the evidence for the interpretation in this chapter was produced by the Tourist Department in 1933 (see Figure 11) and has been selected to represent the 1929-1939 period of the park's formation.

63 Although it should be noted that in architectural terms Chateau style and neo-Georgian style exist within separate domains.

64 After the bankruptcy of Tongariro Park Tourist Company in 1931, the lease was returned to the mortgagee the Tongariro National Park Board, and after nine months of further difficulties was transferred back to the Government Tourist Department (then part of the Department of Industry, Commerce, Tourist and Publicity).



The Chateau Lounge and Dancing-floor.

A Ski-ing Party at the Salt Memorial Hut, Ruapehu.

FAMOUS SURROUNDING RESORTS.

A sojourn at the Chateau brings the visitor within easy reach by motor of several of the other leading holiday resorts of the North Island. Lake Taupo, famous for its trout-fishing, lies only thirty-five miles distant by excellent motor road, while the great Wairakei Geyser Valley is six miles beyond Taupo township on the road to Rotorua Spa, with its thermal wonders and beautiful lakes. In the opposite direction a fascinating motor run of forty-one miles brings one to the House-boat on the famous Wanganui River, passing through beautiful forested country *en route*. The Waitomo Caves, with their world-famous glow-worm grotto, are also readily accessible by road and rail, and the splendid Caves hostel leaves nothing to be desired in the way of comfort and elegance.

BUSINESS FACILITIES.

A full-time Post Office, transacting money-order business, cables, telegrams, &c., is situated in the main entrance-hall, and telephone communication is available from each bedroom to any point in New Zealand.

Visitors can obtain souvenirs, post-cards, tobacco, sweets, &c., from the lounge shop. Campers can purchase groceries, meat, milk, fruit, vegetables, &c., from the outside store.

The months of July, August, and September generally offer ideal snow conditions for ski-ing, but visitors are recommended to select July or the first two weeks in August for their visit, as it is during this period of six weeks that the mountains are at their best.

A PARRS: TONGARIRO 1933 ON TAP

ASCENT OF RUAPEHU.

Ruapehu is readily accessible from the Chateau, and the ascent of the peak can be made without difficulty by the average person. Every foot of the way is crowded with interest. The usual route is across Scoria Flat and by way of the Whakapapa Glacier. The views obtained during the climb are magnificent. So vast do the distances appear that one seems to be overlooking the greater part of the North Island. From the snowy cone of Mount Egmont, over one hundred miles distant to the westward, the eye roams over the near-by volcanic cones of Ngauruhoe and Tongariro to Lake Taupo, and distant peaks and ranges that vanish in the haze to the eastward. A unique feature of Ruapehu is the crater lake, about 20 acres in area, the waters of which vary in temperature and are surrounded by great ice cliffs.

NGAURUHOE VOLCANO.

The ascent of Ngauruhoe requires a day's trip from the Chateau, and comprises a ten-mile walk by what is known as the Taranaki Falls track to the Mangatepopo huts at the 4,000 ft. level. From this point the actual climbing of the cone is begun, and this usually takes from three to four hours. The ascent is a unique experience, and, as in the case of Ruapehu, provides many magnificent views over the surrounding country. The inspection of the active crater is a thrilling experience, and brings one face to face with the awesome forces of nature which here fume and fret within the rocky imprisoning walls of the volcano's throat. An easier means of approaching the volcano is by car from the Chateau, proceeding about three miles towards Tokaanu along the main highway from the Chateau road turn-off, from whence a four-mile walk brings one to the huts in readiness for the final ascent.

OTHER EXCURSIONS.

Other excursions of special interest are to Ohinepango Spring, a walk of nine miles by way of Nga-Puna-a-Tama saddle on the north-eastern slopes of Ruapehu, and to the great peak of Tongariro mountain with its numerous crater basins and beautiful lakes, and the weird thermal activity of Ketetahi Valley. For those interested in botany or photography the great Park offers unending pleasure, while tennis enthusiasts will find on the fine courts and in this invigorating atmosphere ample opportunity to extend themselves to the full. The winter sports held at the Chateau are growing rapidly in popularity each year.

TARIFF CHARGES FOR THE CHATEAU.

Full Board	... ...	18s. 6d. daily.	£5 5s. weekly.
Full Board and Private Bath	...	22s. 0d. ,,	£6 6s. ,,
Special Rooms and Private Bath	...	27s. 6d. ,,	£8 8s. ,,

TARIFF FOR THE LODGES.

The Lodge accommodation is situated fifty yards from the Chateau, but guests have all meals in the main buildings and the use of the lounge. The various Lodges consist of two-bedded and six- or eight-bedded cubicles, with wire stretchers one above the other, fitted with comfortable mattresses. A detached building contains bathrooms and conveniences for the Lodge guests.

Full Board ... ... 15s. 0d. daily. £4 4s. weekly.

Children under twelve years of age, half rates.

All the above daily and weekly rates are subject to a discount of 10% for parties of twelve or more booking as a party, and having only one account.

HUT CHARGES.

The huts at the Chateau are fitted with bunks equipped with kapoc mattresses and pillows. Cooking facilities are also provided, but no utensils. Firing and stores may be purchased at the Chateau shop.

CHARGES: 3s. per night per person.

MOTOR CAMP.

The motor camp has been established in a sunny, sheltered position ¼ mile above the Chateau.

CHARGES: 2s. 6d. per car per night, or 12s. 6d. per week.

EQUIPMENT CHARGES.

	Per Day.		Per Day.
Skis and Ski-sticks ...	2s. 6d. a set.	Socks	0s. 9d. per pair.
Waterproof Capes ...	1s. 6d. each.	Gloves	0s. 3d. per pair.
Boots	1s. 6d. a pair.	Strides	2s. 0d. per pair.
Ice-axes	1s. 3d. each.		

Goggles and face-cream may be purchased at the lounge shop.

GUIDING FEES for mountaineering ascents:—

	Per Day.		Per Day.
For one visitor ...	20s. 0d. each.	For three visitors ...	7s. 6d. each.
For two visitors ...	10s. 0d. each.	For four or more visitors ...	5s. 0d. each.

Ski-ing instructors will instruct visitors in the fitting and use of skis at a charge of 2s. 6d. per lesson.

10792—33] W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington.

1933

TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK NEW ZEALAND

"THE CHATEAU"

PLAYGROUND OF THE NORTH ISLAND

Figure 11: Tongariro National Park and The Chateau publicity brochure, 1933, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Front and back panels and right reverse panel.

In aspiring to be the "*most up-to-date hotel in Australasia*", in a remote alpine environment, the Chateau project was ambitious. While the urban grand hotel was well established, the idea of a grand and luxurious hotel at a national park was a first for New Zealand. Its precedents, however, were well established in the North American national park/railway hotel model. The Hermitage at Aoraki/Mount Cook, the South Island's remote alpine hotel, was the nearest local comparison. While an international tourist destination, The Hermitage was not a luxury hotel and its origins were closely tied to mountaineering practices in the Southern Alps.[65] The Hermitage site was leased by the Mount Cook Tourist Company, sister company to the Tongariro Park Tourist Company.[66] Rudolph Wigley, managing director of both companies, developed a hotel for the Tongariro National Park very different to that of the wooden colonial style structure of The Hermitage. In Wigley's

65 See Morin et al, 2001 for further discussion of mountaineering and The Hermitage.

66 After several years of negotiation, a lease between the National Park Board and the Tongariro Tourist Company was signed in 1928 and the hotel was rapidly constructed in 1929.

plan, the new Chateau Hotel would be the central tourist destination of the North Island, complementing its southern counterpart, whose place as the central southern alpine destination was well established (Tongariro Tourist Company Prospectus, 1927).

The Chateau was, from its inception, a speculative development premised on the growth of international tourism. The hotel and park were forcefully repositioned as a commercial venture through the deployment of a powerful set of semiotic resources. Although a suitable hostel at the national park had been promised a decade earlier, the architectural programme of neo-Georgian grandeur and scale designed by Herbert Hall of Timaru was a later development. Although fuelled by the growth in international tourists seen in the early 1920s, the reckless ambition and rapid construction of the project was akin to that of urban development in the latter part of the decade prior to the Depression.[67]

The drawing of the Chateau included in the Tongariro Tourist Company's 1929 publication (see Figure 1) indicated that a radical transformation of the park within a very short time period was imminent. Already the subject of public discussion before its opening, established recreational users of the park were divided in their response to the idea of a luxury hotel. It was supported by some, including the primarily Auckland-based membership of the Ruapehu Ski Club. For others, however, including the Wellington-based Tararua Tramping Club, the elitist values of the luxury hotel clashed with the egalitarian principles embedded in the national park idea. One commentator noted in the Dominion newspaper in 1928 "that between the extremes of a rough hut and a palatial hotel the ordinary New Zealander would have nowhere to stay".[68] Nonetheless when the foundation stone of the hotel was laid in February 1929, it embedded a new structure that would irrevocably change the identity of the park and underpin its subsequent formations. The hotel opened in 1929 as the Depression set in and the growth in overseas visitors seen in the early twenties rapidly declined. Its luxury, perceived as out of reach of the thrifty New Zealander in a Depression context, meant lower than expected numbers of local visitors (Khoey, 1995, p. 41). Construction budget overruns followed by high running and maintenance costs exacerbated financial difficulties. Luxury in a near wilderness remote environment, it was evident, came at a significant cost.[69]

67 The Civic Theatre in Auckland was also constructed in 1929, but unlike the Chateau was not completed before the Depression.

68 Dominion, September 7, 1929, cited by McLure, 2004, p. 136.

69 After two years of operation the Tongariro Tourist Company was declared bankrupt and the hotel returned to the mortgagees, the Tongariro National Park Board. In November the same year it was returned to the Tourist Department (McLure, 2004, pp. 138-140).

Although publicity had been widely used to promote The Hermitage in the 1920s, there is little evidence of the constricted Tongariro Park Tourist Company's promotion of the Chateau following its opening in 1929. After the hotel's return to the Tongariro Park Board, and subsequently to the Tourist Department in 1931, advertising was prioritised. A national campaign in 1931 produced peak numbers of visitors and this was followed by high investment campaigns in subsequent years. Given the downturn in international tourists to New Zealand in these years, national visitors were essential for the hotel's economic survival and campaigns used state of the art visual strategies to target a wide range of the population.

5.2 Brochure as artefact: technology, design and form

The Tourist Department's 1933 brochure (Figure 11) demonstrates a radical shift in its design and technologies of production from that of the Park Board's modest typeset brochure published in 1927. Chromolithography, photogravure and half-tone dot printing had been widely used by commercial artists and printers throughout the 1910s and 20s. Warranted by the extent of state investment in rail, New Zealand Railways had prioritised publicity in these decades, much of it produced in-house by their own publicity studio. The production values of the 1933 brochure demonstrate a similar investment in design and publicity as strategic response to the financial difficulties of the hotel. Graphic and photographic images using what were then 'state of the art' media feature as central elements in a multimodal text. It is worth pointing out therefore that the shift in the underlying ethos of the park experience represented in the brochure artefacts, from one of material reduction in 1928 to that of material and technological expansion in 1933, is reiterated in the brochure's corresponding deployment of rhetorical and material strategies. The practices of leisure and tourism consumption central to the Chateau development were reliant, like other modes of modern capitalist consumption, on the communicative work of high impact persuasive visual strategies.

Unfolding the cover story

The 1928 brochure artefact, as discussed in Chapter 4, followed the representational form of a survey map of the park – the written text characterised by rapid movement between the wide establishing views and close-up details in its construction of subject and park. The representational modes and material form of the 1933 publicity brochure, however, shape the park through very different strategies. First, the dual modality of the 1933 brochure utilises the rhetorical work of visual semiotic resources as well as those of figurative textual

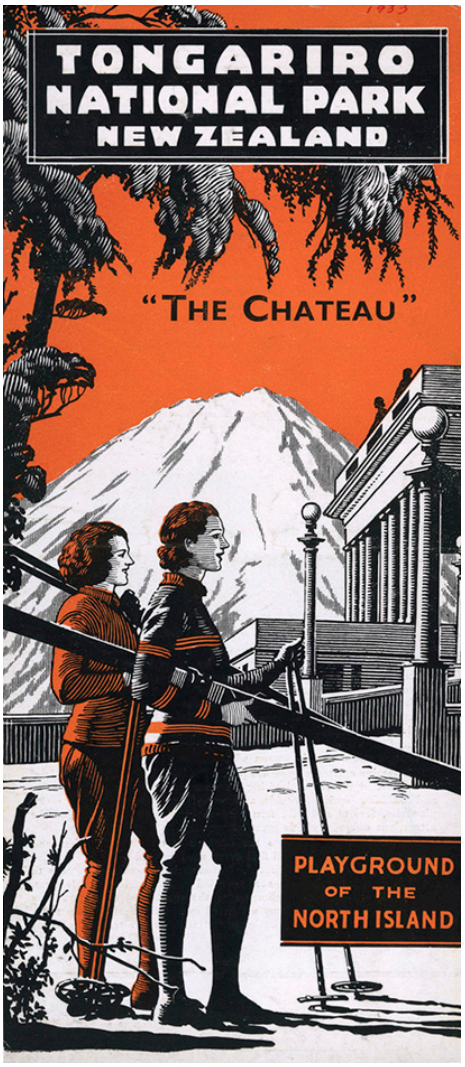


Figure 12: Tongariro National Park and The Chateau publicity brochure, 1933, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Front panel.

language. Secondly, the frozen semiotic moments of the illustration or photograph reveal their contents all at once in one cognitive frame. This is a very different mode of representation to the progressive linear momentum of the descriptive survey of 1928.

The folded paper form of the brochure features a pictorial cover unfolding to a three-column width spread. This form and structure affords a specific set of tactile and cognitive operations through which the content of the brochure is delivered to the reader. This engagement begins with the pictorial and compositional work of the cover illustration. The design of the cover announces the new park formation, which I name in this interpretation as 'the luxury playground'. The brochure's cover pre-figures and summarises the representations that unfold when it is opened (see Figure 12).

The choice of illustration for the cover follows figurative modes of representation characteristic of New Zealand graphic design in the 1930s.[70] At this time illustration held a secure place as a rhetorically powerful mode of visual communication. Its drawn and constructed qualities enable the compositional control of strategic semiotic and spatial relationships in the production of a compressed narrative.[71] Further, as iconic signs, the illustrated semiotic resources resemble their referents, but are a step removed from the high visual modality of the photograph.[72] This

70 Figurative illustration was characteristic of art deco design in this period in New Zealand and internationally.

71 Unlike the verisimilitude of photography or the abstract symbolism of typographic composition.

72 See glossary for definition of modality, following Halliday (1978) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996).

modality produces, it has been argued, a structured pictorial space, which is "bound up with the interests of the social institution within which the pictures are produced, circulated and read" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 45). The narrative and rhetorical configuration of this space invites reading subjects to recognise and position themselves within it. The cover illustration therefore plays an important role in achieving the discursive transformation of the national recreation ground of 1928 into the luxury playground of 1933.

The park represented on the cover is characterised by new symbolism – neoclassical architecture, women, skis and slopes. These novelties are announced by both text and image. The cover shows us that Europe's fashionable winter sport of skiing, together with the old world codes of civilisation deployed in the hotel architecture and the building named 'The Chateau' now define the park.[73] The volcanic cone of Ngauruhoe asserts the new world environment in which these old world values are at work.

Unlike the earlier representations of the Chateau in publicity produced by the *Tongariro Park Tourist Company* in 1929 (see Figure 1), this text now figuratively places the subject in the park. The women skiers connote a newly styled park where active female subjectivities recreate. This is a clearly very different place to that of the masculine gendered huts, tracks and the physical regimes that shaped the national recreation ground of Chapter 4. The layout of the cover design creates maximum visual impact, ordered by the use of several key syntactical devices. Framing elements connect and enclose the primary semiotic elements. Branches of mountain beech frame the foreground figures of two women skiers who stand poised looking to the right, outside the frame. The classical columns of the Chateau facade declare the hotel's presence in the middle ground, and the iconic cone of Ngauruhoe as background pulls the elements into a coherent visual field. The compressed arrangement of fore, middle and background planes push the set of semiotic resources to the front of the picture plane. This results in a compact set of rhetorical operations where each semiotic element holds equivalent salience in the new park formation.

The rhetorical effect of framing devices is augmented by the connective work of the directional vectors; here the illustrated skis form horizontal vectors across the composition, connecting the subjects to the hotel. At the same time the orthogonal vector, formed by the pediment of the east-facing Chateau portico, directs the reader's eye into the

73 The ski resort was a feature of early twentieth century Swiss tourism and publicity (see for example the Swatch posters by Herbert Matter from this period).

image, connecting the hotel and the south face of the mountain. The skis, as vectors, also emphasise the non-transactive direction of the skier's faces – the profile view directing their gaze to the right of the frame, to the aspired locus of activity – *the playground of the North Island*. This is textually stated in the banner at the bottom right. This circuit of connective devices is therefore a visual syntax that tightly binds the subject, hotel and park together into a self-contained space of compositional and semiotic constitution.

Thus the cover announces a new park formation structured out of the relationship between the semiotic resources of the new hotel, the presence of the female subject, and the volcano Ngauruhoe. In this arrangement, the west-facing façade of the hotel is positioned between the women skiers (subjects) and the park (the mountain). By representing a view of and from the hotel (that of the cone of Ngauruhoe) in one composition, the illustration establishes the hotel's position at the centre and in command of the park environment.

While the illustration pictorially layers and compresses the semiotic structure, the typographic banner headings on the cover progressively reveal a hierarchy of naming the park arranged from top left to bottom right. In this way the headings assemble the formation through an additive process. The first order naming, the hand-drawn capitalised *Tongariro National Park New Zealand,* is expanded by the name and visual presence of *The Chateau,* and together they constitute the third order naming the *Playground of the North Island*. The location of the name The Chateau textually and visually converts the Tongariro National Park into the playground. It is also significant that, unlike the representation from 1928, the park is now named as located in New Zealand. The introduction of the words 'New Zealand' differentiates and globally places the park through the naming of nation. This identification marks out the relationship between the Chateau development at the park and the strategy to advance international tourism in the interpellation of the international visitor.

The typography floats in a contained hierarchy within the space of the illustration and the naming of place augments the pictorial narrative. This spatial collaboration of text and image produce a fictional space, textually named and visually represented. Following social semiotic theory, when text and image share representational space, the imaginative space produced facilitates the reader's identification with the subjects represented in the image (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 185).

In summary therefore the cover visually and linguistically introduces the new formation of the park as a luxury playground destination. Skiing, the activity represented on the brochure cover, bears the signature and associated appeal, in 1930s New Zealand, of international/European style and status. The exterior façade of the Chateau hotel represents a space of civilisation and status in a remote environment and in this way offers a new kind of social and spatial experience for both women and men in the park. The naming of the park as playground shifts the focus from the physical regimes of the tracks and huts, dominant in the 1928 brochure, to attend to the social potential of play and leisure. Finally it establishes a formal and theoretical structure in which the Chateau hotel now mediates the relationship between the subject and the park environment. This theoretical relationship will underpin the interpretation of the 1933 subject and park in the sections that follow.

The work of the analysis

The preceding section has analysed and interpreted the work of the front cover of the 1933 brochure to introduce a strategic relationship between the central semiotic elements of park, hotel and subject. The subsequent sections of the chapter will follow the logic of the brochure's form to unfold the discursive processes that produce the formation of the luxury playground. Each section will attend in turn to the relationship between hotel and park, and hotel and subject.

Section 5.3 focuses on the Chateau Hotel as the dominant index of human presence in the environment. I will show how the hotel is given a position of centrality in the park, and as a result co-opts the park, enhancing its dominance. In this position, the hotel mediates a new kind of relationship between the natural environment of the park and the subject. Section 5.4 focuses on how text and image collaborate to represent a subject constituted by the spatial and material programme of the hotel. I draw these co-constituted formations together in section 5.5. In this concluding section I will synthesise the evidence supporting the specific kinds of subject and park that emerge from my interpretation in the preceding sections. This evidence will define the particular qualities of the formation named the luxury playground.

5.3 Chateau and park

As the brochure is opened out to a triple column/fold spread, the commanding position of the Chateau in the new park formation is discursively constructed through multiple

strategies. In stating *"The Chateau, centred in the great Tongariro National Park"* as the first sentence of the first opening of the brochure, it locates the hotel at the centre of the park. Where in the 1928 brochure the park was textually positioned as a symbolic centre of the North Island, the Chateau claims a central place in the 1933 brochure. Inside the brochure, the reader is drawn further into the language and landscape of the hotel as a central feature of the park. This textual movement to the present tense is underscored by a shift in visual modality from the condensed imaginative space of the cover illustration to the high modality photograph. This rhetorically activates a move from the aspirational fiction of the cover to the textual and visual placement of the reader at the site.

Luxurious Comfort at the Chateau

THE CHATEAU.

The Chateau, centred in the great Tongariro National Park, which covers an area of 150,000 acres, situated in the heart of the North Island, is set amid an extraordinarily wide variety of scenic attractions of a most striking and unusual nature. Here appears to have been gathered something of the best of all that the Dominion has to offer for the holiday-seeker and the visitor to our shores. Nowhere could be found a more noble and inspiring setting for a building designed for the use and pleasure of the public, for that is what the Chateau represents. Actually, it is the property of the citizens of New Zealand, and is administered on their behalf by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

Beautifully situated on the fringes of a mountain beech forest, and backed by the majestic snow-clad heights of mighty Ruapehu,

Tennis on the Chateau Courts.

9,175 ft., the Chateau is surrounded by an extraordinary range of attractions. Within full view of its windows stands New Zealand's active volcano Ngauruhoe, its huge bulk rising 7,715 ft. above the northern skyline, while adjoining it is Tongariro mountain with its ancient craters, and still fiercely active Ketetahi springs sending up clouds of steam against its northern face. In the immediate vicinity of the Chateau are widespread plains, tawny with the golden brown of tussock and ablaze in season with leagues of alpine flowers.

Steaming craters, sulphurous pits, a hot lake, ice-cold lakes, glaciers, snowfields, alpine slopes inviting "snowmanship" in sport; torrents and bubbling springs, rapids and waterfalls, huge cliffs and rocky pinnacles, forests and wild fern gardens enumerate but a few of the attractions offered by this great playground.

As a base of operations the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance, and the visitor will find every need catered for. The interior is richly furnished and decorated. An electric lift conveys patrons to the various floors, which are provided with comfortable lounges. Charming bedrooms have glimpses of the great outdoors surrounding the building, and the interiors are fitted out in the best modern style. Many of the bedrooms have bathrooms attached, and a telephone stands at each bedside.

Sunshine and Leisure on the Chateau Balcony.
Ngauruhoe Volcano in the background.

The ground floor contains the main reception-rooms, and these open on to the entrance vestibule, which is handsomely finished with a mosaic floor. The special feature of this floor is the large lounge, 90 by 80 feet, being large enough to accommodate all guests and visitors both of the Chateau and lodges. The central portion of this lounge is occupied by a parquetry dancing-floor. The lounge, which is the special feature of the interior of the building, is happily placed to give, through its large plate windows, splendid views of mountains, bush, and plain.

A GREAT SPORTS CENTRE.

The Chateau offers endless variety and opportunities for all manner of out-door sports, both winter and summer.

Ski-ing, tobogganing, mountain-climbing, and tramping to various points of interest may be indulged in at all seasons.

All special clothing and equipment which may be required can be hired at the Chateau for a modest fee, which obviates the necessity for obtaining a large outfit before setting out for the Park.

GOLF-COURSE.

A nine-hole course, which will ultimately be extended to eighteen holes, is now being completed, and golfers are recommended to bring their clubs, as the course, even in its present condition, offers a very pleasant and interesting game.

MEANS OF ACCESS.

The Chateau is situated ten miles from National Park Railway-station, on the Main Trunk line, which is about halfway between Auckland and Wellington. From this point a short run in comfortable motor-vehicles for those arriving by train from north or south brings one to the doors of the Chateau. Visitors travelling by motor from Auckland or Wellington or any of the intervening centres will find good roads leading right to the Chateau.

The Chateau after a Snowfall.
Mount Ruapehu in the background.

FASCINATING SIDE-TRIPS.

One of the principal charms of this fascinating region lies in the fact that trips and outings may be undertaken from the Chateau suited to the capabilities of all. For those inclined to strenuous sport or mountain climbing, innumerable opportunities are available on the slopes of the great peaks, while for others a wide range of interesting walks and rambles may be undertaken within an easy radius of the Chateau. In this bracing and invigorating atmosphere, walking becomes a delight, which may be thoroughly enjoyed by persons of all ages. Apart from recognized trips, such as that to the Taranaki Falls, an easy two-mile walk, to Silica Springs, a three-mile walk through the beautiful beech forest, Whakapapanui Gorge, or to the Tama Lakes, five and a half miles, visitors will find never-ending pleasure in rambling about in the immediate vicinity of the Chateau. At every turn fresh vistas and scenes delight the eye. Here are clear, rushing mountain torrents spanned by swing bridges, dark-foliaged, moss-grown trees, miles of tawny tussocks bending to the breeze, meadows of alpine flowers, and always in the background the peerless majesty of the great volcanic cones, their snows reflecting the changing beauty of the skies from hour to hour.

The playground of the North Island
TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK

Figure 13: Tongariro National Park and The Chateau publicity brochure, 1933, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Inside panels, trifold spread.

The centring of the Chateau occurs both linguistically and visually. Following the lead of the front cover, the word scene that follows, from the second paragraph inside the brochure, re-states its position in a commanding setting in the park. *"Beautifully situated on the fringes of a mountain beech forest, and backed by the majestic snow-clad heights of mighty Ruapehu, the Chateau is surrounded by an extraordinary range of attractions".* In this excerpt, *"the Chateau"* is introduced mid-sentence, framed either side between the description of mighty Ruapehu and the extraordinary attractions that surround it. At the same time the exterior presence of the hotel, represented in the series of photographs (see Figure 13), asserts its place in the park. Framed in long and close-up views, the compositions are scaled so that the hotel's size and structure competes with the mountains as majestic form in the landscape. The text in the inside of the brochure attends foremost to the features and setting of the hotel, occupying about half of the text allocation in it. To position the Chateau at the centre of the park, the text engages a rhetoric that moves between the hotel's exterior and interior command of space. This occurs through a representational shift between hotel as object and hotel as subject.

Hotel co-opts park

The first sentence of the brochure text places the building in the park, transferring by association the qualities of the latter's *"majestic"* background, *"the snow-clad heights of mighty Ruapehu"*, to the building. While that sentence frames the view of the building in the park landscape, the second sentence, *"Within full view of its windows stands New Zealand's active volcano, Ngauruhoe, its huge bulk rising 7715 ft. above the mountain skyline",* frames the building's commanding view of the park's other dominant icon – Ngauruhoe. This rhetorical operation linguistically repeats the visual move on the front cover. This confirms the architecture's dual roles of both object seen in the park, and agentive structure that is in visual command of the landscape. In this way the building first occupies the park, before it surveys, captures and, later, affords the subject the view.

Once inside the hotel, on the inside pages of the brochure the text draws attention to material details and to the view – "*The lounge, which is the special feature of the interior of the building, is happily placed to give, through its large plate windows, splendid views of the mountain, bush, and plain".* In this way it is the hotel that gives the subject visual experience of the park outside. Here the lounge claims the drama of the outside view as a feature of its own space.

The bedrooms, however, the private spaces in the hotel, present a more intimate relationship to the outside environment. The text advises, "*Charming bedrooms have glimpses of the great outdoors surrounding the building*". The park, now abbreviated to fragment – a glimpse from the interior comfort of the bedroom – nonetheless remains present as spatial expanse, a mountainous world surrounding the building. This rhetorical comparison between "*the glimpse"* and "*the great outdoors"* emphasises the way in which the interior controls and orders the exterior space *"which surrounds the building*". The charm and intimate domesticity of the bedroom interior is enhanced by the alterity of the remote alpine terrain captured in the glimpse. In this echo of the ontological safety of the hut, the communal bunkroom is replaced by the intimacy of private bedroom.

The *"splendid views"* and *"glimpses of the great outdoors*" represent the hotel's control of views of the park. The representations of hotel architecture utilise the relationship between interior and exterior for specific purposes. In these instances, by aggrandising the interior space of the hotel lounge and emphasising a sense of intimacy and security in the bedrooms, it can be seen how the control of views of the landscape impacts on the hotel spaces. When in the hotel, it is through this lens of control, experienced in a space that is both public and hierarchically coded, that the subject gains access to the park. Whereas in 1928 the best prospect views of the park were obtained from key vantage points on the track, now, as the figures on the balcony in the cover illustration indicate, it is the hotel itself that offers this.

Hotel displaces park as destination

Discursively reconfigured as the grounds of the hotel, the representation of the playground occurs subsequent to the placement of the hotel's centrality. This relationship between architecture and grounds follows European landscape traditions dating from the seventeenth century, whereby the landscaped grounds form an extension of the domestic architecture, enhancing its view, reach and command (see for example Deitz, 2001, pp. 266-267). Accordingly the architecture is placed in a position of power, and together landscape and architecture form a semiotic unit. It is within this tradition that the hotel's landscape is represented in the text. Following this procession, the representation begins with the formed grounds of the tennis court and golf course closest to the hotel and radiates outward to the wild landscape beyond. The open fold closes with a section titled *Fascinating Side Trips*. Named as *"side trips"* and positioned at the end of the brochure, the body of the park is now clearly identified as a supplement to the main attraction – the hotel as a site of civilisation at the centre of the park.

The rhetorical movement of hotel into this position occurs visually in the first instance through the startling incongruity of its urban codes in the (remote) park landscape. The architecture of the Chateau is a melange of colonial neo-Georgian and vernacular style. The classically styled façade with the porte-cochère, selected to represent the hotel both on the brochure cover and as the feature image inside, is the dominant exterior feature that carries the semiotic weight in demarcating the hotel as a site of civilisation. The hierarchical ordering of the neoclassical form of the façade leverages the hotel's claim to grandeur, asserting its status as a site of civilisation and establishment. Its precedent and concurrent use in colonial urban settings for other kinds of urban buildings invested with power underwrite this status. The architectural language of the hotel is therefore drawn from a visual repertoire articulating power and control. Its deployment in the Chateau formation enables the hotel to disturb the scenic order and consequently appropriate the landscape. The semiotic volume of the hotel therefore displaces the natural environment of the park to become the primary destination.

As a grand hotel in a remote setting, the Chateau followed the North American precedents of the resort hotel. Like the precedents in remote locations,[74] its relationship to the outdoor setting is very different to that of its urban counterparts. Whereas the urban grand hotel offered a quiet place of respite from the metropolis, the resort hotel takes on a new position of control as an island of civilisation in its remote wilderness location. Following the social precedents of both the urban grand hotel and domestic manor house, the colonial classicism of the hotel now acculturates the park as an inhabited landscape. The hotel asserts the volume and presence of a self-contained dwelling world, and the codes of urban grandeur and civility within in the mountain environment.

The Chateau is positioned as "*A base of operations*" in the park, which echoes the central function of base assumed by the huts in the 1928 brochure. However, while the Chateau is represented as a (public) base, the text clearly differentiates the hotel from its base camp precedents, for as the text continues, "*the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance".* This sentence points to the tension between public and private interests in the park that was a polemical issue at the time of its development. The hotel's production of an elite space of luxury and comfort at the centre of the Tongariro National Park, which was sanctioned by egalitarian principles, was an issue of public debate at the time the Chateau project was proposed. The 1933 representation reveals that this remained an unresolved issue. Tension

74 Banff Springs Hotel in Canada for example.

over this conflict of values arises in the introductory paragraph that states *"Nowhere could be found a more noble and inspiring setting for a building designed for the use of and pleasure of the public, for that is what the Chateau represents".* The subsequent sentence then takes care to point out that the hotel is "*the property of the citizens of New Zealand, and is administered on their behalf by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts".* These statements reveal the disparity between the initial plan for a hostel at the park, and the imperatives of international tourism that the development was driven by.[75]

Park as playground

The naming of the park as *Playground of the North Island* on the front cover of the brochure sets a new formation of park landscape in place, significantly revising that of the 1928 national recreation ground. The park environment is now configured as an extension of the hotel's domain, and hotel and park are rhetorically drawn together in the combined entity of the playground. The park environment of 1928 was ordered through the subject's visual engagement with aesthetic ideals and a physical experience of terrain. In 1933 the hotel now orders the landscape. The *Playground of the North* is categorised as "*resort"*. This is further evidenced on the back cover, where the Chateau is positioned alongside the central North Island set of *"famous surrounding resorts*". This operation configures the luxury playground as resort by placing it in close company with destinations, including Waitomo and Rotorua, whose status as tourist resort sites had been established in the last decades of the nineteenth century.[76] This categorisation of resort draws hotel and playground into a spatial enclave well understood at the time as a place for holidays and leisure (see Inglis, 2000, for further discussion of the characteristics of the holiday). This determination of the luxury playground as holiday place for (institutionalised) leisure marks a distinctive shift from the productive physical work that characterised the 1928 formation. This shift can be seen in the contrast between the sober and earnest activities of walking and climbing of 1928, with the greater sense of play seen in 1933. The new focus on winter activities points to the ways in which the park will be developed in the future. These winter sports offer "*snowmanship*" and activities that are to be *"indulged in",* rather than the fitness regime represented in 1928.

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75 The initial agenda was to open up the park for greater use through the provision of hostel accommodation of a more commodious nature than that of the existing Whakapapa Huts. The Tongariro Tourist Company vision, however, was aligned to the cosmopolitan imperative to develop the site as a node in a network of international tourist destinations frequented at the time by the international leisured elite.

76 This use of resort is also consistent with the naming of the state agent currently administering the Chateau- the Department of Tourism and Health Resorts.

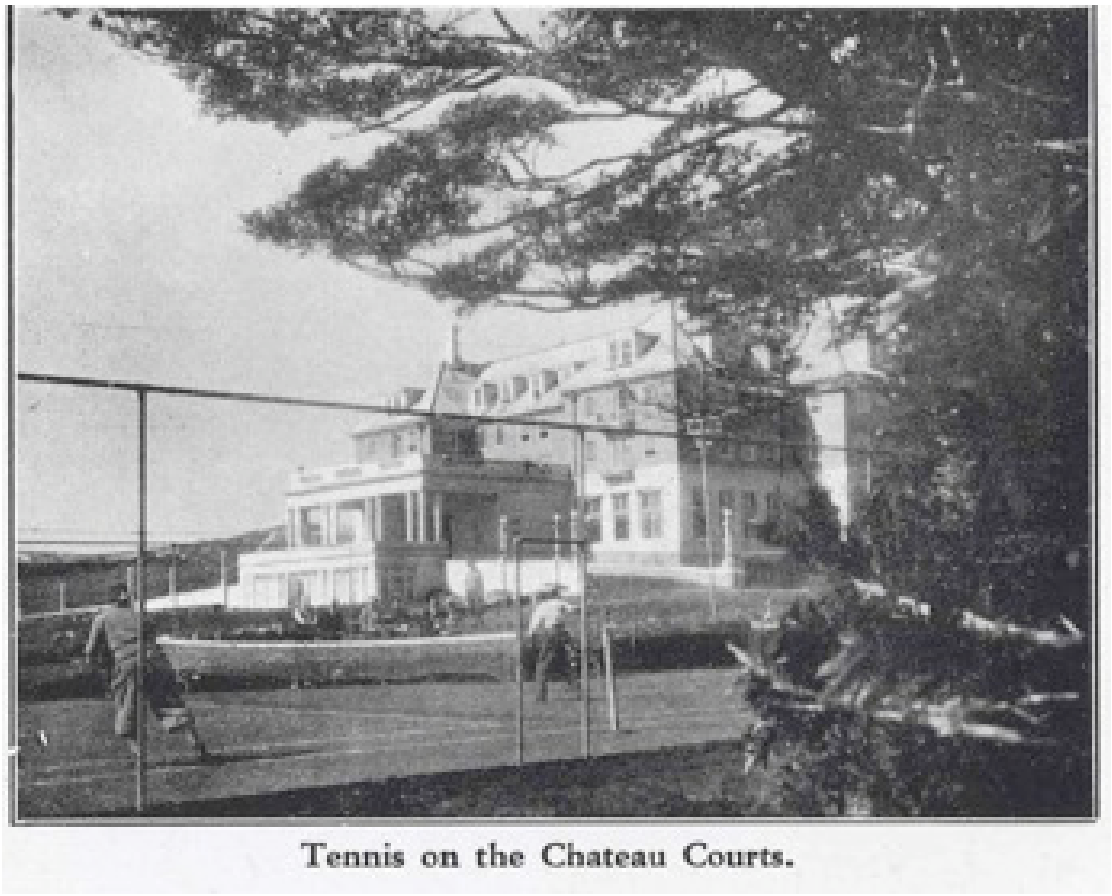

Figure 14: Tongariro National Park and The Chateau publicity brochure, 1933, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Detail inside left panel.

The social mode of play is well supported by the representation of the hotel through the tennis court fencing (see Figure 14), which displays one of a range of the sporting activities on offer close to the hotel. Thus the playground extends the hotel's reach in the social and spatial ordering of subject and landscape. The "*fascinating side trips"* which radiate from the Chateau, and *"the extraordinarily wide variety of scenic attractions*" the hotel is *"set amidst*", are described in a lyrical rhetoric that attends to visual and sensory pleasure. There is a hierarchy of ambulatory modes within the descriptions of the side trips as climbing, walking and rambling. The walks are of an easy, light physical nature, like the featured sporting activities of tennis and golf and snow sports. The "*walks and rambles may be undertaken within an easy radius of the Chateau"* and are ordered by their proximity to its location – *"In the immediate vicinity of the Chateau are widespread plains, tawny with the golden brown of tussock and ablaze in season with leagues of alpine flowers".* The representation

continues to validate the central position of the hotel, and now appropriates the poetic language of landscape to set the hotel within a romanticised scene.[77]

"In this bracing and invigorating atmosphere, walking becomes a delight … visitors will find never-ending pleasures in rambling about in the immediate vicinity of the Chateau". Here the representation of walking as rambling is aligned with its rising popularity at the time, both in Britain and New Zealand, as an activity for the educated middle and upper classes. Rambling, it needs to be noted, was defined as a more leisurely kind of walking than tramping, which was also becoming established as activity in the park in this period. The brochure provides ample evidence of the influence of Wordsworth and the other Romantic poets in the linguistic structure of the text. Poetically experienced walking becomes a classed activity, associated with the elite status of the hotel.

In the representation, the luxury playground is a place of visual romance – "*dark-foliaged, moss-grown trees, miles of tawny tussocks bending to the breeze, meadows of alpine flowers*". The mountains back the Chateau's playground, dramatising the setting and the hotel; *"and always in the background, the peerless majesty of the great volcanic cones, their snows reflecting the changing beauty of the skies from hour to hour".* In this poetic rendering, the landscape yet again provides the theatrical backdrop to the play that takes place within it.

5.4 Chateau and subject

In section 5.2, I outlined the discursive movement of the hotel into a position of power and control at the centre of the park. This occurred through the hotel's co-option of the park landscape and displacement of the park as destination. These discursive processes were activated primarily by the hotel's exterior interface with the park, and its dominance as a new topographical feature. This was achieved through the historicist use of a Georgian neoclassical programme and its revival of the established classical coding of authority and

77 As Wevers (2004) has noted, English Romantic literature was a significant influence in nineteenth and early twentieth century representations of walking in New Zealand. She suggests, "the literature of Romanticism portrays walking as the mode in which nature is best perceived" (p. 40). These 'lyrical' elements of the 1933 text, excerpted from Cowan's 1927 publication, provide evidence of the appropriation of this tradition for publicity purposes.

civilisation.[78] I have shown how by claiming this position of dominance, the hotel then visually and linguistically mediates the relationship between the subject and the park in the brochure representation.

In section 5.3, Chateau and park, I focus on the representation of the hotel as site and conduit of elite luxury and comfort, and the processes through which the subject is co-opted into this rhetoric. The representation of luxury focuses on the interior of the hotel. The hotel's coding of luxury, however, cannot be separated from the Georgian codes of its façade as these carry their historical connection to the class demarcation of English aristocracy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus the visibility of luxury, including material display and comfort as well as surplus leisure, have a relevant history of connection with the Georgian architectural programme. However, while the exterior façade reconfigures the park through the codes of civilisation, the hotel's interior interfaces and surfaces rhetorically configure the subject through the material codes and discourse of luxury.

From exterior to interior

The architectural programme structuring the exterior form initiates a semiotic regime that the interior will follow. The heading, *Luxurious comfort at the Chateau*, frames the discursive formation of the interior. The rhetoric of civilisation moves inside the hotel through the adjectival clause *"luxurious comfort"*. The heading positions the word 'comfort' at its centre and as its syntactical subject, rhetorically moving the represented subject into the enclosed warmth of the hotel interior. In contrast, two of the photographs in the inside of the brochure present the hotel exterior in a distinctly alpine park setting featuring snow-covered peaks (see Figure 13). These images of the outdoor environment surrounding the hotel heighten the ontological safety of interior comforts and luxury. This pattern of rhetorical interplay between inside/outside and text/image emerges as a dominant strategy in the brochure's representation of the park as luxury playground. Spanning all three columns of the page, the banner visually introduces the Chateau as site of luxurious comfort by heading up the horizontal arrangement of three photographic exterior views of the hotel in its setting, visually tagging text to image (see Figure 13).

78 The New Zealand Historic Places Trust, register number 7318, describes the architectural style of the Chateau as "American Colonial Revival, a variant of the interwar Georgian revival style" (see Appendix iii.).

Figure 15: Tongariro National Park and The Chateau publicity brochure, 1933, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer. Detail inside centre panel.

In the central photograph inside the brochure (see Figure 15), the Chateau balcony becomes the central foreground stage, with Ngauruhoe as backdrop. The dramatic properties of architecture and mountain are emphasised, using foreshortened perspective to produce a social theatre of *Sunshine and Leisure on the Chateau Balcony*. A convivial group of men and women are represented relaxing at leisure and taking tea on the balcony. The positioning of the group on the space in front of the porte-cochère makes use of the building's transitional zones between interior and exterior spaces. This location, between architectural face and the south face of Ngauruhoe, aggrandises the subjects. Both the backdrop of Ngauruhoe and the imposing spatial projection of the pillared frontage of the facade dramatise the location of the hotel. It is interesting to compare this photograph with the front cover illustration. Both contain the same elements, however, in the photograph

the hotel balcony now provides a liminal space for the display of the leisured subject. Unlike the imminent activity of a day on the slopes implied in the cover image, this representation of mixed gender leisure at the Chateau represents another new way in which the subject can be in the park. In the photograph, the architecture structurally and semiotically mediates the relationship between subject and place.

The introduction of the social process of play into the 1933 formation further validates this discursive alignment of the hotel with civilisation. Play, alongside recreational contest, as Huizinga (1955) has argued, assumes a civilising social function (pp. 46-47). The playground is therefore shaped as place of civilised leisure, enhanced in the representation by its location in a *"bracing and invigorating"* alpine environment.

Hotel provides a place for the female subject

The arrival of women in the park coincides with the architectural intervention of the hotel. In 1933 the female subject is not only present, but is a central semiotic resource, elevated to cover status and representing the new, fashionable sport of skiing. The park in the 1928 brochure was, as shown in Chapter 4, a predominantly male space. The shift in scale from the hut to hotel marks a radical shift in accommodation in the park, from the communal (masculine) space of the one or two-roomed hut to an interior world of public and private spaces attentive to the needs of social propriety and leisure of mixed gender subjects. This enables, as Figure 15 shows, a new social presence for women in the park, drawn from the social practices of the urban grand hotel (see Brucken, 1996, for further discussion of gender and the luxury hotel). The codes of civilised pseudo-grandeur and interior comfort invite the inhabitation of the hotel and the park by an urbanised and fashionable female subject. This points to a correlation between the discursive construction of the hotel as site of interior comfort and the presence of the female subject in the park. Both hotel and subject are appropriately dressed. Each carries a legacy symbolic of different kinds of 'civilisation'; the hotel overtly deploys historicist codes of establishment in its neoclassical façade, while the entrance of female subjects into the formerly male gendered space redefines the social etiquette of the park as that of 'mixed company', within a heteronormative paradigm.

From leisure to luxury: the luxurious comfort of the hotel interior

It is the enclosed space of the interior that provides the security central to the hotel's function as dwelling in an alpine environment. The representation of the Chateau

formation in the brochure, as I will show, leverages this function as leisure and lifestyle commodity. This creates new kinds of social and material topographies within the spaces and surfaces of the hotel interior. These spaces, in turn, order the subjects' relationship to the park landscape. They are also the spaces in which the social practices of the hotel interior are enacted. As such, they are a stage for the performance and display of an elite subjectivity. In this section I will show how the hotel interior and subject are co-constituted in their representation through the rhetoric of luxurious comfort. Rhetorical movement between interior and exterior views of, and from, the hotel engages an interplay of text and image, telling and showing. This movement between interior and exterior, a structural axis that coheres text and image in the brochure, perforates the hotels surfaces and volumes to represent luxury.

The representation of the interior of the hotel, the site of comfort in the park, is situated deep within the interior of the brochure text – "*the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance, and the visitor will find every need catered for. The interior is richly furnished and decorated*". The two paragraphs that attend to the social and spatial arrangements of the interior spaces specifically define what comfort means at the Chateau. First, comfort is introduced as directly associated with elegance. This association is supported by the provision of further detail in subsequent sentences. Secondly, it is defined by a relationship between the visitor subject and a service class, as *"the visitor will find every need catered for".* This relationship represents the hotel as a site of luxurious comfort and at the same time constitutes the leisured and tended subject. In replicating the upstairs/downstairs hierarchies of the aristocratic/elite, the grand hotel reconfigures a class relationship into a commodity form, that of hotel service. This commoditised class relationship characteristic of the grand hotel was not a commonly experienced social relationship in New Zealand at this time, and was seen by some to challenge foundational egalitarian principles.[79]

In the second paragraph of the interior description, the text moves the reader through the ground floor public spaces of the hotel. The public etiquette associated with arrival and formal reception constitutes the subject as guest. The Chateau receives guests through a sequence of rooms that open onto each other and lead to the feature space of the interior, the spacious lounge. Surfaces such as the parquetry dancing-floor connote luxurious detail and the social practising of the space.

79 The National Film Unit production *Make Them Welcome* (1950) was produced to change attitudes to the provision of service within the tourism industry.

The *"richly furnished and decorated"* interior draws on the codes of the display of material wealth as an element central to the gracious offering of hospitality. In a hotel however, where material luxury is paid for, the subject is the consumer and it is their pecuniary capacity to use the hotel that is the act of display. To this end, the interior surfaces and fabrics conform to the historicist pseudo-opulence of late Victorian style, the prevailing style available to consumers of means in 1930s New Zealand. The use of the adjective *"richly"* makes this display of interior surfaces and furnishings explicit, encompassing a language of conspicuous display, pattern, ornament, as well as connoting expense. It is the (soft) furnishing of the interior that provides comfort at the Chateau and its material decoration accords with practices of social distinction (following Bourdieu's definition, 1984, p. 260).

The production of the Chateau as site of luxury and comfort embraces not only the consumption of leisure as commodity, but also the visual consumption and use of the material commodities that constitute the fittings, surfaces and scale of the interior spaces. These spaces flatter the subject, who becomes elegant by virtue of the elegance of the space. In this way, the appropriately dressed subject, like the furniture or fittings, displays luxury at the Chateau.

Comfort and luxury are also defined in the brochure by the Chateau's technological services such as *"electric lifts"*, and the privacy offered by bathrooms attached to bedrooms, and "*a telephone – at each bedside*". These services and spaces for privacy present a stark contrast to the spartan communality of the 1928 huts. It is the presence of these new technologies therefore that supports the text's claim that *"the bedrooms are fitted out in the best modern style".* The use of the term "*modern style"* in this context to describe the hotel fittings belongs to a rhetoric of the technologically 'new'.[80] The term indicates the ways in which the architectural programme and promotional strategy drew on the semiotics resources of both historicist and modernist discourses. These served to represent the Chateau's aesthetic programme as not only aesthetically classed, but also progressive.[81]

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80 Post World War One avant-garde modernist design in Europe was characterised by abstraction and anti-historicism – a rejection of ornament and detail (see Greenhalgh, 1990).

81 The fundamental conflict between the semiotic codes of these discourses, however, was to surface in subsequent decades. The monolithic neoclassicism of the structure did not resonate well with mid-century aspirations and their identification through modernist style codes. It forecasts the re-styling of the Chateau interiors in a language of 1960s New Zealand modernism seen in the hotel/park formation in the brochures from the 1960s discussed in Chapter 6.

The overt use of the term 'style' here is noteworthy in this context of the consumption of a tourism/leisure experience, rather than consumption or ownership of a product. Driven by an entrepreneurial tourism imperative, it points to new kind of relationship between subject and the environments in which style is consumed. This points to the early emergence of the concept of 'lifestyle' as a commoditised experience with social differentiation as its outcome.

Plate glass apertures: bringing the outside in

It is especially in the lounge that the grandeur of the architecture is performed, afforded by the large plate glass windows giving access to the northern view of the park. This is the zone of the hotel open to the public. Its public use differentiates the lounge from the more exclusive, private zones occupied by the houseguests. The *"splendid"* views of "*mountains, bush, and plain*" consolidate its status as the special feature of the interior. The hotel's large (modern) plate glass windows capture and survey an uninterrupted view of the outside. As noted elsewhere, the windows "*give"* the lounge/subject this privileged aspect, while at the same time affording the enclosed luxurious comfort of the interior. In this instance it is the interior's dramatic co-option of a grand landscape outside that produces a luxurious space.

The lounge is described as *"large enough to accommodate all guests and visitors both of the Chateau and lodges".* While reiterating the hotel's position at the centre of the park's social life, the tension between the hotel's performed exclusivity and the accordant displacement of public space is evident here. This invitation to guests of other dwellings in the Whakapapa Village – the lodges – is a gesture of public inclusivity, a nod to egalitarianism to validate its presence in the national park.[82]

The relationship between mode and content whereby the interior is represented by text and the exterior by image is reversed on turning to the back panel. Here the reader is presented with the first image of the interior – captioned the "*Chateau Lounge and Dancing-floor".* This notably unoccupied interior space is juxtaposed with a busily populated outdoor image of Salt Memorial Hut and the beginner's skifield. The lounge, therefore, is ready for the evening activity of dancing; après ski. The empty interior space invites the subject to become part of its constitution through the light activity of dancing (dressed in accordance with the elegance of the space), after the vigorous exertion of (the European sport) skiing. In this way the images of interior and outdoor spaces endorse each other's elite status, while signposting and pulling together the different elite subjectivities embedded in being at the Chateau (see back panel section of Figure 11).

82 This is also possibly an instance of 'noblesse oblige' and/or a regulated environment where house guests can display their wealth and power to the less privileged.

5.5 Conclusion: the subject at leisure and play in the luxury playground

This chapter has shown that the luxury playground formation represented in the 1933 publicity brochure is co-constituted with a subject who belongs to a social elite. The brochure text connotes that these subjects include both international tourists, (as the locating of the Tongariro National Park in New Zealand on the front cover indicates), and New Zealanders, (as indicated in the section *Means of Access,* where visitors "*from Auckland or Wellington or any of the intervening centres will find good roads leading right to the Chateau*". The luxury playground rhetorically configures its subject in relation to the powerful presence, commanding reach and interior stronghold of the Chateau hotel. Thus, while the brochure purports to represent the Tongariro National Park (through the positioning of the park name as a first order heading on the front cover), the luxury playground subsumes the park through and into the discourses of the hotel.

The subject is rhetorically configured in the representation of the luxury playground through the two primary discursive structures embedded in this formation. The first is that of luxury and the second that of recreation/sport and play. It is the representation of these two primary discourses that supports the interpretation of the elite subject. The hotel is the face and conduit of elite culture in the park. The ways in which the hotel configures the elite subject of the luxury playground will be summarised in turn. The semiotic resource of its exterior surface – the programme of Georgian architecture, spatially and visually asserts the hotel as bastion of civilisation and power in the park environment. This set of meanings is further layered by its use as preferred style for domestic architecture by the English aristocracy. In the English colonial context of New Zealand, this architectural programme is therefore layered with the signification of elite class. This coding is amplified by the commercial domestic function of the hotel. The hotel as site of elite civilisation draws codes of the cosmopolitan into the luxury playground and thus configures their denizen subject who defines and is defined by these resources. The rhetorical work of the publicity text draws together the discourses of power and luxury to construct the hotel experience as desirable commodity. In this way the luxury playground rhetorically configures the aspirational subject with pecuniary means.

It is through the mediatory role of the hotel's interior spaces, however, that the discourse of luxury is hardest at work in constituting the subject of the luxury playground. While the

hotel's exterior form connotes a bastion of elite civilisation, it is the interior that provides luxury and comfort in the park. The deployment of the discourse of luxury leverages the contrast between the hotel interior and the alpine environment. This differentiation is enhanced not only by the hotel's luxurious comforts, but also importantly by the commoditisation of service. The hotel enables the subject of the luxury playground to define their social status through their separation from the service class and subject position as guest. Thus the subject "*will find every need catered for*". The luxury of the hotel is fabricated not only through the warmth and *"richness"* of its furnishings and spaces, but through the performance of a hierarchical social relationship. The leisured subject is tended, served, flattered and as a result, socially elevated.

The luxury playground departs from the masculine dominance of the national recreation ground in creating new ways for women to be in the park. These are two-fold. In the first instance, as outlined in section 5.4, women held a central place in the construct of the luxury hotel. The elegant, fabricated and fashioned interior was completed by the presence of its counterpart, the elegantly fashioned female subject. Socially civilising the masculine environment of the previous park formation, the luxury playground configures the cosmopolitan, elite and leisured and white female subject as a central player in the execution of its programme. The heteronormative theatre pictured in the brochure presents a space for inhabitation by a white adult social group (although children do get one mention). It is through the formation of the elite social milieu that the luxury playground will socially reproduce its subject, thus the subject at the Chateau is leisured but socially active and on display.

The brochure pronounces the luxury playground as *"A Great Sports Centre".* Skiing has already assumed an important place in the playground, and tennis features in one of the three photographic images. The golf course is a feature worthy of its own paragraph in the text, and the other sports mentioned are mountain climbing and tramping. That the subject of the luxury playground belongs to an elite social group is indicated by the way in which the representation orders these activities. Golf and tennis are sports into which the elite subject is already likely to have been inducted. Skiing was the newly fashionable European sport, and therefore of appeal to the cosmopolitan xenophile, and mountain climbing was already well established as a sport of the leisured elite. Tramping is the misfit here, whose participants at the time opposed the elitist concept of the Chateau project. With the exception of mountain climbing, which did have a minority of women participants but was

dominantly masculine, the sports are of a mixed gender nature, enhancing their sociability in the luxury playground. The subjects of the playground were therefore both socially and physically active, as well as athletic and adventurous in their attitude to outdoor recreation. The familiarity with those sporting activities on offer at the *"Great Sports Centre"* provided sufficient signposting to code the playground as an elite domain and the European signature of skiing enhanced this.

Figure 16: Tongariro National Park and the Chateau publicity brochure, ca 1936, published by the Tongariro National Park Board, printed by National Magazines Ltd. Inside panels, quad fold spread.

It is important to highlight the selection of two women figures as the representatives of both the sport of skiing and of the consumers of the luxury playground. This loudly announced placement of the female subject indicates the centrality of women to the programme of luxury playground. Their participation was central to the formation of the luxury hotel, and their centrality to the luxury playground is underscored by this projection of their participation in skiing.[83] The luxury playground therefore rhetorically configured elite (or

83 This recreational participation sits within the social context of the contemporaneous emergence of the 'new woman' in post World War One New Zealand society, now freed from dress constraints, and empowered by caretaking masculine work while men were away at war, was able to express a new identity of confidence and physical strength (for further discussion see Nolan, 2000; Frank, 1999, pp. 113-140; Daley & Montgomerie, 1999).

aspiring to be) white female subjects, both through the discourses of tended luxury and the invigoration of fashioned athletic activity. This interpretation is further supported by the scale and central placement of the illustration of the female skier in Figure 16, the inside page spread from a brochure published circa 1936.

In conclusion then, the national recreation ground of 1928 was discursively reconstructed as the luxury playground in 1933. In this representation, the luxury playground was co-constituted with a white leisured elite subject. I have shown how the rhetorical configuration of the representation activated a new female gendering of the park, introduced new kinds of recreation, and classed the practices of the hotel and park spaces. These recreational practices were, like the codes of the hotel, aesthetically styled to connote a language of elite leisure. While the hut spaces, practices and subjects remained, they were marginalised by the hotel's centrality in the 1930s representations of the park. While the Chateau offered what was perceived as an appropriate social space for the elite international leisure class, I have shown that these codes also configured the subject as the elite and aspirational white New Zealander. Although a 'public' space, its use was regulated by codes of dress, social etiquette and pecuniary means. The Chateau, therefore, is represented as a stage for the performance of elite and aspirational white subjectivities. The 1933 brochure provides evidence of how an initiative to develop New Zealand through international tourism at the same time initiated status-driven leisure consumption as a class and race defining mechanism in the inter-war period in New Zealand.

Chapter Six

The de-luxe family leisure-field

6.1 Introduction and overview

> *At Tongariro National Park you'll find one of New Zealand's most popular skiing resorts, which has won a high reputation among ski experts all over the world. Chairlifts, T-bar lifts, and rope-tows give the ski lover the maximum of downhill runs. A team of internationally famous coaches is there to teach beginners the art of "The White Sport.*
> New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau publicity brochure for the Chateau, New Zealand, ca 1960

This chapter interprets brochure publicity for the Chateau Tongariro produced in the early 1960s.[84] In Chapter 5, I have shown how the park was differentiated through the style codes and referents of elite status to produce the hotel and park as an international tourist destination. This elite formation drew on an early mode of lifestyle consumption, rhetorically configuring an elite leisured class to emplace the gendered subject in the park. The female subject was shaped by two distinct discourses, each producing subject positions that emplaced women at the hotel and in the park. The first was that of the female subject at leisure and on display, engaged in more passive activities at the hotel and its immediate environs. The second however, was that of the physically competent athlete, who was represented as actively participating in the thrill of the sport of skiing. While the tutelage of the skilled male ski instructor was represented as clearly central to women's participation in this period, skiing was constructed as a sporting activity in which both men and women could become skilled. Thus the signs of a more democratic representation of gender in the park could be seen in the 1930s compared to earlier periods.
In this chapter I will show how the elite park formation was subsequently reconfigured

n 1960 is analysed in this chapter.

according to a new set of specialised characteristics. This subsequent process of differentiation was closely aligned with the post-World War Two rise of aspirational and aestheticised lifestyle consumption that had an impact on many dimensions of mid-twentieth century life and leisure in New Zealand. Chaney (2002) has defined lifestyle "as patterns of action that differentiate people" (p. 4). In the following sections I identify discourses structuring relations between the archiscape, class and gender that co-constituted a different place and subject in the 1960s. The new kind of emplacement theorised in this chapter departs from the discourses of luxury shown to be at work in the 1930s formation. In the 1960s the discourses at work in the representations de-luxed the park with discourses of comfort and accessibility.

Following this logic I name the 1960 park formation 'the de-luxe family leisure-field'. In this new formation, the discourse of comfort that featured alongside luxury in 1933 is now extracted from the elite discourse to become a quality that defines middle class status. Further, I show how the dominant discourses evident in the texts emplaced distinctly differentiated genders, heteronormative romance, and families at the park, to define middle class status through leisure.

The publicity brochures that form the data set to which this chapter attends draw on aesthetic and rhetorical strategies that fashion the park within the dominant style codes of the 1960s. While publicising the hotel and park, the strategic expansion of the international and local ski tourism industry is also a primary driver of the brochure's content. The progressive development of the Whakapapa Skifield throughout the 1950s[85] meant that by 1960 the western face of Ruapehu above the Chateau was traversed by a series of newly built ski-lifts of various kinds providing access to a number of ski runs. In this chapter I show how the skifield is represented as a progressive, locally engineered site of social and spatial upward mobility, and as a node in a network of international ski resorts. As a result, the skifield challenges the hotel's status as primary attraction. The representation therefore is less focused on the hotel as primary destination. Hotel and skifield now co-operate in the new park formation: the de-luxe family leisure-field. Like those discussed in previous chapters, the brochures share the communicative intent of recruiting a population of visitor subjects to the park. Two primary, linked categories of subjects are represented. The first is that of the romantic heteronormative couple on holiday. These representations lay out specifically masculine and feminine roles and activities that characterise heteronormative

85 See Appendix i. Timeline for the specific developments of lifts, runs and facilities at Whakapapa.

romance and take place in the park archiscape, most frequently at the Chateau. The second category is that of the family, in which adults and children participate together in activities at the skifield. Thus heteronormative courtship and romance provides the overture for the middle-class family life that is emplaced at the park. However, while couples and families are dominant, single women also feature in the representations, pointing to the shift away from the family structure as the dominant mechanism of social coherence and stability towards the prioritisation of the self. The representations discussed in Chapter 7 from the subsequent decades of the 1970s and 1980s are, as I will show, contiguous with that shift in social structure.

Following an overview of the park developments and geological events of the period, each of the three subsequent sections in the chapter (hotel and park, hotel and subject and subject and park), follow the theoretical framework for interpretation of semiotic relations outlined in the methodology chapter. As in the other substantive chapters, the interpretation draws on analyses of how the discourses structure a particular kind of place and how specific subject positions are produced. Together these sections address the specific sets of discourses that structure the park as an assembled entity in this period. These sections examine how these discourses work together in the brochures to co-constitute a gendered and classed park entity at which a specific kind of subject is emplaced. As will be shown, in 1960 the park was reconfigured by the overarching discourse of the commoditised 'holiday'.

Skiing and the international network

The vision of a skifield at Whakapapa was part of the early vision of the potential of the Chateau as alpine development. Connections to ski sport and ski resort cultures in Switzerland were well established in the publicity from the 1930s, as discussed in Chapter 5. Thus skiing, as a modern sport, and leisure centred at the time in Europe had already drawn the site into a wider international network. The skifield construction and ski lift developments at Whakapapa were therefore to play a central role in the radical reconfiguration of the spatial and social formation of the park entity in the decades discussed in this chapter.

The decade of the 1940s, under the clouds of World War Two and local earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, resulted in significant changes of use of the hotel building. Patients from Porirua Mental Hospital were located there from 1942-45 following an earthquake that

damaged the hospital buildings. The 1945 eruption of Ruapehu produced heavy ash falls and resulted in the evacuation of patients from the hotel. Following a period of vacancy and subsequent transfer of management to the Tourist and Publicity Department, the hotel was refurbished and reopened in 1948 (Khoey, 1995, pp. 48-49).

The 1950s were difficult years financially for the hotel. A wider range of accommodation options became available on the mountain and in nearby towns that were more accessible by better roads (p. 51). This meant the hotel, as I will show in subsequent sections, was discursively positioned as the provider of comfort, fine dining and service. Importantly as a site for the display of a fashioned performance of heteronormative social life and conspicuous passive leisure, the hotel was markedly differentiated from the more casual, 'do it yourself', ski-sport focused communal club hut environments.

The Tourist Hotel Corporation Act of 1955 shifted the control of former Tourist and Publicity Department managed hotels (this included most of the hotels associated with the established set of iconic New Zealand tourist sites) into the institution of the Tourist Hotel Corporation. The Chateau became part of the Corporation's suite of ten hotels in 1957. However, while operating the wider structure of this organisation, Corporation branding did not feature on the publicity circulated by the Government Tourist Bureau in 1960 that is analysed in this chapter. At this time the Chateau retained autonomy of identity, uncomplicated by the corporate branding of the Tourist Hotel Corporation that features in material produced subsequently in the same year.

As Khoey has noted the hotel's difficulty in recording profits since its construction and opening in 1929 was closely related to an inconsistent occupancy rate, with peaks in winter and low summer occupancy (p. 56). This can in part be explained by the conventional rhetorical positioning of the hotel, dating from the 1930s as centre for winter activities. In the 1950s, and particularly post the transfer of the hotel to the Tourist Hotel Corporation, the brochures provide evidence of an assertive strategy to position the hotel as a destination for "*summer or winter*" featuring "*sun and snow*". In the sections that follow the particular semiotic resources and rhetorical strategies deployed to represent this dual site and their implications for subject identity are explored.

Engineering mobility: skifield development 1950s-60s

A radical change to the spatial and social formation of the park environment occurred in

the development of the skifield in the 1950s. While rope tows provided access to the ski slopes for enthusiast skiers throughout the 1940s, it was the chairlift development projects of the 1950s and 60s that enabled skiing at Whakapapa to advance (see Appendix i. Timeline). The publicly listed company Ruapehu Alpine Lifts was driven by the imperative to develop the park as an international ski resort. Support was enlisted from the skiing community and others to raise capital and the construction of chairlifts[86] saw skiing at Whakapapa grow in popularity throughout the 1950s and 60s to reach a record 170,000 visitors in the 1966 season (Williams & Bamford, 1987, p. 32). The engineering of the skifield at Whakapapa became the mechanism for new processes of emplacement in the park. Its expansion was accompanied by the rapid growth of ski club hut accommodation. While the first ski club huts were built on the mountain in the 1920s,[87] the numbers of club huts expanded rapidly throughout the 1950s and 60s at Iwikau Village, totalling over 50 huts by the mid-60s (Esler, 1965, pp. 87-88). As the skifield expanded in the 1950s and 60s the Chateau retained a close connection the management of its facilities, including ski hire and a ski school. It also remained at the centre for visitors, housing a Post Office as well as a store. However, while the Chateau and skifield worked in close co-operation during these decades, the club ski huts offered alternative accommodation, particularly affordable for families.

Importantly the instable nature of Ruapehu, as an active volcano, as well as extreme winter conditions in some seasons in this period, meant that all activity in the park was set against a backdrop of unpredictable geological and climatic activity. While the 1920s and 30s were quiet decades in terms of volcanic activity, the eruptions of 1945 and a subsequent significant eruption in 1969 caused damage and disruption to facilities and enterprise on the mountain. This awareness of unpredictable volcanic danger, combined with the dramatic inclemency of alpine weather, meant that elements of risk not featured in the representations discussed previously, were now stated. These were rhetorically reconfigured as adding an element of risk and frisson that heightened the relative safety and comfort that the weighty structure of the hotel could provide.[88]

86 The 1954 Rock Garden single chair was the first (see Appendix i. Timeline for other developments).

87 Ruapehu Ski Club Hut built 1923.

88 Inglis (2000) in his definition of holiday maxims noted, "the vacation must be safe and it must be dangerous", and that it should contain elements of risk as well as those of safety (pp. 10-11).

Figure 17: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Front, back and right reverse panels (1960a)

While the Chateau and the Tongariro National Park had been institutionally connected in the early years as outlined in Chapter 5, the institutional separation of park and hotel was formally symbolised by the opening of the park's Visitor Centre (run by the Department of Lands and Survey) in 1954. Evidence of this change in institutional structure can be seen in the way in which the relationship between the park and the Chateau subtly shifts in the representations analysed in this chapter. The representational traditions that organised the relationship between park and hotel in the 1930s material are now reconfigured in ways that provide evidence of a different kind of emplacement in the park. This new emplacement is outlined in the subsequent sections.

6.2 Brochure as artefact: technology, design and form

Designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, now well established as a government design agency for the production of a wide range of publicity,[89] and printed by

89 Annual Report, Tourist and Publicity Department (1960),

Pictorial Publications Ltd Hastings for the New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, the 1960 brochure (referred to as 1960a, see Figure 17) is a full colour production deploying a mix of photography, illustration, cartography and purpose designed hand-drawn typography. The full colour photography featured on the front cover marks important development in photolithographic printing technologies. These opened up a new mode of high impact visual communication and persuasive strategies that were to become central to the advancement of consumer culture in the following decades. Its design and production values draw on the skills of the burgeoning profession of commercial artists and the expertise of printers using new technological processes.

Like the 1933 brochure discussed in Chapter 6, the 1960a brochure's design and production evidenced a strategic move to re-launch the Chateau, in this case after a difficult decade in the 1950s. Issues with profitability continued to be related to the lack of year round occupation (Khoey, 1995, p. 56}. The 1960a brochure's focus on representing a park with distinct summer and winter formations is a clear design realisation of the rhetorical position of the hotel's management and is visually and textually reiterated throughout it. Its scale, production values and complexity represent a significant investment by its new management, the Tourist Hotel Corporation, in a strategy that aimed to increase in visitor numbers.

The brochure 1960a (Figure 17) has been selected as representative of this period due to its stated investment in design and the significant development in visual reproduction technologies that it represents. The design of the brochure interacts with the reader through a sequence of four unfoldings (see Appendix ii. Section 3). This sequence of unfolding reveals new dimensions of the park with each step and this interactivity contributes to the texture of compositional meaning.

Figure 18: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Inside panels, 6 panel parallel fold spread, upper and lower sections (1960a)

In the discussion that follows I will show how residual elements of earlier discourses and their textual realisations remain present while at the same time new elements are introduced that look forward to the later 1960s. Section 6.3 interprets the semiotic resources of the cover of the brochure that discursively announce the new formation of the de-luxe family leisure-field. Section 6.4 focuses on the relationship between the Chateau and the park that is represented in the top section of the full opening (Figure 18). The representations in this section show the wider environs and activities in the Tongariro National Park as well as activities taking place at Whakapapa Skifield. The progressive development of the Whakapapa Skifield by Ruapehu Alpine Lifts throughout the 1950s made the higher altitude zones of the park more accessible, redefining the park through the reach and limits of the skifield. Importantly, exposure to high altitude conditions at the skifield heightened the value of the comfort of the hotel. The expansion and construction of the skifield at the park complicates the triadic relationship between park, hotel and subject in this period. This new element, while part of the built environment, is not a dwelling, so in that sense sits in a transitional space between park and hotel. The addition of this new element results in a set of relationships between hotel and park, skifield and subject that are configured in complexly intertwined and overlapping ways. The cohering discourse for this complex set of relationships is the representation of winter and summer contrast and duality, reiterated by visual and textual statements throughout the brochure.

Section 6.5 addresses the sets of visual and textual statements evident in the brochures that I argue emplaced the classed and gendered 1960s subject at the hotel. I show how these representations were configured to discursively open the park to a middle class visitor. This appeal to a wider audience was driven by the commercial imperatives to increase visitor numbers to the hotel and park throughout the year. In section 6.6, I draw together the relationship between the subject and the skifield as a central focus, followed by the relationship between subject and park in summer. I discuss how the statements in the text ordered a skiing lifestyle to produce specific subject positions, characterised by performance of gender and class that were driven specifically by the development imperatives of the skifield. This rhetorical positioning of specific kinds of subjects in relation to place, active in these tourism and leisure contexts, is theorised as a process of emplacement.

6.3 The cover story: idealising and realising the Chateau, New Zealand, ca 1960

Figure 19: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Front panel (1960a)

Maintaining the tradition introduced in 1933 of a strong female presence on the cover of the brochure, the 1960 version presents the Chateau in party spirit and identifies with a very different kind of female gendered ethos (see Figure 19). Gone are the 1930s seriously equipped female skiers ready to head for the slopes, along with the iconic locating devices of Ngauruhoe and the Doric columns. Instead the new face of the Chateau is represented through the salient image of a young woman, sitting back, at leisure. Cut out from her background and extracted, she is re-positioned against white space, assertively projecting a distinctive language of relaxed and passive leisure consumption. Carefree, she is supported by a repertoire of carefully styled semiotic attributes that configure the commodified status of her leisure.

The work of the cover is to introduce reconfigured subject positions that will open the Chateau and park to a new and wider audience and to represent these subjects emplaced at the hotel and the park. A departure from earlier publicity material, the cover of this brochure presents the Chateau through two kinds of interior scenes, rather than through a depiction of the hotel structure set in the park landscape. We know she is at the Chateau though, as she sits beneath a newly styled moniker of hand-drawn lightweight letters announcing *"The Chateau"* in Tyrolean-inspired serif capitals. Notably, however, the name Tongariro National Park, a feature of earlier texts that states the

Chateau's geographic location, is omitted, its absence marking the separation of the hotel and the park institutions. Most importantly, the Chateau is now connected simply to New Zealand, its national location, strategically linking it to an international network. This strategy supports its development as an international tourist site, augmented by the skifield and the international circuit of ski sport/leisure.

The vertically polarised realisation of the divided frame is emphasised by contrast. The open white background of the top section separates the upper space of the ideal projection of luxury and leisure at the Chateau.[90] The essence of leisure at the Chateau in 1960 is figuratively symbolised by the attitude, pose and styling of the cover girl. The compositional and gestural lightness of this image contrasts with the dark hues of the crowded night scene of the ballroom below. The heavily weighted and capitalised name 'New Zealand' further anchors the composition at its base, and geographically locates these scenes of hotel leisure and heteronormative social life. While the lower element depicts a specific scene of heterosexual conviviality, it is through the ideal element of the composition that the lightly scripted taglines, "*Luxury and Leisure, Sport and Pleasure*", introduce the dominant themes that position the new discourse of comfort that is unfolded in the pages that follow. Importantly luxury is now paired with leisure. This is not only of alliterative convenience, but points to a discursive shift. Luxury is now connected to leisure, as opposed to the material environment of the hotel that is now positioned within the discourse of comfort (see Figure 19).

Cover girl: emplacing and gendering leisure at the Chateau

The device of the cover girl positioned in the most salient part of the cover composition represents the female subject through a set of statements that assemble the essence or ideal of luxury, leisure and pleasure at the Chateau. These visual and textual statements represent a subject who displays and performs a leisured identity. This representation of the styled self is a powerful mode of subjectivation that was in rapid ascendance throughout this period of post-war growth in which lifestyle emerged as new mode of conspicuous consumption.[91]

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90 As in the previous chapter this interpretation also follows Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) taxonomy of compositional realisations that theorises a top-bottom division as domains of the ideal and real, respectively.

91 The mid-century growth of lifestyle reconfigured conspicuous consumption as first defined by Veblen in 1899 (Veblen, 2007), and as status commodity (see Bell & Hollows, 2006, pp. 1-20, for further discussion of mid-century lifestyle theory).

The styled performance of lifestyle includes fashionable dressing (the wide white collar functions as both fashion statement and compositional device) and accessories (the sunglasses connote both style and leisure, and the fabric and style of the 'easy' chair in which she is seated codes the scene within a language of mid-century modern design).[92] Her casual engagement with the magazine makes a semiotic connection to consumption, and equally importantly exhibits a display of 'free' time. The prominent positioning of the drinks and soda fountain served on the side table in the foreground are important indices for the service relationship that plays a central role in defining commoditised leisure at the Chateau.

Thus while the female subjects represented on the cover of the 1933 brochure are dressed for the active sport of skiing, the 1960 cover girl is dressed for passive display. Unlike the outside location of the 1933 brochure, this scene is set in a sunroom or on a terrace (since she holds sunglasses) at the hotel. The interior focus of the two cover scenes is important as it represents the hotel as a new kind of public domestic space. I argue that this space draws on the familiarity of the then dominant female culture of domesticity located in the private space of the home, but reconfigures it from a site of domestic work to a site of domestic leisure. At this newly anomalous site of hotel leisure the female subject is tended, providing a direct opposition to the private domestic role of being attentive to the needs of others, both male spouse and children. It is the reversal of female roles within the familiarity of the hotel/domestic environment that adds persuasive weight to the process of subjectivation with which the text engages. Further, it sets up the subject position as aspirational, a glamourised domestic identity that points to the shift towards individual pleasures and needs and away from those purely in service of family. While that shift was already well underway in other countries in the 1960s, this remained a transitional time in New Zealand and was, as others have argued, a time when both prosperity and the redistribution of wealth through political policy and taxation consolidated the stability of family life (Eldred-Grigg, 1996, p. 172).

The description of the interior spaces and service hierarchies of the hotel in 1933 had configured an elite female subject for whom service relationships were an expectation. In 1960 the subjectivation of the text engages a wider pool of aspirational subjects as upward mobility ascends alongside economic prosperity and consumption. Semiotic resources assemble a discourse of a new kind of leisured domesticity, whereby the comforts of home

92 The chair features fabric with an organic 'boomerang' form pattern similar to that designed by Robin and Lucienne Day in the 1950s and 60s and marketed by Heales of London (see Bosker et al, 1992, p. 97).

can be consumed in the absence of work. Thus the reading subject recognises herself not only in relation to the appeal of the fashioning of the leisured subject, but in the placement of that subject specifically within the comfortable leisure space of the Chateau. Interestingly, the furniture in the representation – the easy chair – functions in this ideal space as a rhetorical device of emplacement. I will show in a subsequent discussion how this element is repeated to represent upward mobility and comparative comfort in the exterior environment of the park.

Gender display

This performance of a passive and commodified leisured identity is clearly gendered as feminine by conventions of gender display prevalent in advertising or commercial representations from this period. Goffman's 1976 study identified categories of gender display recurrent in advertising from the period that he argued institutionalised gender differences and power relations both in advertising and in social life. Gender conventions are evident in this representation that clearly signal passive leisure at the Chateau as feminine. The compositionally centred and therefore most salient display is the light touching and dangling of the sunglasses (a styled and desirable 1960s accessory that could conceal and re-inscribe the face with codes of designed identity) with a loosely relaxed wrist. Goffman's analysis of the feminine touch focuses on the ritualistic significance of women's hands in displays of femininity. He notes that:

> … women more than men are pictured using their finger and hands to trace the outlines of an object … or to effect a just barely touching, of the kind that might be significant between two electrically charged bodies. This ritualistic touching is to be distinguished from the utilitarian kind that grasps, manipulates or holds (Goffman, 1979, p. 29).

At the same time as the represented subject displays her hands and wrists she averts her glance upwards in an act of non-transactive self-containment. This display accords with Goffman's category of licensed withdrawal. As Goffman notes:

> … turning one's eyes away from another's can be seen as having the consequence of withdrawing from the current thrust of communication … Since flight is not exhibited in this gaze-aversive behaviour, some sort of submission to and trust in the source of stimulus seems to be implied (p. 62).

The analysis of gender display in advertising is useful here as it provides textually nuanced evidence that shows how practices of masculinity and femininity were differentiated at the Chateau and park in this time period. Of particular importance to this study is how these differentiated genders were respectively emplaced at the park. Representations of gender performances throughout the brochure are consistent with Goffman's analysis and interpretations, as I will show in subsequent sections.

The brochure's opening image thus draws on a complex set of semiotic resources to produce a female subject position that is emplaced at the Chateau in 1960. The display of gender following established conventions augments the display and performance of a fashioned self. This performance is set at the hotel, where a new culture of leisured domesticity and service hierarchies prevail. It is this absence of work that produces its counterpart, commoditised leisure and free time.

Emplacing heteronormative romance/courtship at the Chateau

As the reader's attention moves down the page into the lower frame of the cover composition, the mood shifts from one of summery carefree lightness to an enclosed formal evening scene set in the solid masonry structure of the Chateau ballroom. It is through this representation of formally dressed couples dancing in the ballroom that the Chateau is discursively constructed as site at which heteronormative courtship/romance and social life takes place. Given weight and salience by the heavy furnishings and spatial structure, a sea of black suits asserts the masculine presence in this scene. Thus while the tended and passively relaxed young woman represents an idealised state of solitary feminine withdrawal, in the lower realm of the representational real[93], interaction between the sexes takes place through the ritualised moves of ballroom dancing. The frames are connected, however, by the visual rhyming of white garments linking the woman of the ideal domain to her salient counterpart in the right-hand corner lower domain of the real.

The inclusion of the populated ballroom on the cover is significant, reiterating the content of earlier publicity to restate that a glamorous heterosexual social life takes place at the Chateau. This salient position in the representation echoes the spatial volume and importance of the ballroom in the ground floor plan of the building (see Figure 19). Thus the 1960s representations draw on this tradition as they re-situate the hotel as an aspirational location for a wider middle class subject.

93 Following Kress and Van Leeuwen's division of the page into the zones of the ideal - the top half of the page, and the real- the lower half.

The formal dancing scene of the cover photograph tightly composes couples in close proximity to each other emphasising the interior intimacy of the Chateau lounge. An adult space of performance and display, ballroom dancing choreographs clearly differentiated performances of gender (Lieb & Bulman, 2009). The dance performance enacts this differentiation through traditional dress codes, as seen in the cover photograph. The masculinity of the dark, black tie dinner suit that fully covers the male body codes strength and leadership. This contrasts with the light fabrics of the women's dresses, with conventions of bare or gloved arms and skin that connote grace and elegance and vulnerability (p. 603). The National Publicity Studios photograph dating from the same period (Figure 20) reinforces these points.[94] That the male leads and the woman follows in the dance performance serves to further rehearse a script of structured dependency that was characteristic of gender relations in wider social life in New Zealand in the 1960s (James & Saville-Smith, 1994, p. 48).

5. Evening rendezvous for over 30 years—the Chateau dance floor.

Figure 20: Chateau dance floor ca1960s, National Publicity Studios. Sourced from Graham, 1963, plate 5

94 The model featured in the top section of the cover also features in the centre of this photograph. It is interesting to note, however, that the ballroom photograph used on the brochure cover precedes this one as the lounge has had a 1960s makeover in the intervening time period.

It can be seen then that the cover discursively configures the Chateau as a place for the white leisured female subject (where femininity is defined through passivity, elegance, self styling, and the consumption of service), and as a site of heteronormative social life, displayed through the gendered ritual of ballroom dancing.[95] These discourses are shaped by a rhetoric that introduces representations of gender as clearly differentiated. The introduction of masculinity is defined through a ritualised mode of engagement between the sexes. Thus the brochure cover draws on a variety of semiotic resources to emplace women and men at leisure at the hotel within a representational paradigm of structured dependency of women on men. These socially normative cultures were central to prescribed formations of New Zealand family life in this historical period (James & Saville-Smith, 1994, p. 48). As rhetorical structures, therefore, they supported the hotel's strategic alignment with heteronormative romance to attract visitors. This inflected the archiscape with the rhetoric of romance and at the same time endorsed the dominant state order of growth and development on which the stability of family life was dependent. The cover therefore introduces the 1960s park formation with the emplacement of gender-differentiated leisured subjects at the Chateau. I will develop further evidence for the formation of the now 'de-luxed' park as middle class family leisure-ground in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

6.4 The Chateau and the park: from a winter's tale to a mid-summer night's dream

In this section I will show how the brochure representations provide evidence of a significant shift in the spatial relationship between the hotel and the park. In Chapter 5, I supported an argument for the centrality of the hotel in the park, and the significance of this position to the specificity of the park formation in 1933. In this section I will show how the Chateau's socio-spatial reach and command over the park entity shifted as the built environment of the skifield expanded on its peripheries and offered an alternative focus. I show how the dominant discourse of the 'holiday' ordered the park as play space for a variety of holiday "*diversions*".

95 For further discussion of ballroom dancing and social ritual in New Zealand see White, G. (2007). *Light Fantastic; dance floor courtship in New Zealand*. Auckland: Harper Collins.

Figure 21: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Inside panels, upper section parallel fold spread. (1960a)

These diversions included those activities associated with the park/Chateau archiscape in earlier formations. It was the development of the skifield and the sport of skiing at the high altitude icy perimeters of the park that significantly amplified the hotel's relationship to the park as provider of comfort. The hotel's provision of après ski comfort meant skifield and hotel complemented each other, respectively, providing the elements of both risk and safety.[96]

96 One of Inglis's (2000) maxims for the holiday was that it must contain elements of both risk and safety (p. 10).

While in 1933 the park and Chateau were positioned as the *Playground of the North Island*, the word 'holiday' did not appear in publicity brochures until the 1940s. Consistent with the advance of leisure as mode of mid-twentieth century consumption in New Zealand, by the 1960s brochure the holiday is the dominant discourse that operates on the park archiscape. As the brochure text advises, "*The merry spirits of Holiday will charm you all the year round and guide you to comfort, relaxation, and pleasure at the Chateau – the modern hotel in picturesque and lovely Tongariro National Park".*

As a consumable entity, a discrete heterotopia with its own rules and rituals, the discourse of the holiday differentiates the park archiscape of 1960 as a specific kind of formation.[97] The form the holiday at the Chateau assumes is specifically represented in terms of two seasons, winter and summer. This dual season theme, as I have noted, is a rhetoric driven by economic imperatives. It is introduced on the cover and reiterated throughout the brochure. In the top half of the full page opening section (Figure 21) the tagline, "*From a Winter's Tale to a Mid-Summer Night's Dream"*, does the work of emphasising the holiday's seasonal duality, and positioning it as an 'other' kind of space, drawing on the narrative premises of Shakespeare's plays. Aided by *"merry spirits"* resonant of those in *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*, the holiday is represented as an 'other' kind of world, a state of transformation where play and a return to nature replace the protocols of everyday life. Further, the use of Shakespeare's titles frames the park as stage for the performance of subjectivities within the spatio-temporal theatre of the holiday. It delineates this space at the same time as weaving in nuances for a Shakespeare literate audience. While the meanings of the holiday, as a separated non-work interlude, exist beyond the context of Shakespeare this particular strategy establishes the holiday as a narrative and discrete unit of time and space, as well as

97 Following Foucault's definition in Des Espace Autres (Foucault 1984/1967, pp. 22-27), the heterotopia is a concept that offers a reworking of that of utopia. However unlike the utopia, which translates as 'no place', Foucault offered the concept of the heterotopia. He states "There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist … which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias." (p. 24). Six principles of heterotopias were defined. These included: sacred or forbidden sites such as cemeteries; sites set apart from everyday life such as gardens; sites linked to a particular "slice in time" (p. 26); sites that "presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" (p. 26); and that "their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled" (p. 27). It is in relation to the second and fourth principles, that heterotopias are sites set apart from everyday life, and that they are "most often linked to slices in time" (p. 26) that the term is used to theorise the holiday sites of the representations discussed in this thesis.

classing the subjects represented.[98] As Fairclough (1996) has stated, "texts set up positions for interpreting subjects that are 'capable' of making sense of them and 'capable' of making the connections and inferences in accordance with relevant interpretive principles" (p. 84).

In 1933 the structure of the newly built Chateau was the central attraction at the park, featuring in all of the images in the brochure. Now in 1960, the Chateau features as part of the landscape, positioned in the background (Figure 21, lower centre), or sidelined as frame (Figure 21, top right). It is notable that this back-grounding of the hotel's exterior coincides with the text's description of the hotel as "*modern",* a description that does not necessarily cohere in forward-looking mid-century style terms with its exterior face of neo-Georgian classicism.

This shift away from the dominance of the exterior of the hotel makes room for the representation of the activities or, as they are named in the text, the "*diversions",* that replace work activities in the non-work domain of the holiday. These diversions include golfing, bowls, tennis, rambling and fishing, as well as the prominently featured skiing. Their representation in the images lays down the script for a set of social performances that take place on the kind of holiday that is specific to the Chateau/park formation. Following Goffman for an interpretation of the nuances of these performances, clearly gendered positions are seen. The top left image in Figure 21 shows a group of men, one of whom is possibly an instructor, equipped and ready for action at the skifield. The image placed on the right-hand side of Figure 21, in contrast, shows a group of fashionably dressed women sitting or standing passively on the terrace/balcony. Behind them and on the balcony above are men holding cameras or photographing the scene. Further evidence of the pattern is provided by the golf scene in the centre frame, whereby the women featured in the image are standing by watching while one of the males in the group demonstrates his technique.

While now in the background the structure of the hotel is, however, still featured in the saliently positioned central image in the composition. This points to the importance of its new role, as represented in much more detail in the lower half of this page and announced by the banner heading that divides the page – *Comfort at the Chateau*. The Chateau's primary role is now provider of comfort, and it is the interior that features dominantly in the images in the lower half of the page. The hotel's dominant semiotic function is now to mediate the subjects' relationship to the park through the provision of comfort and service.

98 For discussion of the 'residual' meaning of the holiday see Inglis, 2000, pp. 1-5.

The absence of the word 'luxury' in this salient position is significant. As the holiday as commoditised product ascends, the formation of elite luxury advanced in Chapter 5 falls away. While the holiday has its origins in the lifestyle of nineteenth and early twentieth century travelling by the elite, or leisure class, who could afford free time, as commodity its imperative was to appeal to the middle masses. In this period of relative affluence this group was also in ascendance. Luxury, now paired with leisure on the brochure cover (as noted in Section 6.3), points to leisure itself as the luxury commodity, rather than the hotel. The Chateau, in this representation, as stated in the banner heading (see Figure 22), now offers comfort.

While the dominance of the Chateau hotel is displaced by the skifield, both elements of the built environment co-operate in the production of the discourse of the park as holiday heterotopia. In accordance with Inglis's (2000) maxims, the holiday construct requires a setting that is beautiful – thus the "*lovely*" Tongariro National Park remains of central importance as holiday site (pp. 10-12). The park offers the subject an opportunity to re-engage with natural beauty, and for the elevation of mind and body (see Figure 21, lower left and right), while the hotel grounds offer sporting activities. It is the set of statements on the lower half of the page representing the hotel's provision of fine dining, beverages and service, however, that complete the discursive formation of park archiscape as holiday commodity.

6.5 The Chateau and the subject: comfort on holiday at the Chateau

Consuming service/performing dining

The 1960 text states that at the Chateau "*You'll find all the comfort of a city hotel".* The discourse of the hotel's provision of civilisation in the wilderness discussed in Chapter 6 reappears, but now in the configuration of comfort with a particular focus on the dining experience. Under Tourist Hotel Corporation management[99] in the latter 1950s, the tradition of fine dining was reinvigorated at the Chateau. This was now packaged as lifestyle commodity that drew on layers of semiotic resource to construct hotel restaurant dining as new middle class habitus, and at the same time offered new kinds of gendered subject positions. Semiotic resources utilised in this representation include the performance of

99 Eric Colbeck, General Manager of the Tourist Hotel Corporation in its early years, set out to raise the standards of food and service at the Corporation's hotels, including the introduction of a la carte menus and cocktail bars (McLure, 2004, pp. 191-192).

manners and protocols by the diner and waiting staff, the role of the chef, the design and material detailing of the dining room space and specific cuisine. In this section I will show how the representation rhetorically orders these resources in both image and text to class, gender and emplace the subject at the Chateau.

Figure 22: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Inside panels, lower section parallel fold spread. (1960a)

This lower section of the page features an illustrated image of a chef presenting a dish of baked fish in the most salient position – in the centre. The centrality of this image secures the importance of fine dining and service as vital to the configuration of subject as diner/guest at the Chateau. By using illustration as semiotic resource, the idealised and imaginative potential of the subject position is heightened. The subject position of diner is realised on the left of the composition by the higher verisimilitude photograph.[100]

100 Following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) theory of the communicative meaning of different modalities (p. 165).

Gendered hierarchies are clearly evident. The prominent representation of the male chef presenting food commands a position of authority and control in the idealised zone. It is the waitress, however, who serves the food at the table to both women and men. Professional hospitality and service sets up new kinds of hierarchies between genders, and new subject positions are introduced in the representation. In the first instance this representation produces the position of the tended female diner who is on holiday, and her counterpart, that of the waitress at work. This service hierarchy associated with elite status was resisted in a twentieth century New Zealand society dominated by a belief in its egalitarianism.[101] Commodified service is now reconfigured as mid-century lifestyle product and packaged as core to the 'hotel holiday'. The representation of commodified service works in combination with other semiotic resources in the text to code the hotel dining room as middle class habitus.[102] In the second instance the ascendant (in New Zealand, although well established elsewhere) role of chef asserts masculine dominance in the hotel kitchen and restaurant. This clearly differentiates the hotel's gendering of domesticity form that of the home in this decade.

Public dining manners and etiquette are central to these performances of subjectivity.[103] The etiquette of service flatters the subject and the female diner is positioned here in the centre of the composition, responding here with exemplary polite attentiveness and civility. The representations in the 1960s brochures show heterosexual couples dining as an intimate group. Public dining, as Finklestein (1989) notes, provides a setting for the display of patriarchal interests and power (pp. 49-50). It provides an opportunity for the male(s) to display status and wealth by paying the bill.[104] Why we do not see a woman dining on her

101 It is important to note, however, that domestic service work was a core role for women in colonial New Zealand (see Brookes et al, 1986). The commodified service of the hospitality and tourism industry that took place in hotels, rather than homes, reconfigured 'domestic' service within a new set of discursive relations and subject positions (see Hochschild, 1975 for further discussion of commodified hospitality).

102 Bourdieu concept of 'habitus' is used here to emphasise the classing of places (in this case the hotel dining room with specific codes of social behaviour). Bourdieu states "The habitus, as a system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice … the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 77, cited in Reay, 2006, p. 433).

103 In mid-century New Zealand, however, both the commoditisation of service and the power relations produced proved to be a challenge for both the development of tourism and restaurant industries. As McLure noted, service in the 1950s was often seen as servility (McLure, 2004, p. 177).

104 Further, it was common practice in Tourist Hotel Corporation hotels to present the woman with a menu without prices. In this way the performance of public dining reinforces structured dependency.

own in these representations is explained by Finklestein – "when women dine on their own a series of social violations may be seen to occur" (p. 50). This comparison highlights the way in which practices of public dining cemented power relationships between genders at this time.

While the public performance of dining reveals nuances of gender relationships, the kind of food on the menu has equal significance as statement of class. The fish being served, it appears, is a trout. As Bourdieu (1984) points out, "eating habits, especially when represented solely by the produce consumed, cannot, of course, be considered independently of the whole of lifestyle" (p. 185). The trout makes a direct connection to the listed "*diversion*" of trout fishing, and the male accomplishment of the catch. The representation of trout being served at the Chateau makes a connection to John Cullen's early century vision for the park as hunting/fishing ground for an elite class. This resulted in the seeding of the park's rivers with exotic trout spelt in the early 1900s (see Appendix i. Timeline). A taste for trout was then one that was actively cultivated through different kinds of classed practices. As 'catch' it represents dominance over nature, and as food of an exotic European cuisine. These significances come together at the centre of this composition (see Figure 22) in the illustration of the male chef serving the trout on a plate. This illustration is realised in the serving of trout at the table by a waitress in the photograph on the left (see Figure 23) for consumption, most likely as trout meunière.[105]

Figure 23: The Chateau publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart ltd, Wellington) detail right panel inside trifold spread. (1960b)

105 This dish featured on Chateau menus from the period.

Representations of the service of food and the dining experience were therefore important elements in the Chateau's publicity in the 1960s (see Figure 24). This reflected the Tourist Hotel Corporation's aim to align hotel standards with the expectations of international tourists in this period (McLure, 2004, pp. 191-192). Cuisine, service and dining were crucial to the widely influential luxury hotel concept and experience established in its elite form by the Ritz at the London Savoy and the Paris Ritz.[106] While a long way geographically and materially from the Paris Ritz, the dining experience at the early Chateau, it has been argued, was influential in setting standards that were emulated by other hotels in main centres in New Zealand (Rowland, 2010, p. 61).

The Chateau and the hotel dining room were already well established therefore as sites at which performances of public dining took place, at a time when the independent restaurant was still an emergent social phenomenon (pp. 119-160). This text therefore draws on the residual elements that characterised the representations in earlier decades to produce this new lifestyle formation and emplace it at the Chateau.

Figure 24: The Chateau publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart ltd, Wellington). Detail, right panel, inside trifold spread (1960b)

While food service, dining and tended male and female subjects are pictured, "*the ultra modern cocktail bar*" is referred to in the copy text also centred on the page (Figure 22). Licensing law restrictions meant that alcohol could not be served with meals (outside of hotels) until 1961. Drinking culture in New Zealand until the mid-twentieth century had been dominated by the masculine space of the public bar (Phillips, 1987). As I noted in

106 In particular, the Escoffier tradition of French cuisine.

Chapter 5, however, women played a central role in the luxury hotel formation and the provision of ladies or private bars in hotels went some way towards a public mixed gender culture of alcohol consumption. The mid-century introduction of the cocktail bar was a reinvention of an elite tradition of the 1920s and 30s. The cocktail, as Rowland (2010) has noted, redefined alcohol as something to be enjoyed in mixed company. A range of spirit products emerged specifically targeting female consumers (p. 151). The cocktail bar as spatial zone, and the making and consumption of cocktails, was a fashion package with its own discrete set of performative codes. Its rules prescribed not only recipes and glassware, but also elegant and revealing dress codes for women. Its ritualisation provided a formal structure for the consumption of alcohol in an elegant setting.[107]

Following Inglis (2000) therefore the representation has met another criterion for the holiday – that is it can/should be licentious – as part of the subjects' fairyland where whatever they desire should be provided (pp. 9-11). This hedonism is permitted in the othered/heterotopic time that the holiday takes place within. That the subject 'can do whatever it wants' is rhetorically reinforced through the device of repetition in the copy. This freedom of choice reiterates both that the holiday is a return to the freedom, or the timelessness of childhood, as well as stating, I note, a double entendre/word play on *"the merry spirits of holiday"*. This *"hotel holiday"* is centred on consumption and the assisted relaxation of service and alcohol.

Restaurant dining is represented as part of a sophisticated New Zealand heteronormative middle class social life and coheres with the formal romance of ballroom dancing and ritualised inebriation of the cocktail bar. For women, these representations point to a fluidity of subject position in this period. Another stage for formally dressed up adults; the restaurant is represented as a child free zone,[108] heightening its removal, particularly for women at this time, from family life. The tended position 'on holiday', characterised by domestic leisure, is followed by a return to everyday life. For women, these representations point to a fluidity of subject position in this period. The representation of the hotel restaurant therefore, and the gender relations that are re-configured in this field, are crucial to the rhetorical production of the hotel as site of domestic leisure. It is in this way then that the 1960 formation makes available these aspirational subject positions that define a middle class habitus and field of cultural production.

107 As noted in footnote 93 cocktail bars were introduced in Tourist Hotel Corporation hotels as part of a strategy to raise standards (McLure, 2004, pp. 191-192).

108 Unlike the ski- field represented in Figure 31.

Fashioning relaxation: reconfiguring the cult of domesticity

Further evidence of elements drawn from the dominant culture of female domesticity can be seen in the representation of guests in the hotel lounge (Figure 25). A more informal scene represents a group that appear to be playing cards. This group is inclusive of an identifiably older woman as well as younger women and men. At the same time a young woman situated on the perimeter is knitting. Her specific gendering is consistent with Goffman's idea of licensed withdrawal. However, more significantly the representation of the practice of knitting draws the home culture of domesticity together with that of the hotel. This nuanced detail de-formalises the hotel, and at the same time emplaces a middle-class female subject within its interior.

Figure 25: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Detail, right panel, lower section parallel fold spread. (1960a)

It is the cover girl, however, as outlined in section 6.3, who realises the rules that show how relaxation at the Chateau/field is practised in 1960. As the brochure is sequentially opened, a variety of modes of relaxation in public spaces are visually represented.

The hotel terrace is an important space in representations from this period for the display of a styled and fashioned feminine identity at the park (Figure 25). As an intermediary space between interior and exterior, the terrace offers a space where the subject can be fashionably dressed for display (as opposed to sporting activity) and represented outside. In this setting, the representation shows the subject emplaced at both the hotel and the park.

Figure 26: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Detail, right panel, top section parallel fold spread. (1960a)

The terrace theatre emphasises the importance of looking good on holiday and demonstrates the importance of the 'holiday photograph' as evidence of both. It is the presence of Ngauruhoe in the background that activates the process of emplacement as specific kind of subjectivation. By 1960 the iconic image of Ngauruhoe, both from the terrace and through the plate glass window of the lounge, had become a representational convention. These terrace[109] images from 1960a (Figure 25) and 1960b (Figures 26 and 27) draw on this convention. Both feature groups of women socialising. While there are men

109 The 'terrace' used for these is scenes is actually the roof-top of the sunroom structure. It is separated from the service spaces of the hotel by the porte-cochère, and a wall, and would have been difficult to use as a terrace, as demonstrated, then as now. Thus its use as 'stage' is even more obvious.

present in the images they are somewhat outnumbered and in 1960b the repeated display of stylishly dressed women at leisure on the terrace makes a strong point. The top left frame of Figure 26 (the original photograph from which that image was cropped features below in Figure 27), features outdoor furniture – the steel-framed 'Butterfly' chair – mass produced in the 1960s and icon of mid-century outdoor relaxation.[110] The inclusion of this chair serves to update the Chateau style codes with mid-century signature. Thus the styling of the chair in this 1960b brochure, as on the cover of the earlier version, completes the fashioning of the female subject at ease.

Figure 27: National Publicity Studios, original photograph shot for ca 1960b brochure. Photographer Mr Clark, National Archives AAQT6539/A 66190

"*Holiday Highlights*" featured as the tagline for the stylistically updated brochure published later in 1960 (referred to as 1960b, Figure 27), this time specifically under the Tourist Hotel Corporation branding.

110 Designed in 1938 by Jorge Ferrari-Hardoy, and mass produced by Knoll since 1947. It would have been considered avant-garde and highly fashionable in this setting. This chair became popular in New Zealand in the 1960s.

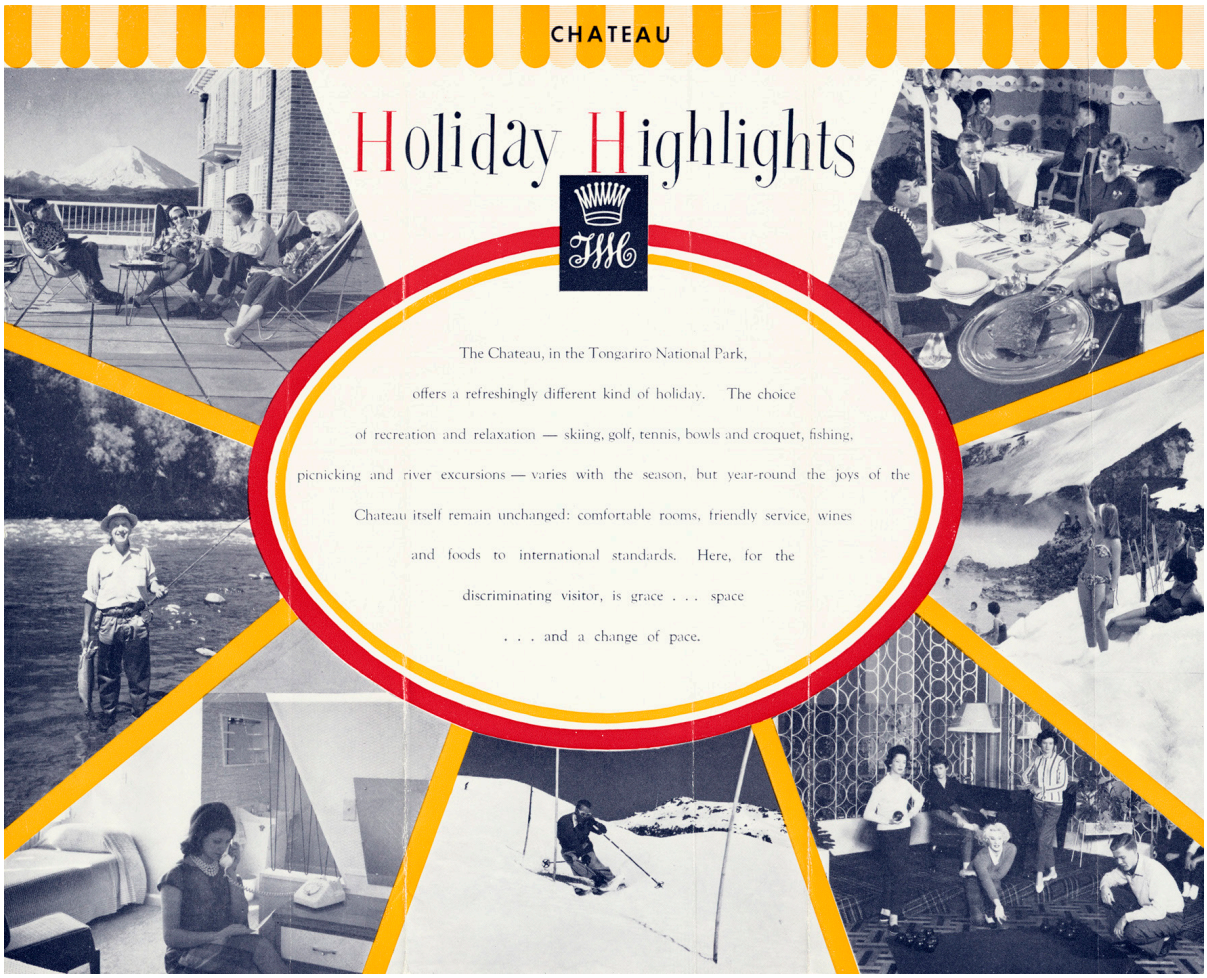

Figure 28: The Chateau publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart ltd, Wellington). Inside trifold spread (1960b)

The inside fold of the 1960b brochure (Figure 27) is a centred, sunray structured composition that uses high resolution black and white photography and cropping to crisply lay out the elements discussed in this chapter to represent the Chateau as a carousel of *Holiday Highlights*. This more consistently styled 1960b brochure highlights the transitional qualities of the 1960a text. The overt mid-century styling of the Chateau is now complete in this representation. The 1960b publication provides evidence of an interior re-fit featuring characteristically mid-century fittings (including geometric metal screen) and carefully dressed and posed subjects. This text more fully realises the fashioned lifestyle codes that are evident in the earlier publication, while drawing on familiar codes to differentiate gender. These can be seen the art-directed poses of the women in Figure 29 – one leg carefully forward, hands linked on hips and – most consistently in accordance with Goffman's repertoire, the delicately stretched fingers of the model in the centre as she follows through on her shot.

Figure 29: The Chateau publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart ltd, Wellington). Detail, right panel inside trifold spread. (1960b)

Bedroom comforts: gendering the interior

While in 1960 it is the text that states "*You will find all the comforts of a city hotel at the Chateau … spacious well furnished bedrooms, many of them with private bathrooms"*, this is represented with full visual detail in the later publication from the same year. In 1933, specific reference was made in the text to the "*telephone standing beside every bed*"; here the telephone assumes visual prominence in the newly remodelled bedroom. In use by the female model, the telephone points to a new kind of relationship between the public and private spaces of the hotel - that of room service.

Figure 30: The Chateau publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart ltd, Wellington). Detail, left panel inside trifold spread. (1960b)

In the background behind the 1960s linear steel screen the private bathroom is apparent. Goffman (1979), writing as a contemporary, found in his study that women were far more likely to be featured in bedroom spaces than men, and this 1960b brochure exemplifies this. The private space of the hotel, now publicly on display, is distinctly gendered as female. This represents the hotel through a new visual language of intimacy, previously symbolised in text. This image of the woman talking on the telephone (Figure 30) was reproduced in a subsequent 1963 photo shoot in which three Miss World contestants featured as models in a publicity shot for the refurbished bedrooms (Figure 31). This representation completes the argument for the deployment of a discourse of passive femininity to emplace the styled female subject not only at the Chateau in the 1960s, but in the bedroom. Thus the hotel bedroom is stage for the performance and display of a post-war feminine identity – one that emphasises a new kind of fashioned leisure. When compared to the 1933 cover image of the two women heading for the ski- slopes, a clear shift is apparent.

Figure 31: National Publicity Studios: Three Miss Worlds in a remodelled bedroom AAQT640a 7381. Photographer, Mr Fox, April, 1963.

If you want it you can have it

Mid-century mass consumption was premised on the notion of wants replacing needs. The copy script in the 1960(a) (Figure 22) text exploits this, focusing on the pleasure and needs of the self through the simple rhetorical device of repetition.

> *If **you want** to – dance there is a large dance-floor in the main lounge, if **you want** a drink there is an ultra modern cocktail bar downstairs, and if **you want** to enjoy the scenery in perfect leisure then the large plate-glass windows of the lounges, the dining and sun rooms offer you a splendid panorama of the picturesque landscape.* (emphasis added)

This copy script coheres the assemblage of semiotic resources that feature in figurative, compositional and textual modes throughout the brochure. Interestingly while representing the Chateau with mid-century *ultra modern,* at the same time it anchors the representation in the hotel's formative years. The reiteration of the "*splendid panorama*" as description for the landscape featured in 1929 representations of the park discussed in Chapter 4. Here, though, it is recast in a self indulgent 'if you want, you can have it' script, now overtly commodifying the spaces and services of the hotel. The hedonistic world constructed connects the 'Chateau holiday' both to the egoistic freedom fantasy of childhood as well as to that of the holiday as othered time, a space in which the regulation of everyday domestic/work-life is suspended. As Inglis (2000) suggests, "the holiday must be plentiful and it must be licentious … I shall eat what I like and drink more than I can" (p 12).

A new order of comfort and relaxation

The mid-century discourse of commodified comfort dominant in 1960 sets out to appeal to a middle class habitus. In this context it reframes the elite construct of luxury, and repackages it as de-luxed comfort. All of the physical and material comforts discussed that the hotel holiday offers are drawn together in this discourse as a lifestyle package. Comfort, as Crowley (2001) has argued, has occupied the space between necessity and luxury since the eighteenth century when political economists showed "how things regarded as luxuries in one context could be considered as necessities in another" (p. 142). This discourse of comfort opened a vast space for the production of material goods in industrial Britain, for which by the nineteenth century colonial New Zealand was a significant market. Thus material comforts have a legacy related to the quality and betterment of colonial life in New Zealand, a residue that is carried forward in the positioning of hotel comfort as aspirational lifestyle.

The dominance of comfort as a discourse operating on the Chateau in New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century was equally driven by the political economic imperatives of tourism and the hotel's profitability. As noted in Chapter 5, the hotel's positioning within a framework of luxury in its first iteration was seen as a misfit alongside egalitarian values. The discourse of comfort, however, reconfigured the hotel not only within an accessible domain of gendered domesticity, but also within a structure acceptable to an ostensibly egalitarian value system. In both these ways it served as discursive strategy to emplace and arguably encase a passive female subject, tended while on holiday in its interior spaces. Driven by the commercial ambition of the hotel, the discourse of comfort supported both an established hierarchy of differentiated gender roles, and at the same time provided a place for middle class New Zealanders to display their status.

6.6 Performing new subjectivities 5,000 feet above worry level

While the discussion that follows of the relationship between the subject and park is positioned as the culminating moment of the chapter, it is in the first opening of the brochure (shown in Figure 31) that the skifield and skier subject are visually introduced. Featured in this position in the sequence of openings, the ski holiday and skiing subject assume a dominant position in the hierarchy of information. This is announced by the tagline "*Holiday in Sun and Snow – have fun – 5,000 feet above worry level! ".* The irregular reverse slant drawn capitals aim to capture semiotically the thrills and spills of the skiing holiday. It is the positioning of the field as experience of both "*sun and snow"*, however, that captures the essence of the invigorating qualities of this white and blue environment.

Figure 32: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Internal trifold spread. (1960a)

The tagline "*5,000 feet above worry level*" present in early publicity for the park now reappears (Figure 32). The reference to the elevation and wilderness environment of the park as an escape from the "*worry level*" of everyday urban life was present in the rhetoric of the Tongariro Tourist Company's Prospectus for the Chateau project in 1929. This in turn reflects Cowan's 1928 positioning of the Tongariro National Park as a *"corrective"* for the *"artificial life of cities and towns"*. The "*above worry level*" rhetoric was used throughout the 1930s by Wigley's Mount Cook Tourist Company in publicity for the Mount Cook Hermitage. "*5000 feet above worry level*" in this brochure specifically locates the elevation of the skifield and establishes a rhetorical pattern whereby elevations are cited throughout the composition. The development of a skifield as a primary mode of recreation in the park

had been envisaged from the outset. It was not only an attraction that would draw a large population of visitors to the mountain; it was also the element that would give surety to the vision of the Chateau as resort hotel. Used here in 1960, "*5,000 feet above worry level"* now carries the familiarity of convention in its reiteration of the separation between the urban/work world of worry and the health benefits of mountain elevation.[111] It is the distance between *"worry level*" and the skifield that summarises the park's relationship to the urban visitor. This firmly states the park's status as holiday heterotopia.

The representation of newly expanded Whakapapa Skifield spatially dominates the composition. The western face of Ruapehu, formerly represented as an indomitable backdrop for the Chateau (as discussed in Chapter 5), now appears in close up. The ski-styled banner heading *Where the White Sport reigns* is compositionally located inside the frame and occupies the same spatial zone as represented site and subject, binding them together into a co-constituted rhetorical formation. The progressive construction of new ski lifts at the field throughout the 1950s continued the narrative of modern progress and entrepreneurial development at the park. In this representation, access to the mountain's topography is now delineated by vectors representing the new built lifts and the mountain is bounded by their trajectories. While the uphill carriage has its own excitement the thrill they offer is the National Downhill ski-run. This is symbolised by a curving vector that leads the reader's eye to the illustrated male skier subject in the salient centre foreground position. Moving at speed towards the reader, this figure genders the physically active relationship to the mountain as male. The angle of his ski pole in alignment with the National Downhill vector visually connects subject and mountain. Considerable detailed is provided about the "*Uphill facilities"* that now configure the leisure field. Elevations, for example, are specified at the top and bottom of each of the new chairlifts. In this way the mountain, positioned since the 1920s as an "*easy climb"*, is now made even easier by engineered uphill facilities that physically carry the subject to its higher elevations. The accessibility to the lifts themselves is reiterated "… *Mt Ruapehu, in spite of its vast proportions- is "an easy climb". You can drive your car - except under heavy snow conditions – 4 ½ miles above the Chateau to the 5,500 ft. level at the foot of the chair lift".* In this way the ski lifts configure a very different relationship between mountain and subject. The lifts engineering enables the 'White Sport' to reign and configures the subject as king or queen, able to conquer the mountain's heights.

111 Embedded in this pitch for distance from the urban and its associated worries, is, as other commentators noted, an instance of anti-urban thinking (see for example Leotta, 2011). The dominant representational legacy of sublime wilderness provided a philosophical justification for anti-urban rhetoric. This arguably perpetuated the dominance of rural mythology with which early twentieth century New Zealand was structurally aligned.

Queens and kings of the white sport: middle class family mobility

It is the subject and skifield relationship that figures prominently in the brochure's second opening (Figure 33). The woman seated on the chairlift, turns back to directly engage with the reader. Her smiling disposition shows and tells the subject she addresses that this is fun. Her position on the chair lift reiterates the position of the cover girl, shoring up the discourse of ease and relaxation. While the cover connoted social mobility; now on the chairlift upward mobility is realised physically.

Figure 33: The Chateau and Tongariro National Park publicity brochure ca 1960, designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings. Detail, left panel, internal trifold spread. (1960a)

The woman's position in the upper left of the composition, the location of the *"given"* in a polarised composition, indicates that her presence in the park is now well established.[112] Significantly, and consistent with the gender representations throughout the brochure, it is the female subject in this composition who is represented on the chairlift and the male subject who is actively skiing downhill, positioned physically in command of the mountain. Coleman's (2003) work has addressed the significance of gender in the ways subjects formed relationships to mountain environments. She notes in relation to the North American ski industry that "Gendered relationships to the environment drove both the history of skiing and the ski industry. Defining the mountains as wild backdrops for physical adventure and conquest, skiers and resort advertisers associated skiing with masculinity" (p. 95).

112 Following Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 181-229.

It is interesting to note that the 1930s publicity texts in New Zealand, as I have discussed in Chapter 5, show a different story. In 1960, however, while women may have been active and athletic skiers, the rhetoric shaping their representation in this brochure is consistent with the structural gender differentiation that dominated mid-century New Zealand.

The inclusion of children and family groups at the skifield marks a significant departure from both the other sections of the brochure focusing on the Chateau or wider park environs, as well as from the texts discussed in earlier chapters. In accordance with Kress and van Leeuwen's theory of compositional meaning, they are as new elements positioned on the right-hand side of this polarised composition.[113] Properly fitted out in ski-wear, the children look directly at the viewer through their ski-goggles, displaying the specific equipment and clothing required to participate in the sport. Advancing the earlier century initiatives to locate the international sport of skiing in New Zealand and develop it as a sport for women and men, the brochure constructs the ski-field as a populated zone of family recreation.

In the illustration featured on the cover of this 1963 brochure for Chateau ski hire (Figure 34), a fashionably dressed young couple are represented with a young child at the skifield. It is the mother (naturally) who is managing the child's snow experience, but importantly this represents an inclusive family event where the family are at leisure together at the skifield. As a semiotic resource in this image, the mother represents family values and draws these values into the skifield that she co-constitutes. This inclusiveness is evident in the two groups of children and adults in the 1960 representation, coding the skifield as place at which families could cohere and identify as a group. The female gendering of the park shown in Chapter 5 worked in support of the production of the park as elite formation. In this period I argue that the texts show how female gendering supports wider accessibility and inclusiveness, mobilising the redefinition of the park as a family zone, and thus expanding its wider usage and profitability. As in the 1930s, representation of the relationship between gender and the environment is deployed in service of economic exigency.

The white sport: skiing and the European legacy

The copy in Figure 31 focuses on the "*popularity*" of the ski resort, its "*high*" reputation among ski experts "*all over the world*". It has a team of "*internationally famous*" coaches there

113 ibid.

Figure 34: Chateau Tongariro, Ski season publicity brochure 1963, Published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Front panel.

to teach "*beginners*" the art of *"The White Sport"*. The establishment of skiing as a new international sport and leisure activity in New Zealand is significant. While an important addition to local leisure and tourism, its international nature connected the hotel, and New Zealand skifields and skiers, to an international network of ski tourism. The bonus of (European) off-season availability attracted overseas visitors and professionals. The cache that *European* status held at this time, perceived as sophisticated, was a standard to be measured against and aspired to in the hospitality world. As the skifield facilities were progressively developed, both park and hotel became progressively connected to a mid-century language of European sophistication. The presence of European tourists, instructors and skifield employees heightened the othered or heterotopic nature of the Whakapapa holiday. Their European race augmented the whiteness of the physical environment.

The racial overtones, therefore, of the banner heading *Where the White Sport reigns*, cannot be overlooked. Coleman (1996) has discussed the whiteness of visitors to the North American ski resorts such as Vail in the 1950s. She notes the:

> … the skiing and advertising industries worked together to market destination ski resorts. They did so by creating an attractive image of 'European' ski culture that excluded people of colour, helping to create an ethnic whiteout on the ski-slopes" (p. 589).

The positioning of skiing as *"the White Sport"* in this brochure may not have been a deliberate

strategy to represent the skifield as a racially white zone. Given the European origins of the semiotic resources across the entire park field, however, including most obviously the name and concept of The Chateau, it is consistent with the production of a racially white environment. While in recent decades Ngati Tuwharetoa youth in particular, and wider numbers of Maori generally, have been active participants in skiing, they are clearly not subjects represented in this 1960s brochure nor in those discussed in the preceding chapter.

As heterotopia, the park holiday offers a place of altered time – alternative to that of the everyday, it opens up to the subject, for a short period of time, and then in effect closes for the subject after they leave. Hence the heterotopia is only activated on return. As the text states, "*You'll always be longing for another holiday at the Chateau".* The former luxury playground it is now re-differentiated as a site for specific leisure lifestyle consumption, delineated as and by a middle class habitus. As the hotel and park and skifield are opened to and claimed by the middle class, these sites and modes of leisure lifestyle become codes through which middle class status is defined. While opened to the middle class, however, the leisure lifestyle at the park is not open to those who do not have the means or aspiration to be part of this group.

6.7 Conclusion: defining class through leisure

Chapter 5 argued for the centrality of the hotel in the park in the 1929-35 period. The semiotic resources and statements in the texts that I have identified in this chapter show that while the Chateau's solid materiality remained pervasive and insistent in the 1960s, its socio-spatial reach and command over the park entity changed as the skifield expanded on its peripheries. An important feature of this relationship, however, is the mutual benefit that resulted from a complementarity of function of the built structures in the park. Thus hotel and skifield co-operated discursively on the park. In this nexus of relationships, different kinds of subject positions were constituted.

In the 1960s the relationship between the subject and the park is framed by the leading discourse of the holiday. The elements and rules of this mid-century lifestyle commodity shape the representation of the subject. The skifield holiday offers a family experience. Evidence in the representations supports an interpretation that the subject configured is pakeha or European (racially white) and middle class. The subject is rhetorically configured specifically in relation to place and it is in this way, through the reiteration of rhetorical

devices and compositional strategies, that the subject is emplaced at the park.
The hotel holiday, as a new service commodity, structures relations between staff and guests in ways that position the subject as attended to and made comfortable. It is within the dominant discourse of comfort that the subject of the hotel is fashioned in mid-century style. The mid-century restyling of the hotel positioned it as a leisure lifestyle that was contemporary, progressive and aspirational. I have shown how the representations rhetorically configured subjects in relation to gender and class to emplace them at the park in 1960. Together then, the subject and park archiscape shape a middle class cultural habitus. Thus the elite luxury formation of the 1930s, a formation that struggled in a nation dominated by egalitarian values, is now reconfigured as the de-luxe family leisure-field.

Chapter Seven

The liminal pleasure zone

7.1 Introduction and overview

> *On a clear day you certainly feel you can see forever, from The Chateau's 3,760 ft vantage point on the slopes of Ruapehu. The spasmodically active volcano, Ngauruhoe, is very much in view, and so is the third peak in the 170,000-acre National Park, Mt Tongariro. In summer, the green that starts with The Chateau's own golf course rolls out far below a pattern of farmlands and tree lines. In winter The Chateau is a warm bright haven after a day on the snow.* (1973 New Zealand's Chateau Tongariro brochure, inside)

This chapter charts the form that emplacement takes as represented in publicity brochures published in 1973 and 1984. In Chapter 6, I interpreted the park as a discursive formation named the de-luxe family leisure-field, in which middle class status is defined by participation in leisure activities, and in particular by skiing. I showed how the discourse of comfort was dominant in shaping the Chateau environment. The holiday construct as lifestyle package coheres the hotel and park activities within what, by mid-century, was an identifiable script and product.

Heteronormative gender representations at the de-luxe family leisure-field supported the interpretation of park as a site where the whole family could identify as a group. While gender-differentiated spheres adhered to conservative themes, the holiday reconfigured these in ways that serve to position its desirability as a lifestyle product. In particular, while representations of male gendered relationships to the environment are consistent with those of earlier decades, the hotel domestic sphere implements service hierarchies that offer the female consumer subject a new position, that of being served. However, whether individual subject positions were reconfigured or conformed to traditional structures, they remained

positioned within the family as the dominant structure. These discourses represented the park as a site where families were emplaced, bound together as sets of individuals and as sets of families.

In this chapter I will show how the park is reconfigured in the 1970s and early 1980s. I will show how the family as structural unit gives way to the individual as primary. Leisure lifestyle, now an established product, moves the individual subject to the centre. This chapter therefore assembles evidence that documents a shift away from the park where classed family identities are emplaced. The commodified leisure lifestyle now shifts the focus to the subjects' pleasure and enjoyment. This is represented by nuanced performances of exclusive social interplay and display. The physique of the female body now assumes a central position in the representations. It is also a central element in the rhetorical construction of the dominant discourse of pleasure rather than comfort. Thus, as I will show, the female body is now the object of both a self-reflexive and spectatorial gaze. The practices of looking and being looked at enact emplacement. The representational shift from the family to the self is consistent with wider mid-twentieth century social change precipitated by the growth of lifestyle consumption. "Popular culture", as Hillary Radner (1999) has noted, "encouraged the emergence of discourses that formulated an individual whose major preoccupation was the fulfilment of his or her needs and desires as the significant expression of citizenship" (p. 2). I will show below how the discourses shaping emplacement in this period are consistent with this expression of individuality.

At the same time as the individual actor's physical attributes become the focus of aspirational display; the representations evidence the separation of the hotel and park. The hotel's identity is now firmly claimed as part of the established Tourist Hotel Corporation's chain of hotels. Re-named Chateau Tongariro, the hotel is now discursively seen ***at*** the park, rather than the dominant signifier ***for*** the park. This change in relationship is historically contextualised by the institutional re-configuration of the park. The Tongariro National Park Visitor Centre was established in the 1950s by the Tongariro National Park Board.[114] A new purpose-built centre was opened in the early 1960s as primary entry point to the park and provider of cultural/historical and scientific information. While the Chateau had formerly functioned as park centre, the new visitor centre now assumed this role.[115]

114 In association with the Department of Lands and Survey.

115 Redeveloped again in 2002, the Visitor Centre became the site to represent the recuperation of the park's indigenous and national identity within an emerging bicultural framework.

At the same time as the hotel's former role as primary conduit for the skifield diminishes in the 1970s and early 80s, facilities were progressively developed on-site at the skifield. The Chateau, as former symbolic centre of European culture and adjunct to the skifield, is de-centred and separated from the park's new place in a national bicultural narrative. Therefore while the hotel had confidently co-opted the park in earlier decades, the shifting political landscape means it is no longer, semiotically, in a position to do so.[116] While it remains the dominant structure in the Whakapapa and lower mountain archiscape, I will show how its iconicity as ***centre*** of the park in the representations is in the 1970s and 80s significantly downplayed.

This moment of emplacement (through the lens of luxury) is named the 'liminal pleasure zone'. In the following sections I show how the rhetorical structures of elevation, relaxation, intimacy and liminality at the hotel/park in the brochures selected organise the dominant discourse of pleasure. Now reconfigured as an interlude of blue-sky potential, set against a background of edgy volcanic unpredictability, the rhetoric of elevation remains dominant. However, the figures and maps present in the 1960a representation are gone. Instead, emplacement in this formation is represented as an evanescent relationship with the Chateau/park that has been reconfigured through a visual and textual lexicon of 1970s hip and hedonism. The brochure that is the focus of this analysis was published in 1973. From the cover (Figure 34) it opens to a double panel page (Figure 35 right and Figure 36), followed by the opening to a four panel rectangular format (Figure 38), and then the third unfolding to the twelve panel double page spread (Figure 39).[117] It is a photographically dense publication, using cropping and framing contained within a grid structure influenced by the language of Swiss International style.

7.2 The cover story: realising New Zealand's Chateau Tongariro 1973

The 1973 cover announces the Chateau and park with a new air of informality. This is the park in summer, encapsulated by a visual language of clarity and saturated high-contrast colour. This informality is realised through clear blue sky, white (reversed out) typography, mountain peaks, late shards of snow, bare skin and relaxed bodies. Set in bright sunlight, the self-contained scene of youthful conviviality represents a new mood of carefree elevation.

116 See footnote 129 above.

117 Also see Appendix ii. Section 4 for full opening sequence.

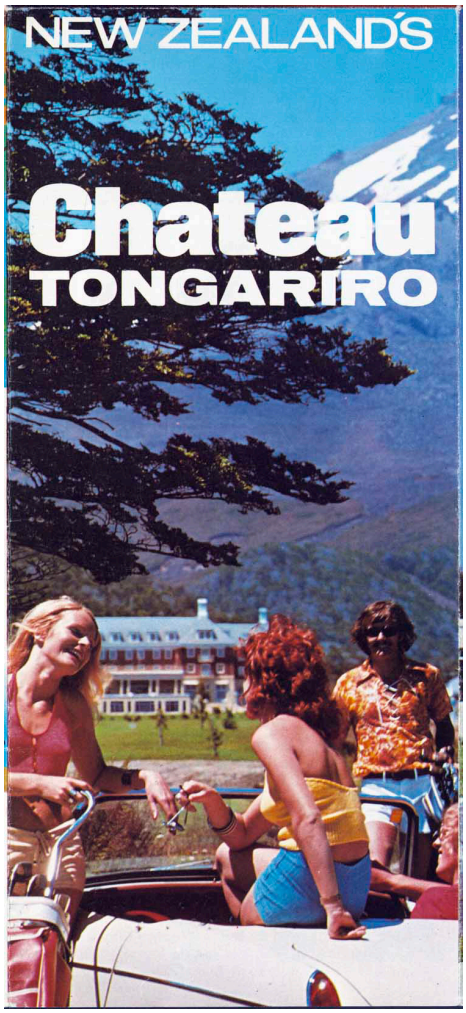

Figure 35: Chateau Tongariro, publicity brochure 1973, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Front panel.

While maintaining the tradition of the cover girls seen in the earlier texts, the focus of these actors, however, is not the park environment but other. The determined participation of the women in 1933 and the formality of the ballroom in 1960 are replaced by a dynamic social performance of looking, seeing and display. The non-transactive tightness of this social group is emphasised by the central figure, whose bare back faces the reader, surfacing the park with a new language of skin. The reader/subject, like the males at the rear and seated, is positioned as spectator, closed out of the group but invited to voyeuristically look in. By looking in, the reader/subject is directed by the foreground vector, the model's arm, toward the Chateau, now in fuzzy focus in the middle ground but still saliently positioned in the centre. The angled head, tossed blonde hair and smiling gesture of the model on the left competes for salience with the centrally featured skin of the model in the centre. Connected by their lightly relaxed wrists,[118] one dangling sunglasses in familiar fashion clearly connoting holiday, the girls are the centre of attention and object of an apparently admiring male gaze.

It is the familiar now conventional framing device of the mountain beech, seen in the textual description in 1928 (see Figure 8) and again on the cover in 1933 (see Figure 11), which pushes this social interaction to the front of the composition (Figure 34). Its dark form separates the group from the partially obscured hotel in soft focus in the middle ground and the distant vista of the skifield. The white form of the convertible car anchors the subjects in the foreground, while at the same time connotes freedom and

118 Structurally differentiating gender-following Goffman as outlined in Chapter 6.

mobility within a style language of 1970s cool. Floating to the front of the picture plane the white reversed out Helvetica letters visually cohere all of the elements. Now claimed as ***New Zealand's*** Chateau Tongariro, Helvetica boldly names the hotel and site with an international typographic signature, lightly treating[119] its location in New Zealand.

Thus the familiar repertoire of place script and subjectivation retains residual elements but is significantly revised. By 1973 the Chateau was over 40 years old and an aging institution. Its iconic details are gone from the cover and replaced by the fresh faces and skin of the lightly dressed group. The dominant language and mood of elevation are realised through high-resolution photography, relaxed bodies on display, and a new sense of casual ownership of place, where former codes of formality are displaced the social pull of hip, and the 'in' group. The road trip in the convertible, social intimacy on arrival, sun on skin, physical display and carefree elevation, are all semiotic resources central to the process of subjectivation. These are compositionally woven into the representation of the Chateau/park place through a new language of relaxed and freedom and sensory pleasure.

7.3 Brochure as artefact: concept, design, technology and form

Figure 36: Chateau Tongariro, publicity brochure 1973, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Front and back panels and internal double panel spread.

119 New Zealand's is set in Helvetica Light Expanded.

Brochure as photo story: weekend away at the park

The brochure visually represents the subject at the Chateau/park as a sequential photo story that closely interacts with the physical unfolding of the brochure pages. Using a set of four actors, two male and two female, the storyline structures a sequence of scenes. Temporally, these encompass what might be a weekend timeframe. The brochure interacts with the reader through three unfoldings, with each opening introducing the next scene. The narrative follows a sequence that begins with arrival, followed by exploration of the park. The brochure then opens to moody interior evening scenes. The full-page opening presents a new day of outdoor pursuits in the park environs.[120] This tight linkage between form and content is an innovative departure from the earlier texts. It is further activated by systematic design.

The visual storyline runs independently of the text, but both are cohered by a consistency of design programme across the entire brochure. While there is no statement of design authorship,[121] it is clearly professionally designed. That it was produced in July 1973, and printed in New Zealand for the Tourist Hotel Corporation of New Zealand, is stated at the base of the back cover. So while the author might, as Barthes (1968/1977) stated in 1968 indeed be removed and brand identity was in ascendance, the artefact nonetheless evidences the designer/author's contribution to the shaping of subjectivities and places.

Strategically art-directed, high-resolution colour photography is used as the dominant element in a holistic design programme that shows the influence (albeit somewhat diluted) of contemporary Swiss international style.[122] A mixture of expanded Helvetica and Univers typefaces are used, with their semiotics already well established as an international signature of clarity and order. In accordance with the principles of a modular grid and column layout, the design programme follows a (mostly) consistent compositional and typographic programme, systematically resolved across the entire brochure. Aesthetic balance and rhythm rely on colour, visual rhyme and graphic modularity to play out relationships between visual and textual content. Like the other semiotic resources in the brochure, including the models' costumes and the white convertible, the design programme

120 See Appendix ii. Section 4.

121 Standard practice at this time.

122 Following the principles of Armin Hoffman and Josef Muller Brockman in particular that were developed in the 1960s and subsequently globally disseminated (see Muller Brockmann, 1981; Hollis, 2006). The typefaces of Helvetica and Univers featured in this style and these are both used in this brochure.

systematically re-orders and re-fashions the park. These codes clearly demarcate the periodicity of the text.

The advances in photographic and visual reproduction technologies available in the 1970s, along with a sophisticated consideration of visual devices, are features of the brochure. High-contrast shots in bright sunlight allow the park to be seen comprehensively. Long depth of field produces a wide focal area producing images with a high information value. Low camera angles and tight crops elevate the subject. With the exception of the feature image (Figure 36), the represented subject is rhetorically constructed as naturally 'relaxed', captured by the camera while engaged in activities, rather than stiffly 'posed', as seen in the 1960 examples. These approaches heighten a sense of mobile filmic space that also utilises a repertoire of viewpoints and crops. Together these strategies combine to open up the park in the representation with a new filmic visual language that visually articulates elevation and pleasure at a summertime alpine location – on a clear day. In response to this close relationship between medium, content and sequence, the structure of the remainder of this chapter attends to the relations between park hotel and subject (as in previous chapters), but orders these sections as a response to the brochure's form.

7.4 Subject and hotel: first unfolding

Following the rendezvous of friends at the park depicted on the cover, the next scene in the narrative is presented in the first page opening to an internal double panel spread (Figure 36). This is the featured and most salient image in the brochure. Its physical size remains at a scale that fits comfortably in the reader's hands, permitting an optimum moment for capturing attention. The female actor/subjects assume a level of dominance in the composition, not seen elsewhere in the brochure. While the image is striking and assertive in its own right, the copy contributes a commentary that sets up a complex interplay between image and text. This interplay twists and turns the rhetorical construction of the dominant discourse of pleasure and, as I will show, utilises inter-textual devices and rhetorical constructions of mood to do so. While the overall effect is a straightforward 'sex sells by association', unravelling the interplay of the semiotic resources at work reveals layers of strategies that draw on residual and emergent elements of the subject/hotel relationship. These are evidential of the ways in which leisure lifestyle is produced as commodity at this time and the processes by which the meaning of the hotel is semiotically shaped in relationship with the subject. Together, they show how the subject is emplaced at the hotel.

Sexing up the hotel: subject as spectacle

The face of the Chateau is refreshed by its close association with the youthful female body. As page-width background, the mass of the institution, while obscured, remains clearly visible and salient (see Figure 37). Compositionally the models' bodies are literally pasted over the west façade of the hotel and arranged to form a foreground graphic structure. Its semiotic detail overwritten, the hotel recedes from the iconicity of its tradition and at the same time is made available to a young, hip, fun-loving generation. The new Chateau has lightened up and is pictured as a place for fun.

The image ostensibly follows a storyline based on an initial viewing of the park. The primary compositional function of the binoculars (while semiotically important, as I will subsequently show) is as centred prop, their use permitting the contrived stance and specifically the display of legs. While the compositions from the 1960s emphasised the visual rhythm of mountain peaks and architectural ridges, here landscape and architecture are displaced by the attention-seeking bodies, and in particular the erogenous zone of the 1970s, legs. The upstaging of a scenic view of Ngauruhoe's cone by the female models is overtly stated through their poses that form distinct graphic shapes. The rhetorical impact of the image leaves little doubt that it is now the subject who is the primary attraction.

Figure 37: Chateau Tongariro, publicity brochure 1973, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Internal double panel spread.

The models' interplay reiterates their salience. The playful reversal of the binocular gaze occludes the distant scenic view, turning their gaze back on each other. This non-transactional interaction excludes the reading subject who is positioned as spectator. Following Althusser's interpellative call, the image hails several kinds of subjects. The first subject is the young woman who recognises herself in, or aspires to be like, the actor/subjects represented. Secondly, within a heteronormative framework the image hails the male subject who is invited as spectator to view the women's bodies. Outside of a heteronormative framework this subject could also be female. While their social intimacy is exclusive, their bodies are on open display. As Hilary Radner (1999) has noted, discourses focusing on the subject's individual needs "encouraged the individual to realise his or her 'self' in the pursuit of pleasure, a pleasure that was first and foremost sexual. Individual fulfilment was the final expression of the citizen's inalienable right to happiness" (p. 2). It is in this way that the image can be seen to make available a subject position in which the open display of feminine sexuality is demonstrated and permitted as an expression of the self. As a representation of same-sex interplay, however, the spectator's gaze is ambiguously homo or hetero-spectatorial. Thus the discourse of pleasure configured through a close proxemic, spatially compressed relationship to the hotel emplaces a desiring, pleasure-seeking subject at the Chateau.

This representation of desire, sexuality and display at the park was seen in emergence in the 1960b text discussed in Chapter 6. A scene ostensibly framed as swimming in the Crater Lake of Ruapehu provided an opportunity whereby bare skin could be revealed in an alpine environment (see Figure 37).[123] While coastal holiday destinations had established bare skin as code of physical freedom, there was less opportunity to do so in the freezing temperatures of alpine environments.

123 Although there was a period in the 1960s (before the eruption of Ruapehu later that decade), when the water temperature was suitable for swimming and this practice did occur, the volatility of crater activity alongside the chemical toxicity of water today render this a dangerous practice.

Figure 38: Bathing in Crater Lake, J.M. Willens (crop of similar image from same photo shoot used in 1960b brochure). Source: Graham (1963), Figure 12.

Warm thermal water allowed this, and therefore the vulnerability of women in swimsuits provided a gender-differentiated counterpoint to representations of a masculine relationship to the mountain as skier in command. This, alongside the other images of female gendered passivity in the alpine environment left, as I have noted in Chapter 7, the representation of structured dependency at the alpine archiscape of 1960 in little doubt. The complexity of rhetorical interplay in the 1973 brochure complicates this, however, breaking down binary assumptions and opening up an anomalous space of gender performance.

On a clear day: infinity or intimacy

While the image is organising the rhetorical structure of the discourse of pleasure through spectatorship, the text positioned at the top of the page utilises another strategy. Engaging with the currency of popular culture, the copy cites (and embellishes) the title of the 1970 musical/film, and the lyrics from its theme song, "*On a clear day, you (certainly feel you) can see forever*".[124] This inter-textual citation not only connects the brochure to a wider circuit of popular culture to support its own rhetorical strategies, but at the same time also provides the image with an implicit sound track.

124 Theme song from the musical *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* performed on Broadway in 1965 and adapted as film in 1970 starring Barbara Streisand. Lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner and music by Berton Lane. The song was widely popularised and covered by numerous artists throughout the 1970s.

The 'feeling' of infinity invoked by the inter-textual reference is located at the vantage point of the Chateau. Set against a clear blue sky, the performance of this scene draws on the mood of expansion and elevation of the song, but then actively proceeds to subvert the notion of the infinite commanding view. The rhetorical construction of elevated pleasure therefore twists and turns in an interplay of scopic reversals that proceed from the infinite to the intimate. The physical and experiential elevation of a clear view from a commanding vantage point is recast and subverted as a performance of self-reflective and ambiguously (homo) spectatorial pleasure. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this performance enacts and completes the first line of the lyrics of the song, "*On a clear day, rise and look around you and you'll see who you are*".

At the same time, the statements in the text direct the gaze outwards, lyrically rolling out the distant view that the Chateau commands, but then abruptly turning back to it, reinstating its seasonal duality as a warm bright haven after a day on the snow. The Chateau's close relational proximity to the models in summer mode, however, suggests its potential as intimate haven. Here both the style and moral codes of the 1970s re-cast the Chateau as a liminal site of escape that provides opportunities for intimacy alongside public display. In another inversion, residual codes associating hotels with potential licentiousness (that the respectability of the 'grand' hotel concept sought to dispel) are put to new promotional purposes in the permissive environment of 1970s sexual liberation. The public display of coupledom at the hotel seen in 1960 and 1933 is now reconfigured. It is no longer seen as the heteronormative couple central to the family structure, or their social status among groups of other couples. Instead, while the group includes two females and two males, the representations avoid a heteronormative display in favour of a sexual ambiguity and uncoupled freedom.

This shift from family to individual as the dominant structure represented in the brochure pushes the hotel into a new kind of relationship with the subject. The old world historicism of its architecture represented an event-space in the earlier texts that aggrandised family status and upheld the family structure through the pillars of heteronormative conservatism. Now configured as more widely accessible lifestyle product, consumption at and of the hotel not only permits but also entitles individual freedom and choice. The conservatism of its institutional housing is reclaimed here as a place/palace for fun and pleasure.

It is in this spirit that the copywriting and image are played off against each other in a banter of visual simile and sexual innuendo. The copy tells us that "*On a clear day you certainly feel you can see forever",* while the image inverts this by turning the gaze back to the actor/subject in the foreground. What the viewing subject sees is a foreground in which the models' bodies seek attention rather than a distant view of mountains and volcanic cones. While the binoculars indexically code the view, their visual potential is subverted. It is left to the copy to tell the reader that what is not seen in the image, but is actually 'very much in view' through the large binoculars, is "*the spasmodically active volcano, Ngauruhoe".*

Subverting command and control: gendering the relationships to the hotel

The binocular lenses and their visual augmentation of command and control are semiotic resources conventionally gendered as male (see for example Eskilsson, 2003, p. 115). This enactment of the reversal of their gaze subverts the power of the (masculine) lenses. At the same time it asserts the relationship between the intimate view, femininity and the Chateau. This evidence is consistent with that presented in Chapter 6 that supports an interpretation of a female gendering of the hotel's interior. This rhetorical interplay of looking and seeing, when cast next to the hotel, therefore asserts the female gendered relationship to the hotel space.

This scene (Figure 36) therefore, while deceptively simple on the surface, utilises a complex series of reversals, subversions, presences and absences, played out between image and text, in order to represent specific kinds of relations between hotel and subjects, male and female. The non-transactive social exclusiveness of this scene follows that of the cover image, to position the subject as ambiguously gendered spectator. The subject position offered is one whereby the subject observes. It is the engaging rhetorical interplay between image and text, however, that pulls the subject into the social world of the image. In this case these playful elements are produced alongside an idealised display of physique, intimacy and sexuality. Together they set up an aspirational rhetoric whereby pleasure and place become co-constituted in the process of subjectivation. This new theatre of visual inter-play between subjects, that of looking, seeing and display, is performed against the exterior façade, indexically signifying the interior potential of the hotel. This scene's importance in the narrative becomes clear with the next opening of the brochure and the sequence of intimate interior vignettes that are revealed.

Dark discrete interiors: second unfolding

The second unfolding (Figure 38) moves the reader to the interior of the hotel. It is in this page spread that the modular grid is first seen, systematically dividing the interior into a sequence of small scenes. As in the previous page, the rhetoric of the copywriting and image sequences are disjunctive, each telling a different story, with the exception of the small but salient opening image at the top left. Following the lead set by the cover representation of arrival at the park, the sequence begins with an arrival scene in the entrance lobby of the Chateau. The rhetoric of "*The grand scale"* of the hotel, stated in the copy, is recuperated in this interior sequence. The arrival scene is visually represented from above, encapsulated by the bird's-eye viewpoint. The building's grand scale is realised in the representations by proportionally reducing the size of subject/guests in relation to the space of the building.

The rhetoric of this image is echoed in the copy – *"In an age when so much is scaled down, the Chateau makes no compromise with gracious living*". The copy returns to earlier statements of size and grandeur to represent the hotel, but now compares the hotel's neo-Georgian proportions to the more modest scale of the mid-century *"age"*. This remnant of an earlier age is compared as appropriate to the scale of "*the mountain it serves",* utilising a new rhetorical direction to qualify its archaic visual dominance in the park environment. Following the conventions of earlier representations, size and capacity dominate in the textual rhetoric that organises the discourse of scale. Not only is there *"accommodation for over 160 guests",* but "*the lounge is big enough to hold a dance floor*" and there are "*wide windows*" and "*broad terraces".* However, while the copy maintains the tradition of grandeur and scale, the images in this interior sequence tell a different story. The reference to "*full-length feature films"* is consistent with the discourse of scale. That the hotel encompasses a movie theatre consolidates the rhetoric of the self-contained interiority of the space that the image frames and copy script reveal.

Figure 39: Chateau Tongariro, publicity brochure 1973, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Internal four panel spread.

The most immediately apparent point of differentiation from exterior to interior is the shift from high-contrast saturated colours, and white, to a muted palette of browns, yellows and oranges produced by dim lighting. The moody dimness of this interior supports an interpretation of the reconfiguration of hotel as a discrete and liminal space, where private performances of intimacy are permitted in public. While public display is evident, the lighting now breaks the interior into spatial pockets of light contained by beam width and emphasised by cropping practices. The modular grid provides a sequence of spaces for these intimate vignettes revealing the interior mood and action. It also forms a framing device for the central semiotically important image of the dining room.[125] The visual enclosure of small scenes within the modular sequences runs counter to the rhetoric of capacious scale, and intensifies the work of the rhetoric of intimacy in representing the hotel interior.

Scenes include the familiar repertoire of interior holiday diversions, but now the cocktail bar is featured. As noted in Chapter 6, the cocktail bar, introduced in the 1960s to all Tourist Hotel Corporation hotels, provided a new archi-social structure that represented alcohol consumption as glamorous. As a partially zoned space, it enabled a specific set of performative practices. These included distinct cocktail dress codes, designed to reveal the

125 See discussion of the dining room in relation to hotel as lifestyle commodity in Chapter 6.

body (as seen here), seating design (bar stools) that served to elevate, extend and reveal the body, and importantly, codes of socially permitted inebriation and abandonment (as noted in Chapter 6). The cocktail bar compositionally located on the left-hand side of the image introduces the mood of the interior scene. Further details of the group's evening at the Chateau are recorded in visually experimental framings and crops within the modular structure. These record the members of the group, whose social configurations include pairs, singles and a group of four.

The dogma of heteronormative coupledom seen in the outdoor park activities in previous and subsequent sections is absent in these interior frames. This group is a set of individuals of floating pairings, seemingly asserting individual autonomy. This rhetoric is completed by the full column image on the right-hand side of the page, where an elongated height-to-width ratio compresses the space to focus on the body of one of the two models. This compositional device pulls chandelier and model into close proximity, rendering her form through an intimate chiaroscuro effect. In this way the chandelier asserts the traditional codes of elegance, and carries these forward by casting the newly reconfigured subject, 'the single girl', in its light. This subject position emergent at this time possessed autonomy and freedom of choice, as Radner (1999) has noted (p.2), that was central to the momentum that individual autonomy was to gain as a dominant structural unit.

While an exclusive intimacy is the dominant discourse visually evident in this interior scene, the rhetoric of the copywriting twists this again, engaging in another reversal. This scale and grandeur is positioned as accessible to all – "*The Chateau,* the reader is reminded, *"has no peers as an all-year holiday resort… but it puts its pleasures within the reach of all"*. Deluxe, the 1960s reconfiguration of 1930s luxury, is now the term used to describe the most superior room, while "*budget rooms for groups and families*" (although not visually represented) are "*extremely moderate in price"*. Thus in 1973 the codes of grandeur and elegance have been reconfigured through the discourse of 'accessible pleasure'**.** As the dominant discourse, 'pleasure' *s*ubverts these old world values, claiming them as a residual backdrop for its discursive operation on the hotel. The hotel now is reconfigured as site of commodified hedonism.

The one familiar, but now anomalous, image that sits within this representation of an otherwise dimly lit interior is the now iconic view from the "*wide windows*" in the Ngauruhoe room. This image stands apart from the others, the only one opening the interior to the outside environment.

7.5 The Chateau and the park

The residual image of Ngauruhoe from the hotel lounge is all that remains of the former focus on the hotel's command of the park through its windows. As the discourse of pleasure now underscores the hotel's interiority, the relationship between picture window and view is of residual importance. This is a distinct shift in the relation between interior and exterior and therefore in the hotel's relationship to the park. As Beatrice Colomina has noted, "the house" (in this case hotel) "is a system for taking pictures. What determines the nature of the picture is the window" (Colomina, 1996, p. 311). As I showed in the representation from 1933, the plate glass window framing Ngauruhoe was not only important because of the technological advance of plate glass, allowing a larger undivided view, but as an aperture for the architecture's function as viewing structure. This interpretation supported the argument outlined in Chapter 5 for the ways in which the hotel structure mediated the relationship between the alpine outdoors and indoor comfort. In this 1970s representation, however, it is the single iconic window that remains as detail, available for daytime viewing of the park from the hotel. This demotion of the window marks out a new set of practices, as passive daytime viewing is replaced by an active summertime engagement with the hotel's park environs. As the park is visually and physically opened out in the next rhetorical moves of the brochure, this separation becomes even more apparent. The hotel moves further into the background as the subject engages with the environs/park represented through a new language of natural vibrancy and exhilaration.

7.6 The subject and the park: third unfolding

Figure 40: Chateau Tongariro, publicity brochure 1973, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Inside, parallel folded, 8 panel spread.

Following the storyline of the weekend interlude, after an evening in the warm glow of the Chateau's interior, the next day opens brightly with the full-page spectacle of the actor/subjects effusively demonstrating the parks activities on a clear sunlit day (Figure 39). Importantly these outdoor activities are depicted at the place named the Chateau Tongariro (the hotel's environs) and stated in the international voice of Helvetica as seen on the cover. In this way, the retention of the name Tongariro still ties the hotel's location to place, but this place is now not the Tongariro National Park. This is evidence of the separation between hotel and park and the new discourses that are now shaping the hotel entity. This institutional shift is textually stated under the heading "*Walks and Climbs"* where the copy notes, "*The Park Board Headquarters, a few yards from the hotel, is happy to advise on this and any other aspect of your mountain holiday"*.

Together with the visual statements of intimacy, seen in the earlier interludes, the discourse of pleasure at the 1973 park draws on the outdoor environments closest to the hotel, the tended tracks and constructed alpine gardens. Between text and image, this page represents the Chateau's park as a pleasure zone of light leisure and socially focused activity. The series of high-contrast images divided by heavily weighted white lines are separated as action-focused vignettes, captured by a low viewpoint. The modular grid device compresses a large volume of information into the single page. This both elevates the actor/subject represented and pulls the viewing subject into the story of the action. With the hotel represented as a summertime destination, skiing takes a lower profile but remains included.[126] Consistent with the gender-differentiated relationships to the mountain seen in 1960, the insert features a male skier in command of the mountain.

What is depicted in these images is a return to the park environs in close proximity to the hotel represented in the 1933 material.[127] This set of zones includes the golf course, its small nine-hole area functioning in essence as the hotel's large front lawn, and "*Safe, well-marked bush tracks that lead to alpine gardens and beauty spots can be enjoyed in a quiet stroll between meals".* The "*alpine gardens"* and "*beauty spots"* are part of a constructed track circuit in

126 The skiing insert uses different typography and a different set of actor models. It is the only element not consistent with the rest of the design programme.

127 This area of park grounds were those that were originally designated as included in the hotel lease, so the return to this demarcation of space is consistent with the separation of park and hotel institutions.

close vicinity to the hotel.[128] The "*climbs*", it is noted, include "*strenuous full day trips to the summit of Ruapehu*", a marked departure from the *"easy climb"* to its summit that featured in the 1928 brochure.

The Tawhai Falls feature, as in the earlier material, but here the camera captures a new sense of the lively force of the alpine stream, rhetorically featuring water as a semiotic element central to alpine invigoration and its *"unspoiled environment"*. In the Tawhai Falls image (in Figure 39), two members of the group clamber close to the water, beckoning the others to join in. This representation is very different from the relations between the group members at this same location in the 1960 image. In that scene some group members moved close to the water while others stood stiffly apart (see Figure 21). Thus water and the engagement with the alpine stream assume a new place in the rhetoric of exhilaration. This rhetoric of exhilaration supports the interpretation that a 'free self' is now represented at the park. The subject looks to the vitality of engagement with nature, as well as the social interaction of play, as a space of self-definition.

The visual and textual statements on this page shape the overarching discourse of pleasure through a rhetoric of alpine exhilaration and difference. The copy opens with the statement "*Most people spend most of their lives at or near sea level, and a mountain holiday, with its clear air and serene vistas, is an invigorating change"*. This rhetoric returns to the elevation rhetoric of the *"above worry level*" taglines and their anti-urban associations seen in the earlier material.[129] Such rhetoric opens for the reading subject (presumably usually located at sea level and having lost the perspective of clear day elevation) a position of carefree and exhilarating freedom through which the self can (albeit temporarily) be defined. As in examples from earlier periods, these configurations hail urban dwellers responsive not only to the difference of alpine invigoration, but also to the cosmopolitan appeal of the commodious comforts the Chateau.

Consistent with the dominant pattern of light physical exertion evident on this page, "*Scenic drives"* feature as another activity. The global oil crisis of this period has clearly not

128 The "*alpine garden"* was a Department of Lands and Survey project, which involved the collection of local alpine species and re-planting them in a garden structure that replicated their natural environment, close to the hotel to make them more accessible, as a curated collection. This formed part of the educational summer programmes run at the park throughout the 1970s that focused on native botany education.

129 Since the majority of New Zealand cities are at sea level or on the coast.

impacted on the place of the road trip or scenic drive in the repertoire of park activities. It is notable that these sights highlight both relics and developments of heroicised male endeavour – the relics of the Maori Wars, yet to be renamed as the racially neutral New Zealand Wars – and significantly the major engineering of the Volcanic Plateau that occurred in the 1970s as the headwaters of the rivers flowing from Tongariro and Ruapehu were diverted to service the Tongariro Power Project. This significant environmental intervention has generally been regarded as a heroic feat of engineering. It is represented here, however, as no more than scenic and included as a new addition to the repertoire of attractions at the park.

It is perhaps the newly represented activity, horse-riding, that composes the most specific statement of freedom. This is an image of open sky and fields, its scale emphasised by the relatively small size of the subjects and animals in the distant middle ground. Subjectivation then configures the self on horseback. The visual rhetoric draws on this activity to represent the subject experiencing the freedom of the open space of the tundra of the lower park.

Regimes of pleasure at the resort

It is the statement and naming of the park as a resort that most succinctly draws together the multiple rhetorical structures that organise the discourse of pleasure in 1973. While in the 1930s the idea of 'resort' was part of the vision of the park/hotel from its inception, neither the term resort nor its associations with elite luxury sat well with the egalitarian vision of the national park idea. The skifield developments and alignment with European ski resorts in that period, however, were to further the identity of the hotel/park/skifield relationship as resort over the subsequent decades. Resorts in the first half of the twentieth century were progressively defined through the holiday as lifestyle leisure product and as heterotopic places separated from everyday life. In 1973 the statement describing the park as *"the all year holiday resort with the exhilarating difference*" an institutional framework of *"resort"* is asserted that orders the operation of the discourse of pleasure.

The Chateau Tongariro Holiday Resort is, in 1973, represented as a place where the freedom of the uncoupled individual self is realised through resort leisure activities. These light games and playful activities place the pleasure of the individual self at the centre. The brochure represents these through sequences of performances and spectacles staged at the hotel/park. The representation re-differentiates these through a 'something for everyone' rhetoric. At the same time, however, it is the young consumer of leisure lifestyles who is represented in this configuration of summertime alpine pleasure.

Have an affair with us

The 1973 brochure represented a park differentiated from the 1960s formation by an ambiguously un-coupled subject, whose relationship with place loosened alongside the Chateau's separation from the investment of national identity at the Tongariro National Park. Its assertion of resort status in 1973 is now confirmed by its 1984 designation as simply *"Resort Hotel"* (see Figure 40). The absence of reference to Tongariro in this brochure now relies on the familiarity of the name the Chateau as indexical signifier. At the same time the publicity completes the process of separation of hotel identity from park location.

Encapsulated by the tagline "*Have an affair with us*", this 1984 representation now pushes the hotel's identity further away from that of any residual meanings of a stronghold of family social status to become a site of escape from the restrictions of family conformity.[130] The park is therefore configured as a time-bound liminal pleasure zone, co-constituted by a pleasure seeking subject in pursuit of self-realisation through leisure.

Thus the social, the spatial, and the temporal relationship with the hotel come together in the statement, *"Have an affair with us"*. No longer implied, as in 1973, this statement uses the affair as metaphor to reclaim the hotel heterotopia as one of a brief encounter and departure from the routine of everyday life. The discourse of pleasure is still evident in the covert frisson of the affair, however, as the inside pages reveal the thrill appears to be gone. The visual semiotic resources support this rhetorical strategy, differentiating the hotel through a few residual traces – worn out symbols of the earlier decades. Assuming these semiotic conventions are sufficiently recognisable to the subject/audience, this loose assemblage of holiday scraps apparently suffices. A room key, an oversized cocktail and an Aran cardigan now replace former references to glamour. This evidence of a post-tourist moment is shored up by the ephemeral holiday snap that assumes a salient role. The significance of the holiday photo is asserted by its presence on the front and back cover.

130 *"Have an affair with us"* was a corporate campaign, standardised as formula (with variation of semiotic resources) for all the hotels in the Tourist Hotel Corporation suite at this time.

Figure 41 (top): The Chateau, publicity brochure, ca1984, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Front and back panels.
Figure 42 (bottom): The Chateau, publicity brochure, ca1984, published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Inside panels.

Featured as a compositional device it frames the visual content within the frame of the inside page. Together these semiotic resources assemble a language of brevity, reliant on convention the work of the indexical sign. This absence of represented subject on the cover points to a destabilisation of the subject's relationship with place. While the subject is destabilised, present only indexically in this composition, what now comes back into attention in the copy-writing of this brochure is the centrality of Ruapehu as a volcano.

The first sentence in the text headlining the inside panels, "*Sleep on an active volcano",* draws again on the frisson of volcanic activity and is followed by a set of statements in the first paragraph that gender Ruapehu as female (Figure 42). Making light of the eruptions that displaced crater-lake water to produce significant lahars in 1968, 1969 and 1975, the copy states *"Once in a while Ruapehu chases everyone from her slopes with a gentle reminder of just who is boss here. Most of the time she is a quiet, reserved giant".* This gendering and personifying of Ruapehu as female is notable here. 'Her' eruptions, reduced to a "*gentle reminder of just who is boss",* are repositioned as the occasional assertion of control by a *"quiet reserved giant".*

The metaphor of mountain slopes as female body – "*her body provides magnificent ski slopes some tame enough for first timers, while others can challenge the confident expert"* – states the repeated pattern of gendered relationship between mountain and subject. It is the masculine skier, who has dominated in the representations since 1933, who is in command of the mountain. This gendered relationship confirms that established in other settings (for further discussion of gendered relationships to place see Coleman, 2003, pp. 194-217). In this way the representation is conservative in its default to established relations between gender and place. While the practice of mountain sport may have produced a new place for women athletes on the mountain, independent of their roles as 'ski bunnies' in the 1960s (see Coleman, ibid, for further discussion), these subjects are not represented in the 1984 brochure. This representation of place and subject in this brochure therefore, while configured within the risqué *"Have an affair with US"* tagline, defaults back into more conservative gender representations than those of 1973.

At the same time these more conservative representation of gender relations re-emerge the Europeanising of the Chateau seen in the 1930s luxury playground is replayed. The copy states "*The Chateau"…. has the surroundings of St Moritz and the structure of a Loire Chateau….Sixty-four"* (now again) "*luxurious suites….The Ruapehu room for elegant dining*

or The Carvery for grand dinners show off the culinary expertise of the European chefs", but this now appears worn and overworked and the links to St Moritz and the Loire Chateau contrived. The commoditisation of European caché and the foreign name of the Chateau that supported the construction of the site as elite space in the 1930s now seems out of place at a site that is beginning to recuperate its indigeneity. However, as I noted in Chapter 6, the Chateau and other Tourist Hotel Corporation hotels continued to play an important role in the development of epicurean food cultures in New Zealand – this reference therefore addresses the aspiring gastronome.

Now set against the ascendant bicultural identity of the park,[131] this European caché is beginning to fall away, as least in the local context, as thin veneer.[132] Together these elements combine to represent a hotel through residual indices. These now cliché snapshots evidence a fleeting relationship between subject and place. Copy and image now combine in the production of a mood of casual transgression, enlivened only by the volcanic potentiality of the mountains. Thus after fifty years of representations that emplaced the subject at the park through the mediating structure of the hotel, the hotel is now semiotically pushed out of place, and the rhetoric returns to the natural forces of volcanic activity (previously elided) as mechanism of differentiation.

7.7 Conclusion

Chapter 6 argued that the two dominant built structures in the park, the hotel and the skifield, rhetorically interacted with the natural environment of the park to produce a number of different subject positions. I showed how at the de-luxe family leisure-field, the holiday ascended as the dominant discourse and lifestyle commodity. Leisure at the park operated as a mechanism that defined pakeha middle class family status, and rhetorical devices in the representations engaged a process of subjectivation to emplace this subject at the park. In this chapter I have shown how, while the holiday is still influential as discourse, it is progressively overwritten by the discourse of resort. While in the 1960s the family structure was the focus of subjectivation, in the 1970s a clear shift can be seen from family to individual as dominant structural unit. This shows how the hotel's codes of social

131 The Tongariro National Park Visitor Centre situated next door to The Chateau now offers a park narrative within a bicultural institutional framework.

132 The first Tongariro National Park Visitor Centre built in the early 1960s included information on the history of the park's establishment.

conformity and tradition had been overwritten by those of 1970s permissive values in relation to fashion, physical display and sexuality.

At the liminal pleasure zone this shift from family to individual is activated through the operation of a discourse of pleasure that focuses on the individual wants and enjoyment of the subject. This dominant discourse of pleasure is constructed through rhetorical structures of elevation, intimacy, and spectacle, viewing, display and, importantly, play. The park is represented in summer, maximising the semiotic resources of alpine elevation and sensory invigoration. This seasonal representation provided conditions for the display of female bodies fashioned in the style codes of the 1970s. These and other examples of physical and individual freedom show how the hotel/park as leisure commodity is represented as a site of self-realisation through pleasure. The compositional and rhetorical strategies of the 1970s brochures tie the represented subject and the hotel/park into a tight net of co-constitution. In this way the hotel/park destination is woven into the leisure lifestyle of a youthful and fashionable, pleasure-seeking subject. Gender-differentiated relationships to the hotel/park are powerfully evident. Importantly, however, these depart from the strict regime of heteronormative coupledom. The innuendo and interplay between copy and image in the representations opens an ambiguity of sexual orientation, and even more importantly a place for the (possibly) single individual.

The 1970s and early 1980s formation is characterised by the hotel's institutional separation from the national park and the skifield. This pushes the hotel (in this summer representation) back to the domain of its cultivated immediate environs that it began with in 1928. Now developed as alpine gardens, and easy after dinner walks, this landscape supports the ease and relaxation of the pleasure zone. By 1983, as the cultural recuperation of the national park is well underway, this separation of hotel and park is pushed further apart and completed. The hotel floats as resort in an unspecified geographic location. This sense of disconnection is amplified in the uncommitted temporality of the 1984 "*Have an Affair with US"* tagline. However, while the hotel no longer confidently co-opts the park, it now assertively co-opts the youthful subject as cast for its own reinvigoration. In these ways the pleasure seeking individual subject is configured in relation to place and thereby emplaced at the liminal pleasure zone.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

8.1 Thesis review

Having unfolded and opened up the leaflet and brochures to lay out each of the preceding chapters and folded them back together following their preformed creases, I now sit down to fold the findings of the chapters together to cohere the work of the thesis. After such deep immersion in the detail of the small windows of the texts, I can now step back to the wide view and highlight what this work has achieved.

I selected the unassuming publicity brochure as data for both its density of information and the personal relationship that it had with its reader/subject. Largely overlooked in terms of archival resource, these small paper structures are not only an interactive medium but also an intimate one. The reader/subject could take them away and absorb their contents at their leisure. While most would have been discarded, the remnants that have provided the data for this study show that some people actually kept and even collected them.

It is the archive therefore that has allowed this particular re-viewing of the brochures to take place. For this study the archive provided a specific kind of evidential database that visually and textually mediated the relationship between subject and place. I began with a small text-only leaflet set in letterpress and within a fifty-year period ended up with a brochure that featured the park using full colour photolithographic methods of reproduction. Now a residual medium of leisure and tourist place representation, the materiality of these brochures as a small-scale print medium has the capacity to fix and hold relations in place in a way that digital media does not care to. I have demonstrated how the ability of these representations to do discursive work cannot be separated from the material structure and form of the brochures as media artefacts.

Tourism's relationship to media in the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has followed multiple trajectories in order to capture the tourist subject's imagination and pre-figure a subjective relationship to place. The mediating of place in two-dimensional print representations to which I have attended here, and the rhetorical strategies deployed, are clearly embedded in their twentieth century contexts. Through this window into the middle third of the last century I have assembled evidence to show how the forces of economic drivers were mobilised as discursive strategies in representations. The findings show how these strategies configured subjectivities in order to enact emplacement at park and hotel sites. Emplacement in this sense has an economic investment in its outcomes.

I set out from the beginning to explore the meaning of place as a social construction in these texts. To do this I began with the aim of finding out more about the specific ways in which publicity brochures worked as designed agents in the process of subjectivation. My primary question was to identify how the rhetorical strategies of the publicity brochures co-constituted subjectivity and the archi-scape to emplace the subject at the Tongariro National Park in the time periods studied. The semiotic relations between represented subject and the archiscape were at the core of the brochures' communicative agenda. Could a critical semiotic and discursive analytic investigation of these small ephemeral representations offer insights into how the processes of tourism shaped local places and subjectivities? Could such analysis effectively puncture the tight surface tension of these texts to open up their operation? How did they represent relations between subject, structure and place?

The texts offered sequences of dense assemblages of image and text to dig into and address these questions. Their complex layers offered a promising site for the exploration of the ways in which place and subject were co-constituted in the process of subjectivation. Interpreting relations between the dominant semiotic elements of environment, structure (hut/hotel/skifield) and subject in each of the brochures laid the groundwork for theorising. The analysis and interpretation of the texts within this semiotic/relational structure facilitated the theorising of emplacement as a specific kind of representational co-constitution of subject and place. The original contribution to knowledge made by this thesis is the building of a theory of emplacement in tourism representations as a specific kind of subjectivation whereby the subject and archiscape are co-configured. The subject of the representation is thereby emplaced.

Drawing on evidence produced by critical semiotic and discourse analysis, each of the chapters in this thesis has taken a detailed approach to unpacking the rhetorical organisation of the discourses at work in the texts interpreted. This produces evidence that demonstrates how processes of representation and subjectivation in the leaflets and brochures gendered and/or classed the subject specifically in relation to place. I have shown across the four chapters that it is the abrasion and coherence of class and gender structures with the park archiscape that produces the specific kind of emplacement in each of the historical periods addressed in the thesis. The periodicity of the thesis reveals how emplacement was reconfigured in each of the historical periods.

The identification of the importance of luxury early in the development of the park archiscape provided a lens through which to view emplacement and its differentiation in each of the historical periods. Thus each chapter was named as historical form of emplacement interpreted through the lens of luxury. De-luxe becomes an important operational term in defining the move from a discourse of elite luxury to that of the de-luxe family leisure-field. Its meaning as a commoditised and popularised form of luxury more accessible to a wider audience is reclaimed.[133] To emphasise this shift and the intended meaning of the concept the word deluxe is hyphenated in the thesis as de-luxe, and used as verb, 'de-luxing' is the process by which elite luxury is reconfigured as a mass accessible product. This follows Dana Thomas's position in which she outlines the growth of mass produced luxury and the rise of the deluxe product (2007). While de-luxe is used to describe luxury's democratisation in Chapter 6, the term 'post-lux' is defines the condition of luxury in Chapter 7. Here it is situated within the framework of the postmodern critique, where as where as Jameson (1991) stated "Postmodernism is the consumption of sheer commodification as a process" (p. ix). The use of the term post-lux works in this thesis to inflect the concept of elite luxury with postmodern reflexivity and awareness of its role in maintaining dominant ideological structures. The interpretations in each chapter detailed below, demonstrated therefore that the shifting condition or state of luxury was as a significant element impacting on how the subject was emplaced at the park formation.

In Chapter 4, in the representation of the spartan national recreation ground, the foundational discursive construction of the national park is laid out. In the text-based

133 This differs from the general usage of the term in which it is frequently used to define something similar to luxury (Merriam Webster define deluxe as "of better quality and usually more expensive than the usual ones of its kind: very luxurious". http://www.merriam-webster.com)

leaflet from 1929, I have shown how the subject is emplaced in the park through the operation of the dominant discourse of the expedition. This discourse structured the park represented in the leaflet as a set of relations between subjects, huts, tracks and views that I argue takes the form of a text map. These structures are densely interwoven in the script for the performance of the park expedition.

As a spatial practice the expedition draws on contemporaneous paradigms shaping the performance of masculinity. I show how these gendered scripts placed an emphasis on preparedness and physical fitness. These skills permitted a process of material reduction and the self-sufficiency of the park subject in this period. The expedition of the representation elevated climbing as physical activity in the park and its goals were the visual capture of sights, as well as the physical conquer of mountains. It is through these representations of gender performance that the expedition operated on the park to co-constitute subject and place.

The hut held the central position in the 1929 representation. It offered a spartan level of comfort appropriate for the performance of masculinity within the discourse of the expedition. In the 1929 leaflet, the position of the hut as the mediating structure between subject and environment is established. As well as accommodating the subject in the park, the semiotic importance of this position provides a platform for the relational structure developed in subsequent chapters. The series of huts established relationships of proximity and distance in the park, in particular to the repertoire of scenic sites that the park offers. The hut's rudimentary structure semiotically provided ontological security. As location and site are central to the park's topography of 1929, the representation of the hut anchored the subject in the park archiscape.

While the expedition was a spatial practice and script for physical performativity, the leaflet represented the repertoire of sights and the practice of sight seeing as a significant goal or outcome of the expedition. The panoramic view of command and control is featured throughout the representation, and its visuality augmented the physicality of the goal-focused hut/track narrative in the representation of the park.

It is in these ways that the 1929 representation gendered the subjects' relationship to both hut structure and environment to emplace a dominantly masculine subject in the park. This process of subjectivation was consistent with the regimes of productive recreation

dominant in this time period, whereby recreation was viewed as goal-focused work aligned with outcomes of wider social or state benefit. Endorsed by the recreation ground's national status, recreation, masculinity and place are co-constituted in a state sanctioned process of subjectivation.

I demonstrated how the assemblage of two leaflets, the Tongariro National Park *Information for Visitors leaflet* and the insert produced by New Zealand Railways publicising the rail excursion to the park, worked in tandem. The railway addressed the distance between park and subject, bringing together a new set of proxemic relations. Together they constructed the park as a destination for excursion and expedition. They laid out a script for how the subject travelled, arrived, practised a gendered relationship to place according to the script specified, and then departed. This sequence of mobility, engagement and departure, establishes the park as heterotopia – a space that sits apart from the regimes of everyday life. The interpretation of park as heterotopia, established in this chapter, is revisited in subsequent chapters to show how this spatial ordering persists but changes over time.

In Chapter 5 *The Luxury Playground* I have shown how the development of the park at the end of the 1920s was bolstered by high risk entrepreneurial confidence, premised on the growth of international tourism. Values linking fashioned luxury and elite status to the park archiscape underpinned this vision for an international leisure class consumer to visit the park. This defined the park archiscape as an early site of leisure consumption. The imperative to develop the park archiscape within a paradigm of elite luxury emplaced a new kind of subject at the park in the representations. The entrepreneurial vision of the Chateau as luxury resort followed the precedents of the grand railway hotels in North America and their European mountain resort equivalents. This saw the Chateau hotel built in a historicist design, reliant on residual displaced codes of classical grandeur. At the Chateau of the 1933 representation, the status of the subject was elevated through luxury's elite scarcity.

This new formation evidenced a radical shift from the material reduction of the self-sufficient body represented in 1929, to that of material excess and the served or tended self. Mirroring this binary opposition, productive recreation as goal-focused work gave way to recreation as the consumption of leisure. I show how representations of games and play shaped the processes of emplacement at the luxury playground as opposed to the focus on hard earned physical self-improvement at the national recreation ground.

While oppositional in many ways to the formation evident in 1929, the luxury playground was also a response to state imperatives. In this sense it was driven by an entrepreneurialism that looked outward to international networks based on the consumption of sophisticated cosmopolitan leisure. The hotel was to become a state-owned and managed institution that sanctioned these values of elite luxury at the national park. It was, however, widely observed that these values were out of alignment with the foundational values of the national park idea based on egalitarianism. The construction of the Chateau hotel precipitated, within a very short time period, a radical shift in representation and subjectivation. Brochures from the 1930s represented the hotel/park entity as place for women as well as men. The discourses of luxury and comfort facilitated the gendering of the park as site for the performance of female identities.

The 1933 brochure assertively co-constituted the female subject and the park archiscape. Compositional and figurative visual devices were utilised to bind female subject, hotel and park environment together into a tight circuit of connectivity. The subject's relation to the park archiscape was re-gendered through two distinct kinds of female gender performance in the representations. The first was a passive performance of display in relation to the hotel and its alpine setting, and the second that of an active performance of ski athleticism at the skifield. The latter, I argue, was not an emancipatory strategy but one serving economic exigencies. The representational power of the images nonetheless reproduced women in new modes of physical performance and interaction with the outdoor environment. This duality of the female subject position in the 1930s differentiates this historical period from the later mid-century representations.

Skiing, the recreational element in the park, remained significant for the decades following its emergence in the 1930s. The European culture of skiing worked closely alongside the European origins of the architectural style of the hotel to semiotically align the park with a network of European alpine resorts in the representations from this period. The alignment of the park archiscape with European culture served to elevate its elite status, differentiating it from other leisure and tourist sites and auguring its status as elite heterotopia.

In the 1930s the hotel moved into a position of command and control. While hut culture still existed, it was upstaged by the hotel's reconfiguration of the park and its role in new processes of emplacement. The hotel's architecture displaced the vantage points of the tracks

as a new site that offered splendid panoramic views. The hotel's windows were represented as devices for framing these views – both intimate and expansive. The hotel therefore not only mediated the subject's relationship to the park's environment, but also augmented and enhanced it, offering an interior archiscape for both the subject's public display and private intimacy. Its material details featured extensively in the representations, constructing both its elite status, and opening a position for the materially responsive female subject to occupy as hotel guest. Representations of the subject performing new kinds of female gendered scripts at both park and hotel opened up new subject positions to emplace the female subject at the park in this period.

The dominant symbolic language of luxury, however, as the texts themselves evidence, sat uneasily with the egalitarian, nationalist and potentially bicultural values underpinning the national park idea. It is at this site of ideological discomfort that the dominant position of the development imperative is exposed, alongside the rhetorical strategies deployed to ensure that position. Thus I have shown how emplacement, and in particular that of the female subject at the formerly male gendered park, co-operates with development imperatives to expand the visitor population to include both sexes.

At the de-luxe family leisure-field of Chapter 6 processes of emplacement in the representations were also seen to be in close co-operation with development imperatives. The skifield developments in the 1950s to 60s period were economically predicated on mass visitor numbers. This provided an opportunity for the skifield and park to co-operate in the subjectivation processes of the representations. This meant that the work of the publicity texts was to reconfigure the park archiscape from its former elite construction. At the same time, however, the elite codes remained as residue carrying aspirational elements forward into the new formation. Thus a process of subjectivation was activated whereby the hotel, skifield and park were seen as accessible to a wider middle class New Zealand audience. The reconfiguring of the 1960 formation occurred in a number of ways. In the first instance I have shown how the luxury of 1933 is de-luxed and the dominant discourse that shaped the relationship between the hotel and the subject was that of comfort. Luxury was progressively displaced by the ascendant discourses of leisure and the mid-century consumption paradigm of lifestyle. The interpretation shows how the brochures emplaced the middle class subject through the overarching discourse of the holiday as a lifestyle product.

The discourse of comfort at the hotel was enacted by the hotel's capacity to make the subject comfortable. The representations evidence a marked shift away from images of the exterior of the hotel to that of its interior spaces. The hotel comforts were heightened by the contrast between the hotel's inviting interiors and the alpine inclemency of the skifield. Comfort played a central role in laying down the specific qualities of the 'hotel holiday'. The middle class subject was emplaced at the hotel in multiple ways within this discourse. The social practice of dining represented at the hotel emplaced the subject in a new set of service-based hierarchies. These were seen in the representations coded through performances of manners, gendered roles and public dining protocols. The discourses of comfort and service at the hotel reconfigured the culture of female domesticity. Comfort and service for the female hotel guest configured hotel domesticity as leisure; this offered a direct contrast to the domestic work of home life. Hotel domesticity was supported by representations of the hotel restaurant in which a new performative script for hotel and service reconfigured the hierarchical relationships between and across genders in the commodified leisure space of the hotel. The hotel holiday operated as a new service-based commodity that emplaced the subject in the ease of its spaces.

Evidence from the 1960 brochures supported my argument that the differentiating practices of lifestyling produced a subject who, importantly, looked good on holiday. The hotel subject on holiday was fashioned and on display. Fashioning was evident not just in the garments and attributes of the actor/subjects, but in the furniture and in the casual or easy chairs that feature in the representations. The chairs feature as important semiotic resources that connote both leisure and upward mobility, semiotically at the hotel and physically at the skifield. The outcome of this process of subjectivation was a female subject who was represented in primarily passive roles at the hotel.

I have argued that this period of park formation was marked not only by the passive female subject who gendered the subject's relationship to the hotel as female, but also by the importance of the emplacement of the family unit in the representations. Seen in its various components, including the representations of heteronormative romance at the hotel, it was the representation of families and children participating at the skifield that activated emplacement. There was considerable evidence in the 1960 brochures that pointed to these families as dominantly pakeha or racially white and middle class. Therefore while the park heterotopia was opened through its de-luxing and departure from the elite enclosure of the 1933 representations, it became reconfigured as leisure field at which specifically middle class pakeha status was defined and displayed. I have shown how the park, hotel and

skifield structures worked together in the representations to form a cultural field shaped by a middle class habitus and a language of upward mobility. Thus, at a site pre-figured by a legacy of both elite and international coding, ski leisure represented a new kind of spatial enclosure, binding and defining middle class family identities in mid-twentieth century New Zealand.

The skifield located the park as part of a European centred international network. As a sport of European origin, its expansion at the park amplified the already existing semiotic resources that positioned the park within a network of European identity codes, progressively overwriting those related to its indigenous histories. The emphasis in 1960 on the park's summer as well as winter provides further evidence of the ways in which processes of representation, subjectivation and emplacement are closely aligned with economic imperatives. Year round occupation was necessary for profitability. The emphasis on seasonal duality in 1960 was significant for the expansion of different kinds of subject positions at the park. Importantly, it forecasts the shift to summer mode seen in Chapter 7, where the summer climate permits the physical display necessary to re-cast the park in a new language of pleasure and the self.

Chapter 7 shows how the park was reconfigured in the 1970s as the liminal pleasure zone. Representations are organised by a post-lux permutation of luxury characterised by fleeting engagement. The 1973 brochure provided evidence of previous decades of advertising that had prioritised the individual's needs and wants. The brochure represented the individual self, differentiated by lifestyle as the dominant agent in the process of subjectivation. The female body was now positioned as the central attraction. Practices of looking and being looked at became central to representation of pleasure and enjoyment. The 1973 brochure therefore provided evidence of a more developed form of commodified leisure lifestyling in which the park is refreshed and invigorated by new youthful surfaces.

The 1970s representation provided clear evidence that the separation of park and hotel was now complete. Contextualised by the institutional separation and the establishment of a park visitor centre, the hotel retreated to its immediate environs. The hotel no longer commanded outward reach but instead pulled the cultivated tracks and walks in its immediate vicinity into its enclosed pleasure zone. The rhetorical structures in the text of elevation, invigoration and playfulness organise the discourse of pleasure. The 1973 brochure enacts emplacement as an evanescent relationship with the archiscape.

The production values of the 1973 brochure amplified the rhetorical structures of elevation and invigoration of the alpine summer. They supported the semiotic resources of design elements, composition and copy-writing to produce the discourse of pleasure. These elements were cohered in a systematic design programme. The language of relaxed freedom and sensory pleasure was played out at a textural level. A tone of light playfulness prevailed in the multiple layers of text and was actively mobilised in a lively interplay between image and text. The narrative storyline played out by a set of actors who recur throughout the brochure appears as an innovative organising structure. This visual coherence, independent of the text, allowed the text to engage in a banter of innuendo and inter-textuality that revealed the extent to which the brochure had been considered holistically at all levels. The way in which the subject was emplaced at the park is seen most clearly in Figure 36. This image exemplifies the rhetoric of the liminal pleasure zone, where pleasure and place become co-constituted in the process of subjectivation. I have unpacked the multiple layers of devices that emplaced a youthful subject at the park. Significantly this image shows that the subject, now rhetorically moves into a position that co-opts the hotel. Emplacement at the liminal pleasure zone, then, worked to serve the economic imperatives of the hotel in a similar pattern of reversals to those played out in the text. By positioning the subject at the centre, the hotel recedes as an old world stage set for a cast of youthful individuals to perform the hedonic display of self definition entitled by a commoditised leisure lifestyle.

The semiotic resources utilised in the interior pages of the 1973 brochure represent the liminal pleasure zone. The socio-spatial formation of the cocktail bar was emblematic of the operation of the discourse of pleasure on the hotel formation in its zoning of space to permit a specific set of performative practices. Not only did the cocktail feminise the consumption of alcohol, but the design of the experience from fashion to furniture and to the drinks themselves all supported a regime of pleasure. An important visual feature seen in this brochure of was the representation of the relation between subject and water. The alpine stream is drawn into the rhetoric of exhilaration and with it bringing a new vital engagement with nature into the representation of the self. This (visual) identification of the elemental repertoire of tourist sites both returns to earlier constructions and forecasts those that will come later. The naming of the hotel as "*Holiday Resort*" in 1983 draws together two of the dominant discourses shaping the formation since its outset, that of the resort as elite heterotopic place, and that of the holiday, as egalitarian-focused lifestyle product. In 1984 the transitory qualities of the new formation were encapsulated by the "*Have an affair with US"* tagline. Thus, formerly dominated by rites of family bonding, the representations interpreted in Chapter 7 recast the park as a liminal space for casual romance and the

fleeting affair. This hotel/park was represented therefore as another kind of heterotopia. Formerly represented as place where marriages were consummated and families bonded, in representations from the late liminal pleasure zone it is seen as site of freedom from the constraints of family life.

A clear shift was seen in Chapter 7 from the dominance of the subjects' bodies in 1973 to that of indexical signification by semiotic traces in 1984. The publicity evidences that the representation of the hotel/park was consistent with the cultural shifts of post-modernity. The last brochure, characterised by banality and boredom, epitomises the post-modern formation. The former dominance of the hotel is now making way for the ascending political and cultural forces now beginning to reshape the park as a bicultural institution and dual World Heritage site.[134] Emplacement in 1983 was characterised by a tenuous connection to the place, the representation of the archiscape reliant on a thinning veneer of former scripts. A departing subject is lightly defined and ambiguous as a new order of emplacement is underway. Exploring such subsequent developments however falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

8.2 Methodological and theoretical contribution

The publicity brochures compress information into densely layered multimodal texts in which materiality, composition, image, typography and written language co-operate in the production of statements. To identify the specific ways that the visual and textual rhetorical organisation and design of the publicity brochures had emplaced subjects at the park, it was necessary to occupy and draw together a number of methodological tools.

To get closer to understanding processes of representation, subjectivation and emplacement the methodologies used in this thesis focused on analysing the rhetorical construction of discourses in operation in the brochures. As placing devices the brochure representations drew on sets of rhetorical structures to emplace the subject at the park. Three dominant semiotic categories were co-constituted in the hotel/park formation. These were the natural environment (the park), the built environment (the hut, hotel, skifield), and the subject positions constructed in the representations. In this theory, the relationship between the subject and the natural environment, is mediated by the built environment.

134 The park was nominated for UNESCO Dual (Natural and Cultural) World Heritage Status in 1990 and the awarding of both had occurred by 1993.

This emphasis on rhetorical construction relied on an understanding of the compositional semiotics of the texts as well as the linguistic strategies at work, outlined in Chapter 4. Together these visual, grammatical and discourse analytic strategies opened up the dense rhetoric of the texts so that the discursive constructions of statements could be seen. In each of the chapters, my analytical and interpretive focus was on the rhetorical organisation of the semiotic resources in the texts and the dominant discourses that were supported. To do this, I drew together compositional meaning and figuration to focus on the production of semiotic relationships. This meant that the work of the texts as agents of specific kinds of subjectivation could be understood. The interpretation of the findings from these analytical methodologies was sustained by theoretical lenses, in particular those of topological relations and the performativity of subjectivities in representations.

As argued in Chapter 3, scholarly precedents where similar combinations of methods have been drawn together for media analysis have provided valuable exemplars for this study. However, in the interstitial space between design historical scholarship and sociology where this project sits, the criticality of this methodological approach is breaking new ground. Design historical scholarship, while now embracing approaches that consider the discursive production of meaning, has tended to focus on the relationships between historical context and style, materiality, technology and social change. Drawing discourse analysis into these frameworks contributes a methodological assemblage that brings an evidence-based criticality into this scholarship. Critical analysis of the discursive drivers of production-based disciplines is not always a comfortable space to occupy. That it is occupied, however, is becoming increasingly important as the design disciplines reorient themselves in rapidly changing consumer and media environments.

Importantly this combination of critical semiotic, discourse analysis and topological relations allowed a closer examination of texts in relation to the wider political and economic imperatives driving the process of mediation. Thus power relations were evident in the rhetorical construction of the texts. These, however, require an understanding of the historical context to be meaningful. Research into historical, social, political and legislative change in relation to the case study, therefore, has also been an important methodological strategy. Most importantly, however, this assemblage of methods opens up a mode of scholarship whereby the multiple outcomes of emplacement can be better understood, both in service of commercial imperatives and also as a represented performance of subjectivities.

The thesis theorises subjectivation in brochure representations as a process whereby subject and place are co-constituted. As placing devices brochures simultaneously inscribe subjects into places and places into subjects, a process theorised in this thesis as emplacement. The use of the key theoretical term emplacement in this thesis both draws on and expands its dictionary definition "the act or an instance of putting in position" (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1991).

Thus while *placement* locates the subject in an environment, *emplacement* overtly positions and fixes the subject within a set of specific semiotic relations (including those between built structures, the park environment, and other subjects). It is important to restate that this theory of emplacement focuses on the work of representational strategies. Within a framework of an embodied theory of subjectivity, however, an emerging theory of emplacement focuses on all of the senses and the phenomenological experience of the social environment. Within that framework co-constitution and connectedness of body and environment occur in multi-sensory and non-representational ways (for further discussion see Howes, 2005; Pink, 2011; Ingold, 2000; and Thrift, 2007).

Emplacement in this thesis theorises a strategic form of 'placement' of the subject in relation to built elements and natural environment in representations. This operational usage maintains that the representation holds this intended relationship in a material form. In this sense emplacement is part of the process of material reproduction, where a set of symbolic relationships are put something into place with a certain authority and indelibility. These emplaced relationships are then rewritten and overwritten over time. The term emplacement is used to encapsulate how these small (leaflet and brochure) documents hold power as communicative devices.

The theory of emplacement in representations augments the existing work on emplacement in relation to embodiment. This theory of emplacement contributes to how we might better understand tourism subjectivation processes at work in the tourist brochure. As a materially embodied site of representation, the artefact/brochure assumes its own capacity to engage with a performative repertoire. This occurs within the performative scripting of the subject and archiscape of the representation, as well as the performative materiality of the physical construction of the paper artefact itself. Thus the theory of emplacement developed in this thesis asserts that the brochure is at once representation and an artefact with material and performative properties.

The thesis has shown how the brochures emplaced subjects in the discursive terrain of the Tongariro National Park and Chateau Hotel archiscape. The naming of each periodized formation folds the condition of luxury into a general theory of historical change in the rhetorical configuration of emplacement. This sequence of chapters shows how shifting co-constitutions of place and subjectivity were shaped by discourses of gender and class. Importantly, it reveals that these shifts in co-constitutions pivoted on specific social constructions of luxury. The evidence assembled by the thesis of an underlying relationship between the gendering and classing of place and the social construction of luxury is a significant result of the interpretive case study, demonstrating the power of the theory built by the thesis.

Directions for further research

This thesis offers a glimpse into the complexity of the processes of subjectivation, confined to the representational space of the publicity brochure for a specific park archiscape. It opens further questions about how processes of subjectivation and emplacement may have been activated through a different kind of data set, or attention to a subject position other than that within the representational space of the brochure. The brochure enacts a pre-figuring of place that rhetorically configures the subject(s) of that place in specific ways. Other spaces of representation sit behind the work of the brochure, and other subject positions are also implicated in the ways that places and subjects are co-constituted. These however are beyond the confines of the present study. Attention to these domains of subjectivation would offer a complementary data set in relation to the case study site, and further nuance and expand the emplacement theory developed in this thesis.

It was noted early in the thesis that Maori subjectivities do not surface in the representations of the alpine archiscape in the time periods studied. As I have noted this was to change in the late 1980s as the Chateau fell into the background and the National Park was assertively redefined through its Maori history and identity. Analysis of this subsequent period could offer up findings that would define a very different kind of alpine archiscape. Further, the alpine archiscape studied within the time period addressed by this thesis offers insight into one dimension of New Zealand identities. There are many other kinds of archiscapes and other kinds of identities to be explored. These offer opportunities for further study to advance a theory of emplacement in other contexts.

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Appendices

i. The archive

The following list documents the full set of leaflet or brochure documents held in the Alexander Turnbull Library Ephemera Collection that met the following criteria:

a. The document publicised the Tongariro National Park before the construction of the Chateau Hotel
and b. The document publicised the Chateau Hotel at the Tongariro National Park.

1. "Tongariro National Park Information for Visitors", published by the Tongariro National Park Board 1928. Single fold, 4 panel, text only leaflet. 170 x 105 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A- Park-Tongariro-1928.
Selected for analysis Chapter 4

2. "Tongariro National Park, New Zealand, The Chateau, Playground of the North Island", published by the Tongariro National Park Board 1933 .[135] *Printed by W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington. Trifold 6 panel brochure, orange, black and white illustration on front and b & w photographs inside. 236 x 103 mm.*
ATB Ref: Eph-A-Parks-Tongariro-1933.
Selected for analysis Chapter 5

3. "Play all the year round at the Chateau, Tongariro New Zealand", Published by the Tongariro National Park Board ca 1936. Printed by National Magazines Ltd.
Double gate fold, 8 panel brochure, monotone (red) illustrations and photograph on front and b&w photographs and illustration on inside. 232 x 101 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-Hotel-Tongariro ca 1936.Selected for analysis Chapter 5

135 This brochure, produced when the Chateau Hotel was under Tongariro National Park Board management, publicises both the park and the hotel.

4. "Any time is holiday time at The Chateau New Zealand, All Year Round, Summer or winter you'll love the Chateau", New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, ca 1950s.
Quad fold 8 panel brochure, red, black and white illustration and b&w photograph on front, cropped b&w photographs inside. 222 x 98 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-HOTEL-1950s.

5. "Special Chateau Offer – A first class 6 day mountain holiday at bargain prices – Springtime at the Chateau is all the more inviting this year because of considerable tariff and transport reductions" ca 1950-1960. Single page, unfolded leaflet. Cropped b&w photograph and text. 215 x 140 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro ca 1950s.

6. "The Chateau, Luxury and Leisure, Sport and Pleasure", designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department. Produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd. Hastings. New Zealand. ca 1960. Trifold, parallel folded, 12 panel brochure. Full colour photographs on front, and inside, four colour illustrations. 221 x 98 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-Hotel-Tongariro ca 1960.
Selected for analysis Chapter 6. Referred to as 1960a.

7. "For a different kind of holiday – the Chateau New Zealand's year round mountain resort" – "Holiday highlights" inside. Designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart Ltd, Wellington, New Zealand. ca 1960. Trifold 6 panel brochure, 2 colour graphics, b & w photograph on front, b & w photographs inside. 215 x 88 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro ca 1960.
Selected for analysis Chapter 6. Referred to as 1960b

8. "New Zealand Chateau Tongariro, hub of a holiday carousel for year round fun and adventure – Snow sport and summer holidays – Plenty of fun and lots to see and do. New Zealand Tourism and Publicity Department. Printed by R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington. ca 1960s. Duo fold, parallel folded, 8 panel brochure, full colour photograph on front and double panel inside, full colour illustrations four panel inside. 212 x 95 mm.
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-1960s (features illustrations in central fold)

9. Tourist Hotel Corporation Ski Season – Chateau Tongariro Published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. 1963. Single fold 4 panel leaflet. Monochrome (blue) illustration on front. 202 x 92 mm.
ATB Ref: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro-1963.

10. "Chateau Tongariro, A THC Resort Hotel- A THC Resort Hotel- The gay place to stay", published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. ca 1965. Trifold, parallel folded, 12 panel brochure. Full colour photographs front and inside. 217x 93 mm
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro ca 1965

11. "Your 1972 Chateau Ski Holiday", Tourist Hotel Corporation, 1972 Ski season, 1972 Concessions. Tri fold, 6 panel brochure, b & w photograph on front. 210 x 92 mmATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro -1972

12. "New Zealand's Chateau Tongariro", produced by the Tourist Hotel Corporation, 1973. Printed in New Zealand. Quad fold, parallel folded 16 panel brochure. Full colour photographs front and inside. 210 x 94 mmATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro-1973
Selected for thesis Chapter 7.

13. "Have an affair with us", Tourist Hotel Corporation Resort Hotel, Published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. Printed in New Zealand ca 1984. Single fold, 4 panel brochure, full colour photographs front and inside. 210 x 148mm
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro-1984.
Selected for thesis Chapter 7

ii. The data set: complete sequences of brochure openings

TONGARIRO
NATIONAL PARK.

Information for Visitors.

THE Tongariro National Park is situated in the centre of the North Island. It contains the extinct volcanoes Ruapehu (9,176 ft.) and Tongariro, and the active volcanoes Ngauruhoe and Te Mari, besides beautiful forests, waterfalls, glaciers, lakes, and other natural features of interest. The most direct route to the park is by the Main Trunk Railway to National Park, where there is a comfortable boardinghouse within half a mile of the station. From National Park Railway-station visitors can either walk or motor to the Whakapapa huts via the Waimarino–Tokaanu Road and Bruce Road. The distance is about ten miles.

Whakapapa Huts.

The Whakapapa huts, situated at the base of Mount Ruapehu, are sheltered by a beautiful beech forest at an altitude of 3,710 ft. above sea-level. There are three large huts at this base, containing bunk accommodation for forty-six persons, also a dining and social room with kitchen attached. The huts are provided with camp-ovens, and have open fireplaces. A special hut is reserved for ladies, and contains extra heating-stoves. The huts are divided into sections, each containing six bunks, and are provided with mattresses and pillows. Attached to the huts are two bathrooms fitted with porcelain baths and washbasins.

These huts afford a splendid base from which to climb the three mountains. The time taken usually to reach the Crater Lake on the summit of Mount Ruapehu is from seven to eight hours. The climb is by no means difficult, and can be undertaken by any average person. The last two thousand feet is over ice or snow. The track for about two miles is through beautiful mountain-beech forest, and crossing the Whakapapa River one emerges into open country, where a splendid panorama can be seen of Mount Egmont to the south and Lake Taupo to the north. The Crater Lake, with walls of ice and containing warm water, is well worth a visit. Another feature of interest is the Silica Springs, distant about three miles through bush, and passing numerous waterfalls and gorges *en route*.

Front panel

Section 1
Leaflet: Chapter 4

The Taranaki Falls, distant about two miles, can also be easily reached from Whakapapa. Other interesting points are the Whakapapanui Gorge, the Pinnacle Ridge (which affords good rock-climbing), and the Tawhai Falls, situated about half a mile below the "Haunted Whare." Above the last-mentioned falls a splendid panorama of the mountains can be obtained.

Mangatepopo Huts.

The Mangatepopo huts are situated at the base of Mount Ngauruhoe, at an altitude of 4,000 ft. There are two huts at this base, with accommodation for twenty persons. The new hut only is provided with mattresses and pillows, and contains twelve bunks. As there is no firewood in the vicinity of these huts they are provided with "Primus" and "Perfection" stoves for cooking purposes. These huts may be reached by two routes. The first turns off the main road at the fingerpost opposite Sir James Gunson's camp, and proceeds thence about four miles and a half to the huts. A horse-drawn vehicle can be taken along this route.

The second route is from the Whakapapa huts to a signpost about four miles distant, passing the Taranaki Falls *en route*. From this point the track deviates across the plains, thence under the foothills of Ngauruhoe to the huts—total distance from Whakapapa about ten miles. The second route is suitable only for persons on foot or with pack-horses during the summer months. From the Mangatepopo base the craters of Tongariro and Ngauruhoe can be easily reached, also the active Te Mari Crater, Red Crater, Ketetahi Springs, and many other interesting points.

Waihohonu Hut.

The Waihohonu hut, situated on the eastern side of Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle, is divided into two sections, and will accommodate twelve persons. It has one large open fireplace. This locality is particularly interesting, being surrounded by beautiful bush close to the Waihohonu Stream. Visitors to this hut should not miss seeing the Ohinepango Spring, within easy reach from hut. To reach this hut the easiest route is to follow the main track from Whakapapa hut direct to the Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle, from which point the track is poled right to hut, a total distance of ten miles from Whakapapa huts. This route is particularly interesting, as it passes the Taranaki Waterfall, 83 ft. in height; also the Nga Puna-a-Tama Lakes (extinct craters), the larger lake being at an

altitude of 5,279 ft. This hut is not provided with mattresses and pillows.

Ketetahi Hut.

This hut can be reached by branching off from the Tokaanu Road above the Otukou Native Settlement, where a signpost indicates the direction. The distance thence by formed track is seven miles. The hut is not provided with bunks, and is merely a shelter.

Ohakune Hut.

The Ohakune mountain hut is a three-roomed building situated at the head of the Ohakune track, 4,500 ft. above sea-level and eight miles and three-quarters from the Ohakune Railway-station. The route lies through a magnificent forest of ever-varying interest. Cooking-utensils, plates, cups, and cutlery are provided free, and a horse-paddock is located close to the hut.

The highest peak of the mountain is four miles from the hut. The outstanding feature of the trip is the 2,000 ft. slide down the snowfield.

A track also leads to Ruapehu from Rangataua, and another track from Karioi. Both these tracks are more open than the Ohakune one, but the latter has the advantage of the hut at the end of it.

All information in regard to this side of the mountain may be obtained from T. A. Blyth, Ohakune.

General.

For winter sports (ski-ing, tobogganing, glissading) the best months are July, August, and September. The snowfalls vary, but usually good ski-ing can be obtained within easy reach of the Whakapapa huts.

Parties wishing to ascend Mount Ruapehu should engage the services of the Ranger, or seek his advice as to best route to take.

Hauhungatahi can be ascended by a partly-formed track a short distance south of Erua Railway-station; this route was much used at one time, but parties are advised not to proceed in this direction without a guide.

The Ranger resides at the Whakapapa huts, and telephonic communication is established between these huts and National Park Railway-station. Telegrams addressed to the Ranger will receive prompt attention.

Visitors must take blankets, utensils, and food with them, and must arrange at National Park or Ohakune for the carting or packing of their outfits to the huts. Visitors must procure their own firewood from dead trees at Ohakune and Waihohonu huts, and bring

Opening to internal 2 panel spread

"Tongariro National Park Information for Visitors", published by the Tongariro National Park Board 1928. Single fold, 4 panel, text only leaflet. 170 x 105 mm.
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Selected for analysis Chapter 4

kerosene and methylated spirit for the "Primus" stoves at Mangatepopo huts.

Scale of Fees.

	£	s.	d.
Accommodation—			
*In huts (per person, per night)	0	3	0
In tent (per person, per night)	0	1	6
CAMPING—			
Tent holding not more than four (per week)	0	10	0
Tent holding between four and eight (per week)	0	15	0
Tent holding more than eight (per week) ..	1	5	0
GUIDE—			
For one person (per day)	1	0	0
For two persons (per day)	1	10	0
For extra person (per day)	0	7	6
ALPINE EQUIPMENT—			
Skis—Hire of one pair, for one day ..	0	2	6
,, for more than one day, per day ..	0	2	0
,, per week ..	0	9	0
Ice-axe (per day)	0	1	0
Ropes (per day)	0	1	0
BATH—			
Hot bath	0	1	6
Cold bath	0	0	6
CHARGES FOR ADMISSION OF HORSES AND VEHICLES:—			
BRUCE ROAD—			
For each motor-car	0	2	6
For each motor-cycle without side-car ..	0	1	0
For each motor-cycle with side-car ..	0	1	6
For each motor lorry or bus carrying less than twenty passengers	0	5	0
For each motor lorry or bus carrying twenty passengers or more	0	10	0
For each motor lorry carrying goods only	0	5	0
For each horse with or without vehicle ..	0	1	0
OHAKUNE TRACK—For each horse.. ..	0	2	0
MAPS OF TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK (per copy)	0	2	6

*This does not apply to the Ohakune and Waihohonu huts, where the charge is 2s. per person per night.

[NOTE.—All breakages and losses must be paid for.]

The foregoing fees are payable to the Ranger of the Park, Mr. A. Cowling, who will give an official receipt for same. His postal address is National Park.

J. B. THOMPSON,
Chairman, Tongariro National Park Board.

Wellington, 1st June, 1928.

W. A. G. SKINNER, Government Printer, Wellington.
5.000/6/28—3047]

Back panel

WINTER EXCURSIONS to Tongariro National Park

During JUNE and JULY, 1928.

JUNE and July are the best months to enjoy those exhilarating winter sports—ski-ing, tobogganing, glissading, &c.

With a view to making the attractions of this invigorating resort more generally known the Railway Department (in conjunction with certain motor-proprietors) offers very substantial reductions in rail and motor fares to parties of not less than six persons travelling during the months of June and July.

Through rail and motor tickets to Whakapapa Huts (11 miles from National Park Railway-station) available for return for two weeks from date of issue will be obtainable at all officered railway-stations in the North Island.

The following are examples of the cheap through return fares provided :—

To the Whakapapa Huts at National Park.	Return by Rail and Motor Combined Fare. 1st Class. £ s. d.	2nd Class. £ s. d.
From Auckland.. ..	2 19 4	2 8 6
From Frankton.. ..	2 1 10	1 15 5
From Palmerston North..	2 4 0	1 17 0
From New Plymouth ..	3 6 2	2 13 8
From Wanganui ..	2 5 2	1 17 11
From Napier	3 7 4	2 14 6
From Wellington (Thorndon)	3 2 2	2 10 8

If parties of over 20 passengers travel, a further reduction of 4s. per passenger will be made.

Fares from other stations, and full particulars regarding accommodation, &c., will be quoted on application to the nearest Stationmaster.

NOTE.—The Railway will pre-arrange your accommodation at National Park Station or at the National Park Huts.

1,500/6/28—3051]

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Section 2
Brochures: Chapter 5

"Tongariro National Park, New Zealand, The Chateau, Playground of the North Island", published by the Tongariro National Park Board 1933 . Trifold 6 panel brochure, orange, black and white illustration on front and b & w photographs inside. 236 x 103 mm.
Printed by W. A Skinner , Government Printer, Wellington
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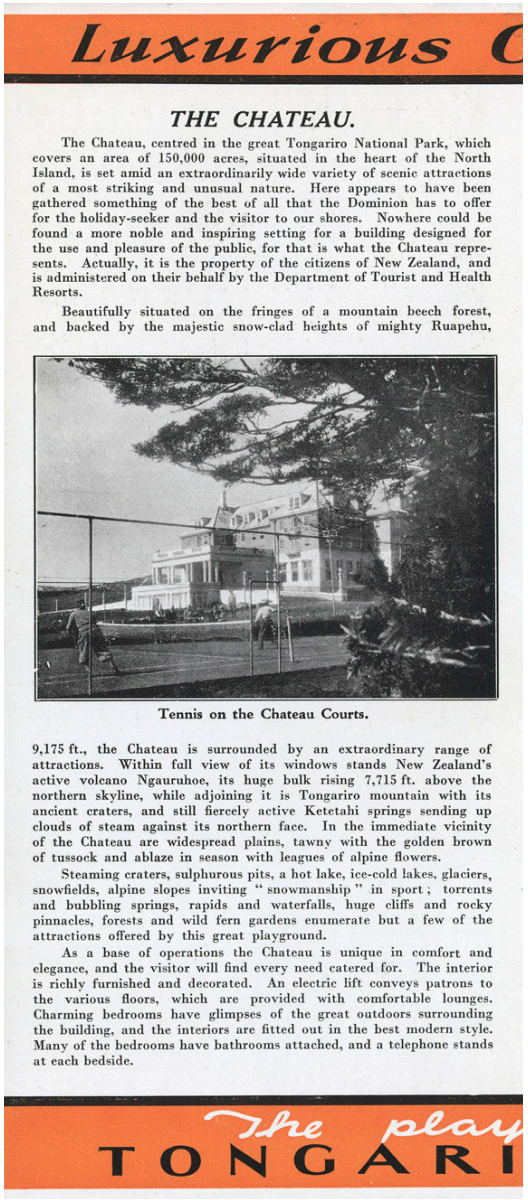
Front panel


Luxurious C

THE CHATEAU.

The Chateau, centred in the great Tongariro National Park, which covers an area of 150,000 acres, situated in the heart of the North Island, is set amid an extraordinarily wide variety of scenic attractions of a most striking and unusual nature. Here appears to have been gathered something of the best of all that the Dominion has to offer for the holiday-seeker and the visitor to our shores. Nowhere could be found a more noble and inspiring setting for a building designed for the use and pleasure of the public, for that is what the Chateau represents. Actually, it is the property of the citizens of New Zealand, and is administered on their behalf by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

Beautifully situated on the fringes of a mountain beech forest, and backed by the majestic snow-clad heights of mighty Ruapehu,

Tennis on the Chateau Courts.

9,175 ft., the Chateau is surrounded by an extraordinary range of attractions. Within full view of its windows stands New Zealand's active volcano Ngauruhoe, its huge bulk rising 7,715 ft. above the northern skyline, while adjoining it is Tongariro mountain with its ancient craters, and still fiercely active Ketetahi springs sending up clouds of steam against its northern face. In the immediate vicinity of the Chateau are widespread plains, tawny with the golden brown of tussock and ablaze in season with leagues of alpine flowers.

Steaming craters, sulphurous pits, a hot lake, ice-cold lakes, glaciers, snowfields, alpine slopes inviting "snowmanship" in sport; torrents and bubbling springs, rapids and waterfalls, huge cliffs and rocky pinnacles, forests and wild fern gardens enumerate but a few of the attractions offered by this great playground.

As a base of operations the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance, and the visitor will find every need catered for. The interior is richly furnished and decorated. An electric lift conveys patrons to the various floors, which are provided with comfortable lounges. Charming bedrooms have glimpses of the great outdoors surrounding the building, and the interiors are fitted out in the best modern style. Many of the bedrooms have bathrooms attached, and a telephone stands at each bedside.

The play
TONGARI

First opening to left inside panel and right reverse panel

Luxurious Comfort at the Chateau

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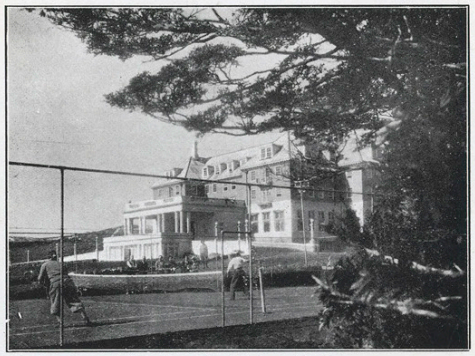

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Sunshine and Leisure on the Chateau Balcony.
Ngauruhoe Volcano in the background.

The ground floor contains the main reception-rooms, and these open on to the entrance vestibule, which is handsomely finished with a mosaic floor. The special feature of this floor is the large lounge, 90 by 80 feet, being large enough to accommodate all guests and visitors both of the Chateau and lodges. The central portion of this lounge is occupied by a parquetry dancing-floor. The lounge, which is the special feature of the interior of the building, is happily placed to give, through its large plate windows, splendid views of mountains, bush, and plain.

A GREAT SPORTS CENTRE.

The Chateau offers endless variety and opportunities for all manner of out-door sports, both winter and summer.

Ski-ing, tobogganing, mountain-climbing, and tramping to various points of interest may be indulged in at all seasons.

All special clothing and equipment which may be required can be hired at the Chateau for a modest fee, which obviates the necessity for obtaining a large outfit before setting out for the Park.

GOLF-COURSE.

A nine-hole course, which will ultimately be extended to eighteen holes, is now being completed, and golfers are recommended to bring their clubs, as the course, even in its present condition, offers a very pleasant and interesting game.

MEANS OF ACCESS.

The Chateau is situated ten miles from National Park Railway-station, on the Main Trunk line, which is about halfway between Auckland and Wellington. From this point a short run in comfortable motor-vehicles for those arriving by train from north or south brings one to the doors of the Chateau. Visitors travelling by motor from Auckland or Wellington or any of the intervening centres will find good roads leading right to the Chateau.

The Chateau after a Snowfall.
Mount Ruapehu in the background.

FASCINATING SIDE-TRIPS.

One of the principal charms of this fascinating region lies in the fact that trips and outings may be undertaken from the Chateau suited to the capabilities of all. For those inclined to strenuous sport or mountain climbing, innumerable opportunities are available on the slopes of the great peaks, while for others a wide range of interesting walks and rambles may be undertaken within an easy radius of the Chateau. In this bracing and invigorating atmosphere, walking becomes a delight, which may be thoroughly enjoyed by persons of all ages. Apart from recognized trips, such as that to the Taranaki Falls, an easy two-mile walk, to Silica Springs, a three-mile walk through the beautiful beech forest, Whakapapanui Gorge, or to the Tama Lakes, five and a half miles, visitors will find never-ending pleasure in rambling about in the immediate vicinity of the Chateau. At every turn fresh vistas and scenes delight the eye. Here are clear, rushing mountain torrents spanned by swing bridges, dark-foliaged, moss-grown trees, miles of tawny tussocks bending to the breeze, meadows of alpine flowers, and always in the background the peerless majesty of the great volcanic cones, their snows reflecting the changing beauty of the skies from hour to hour.

The playground of the North Island

TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK

Second opening to inside 3 panel spread

A PARKS: TONGARIRO 1933 ON TAP

ASCENT OF RUAPEHU.

Ruapehu is readily accessible from the Chateau, and the ascent of the peak can be made without difficulty by the average person. Every foot of the way is crowded with interest. The usual route is across Scoria Flat and by way of the Whakapapa Glacier. The views obtained during the climb are magnificent. So vast do the distances appear that one seems to be overlooking the greater part of the North Island. From the snowy cone of Mount Egmont, over one hundred miles distant to the westward, the eye roams over the near-by volcanic cones of Ngauruhoe and Tongariro to Lake Taupo, and distant peaks and ranges that vanish in the haze to the eastward. A unique feature of Ruapehu is the crater lake, about 20 acres in area, the waters of which vary in temperature and are surrounded by great ice cliffs.

NGAURUHOE VOLCANO.

The ascent of Ngauruhoe requires a day's trip from the Chateau, and comprises a ten-mile walk by what is known as the Taranaki Falls track to the Mangatepopo huts at the 4,000 ft. level. From this point the actual climbing of the cone is begun, and this usually takes from three to four hours. The ascent is a unique experience, and, as in the case of Ruapehu, provides many magnificent views over the surrounding country. The inspection of the active crater is a thrilling experience, and brings one face to face with the awesome forces of nature which here fume and fret within the rocky imprisoning walls of the volcano's throat. An easier means of approaching the volcano is by car from the Chateau, proceeding about three miles towards Tokaanu along the main highway from the Chateau road turn-off, from whence a four-mile walk brings one to the huts in readiness for the final ascent.

OTHER EXCURSIONS.

Other excursions of special interest are to Ohinepango Spring, a walk of nine miles by way of Nga-Puna-a-Tama saddle on the north-eastern slopes of Ruapehu, and to the great peak of Tongariro mountain with its numerous crater basins and beautiful lakes, and the weird thermal activity of Ketetahi Valley. For those interested in botany or photography the great Park offers unending pleasure, while tennis enthusiasts will find on the fine courts and in this invigorating atmosphere ample opportunity to extend themselves to the full. The winter sports held at the Chateau are growing rapidly in popularity each year.

TARIFF CHARGES FOR THE CHATEAU.

Full Board	18s. 6d. daily.	£5 5s. weekly.
Full Board and Private Bath	22s. 0d. ,,	£6 6s. ,,
Special Rooms and Private Bath ...	27s. 6d. ,,	£8 8s. ,,

TARIFF FOR THE LODGES.

The Lodge accommodation is situated fifty yards from the Chateau, but guests have all meals in the main buildings and the use of the lounge. The various Lodges consist of two-bedded and six- or eight-bedded cubicles, with wire stretchers one above the other, fitted with comfortable mattresses. A detached building contains bathrooms and conveniences for the Lodge guests.

Full Board	15s. 0d. daily.	£4 4s. weekly.

Children under twelve years of age, half rates.

All the above daily and weekly rates are subject to a discount of 10% for parties of twelve or more booking as a party, and having only one account.

HUT CHARGES.

The huts at the Chateau are fitted with bunks equipped with kapoc mattresses and pillows. Cooking facilities are also provided, but no utensils. Firing and stores may be purchased at the Chateau shop.

CHARGES: 3s. per night per person.

MOTOR CAMP.

The motor camp has been established in a sunny, sheltered position ¼ mile above the Chateau.

CHARGES: 2s. 6d. per car per night, or 12s. 6d. per week.

EQUIPMENT CHARGES.

	Per Day.		Per Day.
Skis and Ski-sticks ...	2s. 6d. a set.	Socks	0s. 9d. per pair.
Waterproof Capes ...	1s. 6d. each.	Gloves	0s. 3d. per pair.
Boots	1s. 6d. a pair.	Strides	2s. 0d. per pair.
Ice-axes	1s. 3d. each.		

Goggles and face-cream may be purchased at the lounge shop.

GUIDING FEES for mountaineering ascents:—

	Per Day.		Per Day.
For one visitor ...	20s. 0d. each.	For three visitors ...	7s. 6d. each.
For two visitors ...	10s. 0d. each.	For four or more visitors ...	5s. 0d. each.

Ski-ing instructors will instruct visitors in the fitting and use of skis at a charge of 2s. 6d. per lesson.

10752—33] W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington.

Back panel

"Play all the year round at the Chateau, Tongariro New Zealand", Published by the Tongariro National Park Board 1936. Printed by National Magazines Ltd. ATB Ref Eph-A-Hotel-Tongariro ca 1930s. Double gate fold, 8 panel brochure, monotone (red) illustrations and photograph on front and b&w photographs and illustration on inside. 232 x 101 mm. Printed by National Magazines Ltd.
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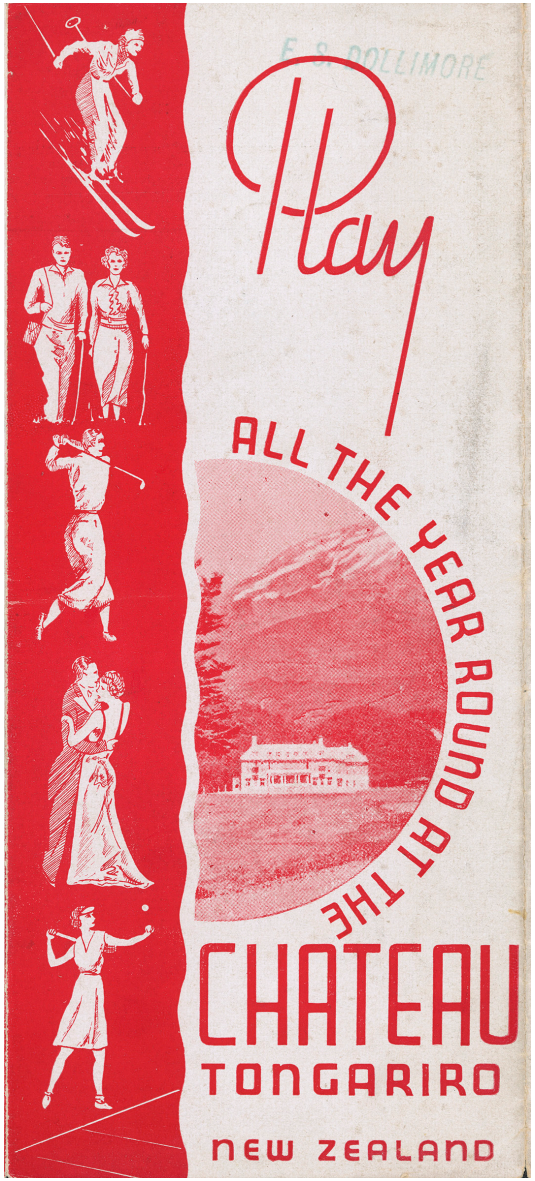
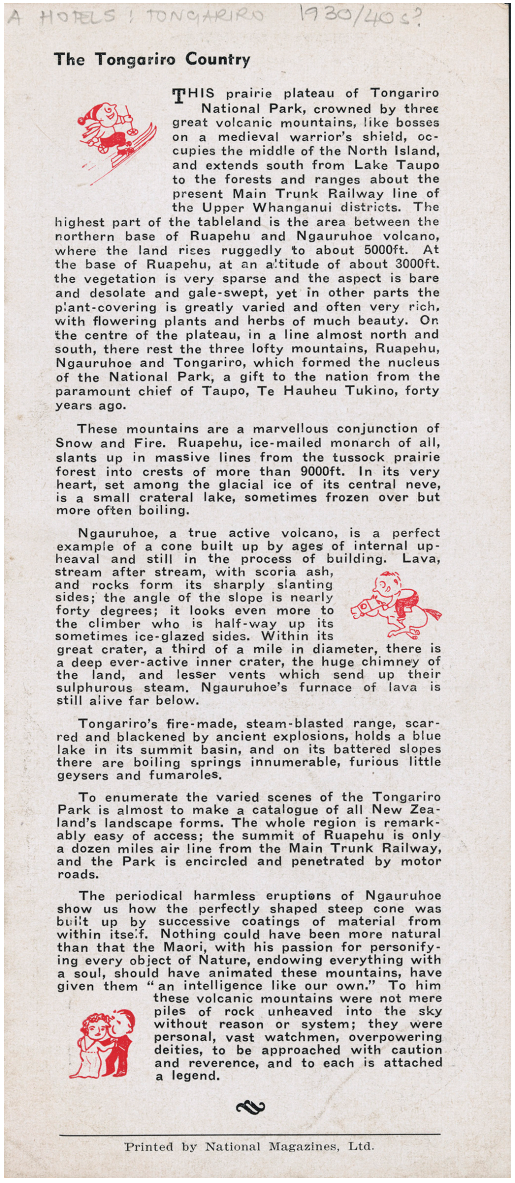


Front panel



A HOTELS | TONGARIRO 1930/40s?

The Tongariro Country

THIS prairie plateau of Tongariro National Park, crowned by three great volcanic mountains, like bosses on a medieval warrior's shield, occupies the middle of the North Island, and extends south from Lake Taupo to the forests and ranges about the present Main Trunk Railway line of the Upper Whanganui districts. The highest part of the tableland is the area between the northern base of Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe volcano, where the land rises ruggedly to about 5000ft. At the base of Ruapehu, at an altitude of about 3000ft. the vegetation is very sparse and the aspect is bare and desolate and gale-swept, yet in other parts the plant-covering is greatly varied and often very rich, with flowering plants and herbs of much beauty. On the centre of the plateau, in a line almost north and south, there rest the three lofty mountains, Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro, which formed the nucleus of the National Park, a gift to the nation from the paramount chief of Taupo, Te Hauheu Tukino, forty years ago.

These mountains are a marvellous conjunction of Snow and Fire. Ruapehu, ice-mailed monarch of all, slants up in massive lines from the tussock prairie forest into crests of more than 9000ft. In its very heart, set among the glacial ice of its central neve, is a small crateral lake, sometimes frozen over but more often boiling.

Ngauruhoe, a true active volcano, is a perfect example of a cone built up by ages of internal upheaval and still in the process of building. Lava, stream after stream, with scoria ash, and rocks form its sharply slanting sides; the angle of the slope is nearly forty degrees; it looks even more to the climber who is half-way up its sometimes ice-glazed sides. Within its great crater, a third of a mile in diameter, there is a deep ever-active inner crater, the huge chimney of the land, and lesser vents which send up their sulphurous steam. Ngauruhoe's furnace of lava is still alive far below.

Tongariro's fire-made, steam-blasted range, scarred and blackened by ancient explosions, holds a blue lake in its summit basin, and on its battered slopes there are boiling springs innumerable, furious little geysers and fumaroles.

To enumerate the varied scenes of the Tongariro Park is almost to make a catalogue of all New Zealand's landscape forms. The whole region is remarkably easy of access; the summit of Ruapehu is only a dozen miles air line from the Main Trunk Railway, and the Park is encircled and penetrated by motor roads.

The periodical harmless eruptions of Ngauruhoe show us how the perfectly shaped steep cone was built up by successive coatings of material from within itself. Nothing could have been more natural than that the Maori, with his passion for personifying every object of Nature, endowing everything with a soul, should have animated these mountains, have given them "an intelligence like our own." To him these volcanic mountains were not mere piles of rock unheaved into the sky without reason or system; they were personal, vast watchmen, overpowering deities, to be approached with caution and reverence, and to each is attached a legend.

Printed by National Magazines, Ltd.

First opening to left and right inside panels

The Chateau

THE Chateau, centred in the great Tongariro National Park, which covers an area of 150,000 acres, situated in the heart of the North Island, is set amid an extraordinarily wide variety of scenic attractions of a most striking and unusual nature.

Within full view of its windows stands New Zealand's active volcano Ngauruhoe, its huge bulk rising 7715ft. above the northern skyline, while adjoining it is Tongariro mountain with its ancient craters, and still fiercely active Ketetahi springs sending up clouds of steam against its northern face. Behind is mighty Ruapehu, 9175ft.

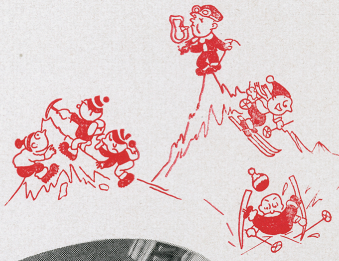
As a base of operations the Chateau is unique in comfort and elegance, and the visitor will find every need catered for. The interior is richly furnished and decorated. An electric lift conveys patrons to the various floors, which are provided with comfortable lounges. Charming bedrooms have glimpses of the great outdoors surrounding the building, and the interiors are fitted out in the best modern style. Many of the bedrooms have bathrooms attached, and a telephone stands at each bedside.

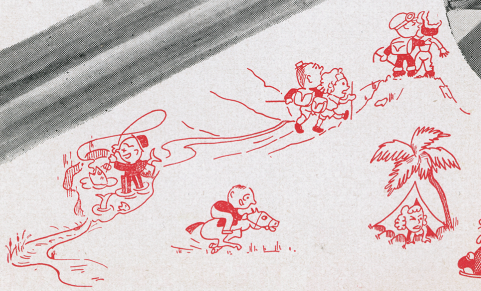
Look at all the Fun the Chateau offers

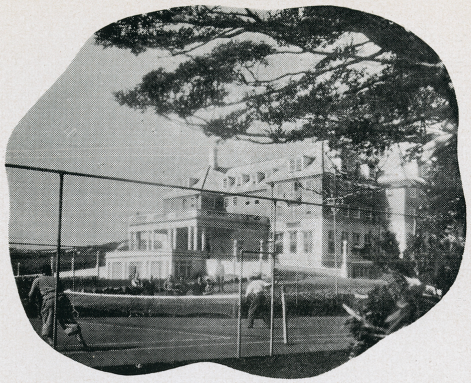
CHATEAU SKI-ING SCHOOL

Learn to master the most thrilling and exhilarating of all outdoor sports, under the expert direction of a leading European exponent—Ernst Skardarasy, who has been engaged by the Government Tourist Department for the purpose of giving ski-ing instruction to National Park visitors.

Skardarasy will give private tuition in addition to class instruction. Fees on application.







Fascinating Side-Trips

FOR those inclined to strenuous sport or mountain climbing, innumerable opportunities are available on the slopes of the great peaks, while for others a wide range of interesting walks and rambles may be undertaken within an easy radius of the Chateau. Apart from recognised trips, such as that to the Taranaki Falls, an easy two-mile walk, to Silica Springs, a three-mile walk through the beautiful beech forest, Whakapapanui Gorge, or to the Tama Lakes, five and a half miles, visitors will find never-ending pleasure in rambling about in the immediate vicinity of the Chateau. Here are clear, rushing mountain torrents spanned by swing bridges, dark-foliaged, moss-grown trees, miles of tawny tussocks bending to the breeze, meadows of alpine flowers, and always in the background the peerless majesty of the great volcanic cones, their snows reflecting the changing beauty of the skies from hour to hour.

Second opening to internal 4 panel spread

Golf Course

A NINE-HOLE course, which will ultimately extend to eighteen holes, has now been completed, and players will find that the links present some extremely interesting and unusual problems.

Fees: 1/-, nine holes; 1/6 for eighteen holes; 10/- per week. Golf clubs for hire.

Means of Access

THE Chateau is situated ten miles from National Park Railway Station, on the Main Trunk line, which is about half-way between Auckland and Wellington. From this point a short run in comfortable motor-vehicles for those arriving by train from north or south brings one to the doors of the Chateau. Visitors travelling by motor from Auckland or Wellington or any of the intervening centres will find good roads leading right to the Chateau.

TARIFF CHARGES FOR THE CHATEAU.

Full Board	22s. 6d. daily.	£6 15s. 0d.	weekly
Full Board and Private Bath ..	27s. 6d. ,,	£8 5s. 0d.	,,
Top Floor	20s. 0d. ,,	£5 15s. 0d.	,,
Share Bath	26s. 3d. ,,	£7 17s. 0d.	,,

TARIFF FOR THE LODGES.

The Lodge accommodation is situated fifty yards from the Chateau, but guests have all meals in the main buildings and the use of the lounge. The various Lodges consist of two-bedded and six- or eight-bedded cubicles, with wire stretchers one above the other, fitted with comfortable mattresses. A detached building contains bathrooms and conveniences for the Lodge guests.

Full Board	16s. 0d. daily.	£4 15s. 0d. weekly

Children under twelve years of age, half rates.

All the above daily and weekly rates are subject to a discount of 10% for parties of twelve or more booking as a party, and having only one account.

HUT CHARGES.

The huts at the Chateau are fitted with bunks equipped with kapoc mattresses and pillows. Cooking facilities are also provided, but no utensils. Firing and stores may be purchased at the Chateau shop. CHARGES: 3/- per night per person; 15/- per week.

MOTOR CAMP

The motor camp has been established in a sunny, sheltered position a quarter of a mile above the Chateau.

CHARGES: 2/6 per car per night; or 12/6 per week.

EQUIPMENT CHARGES.

	Per Day		Per Day
Skis and Ski-sticks	2/6 a set.	Socks	0/9 per pair
Waterproof Capes ..	1/6 each.	Gloves	0/6 per pair
Boots	1/6 a pair.	Strides	2/- per pair
Ice-axes	1/3 each.	Ski Trousers ..	2/6 per pair
Waterproof Coats ..	2/- each.		

Goggles and face-cream may be purchased at the lounge shop.

GUIDING FEES for mountaineering ascents:—

	Per Day		Per Day
For one visitor ..	20/-	For three visitors ..	7/6 each
For two visitors ..	10/- each	For four or more visitors	5/- each

Ski-ing instructors will instruct visitors in the fitting and use of Skis at a charge of 3/6 per lesson.

PRIVATE GARAGE available for Guests: 2/- per night, 7/6 per week.

Back panel

Section 3
Brochures: Chapter 6

"The Chateau, Luxury and Leisure, Sport and Pleasure", designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department. Produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd. Hastings. New Zealand. ca 1960. Trifold, parallel folded, 12 panel brochure. Full colour photographs on front, and inside, four colour illustrations. 221 x 98 mm .
Designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department and produced by Pictorial Publications Ltd, Hastings, New Zealand.
ATB Ref Eph-A-Hotel-Tongariro ca 1960. Selected for analysis Chapter 6. Referred to as 1960a.

Front panel

First opening to left internal panel and right reverse panel

Second opening to internal 3 panel spread

FROM A Winter's Tale TO A Mid-Summer Night's Dream

International instructors will teach you the proper ski-ing techniques.

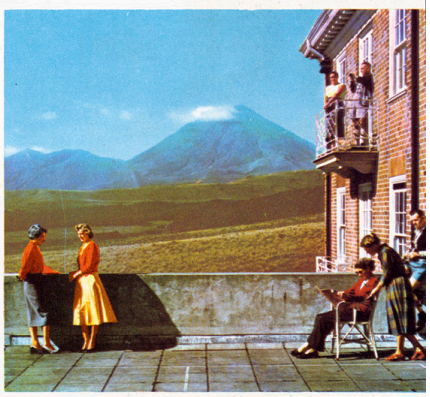
THE merry spirits of Holiday will charm you all the year round and guide you to comfort, relaxation, and pleasure at the Chateau – the modern hotel in picturesque and lovely Tongariro National Park.

Summer or winter you'll be enchanted by the romantic beauty of this ideal holiday area – whatever your tastes are, here you can be sure of perfect recreation.

All the diversions you could possibly wish for are here aplenty —

You can ski and climb on the extensive slopes of lofty Mt. Ruapehu, play golf on a rolling 9-hole course just outside the hotel, or bowls on a full-sized grass bowling green, or tennis on well kept courts, or ramble amid the unspoiled beauty of mountain bush, or perhaps catch some of those famous fighting Rainbow Trout in the innumerable streams nearby.

You'll always be longing for another holiday at the *Chateau*



Comfortably relaxed you will enjoy a splendid panorama from the Chateau's terraces.

Gentle climbs will bring you to vantage points with romantic vistas.

You'll enjoy your golf beneath the snow-capped peak of Mt. Ruapehu.

A short motor drive brings you to the picturesque Mahuia Rapids.

Comfort at the CHATEAU

YOU'LL find all the comfort of a city hotel at the Chateau . . . Spacious, well furnished bedrooms, many of them with private bathrooms attached, efficient, courteous service, a cuisine of high standard and plenty of indoor recreations such as cinema, billiards, table tennis, and indoor bowls. If you want to dance, there is a large dance floor in the main lounge, if you want a drink, there is an ultra modern cocktail bar downstairs, and if you want to enjoy the scenery in perfect leisure, then the large plate-glass windows of the lounges, the dining and sun rooms offer you a splendid panorama of the picturesque landscape . . .

Plenty to DO

There is an excellent Bowling Green at the Chateau – tournaments are held regularly in summer.

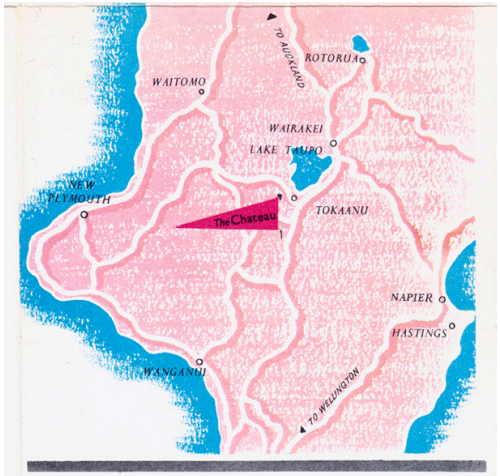
The Tawhai Falls are one of the many beauty spots in the National Park area.

Plenty to SEE

From the entrance of the Chateau there is a good view of the volcano Mt. Ngauruhoe.

All sorts of recreations and games are provided for the guests at the Chateau.

Third opening to inside 6 panel spread



Milages from the Chateau

Wellington	*218*	*Auckland*	*220*	*Waitomo*	*102*
Napier	*157*	*Rotorua*	*115*	*Wairakei*	*70*
New Plymouth	*193*	*Wanganui*	*90*	*Taupo*	*64*

HOW TO GET THERE

The Chateau is easily reached by private car, motor coach, or rail.

The 3.40 p.m. express trains leaving Auckland daily excluding Sundays (6.00 p.m. Sundays), or Wellington 3.40 p.m. daily including Sundays, all stop at National Park Station and are met by a coach which transports guests to and from the Chateau. Certain additional express trains are provided in holiday periods. Motor coaches leave Auckland at 8.15 a.m. and Wellington at 8.00 a.m. daily excluding Sundays, arriving at the Chateau in time for dinner. Certain other coach services from Wellington require a taxi, which is always available subject to prior reservation, for the 10 miles from National Park, and a Sunday morning coach service from Wellington requires a taxi for the last 28 miles from the Desert Road turnoff. From Wanganui, coaches leave daily except Saturdays or Sundays, and connections to this service are available on these days by coach or railcar from Wellington or New Plymouth. From Rotorua, Taupo, Wairakei, and Napier, coach services are available daily except Sundays, while on Sundays, from Rotorua, Taupo, and Wairakei, the 28-mile taxi journey mentioned above is available.

NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT TRAVEL REPRESENTATIVES

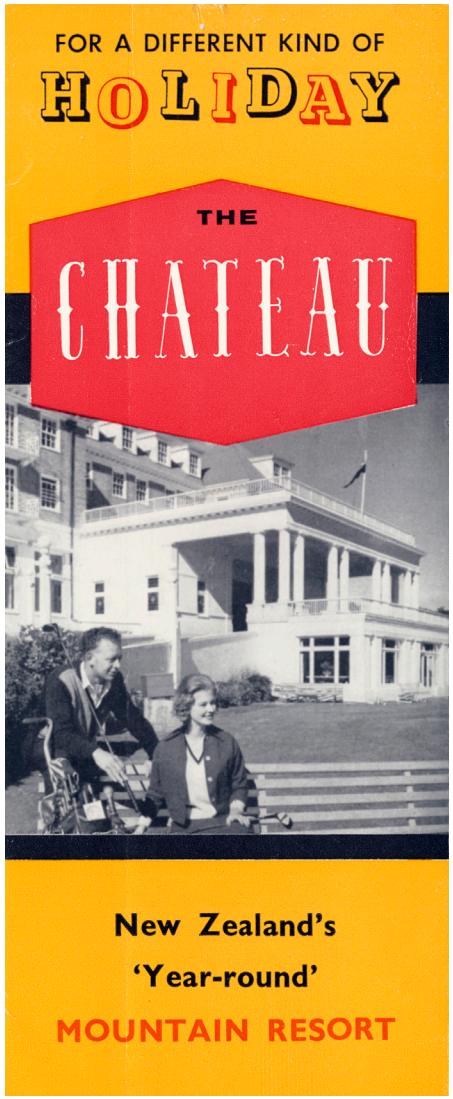
SAN FRANCISCO	*The Travel Commissioner, N.Z. Government Offices, 153 Kearny Street, San Francisco 8.*
NEW YORK	*N.Z. Government Offices, Suite 526, International Building, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York.*
LONDON	*New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, 415 Strand.*
SYDNEY	*New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, 14 Martin Place.*
MELBOURNE	*New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, 428 Collins Street.*

In New Zealand consult your nearest New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau or associated Travel Agent.

DESIGNED BY THE NEW ZEALAND TOURIST & PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT AND PRODUCED BY PICTORIAL PUBLICATIONS LTD., HASTINGS, NEW ZEALAND *N.Z.1*

Back panel

"For a different kind of holiday – the Chateau New Zealand's year round mountain resort" – "Holiday highlights" inside. Designed by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, printed by Hutcheson, Bowman and Stewart Ltd, Wellington, New Zealand. ca 1960.
Trifold 6 panel brochure, 2 colour graphics, b & w photograph on front, b & w photgraphs inside. 215 x 88 mm. Designed by the N.Z Tourist and Publicity Department and printed by Hutcheson, Bowman & Stewart Ltd. Wellington, New Zealand.
ATB Ref Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro ca 1960.
Selected for analysis Chapter 6. Referred to as 1960b



Front panel

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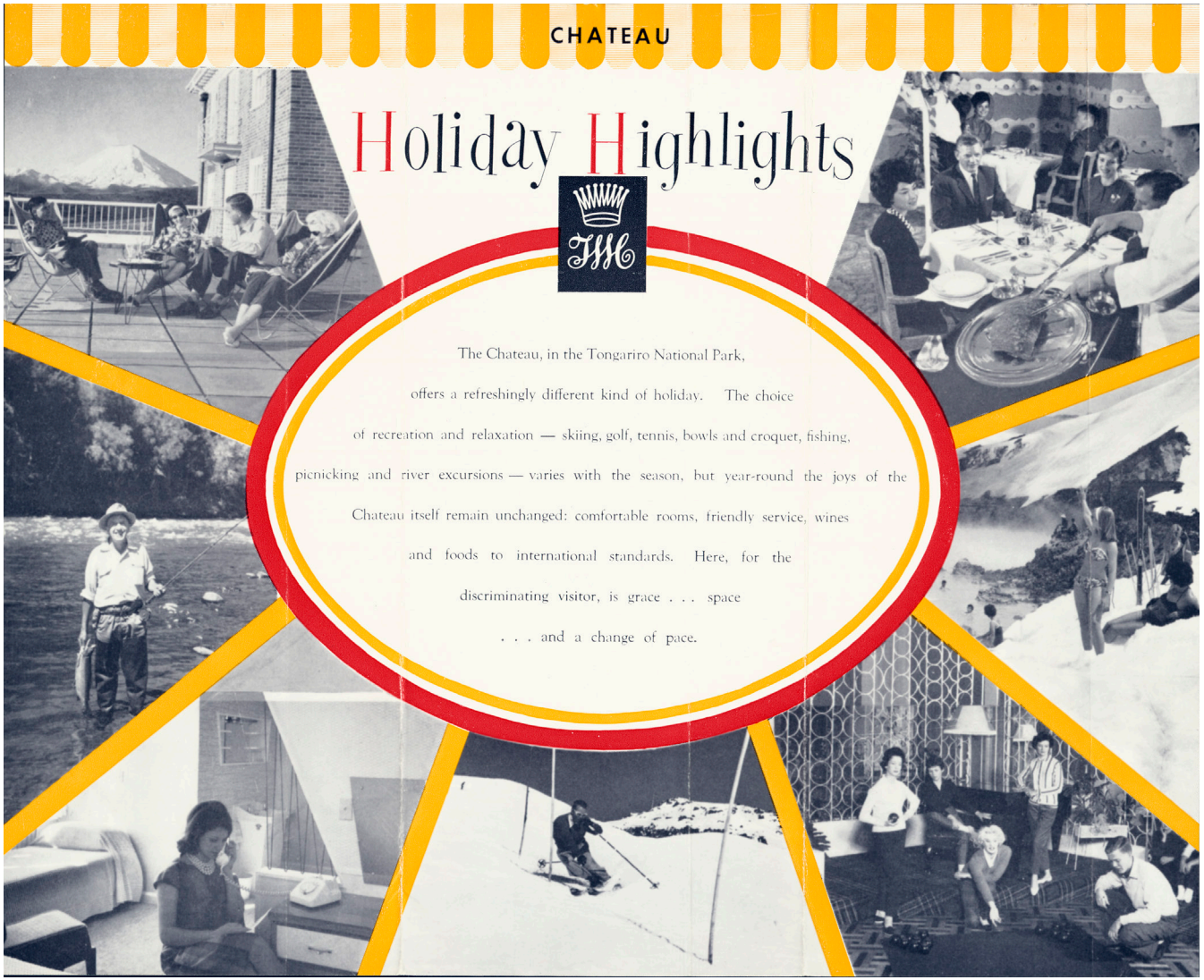

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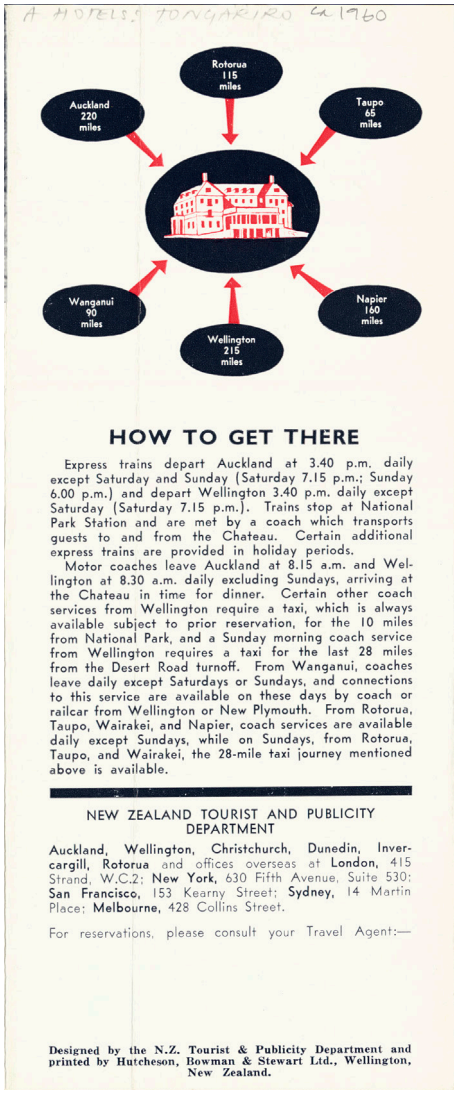

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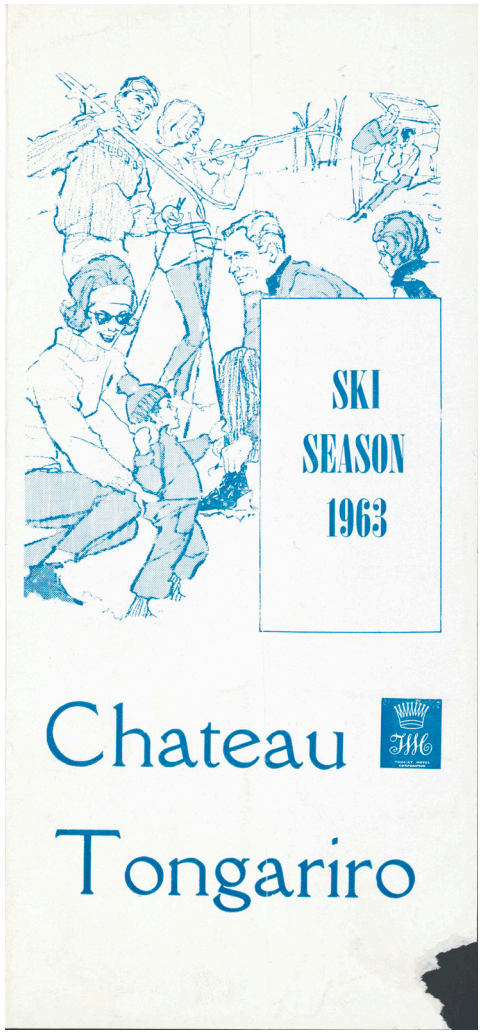


Front panel

Accommodation

BED TARIFF ONLY

	One Person	Two Persons
Deluxe Suite	70/-	120/-
With Private Bath	60/-	110/-
Without Private Bath	40/-	70/-

Children under 10 will be half rates.

MEALS—

Ruapehu Room—is operative table d'hote during the following hours.

Breakfast	8.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m.	— 10/-
Luncheon	12.30 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.	— 10/-
Dinner	7.00 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.	— 17/6

The Chateau now has a late dining permit which enables casual diners to use the bar facilities between the hours of 6 p.m. and 11.00 p.m. Monday to Saturday.
It is necessary to make prior table reservations through the Reception Office — Casual Diners must be suitably dressed.
(Rates for Casual Diners are 2/6 additional on above).

THE BISTRO

Is open from 7.30 a.m. to 11.00 p.m. and serves a variety of substantial meals plus light snacks and drinks.
Bottled ale is available only to patrons who partake of a substantial meal between the hours of 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.

MOUNT RUAPEHU KIOSKS

There are two kiosks on the mountain located at the end of the Bruce Road and on the Staircase Flat. These Kiosks cater for the skiers and visitors refreshments during the day and are open between the hours of 8.30 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. every day.

Mountain Facilities

In addition to the facilities of the Chateau and Mountain Kiosks the Tourist Hotel Corporation operates a Hire Equipment Service—Ski Apparel Shop and Grocer's Shop.

EQUIPMENT HIRE

	Daily	Weekly
Skis, poles and boots	15/-	60/-
Skis and poles	10/-	40/-
Boots	5/-	20/-

No Reduction for children.
Reservations for equipment can be arranged for Hotel Guests only.

SKI INSTRUCTION (by qualified instructors headed by Deck Daly).

Ski School	Adults	Under 15
One hourly session	8/-	5/-
Private lesson	40/-	40/-
Plus per additional adult or child	20/-	20/-

CHAIRLIFT R.A.L.

Concession booking of 24 tickets, all facilities:—
Adults—red 20/-
Children 10/-

Lower Chairlift—
Adults 5/- return
Children 2/6 return

Beginner's Tow—
Adults 7/6 per day
Children 4/- per day

Upper Chairlift—
Adults 5/- return
Children 2/6 return

(In addition there is the T.Bar and Poma Lift on which one and two concession tickets can be used).

NATIONAL DOWNHILL

Rope Tow—
15/- day ticket—Adults
7/6 day ticket—Children
Books of tickets—7/6 adults
Books of tickets—3/- children

Beginner's Tow—7/6 per day
Ski Instruction and refreshments are available on the Downhill area.

Opening to inside double panel spread

A HOTEL TRANSPORT 1963 ON TAP Earned

MOUNTAIN TRANSPORT

Departs Chateau—
Monday/Friday—on the hour from 9 a.m.
Saturday/Sunday/and Holidays—On the hours from 8 a.m.
Departs end of Bruce Road — Runs As Required.

Fare—
Adults — Up 2/6; Down 2/-
Children — up 1/6 down 1/-

THE PRICES AND TIMES FOR CHAIRLIFTS AND MOUNTAIN TRANSPORT ARE SUBJECT TO ALTERATION OVER WHICH THE HOTEL HAS NO CONTROL.

SKI-HI LTD.

Operate a Snow-Cat from the top of the third Chairlift which takes visitors to obtain a view of the Crater Lake and a panoramic view of the countryside from a height of over 9000 feet.

WARNING—

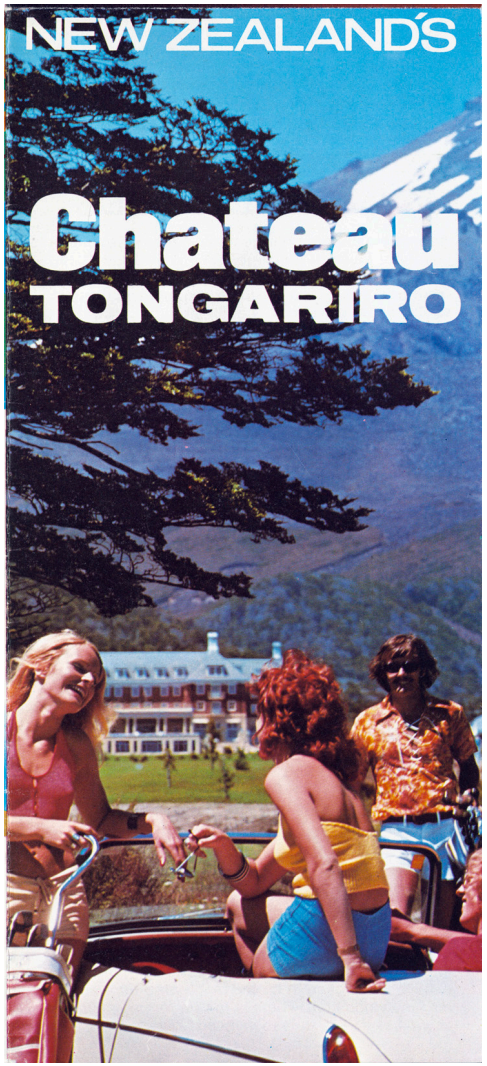
Patrons must be suitably clad on the mountain — the weather can alter quickly so be prepared with plenty of warm clothing.

Back panel

"Ski Season – Chateau Tongariro" Published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation. 1963. Single fold 4 panel leaflet. Monochrome illustration on front blue. 202 x 92 mm.
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro – 1963.

Section 4
Brochures: Chapter 7

"New Zealand's Chateau Tongariro", produced by the Tourist Hotel Corporation, 1973. Printed in New Zealand. Quad fold, parallel folded 16 panel brochure. Full colour photographs front and inside. 210 x 94 mm
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro-1973
Selected for thesis Chapter 7.



Front panel

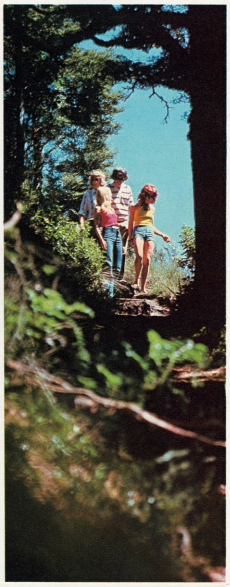
First opening to internal 2 panel spread

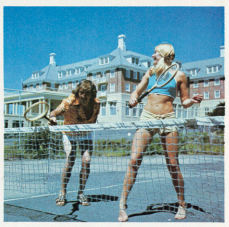
In an age when so much is scaled down, The Chateau makes no compromise with gracious living. Like the mountain it serves it is built on 'the grand scale with accommodation for over 160 guests. The lounge is big enough to hold a dance floor and a billiard table yet still leave ample room for quiet groups to sit in peace. There are wide windows and broad terraces from which to enjoy the serene view. Full length feature films are screened in the hotel cinema and during the winter months, there are frequent appearences of guest artists in the cocktail bar/cabaret. The Chateau has no peers as an all-year holiday resort that is memorably different. But it puts its pleasures within reach of all. There are several grades of accommodation, ranging from de luxe rooms with private appointments to budget rooms for groups and families which are extremely moderate in price.

Second opening to internal 4 panel spread








THE ALL-YEAR HOLIDAY RESORT WITH THE EXHILARATING DIFFERENCE

Chateau TONGARIRO

Most people spend most of their lives at or near sea level, and a mountain holiday, with its clear air and serene vistas, is an invigorating change. A holiday at Chateau Tongariro, on Mount Ruapehu, however, has many more dimensions than just enjoyment of an unspoiled environment. In season it is a mecca for skiers, as well equipped as any in the world. Year round it is many things to many people.

You can be as active or relaxed as you wish. There are broad terraces and wide windows for sight-seeing, a lounge of handsome proportions, a convivial bar, golf, tennis and bowls facilities at the door, trout streams within easy reach, and a whole National Park to explore, containing two other mountains (one a smoking volcano), thermal phenomena, quiet picnic spots and Maori War battlegrounds.

With a wide range of room tariffs and dining facilities, Chateau Tongariro provides either economical holidays for groups and families or superb comfort and cuisine for those who enjoy the best of everything.

WALKS AND CLIMBS

An interest in botany or geology, a love of scenic beauty or a yen to go climbing can all be indulged by Chateau Tongariro guests. Safe, well-marked bush tracks that lead to alpine gardens and beauty spots can be enjoyed in a quiet stroll between meals. For more strenuous full-day trips—say to the summit of Ruapehu itself or on to the slopes of Ngauruhoe, the nearby volcano—an experienced guide is usually advisable. (The Park Board Headquarters, a few yards from the hotel, is happy to advise on this and any other aspect of your mountain holiday).

SCENIC DRIVES

The Chateau is also the hub for many rewarding excursions by car. Above it, a well maintained road continues up the mountain for another 4½ miles. The terminal is the Top O'The Bruce, where many of the ski lodges and the shops catering for day visitors are situated. At least one visit here is a must for any Chateau guest.

In easy all-day picnic excursions around Mt. Ruapehu you can explore an active thermal area, fortifications and other relics of the Maori Wars and the main contruction works of the massive Tongariro Power Development Project, in which the flow of rivers and streams from a 1,000 square-mile catchment area is concentrated for hydro electric power generation.

HORSE RIDING

An exciting experience, to be enjoyed by the hour or the whole day, is horse riding in the big country of the Taurewa Riding Ranch, on the lower slopes of Mt. Ngauruhoe. The mounts are authentic Waiouru Desert horses which were caught and broken in by the ranch proprietor and his family and staff. There is tuition for beginners as well as safaris for experienced riders.

GAMES

Chateau Tongariro guests can step straight out the door to a nine-hole golf course (the highest in New Zealand). Also at hand are a putting green and a bowling green. Indoors there is a cinema/games room and in the guest lounge there is a full-size billiard table.



NEW ZEALAND'S NO. 1 SKI FIELD

The western slopes of Mt. Ruapehu, above Chateau Tongariro, are by far the most popular ski fields in New Zealand. The action starts at The Chateau's Ski Centre, at the Top O' The Bruce, 5,400 ft. up the mountain. Door-to-door transport is available to Chateau guests. The Ski Centre includes a well-stocked ski shop and one of the world's biggest ski-hire services. The equipment available includes top-name skis and matched boots that would satisfy the most discriminating skier. Daily tuition is available at moderate rates from a team of international instructors engaged by The Chateau. The mountain is well served by a system of chairlifts and rope tows, and for the comfort of skiers The Chateau maintains a refreshment kiosk well up the ski-field proper. There are conditions to suit everyone, from gentle slopes for beginners to the superb national downhill course, which has a vertical fall of 3,000 ft. in three miles.

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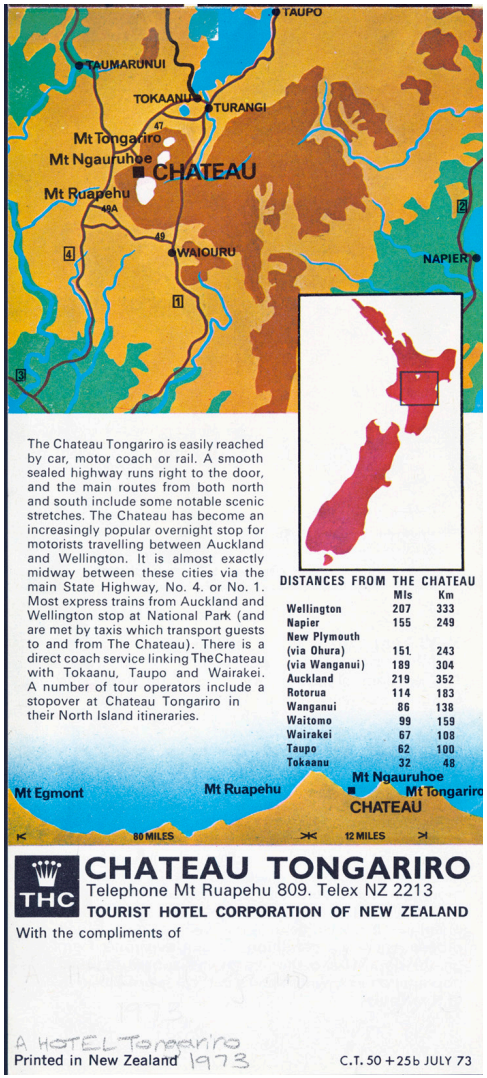
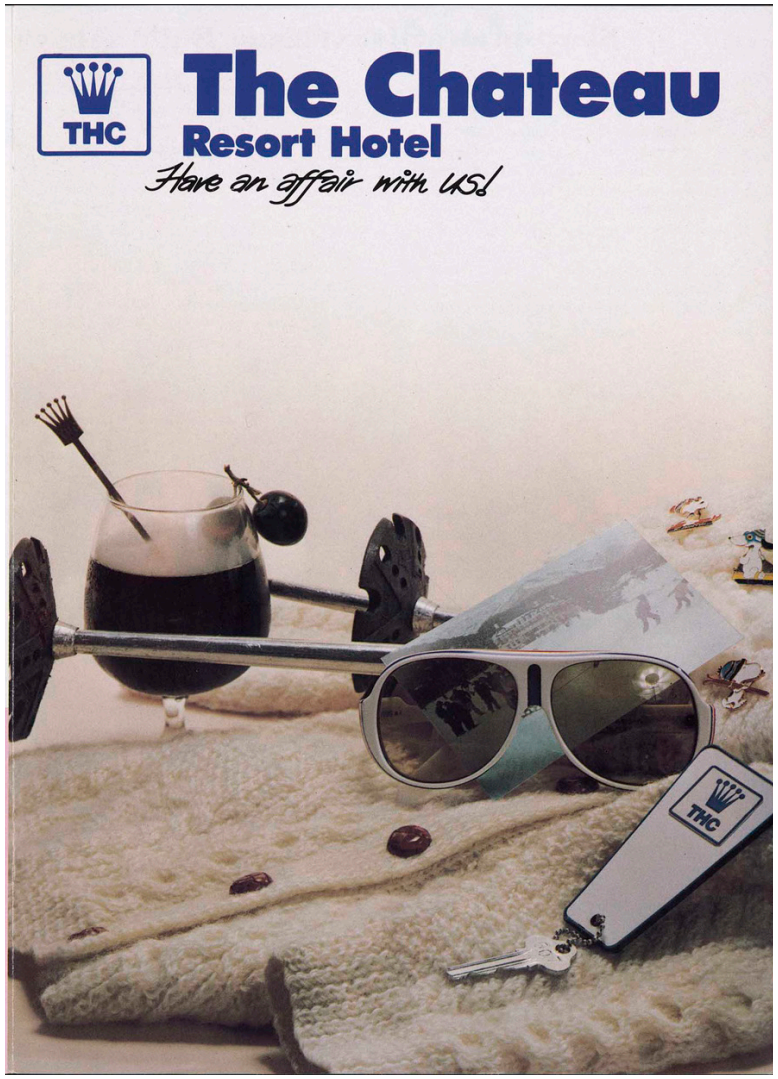
inside 8 panel spread


TAUPO
TAUMARUNUI
TOKAANU
TURANGI
47
Mt Tongariro
Mt Ngauruhoe
CHATEAU
Mt Ruapehu
49A
49
WAIOURU
NAPIER
4
1
2
3
The Chateau Tongariro is easily reached by car, motor coach or rail. A smooth sealed highway runs right to the door, and the main routes from both north and south include some notable scenic stretches. The Chateau has become an increasingly popular overnight stop for motorists travelling between Auckland and Wellington. It is almost exactly midway between these cities via the main State Highway, No. 4. or No. 1. Most express trains from Auckland and Wellington stop at National Park (and are met by taxis which transport guests to and from The Chateau). There is a direct coach service linking The Chateau with Tokaanu, Taupo and Wairakei. A number of tour operators include a stopover at Chateau Tongariro in their North Island itineraries.
DISTANCES FROM THE CHATEAU
Mls Km
Wellington 207 333
Napier 155 249
New Plymouth
(via Ohura) 151 243
(via Wanganui) 189 304
Auckland 219 352
Rotorua 114 183
Wanganui 86 138
Waitomo 99 159
Wairakei 67 108
Taupo 62 100
Tokaanu 32 48
Mt Egmont
Mt Ruapehu
Mt Ngauruhoe
Mt Tongariro
CHATEAU
80 MILES
12 MILES
THC
CHATEAU TONGARIRO
Telephone Mt Ruapehu 809. Telex NZ 2213
TOURIST HOTEL CORPORATION OF NEW ZEALAND
With the compliments of
A HOTEL Tongariro
Printed in New Zealand 1973
C.T. 50 +25b JULY 73

Back panel

"Have an affair with us", Tourist Hotel Corporation Resort Hotel, Published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation.printed in New Zealand ca 1984. Single fold, 4 panel brochure , full colour photographs front and inside. 210x 148mm
ATB: Eph-A-HOTEL-Tongariro -1984.
Selected for thesis Chapter 7.



Front panel

Sleep on an active volcano. Build a snowman on the third tee. Ski the Great One.

Mount Ruapehu, tallest of the three main active volcanoes of the Tongariro National Park, is always snow-covered yet the lake in its summit crater is always warm—sometimes just right for a bathe; other times hot enough to boil an egg for lunch. Once in a while Ruapehu chases everyone from her slopes with a gentle reminder of just who is the boss here. Most of the time she is a quiet, reserved giant. A huge dollop of icecream in a brown desert of tundra.

Her body provides magnificent ski slopes some tame enough for first timers while others can challenge the confident expert. If you are not able to control independent feet on snow then you can go down a toboggan run. Or build a snowman on the golf course. Or in summer explore the wild flowers on the many walking tracks.

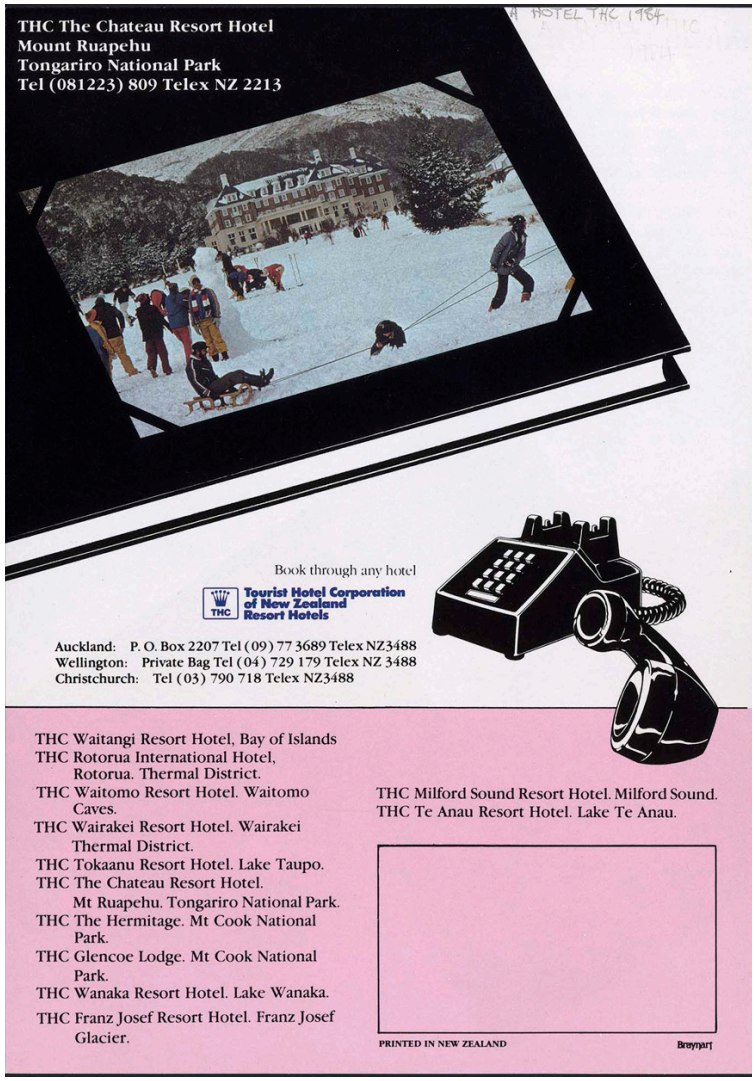
On the slopes of Ruapehu is The Chateau —a great hotel by any standard. It has the surroundings of St Moritz and the structure of a Loire Chateau. But this Chateau is totally unique, with its 1930's deco style lounge. Sixty-four luxurious suites and rooms with a truly elegant atmosphere for your comfort. The Ruapehu Room for elegant dining or The Carvery for grand dinners show off the culinary expertise of the European chefs and you can choose the T-Bar to talk over the day's skiing, tennis, tramping or golf. To untangle the muscles you can soak in the heated pool or relax in the sauna. All this before falling asleep, perchance to dream, on the slopes of a full-blooded, live volcano. Don't worry. Some of the most modern seismological equipment in the world keeps a finger on her pulse all the time.

Being half way up a mountain doesn't mean you need forget all your watersports. You can raft the rapids of the Tongariro River or just get your waders and dry fly fish in its crystal-clear waters.

Why not mix a bit of excitement into your life, The Chateau way. Come on. Have an affair with us. Soon.

THE CHATEAU
Mount Ruapehu,
Tongariro National Park
Tel (081223) 809 Telex NZ2213

Opening to inside double panel spread


THC The Chateau Resort Hotel
Mount Ruapehu
Tongariro National Park
Tel (081223) 809 Telex NZ 2213
Book through any hotel
THC
Tourist Hotel Corporation
of New Zealand
Resort Hotels
Auckland: P. O. Box 2207 Tel (09) 77 3689 Telex NZ3488
Wellington: Private Bag Tel (04) 729 179 Telex NZ 3488
Christchurch: Tel (03) 790 718 Telex NZ3488
THC Waitangi Resort Hotel, Bay of Islands
THC Rotorua International Hotel, Rotorua. Thermal District.
THC Waitomo Resort Hotel. Waitomo Caves.
THC Wairakei Resort Hotel. Wairakei Thermal District.
THC Tokaanu Resort Hotel. Lake Taupo.
THC The Chateau Resort Hotel. Mt Ruapehu. Tongariro National Park.
THC The Hermitage. Mt Cook National Park.
THC Glencoe Lodge. Mt Cook National Park.
THC Wanaka Resort Hotel. Lake Wanaka.
THC Franz Josef Resort Hotel. Franz Josef Glacier.
THC Milford Sound Resort Hotel. Milford Sound.
THC Te Anau Resort Hotel. Lake Te Anau.
PRINTED IN NEW ZEALAND
Braynart

Back panel

iii. Timeline of key events: Tongariro National Park

c 1839	Ngauruhoe ascent Bidwill
c 1851	Ruapehu ascent George Grey
1858	Percy Smith group ascent
1877-79	Ascents of Ruapehu T. and J. Allison, Beetham and Maxwell
1882-83	Survey of Tongariro area Simms and Cussens
1887	The gift of the three peaks confirmed by exchange of letters and a deed between Te Heu Heu Tukino and the Queen
1893	Desert Rd Waiouru to Tokaanu constructed
1894	Tongariro National Park Act
1898	Rainbow trout liberated into head streams of Tongariro
1901-04	Waihohonu and Ketetahi Huts built by Department of Tourist and Health Resorts
1908	Leonard Cockayne Botanical Survey Report
1908	E. Phillips Turner Topographical Survey Report (included recommendations for the expansion of the park)
1908	Completion of main trunk railway to Waimarino (renamed as National Park township) western side of park
1914	Park passed into control of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts
1920	Completion of hut known as Ruapehu Hermitage (also known as Whakapapa Cottage, No 1 Hut) (source Khoey, 1995)
1922	Tongariro National Park Board Act
1923	Construction of Glacier Hut by Ruapehu Ski Club at Hut Flat on the mountain
1924	Trout liberated into western streams and Tongariro River
1927	Tongariro National Park Board publication, Cowan, J. (1927). *The Tongariro National Park New Zealand; Its topography, geology, alpine and volcanic features, history and Maori folklore*, Wellington. Printed by Ferguson and Osborn Ltd
1928	Lease granted to Tongariro Tourist Company giving the company rights "To erect and maintain hostel and huts on the National Park" (Prospectus of Tongariro Tourist Company, 1928, p. 5)
1928	Tongariro National Park *Information for Visitors* leaflet published (primary data for Chapter 4)

1929	29th February Foundation stone for Chateau laid, construction commenced. 4th November 1929 official opening of The Chateau
1930	*How to make the most of your holiday at The Chateau, the Playground of the North Island*, brochure published by the Tongariro Park Tourist Company
1930	Chateau insolvent
1931	Management of Chateau passed to Tongariro National Park Board
1931	November, management of hotel passed to Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Tourist and Publicity
1933	The Tongariro National Park and the Chateau publicity brochure published (primary data for Chapter 5)
1938	First ski tow installed unsuccessful
1942	Chateau used as temporary accommodation for Porirua Mental Hospital patients
1945	Significant eruption Mount Ruapehu
1947	Salt Run rope tow installed
1947	Hotel reopened under management of the Tourist and Publicity Department after extensive refurbishment
1949	The Staircase tow installed
1952	New National Parks Act
1953	Ruapehu eruption, lahar destroys Tangiwai Bridge on the Whangaehu River. Tangiwai Railway disaster
1953	Ruapehu Alpine Lifts (RAL) formed
1954	First RAL lift – the Rock Garden single chairlift opened (first chairlift in NZ)
1955	Tourist Hotel Corporation Act. By 1956 ten hotels were under the management of the Corporation
1955	By this time approximately 15 club huts on lower slopes of Whakapapa Skifield
1955	Second Ruapehu Alpine Lift Company lift installed – the Staircase T- Bar opened (Staircase to Knoll Ridge ski run)
1957	Chateau transferred to management of the Tourist Hotel Corporation
1960	1000 metre rope tow installed at National Downhill area
c 1960	Publicity brochures 1960a and 1960b published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation, including publicity photography by the National Publicity Studios (primary data for Chapter 6)

c 1962	Tongariro National Park Headquarters constructed
1964	Happy Valley Ski Ltd opens
1965	Tongariro National Park Handbook, published by the Tongariro National Park Board. Reprinted 1966, 1972, 1975
1969	Rock Garden poma lift operating at Whakapapa
1973	"New Zealand's Chateau Tongariro" brochure published by Tourist Hotel Corporation (primary data for Chapter 7)
1974	Waterfall poma lift installed at Whakapapa
1978	Waterfall double chairlift installed at Whakapapa
1979	Waterfall platter lift installed at Whakapapa
1981	Te Heu Heu poma lift replaced with T-Bar lift
1983	National Downhill converted to double chairlift
1983	*"Have an affair with us"* brochure published by the Tourist Hotel Corporation (primary data for Chapter 7)
1987	Centennial of Tongariro National Park
1990	Chateau sold to South Pacific Hotel Corporation
1993	UNESCO Dual (Natural and Cultural) World Heritage Status awarded
2001	New Tongariro National Park Visitor Centre opened

Sources:

Esler, E. (Ed.). (1965). *Tongariro National Park*. Wellington: Tongariro National Park Board.

Graham, J. (1963). *Ruapehu: Tribute to a mountain*. Auckland: Reed.

Khoey, O. (1995). *A historical view of the impact of the Grand Chateau Hotel on Tongariro National Park & Whakapapa Ski Resort.* Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University, Wellington.

Williams, K. and D. Bamford (1987). *Skiing on the volcano: Historical images of skiing on Mount Ruapehu.* Wellington: Ruapehu Alpine Lifts and Tourism Resource Consultants.

iv. Department of Conservation Tongariro National Park Information 2000

Transport

The Tongariro Alpine Crossing begins and ends at different points and return transport must be arranged. This can be done directly with commercial shuttle operators or through visitor information centres. Visitors using commercial transport to and from the Tongariro Alpine Crossing must advise the driver/operator if there is any change in their plans.

Transport leaves from Whakapapa Village, National Park, Turangi, Taupo and Ohakune.

It is important to have appropriate outdoor clothing, equipment and fitness (see What to Bring). Theft from and vandalism to cars left at road ends is a continuing problem. Do not leave valuables in vehicles.

Restrictions

- All native animals, plants and other natural features (including rocks and stones) are protected - do not take them out of the park
- Do not bring any animals into the park
- Observe fire regulations
- Carry out all rubbish
- No mountain biking

Mt Ngauruhoe with Mt Ruapehu in the background.
Photo: Paul Smith.

Volcanic hazards

Mounts Ngauruhoe and Tongariro are active volcanoes. Trampers intending to trek the Tongariro Alpine Crossing should check the current Volcanic Alert Level of these volcanoes at a local Department of Conservation office or www.geonet.org.nz before starting out.

Look out for areas of volcanic activity. In particular:

- Be aware of noxious gases escaping from vents and potentially accumulating in the bottoms of craters
- Be prepared to move off the mountains quickly if there are any signs of volcanic activity (earthquakes, rumbling, ash or flowing clouds or flying rocks)
- Move away from the eruption vents in the Summit Hazard Zones (areas within approximately 2 km of all craters and vents) and stay on ridges. Do not remain in valleys around the volcanoes during eruptions
- Stay in safe areas until advised otherwise by authorities

World Heritage

World Heritage is a global concept that identifies natural and cultural sites of world significance - places so special that protecting them is of concern for all people.

Tongariro National Park is one of only a few sites around the world with dual World Heritage Status in recognition of the park's special natural and cultural values.

Further information

Whakapapa Visitor Centre
Private Bag, Whakapapa Village, Mt Ruapehu, 3951

Tel: (07) 892 3729
Fax: (07) 892 3814
Email: whakapapavc@doc.govt.nz
Website: www.doc.govt.nz

New Zealand Government

Published by
Department of Conservation
Ruapehu Area Office.

9 421005 171679

Tongariro Alpine Crossing

Tongariro National Park

Photo: Sue Wilkins

Department of Conservation
Te Papa Atawhai

Introduction

The traverse of the stark and spectacular volcanic terrain of Mt Tongariro is one of the most fascinating treks in the country. Among its highlights are steaming vents and hot springs, old lava flows, beautiful water filled explosion craters and stunning views. On clear days you can see Mt Taranaki in the west, Mt Ngauruhoe, the Kaimanawa Ranges, Lake Taupo and beyond.

The mountains of Tongariro National Park are sacred to Maori - tread carefully with respect.

Tongariro National Park

Tongariro National Park is New Zealand's oldest national park and a World Heritage area. Paramount Ngati Tuwharetoa Chief, Te Heuheu Tukino IV (Horonuku), gifted the peaks of Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngauruhoe to the people of New Zealand in 1887, forming the nucleus of the Tongariro National Park.

The park's dual World Heritage status recognises its important Maori cultural associations as well as its outstanding volcanic features. The mountains of Tongariro are recognised as being central to the lives of Ngati Tuwharetoa, the iwi (people) who have historically occupied this area. The mountains are their matua (parent of the land) and the focus of their mana (pride). The spiritual and cultural values are part of the landscape. The volcanoes and their ecology represent a unique natural community and are considered to be a natural site of universal value. Tongariro is one of only a handful of sites worldwide to have World Heritage status for both natural and cultural values.

Weather

Tongariro National Park weather can change with alarming speed. You must be prepared for all weather conditions. The weather in the car park can be totally different to what's going on nearly 1000 metres higher and further up the track.

Take care at track junctions, especially in poor visibility. Look for and follow poles marked 'Tongariro Alpine Crossing'.

Be prepared to change your plans and turn back, especially when visibility is poor and in strong winds.

Water

There is no drinking water available between Mangatepopo and Ketetahi huts. Water supply at the huts is from rainwater. Conserve water and ensure taps are turned off.

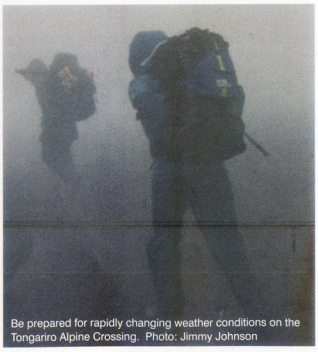
We recommend you treat all water in the Park. Water from the upper Mangatepopo Stream, Emerald Lakes and Ketetahi Springs is not suitable for drinking due to high mineral content.

Other facilities

Huts
If you wish to shelter in huts, please respect overnight users. Leave wet boots and jackets outside the hut.

Toilets
There are toilets at Mangatepopo and Ketetahi car parks, at both huts and at Soda Springs. Between Soda Springs and Ketetahi Hut there are no toilets and the terrain is open with little cover.

Rubbish disposal
Take all rubbish (including cigarette butts) out of the park.



Be prepared for rapidly changing weather conditions on the Tongariro Alpine Crossing. Photo: Jimmy Johnson

What to bring

- Food and plenty of fluid, especially on hot days
- Rainproof coat (overtrousers are a good idea too)
- Sturdy boots - *uneven volcanic terrain can be difficult and tiring to walk on*
- Warm woollen or polypropylene clothing - *cotton clothes don't keep you warm when it's wet*
- Woollen hat and gloves or mittens
- Sun protection
- Personal first aid kit
- Map and compass - *important in poor visibility*

In winter you should also carry:
- Ice axe and crampons - *and know how to use them*
- Snow gaiters

You could also consider:
- Avalanche probe/snow shovel
- Avalanche transceiver
- Cellphone for emergencies

v. Photograph of the “Haunted Whare”, first structure built in the park

The Haunted Wharé.
(See page 132.) [*Photo. by Mr. John Cullen.*

Figure 43: The Haunted Whare. Source: Cowan, 1928, plate 30, p. 114

vi. New Zealand Historic Places Trust: Pouhere Taonga, Register no. 7318 Grand Chateau

New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga

Grand Chateau

Bruce Road, Whakapapa Village, RUAPEHU

Grand Chateau. Copyright Department of Conservation

Grand Chateau. Image courtesy of www.flickr.com. Photographed by geoff-inOz - flickr. 30/10/2009. Copyright geoff-inOz

Grand Chateau. Copyright Department of Conservation

Registration Type

Historic Place Category 1

Register Number
7318

Date Registered
6-Sep-1996

Legal Description
Lot 4 DP 69562, Ruapehu District

City/District Council
Ruapehu District

Region
Manawatu-Wanganui Region

Historical Significance
This historic place was registered under the Historic Places Act 1993. The following text is from the original Recommendation for Classification report considered by the NZHPT Board at the time of registration.

Historical:

The Chateau was built in the Tongariro National Park in 1929 by the Tongariro Park Tourist Company, a subsidiary of the Mount Cook Tourist Company. It did so with the encouragement of the Tongariro National Park Board (established 1923), which had to take over the building two years later when the company went bankrupt. From 1932 until the late 1980s the building was run by the State through its Tourist and Publicity Department as one of New Zealand's best-known tourist resort hotels, servicing the park and the developing ski industry.

Physical Significance
This historic place was registered under the Historic Places Act 1993. The following text is from the original Recommendation for Classification report considered by the NZHPT Board at the time of registration.

Aesthetic:

In an area of dominating mountain scenery, the Chateau stands out as the largest and most architecturally impressive building in the Whakapapa area. The combination of scenery and building is popularly taken to represent an European influenced aesthetic-hence the word 'Chateau'. In fact the building is English/American Georgian style.

Architectural:

The style of the Grand Chateau is American Colonial Revival, a variant of the Inter-War Georgian Revival style. The building features American influences such as the balconied portico at the main entrance but its reinforced concrete and trabeated construction is not traditional despite the correctness of its Georgian outlines.

Cultural Significance

This historic place was registered under the Historic Places Act 1993. The following text is from the original Recommendation for Classification report considered by the NZHPT Board at the time of registration.

Social:

The Grand Chateau illuminates something of the upper values of the recreational society of both visitors and locals to this unique part of New Zealand.

Summary of Assessed Criteria

This historic place was registered under the Historic Places Act 1993. The following text is from the original Recommendation for Classification report considered by the NZHPT Board at the time of registration.

(a) The extent to which the place reflects important or representative aspects of New Zealand history:

The Grand Chateau may be compared to the Rotorua Bathhouse and the Ward Baths as a major project meant to lure wealthy international travellers to enjoy New Zealand's natural beauty in safety and comfort. The structure has assumed a national iconographic status that transcends its narrower architectural or historical values.

(b) The association of the place with events, persons or ideas of importance in New Zealand history:

The hotel is closely associated with natural disasters. In 1945 the hotel was evacuated when Mt Ruapehu erupted over a ten month period. In 1942 it provided accommodation for Porirua mental patients after the lower North Island earthquake.

Rodolph Wigley was the founder of the modern Mt Cook Group of Companies. Wigley entered the tourism business in 1906 when he started driving tourists to Mt Cook in a Stanley Steamer car. The Mt Cook Company took over the lease of the Hermitage from the government in 1922 and made substantial investments in tourist

hotels in Queenstown, Mt Cook, Ruapehu and Rotorua during the interwar period.

The Mt Cook Group of Companies, now 90% owned by Air New Zealand, has been a leader in the tourism and transport sector throughout most of the 20th century.

Herbert Hall was architect to the Mount Cook Tourist Company. He is best known as an Arts & Crafts architect and the designer of a number of notable residences in Timaru.

The building can be linked strongly with Canadian hotel designs of a similar calibre and European styling. The deliberate use of European architectural styles of the past to create buildings of such deliberate iconographic impact is noteworthy.

(g) The technical accomplishment or value, or design of the place:

The Chateau is designed in a rare style -American Colonial Revival- and this alone would give it some claim to be considered a special and outstanding place. The building is the only one of its kind in New Zealand to be built almost entirely of reinforced concrete yet made to resemble a traditional brick Georgian building.

The building is constructed of reinforced concrete in a trabeated (post and beam) form. This includes all the principal floors with the exterior walls above the basement and ground storey clad in brick veneer. Only the top, third, storey of the building (the dormer windows storey) has timber floors and framing. The result is that while the design of the Chateau follows the formal outlines of a Georgian style of architecture, i.e., in terms of a main block with (as originally designed but not built) two flanking wings, an entrance portico done in the Classical Doric Order, and an aesthetic and historically correct style emphasis in terms of the brick veneer on the exterior walls, the constructional aspects of the design follow the modem precepts of quite a different contemporary style of building in the 1920s and 30s known as Stripped Classicism, a style which employed concrete construction methods. A conventional range of Georgian details in the form of timber eves, dentils, dormers, window sashes and plastered brick chimneys completes the exterior design.

Inside the building, the formal aspects of the design are continued in the entrances to, and in the interiors of the restaurant and lounge with plaster Classical entablatures, cornices, architraves, squared columns and characteristic Georgian fanlights above the doors. In keeping with the construction of the place, this detail is applied over concrete walls and ceilings. The upstairs accommodation, however, has undergone two refurbishment's over the last fifteen years (the last being in the summer of 1994-95) and is not original in plan.

In 1929 the heating system was designed, and hailed in the engineering journals, as a hitherto unheard of form of storage heating where enormous tanks in the basement continuously heat water to boiling point and then pump it up to the top of the building where it circulates down through five storeys back to the basement. The upper tanks are therefore never empty of hot water. Electrically heated now, the original fuel was coal/oil, but the system was so good it has simply been overhauled and is still in operation.

The building is furthermore outstanding in terms of its mansion size and relative landmark status in the Whakapapa area.

(k) The extent to which the place forms part of a wider historical and cultural complex or historical and cultural landscape:

Although this building is very much an individual statement in terms of size, design, and siting it has links with other iconographic tourist and landscape structures such as the Hermitage at Mount Cook, the Rotorua Bathhouse, and other such buildings.

Conclusion:

Chateau Tongariro, Whakapapa Village, Mt Ruapehu, is recommended for registration as a Category I as a place of special and outstanding historical and cultural heritage significance and value. The Chateau, designed in an American Colonial Revival style, stands out as the largest and most architecturally impressive building in the Whakapapa area, and has a national iconographic significance as one of New Zealand's best-known tourist resort hotels.

Former Use

Accommodation - Hotel

Themes

Places to Visit

Construction Dates

Original Construction: 1929 (circa)
Modification: 1994 (circa) - 1995 (circa)

Construction Details

Reinforced concrete in a trabeated (post and beam) form

Clad in brick veneer above the basement and ground storey

Only the third storey (the dormer window storey) has timber floors and framing

Information Sources

Ian Rockel, Taking the Waters: Early Spas in New Zealand, Wellington, 1986

Other Information

A copy of the original report is available from the NZHPT Central region office

Information on this page is correct to the best of the Trust's knowledge. If you have any additional information you would like to share with the Trust, please contact the Registrar. You may wish to contact the Trust to view our paper records.