SEMIOLOGY OF A VOYAGE: READING THE SIGNS OF THE

PRINCESS CRUISES' BALTIC HERITAGE TOUR



Tess Martin

Unit 21

MArch BENVGA05 Thesis Tutor: Nina Vollenbroker

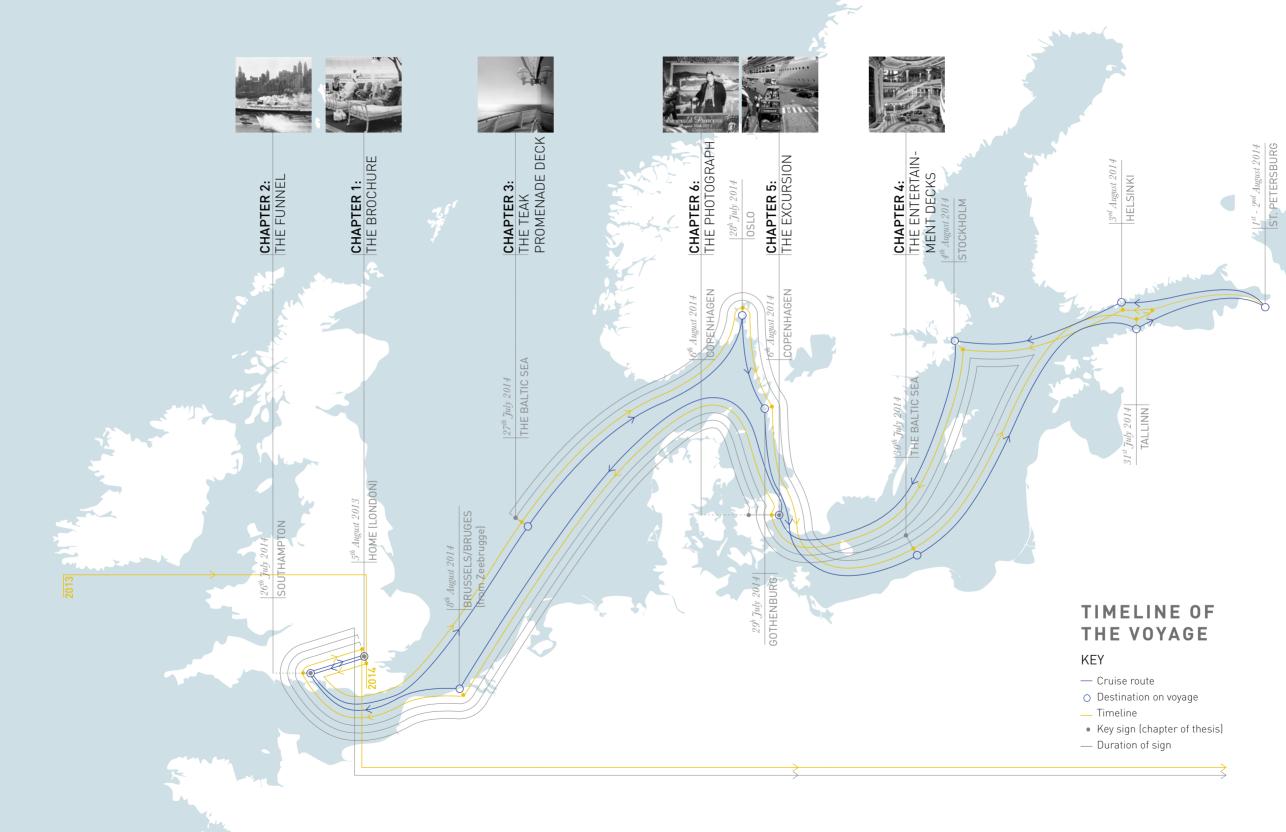
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ABSTRACT

Tourism shapes the environment both physically through its associated infrastructures, and socially as it informs our perception of other cultures and places. Cruising is the fastest growing worldwide tourism sector, so it is becoming increasingly influential in shaping the world. Through reading Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space¹, it becomes apparent cruising produces its own space through being a major social and spatial practice. This thesis investigates how the spaces produced by cruising are constructed and understood by cruise passengers. It follows the typical voyage of a cruise passenger, focussing on the key signs found in its sites and sights. Tools of semiology will be used to analyse these signs: their importance, meaning and how they are constructed.

The signs associated with the voyage are well defined and established within the context of cruising, being common to all cruise experiences. So this investigation into the signs of the cruise will not only help us understand this particular voyage, but will also enable us to critically analyse the experience constructed by the cruise industry for the passenger's consumption, and the spaces produced.





THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

Nearly all of us will be a tourist at some point in our lives. We travel to get away from everyday life - the places we live and work - and experience something exotic. Tourism might be dismissed as fairly trivial but its impacts should not be underestimated. It is one of the largest and fastest-growing sectors of the world economy, accounting for 9% of the world's GDP, 1 in 11 jobs, and 6% of the world's exports². The number of global international tourist arrivals has grown continuously from 25 million in 1950, to 1035 million in 2012³. It is now an expectation of modern western lifestyle: 'To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the 'modern' experience.'4 Tourism is shaping our environment physically through the infrastructure associated with creating destinations and socially as it increases our awareness of other places and cultures. The actions of tourists shape the space in which they travel, and the space they return home to. It is therefore an influential element of cultural and architectural reality.

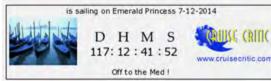
THE CRUISE INDUSTRY

The cruise industry is the fastest growing worldwide travel sector, with an estimated 21 million passengers taking a cruise in 2013⁵. Cruising's origins lie in the ocean liner trade of the mid 19th – 20th centuries and the mass-transportation of passengers across oceans. The 1950s and 60s saw the establishment of commercial jet air travel⁶. Liners were no longer the most effective method of long distance travel. The passenger shipping industry was forced to reinvent itself; ocean liners were converted into pleasure cruise ships, and by the 1970s the cruise holiday (where the journey itself is the holiday) had become a popular holiday choice⁷.

Cruising is a distinct form of tourism, with its own customs and practices. Whereas most tourists travel to a particular chosen destination, for cruise passengers, the ship itself is the destination. A significant cruise community has become established, in which enthusiastic cruisers discuss all kinds of cruising issues and

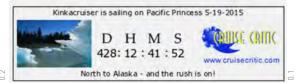
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0.1 A *Cruise Critic* member's "signature", listing all previous cruises, plus countdown tickers until the next booked cruises.

0.2 An example of the daily poll on the *Cruise Critic* website.



experiences. Cruise web forums are key structures in this community. $Cruise\ Critic^{\beta}$ is the largest, with over 1 million members, featuring top tips for all sorts of cruise situations, reviews, guides and industry news. Members can join 'Roll Calls' to 'meet' future fellow cruisers on upcoming voyages. The daily polls undertaken on the website (fig. 0.2) illustrate just how cruise-obsessed its members are, recounting the smallest details of their cruise experiences.

COPENHAGEN

The cruiser we follow will be taking the Princess Cruises Baltic Heritage tour, which docks in Copenhagen on the twelfth day of the fourteen-day cruise¹⁰. *Cruise Critic* describes it as 'a charming city of 17th- and 18th-century buildings, beautiful parks and gardens, pretty promenades along canals, and ancient winding streets made for walking and biking'¹¹.

Denmark's tourism industry has been in decline since 2007, but its cruise industry has been growing steadily ¹². Copenhagen's port - 'the gateway to Scandinavia' - is the largest in the Baltic ¹³. Voted 'Europe's Leading Cruise Port' four times between 2005 and 2011, it is currently undergoing a £62 million redevelopment, which will provide the city with facilities to accommodate ten ships (over 40 000 passengers) simultaneously ¹⁴.



SEMIOLOGY & SPACE

Semiology is a broad term used to describe the study of 'signs'. Semioticians would argue that everything – objects, images, written text, spoken word, actions – is a sign of something. 20th century Swiss linguist and semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure, widely considered the founder of semiology, described it as 'a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life'¹⁵.

Saussure and the French structuralist theorist Roland Barthes describe the overall organisation of systems of signs as 'languages', and our interaction with them as the 'reading' of signs. Barthes writes:

'Modern man... spends his time reading. He reads, first of all and above all, images, gestures, behaviours; this car tells me the social status of its owner, this garment tells me quite precisely the degree of its wearer's conformism or eccentricity...'¹⁶

A sign is the combination of a 'signifier' and the 'signified'. The 'signifier' is the physical form of a sign (image, object, sound, action), and the 'signified' is the thought, meaning, or idea triggered by the reading of the 'signifier'. Barthes uses the example of the Eiffel Tower¹⁷ as a sign of Paris, whereby the Eiffel Tower is the signifier, and Paris the signified. As a signifier can refer to multiple signified meanings, the Eiffel Tower might also signify Gustave Eiffel, architecture and 19th century structural engineering, making the reading of the signifier dependant on the reader — tourist, architect etc. - and the context in which the sign is seen.

In *The Production of Space*, philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre introduces the concept that space is shaped not only by physical constructions, but also by the *actions of individuals and societies*. '(Social) space is a (social) product'¹⁸, whereby every society produces its own space¹⁹. Tourism, as a significant aspect of modern society, produces space through its own *spatial practices*, with tourists as spatial practitioners. So just as tourists *read* space through signs, they also *write* space through their actions. Their writing of space is

influenced and informed by the reading of the signs.

By using the tools of semiology in conjunction with Lefebvre's theories of the production of space, this thesis endeavours to decipher the cruiser's *reading* of the signs which influence the *writing* of space by cruising, in order to reveal the characteristics of the multiplicity of spaces that are produced.

TOURISM & SEMIOLOGY

To be a tourist is to embark on a semiotic adventure: the very aim of the tourist, although it may be subconscious, is to find *signifiers* and their *signified*. Jonathan Culler, a contemporary American critical theorist, writes 'The tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself... All over the world the unsung armies of semiotics, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs'²⁰. So tourists are a valuable resource for semioticians.

Tourism and the sign systems it involves are key to our understanding of the world as a 'series of societies, each with its characteristic monuments, distinctive customs or cultural practices, and native scenery, all of which are treated as signs of themselves'²¹. Thus tourism has considerable impact on the cultural creation of nations, regions, cities and peoples – tourist imagery and literature consumed across the world produces the signs through which we see our own and foreign nations.

The tourist on holiday carries out the process of 'collecting' signs. The signs (signifier/signified pairs) of the tourist industry are preloaded, well established signs and are consumed both before (in the media and friends' and relatives' holiday photos) and during the journey. Urban theorists Susan Fainstein and Dennis Judd write 'Even when not travelling, people know the places they might visit and the sights at which they might look. The habit of visiting the familiar sights that define the tourism circuits give rise to the expression 'Been there, done that.'22 The tourist's familiarisation

with signs before departure is what defines her actions upon arrival, as she seeks to find the signs she knows of the destination - the 'authentic' experience requires a first-hand viewing of the original.

These semiological and sociological theories discussed provide a framework for unpacking the sights and signs of the cruise voyage.

THE CRUISE TOURIST

Taking a cruise is a total suspension of everyday life. The cruiser hands over all responsibility to the cruise line and is transported in luxury and comfort to a series of destinations, briefly experienced, often with the help of a guided tour, before returning to the ship in time for dinner. The brevity of the shore experiences ensures that she need not experience some of the more 'strenuous' aspects of land tourism: language difficulties, organising transportation, and way-finding.

Planning the cruise starts long before departure - cruisers often book over a year in advance²³, so our cruiser has a long time to become familiarised with the signs that will define her cruise. From discussion with cruisers on a *Cruise Critic* forum, it seems a great deal of time and effort is spent researching and planning future cruises - reading tour books, watching TV shows and videos published by the cruise operators, researching tour companies and weather patterns. One couple even embarked on 'an exercise/weight loss programme to get to a target weight before we leave' because 'we take a ton of photos of ourselves'²⁴.

We will follow the journey of a 'typical' cruise passenger (referred to as 'the cruiser'). The cruise she is taking is the Princess Cruises Baltic Heritage tour — a fourteen-night roundtrip, starting and ending in Southampton, England. The cruise visits eight port cities along its route, including Oslo, Tallinn, Stockholm, Bruges and St. Petersburg. Copenhagen will be the seventh port in her journey, on the twelfth day of the cruise²⁵.

0.3 The Baltic Heritage itinerary, in the brochure.





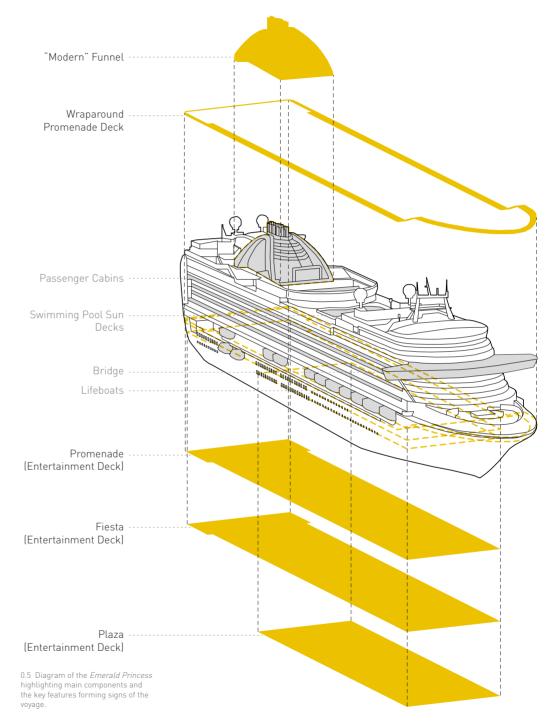
Disembark Morning

Southampton, UK

THE CRUISE LINE & SHIP

Princess Cruises is an American-owned cruise line, which 'provides comfortable mainstream cruising'²⁶. This includes themed dinners, formal nights, and set-seated dining, suited to 'couples, families with children and teenagers, and older singles who like to mingle in a large ship setting with sophisticated surroundings and lifestyle, reasonably good entertainment, and fairly decent food and service, packaged affordably.'²⁷ This sounds good to our cruiser, in contrast to the 'party'-style activity-heavy cruises, such as those offered by the Carnival line. Princess Cruises has been awarded 'Best cruise line itineraries' by *Recommend* magazine nine times, and prides itself with offering 'the most exciting and diverse itineraries with fascinating ports of call on every departure'²⁸.

The ship taking her is the *Emerald Princess* - a 'very comfortable, family-oriented large resort ship'²⁹. It holds a maximum of 3082 passengers, in a total of 1557 cabins, with 1200 crew members³⁰. At 290m long, the *Emerald Princess* has 15 passenger decks, with 4 swimming pools, 3 main dining rooms, speciality restaurants, a 'wide variety of bars', theatre, two show lounges, a nightclub, casino, outdoor cinema, '9-hole golf putting course... wraparound promenade deck, sports court and jogging track, internet café, library and card room, shopping gallery with duty free boutiques, art gallery and wedding chapel'³¹: a prime example of the ship as a 'floating city' (figs. 0.4, 0.5).







RESEARCH METHODS

A number of sources will be used to identify the signs of the voyage and construct the cruiser's experience we follow. The *Cruise Critic* web forum will help piece together the timeline of the voyage and the importance given to certain sights and signs. It gives us a direct line to the cruising community (indeed the responses to questions I posted about this cruise are used as qualitative data throughout the journey [fig.0.6]). The Princess Cruises brochure and website will be used to understand the signs constructed by the cruise line itself for its customers' consumption. Douglas Ward's 700-page *Complete Guide to Cruising & Cruise Ships 2013* (fig. 0.7) will be used to understand the cruising world. He writes and compiles this 'bible of the cruising world'³² every year, providing a wealth of information on cruises in general, cataloguing and profiling all of the world's 284 cruise vessels.

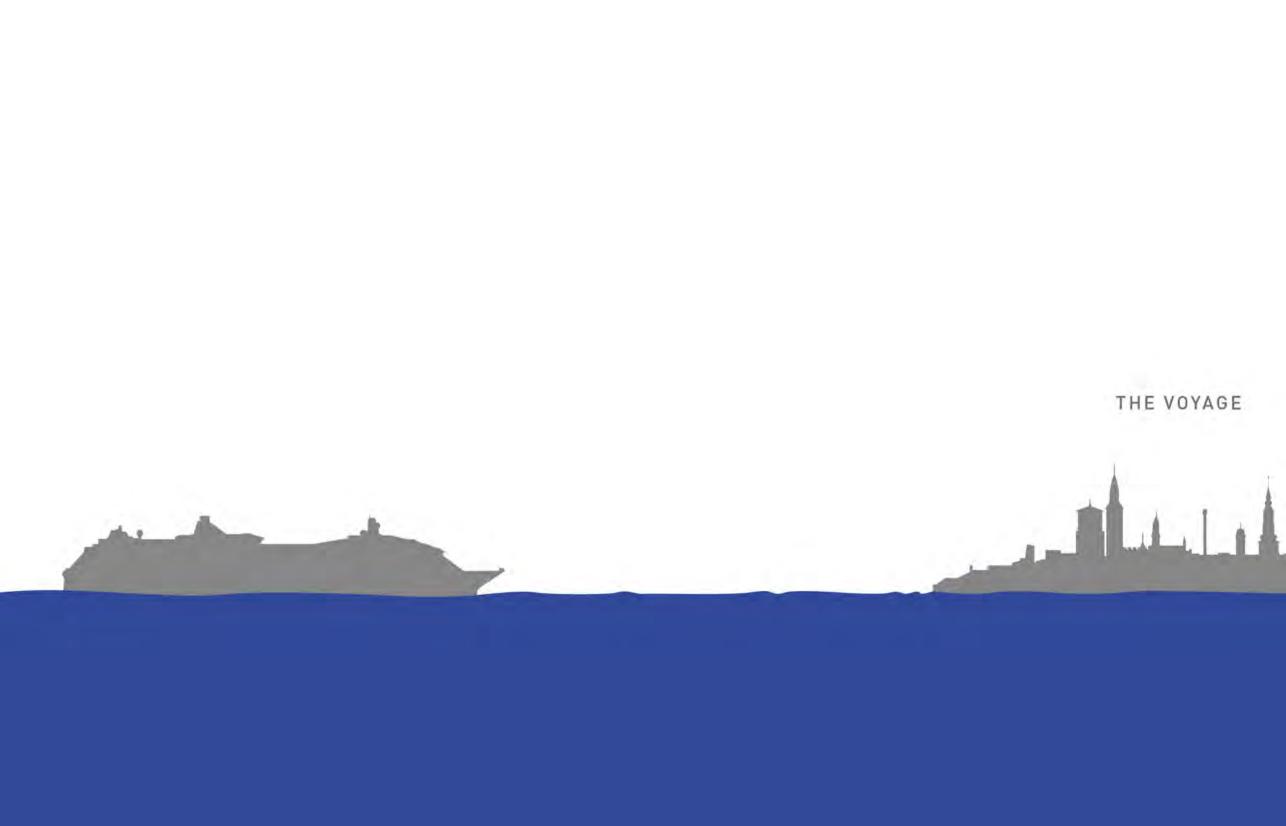
The profile of our typical cruiser is constructed from on-line interviews undertaken on the *Cruise Critic* forum, research into cruiser's experiences and opinions as posted on *Cruise Critic* forums, and extensive research into cruise passenger behaviour (see Berger, 2004, Cartwright and Baird, 1999, and Dawson and Peter, 2010).

The following chapters take us through the stages of the cruiser's voyage on the *Emerald Princess*. The voyage starts with researching and booking the cruise eleven months before departure, with the cruise brochure as the first sign. Next is the ship's funnel marking the first sighting of the *Emerald Princess* in the port. Her fourteenday voyage unfolds, and she ticks off more sights: the teak deck of the ship, the extravagant entertainment decks, the sights of Copenhagen. Her journey continues even after the *Emerald Princess* returns to Southampton, as she brings home signs in the form of her own photos.

^{0.6} Questionnaire posted on a Cruise Critic forum by the author.

^{0.7} Ward's 'bible of the cruising world' showing the *Emerald Princess* page.

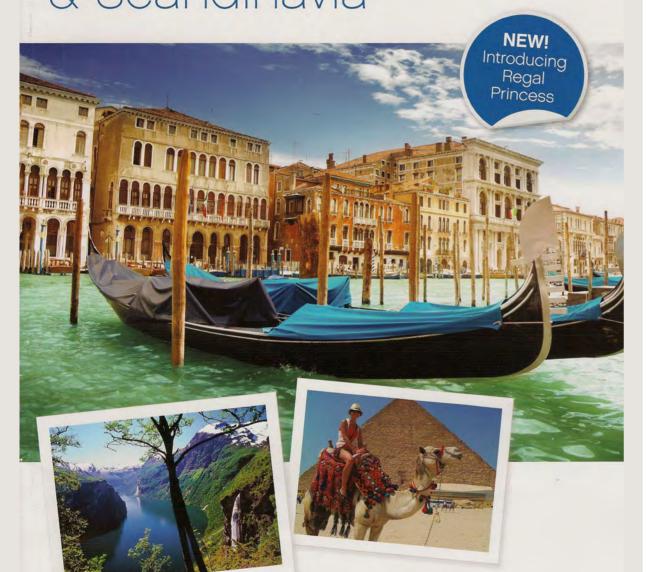
Her journey begins on 5th August 2013.





2014 Mediterranean & Scandinavia



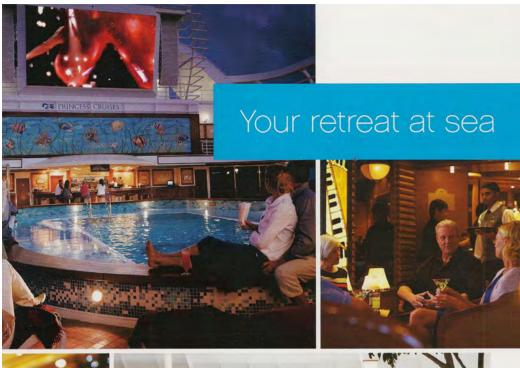


Sister line to P&O Cruises | Second edition April - November 2014

Best cruise line itineraries – 9 years

Recommend magazine

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5th August 2013

The brochure arrives. As it describes the cruise experience it constructs the signs that will make up the rest of the journey, which the cruiser hopes to 'tick off' as she experiences these described events and situations.

Norman and Ngaire Douglas, in *The Cruise Experience: Global and Regional Issues in Cruising*, argue that *romance*, *luxury* and *the exotic* are key themes used by the cruise industry to sell the cruise³³. These themes are realised through a range of signifiers as the cruiser reads the brochure. It is divided into two main sections: the first describes the ship and onboard activities, and portrays *luxury* and *romance*. The second details the itineraries and destinations offered, focusing on *the exotic*.

A sample of the images used to depict the on-board environment can be seen in figs. 1.3-1.5. They contain clear signifiers of *luxury*: the drinks glasses shown in every image, and the staff in the background of fig. 1.3 suggest that the cruisers are waited on; the clean white sheets in fig. 1.5 and the pale, plump upholstery in figs. 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 are also luxury signifiers. The soft sunshine and relaxed pace of life suggested in all of the images represent a luxury most rarely experience. All cruisers are tanned, with neatly styled hair, sunglasses and either luxury loungewear or crisp shirts.

Of the twenty-two images with passengers in the frame, seventeen show couples - this is a *romantic* voyage. In fig. 1.5 a couple have just got out of bed; they are laughing, leaning in towards each other, holding hands. They are about to enjoy breakfast in bed wearing matching dressing gowns. The same couple appear curled up on a sofa (fig. 1.5) and holding hands in a hot-tub (fig. 1.4).

Fig. 1.4 shows a couple greeting the uniformed captain. He is a signifier of *the exotic*, representing the power and tradition of the ship. The exotic continues into the second half of the brochure, as the cruiser reads promises of the exotic in the images of destinations. This theme begins on the front cover, where three images show scenes far from the cruiser's everyday life: Venice's Grand Canal, a

p.24: 1.1 Brochure cover

 2









camel in front of an Egyptian pyramid, a luscious green Norwegian fjord with snow-topped mountains (fig. 1.1). Two of the images appear to be scattered casually on the page like holiday snaps, allowing our cruiser to believe that she too could be viewing these scenes and taking these photos. Interestingly, the destination images always show empty scenery, with no signs of inhabitants or passengers (figs. 1.6, 1.7). The cruiser is led to believe these picturesque destinations are waiting to be explored, the 'exclusive' and 'unspoilt' suggestions exaggerate the exotic. In reality, the cruiser will be disembarking the ship with three thousand other passengers who will block her view, get in her photographs and de-exoticise the experience.

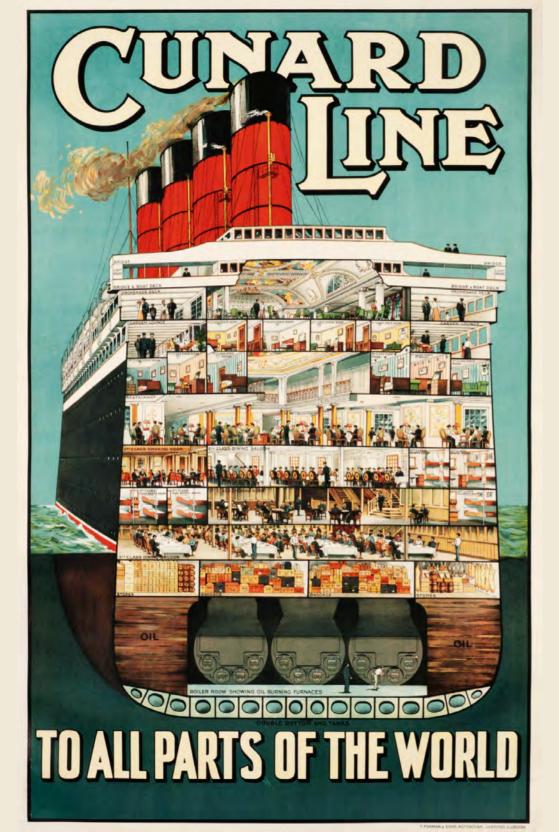
Douglas and Douglas' themes of luxury, romance and the exotic are clearly identifiable in the brochure, however, there seems to be another message: *safety*. Whilst the brochure speaks of 'escaping', it also assures cruiser that she will 'feel right at home'³⁴ on the ship. Fainstein and Gladstone write 'tourists need to be reassured that they will feel safe and comfortable in a given location. The result is the paradoxical creation of the tourist space, in which visitors experience simultaneously novelty and familiarity, excitement and security.'³⁵ In the cruise, the ports are the locations providing novelty and excitement, the ship environment ensures the cruiser feels 'safe and comfortable'³⁶. This results from the spatial arrangements of the ship - clean cabins, a well-trained crew, state of the art navigation systems - but also the social context the brochure highlights.

All passengers depicted are white, middle-class, middle-aged (or older), usually in heterosexual couples. This must be the target audience for Princess Cruises, and through reading these images our cruiser is reassured that she will be accompanied by people like her. There are no black, homosexual, very young, very old, poor, or disabled people in this environment. Although narrow-minded and exclusive, this makes her feel 'safe'.

Many of the spaces depicted in the brochure have been constructed with the intention of distracting the cruiser from the fact she will be on a ship surrounded by the ocean - such as the artificial grass lounging deck (fig. 1.3); perhaps because the sea is not thought of as

'safe and comfortable'³⁷, but rather dangerous and unpredictable. The pale beige furnishings (fig. 1.3, 1.4, 1.5), clean white sheets (fig. 1.5), and soft lighting throughout are part of a neutral, safe environment. The staff in the background (fig. 1.3) reassure the cruiser that she will be looked after. The images of destinations, whilst signifying the exotic, are also safe: they are unchallenging. They generally depict either an overview of the town, or one of its most well-known sights – the strongest signifiers of the destination, such as the Duomo in Florence (fig. 1.6), and the Acropolis in Athens. Already familiar with these sights, the cruiser feels comfortable with the idea of venturing into them.

When we consider the brochure a representation of space instrumental in the production of space by cruising, it promotes a vision of space that is *exclusive*. A clean, gentrified, safe and predictable space with all inhabitants of a similar social standing. This portrayal does little to embrace natural diversity, which is surprising given the current criticism of such discrimination. From within this bubble of safe space, cruisers are travelling the world viewing foreign cultures whose people may not 'fit' into this ideology of space.



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It is embarkation day. The cruiser arrives at Southampton after 356 days of anticipation ('it was a long, long year', says one cruiser on *Cruise Critic*³⁸). At last she catches a glimpse of the *Emerald Princess* waiting in the port, ready to set sail.

The funnel is a distinguishing feature of cruise ship design. Peter Quartermaine, Research Associate for London's National Maritime Museum, writes that for cruise ships 'exterior recognition is today based less on the vessel's overall livery (almost all ships are white) than on distinctive funnel shape'³⁹. Hence the funnel is an iconic signifier of the ship itself and the cruise line identity. The importance of the ships' funnels to the cruiser is highlighted in several threads on *Cruise Critic* forums; one entitled 'Show me your funnel...'⁴⁰ consists of replies from cruisers posting photographs of their ship's funnel (fig. 2.3), as well as several photographs of model souvenir funnels⁴¹. Another, entitled 'Talk about a Funnel Fanatic!'⁴² begins a long conversation between cruisers about the excitement of spotting a familiar cruise ship on television - '...we certainly spot the Farcus Funnel [the funnel design of Carnival Cruise ships]! Every time we spot it we high five and break out in smiles'⁴³.

Whilst the funnel is an essential element of the ship image, it is no longer technically necessary. Technological advances changed the way ship engines run, removing the need for such a large funnel. Instead funnels now often serve as observation lounges or viewing decks. Quartermaine writes 'The funnel is the classic maritime motif of our day, not least because few vessels today really need one: prominent, distinctive, colourful and fun it is also essentially nostalgic. Yet despite technological advances, in most instances funnels still serve an important role in the design of a ship.'44

'Nostalgia' plays a significant part in the appeal of cruising. The period between the end of the 19th century and the 1950s is referred to as the 'Golden Age' of the ocean liner – international companies competed to offer the fastest transatlantic crossings. Ocean liners were huge feats of modern engineering, with the occupants of the first class accommodation including celebrities and

p.32: 2.1 A 1914 Cunard poster.2.3 Cruisers share photographs of funnels on *Cruise Critic*.









2.4, 2.5 Scenes from *Titanic* 2.6 Captain's cocktail party, the *Oronsay*, 1951.

2.7 Departure of the Orcades, 1948

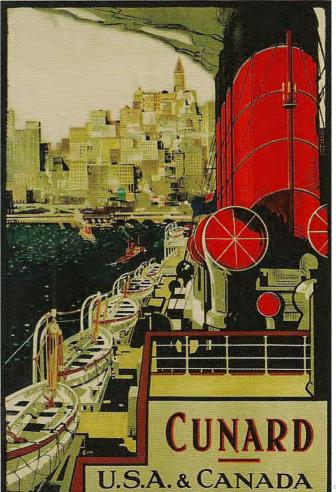
aristocracy. The glamour of this era was captured by Hollywood in numerous films, the most famous being *Titanic* (1997)⁴⁵. Fig. 2.4 shows a scene in *Titanic* with the lead characters on the ship's deck, the yellow funnels behind. Fig. 2.5 shows the *Titanic* as it sinks in the memorable scene, the funnels still standing proud as the rest of the ship disappears. As the most commercially successful film of its time⁴⁶, these images will be familiar to millions across the world, thus placing the funnel as a strong signifier of cruising in public knowledge.

Whilst the modern pleasure cruise industry serves a different purpose to the ocean liner industry of the past, and the luxuries of cruising are no longer affordable by only the most wealthy of society, the notion of embarking on a cruise still has nostalgic associations with this romantic 'Golden Age'. For the cruiser, the funnel holds the nostalgic promise of the glamourous lifestyle of the first class passengers who sailed on the ocean liners (fig. 2.6). She feels a sense of adventure is within reach: the sense of adventure that came with the 'real' travel experience of the ocean liner voyage. Paul Fussel, literary historian, writes:

'When you entered Manhattan by the Lincoln Tunnel twenty years ago... You saw the magic row of transatlantic liners nuzzling the island, their classy, frivolous red and black and white and green uttering their critique of the utility beige-grey buildings... These were the last attendants of the age of travel, soon to fall victim to the jet plane and the cost of oil and the cost of skilled labor.'47 (fig. 2.8)

It seems that at the time when the funnel poured with steam and exhaust smoke, there was a logical link between the funnel and what it signified: the power of the ship, a symbol of modernity. Between the ocean liner and the cruise ship, there has been a shift between signifier and signified. The funnel remains an exciting reminder of the scale and might of the ship about to whisk the cruiser away, but has been reassigned a somewhat nostalgic role as it recalls the ships' heydays, signifying the excitement and glamour of cruising on the open sea.





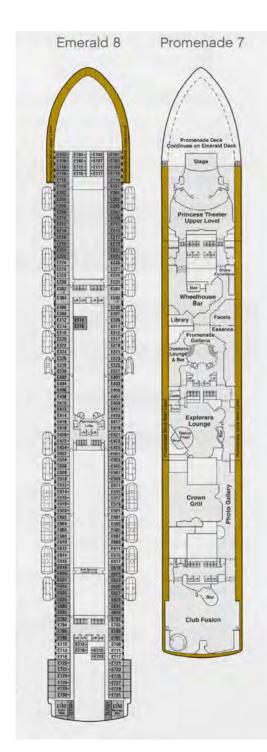
^{2.8} A transatlantic ocean liner arrives in Manhattan

^{2.9} The ocean liner funnel was a sign of modernity

The funnel is primarily a sign of the ship itself, tied up with historicist rituals of cruising. Although displaced from its original, logical meaning, it is retained as a sign due to its importance to the cruise image. It shapes the way the cruiser experiences the environment of the cruise in that it loads meaning and importance onto the ship itself, thus potentially diminishing the significance of other spaces, such as the destination ports. It produces *self-referential* space.



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p.42: 3.1 A cruise ship's promenade deck.

- 3.3 The Emerald Princess' wraparound promenade circulates Deck 7, and continues on Deck 8.
- 3.4 Promenade deck, Emerald Princess.
- 3.5 The promenade deck is often not used for promenading.





27th July 2014

The deck, like the funnel, is an essential feature of any cruise ship. It tells the cruiser she is on a genuine authentic cruise ship. The most traditional, high-end ships have a promenade deck which completely wraps around the ship, allowing cruisers to take a continuous outdoor stroll around the entire ship. On luxury vessels, it will be made of teak - a material used on many of the ocean liners of the 20th century. In *Ocean travel and cruising: A cultural analysis*, Arthur Berger writes 'The teak deck is one of the standard signifiers of cruise ships and of luxury.' It is such a desirable attribute that the designers of the *Emerald Princess*, being unable to install a real teak deck felt it necessary to create *faux-teak*: the deck is constructed of steel painted to look like teak boards (fig. 3.1, 3.4). 49

On the original ocean liners the promenade deck was an important social space for passengers. For these passengers, who were not on holiday but on a long journey to a specific destination, the promenade acted as the main street in the ship they were living on for several weeks. It is evident from talk on *CruiseCritic* forums that the promenade deck still holds much importance and sentimental value to many cruisers. In one thread, cruisers lament the lack of a wraparound promenade deck on a ship. One cruiser claims

'A ship without a Promenade deck would have no soul, no romance. The Promenade is a link to all the earlier liners. As you walk along you can imagine Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers dancing on the deck or see Cary Grant and Deborah Kerr leaning on the rail. My morning walk on the Promenade is my favourite part of the day and I absolutely will not sail on a ship that does not have one.'50 (fig. 3.6).

This morning walk on the promenade deck is something of a cruising ritual, as many of the other cruisers in the thread echo this opinion, 'walking the promenade deck multiple times each day'51, taking 'the sea air'52, and using it for daily runs.⁵³





3.6 Fred and Adele Astaire on the *Majestic*, 1927

3.7 Romance on the teak deck, in a promotional photograph.

3.8, 3.9 The Promenade ritual in 19th century New York





In order to understand the space produced by this teak promenade deck, we must understand the concept of *promenade*. There are two analyses worth considering: firstly, the promenade as a social practice, and secondly, the promenade as a way of experiencing space.

The promenade rituals of bourgeoisie society in the 19th Century provide an interesting understanding of the promenade as a social practice. In the article 'Anatomy of the promenade: the politics of bourgeouis sociability in nineteenth-century New York', David Scobey writes 'Bourgeois New Yorkers of the Victorian era loved to promenade. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, they made seeing and being seen, in public and in motion, a core rite of sociability'54 Promenading involved a slow walk in a designated fashionable public place, at a specific time of day, whereby 'propertied men and fashionable women... circulated past one another'55, exchanging 'salutations'56 (fig. 3.8), or 'cutting' each other (refusing to accept or reciprocate another's salutation). The practise thus enabled the elite population to 'police the boundaries of 'society' through 'the display and mutual acknowledgement of 'respectability''57.

The promenade was essentially an urban activity: it needed to take place in the city because it required the setting of a 'grand, public processional space'58 (fig. 3.9). City builders in the Victorian era 'filled New York with processional spaces', as the promenading ground became 'the modal public space of a civilized metropolis, the emblem of its power and urbanity,'59

Le Corbusier, French pioneer of modern architecture, created the concept of the 'architectural promenade' - a design tool and way of experiencing space which was to become key in his architectural vision, and was demonstrated in his 1928 project, Villa Savoye. For Le Corbusier, the promenade described a carefully orchestrated route, which took the subject on a journey 'offering aspects constantly varied, unexpected and sometimes astonishing' (figs. 3.10-3.12). Corbusier's promenade was 'designed to *resensitise people to their surroundings*, leading ultimately to a realignment with nature.'







3.10-3.12 The architectural promenade in Corbusier's Villa Savoye

The purpose of Le Corbusier's architectural promenade was to encourage the visitor to engage and interact with the architecture and its surroundings, by offering carefully composed views, differing experiences of light and enclosure, and teasing with glimpses and flashes.

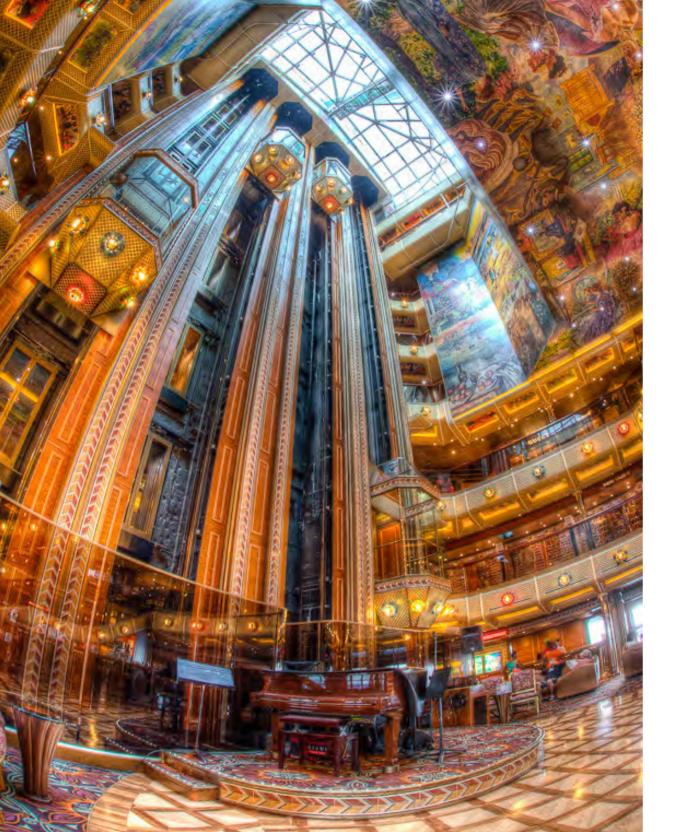
The promenade of the *Emerald Princess*, and indeed of cruise liners generally, is rather different to the spatial and social promenades described. They lack the variety of spatial experience and careful curation of Le Corbusier's architectural promenade, instead providing a continuous, homogenous experience of flat (fake) teak decking, with just one constant framed view: the sea (enjoyable but not 'unexpected and sometimes astonishing'62). In fact it seems that the main reasons the cruisers enjoy the promenade are for exercise or relaxation, 'sitting there in my deck chair listening to the sea breeze and the ocean'63 (fig. 3.5), and few, if any, mention any particular feeling of visual engagement with the surroundings.

Similarly, the promenade lacks the urban siting of the 19th century ritual. As was discovered in the brochure, there is little social variety amongst cruisers. The act of promenading as a social activity on the cruise ship would therefore contribute towards solidifying the exclusivity of cruising space, as the cruiser sees and is seen only by people 'like her'.

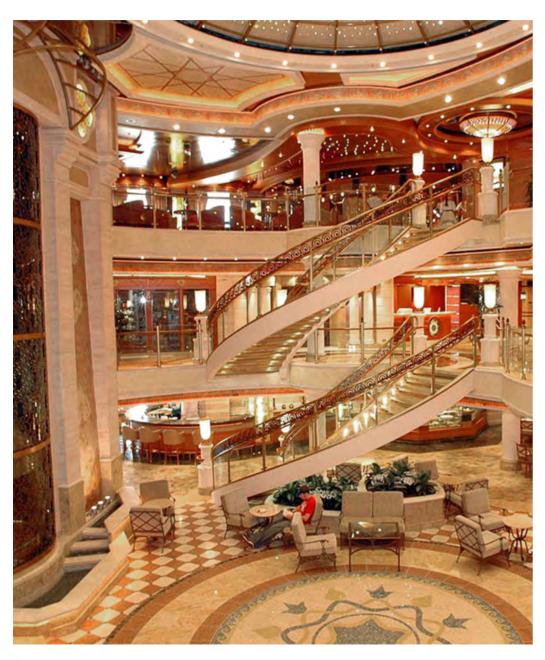
The teak promenade deck of the *Emerald Princess* is a form of *decontextualised* space: it is distanced from the promenade's original spatial and social purposes by being positioned at sea with a limited population of users, lacking the spatial and social variety offered in an urban context. It is also distanced from its materiality and naval history by being constructed of *faux*-teak. This teak promenade deck is neither 'teak' nor 'promenade'.

This decontextualised space contributes to the shaping of the cruiser's perception of the wider environment: by recontextualising the promenade onto the ship, further importance is loaded onto the ship and the cruise itself, thus diminishing the prospect of genuine discovery of the world that travel could provide. The spatial promenade discussed would be desirable in the ports and cities the

cruise visits - however, as the following chapter demonstrates, this is rarely achieved.



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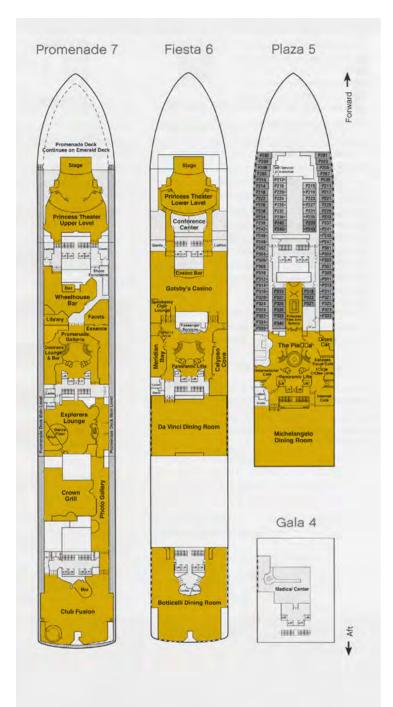
30th July 2014

Once onboard the *Emerald Princess* the cruiser spends a lot of her time on the 'Plaza', 'Fiesta' and 'Promenade' decks, which hold the main entertainment spaces (fig. 4.4). A grand atrium cuts through all three decks, creating a large open hall - 'The Piazza' (fig. 4.3). These public spaces form a large part of the cruiser's lasting impression of the onboard experience. One cruiser says 'The minute I walked into the piazza ... I realized how luxurious and elegant this ship was'⁶⁴.

The spaces are individually themed (figs. 4.5-4.10) and facilitate the cruiser's escapism: the 'Wheelhouse Bar' conjures an image of traditional maritime space, Gatsby's Casino and the Crooner's Bar evoke glamorous early 20th century America and the Botticelli Dining Room takes one to Renaissance Italy. The names and décor of these spaces are signs of fantasy worlds; the wine barrel tables of Vines Bar, the frescoes in the Botticelli Dining Room, the old-English wood panelling in the Crown Grill and the pristine marble of the Piazza signify an escape not only from everyday life but also from *real* life. Douglas Ward argues that on modern large cruise ships, 'Almost *everything* is designed to keep you *inside* the ship'65. The escapist spaces remove the boredom of being contained on the ship and distract from the ominous presence of the sea by encouraging an environment of continuous consumption.

Links have been made between cruise ships and the hotels and casinos of Las Vegas⁶⁶ (one cruiser noticed the link, describing the *Emerald Princess* as having 'too much Las Vegas glitz for my taste'⁶⁷) - these environments provide a complete disconnection from their surroundings. The 'carefully orchestrated nature of 'pleasure production'⁶⁸ found on the ship and in Las Vegas is addressed by Ritzer's 'McDonaldization' thesis⁶⁹. In these spaces, the products are standardised to increase consistency, predictability and efficiency, and so 'tourists often receive precisely the experience they anticipate.'⁷⁰ This is evidenced in one cruiser's review of the Emerald Princess, describing it as 'everything I expected. It was huge, well organized & super clean.'⁷¹

p.44: 4.1 A cruise ship atrium4.3 'The Piazza', Emerald Princess.



- 4.4 Deck plans of the *Emerald Princess*, with entertainment spaces highlighted.
- 4.5 Themed spaces on the *Emerald Princess*: Club Fusion
- 4.6 Crown Grill
- 4.7 Vines Bar
- 4.8 Crooner's Bar
- 4.9 The Piazza
- 4.10 Botticelli Dining Room













Supersize cruise ships have no permanent location, cultural context, or immediate environment to respond to and so the interior design can reference any style, place, period or theme. As a consequence, modern cruise ships have become 'artificial cities' - fabricated environments entirely closed off from their surroundings:

'Passengers can Caribbean-island-hop in surroundings which include Egyptian-style décor, realised with the advice of Egyptologists to ensure accuracy and five kilometres of computer-controlled flexible fluorescent lights to create an electronic dawn in the vessel's multistorey atrium. Such sophistication promises the passenger almost total isolation from any world that might pass as reality in order to make discoveries on board the vessel itself, not ashore.'72

Joseph Farcus, the architect responsible for the design of the ship Quartermaine refers to, agrees: 'I design for escapism. I believe that the ship should actually be a discovery process.'⁷³ (fig. 4.11, 4.12). This 'discovery process' refers to the discovery of the ship itself: signs are constructed through decorative clichéd features which signify places and cultures unlikely to relate to the reality of the ship's surroundings, so are entirely removed from their context. This discovery is of artificial environments and not global cultures and geographies that other sorts of travel offer. This situation was aptly predicted by Guy Debord in *The Society of the Spectacle*:

'The real consumer thus becomes a consumer of illusion. The commodity is this illusion, which is in fact real, and the spectacle is its most general form.'⁷⁴

As such the cruiser consumes the 'spectacle' of the ship interior, constructed from a series of *illusions* of real space.

These fantasy spaces are far removed from the public spaces of the original ocean liners, which were used as an opportunity to showcase modern design. The grand spaces of the first ocean liners were inspired by the 'Parisian shopping arcades of the mid-19th century'⁷⁵. These arcades were part of Baron Georges-Eugène

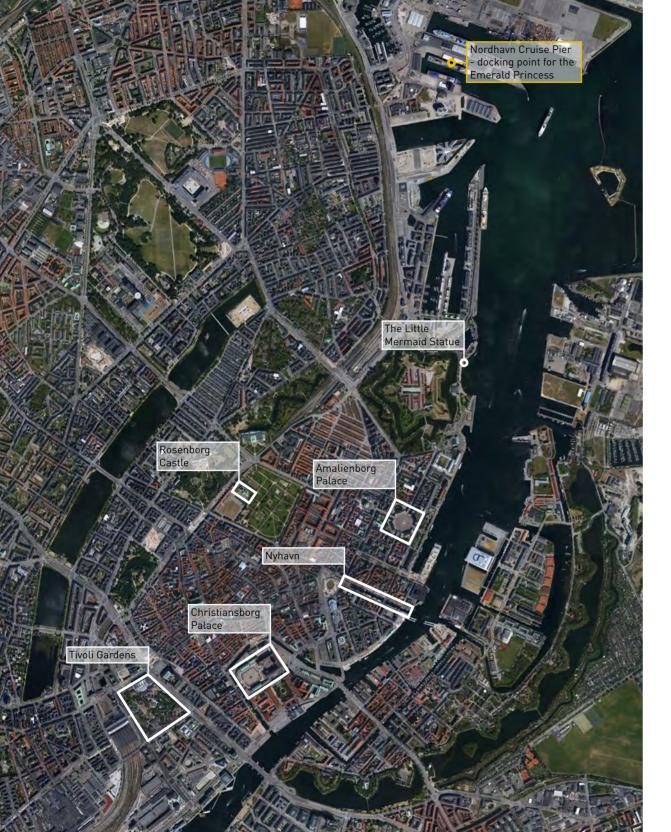


4.11, 4.12 Interior spaces of the Carnival Conquest, designed by Joseph Farcus.

Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris, and symbolised the 'thriving modern urban metropolis'⁷⁶, in terms of both the highly modern large-span steel and glass architecture, and the social opportunities they provided. The liner's spaces were closely linked to the urban spaces of their country of origin, unlike those found on the modern supersize cruise ship.

These entertainment spaces contain signifiers of escapism, fantasy and complete disconnection with everyday life, the surroundings of the ship, and the origins of cruising space. They are *non-places*⁷⁷ - the opposite of anthropological places, which are naturally developed through individual identities, social relations and local history⁷⁸. By taking escapism and fantasy to the extreme, a totally *inward-looking*, *artificial*, *isolated* space is produced. These spaces are 'pseudo-places'⁷⁹ - a term coined by Daniel Boorstin to describe the sorts of counterfeit versions of actual places and events that occur especially in the tourism industry.

This inward-looking space limits the cruiser's perception of the wider environment - again, layers of meaning and importance are loaded onto the ship and its artificial environments, focusing attention away from the anthropological space of the *real* destinations the ship visits, and the culturally enriching, knowledge-enhancing experiences that could be realised if the element of 'discovery' was so aimed.



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6th August 2014

It is the morning of day twelve of the Baltic Heritage cruise and the *Emerald Princess* has docked in Copenhagen.

Having already visited six other destinations before arriving at Copenhagen, some cruisers will prefer to stay on the ship to save money on an already costly holiday and avoid the hassle of disembarkation and embarkation⁸⁰. Those who venture into Copenhagen have only a few hours to spend: 'cruising is not a means of immersing oneself in a culture. From the arrival and departure times must be subtracted at least two, and probably three, hours to allow for port clearance, breakfast and ensuring that passengers are back on board before the ship sails.'81 Our cruiser will either take a shore excursion organised by Princess Cruises involving a guided bus or boat tour⁸² (figs. 5.3-5.6), organise a private guided tour, or choose to explore the city without a guide. Most cruisers will be following a pre-planned route. Cruise Critic forums indicate that many cruisers put a great deal of effort into organising excursions: researching 'ports of call to determine that [sic] are the 'things to see' and the history behind them'83; using forums to research destinations; reading 'Rick Steeves' Scandinavia'84; watching 'TV shows and a video on the Baltics put out by a Princess cruise employee' and attending 'onboard lectures'85. One keen cruiser even 'created a spreadsheet of each port and site we wanted to visit, including how to get there and what mode of transportation was best.'86

This careful curation of the Copenhagen experience focusses on collecting the 'must see' sights and signs of the city that the cruiser has already seen in the media (fig. 5.5). These signs signify the images or themes that she associates with Copenhagen: the Little Mermaid statue signifies Hans Christian Andersen's fairytales; the bicycles and canal-side cafés signify the Danish lifestyle; Amalienborg Palace signifies the city's historic architecture, and the canal houses of Nyhavn signify its heritage.

The cruiser's way of seeing the city - using a pre-organised route transporting her as efficiently as possible between key sights (fig. 5.1, 5.7) - does not allow for the sort of spontaneous and explorative

p.62: 5.1 Aerial view of Copenhagen, with main sights [as defined on Princess Cruises website] highlighted. 5.3 A tour bus visits the Little Mermaid statue, Copenhagen.

5.4 Tour boats at Nyhavn, Copenhagen















5.5 Stills from a video on Princess Cruises' website showing sights seen on the 'Copenhagen City Drive & Canal Cruise', their most popular shore excursion.

5.6 Princess Cruises webpage listing 'Points of Interest' in Copenhagen and excursions.



sights of glorious Copenhagen on a comfortable narrated drive with plently of photo opportunities, including Holmens Church and Tivoli Gardens. Stops include The Little Mermaid, the Geffon Fountain, Amalienborg Palace, and the residence of Denmark's royal family.

monarchy's stunning crown jewels.

View Excursion Details » | Reserve in Cruise Personalizer » |

CPH-290 | Copenhagen, Denmark | Group Size: 45

View Excursion Details » | Watch Video » | Reserve in Cruise Personalizer » |

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This tour is designed for passengers who prefer to see some sights from the motorcoach with little or no walking involved. See the city

from \$59.00

walking that could give her more of a unique, 'authentic' sense of the city. Rebecca Solnit, in *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, highlights the benefits of walking in the city:

'In great cities, spaces as well as places are designed and built: walking, witnessing, being in public, are as much part of the design and purpose as is being inside to eat, sleep, make shoes or love or music...

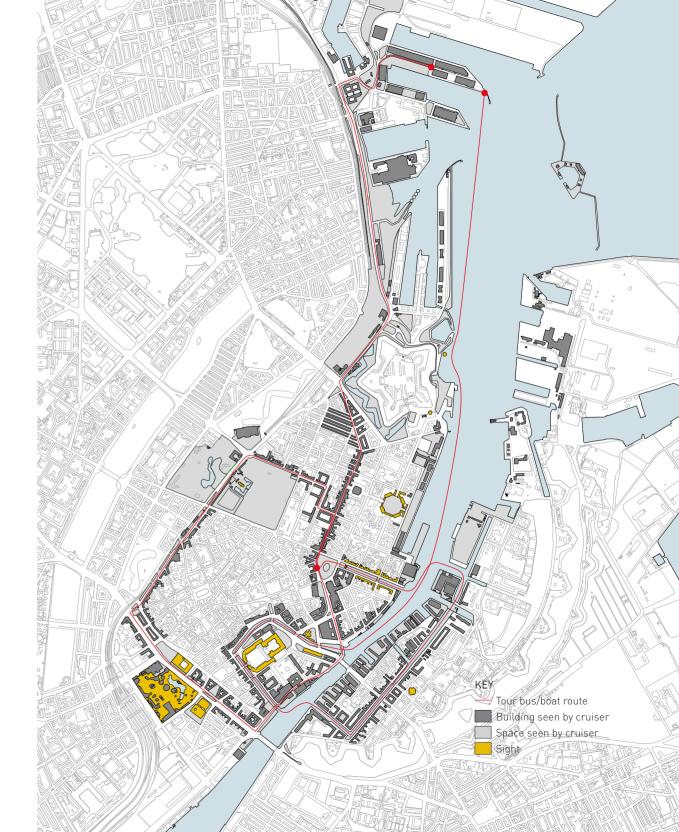
Walking the streets is what links up reading the map with living one's life, the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm; it makes sense of the maze all around.'87

It is the unexpected events and unfamiliar sights that come with wandering in the city that could create a more personal, enriching experience for the cruiser. By contrasting the cruiser's regimented Copenhagen excursion with the experience of a more adventurous traveller, we see how she misses out on the opportunity to weave in-depth, meaningful stories into her experience. A travel blogger writing for Copenhagen's Generator hostel demonstrates the opportunities offered by walking in the city: 'there are so many quirky nooks and crannies around the city that walking becomes an adventure rather than a chore.'88 She describes the 'colourful courtyards that break off from the streets every now and again' as 'peepholes into the lives of locals'89, and how 'a wander around the colourful, artistic area' of Christiania, with its 'self-built houses, locally-run cafes' allowed her to connect with 'some of the city's most interesting people.'90 This tourist goes beyond seeking the signs of Copenhagen she is familiar with from tourist media.

French historian and philosopher Michel de Certeau describes how walking is a significant spatial practice in the production of urban space:

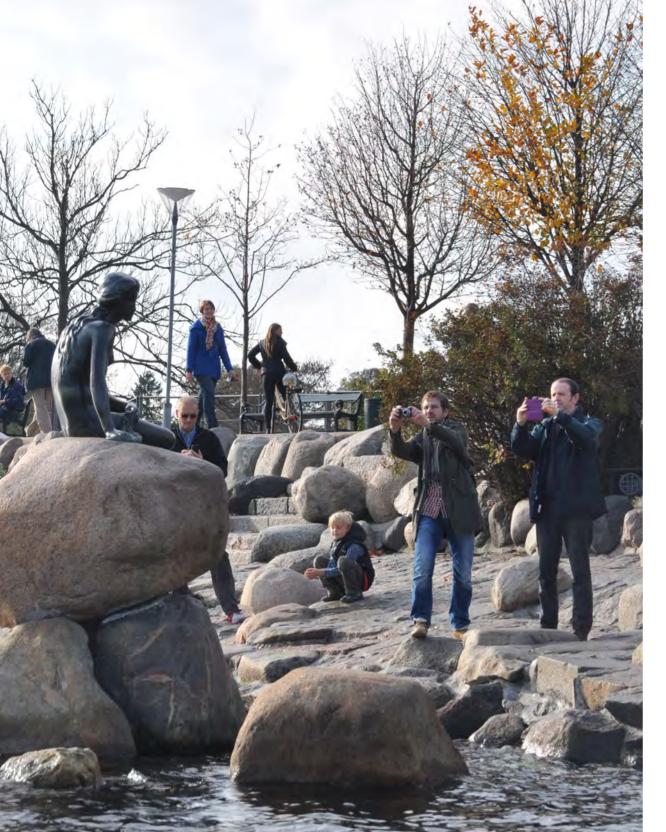
'[The pedestrians'] intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In that respect, pedestrian movements form one of the real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city.'91

5.7 Map showing parts of Copenhagen seen by the cruiser on Princess Cruises most popular shore excursion tour.



He describes how through walking, some elements of the city are expanded to take on a bigger role⁹²: 'the bicycle or the piece of furniture in a store window stands for the whole street or neighbourhood'⁹³. Other elements are compressed or cut out, as walking 'selects and fragments the space traversed, it skips over and links whole parts that it omits.'⁹⁴ So the cruiser edits the space of the city as she walks or is driven around it - the famous sights are amplified, whilst the space in between shrinks, or is cut out entirely, as she travels quickly through (fig. 5.7). De Certeau writes 'a space treated in this way and shaped by practices is transformed into enlarged singularities and seperate islands'⁹⁵: the sights form these separate islands in a sea of unknown.

Due to the limited time of the visit and the eagerness of the cruiser to 'collect' the famous signs of Copenhagen, the space produced by the cruise excursion could be described as *edited*. The space is compressed into a handful of sights, all of which the cruiser was previously aware. The strict organisation of the route creates a loss of openness, inquisitiveness, and possibility, which could lead to a richer experience. Edited space limits the cruiser's perception of the wider world, constraining it to what has already been seen in the media. As well as limiting the cruisers' geographical and spatial perception, the fast-track way of moving around the city in groups also 'maintain[s] the maximum possible psychological and social distance between the tourist and the host community.'96



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CHAPTER 6 | THE PHOTOGRAPH Manipulated Memories Copenhagen, Denmark & Home LOCATION



6th August 2014

As the cruiser explores Copenhagen she records her experience with her camera. Since the invention of the affordable personal camera photography has become an essential tourist practice. Tourist photography involves the construction of memories, as each photograph becomes the signifier for a particular memory. On returning home, her photographs help script the narrative of her voyage. here

John Urry writes 'it is the visual images of places that give shape and meaning to the... memories of travelling'99, as images in guide books, brochures and other tourist media form our initial perception and expectation of destinations. Imagery that the cruiser is exposed to before and during her voyage constructs the signs of Copenhagen she wants to see. On her excursion, she 'collects' these signs, and the photograph is her method of capture. So the cruiser seeks out and photographs scenes she is familiar with: she *replicates* the images of tourist media, consequently reinforcing the significance of the signs (figs. 6.3-6.6). Urry writes:

'Involved in much tourism is a hermeneutic circle. What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images, which have already been seen in tour company brochures or on TV programmes... While the tourist is away, this then moves on to a tracking down and capturing of those images for oneself. And it ends up with travellers demonstrating that they really have been there by showing their version of the images that they had seen before they set off.' 100

In this way, 'photography gives shape to travel, so that one's journey consists of moving from one good view to another, each to be captured on film'¹⁰¹. It is this process of capturing known signs that defines the cruiser's navigation of the city. As walking spatially edits the space into disconnected islands¹⁰², the photography process 'composes the urban landscape into a collage of frozen images.'¹⁰³

p.72: 6.1 Tourists photographing the Little Mermaid statue.

^{6.3} The top Google image search results for 'Copenhagen' display well known signs of the city.

























6.4 Nyhavn is one of the most famous scenes of Copenhagen, appearing in many guidebooks and tourism websites.

6.5 A cruiser's photograph taken whilst on a Princess Baltic Cruise (posted on *Cruise Critic*) replicates the famous views of Nyhavn.

6.6 A cruiser's photographs of Copenhagen taken on a Princess Baltic cruise, and shared on a *Cruise Critic* forum (left column), replicate the famous sights/signs seen in a Princess Cruises excursion video (right column).

Tourist photography involves framing particular views: 'Queues of tourists can be identified waiting to take the 'classic' shot of a building or landscape' (fig. 6.1). Creating framed views involves cutting information out of the view, and inevitably from the memory of the place. Similarly, viewing the city from behind a camera distances the cruiser from the environment. The memories created by the photograph are carefully constructed by the cruiser. This is one type of cruise photography identified in this voyage.

A second type is carried out on the ship by the on-board photographer, who captures cruisers at certain points throughout the cruise - one cruiser says 'they will be there when you embark, disembark at each port, they will come around a couple of times at dinner... they are everywhere!!!¹¹⁰⁵. Here, the framing of the view becomes the *staging* of an event: fig. 6.7 shows a photo of a family infront of the grand staircase, taken by the onboard photographer. Here, memories are created *for* the cruiser: the events are chosen by photographer, and are likely to be the same for all cruisers onboard.

A third identifiable type raises the level of staging even further. Princess Cruises offers a formal portrait service 'with many choices of backgrounds'¹⁰⁶. These 'backgrounds' are fake backdrops, allowing entirely artificially constructed images to be created (figs. 6.8-6.10). Fig. 6.10 shows a souvenir photograph of an *Emerald Princess* cruiser infront of a backdrop of a scene he did not see, surrounded by a collage of the main sights and signs of the voyage that he did not necessarily visit. In this photo, a memory is created for the cruiser of something he did not even experience, thus further detaching the lived experience from the memories.

Cruise photographs produce a sort of *counterfeit*, *detached* space in the memories they signify. Firstly, the camera and the framing process distance the cruiser from the reality of her surroundings; secondly the cruise photographer selects memories *for* the cruiser, and thirdly the artificial backdrop of the cruise souvenir photo stages a memory of an event that the cruiser did not even experience. The representation of space produced in these photographs is detached from the space actually experienced.



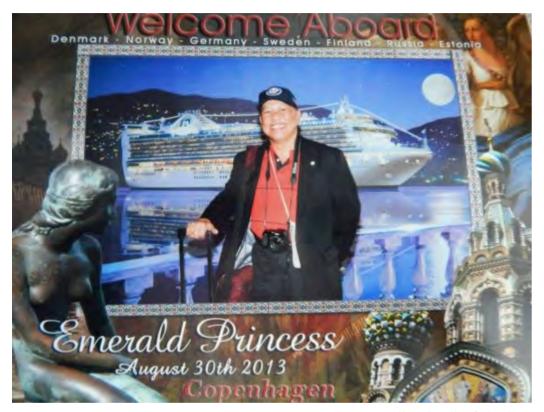




^{6.7} Professional photograph of a family infront of the grand staircase on a formal night.

^{6.8} Professional cruise portrait with a painted backdrop.

^{6.9} An embarkation photograph



6.10 A cruiser taking a Baltic cruise on board the *Emerald Princess* has a professional souvenir photo taken, and shares it on an online blog.

Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard write 'there is no perception of place and landscape without memory' 107. Thus, as a sign of the memories of the place, the photograph is responsible in part for the construction of the perception of the place. This perception is, in part, artificially constructed, as through the framing and staging of the photograph, the memory of the experience is manipulated. This manipulation occurs to align the experience more closely with the ideological experience prescribed by tourism media.

We have again encountered the hermeneutic circle of tourism image and experience production: the cruiser is aware of the experience she should have through its presence in tourism media. She then curates her actual experience of the destination to align with these expectations. On arrival home, her adjusted memories signified by her photographs align her experience even more closely to the anticipated 'ideal'.

The cruiser's photographs join the circulation of signs, which in turn contribute to other people's perceptions of places, especially in the current digital age as holiday images are posted on social media websites and blogs (figs. 6.5-6.10). However, rather than producing *new* knowledge these images reinforce and repeat images already in circulation, amplifying the prominence of familiar signs and compressing the less familiar.



Tourism is growing rapidly. It is a practice which produces space, and so as tourism continues to grow so does its impact on the shaping of the world physically and socially. Tourists produce space through their actions; the tourist's writing of space is informed by her *reading* of space through signs - she is more likely to write what she is already familiar with.

Throughout the cruiser's voyage she *reads* certain meanings in key signs associated with each stage. In the brochure she reads signs of luxury, romance and safety. The funnel signifies the power of the ship and the glamour of the sea voyage, and the teak promenade deck signifies the 'authentic' cruise experience. In the entertainment decks she reads signs of escapism. On the excursion she seeks out and reads the typical tourist signs of Copenhagen, and her photographs construct her memories of the trip.

Her actions on the cruise voyage, informed by her reading of these signs, contribute to the *writing* of the space that the signs promote. By accepting and becoming part of the brochure's vision of safe *exclusive* space, she adds to its production. She loads importance onto the funnel, a symbol of the ship, thus contributing to the *self-referential* space of cruising. As she strolls on the ship's teak promenade deck, rather than an urban 'promenade', she contributes to this *decontextualised* space. She contributes to the *inward-looking* non-places of the entertainment decks as she subscribes to the escapism they endorse. Her efficient pre-planned route between the major sights of Copenhagen contributes to *editing* the space of the city, and the representations of space produced in her photographs, and inevitably in her memory, are *detached* from the reality of her lived experience by the manipulation achieved through framing and staging.

Isolation pervades throughout these signs and spaces produced by cruising:

Some enhance the status of the ship itself as the destination, isolating it from the port destinations: the brochure contains much more detailed information about the onboard experience than destinations visited, and the funnel, disconnected from its original

purpose but still essential to the ship image, also loads importance onto the ship. The decontextualised promenade takes place on the ship rather than in its original public urban context, and the inward-looking entertainment spaces encourage the discovery of the ship rather than real places and cultures.

Other spaces produced isolate the cruiser herself: the exclusive space portrayed in the brochure isolates her from other classes, races and age groups; the promenade is isolated at sea; the entertainment decks isolate her from real life; the severe editing of the shore excursion prevents her from really engaging and connecting with the environment, and her position behind the camera is further isolating.

These spaces of cruising contribute to a social and spatial disengagement from global cultures and places. Tourism has the potential to allow us to make connections with other cultures and reduce stereotypes by increasing understanding. Cruising fails to take advantage of these benefits, as these spaces actually *segregate* cruisers from the places they travel to. The cruiser's perception of the wider environment is restricted, as cross cultural dialogue is restricted at every stage. These spaces do little to enrich society or broaden peoples perspectives: they are constructed in order to contain and control the cruisers to maximise commercial gain by encouraging an environment of consumption on board the ship.

Tourism also has the capacity to positively impact the built environment, in popular destinations such as Copenhagen, by supporting local communities and industries, through providing the custom and funding required for markets, restaurants, museums, galleries and shops. It can enhance communities by strengthening the pride of residents in their city, heritage and culture. Again, as cruisers and ships remain detached and isolated from the places they travel to, the cruise industry fails to fulfill these potentials.

Many of these issues are not exclusive to cruising space; they may also be found in land-based tourist enclaves, holiday resorts, themeparks and other contained spaces of consumption. However, as the fastest growing sector of the whole tourist industry the cruising industry has increasing influence on the shaping of the world and

our perceptions of foreign places. The spaces it creates are of architectural concern, representing an opportunity for architects, designers and planners to encourage a greater level of engagement between cruisers and the real places they visit. The design of spaces which encourage greater integration of cruisers into the places they visit could yield benefits for both cruisers and residents through promoting the discovery and understanding of global cultures, places and natural diversity.

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