BECOMING TOURIST, BECOMING LOCAL: PERFORMING PLACE AND IDENTITY IN SINGAPORE

Desmond WEE
Leeds Metropolitan University, U.K.
d.wee@leedsmet.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

The modern cityscape consists of a delineation of places and challenges notions of travel and movement through a measure of uncertainty as fluid productions of meanings manifest. With emergent hybridities evidenced in the blurring of traditional dichotomies like subject-object, production-consumption and tourist-local, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate images and experiences that shape tourism from the everyday. Tourism and its actors are constantly in states of becoming, re-evaluating and repossessing particular jurisdictions of space and cultivating emergent forms of identity through meaningful contestations. 'Becoming tourist' and 'becoming local' are amalgamated in multiform, mystifying each other and reinforcing the sense of place as it is being defined. By looking at the creative reproduction of space through the lens of the tourist and the local, I question not only the consumption of creative space, but who the tourist is. The performance of the 'creative' city through its branding confounds identity in terms of how we identify tourists and how tourists identify themselves. This paper considers how tourist practice is assimilated in the context of the everyday through 'local' consumption and translated into tourist identities. In contextualizing the city and juxtaposing my three-pronged reflexivities as researcher, tourist and local in Singapore, I explore through photographs, the local reiteration of place and identity, and the institutional attempts to 'rediscover' and 'love' the city.

INTRODUCTION

The representation of any cultural phenomenon influences how meanings and values are constituted in cultural tourism, and this in turn influences practices in terms of performance and experience in space. By looking at embodied practice and the self performing tourism, I consider how representations of tourist practice through branding of the city are consumed, produced, reproduced and translated into tourist identities. My experience of tourist performance formulates questions which probe into the nature of the tourist and the role of the tourist in performing tourist practice and producing tourist place. In contextualizing the city of Singapore, creative spaces are evaluated through constant reiteration of place and identity, and institutional attempts to 'rediscover' and 'love' the city. This research is a compilation of certain key findings of my fieldwork based on an attempt to perform tourism while juxtaposing my three-pronged reflexivities as researcher, tourist and local in an inductive query beginning with a basic question, "how would a Singaporean perform tourism within the space of Singapore?" By incorporating photography as part of my methodology, I position myself as subject practicing tourism, and assembling photographs taken both by me and others who contribute to the discourse of performing tourism.

Places are produced and reproduced on a daily basis through an embodied relationship with the world that is never finished and always 'becoming' (Seamon 1979, de Certeau 1984, Pred 1984, Thrift 1997). They are being performed on unstable stages as they are being reproduced and reimagined. However, rather than performing social practices in a void, we are embodied in the materiality of places and their contingent meanings. Cresswell (2004:39) asserts that place is the "raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an *a priori* label… [and] provides the conditions of possibility for creative social practice." This creativity underlies a performance which ensues as part of an everyday experience of place in the construction of self in which 'the performance offers cultural content for that identity' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

Tourism has traditionally been studied in a linear fashion between its consumption and its production, how one affects, impacts and produces the other. Lanfant (1995:32) maintains that tourism "has exposed, frantic forging of signs of identity with a view to their manufacture as tourist products where everybody is being exhorted to prepare representations of themselves." However, it is in the recognition and engagement of the individual in a complexity of practice that we disrupt the familiar, more linear relationship between tourism semiotic and the knowledge and sense tourists make of touristic space in terms of their actions and their making of representations (McCabe 2002). By traversing beyond 'authenticity' (MacCannell 1976) and the 'gaze' (Urry 1990) into the 'performance' turn, we look at the constant negotiation within infrastructures of complex networks and mobilities, experiences, discourses, technologies and agencies framed within an ordering of spatialities in which embodied performances and practices are facilitated (Crouch 2002, Franklin 2003, Edensor 2006, Haldrup and Larsen 2006). In this sense, places emerge as tourist places when they are performed (Coleman and Crang 2002) and when they are appropriated, used and made part of memories, narratives, and images of people engaged in embodied social practices (Urry 2006). Given both industry backing and the dynamic flux of tourist and local (amongst many others) practices, spaces which are determined as tourist places are not only packaged for touristic consumption, but are also constantly redefined.

During the planning meeting for 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism entitled 'Towards Sustainable

Strategies for Creative Tourism, a working definition of 'Creative Tourism' was introduced as "travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of place, and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this culture." I argue that the 'sense' of culture being created is not due solely by the proprietors of place and the allusion of locality, but rather, the dynamic commingling of tourists *in* place. The performance of the 'creative' place questions identity in terms of 'who is the tourist' and assimilates tourist practice in the context of the everyday through 'local' consumption. Is it possible for a 'local' to be a 'tourist' and how does that happen? Lippard (1997) asserts that upon entry into new spaces, we become a part of an already existing hybridity which is what all 'local places' consist of. On one hand is a consideration of the local consumption of a tourist discourse, but on the other is a question if the local straddles the other, becoming a tourist and performing tourism in the construction of self. According to Featherstone (1983:29), local agencies rather than being producers of the product, are core in producing and projecting their bodies as performed selves in the construction of identity. By looking at the performance of tourism through the fusing of discourses, practices and materiality, I ask how we identify tourists and how tourists and locals identify themselves in an attempt to elucidate the chimerical tourist.

The modern cityscape consists of a delineation of places and challenges notions of travel and movement through a measure of uncertainty as fluid productions of meanings manifest. With emergent hybridities evidenced in the blurring of traditional dichotomies like subject-object, production-consumption and tourist-local, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate images and experiences that shape tourism from the everyday. The 'touristification of everyday life' (Lengkeek 2002) is evident in a "spectacular society bombarded by signs and

mediatized spaces [where] tourism is increasingly part of everyday worlds" (Edensor 2001). The positioning of 'experience' in Singapore as creative space through the *Beyond Words: Uniquely Singapore* and the *Rediscover Singapore* campaign provoke the collapsible nature (Simpson 2001) of tourism and the everyday. What are the kinds of dynamics that (re)produce these spaces and how do these relate to the acquisition of identity? How does local consumption given the co-production of stakeholders in tourism deal with the reification of authenticities and commodification of culture?

Ooi Can Seng (2008) in 'Credibility of a Creative Image: The Singaporean Approach' describes that as part of a national imperative to rescue the sterile image of Singapore as a 'cultural desert' (Kawasaki 2004),

> [t]he branding of Singapore aims to change the world's mind about Singapore, selectively present Singapore as an attractive palate of traits and possibilities, assert a new creative Singapore identity and get locals and foreigners to experience the new exciting city.

By offering a destination branding of 'Uniquely Singapore', the Singapore Tourism Board (STB) has effectively communicated the message of the best of East and West, tradition and Modern, not only to the world but also to Singaporeans. He calls it a 'social engineering agenda' by "making the residents live the creative Singapore image", where over the last forty years, the STB has guided the Singaporean imagination through a commodification of the tourist gaze (Ooi 2004).

Rather than looking at creativity as a contestation between state-governed discourses and its sustainability in terms of representation, I look at the microcosms of tourist performances and embodied practices within creative spaces

which emanate from the determined, creative economy. After all, tourism be it in Singapore or elsewhere, "compels local societies to become aware and to question the identities they offer to foreigners as well as the prior images that are imposed upon them" (Lanfant, Allcock & Bruner 1995:ix). By going beyond aligning creative space on the level of production and its representation with the tourist product, it is imperative to look at the *creative reproduction* of space through the lens of the tourist and the local by questioning not only the consumption of creative tourist space, but who the tourist is. In this regard, the case for creative tourism would be the transformative and emerging identities of becoming, of nuanced roles in performing tourism manifested in a blur of what constitutes local and tourist.

WHO (OR WHAT) IS A TOURIST?

One definition of the tourist in cultural tourism is a "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith 1977). Since then there have been definitions in terms of typology (Cohen 1979), performance (Edensor 2001) and even ambiguities (McCabe 2002) where he advocates an investigation into the forms of touristic experience rather than the concept of the tourist as a stable category within tourism discourses. In an email correspondence earlier this year with a representative of the STB in my capacity as tourism researcher, I had asked how the STB would define the tourist,

> The STB looks at more than tourists. We welcome visitors (non-residents) who visit Singapore for all kinds of purposes, be it Leisure, Business, Healthcare or Education.

How would the residents factor into this broad, welcoming definition? Given the myriad ways of perceiving the tourist

and the STB's inability to answer the question, I sought an analysis of visual imagery and the kinds of representation which determined place. Through the use of embodied practice in photo-taking and performing the tourist, I found a set of photographs apt to refine the question.

The following images were extracted from OnAsia (http://www.onasia.com/nlb), an educational e-resource which consists of "high-quality copyrighted images created by some of Asia's finest photojournalists and photographers…" featuring "photographic essays, stock photographs and conceptual images that represent a unique visual description of Asia, offering online access to a comprehensive collection of historical, political, social, and cultural images." By using two search criteria, 'tourism' and 'tourist', I extracted and sought an analysis of visual imagery and descriptions which determine place in tourists settings.

Plate 1.

Singapore - 22 May 2007. A bum boat carrying tourists on a sight-seeing trip along the mouth of the Singapore River. This area used to be the old port of Singapore where the city's first settlements were. Back in the colonial days, the river mouth was the centre of entrepot trade, commerce and finance. To this day, it remains the most expensive and economically important district in Singapore. By Edgar Su.

Plate 2.

Singapore - 26 May 2006. A boat carries tourists along the Singapore River near Clarke Quay. By Erick Danzer.

In both descriptions of Plate 1 and Plate 2, *tourists* were being described as being on the boat. Through an 'other' perception, I became by default, a tourist the moment I was in the boat. My choice to engage in a tourist activity in a designated tourist area afforded a tourist practice that made anyone who sat in the boat a tourist.

Plate 3.

Marina Bay, Singapore - 16 Apr 2006. On a bridge crossing the Singapore River in the Marina Bay District, tourists walk along to view the skyline in the distance. By Luke Duggleby.

In Plate 3, within the same area, Duggleby likewise captured yet another tourist, this time taking a photograph. Without a priori knowledge, one would become a tourist while indulging in tourist practice within a tourist place. But at which point did I become a tourist? How do we determine the confines of what constitutes a tourist place and the reciprocity of practice in place? Duggleby reveals what one might 'mistake' for passers-by or pedestrians who are now not only tourists by default of being in a tourist area, but doing tourist practice through photography. I was a tourist even before I arrived at the ticketing booth. The sense of place and what constitutes identifiable tourist space remains arbitrary depending on the kinds of performances delineated by embodied practice.

Plate 4.

China Town, Singapore - 16 Jan 2009. A Buddhist devotee prepares to offer incense in the Buddha Tooth Relic Temple and Museum in Singapore. Buddhist devotees flock to the temple to offer their prayers for the upcoming Chinese New Year. By Joel Boh.

Plate 5 demonstrates an anomaly in which the white-caucasian man carrying a camera in a place of worship frequented by tourists is suddenly acknowledged as a Buddhist devotee, rather than a tourist. Perhaps the man was, or at least considered himself to be a devotee or a local, rather than a tourist. If not, at least the photographer thought so. The issue is an epistemological one, delving into a typology of knowledge produced and reproduced in order to sustain performance, perhaps also incorporating other roles like tourist Buddhist devotee, expatriate Buddhist devotee or even local Buddhist devotee.

Both tourist practice and the emphasis on place invite interpretations which seem to disclose the "increasing difficulty of drawing boundaries between the tourist and people who are not tourists" (Clifford 1997) where distinguishing a tourist becomes "more difficult in circumstances of more complex tourist practices" (Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlström 2001). The performance of place seems to elicit emerging definitions of tourist and how tourism is performed. In other words, all the photographers of the images reproduced above were also tourists doing tourism as they were indulging in taking photographs of tourists and tourism. They were framing the tourist text as much as they were being framed. It is within this context where creative spaces are developed in terms of social practice, where the place determines performance as tourist.

UNIQUELY SINGAPORE

For the Singapore Tourism Board (STB), the current "Beyond Words" concept which is part of the greater 'Uniquely Singapore' campaign "moves beyond promoting the destination through product attributes and strives to bring out the depth of the Singapore experience" (STB, 18 July 2006) illustrated in the article entitled *'Beyond Words', The Next Phase Of Uniquely Singapore Brand Campaign, Breaks New Ground*,

> **On-ground creative approach**
> The new creative experience for the on-ground component of the new campaign Beyond Words strikes a deep chord with locals (and local families, businesses, retailers, hospitality agents); as well as generates multiple layers of local and international (ASEAN) publicity. It is designed to promote direct interaction with locals and tourists to enhance the 'personal experience' element that is Beyond Words. Refreshing and vibrant bus wraps, taxi

> wraps, personalised bus hangers with information on various attractions, mobile display units, banners and standees will all combine to make the brand personable and accessible to locals and visitors in Singapore.

The depiction of various modes of visual paraphernalia with the aim of personalising experience is perhaps less convincing and creative than the fact that tourists and especially, locals are targeted as part of this direct interaction. Indeed the STB welcomes more than 'non-residents', but residents as well which they seem to have excluded from the earlier definition. How would the residents or locals consume this *new creative experience* and would this consumption be any different from tourists?

It was International Tourist Guide Day on 21 February 2009 and in commemoration of the event through collaboration with the STB, free walking tours of three designated heritage areas were conducted by over eighty Singaporean tour guides. Registration and assembling of tours were coordinated on the grounds of the National Library where excited participants gathered. What was revealing was an interesting question posed on the registration sheet, 'Tourists?', of which all the participants answered in the negative, with the exception of 'number 12' who did not seem to be able to answer the question. In my subsequent hunt for 'obvious' tourists, I found a German who would not consider himself a tourist as he was married to a Singaporean and lived in Singapore, and a Polish woman who asked the person at the registration desk to re-circle the 'N' instead of the 'Y' because she considered herself an expatriate in Singapore. At the end of the day, I finally found an American couple who said explicitly that they were tourists and were elated to have chanced the occasion.

Plate 5.
Image of Public Registration Sheet at International Tour Guide Day 2009 Free Walking Tour by Desmond Wee

I wonder what kind of statistic could be drawn from the curious question posed to the thousands of locals who thronged there. The event was manufactured by the tourism board for locals, but the intrusion of touristic concepts in terms of the activity and the purveyors of the tourism were not central to the discourse. In an ironic way, it was ostensibly a tour which did not constitute tourism nor was it meant for tourists. Yet, it is also in this respect of ambiguity that challenges notions of tourism beyond the commonly agreed borders and the nuanced practices of the actors at play. It was a creative tourism because it put local community into practice and merged that with tourist practice.

REDISCOVER SINGAPORE

In an article by the Straits Times on 18 April 2009 entitled 'Rediscover Singapore, says URA', the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) as "Singapore's master planning agency… is kicking off a string of initiatives to plan for the eventual recovery and to expand its own role locally and globally. It is also hoping to reacquaint Singaporeans with the city and renew their love for it, National Development Minister Mah Bow Tan said…." He added,

> So let's do what we would like to do overseas – let's do shopping, our eating, our sightseeing – lets travel around Singapore, revisit the places we have not visited for a long time, maybe even discover some new surprises.

'Rediscover Singapore' (2003) is also the name of a compact booklet highlighting places of interest for Singaporeans to venture to. In the introduction of the publication, Jason Hahn writes,

> [I]n our rush to explore the world, all too often, we overlook the fact that we are strangers to our own backyards. In some ways, it's almost trendy to trumpet the fact that we don't even know what's beyond Orchard Road or our block of flats. As phenomena go, this is nothing new. There are born and bred New Yorkers who've never been to the Statue of Liberty, while millions of tourists travel around the globe to visit her. But, if you ask us, that's a shame. As the Chinese writer, Han Suyin, once observed, the tree is known by its roots…. And while it may seem odd, at first blush, to be producing a publication such as this, it became very clear right at the beginning that Singaporeans are

very unfamiliar with many of these places. In a quixotic sense then, this magazine is about Singapore for Singaporeans.

The institutional attempt and discursive implements of identity building seem rather apparent. It was about a coordinated planting of human roots into spaces of familiarity and belonging. However, the kinds of identities that are being determined in terms of inclusionary and exclusionary space bring to the fore the complexities of 'love' for the city. Relph (1976:49) in *Place and Placelessness* elaborates on 'insideness' and 'outsideness' in terms of human experience of place wherein "[t]o be inside a place is to belong to it and identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity with the place." Why is there a pride in being putatively oblivious to the outskirts of downtown and cultivating an inside-outside confusion? And what is this quixotic sense that is being placed beyond the ironical: the ideal, the romantic or the delusional? The fluidity of tourist places, their experiences and the meanings enmeshed in their constant negotiations and (re)productions are constructed through performance. More than being about Singapore for Singaporeans, the discourse is laden with how to be 'authentically' Singaporean and how to perform Singaporean identity within compressible spaces. By looking at performance in terms of "symbolic interactions, discourses, and signifying practices" (Mordue 205:181), it is specifically the renewal of love and the rediscovery of the city which is becoming tourism and identity simultaneously.

Plate 6.
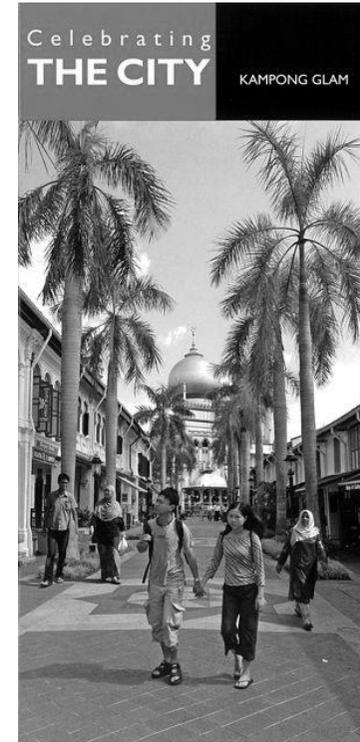**Image of a walking map produced by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (2005)**

Plate 6 is a walking tour map and guide of the 'Malay ethnic' area known as Kampong Glam. It is one of four ethnic enclaves demarcated both in terms of national rhetoric to mark multiculturalism as a melange of Chinese, Malay, Indian and Other, as well as, supporting tourism place designation. The other corresponding three enclaves are Chinatown, Little India and the Colonial quarter. Unlike other guides similar to this one published by the STB, the URA version has a significantly Singaporean appeal. In the foreground is a young 'Chinese' couple exploring the 'traditional' Malay place exemplified by three 'Malays' in the background flanked by two rows of shop

houses, the women wearing *baju kurung* and donning *tudungs* over their heads. The ethnicities in question are crucial to highlight the inherent representations of Chinese as Singaporeans performing tourism within a systematic, othered Malay space. What if the Malays in the background were also performing tourist rather than performing local? Would there be a difference in comprehending the loci of a contextualised Singaporean space? The ideal place performance envisaged for the audience of this pamphlet would comprise of the initial will to be there, the (re)discovery process of an exotic culture and a consequential knowledge fulfilment by way of experience which produces a greater place identity. The quest for identity is revealingly its acquisition at once, where the performance constitutes the thing it is performed for, where both locals and tourists engage in co-production (Bruner 2005). In a 'quixotic' sense, being Singaporean is seemingly about performing Singaporeanness through tourist practice.

CONCLUSION

In the modern city such as Singapore, new definitions of the tourist and identities in tourism are emerging. Tourism is being incorporated into the everyday and vice versa evidenced in a myriad of (re)productions through embodied practices. By way of performance, tourism and its actors are constantly in states of becoming, re-evaluating and repossessing particular jurisdictions of space and cultivating emergent forms of identity through meaningful contestations and negotiations. The *becoming tourist* and the *becoming local* are amalgamated in multiform, mystifying each other and reinforcing the sense of place as it is being defined.

In looking at how tourist performance affords local performance, this paper seems to have produced a vague formula: (local becoming (tourist) becoming local) which acknowledges a deeper enquiry into the agency of tourism

rather than producing answers. It also investigates the bigger question, if the nomenclature of tourist-local is not already coalesced into a tourism-scape of buzzing practices. Baerenholdt et al. (2004) suggest the possibility "[t]o leave behind the tourist as such and to focus rather upon the contingent networked performances and production of places that are to be toured and get remade as they are so toured". The emphasis on tourist practice instead of dealing with the fuzzy tourist, rather than an eschewal of definition, is a reception of a multicoded performance of place. Rather than being a part of tourism, the tourist is indeed the bearer and embodiment of tourism, a synecdoche in which the tourist constitutes tourism.

The Sante Fe meeting on Creative Tourism stemmed a provocative question while introducing the agency of the local community, 'Who are we as Creative Cities' and emphasized that "[i]n order for the tourist to feel a part of the city, the community must know and be proud of what they have, and be willing to cultivate local enterprises that share the experiences" (Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism, 2006). Instead of looking at the construction of place as artificial or contrived by national imperative, the city of Singapore is nevertheless creative in that feeling part of the city is not only the desire of the tourist, but the local as well, who is also the tourist. The play of identities and the incessant adoption and rejection of places as part of an embodied pride to what constitutes Singaporean, is an attempt to negotiate a case of a relatively new sovereign-city state within the vestiges of modernity.

REFERENCES

Baerenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004). *Performing Tourist Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Boh, J. "*China* Town, Singapore - 16 Jan 2009". Available at *OnAsia,* http://www.onasia.com/nlb (accessed 15 July 2009).

Bruner, E. (2005). *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chronis, A. (2005). "Coconstructing heritage at the Gettysburg storyscape". *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32 No. 2, pp. 386–406.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cohen, E. (1979). "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences". *Sociology,* Vol. 13 pp. 179-202.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (Eds.) (2002). *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: a short introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crouch, D. (2002). "Surrounded by place, embodied encounters". In *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (Eds.), Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Crouch, D., Aronsson, L. and Wahlström, L. (2001). "The Tourist Encounter". *Tourist Studies*, Vol.1 No. 3, pp. 253-270.

Danzer, E. "Singapore - 26 May 2006". Available at *OnAsia,* http://www.onasia.com/nlb (accessed 15 July 2009).

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Duggleby, L. "Marina Bay, Singapore - 16 Apr 2006". Available at *OnAsia,* http://www.onasia.com/nlb (accessed 15 July 2009).

Edensor, T. (2001). "Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (re)producing tourist space and practice". In *Tourist Studies,* Vol. 1, pp. 59-81.

Edensor, T. (2006). "Sensing Tourist Spaces". In *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism,* Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (Eds.), Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Featherstone, M. (1983). "The Body in Consumer Culture". In *Theory, Culture and Society,* Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 18-33.

Franklin, A. (2003). *Tourism: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Hahn, J. (2003). In *Rediscover Singapore,* Urban Redevelopment Authority. Media Corp Publishing Pte Ltd.

Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. (2006). "Material Cultures of Tourism". *Leisure Studies,* Vol. 25 No. 3, pp. 275-289.

Kawasaki, K. (2004). "Cultural hegemony of Singapore among ASEAN countries: Globalization and cultural policy", *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, Vol. 13, pp. 22-35.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley and LA: University of California Press.

Lanfant, M.F., Allcock, J.B. and Bruner, E.M. (Eds.) (1995). *International Tourism: Identity and Change*. London: Sage.

Lanfant, M.F. (1995). "International Tourism, Internationalization and the Challenge to Identity". In *International Tourism: Identity and Change,* Lanfant, M.F., Allcock, J.B. and Bruner, E.M. (Eds.), London: Sage.

Lengkeek. J. (2002). "A love affair with elsewhere: love as a metaphor and paradigm for tourist longing". In *The Tourist as a Metaphor for the Social World*, Dann, G. (Ed.), Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Lippard, L. (1997). *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicultural Society*. New York: The New Press.

MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Shocken Books.

McCabe, S. (2002). "The Tourist Experience and Everyday Life". In *The Tourist as a Metaphor for the Social World*, Dann, G. (Ed.), Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Mordue, T. (2005). "Tourism, Performance and Social Exclusion in 'Olde York'". *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 32 No. 1, pp. 179–198.

Ooi, C.S. (2004). "Brand Singapore: The hub of New Asia". In *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. and Pride, R. (Eds.), London: Elsevier Butterworth Heinemann.

Ooi, C.S. (2008). "Credibility of a Creative Image: The Singaporean Approach". In *Creative Encounters Working Papers* No. 7.

Pred, A.R. (1984). "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 74 no. 2, pp. 279-297.

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Seamon, D. (1979). *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Simpson, K. (2001). "Strategic Planning and Community Involvement as Contributors to Sustainable Tourism Development". *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 1 No. 4, pp. 3-41.

Singapore Tourism Board. (18 July 2006) "'Beyond Words', The Next Phase Of Uniquely Singapore Brand Campaign, Breaks New Ground". Available at http://www.visitsingapore.com/publish/stbportal/en/home/about_singapore/uniquely_singapore0.html (accessed 15 July 2009).

Smith, V. (Ed.) (1977). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

Straits Times (Sat 18 April 2009), 'Rediscover Singapore, says URA' by Fiona Chan.

Su, E. "Singapore - 22 May 2007". Available at *OnAsia,* http://www.onasia.com/nlb (accessed 15 July 2009).

Thrift, N. (1997). "The Still Point: Resistance, Expressiveness Embodiment and Dance". In *Geographies of Resistance*, Pile, S. and Keith, M. (Eds.), London: Routledge.

Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism: Discussion Report of the planning meeting for 2008

International Conference on Creative Tourism. Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A. October 25-27, 2006.   Available at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001598/159811e.pdf (accessed 10 July 2009).

Tucker, H. (2007). "Performing a Young People's Package Tour of New Zealand: Negotiating Appropriate Performances of Place". *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 9 No. 2, pp. 139-159.

URA (2005). Image of a walking map produced by the Urban Redevelopment Authority.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.

Urry, J. (2006). "Preface: Places and Performances". In *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism,* Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (Eds.), Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.