RECLAIMING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SINGAPORE

BELINDA YUEN
National University of Singapore

The issue of cultural heritage in urban settings is of increasing importance as cities seek a better future in a globalizing world. This article aims to explore how such heritage themes and assets are treated in rapidly urbanizing cities to redress the creation of tabula rasa. Using the case study of Singapore's latest attempt to build a distinctive global city, the article will analyze the changing images of heritage and discuss how heritage conservation may yet give urban redevelopment unique places. The challenge for Singapore, as in other cities, is to identify those parts of the urban environment most worthy of preservation while fostering a new and distinctive skyline.

Keywords: *heritage conservation; place-based planning; Singapore*

There is much in the urban literature on acting locally in a progressively borderless world (see, for example, Wolf et al. 1998; Forrest and Kearns 2001; Beriatos and Gospodini 2004). Forrest and Kearns (2001) have argued that local neighborhoods offer a wide range of familiar and historic landmarks that may yet be important in creating and sustaining a strong sense of belonging and attachment to the city. Against the homogenizing global culture, those familiar landscapes hold opportunities for valuing the local and enhancing the city's heritage and character (Kearns and Philo 1993; Scott 2004). Numerous scholars in differing disciplines increasingly have argued that preserving the cultural landscape can help define place identity, generate civic pride, and foster a sense of empowerment in the demand for progress (Ashworth and Turnbridge 1990; Vanneste 1996; Oktay 2002).

Harvey (1989), for example, has from an early time highlighted the resurgence of reactionary place-bound politics in the march of supranationality as people search for old certainties and orient toward their local heritage to build a more stable or bounded place identity. Others have posited that urban heritage conservation is no longer an option but a necessity for local policy

URBAN AFFAIRS REVIEW, Vol. 41, No. 6, July 2006 830-854
DOI: 10.1177/1078087406289187

makers as cities seek to retain a competitive edge in the globalizing world (Strange 1996; Serageldin 1998). As Zukin (1995) puts it, "culture is more and more the business of cities—the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge" (p. 2). This new relationship between culture and cities has generated discourses on cities as commodities—cities are the products (Boyle and Rogerson 2001)—with consequential emphasis on city marketing and branding (Ashworth and Voogd 1990; McNeill and White 2001; Evans 2003). More than ever, attention is on sharpening the city's image through improvement of urban software (Fusco Girard 2003). As Hall (2000, p. 640) noted, cultural development is an important part of the urban software:

> Culture is now seen as the magic substitute for all the factories and warehouses, and as a device that will create a new urban image, making the city more attractive to mobile capital and mobile professional workers.

Along the same lines, yet others have interpreted the economic benefits and emphatically pointed to culture as a means to encourage urban tourism development (Ashworth 1995; Van Der Borg, Costa, and Gotti 1996). As Lefebvre (1996) puts it, "the city historically constructed is no longer lived and understood practically. It is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists" (p.148). Building on this, heritage tourism has fueled the issue of conservation within cities in Europe and America but also in Asia (Richards 1996). Yet, few have considered seriously the Asian urban heritage perspective. As Mason and de la Torre concluded (2000), the philosophy, planning, policy, and practices of urban heritage conservation are rooted and "in many ways still dominated by canons and assumptions formulated a century ago in western Europe and North America" (p. 1). However, contrary to Europe and America, Asian cities are defined by their accelerated rate of development both in urbanization and economic growth (Fusco Girard 2003).

At the most general level, the acceleration of urbanization in the face of globalization has set in motion an expanding global culture of McWorld that fast is eclipsing local culture in many Asian cities. As Koolhaas and Mau (1995, p. 1013) observed, "Singapore is incredibly 'western' for an Asian city." Elsewhere, western-style houses, predominantly American, reportedly are spreading in the rural areas of China (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 March 2002; *The Straits Times*, 5 February 2003; Wu and Webber 2004). Century-old alleys (*hutong*) and traditional courtyard houses in the Chinese capital city, Beijing, are being demolished to make way for new urban high-rises and highways (*The Straits Times*, 5 April 2003). The erosion of local culture and place is presenting a major challenge in Asian global urban development. The theme of this article is that there are cracks in the contemporary condition of

the Asian city to stimulate and sustain the concept of local place identity in the widening frames of globalization. As a city once described as tabula rasa[1] (Koolhaas and Mau 1995), Singapore has, in the quest for global city development, rolled back its clean-sweeping planning to arrest the erosion of its Asian identity and reclaim that heritage in the new urbanity. In the latest 2001 review of its long-term concept plan, place identity is introduced with scope to brand Singapore as a distinctive city. Rather than a fringe issue, heritage conservation is celebrated as a key theme for making the city more livable.

In seeking to explore the changing images of urban heritage in Singapore, this article presents the rest of the discussion in three broad parts. The first section provides a contextual overview of the purpose and language of heritage conservation in Singapore. The answer to *why conserve?* is set against the wider discussions of urban heritage conservation in the global information economy and city branding. The second section explores, through the lens of Singapore's most recent development plan, the principal questions of *what gets conserved?* and *whose history should be conserved?* It constructs a critical narrative for citizen involvement in the process of anchoring local cultural landscapes in the heritage inventory. The final section summarizes the main reflections on reworking urban heritage conservation in the current age of the global city.

THE MODERN PURPOSE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Developments during the past two to three decades have shown that many rapidly modernizing cities in Asia and elsewhere unwittingly are demolishing their heritage resource and creating tabula rasa under the demands of urban (re)development (Ashworth and Turnbridge 1990; Mehra 1991; Koolhaas and Mau 1995). The result is often, as Ley (1987, pp. 42–43) described of Vancouver,

> a corporate urban landscape, the product of an increasingly corporate society . . . the planning and design of the modern city was a blueprint for placelessness, of anonymous, impersonal spaces, massive structures and automobile throughways.

In the same way, under the pressure of contemporary urban development and postindependence tolerance of colonial buildings, several of Singapore's old buildings[2] have been erased to make way for modern high-rises. The general planning approach is that of "clean sweeping" to "displace, destroy, replace" (Koolhaas and Mau 1995, p. 1035) in the urgency to create "a

sparkling new Singapore" (Lau 1992, p. 51). The inevitable outcome, as other local observers (for example, Keys 1981; Wong et al. 1984; Chua 1997) and Ley (1987), cited earlier, pointed out, is a blueprint for placelessness. As Chua (1997) asserted, "the 'Manhattanized' Singapore was beginning to look like all international cities and becoming 'culturally' uninteresting as it sheds its 'Asianness'" (p. 28).

Economic effects, especially decline in tourism earnings, as Richards (1996) has highlighted elsewhere, are often the more persuasive force for further consideration of heritage conservation, and this is no exception in Singapore. Against falling visitor arrivals, the Singapore Tourism Task Force Report (Wong et al. 1984) has recommended, "to woo tourists back to Singapore, Chinatown and other historical sites would have to be conserved" (p. 6). Tourism is allegedly the most tangible economic motive of heritage conservation. As material from the Travel Industry Association of America (2001) indicates, visitors to historic and cultural attractions sites spend more (US$631) and stay longer (4.7 nights) than other types of United States travelers who, on average, would spend US$457 and 3.4 nights away from home. There is, apparently, fascination with heritage. As explained by Aitchison, MacLeod, and Shaw (2000, p. 94),

> the presence of the past within the landscape itself, however, has also long evoked fascination and is a strong motivator for leisure and tourism. Whether a landscape has historic or cultural associations or demonstrates the mark of previous civilisations, the heritage it symbolises seems to have deep roots and suggest a wide appeal.

In consequence, many cities around the world are refocusing on heritage tourism. Philadelphia in the United States, for example, is investing US$12 million in private and public money to make heritage tourism a lynchpin in its economic development planning. Cities in Europe are including cultural and heritage resources on their urban regeneration agenda (see Van Der Borg, Costa, and Gotti 1996; Evans 2003). Put simply, cultural tourism is one of the fastest growing segments in the global tourism market (Richards 1996), and the past has evolved presently into a whole new industry, offering a range of heritage interpretations, products, and experiences (Hewison 1987; Brisbane and Wood 1996; Scott 2004). Beyond museums, historic buildings, and landscapes is the emergence of heritage as "a contemporary cultural construction" in which the everyday history and culture of ordinary people are acknowledged and celebrated alongside national (and world) history, notwithstanding their contestability (Aitchison, McLeod, and Shaw 2000, p. 97). As Urry (1990) would argue, the vernacular landscapes form part of our collective memories of place, and as the commercial sector recently discovers, there are

profits to be made from selling this past (Kearns and Philo 1993; Hooper-Greenhill 1997).

To Singapore, where tourism constitutes an important growth sector (the long-term goal is to grow visitor arrivals and tourism receipts by 8% per annum), the economic values present an important motivating factor for a reversal in urban policy. The changing state policy toward the issue of urban conservation has been discussed extensively elsewhere (Kong and Yeoh 1994; Boey 1998). We can trace a progression from an early situation of little or no concern with preservation to a later, current condition in which heritage conservation is enshrined in the planning legislation (by the late 1980s) and in the development plans (by the 2000s). Within the current period, there is growing recognition that urban conservation is not just for tourism development but also the basis for the construction of new place attachments for local people. In other words, although important, economic benefits are not the only purpose and language of conservation.

In the urban literature, more than a new form of tourism experience, heritage increasingly is theorized as a central site and process of retaining a sense of place and identity against the homogenizing force of globalization (see, for example, Wolf et al. 1998; Oktay 2002; Miles and Paddison 2005). According to Searle and Byrne (2002), a sense of place is the connectedness that people feel for a particular locale that is derived from the intrinsic character of that place, that is, its physical (such as inspiring topography) or cultural (such as memories) qualities (see also Norberg-Schulz 1980; Cosgrove 2000). In parallel, others have recognized the loss of place identification as placelessness (Relph 1976; Chapman 1999). As Chapman (1999) explained, the distinction of such landscape is that it "could exist anywhere in the world; it has no vital connection to a certain locale, a definite place" (p. 86). In a similar vein, Evans (2003, p. 417, citing Calvino 1974) has asserted,

> If on arriving at Trude I had not read the city's name written in big letters, I would have thought I was landing at the same airport from which I had taken off. The downtown streets displayed the same goods, packages, signs that had not changed at all. I already knew the hotel where I happened to be lodged. . . . The world is covered by a sole Trude, which does not begin and does not end. Only the name of the airport changes.

The inevitable result, as Chapman (1999) stated, is a lack of place attachment leading to "feeling like a stranger—an alien" (p. 81). This has spurred localist approaches to argue that place experience is an important material in reappropriating places that are devalued by global processes (Agnew and Duncan 1989; King 1991; Wolf et al. 1998). The basic principle is, as Hough (1990) put it, "based on the conviction that, in the context of contemporary

life, the sense of identity and place is unique and significant in the shaping of the human environment" (p. 2). As competition between cities accelerates and becomes the norm, place reconstruction and branding inevitably are gaining importance in city (re)making, promotion, and competitive positioning (Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Rogers et al. 1999; Schollmann, Perkins, and Moore 2000). As noted by Strange (1997), "cities that demonstrate through promotion and marketing their historical richness are more appealing to those with capital seeking attractive locations" (p. 229). City branding, as Evans (2003, pp. 420–21) reminded, is, however, not just a source of economic differentiation; it is also about

> identification, recognition, continuity and collectivity . . . branding city quarters in the past provided a link between the diverging individual and collective culture and identity, reconnecting the locale with a sense of sociocultural "belonging," whether to a city, neighborhood or nation.

In the case of Singapore, this crack in the contemporary condition of the city has moved to foster its Asianness and place marketing of its various local cultures[3] in a rebranding of the city. As Yeoh (2005, p. 948) added,

> This policy turn was partly driven by the state's interest in maintaining local cultural heritage as a bulwark against what was perceived then as the rapid infiltration of Western values as Singapore modernised. At that time, many among the governing elite were wary that, while 'Westernisation' had served Singapore well in its quest of industrialisation and economic development, the city-state was also in danger of losing its 'Asian' roots and identity.

According to the *Foreign Policy* magazine survey of countries in 2000, Singapore is the world's most global country. As Bachtiar (2002, p. 13) summarized,

> These days, more than 200,000 Singaporeans work overseas. And many more travel frequently, laying their heads down to sleep in distant lands, gazing at novel views from their windows . . . its people have come to assimilate more global influences. Today's populace likes having a Starbucks around the corner and glittering megamalls. They want the cinema multiplexes, and offices of glass and chrome. But these are the hallmarks of a generic upscale town. If these are the only features of our landscape, we would be possessing only the typical structures of a high-end MacCity. What makes this city uniquely Singapore, distinct and separate from so many others, are the buildings of our heritage.

Thus, more than the physical form, the notion of heritage conservation also is bound up with the improvement of urban software—cultural formation and the emergence of collective identity, or as Fusco Girard (2003, p. 21) put it,

> awareness of the fact that there is a common heritage of resources (natural, cultural, etc.) available to all, which cannot be appropriated for individual purposes without damaging the rights of other human beings.

This interpretation draws attention to the emerging notions of the rights of citizens—the multiple claims and diverse voices that provide opportunities for the community to participate in conservation and build consensus (Healey 1997; Lepofsky and Fraser 2003; Coaffee and Healey 2003). Harvey (1989, pp. 85–86), citing Hewison (1987), explained the key value of this:

> The nostalgic impulse is an important agency in adjustment to crisis; it is a social emollient and reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened.

Even though the significance of product development for tourism has been highlighted, the cultural production of national identity presents an equally powerful persuasion that supports greater definition of conservation in global Singapore's urban development. Seeking conservation of the past is, as many others have argued (see, for example, Scott 2000; Fusco Girard 2003), to invest in cultural capital that gives primacy to assets holding "our history, captured in brick, plaster, wood and stone" (Urban Redevelopment Authority–Preservation of Monuments Board 1994, p. 3) and "the physical links to its shared past" (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2004, p. 10), and "to lose these architectural assets would be to erase a living chapter in our history" (Urban Redevelopment Authority–Preservation of Monuments Board 1994, p. 29). This architectural and cultural orientation has been co-opted as the traditional foundation of heritage conservation in cities (Shankland 1975; Mason and de la Torre 2000). Among other things, the heritage aspects expressed in the culture, architecture, and urbanism of Singapore's multiple local ethnic groups offer a communication to the shared space and place identity of Singapore (The Committee of Heritage Report 1988; Chua 1997). Against the acceleration of global flows, the preservation impulse to define national identity from the past is also increasingly important in many other cities (see Anderson 1983; Harvey 1989; Wolf et al. 1998).

As the planning theory literature illustrates, central to this thematic analysis is the discursive construction of place identity as a framework for a more place-focused approach that gives prominence to collaborative planning (see Healey 1997). This reorientation advocates greater emphasis on developing collaboration and widening stakeholder involvement in policy development and delivery. Against the contestation of diverse voices on multiple place identities that can transact a place, there is a serious challenge for planners to

recast planning cultures to take account of laypeople's opinions when making plans for conservation areas. According to Burton (1997), cities have taken opportunity and applied visioning exercises in which the future development of the city and its sense of place are debated and refined with community inputs to build consensus and define strategic policy. From the Singapore perspective, the Concept Plan 2001, in aiming to guide Singapore's development as a world-class city that is dynamic, delightful, and distinctive to live, work, and play (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2001), has for the first time given place-based planning particular emphasis.[4] As the Singapore planning authority, Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA 2001, p. 23), announced,

> Identity will become an important aspect in our planning process. We will continue to look into conserving more buildings in order to retain the collective character and memory of places.

Although the dominant approach is still to designate and preserve the physical components of buildings and historic city areas, the Concept Plan 2001 has introduced an unprecedented focus on listening to the multiple voices that transact places. It has at the outset emphasized community input in defining the sense of place (original emphasis):

> *We need you (the public) to play your part. Please share your views, opinions and ideas to help refine the plans*. Based on your feedback, we will refine and develop the . . . Identity Plan further.
>
> The implementation of the ideas and possibilities will require the joint partnership of public and private sectors with the community. (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2002, pamphlet)

The rationale for this partnership is perhaps best elaborated by Lowenthal (1979) when he argues that "things worth saving need not necessarily be beautiful or historic as long as they are familiar or well loved" (p. 555). Although the rationale may be easy to find, much of this work on localizing the familiar and everyday past will depend on learning how to listen to the community and people beyond public sector planners, as the recent Singapore Master Plan 2003 review process illustrates.

PLACE-BASED PLANNING

The Singapore Master Plan is a statutory plan that is revised once every five years within the framework of the long-term strategic concept plan. Whereas the concept plan sets out the strategic directions, the master plan is

a detailed land-use plan that prescribes land-use zoning and intensity for each land parcel to guide development in the short to medium terms. With the inclusion of place identity in the Concept Plan 2001, the Master Plan 2003 review has moved forward the effort to develop a distinctive, dynamic, and delightful global Singapore under several themes:

- planning for a good quality of life;
- enhancing the business environment; and
- providing more recreational choices.

Beyond providing more housing and facilities, attention is on "keeping memories alive" and recognizing places with a sense of history and identity (MND Link 2004, p. 5). Contrary to earlier master plans, which are place blind, the major place-based innovations in the Master Plan 2003 for shaping the city we call home are as follows (Skyline 2002):

- a planning consultation process emphasizing partnership with the community on how to make Singapore a distinctive city; and
- incorporating an identity plan for each of Singapore's five planning regions to retain and enhance identity in familiar places, that is, ever keeping those areas that have evolved through time and hold a special place in people's hearts even as the city develops, especially
    - retaining the old-world charm of familiar neighborhoods such as Balestier, Tanjong Katong, Jalan Besar, and Joo Chiat/East Coast Road;
    - encouraging more vibrant urban village life in, for example, Holland Village, Thomson Village, the Anak Bukit, Jalan Leban, Springleaf, and Coronation areas;
    - giving new lease of life to hillside villages such as Morse Road and Gillman Village areas; and
    - developing coastal jaunts to offer a break from city life, for example, Punggol Point/Coney Island, Changi Village, Pasir Ris, and Pulau Ubin (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2002).

More than the historical and monumental buildings, conservation is broadened to identify and celebrate the charm of everyday neighborhoods in the future character of the city. As Smith (1999, p. 9) observed in the context of Washington, D.C.,

> neighborhoods provide the best vehicle for telling the stories of our communities and our city.

As noted by Cohen (1982), and more recently, Wolf et al. (1998), these places are nested with everyday life experiences and culture. Such areas

remind of the heritage themes and cultural assets that may be found in vernacular townscapes. To suggest this, take the local neighborhood of Joo Chiat (an area covering Katong, Telok Kurau, Siglap, and Frankel Estate in the eastern part of Singapore) as an example of the kind of reminiscences and environmental anchors that reflect the identity of a place and contribute toward a feeling that this is our place. To quote the Singapore Tourism Board's *Visit Singapore* publicity material,

> A walk down Joo Chiat Road offers one a glimpse of Singapore in the past, with its old buildings and traditional trades. Named after wealthy landowner, Chew Joo Chiat, it has an interesting mix of colonial villas, Malay bungalows and shophouses from the early 20th century. Of interest here and on Koon Seng Road are the Peranakan (Straits Chinese) houses, built in the Singapore Eclectic Style that evolved in the 1920s and 1930s.

The history of Joo Chiat, tracing to the early nineteenth century, is as a quiet neighborhood of European coconut plantations, country homes, seaside houses, and holiday bungalows (Lee 1988; Edwards 1990). Improved transportation and suburbanization during the period of the 1920s to the 1950s subsequently have added to the growth of the neighborhood as a low-rise residential area distinguished by the Eurasian and Peranakan (straits-Chinese) communities who moved to live in the area. The distinct lifestyle, food, and cultural development of these communities have been documented widely (see Braga-Blake 1992; Tan 1993; Chia 1994). Although nowhere ancient, as much of the streetscape has been developed during the past 50 years, the layering of neighborhood development presents spatial concentrations of the local ethnic and cultural heritage, especially of the Eurasian and Peranakan people. As Kuek (2004, p. 3) declared,

> What adds colour and character to our city are quaint, historic shophouses. . . . All these add to our collective treasure trove of happy memories, stories and identity that makes Singapore home.

Against the widening intrusion of new modern development, Joo Chiat, with its streets of remaining two- to three-story Peranakan-influenced shop houses, exudes a past familiar landscape that is unique in the townscape of anywheres (Figures 1 and 2). Its conservation was underscored by the minister of state (national development) during the opening of the parks and waterbodies plan and identity plan exhibition (23 July 2002, 5 p.m.):

> As we progress to the next plane of economic development, we will have to compete internationally with other global cities. Singapore must be a distinctive and attractive place to live, work, and play in. In planning for such a

Figure 1: Conservation Work on Shop Houses Along Joo Chiat Road

> city, we will need to be mindful that the intangible aspects that make Singapore quaint and unique are not inadvertently eroded. More importantly, familiar surroundings and landmarks in our physical environment become markers as we mature as a society. It roots us and binds us together in a place we call home. . . .Can you imagine Joo Chiat Road today without its rows of colourful low-scale Peranakan-style shop houses? It will have a totally different streetscape and character.

However, as elsewhere, the focus on familiar places rallies the issue of how to preserve a sense of place, history, and belonging against the demands of intensive land use. In the case of Singapore, the population is projected to grow from the present 4 million to 5.5 million people in 40 to 50 years' time, and the key challenge remains: What can we do to retain the area's history, character, and life as it continues to grow and evolve? (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2002). These are not uniquely Singapore's dichotomies. For cities the world over, major challenges in heritage conservation are the questions of what to include, what to exclude, and what is well loved by whom (Turnbridge 1984; Brisbane and Wood 1996). As noted by the Singapore minister of state (national development),

Figure 2: Old-Time Familiar Streetscape that Gives Joo Chiat Its Place Identity

> Conservation is an emotive topic. It is also a delicate one, as conservation often is a balance between sentiment and pragmatism and between the needs of affected parties and the public at large. The identity plan that URA has prepared talks not simply about the retention of old buildings but also recognizes that community life, streetscape, and activities are unique anchors that contribute to the character, color, and identity of a place. However, this recognition would move us into an arena of even greater subjectivity. (Speech on 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.)

The dynamics and subjectivity of urban conservation, especially when highlighted by the minister, provide a strong propelling policy frame for planners to give greater attention to how the community may feed off and into the urban conservation process.

GROUNDING THE PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE

Recognizing the key role of community voices, the Royal Town Planning Institute (2000), in its good-practice conservation guidelines, exhorted local authorities to take a proactive strategy toward conservation in their local plans

and encourage maximum public participation. For Singapore, that proactive strategy, as encapsulated in the ministerial speech below, is a compelling, sensitive, working together in the plan-making process:

> As conservation has gained recognition and success over the years, it is now timely for the planners to work with the public to further develop these efforts towards a Singapore where there is a sense of place, where identity is retained and our built heritage is enhanced. Our planners would like to seed some preliminary ideas in the identity plan exhibited to get a discussion started. I would like to stress that this is by no means the final nor the only direction to go. With your feedback and suggestions, the planners hope to arrive at a shared vision through this collaborative effort with the public. We have approached the making of the identity plan differently from the usual way of making plans. Instead of predetermining how a place should shape up according to our plans, we are now looking at how our plans can enhance what is already on the ground and what people already find charming and appealing. (Minister of state [national development] speech at the opening of the parks and waterbodies plan and identity plan exhibition, 23 July 2002, 5 p.m.)

The above rather long quote further highlights the logic and participatory ethos of citizen involvement in the urban conservation process that posits the juggernaut of global forces. As played out in the Singapore Master Plan 2003 review, community involvement is the current leitmotif of the urban conservation strategy that seeks to engage the community at the outset of the plan-making process to define identity and places to conserve. From participant observation[5] and analysis of available documentation on the Master Plan 2003 plan-making process, it is evident that urban planning in Singapore has attempted to engage and listen to the people. Even though the plan may be initiated by the state, the community is invited to provide input to the draft identity plan that contains the planners' preliminary ideas and possibilities of enhancing the identity of local urban spaces. Framing this bottom-up approach is an extended public consultation process in which the local community, including women and schoolchildren, is encouraged to participate and come forth with places it would like to have included (or not) for heritage conservation in the Master Plan 2003 review. The challenge for Singapore, as in other cities, is to identify those parts of the urban environment most worthy of preservation while fostering a new and distinctive skyline.

As summarized in Figure 3, the process of community participation uses not one but multiple approaches, including the appointment of subject groups, outreach to the general public,[6] and stakeholders meetings, to give opportunities for community voices. The use of such participation means is not new (see United Nations Development Program 1997; Barnes et al. 2003). Deliberative citizen forums, such as subject groups, increasingly are

applied to policy development in Europe, North America, and Australia (Fishkin and Luskin 2000; Hendriks 2002). In Singapore, the subject groups convened during the Master Plan 2003 review discussed the planners' preliminary conservation agenda for specific locales, separately identified as (1) parks, waterbodies, and rustic coast; (2) urban villages, southern ridges, and hillside villages; and (3) old-world charm. Analysis of the subject groups' compositions revealed that each subject group had comprised a panel of 17 to 22 invited individuals. As Barnes et al. (2003) discussed elsewhere in the context of United Kingdom public participation, there are inevitable tensions in the ways in which group membership is determined and structured. As in many other cities, membership to the three Singapore subject groups was by invitation. However, beyond academic specialists, town planners, and other professionals, each subject group had included representatives from diverse backgrounds (for example, housewives and residents, media, and nongovernment and other grassroots groups), suggesting an attempt to enhance community presence as well as representation.

Meeting within and beyond the group, the subject groups worked during an intensive three-month period (23 July to 22 October 2002), often in the evenings and during weekends, to review the government planners' draft proposals, suggest new ideas, and develop a set of written recommendations. In an endeavor to reach out to the pluralism of views in the community, each subject group would hold stakeholders meetings, inviting business representatives, local residents, and nongovernment as well as government agencies. The planning authority provided the secretariat and administrative support for those meetings. A total of 11 stakeholder meetings were held by the three subject groups in various neighborhoods in conjunction with local members of parliament. In several cases, stakeholders enthusiastically would collect historic photographs and other local, personal, often unpublished documents to share with the subject groups following the stakeholder meetings. This represented an important aspect of the community involvement process. By engaging in dialogue with local residents and businesses, the subject groups and planners had the opportunity to hear and discuss with a public whom they perhaps would not represent or from whom they seldom would hear otherwise. Although important, subject groups alone might not fully define the interests present in the wider community.

Even though perhaps less structured than the subject groups, the stakeholders and other ordinary citizens (who are not formal representatives of any group) bring perspectives to what they individually consider as important, offering up new ideas and suggestions that are fed further to the subject groups' deliberations. As the minister of state (national development)

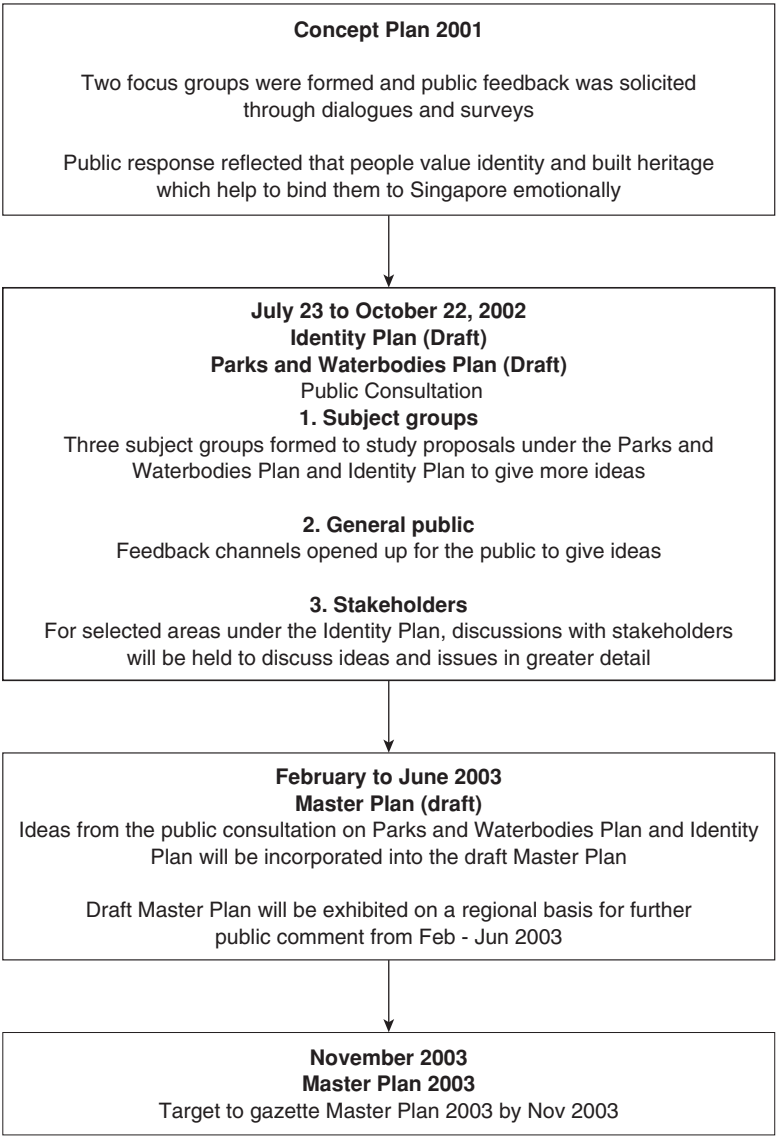

Figure 3: Planning Process of Singapore Master Plan 2003
Source: Urban Redevelopment Authority Draft Identity Plan 2002 exhibition brochure.

acknowledged during the opening speech of the parks and waterbodies plan and identity plan exhibition (23 July 2002, 5 p.m.),

> Everyone has a stake as well as a say in shaping the proposals you see in the plans exhibited here. Share with us your ideas, preferences, alternative opinions, and viewpoints.

Sharing would not be as compelling if suggestions remained outside the decision-making process. For the Singapore Master Plan 2003, the written recommendations of the subject groups were fed into the policy process at two levels: directly through a submission to the minister and indirectly through wider public dissemination. Many of the suggestions, as the minister of state (national development) announced during the appreciation dinner for the subject groups (22 January 2003, 6 p.m.), are being recognized and indeed incorporated in the final Master Plan 2003:

> These new ideas will certainly keep URA very busy over the coming months, as we examine how best to implement and incorporate these proposals into the final Master Plan 2003.

The subject groups' and stakeholders' contribution to place-based planning was confirmed by the Singapore minister of state (national development):

> The subject groups have played a critical role in the consultation process, working very hard to gather, sieve through, and analyze the comments of people from diverse walks of life. Without the public's inputs and support, our plans would not be meaningful. (Speech on 23 January 2005, 6 p.m.)

Sam (n.d., p. 43), through interviews with a random sample of the subject-group members, recently has concluded that the community consultation is "a two way process" involving "a broad range of stakeholders" that "moves away from top-down hierarchy." Compared to earlier practices, the widest possible range and number of people had been approached to help reframe the priorities and define the conservation proposals. The Master Plan 2003 public consultation represented by far the most extensive level of predraft consultation process on conservation planning in Singapore. In the absence of a robust civil society, the new politics of inclusiveness are redefining the lay citizens' contribution to the national urban conservation effort.[7] The minister of state (national development) summed up the value of this representational effort:

> The process has been important, perhaps just as important as the results. I believe all Singaporeans who have been involved would have had an opportunity to rediscover the uniqueness of our homeland. I am sure all of you would have discovered aspects of Singapore that you were not aware of previously. You would also know that you have played a role in shaping its future. You would look at a map of Singapore with new eyes and new memories. This experience and sense of uniqueness of our homeland is crucial in generating rootedness. (Speech on 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.)

There is a new sense of empowerment and self-confidence in local action. For the first time, the community is more actively participating in defining and shaping place identity. Heritage appeared to strike a common chord among many. Public interest was evident from the early stages of the process. According to reports in the local press (*The Straits Times* 26 July and 26 September 2002), crowds had turned up, mostly around lunch time, to look at the draft plan, and "the feedback has been rolling in." More than 100,000 people from different walks of life—students, professionals, businesspeople, housewives, and others—had visited and responded to the proposed plan (URA news release 25 November 2002; Kuek 2004). In enabling people to give voice to the heritage issues important to them early on in the policy-making process, the process had opened opportunities to introduce not just new players but also diverse and different views on what should be conserved.

Whereas the subject groups had endorsed most of the planners' proposals in the draft plan, there were also no-go ideas in which the subject groups had rejected planners' proposals and recommended other ideas garnered from their meetings with the community and discussions. Specifically, in the conservation of old-world-charm neighbourhoods, such as Joo Chiat, even though there was high support at the subject-group level to all of the planners' proposals to conserve the identified buildings and neighborhoods, a majority (87%) of the public feedback had exhorted that more should be done to retain the trades and businesses that characterized those familiar neighborhoods (Lim 2003; Minister of state (national development) speech, 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.). The planning authority was urged to act fast and adopt a more holistic conservation approach that "would look beyond individual buildings to protecting familiar streetscapes and even whole areas" (Lim 2002, p. 9). The readings from the local publics were for keeping alive the familiar hangouts, strengthening their unique place quality, and enhancing the harmony of old and new developments even as the country continues its global city development.

Whatever the intent, whether partly to secure local memory and tradition or a more pragmatic effort of improving business and inflating real estate prices, the collective phenomenon is that the community is coming forward and shoring up the heritage argument. The presence of such support and

cohesion engenders a need to recognize and embrace the ideas of the common people, notwithstanding the hidden interests and tensions that often prevail in multiple voices and claims on what gets conserved and who decides. Critical to this development is the willingness on the part of the planners to listen. They must have an attitude toward inclusivity. As the planning authority has reiterated in the Singapore case, it is willing to listen, engage, and work in partnership with the community in the conservation effort (Lim 2002, p. 6):

> The two plans open a new chapter for public consultation in Singapore in that they are just preliminary "ideas" plans to engage the public's imagination and seek their feedback. No proposal put up is cast in stone. The public can tell us more ideas, even new areas to study, and they have!

Needless to say, defining the multiplicity and resolving the tensions is an ongoing planning challenge. It brings to the fore consideration of who participates and the legitimacy of the different voices heard. The question Barnes et al. (2003) asked in a review of United Kingdom public participation practices, "How do public bodies define or constitute the public that they wish to engage in dialogue?" (p. 379), has implications on the public bodies' effect on policy making and institutional change within the public democratic structure. Notwithstanding the distrust of state-initiated participation, the general emphasis in many public-participation studies has been on how to expand and support greater opportunities for lay citizens to participate in the public policy-making process (United Nations Development Program 1997). At the simplest, participation and its composite numbers as demonstrated by the Singapore case indicate that people are interested in speaking their view, sharing their suggestions, discussing during dialogue, and being part of the heritage conservation celebration. As the minister of state (national development) put it,

> this shows Singaporeans' strong sense of attachment and ownership to places in Singapore and a willingness for the public to be part of the decision-making process. (Speech on 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.)

There seems to be a general public desire to retain place identity. If the data from the Master Plan 2003 review were anything to go by, 95% of the public feedback had supported the planning authority's proposal to conserve some 500 local buildings in the "old-world charm neighborhoods of Tanjong Katong, Joo Chiat, Balestier, and Jalan Besar" (Lim 2002, p. 7). The majority vote in lending legitimacy and support to the planners' quest for identity in conservation also is changing forever the power relations and the way

conservation plans are made in the city. There is no going back on the officially espoused ethos of partnership in the current urban conservation and planning context. The challenge, as the minister announced, is for the planners to take account of the strong community support when studying details of the proposed conservation projects as they move the proposals from drawing board to implementation in the next 10 years (minister of state [national development] speech, 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.). As the planning authority reflects, public participation is but the first step in the journey toward making Singapore more enjoyable and memorable (Lim 2002).

CONCLUSION

The Singapore conservation quest raises larger issues in urban heritage conservation. It refocuses attention on the challenges rapidly urbanizing cities face in restructuring urban spaces. Specifically, it demonstrates that heritage conservation and modernity are not necessarily in opposition. Rather, the old and new are linked inseparably in what Geertz (1973) described as the dialectical relationship between the search for identity, which looks back to history and the past, and the forward-looking modernity of the demand for progress. With the internationalization of globalization, the search for identity may be expected to play a larger role in the contemporary city, bringing both economic growth and rootedness.

The appropriation of economic benefits from conservation measures is a long-standing presentation of the conservation movement. Conservation planning increasingly is used to justify the appropriation of historic buildings and the revitalization of local neighborhoods as tourism products for generating economic growth, investment, and the tourism industry (Strange 1996). The charm and attractions of local neighborhoods have been a significant factor in the spatial development of heritage tourism in many European and American cities. Similar arguments have been raised to support the conservation of local areas and ethnic spaces in the once tabula rasa Singapore. Tourism aside, in developing Singapore as a distinctive global city, the familiar neighborhood offers opportunities to take stock and reveal the cultural heritage assets that define the collective memory and sense of rootedness. Against the homogenizing impact of globalization, it increasingly is being realized that the recognition and conservation of local ethnic and place identities are a central component of the city's claim to cultural distinctiveness.

As the Singapore case shows, heritage conservation is, however, by no means a simple phenomenon. Whereas it brings certain readings of the city to the forefront (for example, those that speak of its dynamism, attractive

business environment, and quality of life), heritage conservation also brings to the fore other considerations and ambiguities such as who participates and the legitimacy of the different voices heard. People in any community consist of diverse groups representing a host of interests that may lead to multiple and sometimes even conflicting opinions and issues of whose views should be heard and taken (Turnbridge 1984). These are contested issues with no easy answers. As the Singapore minister (national development) put it,

> The perception of social memory can differ greatly among different people and between age groups, as different generations grew up with different experiences. How, then, do we decide whose nostalgia to retain? . . . We had no ready answers to these questions. Inputs from stakeholders, property owners, residents, and the general public were essential. (Speech, 23 January 2003, 6 p.m.)

If the response to the Singapore draft Master Plan 2003 is any indication, it would seem to reinforce that local cultural assertion and identities strike a chord in many people. This may be, as some place theorists have contended, because memories play a strong role in people's sentimental attachments to neighborhood and community identity (Hummon 1990; Altman and Low 1992). Even though a single generalizable interpretation may be hard, various scholars have defined the neighborhood as a "place with physical and symbolic boundaries" (Keller 1968, p. 89). In situating neighborhood as place, research shores up the symbolic potency of local character traits, landmarks, and cultural sites in creating a sense of belonging and identity (Forrest and Kearns 2001). In a widening global world of sameness, many are joining Kearns and Parkinson (2001) to suggest that local neighborhoods can play an important role in people's sense of identity and reinventing tabula rasa urban development. According to Kearns and Parkinson (2001, p. 2109), these places constitute

> an important component of a competitive social and economic world; a reservoir of resources into which we can "dip" in pursuing our lives; an influence upon our lifestyle and life-outcomes; a 'shaper' of who we are, both as defined by ourselves and by others; and an important arena for public policy intervention.

The capability and dexterity to recognize those local places will become an important aspect of the planning of new urban spaces. Partnership, open communication, and attitude are critical basics. As Bachtiar (2002, p. 17) observed of the planner-community partnership in planning the "space of places,"

> The process will demand weighing conflicting factors very carefully. . . . Having . . . open channels of communication, more than ever, is vital as we write a new chapter on conservation. Together.

The Singapore shift to search for distinction in its current development plan interprets a key strategy in the redevelopment of urban spaces. Nesting on cultural capital, that strategy involves taking not just planners' analyses of the urban fabric but also giving voice to community's views in identifying sense of place and locality. Notwithstanding the conflicts and tensions there may be in the multiplicity of dialogues, there are benefits to adopting new structures of local-interest representation and participation in heritage conservation. The general public and city are able to benefit directly. The possibility of being involved in the conservation planning process defines new perspectives for strengthening the social tissue and robustness of local partnership arrangements, allowing more players, including ordinary citizens, to become actors, especially when public feedback ends up in policy making as alluded to by the Singapore minister of state (national development) in a speech on 28 February 2003. In the search for differentiated, niched development, heritage conservation offers fresh interest in allowing residents to stake multiple claims to the city—"Tell us about them" (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2002)—that may yet give urban redevelopment unique places and the city new products in a globalizing world that could underlie their further economic competition. The future remaking of local heritage is clearly a crucial aspect of global dynamics and remains a real challenge of contemporary urban policy.

NOTES

1. From the Latin language that literally means *a clean slate*, this term has been used to describe the resultant landscape from the redevelopment approach of displace, destroy, replace.

2. Some of the demolished buildings include Singapore's oldest school for boys—Raffles Institution, set up by Singapore's founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1823—and the early nineteenth-century Anglo-Indian bungalow of well-known colonial architect J. D. Coleman.

3. Following British colonization and immigration policy, Singapore has evolved into a multiethnic society comprising, at the present time, Chinese (79%), Malay (14%), Indian (6%), and a residual category of others, mainly Europeans and Eurasians (1%). It is a city with diverse ethnic communities and neighborhoods.

4. For a review of Singapore's planning system and development plans, see Motha and Yuen (1999, ch. 6).

5. The author is a subject-group member in the Singapore Master Plan 2003, representing a nongovernment organization.

6. Public exhibitions (at the planning authority as well as other community venues), online polls, children's art competition on "my favorite parks and places in Singapore," as well as weekly feature articles and debates in the media were used to raise awareness, comments, and suggestions from across the community on how to make Singapore more enjoyable and memorable.

7. See Ho (2000) for further discussion of Singapore's civil society.

REFERENCES

Agnew, J. A., and J. S. Duncan, eds. 1989. *The power of place: Bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Aitchison, C., N. E. MacLeod, and S. J. Shaw. 2000. *Leisure and tourism landscapes*. London: Routledge.

Altman, I., and S. Low, eds. 1992. *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso.

Ashworth, G. J. 1995. Managing the cultural tourist. In *Tourism and spatial transformation*, edited by G. J. Ashworth and A. Dietvorst. Wallingford: CAB International.

Ashworth, G. J., and J. E. Turnbridge. 1990. *The tourist historic city*. London: Belhaven.

Ashworth, G. J., and H. Voogd. 1990. *Selling the city*. London: Belhaven.

Bachtiar, I. 2002. The conservation story. In *Skyline, Commemorative Edition 2002*. Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority.

Barnes, M., J. Newman, A. Knops, and H. Sullivan. 2003. Constituting the public in public participation. *Public Administration* 81 (2): 379–99.

Beriatos, E., and A. Gospodini. 2004. "Glocalising" urban landscapes: Athens and the 2004 Olympics. *Cities* 21 (3): 187–202.

Boey, Y. M. 1998. Urban conservation in Singapore. In *Planning Singapore*, edited by B. Yuen. Singapore: Singapore Institute of Planners.

Boyle, M., and R. J. Rogerson. 2001. Power, discourses and city trajectories. In *Handbook of Urban Studies*, edited by R. Paddison. London: Sage.

Braga-Blake, M. 1992. *Singapore Eurasians: Memories and hopes*. Singapore: Times Editions.

Brisbane, M., and J. Wood. 1996. *A future for our past?* Colchester: English Heritage.

Burton, P. 1997. *Community visioning*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Calvino, I. 1974. *Invisible cities*. London: Picador.

Chapman, R. 1999. Settling Westchester: The value of place. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 10 (3): 81–88.

Chia, F. 1994. *The Babas revisited*. Singapore: Heinemann Asia.

Chua, B. H. 1997. Between economy and race: The Asianization of Singapore. In *Space, Culture and Power*, edited by A. Oncu and P. Weyland. London: Zed Books.

Coaffee, J., and P. Healey. 2003. "My voice: My place": Tracking transformations in urban governance. *Urban Studies* 40 (10): 1979–99.

Cohen, A. P. 1982. Belonging: The experience of culture. In *Belonging: Identity and social organization in British rural cultures*, edited by A. P. Cohen. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press.

Cosgrove, D. 2000. Sense of place. In *The dictionary of human geography*, edited by R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, N. 1990. *The Singapore house and residential life 1819–1939*. Singapore: Oxford Univ. Press.

Evans, G. 2003. Hard-branding the cultural city: From Prado to Prada. *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (2): 417–40.

Fishkin, J. S., and R. C. Luskin. 2000. The quest for deliberative democracy. In *Democratic innovation: Deliberation, representation and association*, edited by M. Saward. London: Routledge.

Forrest, R., and A. Kearns. 2001. Social cohesion, social capital and the neighborhood. *Urban Studies* 38 (12): 2125–43.

Fusco Girard, L. 2003. Introduction. In *The human sustainable city*, edited by L. Fusco Girard, B. Forte, M. Cerreta, P. De Toro, and F. Forte. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Hall, P. 2000. Creative cities and economic development. *Urban Studies* 37 (4): 639–49.

Harvey, D. 1989. *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Healey, P. 1997. *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. London: Macmillan Press.

Hendriks, C. 2002. Institutions of deliberative democratic processes and interest groups: Roles, tensions and incentives. *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 61 (1): 64–75.

Hewison, R. 1987. *The heritage industry*. London: Methuen.

Ho, K. L. 2000. *The politics of policy making in Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford Univ. Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, E., ed. 1997. *Cultural diversity: Developing museum audiences in Britain*. London: Cassell.

Hough, M. 1990. *Out of place*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

Hummon, D. M. 1990. *Commonplaces*. Albany: State Univ. of New York Press.

Kearns, A., and M. Parkinson. 2001. The significance of neighborhood. *Urban Studies* 38 (12): 2103–10.

Kearns, G., and C. Philo, eds. 1993. *Selling places: The city as cultural capital, past and present*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Keller, S. 1968. *The urban neighborhood*. New York: Random House.

Keys, P. 1981. Conservation as an integral part of urban renewal. *Planews: Journal of the Singapore Institute of Planners* 8:39–49.

King, A. D. 1991. *Culture, globalisation and the world system*. London: Macmillan.

Koolhaas, R., and B. Mau. 1995. *SMLXL*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Kong, L., and B. Yeoh. 1994. Urban conservation in Singapore: A survey of state policies and popular attitudes. *Urban Studies* 31 (2): 247–65.

Kuek, C. L. 2004. New master plan 2003. *Skyline* Jan/Feb:2–4.

Lau, A. 1992. The national past and the writing of the history of Singapore. In *Imagining Singapore*, edited by K. C. Ban, A. Pakir, and C. K. Tong. Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Lee, K. L. 1988. *The Singapore house: 1819–1942*. Singapore: Times Editions.

Lefebvre, H. 1996. *Writings on cities*, selected, translated, and introduced by E. Kofman and E. Lebas. London: Blackwell.

Lepofsky, J., and J. C. Fraser. 2003. Building community citizens: Claiming the right to place-making in the city. *Urban Studies* 40 (1): 127–42.

Ley, D. 1987. Styles of the time: Liberal and non-conservative landscapes in inner Vancouver, 1968–86. *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (1): 40–56.

Lim, C. 2002. "Yes!" to greens and places of identity. *Skyline* Nov/Dec:6–9.

———. 2003. Ideas for parks and identity come full circle. *Skyline* Jan/Feb:7–9.

Lowenthal, D. 1979. Environmental perception: Preserving the past. *Progress in Human Geography* 3:550–59.

Mason, R., and M. de la Torre. 2000. Heritage conservation and values in globalizing societies. In UNESCO World Culture Report. Paris: UNESCO.

McNeill, D., and A. White. 2001. The new urban economies. In *Handbook of urban studies*, edited by R. Paddison. London: Sage.

Mehra, A. K. 1991. *The politics of urban redevelopment*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Miles, S., and R. Paddison. 2005. Introduction: The rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies* 42 (5/6): 833–39.

MND Link. 2004. New master plan 2003 gazetted. *MND Link* 2 (2): 5.

Motha, P., and B. Yuen. 1999. *Singapore real property guide*. Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press.

Norberg-Schulz, C. 1980. *Genius loci*. London: Academy Editions.

Oktay, D. 2002. The quest for urban identity in the changing context of the city. *Cities* 19 (4): 261–71.

Relph, E. 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Richards, G., ed. 1996. *Cultural tourism in Europe*. Wallingford: CAB International.

Rogers, R., et al., Urban Task Force. 1999. Towards an urban renaissance: Final report of the Urban Task Force, chaired by Lord Rogers of Riverside, London: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions.

Royal Town Planning Institute. 2000. *Conservation of the historic environment: A good practice guide for planners*. London: Royal Town Planning Institute.

Sam, W. L. n.d. Public participation in the Singapore plan-making process. Unpublished B.Sc. diss., Department of Real Estate, National University of Singapore.

Schollmann, A., H. C. Perkins, and K. Moore. 2000. Intersecting global and local influence in urban place promotion: The case of Christchurch, New Zealand. *Environment and Planning A* 32:55–76.

Scott, A. J. 2000. *The cultural economy of cities: Essays on the geography of image-producing industries*. London: Sage.

Scott, A. J. 2004. Cultural-products industries and urban economic development. *Urban Affairs Review* 39 (4): 461–90.

Searle, G., and J. Byrne. 2002. Selective memories, sanitised futures: Constructing visions of future place in Sydney. *Urban Policy and Research* 20 (1): 7–25.

Serageldin, I. 1998. *Culture and development at the millennium: The challenge and the response*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Shankland, G. 1975. Why trouble with historic towns? In *The conservation of cities, UNESCO*. Paris: UNESCO Press.

Skyline. 2002. *Aug: Planning the next chapter*. Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority.

Smith, K. S. 1999. *Capital assets*. Washington, DC: DC Heritage Tourism Coalition.

Strange, I. 1996. Local politics, new agendas and strategies for change in English historic cities. *Cities* 13: 431–37.

———. 1997. Planning for change, conserving the past: Towards sustainable development policy in historic cities? *Cities* 14 (4): 227–33

Tan, C. B. 1993. *Chinese Peranakan heritage in Malaysia and Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakit.

The Committee of Heritage Report. 1988. Singapore.

Travel Industry Association, USA. 2001. Tourism works for America report. Washington, DC: USA Travel Industry Association.

Turnbridge, J. E. 1984. Whose heritage to conserve? *Canadian Geographer* 28:171–80.

———. 1989. Geography, historical geography and heritage studies: Some further reflections. *Area* 21:316–17.

United Nations Development Program. 1997. *Empowering people: A guide to participation*. New York: United Nations.

Urban Redevelopment Authority–Preservation of Monuments Board. 1994. *Our heritage is in our hands*. Singapore: URA–PMB.

Urban Redevelopment Authority. 2001. *Concept plan 2001*. Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority.

———. 2002. Parks and waterbodies plan and identity plan public exhibition pamphlets. Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority.

———. 2004. *Skyline* Mar/April. Singapore: Urban Redevelopment Authority.

Urry, J. 1990. *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.

Van Der Borg, J., P. Costa, and G. Gotti. 1996. Tourism in European heritage cities. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23 (2): 306–21.

Vanneste, D., ed. 1996. *Space and place: Mirrors of social and cultural identities?* Acta Geographica Lovaniensia 35. Belgium: Institute of Geography, Catholic University of Louvain.

Wolf, R., A. Schneider, C. Schmid, P. Klaus, A. Hofer, and H. Hitz, eds. 1998. *Possible urban worlds*. Basel: INURA Books.

Wong, K. C., et al. 1984. *Report of the Tourism Task Force*. Singapore: Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Wu, F., and K. Webber. 2004. The rise of "foreign gated communities" in Beijing: Between economic globalization and local institutions. *Cities* 21 (3): 203–13.

Yeoh, B. S. A. 2005. The global cultural city? Spatial imagineering and politics in the (multi)cultural marketplaces of South-east Asia. *Urban Studies* 42 (5/6): 945–58.

Zukin, S. 1995. *The culture of cities*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

Belinda Yuen is a chartered town planner and associate professor in the School of Design and Environment, National University of Singapore. She is currently president of Singapore Institute of Planners. Her research is primarily in the policy and practice of urban planning. She is the editor and coauthor of the following books that explicate Singapore's urban planning and housing development: Singapore Real Property Guide, Development Control and Planning Law in Singapore, Planning Singapore: From Plan to Implementation, Singapore Housing, Urban Quality of Life: Critical Issues and Options, Sustainable Cities in the 21st Century, *and* Enhancing Urban Management in East Asia.