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Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 00 (2011) 000–000

Procedia
Social and
Behavioral
Sciences

www.elsevier.com/locate/procedia

AicE-Bs 2012 Cairo
ASIA Pacific International Conference on Environment-Behavior Studies
Mercure Le Sphinx Cairo Hotel, Giza, Egypt, 31 October – 2 November 2012
“Future Communities: Socio-Cultural & Environmental Challenges”

Challenges of Tourism upon the Local Community: A Study of Behaviour Settings in an Old Street in Tamsui, Taiwan

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Abstract

The research is based on two field works conducted in 1989 and 2010, focusing the existence of behaviour settings and their organization in an old street. Nature of behaviour setting programs, their spatial and temporal operation patterns, degree of social communication and the use of environmental cues are compared to demonstrate changes. Variation in the organizations of behaviour setting systems observed in 21 years apart indicate disjuncture of the local community, compartmentalization of public space, and interplay of the physical environment, commercial advertisements, and tourist consumerism in the reproduction of history.

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Key words: Behavior Setting, Street, Environmental Change, Tourism

1. Background of study

Chung-Cheng Road in Tamsui is an old street that has a history over two hundred years and traditionally had been the administrative, financial, commercial and religious centre in the region. The old street had continued to play a significant socio-economic part and served as a major transit centre connecting neighbouring settlements as well as for the northern coast region as a whole up to 1980's (Fig. 1, a; b). Due to tourist development entailed by the completion of city metro the old street was facing the problem of crowding unable to accommodate growing traffic and tourist needs. The old street was

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widened in 1997 from 8 meters to a 12-meter width providing sidewalks along both sides leaving a two-way traffic lane in the centre. Buildings were torn down replaced with taller new ones or partially remodelled with the building front set back along the new street line. It was a drastic change that the old street was transformed into a new form in a very short period of time (Fig. 2a,b). Regarding local residents there had been a one-third reduction in population implying a shrinking community after tourist development. However, the local community still maintained a good mixture of age groups without indication of aging neighbourhood.



Fig.1.(a) old street in 1989; source: the author

(b) old street in 1989; source: the author



Fig.2 (a) old street in 2010; source: the author

(b) old street in 2010; source: the author

The purpose of this study is to investigate how exactly people organize their environment to support activities in the daily life reflecting changes of social relations and meanings given to the environment that had gone through a fast change. There are very few studies in the field of E-B study focusing on systemic longitudinal research in a particular environment to demonstrate transformation and change in the relations of people and the environment. Interpretation of changes often relied on data collected with different methods or contexts that may in fact lack compatibility or validity for comparison. This research is based on two on-site fieldworks conducted 21 years apart with same methods documenting the findings. It can be seen as a diachronic case study explaining the use and organization of environmental reflecting the reproduction of social relations and meanings.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Behaviour settings, system, and the organization of environment

Human behaviour in the environment does not occur in disjointed or random assemblies but in harmony with the non-behavioural milieu. Study of human-environment relations should not solely focus on psychological, social or physical aspect but in totality of them; i.e. environment and behaviour must be investigated in one single unit. A behaviour setting is composed of both human and non-human components in a clear temporal and spatial milieu within which objects are organized to support the recurring standing behaviour patterns. There is a congruent relationship between behaviour and milieu called “synomorph” (Barker, 1968, p 19) that can be distinguished from the outside environment. People adjust their behaviour when entering a behaviour setting in order to be congruent with the synomorph so that it is considered having a program with great influence on people’s behaviour. Given the program in operation a behaviour setting can be continued in spite of replacement of participants. People experience the immediate environment through behaviour settings so that the behaviour setting can be seen as the basic unit of the environment. It is also an objective unit that is not pre-defined by the investigator but discovered in the environment (Barker, 1968; Schoggen, 1989; Heft, 2001). The existence of behaviour settings discovered in the environment reflects how people perform their daily life and social interactions in the community. Surveys of behaviour settings including program types, temporal occurrences and total time spent in particular settings can indicate opportunities offered in the environment hence richness of the community life, and patterns of social interactions among community members (Barker & Schoggen, 1973).

A behaviour setting organized to support particular program is meaningful that involves personal intention but also interpretation of social context and rules for proper behaviour conduct (Liu, 1994). As a stable unit involving congruent standing behaviour patterns in the synomorphic milieu, the behaviour setting is also a form of non-verbal communication that through the organization of physical cues including fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed feature elements communicates programs and the expected behaviour (Rapoport, 1977, 1990a, 2005). Behaviour settings in the environment do not occur in isolation but organized into a behaviour setting system to support activity system in the society. Similar settings may be discovered in different environments, but their temporal and spatial organizations may express different perceptions and social relations. Behaviour settings and their organization into setting system can be seen as representations of the socio-cultural meaning system. The environment can be seen as a system of settings supporting the system of activities (Rapoport, 1990b). Studies of behaviour setting systems can help understand not only how people organize their daily activities in the environments but the meanings behind them. Investigations of setting systems of the same environment in different periods can indicate changes through time. Environmental and social changes can be seen from the existence of

setting programs, quantities, their occurrences and participants, as well as their distribution in temporal-physical milieu. In addition, changes in the use of physical feature elements expressing setting characteristics can also imply transformation in social meanings and perception of the environment.

2.2 Culture, modern built environment and tourist development

The environment is not merely a container for behaviour but involving physical and socio-cultural fields enacted by perception and interpretation. The built environment is a lived and experienced space linking the imagined and real spaces while giving the abstract socio-cultural concepts a visible dimension (Lefebvre, 1996). The built environment is planned and constructed, and likely to go through modifications to fit the imaginations and practices of the users. It is thus a cultural product. Social interactions are affected by the judgment of appropriateness, and are often encouraged, or terminated, based on the situations represented in the surrounding environment (Rapoport, 1977; Richardson, 2003). The environment is more than just a cultural product but also a medium that is capable of reproducing social relations and interactions based on the experience and expectation in it (Tiwari, 2010; Gottdiener, 1994). It is important to note that social relations presented in the environment do not always remain unchanged that due to variation of perceptions in the process of history and time different social meanings and practices may actually occur.

Built environments in modern societies generally lack clear consensus regarding messages expressed among social members. The influence of architecture modernism focusing on the scientific conception of space abstracted from human affairs ignores the social meanings represented in the practice of daily life in the environment (Tilly, 1994, pp.7-34). It is difficult for modern built environments expressing symbolic historical and socio-psychological meanings, and rarely conveying personal emotions or group identity (Tiwari, 2010; Eco, 1986). Secondly, fast environment developments built on monetary and utilitarian purposes hardly involve shared experiences and collective memories intertwined in webs of meanings for common emotional projection let alone promoting place attachment or sense of belonging (Auge, 1995; Relph, 1993; Frampton, 1991). Thirdly, the increasing diversities charactering modern industrialized societies usually result to dissolving of shared meaning and value systems based on which social practices are produced, hence difficulty in forging common understanding and consensus for social rules (Rapoport, 1990a; 2005). Communication of the environment is likely to be confined in providing information stimuli catching attention without further association with socio-cultural significance of a place. That is, the built environment only works as signs but not symbols eliciting deeper meanings (Eco, 1986; Venturi et al 1994).

In the era of postmodernism and globalization theme making such as mimicking of traditional architectural forms, transplanting and collages of exotic elements and images, and construction of imagined fantasy land, is a quick fix for built environments to attract public attention particularly in tourism (Dear & Flusty, 1999; King, 2004; Lukas, 2008). Themed environments under tourist development often create places that reiterate history and identity interesting only to tourist tastes in face of consumerist desire. The social spaces and experiences produced in tourist environments can further reproduce conceptions of cultural others that are in fact indifferent to the referent cultures (Cass, 2004). Furthermore, organization of the tourist environment including setting programs and images expressed in physical features repeatedly produces messages and expectations that are in fact reproduction of mass media in tourist consumer market. Social interactions and bodily experiences are reduced and desensitized making the environment a “reduced public realm” (Edensor & Kothari, 2004, p197) challenging the diversity of social practice in local community. A tourist environment emphasizing

historical heritage with intensive packaging of settings and signs is indeed capable of eliciting particular association. However, environmental cues in such over-stimulated situation are usually interpreted based on popular beliefs, and specific historical local connection ignored (Rapoport, 2005). The understanding of history through environment becomes disconnected with the local community which is the true center of historical development, and the development of the local community is also jeopardized due to the reduced public life.

3. Area of study and research methods

The research is based on two on-site fieldworks involving participant observations and interviews conducted in 1989 and 2010 in the oldest section of Chung-Cheng Road with a total length of 452.6 meters. The fieldworks were conducted from October 1988 to March 1989 and from June to August 2010 during which temporal sampling was imposed to assure full and even coverage of observations. A 1/200 scale plan of the street range recording fixed feature elements and permanent semi-fixed elements that could be seen from public in each fieldwork was made as the base map. The observation was focused on activities, behaviour patterns, the use of physical objects, and spatial milieus in order to define behaviour settings. They were documented on the base maps in form of behaviour mapping noting people, physical objects and boundaries. Behaviour setting documented include those could be directly observed in the public street environment including open-front shops, mobile and semi-fixed. Comparisons based on number and nature of settings, temporal-physical characteristics and operation patterns are made as reference for the interpretation of environmental change.

4. Behaviour Settings and Systems in Chung-Cheng Road

4-1 Contents and nature of behaviour settings

There were 301 and 571 behaviour settings discovered from the fieldworks in 1989 and 2010 respectively. They are classified into five categories based on natures of behaviour setting programs as indicated in table 1. The old street in 2010 supported nearly twice as many settings as it had 21 years ago indicating a busier and higher loaded environment in the midst of tourism development. The numbers of commercial settings discovered in the two periods expresses only small change (141 vs. 162) while religious settings had significantly shrunken (69 to 19) given that the overall settings had almost doubled in 2010. Increases in settings for private service (59 to 161), socialization and resting (2 to 145) followed by public services (59 to 84) marked a drastic change of the street environment. The increase of private service settings mainly resulted from three major causes; firstly the change of building form, i.e. from low-rise single-ownership shop-houses to mid-rise multi-ownership shop-apartments, had entailed additional residential access and mail box settings on the street level. Secondly, the incoming of tourist crowds accompanied by consumer activities demanded a higher backstage service intensity including loading, storage, and preparation. Thirdly, the increase of private-owned vehicles promoted more private parking settings which usually occurred in temporary terms or a repetitive jurisdictional fashion during off business hours along the street.

Note that settings for socialization and resting hardly existed in 1989; but that by no means indicated a lack of socialization or resting in the street environment. They occurred mostly in company with additional programs such as chatting with vendors or store keepers, resting in parked automobiles. Socialization in the street was mediated with additional activities in the local community. On the other hand, settings for socialization and resting observed in 2010 accounted for more than 25% of the entire

street settings documented in that period. These settings mostly involved tourists resting and talking with each other among few for local residents on the sidewalks. In other words, socialization and resting as the determining standing behaviour pattern for a setting only became apparent when the street environment shifted focus to tourism. Settings of public service nature had grown more than twofold in spite of significant decrease in local population suggesting great pressure bare upon the street environment for amenity services related to tourist activities. Particularly in 2010 there were 26 settings for public garbage collection operated by the town government but only 5 in 1989. Not only were they increased in quantities but also frequencies including two regular daily pick-ups and many unscheduled ones. Volunteer cleaning for the public sidewalk space in front of private shops by the keepers was often observed in 1989 fieldwork, but almost none in 2010 unless it was occupied for private use. It is also worth noting that within 452.6 meters of the street 43 public signs were installed by the town government specifically to communicate traffic and parking regulations. However, these signs did not seem efficient in guiding people's parking behaviour that further reinforcements by police surveillance and ticketing were often implemented which did not occur in 1989. The intensified public services may solve amenity issues for the street environment but they also undermined the sense of communal responsibility to the public space adjacent to private property. High dependence on government institutions for the maintenance of an environment may easily induce a break in the transition between public and private realms leading a disconnection in the community life as a whole.

Table 1. Behaviour settings discovered in 1989 and 2010

| Setting programs | 1989 | 2010 |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Commercial | 141 (46.84%) | 162 (28.37%) |
| Religious | 69 (22.92%) | 19 (3.33%) |
| Public services | 30 (9.99%) | 84 (14.71%) |
| Private services | 59 (19.60%) | 161 (28.20%) |
| Socialization and resting | 2 (0.65%) | 145 (25.39%) |
| Total | 301 | 571 |

Although the number of commercial settings in Chun-Cheng Road did not indicate significant change, their participants and characters, however, suggested a different picture of changing socio-environmental meanings. More than 90% of settings discovered in 1989 can be categorized as local type mainly serving members from the surrounding communities, among which over 70% belonged to the realm of daily life. Supply of daily food for local community played an important part in the setting system of the old street; 33 settings (10.96%) involved direct sales of fresh food and 13 (4.32%) non-perishable food. On the other hand, as indicated in table 2, behaviour settings involving commercial functioning targeted for local residents comprised only 25.9% (42 of 162) of those found in 2010. Professional services such as tailor and fabric stores, dowry shops, gold smiths and jewellers observed in 1989 had long gone. Fish wholesalers congregated along sidewalks in early morning dealing business with retailers and the public food market had also vanished fig.(. Among the 42 locals commercial settings 14 operated only in the morning and might not have regular appearances. The significant shrinking of religious settings involving paper money burning ceremony performance on sidewalks, which was considered an expression of paying tribute to and praying bless from the local guardian deity, suggests the lack of commitment and identifying with the local community from the new comers who became the majority of store operators. Although settings of local nature still composed the largest portion in 2010, but they were mostly auxiliary and backstage in nature and hardly engaged in meaningful social interactions among their

participants. Tourist activities and settings clearly took over the front, and social meanings of the street environment had changed in the midst of tourism.



Fig.3 (a), (b) fish whole sale in early morning before tourist development, source: the author, 1989

Table 2. local and tourist settings

| Nature of setting programs | Local settings | Tourist settings | Both | Total |
|----------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| Commercial | 42 | 76 | 44 | 162 |
| Religious | 19 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| Public services | 18 | 12 | 54 | 84 |
| Private services | 129 | 5 | 27 | 161 |
| Socialization and resting | 17 | 104 | 24 | 145 |
| Total | 225 | 197 | 149 | 571 |

Table 3. temporal-physical taxonomy of behaviour settings

| Mobility& temporal claims | Non-mobile Fixed | | Non-mobile Semi-fixed | | Mobile Semi-fixed | | Moving Non-fixed | | Total | |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|----------|------------|------------|
| | Type 1 | Type 2 | Type 3 | Type 4 | Type 5 | Type 6 | Type 7 | (1989) | (2010) | |
| Permanent | (1989) | (2010) | (1989) | (2010) | (1989) | (2010) | | | 159 | 255 |
| | 116 | 124 | 38 | 117 | 5 | 14 | | | 52.83% | 44.66% |
| Jurisdiction | | | | | (1989) | (2010) | (1989) | (2010) | 50 | 197 |
| | | | | | 49 | 195 | 1 | 2 | 16.61% | 34.50% |
| Temporary | | | | | (1989) | (2010) | (1989) | (2010) | 92 | 119 |
| | | | | | 89 | 119 | 3 | 0 | 30.56% | 20.84% |
| Total | 116 | 124 | 38 | 117 | 143 | 328 | 4 | 2 | 301 | 571 |
| | 38.54% | 21.72% | 12.62% | 20.49% | 47.50% | 57.44% | 1.33% | 0.35% | | |

4.2 Temporal-physical characteristics of behaviour settings

Behaviour settings can be mobile, or a space may be occupied by more than one setting alternating in different time spans. Complexity of a behaviour setting system can be indicated through not only varieties of setting programs but also in their temporal and physical characteristics. The documented settings are further categorized in order to demonstrate organizational patterns reflecting perception and meanings given to the environment. Factors for the taxonomy involve (a) physical fixity and mobility of the settings, including fixed, semi-fixed but non-mobile, semi-fixed with mobile, and mobile, (b) temporal regularities, spans, and degree of exclusive claims of setting milieus, including permanent, repetitive jurisdictions, and temporary with no repetition operations. Based on the factors defined above settings are classified into seven types including type1 of permanent fixed settings involving open-front stores, type 2 of permanent, non-mobile settings set up by semi-fixed features such as public telephones, vending machines and mailboxes. Type3 involves permanent set up with mobile semi-fixed features such as 24-hour operation vendors, private storage. Type 4 belongs to settings with semi-fixed set up operating on jurisdictional terms in specific milieus, such as part-time vendors and repetitive private parking in off-business hours. Type 5 involves settings with repetitive operations in moving form such as slow moving garbage truck collecting garbage. Type 6 includes temporary semi-fixed settings that have no repeating occurrence in operations, such as temporary vendors and parking; and type 7 involves temporary occurrences of moving settings, such as religious parades. The temporal-physical classification of settings is indicated in table 3.

Table 4. Setting types and nature of programs

| Setting program & types | Commercial | | Religious | | Public services | | Private services | | Socialization/ resting | | Total | |
|-------------------------|------------|------|-----------|------|-----------------|------|------------------|------|---------------------------|------|-------|------|
| | 1989 | 2010 | 1989 | 2010 | 1989 | 2010 | 1989 | 2010 | 1989 | 2010 | 1989 | 2010 |
| Type 1 | 106 | 113 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 116 | 124 |
| Type 2 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 16 | 50 | 19 | 61 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 117 |
| Type 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 14 |
| Type 4 | 27 | 37 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 17 | 14 | 48 | 0 | 93 | 49 | 195 |
| Type 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Type 6 | 3 | 0 | 64 | 15 | 0 | 9 | 21 | 43 | 1 | 52 | 89 | 119 |
| Type 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Total | 141 | 162 | 69 | 19 | 30 | 84 | 59 | 161 | 2 | 145 | 301 | 571 |

The fact that Chung-Cheng Road had undergone great physical and social transformation since 1989 did not seem to affect the organization of fixed permanent settings (Type 1). Taller and larger new architecture forms did not contribute a greater share for setting operations in the setting system as a whole. Semi-fixed settings with mobile characteristics (type 3,4,6) demonstrate greatest growth both in quantities and percentage (47.5% to 57.44%) while non-mobile settings (type 1 & 2) although increased in number but actually shrunk in overall proportion (51.12% to 42.21%). Particularly there were more mobile semi-fixed settings (type 3) functioning as permanent set up even no fixed elements actually involved. It is

clear that the behaviour setting system in 2010 had had become more mobile meaning the support of street activities became less dependent on fixed feature elements but relying more on those of semi-fixed nature. However, the growing mobility of settings was not associated with greater liberty and flexibility for operations. Settings with repetitive occurrences including permanent and jurisdictional types had gained in portion (69.44% to 79.16%) while temporary operations had significantly reduced (30.56% to 20.84%) in addition to the appearances of police reinforcement. It suggested a more planned, routine, and controlled street life under tourism. Furthermore, as indicated in table 4, the nearly quadrupled of 195 semi-fixed jurisdictional settings (type 4), which usually operated in alternating fashion within specified common spaces, involved 178 for private use taking up 31.17% of the entire setting system in 2010, while only 41 and 13.62% in 1989. Similar pattern can also be seen in temporary (type 6, 7) settings which were dominated by private operations. It is considered that the public street environment in 2010 was more monopolized and privatized in service to tourist consumerism leaving little room for local functioning. Local residents either avoided participation in the street life or joined tourist services as milieu providers leading a disconnection and changing relations between the local community and street environment.

5. Compartmentalization of street social space

Change of social meanings was associated with a different perception and practice in the public space in Chung-Cheng Road. Physical objects in open-front shop settings in the old days were usually arranged to attract participants but also easy access so that in addition to business operations casual socialization often occurred in the front area. Boundaries defining private properties did not isolate public community life but linking public and private realms in an intertwined fashion allowing spatial penetrations in both directions (Fig.4a). On the other hand, open-front stores oriented to tourist services in 2010 were often remodelled in such manner that display counters were located right on the property boundaries isolating private property space for work area from the public street environment where tourists engaged in business transactions and waiting (Fig.4b). The mutual penetration relation observed in 1989 was replaced by spatial compartmentalization separating the public from private in support of tourist consumerist activities which largely involved business functioning without much meaningful social interactions between service providers and tourists. In other words, the public street sidewalks had been compartmentalized and transformed into extensions of private realm generating personal financial profits; and private property boundaries became significant markers separating the locals from tourists.

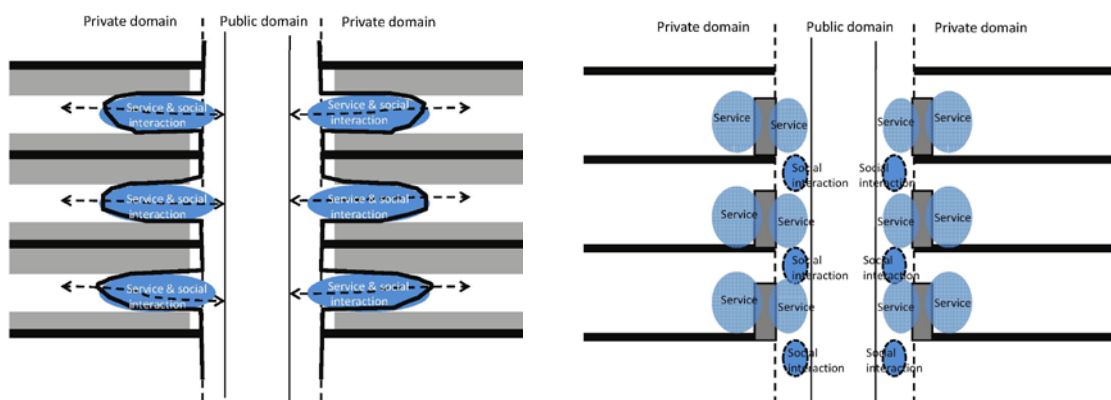


Fig.4. (a): street social relations in 1989;

(b) street social relations in 2010

The degree of public-ness of the street was highly constricted to tourism. The old street did not provide public amenities for sitting or resting whereas private ones usually required patronage for usage so that tourists often appropriated flower bed edges for waiting, eating and socializing. Among the 197 tourist settings 104 were found to be socializing and resting in nature. Although not directly involved in commercial activities most of these settings were actually derivatives from them making the public sidewalk an indispensable supportive milieu to digest the overwhelming tourist consumerism. As a consequence, pedestrian flows were forced to detour, and local residents avoided holidays when tourists flooded the street, or performed resting and socializing behaviours only in odd times such as early mornings and off business hours. For the local residents the street was reduced to physical functional level making diverse social interactions difficult. Tourist experiences of the street environment through participation in behaviour settings did not seem to include local life and are reduced mostly to consumerist relations. The street environment is thus considered a reduced public milieu having more importance in generating private commercial profits than providing meaningful communal connections.

6. Collage of visual cues and communication of environmental meanings in tourism

The use of semi-fixed feature elements marked a very different view of the old street under tourist development. Commercial settings with similar business services including fixed and semi-fixed types in 1989 were often found congregated within close spatial ranges providing more choices making patronage more likely to occur. It was actually a cooperative as well as competitive relation among the settings. The decisions of patronage in particular settings largely depended upon personal familiarity, local reputations and prices that were known from social interactions in the practice of daily community life. The degree of sophistication and scale of buildings often expressed social messages regarding the business operators such as their backgrounds and histories, social reputations, business scales and wealth; i.e. fixed feature elements had a role in communicating social messages that closely related to the local social context. Semi-fixed feature elements in commercial settings were arranged in such a way defining clear paths for direct access and circulation and expressing intension to promote browsing and easy contact and communication. They were mainly used to support the necessary setting operation, store and advertising signs played only minor role.



Fig.5 (a), (b) local shops after tourist development; source: the author 2010

Chung-Chen Road in 2010, however, was considered an environment with signage explosion under a fierce business competition associated with tourist consumerism. As an environment rich in historical background, there were buildings and sites that marked the development of the community including a temple, local bank, the oldest section, and stores with long histories. With the exception of the old temple which still served as a major religious centre, these sites did not seem to gain tourist attention. There were old store settings that had existed before the tourist development still providing services largely to local members. Hardly were they modified to fit tourist taste, and the lack of intensive signage marked strong contrast to tourist settings. Physical cues communicating information in the old local settings may seem parsimonious but requires knowledge cumulated from local social life. Tourists generally were not aware or attracted to these settings of local developmental significance but those produced and/or promoted by the consumerist market in name of local history (fig. 5a, b). They were not influenced by physical forms of architectural interest or historical significance in the selection of setting participation but by advertising signs and collages of visual cues.

More than 70% of setting operations in 2010 were involved in tourist related services, among which 120 settings engaged in direct consumer activities. However, these tourist commercial settings appeared highly repetitive in their actual contents and operations making competition among them even more intense. Settings providing eating, beverages, foods, and souvenirs were the most repetitive ones. Only a few commercial settings related to tourist services had existed since 1989 while the rest started operations after tourist development in 1990's. Highly repetitive and great turnover rate had caused these tourist settings hardly distinguishable and memorable. History and local connection are thus convenient themes for exploitation. It is important that claims of local history and connection had to be credible or looked real in order to attract tourist patronage. Semi-fixed signs with different personal touches communicating messages such as “the original”, “the founder”, “the oldest”, “traditional”, “authentic” were set up extensively for tourist eyes (Fig.6a) Years of establishments and images of older women and names of local grandmas were explicitly expressed in signs to claim authenticity and traditional home-made flavours. Enlarged images of celebrity endorsements reproduced from media reports were also posted on large signs expressing credibility and trustworthiness of merchandise which was not locally originated or produced (Fig.6b).



Fig.6. (a) source: the author 2010;

(b) source: the author 2010

Another way to attract patronage in the highly competitive tourist environment involved nostalgic theme in setting arrangements, particularly those involved souvenirs and traditional food restaurants (Fig.7a,b). These nostalgic settings did not use overwhelming signage to declare authenticity but incorporated merchandise with fixed, semi-fixed feature elements, colouring, and iconic figures to present

a déjà vu with exotic ambience in the setting arrangement. Highly saturated red and yellow colours suggesting festive ambience and large blown-up photographs from 1950's as wall background made the environment as a stage of reminiscent intrigue. Images in these stage-like settings provided fixed imaginations of the local community. They were particularly popular to young and foreign tourists who in fact had no direct memories of the society in general and the street in particular from the old days. With very few exceptions transformed from old local folk artefact dealers, souvenir settings were established only in recent years and did not seem to have much to do with promotion of the local community. Although focusing on old-day memories souvenirs sold in these settings largely involved items of globalized mass-production imported from south-east Asia and China. Other than few pieces for display purposes crafts produced in local context were almost impossible. Large Chinese characters indicating the town's old name printed on T-shirts for sale may easily be the closest connection with local history perceived by tourists; and history had become signs through tourist consumer commodity.



Fig.7. (a) themed setting, source: the author 2010;

(b) nostalgic settings, source: the author 2010



Fig.8 (a), (b) delocalized chain stores; source: the author, 2010

Furthermore, chain stores of established public fame also took a share in understating connection of local community (fig.8a,b). With an emphasis on service consistency standardized operation and formal design free of local identity often characterised chain store settings. Given the growing competition among chain store operations recognisability and setting visibility became a critical issue. Large uniformed signs inscribed with brand names and unique logos were installed on the fixed environment that can be notice from distance in order to enhance the chain recognition. There were popular choices

due to their established nation-wide reputation particularly in situations where quick patronage decision had to be made. The chain-store settings were highly delocalised that unique community history and environment made no impact on their operations or physical forms. The old street was only a physical milieu in which commercial chains added cross-community standardized operations to expand their shares in the mass consumer market.

7. Conclusion

The comparison of organizations of the behaviour setting systems in the old street observed in the two periods twenty-one years apart indicates transformation of social relations and environmental meanings represented in the variations of the nature of programs, participants, temporal-physical characteristics, the use of physical milieus and communication of visual cues in. Behaviour settings supporting local life were marginalized and replaced with tourist consumerist operations resulting to compartmentalization of street environment and disjuncture with the local community. Physical characteristics of settings also presented higher dependence on semi-fixed feature elements for operations involving planned routine programs alternating in specific milieus within the street environment. Higher physical mobility however did not suggest flexibility or liberty for spatial claims critical to setting operations, particularly those supporting community interactions. As a matter of fact the old street had exercised more control and become a reduced public realm constricting social relations to mostly consumerist interactions under tourist development. Messages communicated through fixed feature elements were reduced to services and utilitarian level than historical significances. Understanding of local history and community through behaviour settings was distorted by collage of commercial signs and images reproduced from mass media forging authenticity. Delocalized products and established brand names lured participation due to novelty and instant recognition leaving local settings unnoticed. The old street losing its substantive local social context is only a staged environment embellished with invented historical icons soliciting tourist consumerism. History of the old street has been reinvented by the presence and use of behaviour settings tailored to tourist liking posing great challenges on the continuation of local community.

This longitudinal study of behaviour settings and their organizations exemplifies a phenomenon of economic-tourist development at the price of local community that may be also happening in many societies. Findings of this research, particularly that the constricted and compartmentalization of public space in name of tourist development is in fact detrimental to local community life should be taken as a serious issue for community planning. The design of public space should be based on true understanding of lifestyles and activities of local community. Given that there is a temporal alternating pattern between local community residents and tourists in the use of the old street, provision of public amenities needs to be inclusive and universal allowing broad range of possibilities particularly the morning market activities. It is also important to note that survey of behaviour settings involves attention on the use of semi-fixed feature elements which are often ignored by architects and other environmental design professionals. Semi-fixed elements not only are inseparable parts supporting the operations of behaviour settings but more capable of manifesting actual organization and flexibility of settings in the larger environment than fixed environmental features. This study however did not indicate spatial distributions of behaviour settings hence limiting descriptions of transformation regarding actual street use in twenty-one years. Given that a behaviour setting has a visible spatial milieu. It is worthwhile to overlap all in-scale behaviour setting records making composite maps to further analyze the dynamics of street use patterns. It is also important to follow up where and what behaviour settings do the local residents participate for their daily activities when the old street is no longer supportive for community life. A future research focusing on investigation of local residents' daily behaviour setting systems can be conducted to

determine how exactly the local community adjust to the transformation of the old street, and if the community survive such strong impact of tourist development.

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