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PLACE REPRESENTATION IN TOURIST GUIDEBOOKS:
AN EXAMPLE FROM SINGAPORE

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Tourist guidebooks provide an important source of information on places. Different guidebooks are written for different types of visitors to better meet their individual travel needs. This is demonstrated through a content analysis of four guidebooks written for Singapore in the early 1980s. Two of the guidebooks represent variations on mainstream, mass travel interests. The third source presents the long-term expatriates perception, while the fourth source presents the alternative or youth tourist view of Singapore. Urban tourism is shown to be multifaceted, allowing for a diversity of travel motivations, experiences, and behavior.

Keywords: travel literature, urban tourism, content analysis, environmental perception, Singapore.

People come to know about places in a variety of ways, among the most important and highly valued of which is direct experience. The popularity of leisure travel is partly attributed to an innate human curiosity about other places. The direct experience of a place, however, seldom occurs in a vacuum. Instead, it is filtered through preconceived images and expectations. Such images may or may not be congruent with actual experiences. It has been argued that positive tourism benefits accrue to both hosts and guests when direct experience supports the portrayed image of a place (Ashworth and Goodall 1988:232; Lew 1987; Mathieson and Wall 1982:31).

This study examines place portrayals and their implications for visitor perceptions through an analysis of tourist guidebook contents. A guidebook reflects the viewpoints and interests of both its author or editor, and the market for which it is written. A content analysis of four guidebooks for Singapore shows the thematic orientation and spatial distribution of attractions and services from the perspectives of:

- Mainstream Mass Tourist from Developed Countries
- The Singapore Government's National Tourism Organization
- Expatriate Americans living in Singapore
- Alternative Youth Tourists

The results of this study show a considerable similarity in the spatial structure of attractions, despite variation in the content and core area locations for different market segments.

TOURIST PERCEPTIONS AND TRAVEL LITERATURE

Differences in the perception of places has been an area of considerable interest among behavioral geographers (Gold and White 1986; Johnson and Brunn 1980; Meinig 1979; Saarinen 1976). Tourist images and experiences comprise a significant subset of this work (Lew 1987; Murphey 1985:5-7; Pearce 1982:104).

The places sought by tourists are a form of "valued environments" (Burgess and Gold 1982). They are attractive because they satisfy human needs. Kaplan (1983) defines the need which tourism addresses as one of restoration. Restorative environments help bring a sense of coherence to the experiencer's life. The type environment which is best able to support a such an experience, however, will vary according to the particular needs of an individual at any one point in time (Cohen 1979). Expectations for a valued experience are particularly high for more expensive, long distance travel, such as that examined in this study (Etzel and Wahlers 1985).

In addition to subjective needs, images of tourist places are highly influenced by mass images and consumptive attitudes (Sack 1988). Gunn (1972:110-11) has suggested that the cognitive image of a tourist attraction is derived from exposure to both non-tourist communication (fiction books, news, etc.) and conscious efforts at tourist promotion. Assisted by marketing communication, tourists come to decide whether or not a particular place will have a high probability of satisfying their motivational needs (Mathieson and Wall 1982:25-8). At the destination, tourist experiences and behavior are then shaped by their prior cognition of the place (Desbarates 1983).

Much of the marketing of places to tourists takes the form of travel literature. Tourists are most likely to use travel literature for trips involving high uncertainty, expectations, or cost (Etzel and Wahlers 1985). The literature is used to develop and clarify images of unknown places (Mathieson and Wall 1982:31). However, it is not always the most reliable source of information (Grimes 1985:11-17). Weightman (1987), echoing Britton (1979), notes the biases of promotional literature which "attempts to mystify the mundane; amplify the exotic; minimize the misery; rationalize the disquietude; and romanticize the strange" (p.229).

What may be interpreted as editorial or marketing bias in travel literature is vital in providing a sense of meaning to the touristic experience. As part of Sack's "language of consumption" (1988:643), these communications address the tourist's ignorance about the symbolism of place phenomena. The functional, or "pathfinder" (Cohen 1985) value of a brochure's maps and price lists is secondary to the tourist who is seeking a restorative experience: the symbolic representations in the literature have a more lasting influences.

The marketing of symbols and images also influences the functional behavior of tourists in a place. International tourists often arrive with limited knowledge of the spatial and symbolic environment of a destination. Golledge and Spector point out that "to exist in and to comprehend [the world], people learn to select and organize critical subsets from the mass of experiences..." (1978:406). Travel literature is specifically written to assist in this selection process. Thus, travel literature not only helps shape the expectations, but also the destination behavior of tourists as they seek to create a restorative experience.

Guidebooks represent one form of travel literature. J.B. Jackson (1980:3)

viewed them as being full of "revelations" which can be used to interpret the world around us. Like brochures and advertisements, guidebooks serve both functional and symbolic objectives. Guidebooks, however, are usually more comprehensive and attempt a more accurate assessment of places. Because they are purchased, instead of being obtained free of charge, their utilitarian value and reliability are perceived to be higher (Nolan 1967). Therefore, actual tourist behavior may be more strongly linked to guidebook representations of places than with promotional literature content.

At the destination site, guidebooks provide tourists with an important means of spatial and social orientation (Pearce 1982:117). By emphasizing particular attractions and characteristics of a place, guidebooks provide "propositional assertions" of what a place is like and what is worth seeing and experiencing (Lloyd 1982:540). In such a way, they define desirable and undesirable experiences (Woodside, Ronkainen and Reid 1977). By way of omission, they also influence the content of the known and unknown realms of a place. Possibly even more important than the factual information they contain, guidebooks provide is a framework for experiencing a place and relaying that experience to others upon returning home (Thurot and Thurot 1983).

Because landscape description is not a positivist exercise (Relph 1984), different guidebooks will provide distinct perspectives. In guidebook publications, this is the editorial perspectives of the author or publisher, and is usually written with specific segments of the tourist market in mind. Tourist market segments are usually based on demographic and motivational variables (Mathieson and Wall 1982:22-23,30; Murphey 1985:5-16). For example, Woodside and Jacobs (1985) found that among visitors to Hawaii, mainland Americans sought a cross-cultural experience, Canadians desired relaxation and rejuvenation, and Japanese emphasized family togetherness during their visit. The Thurots argue that different market segments are in search of distinctive "cultural and ideological models" (1983:176). Tourism to them comprises more of a narcissist look at one's own culture, than insights into other cultures. The content analysis applied in this study of guidebooks demonstrates how publications cater to the cultural values, desires and needs of their readers.

In the process of place description guidebooks help to shape the tourist landscape of a place by identifying and popularizing certain sites as tourist attractions. Virtually anything can become a tourist attraction if the essential elements are present. These elements, suggested by MacCannel (1976:41), are (1) a tourist, (2) a sight, and (3) a marker which identifies the sight to the tourist and gives it meaning and significance. Guidebooks, in this context, are markers of tourist attractions. They locate sights through maps and addresses, provide them with names, and tell the tourist why these sights are significant. Whether or not the tourist accepts the place perspective of a particular guidebook depends upon individual travel interests and needs. Actual tourist behavior and experience, therefore, results from the interplay between tourist motivation, place experience and the communication medium connecting the two.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses guidebooks as a primary source for understanding visitor experiences and behavior. The basic hypothesis is that tourists seek experiences

which are supportive of the cultural models with which they identify. The content of guidebooks written for different tourist markets would be expected to exhibit different ideological orientations and spatial patterns of visitation.

The most common approach used in geographic research on travel literature has been content analysis. In a study of the Amish area of Pennsylvania, Buck (1977) found that brochures for specific attraction comprised an experiential tautology, defined by, but not directly tied to the culture of the area. Stabler (1988) systematically compared the percent of brochure text and photographic content devoted to different types of attractions in Mediterranean resort communities and found considerable difference in emphasis among resorts, although sports activities predominated throughout. In a somewhat different approach, Dilley (1986) used multipliers based on the approximate square root of a photograph's size to assess the visual image emphasis of different national tourist brochures.

Content analysis assumes that frequency or quantity positively correlates with both the author's and reader's interest (Lindkvist 1981). While content analysis is often considered a positivist methodology, this is only so if the content categories are clearly defined and consistently applied (Holsti 1969:5-12). Gunnar (1981) argues that semantic (word counting) and pragmatic (interpretation) content analysis (both of which are employed in the present study) are only quasi-objective because the categorizing process is idiosyncratic. However, he also contends that if idiosyncratic categories are consistently applied, these approaches can achieve truth through insightful portrayals of subjective reality. Similarly, Holsti views the reliability of content analysis as "a function of the coder's skill, insight, and experience; clarity of coding rules which guide their use; and the degree of ambiguity in the data" (1969:135).

A content analysis was undertaken on four guidebooks written for Singapore in the early 1980s. The analysis involved a semantic counting of the number of times a type of attraction was referred to and a weighting of its impact in the reader (Gunnar 1981; Holsti 1969:122; Janis 1965). Attractions were defined as all visual and textual guidebook content that would serve to influence a tourist's experience and had an identifiable location. Using this definition, virtually the entire contents of the guidebooks, including advertisements, were included in the analysis.

The attraction typology (table 2) was exhaustive. The author was the sole coder of the guidebook contents and was able to maintain mutually exclusive categorizations. The weighting value for attractions was derived from the amount of text and graphics devoted to each attraction type. The weighting values in table 1 are based on the author's interpretation of relative impact. They were consistently applied to all four guidebooks and, therefore, meet Holsti's criteria for content analysis reliability. This weighting system was preferable to the overall content percentage system used by Stabler (1988) because of the large number of significant attractions which only appear on lists and would otherwise be under represented. Because of their high visual impact, the lowest weight value assigned to a non-advertisement photographs was two. Advertisements received comparatively lower weights due to their low credibility (Nolan 1967).

A second, pragmatic analysis (Gunnar 1981:56), categorized attractions nominally into combinations of four thematic orientations: Traditional (or Historic),

Modern, Asian and Western. This assessment was more qualitative and judgmental than the first (Holsti 1969:5-12). As with the semantic content analysis, all categorization were determined by the author. Each guidebook was analyzed twice to ensure consistency. The results were mapped and their spatial patterns and relationships assessed.

The time period of the guidebooks is from the early to mid-1980s. They were published prior to the completion of major government sponsored urban renewal and land reclamation projects in Singapore. These projects involved the demolition of older neighborhoods and the construction of large hotel and shopping complexes for tourists, including the world's tallest hotel (70 stories). The spatial pattern of tourism in Singapore today is not only different, but more complex than that of a decade ago. The guidebooks used, therefore, provide a clearer interpretation of the spatial divergence of tourist interests in Singapore than might contemporary guidebooks. The broader implications of this study, however, have applications to the tourism geography of other urban areas and other time periods.

Significance levels in tables 2, 3 and 4 are assessed with a simple, nonparametric coefficient of variation. Large V values indicate higher degrees of variability within the attraction category. Low values indicate significant similarity among the guidebooks. Guidebooks which vary significantly from the mean for each attraction category are also indicated.

The Guidebooks

(1) Papineau's Guide to Singapore (Hullet 1982) presents a conventional, mainstream, mass tourist perspective on Singapore. It has been published in Singapore regularly since 1947. Of the publications analyzed, this guidebook_(hereafter the Guide) has the broadest appeal to tourists visiting from developed countries in the West and East.

(2) The Singapore Travel Agents Manual is published by the national tourist organization for the Republic of Singapore (STPB 1982). The publication (hereafter the Manual) is a comprehensive source of information from the official, public sector perspective.

(3) Living in Singapore (Krinsky 1983), published by The American Association of Singapore, is a guide for expatriates who are moving to or living in Singapore on a temporary basis. Despite their extended stay, expatriates rarely achieve the existential insideness (Relph 1976:55-6) of native Asian Singaporeans. Thus, while not tourists by definition (United Nations 1963:5), many of their interests and experiences are similar to those of short-term visitors. The publication (hereafter the Expatriate source) is written by expatriates and the attractions listed reflect numerous individual experiences and evaluations of places in Singapore. The contents of the Expatriate guidebook were analyzed selectively, omitting section that were irrelevant to tourism.

(4) The last publication to be analyzed presents the perspective of alternative youth tourists. These tourists have variously been referred to as "drifter", "budget", "alternative", "backpack", and "youth" travelers (Cohen 1973; Loose and Ramb 1985:5; Riley 1988; Turner and Ash 1976; Vogt 1978). Because no single alternative tourist

publication is devoted exclusively to Singapore, the analysis is based on the Singapore chapter of the South-East Asia Handbook (Loose and Ramb 1985) and Time Travel in the Malay Crescent (Stier 1985). These publications are hereafter referred to as the Alternative sources.

ATTRACTION COVERAGE

Singapore is an island city of 2.5 million people. Due to limited resources, much of the tourism industry has centered on the provision of shopping opportunities. Shopping attractions include all opportunities which allow for tourist participation in a retail transaction. Shopping is an important aspect of tourism (Kent, et al. 1983), and is often the only opportunity for tourists to experience cross-cultural social interaction (de Kadt 1979:50).

The Expatriate source places significantly more emphasis on shopping opportunities, in part to meet the daily needs of long term expatriate visitors, but also as a leisure activity for non-working spouses. The Alternative sources place the least importance on this activity. This is one of the major differences between the Alternative sources and the two other sources which were written to be read directly by visitors. Riley (1988) has suggested that status among alternative tourists is based upon the ability to endure hardships, experience non-touristic phenomena, and obtain the best value for one's money. Therefore, urban and rural scenery is emphasized, while shopping is only mentioned sparingly.

Of the nine major attraction types, only leisure demonstrated major subcategory differences (table 3), although total coverage was significantly the same among the guidebooks. The Expatriate source placed the greatest emphasis on leisure attractions, a significant number of which were sports related. This reflects the expatriate's extended stay, resulting in a desire for a greater selection of recreation opportunities. The Alternative sources shares several similarities with leisure attractions in the Guide, both of which tend to focus more on parks and entertainment. These last two are the only sources which are written to be read directly by short-term visitors, indicating a greater interest in parks and entertainment among people planning their own itinerary.

The Manual devotes six times as much of its content to government and institutions as does the Guide. Detailed information of this type (e.g., embassies, banks, etc.) is needed by travel agents who help travelers plan their trips. Once in Singapore, visitors can obtain this information from hotel staff and telephone books. In a similar manner, travel services (which includes accommodations, transportation and tour services) and cuisine receives about equal coverage in all of the publications, but significantly less in the Expatriate source, the readers of which are in less need of these facilities.

The Alternative sources also place greater emphasis on religion, urban scenery, and rural attractions. The urban emphasis is primarily a detailed discussion of the architecture and streetlife of ethnic neighborhoods, but also includes derision of highrise hotel and financial centers. The Guide includes urban attractions to a somewhat greater extent, much of which is in references to specific urban streets and districts not covered in the Manual or the Expatriate sources.

Unlike neighboring Malaysia and Thailand, Singapore lacks high mountain resorts and long stretches of clear ocean beaches. This explains the low coverage which all of the guidebooks attach to natural features and rural lifestyles (table 2). Together, they comprise only 1% of the government's Manual and the Expatriate guidebook contents. The Alternative sources, by contrast, place considerable more emphasis on rural areas, contributing to the high variability found in the rural lifestyles category.

Thematic Orientation of Attractions

Attractions were also categorized into Asian-Traditional, Asian-Contemporary, Western-Historic, and Western-Modern thematic orientations. These qualitative categories reflect thematic orientation more than age. Asian-Contemporary includes Chinese, Indian and Malay restaurants, art stores and souvenir shops, as well as the recently constructed Japanese and Chinese theme gardens. The newer hotels and shops selling Western or non-specific goods (such as electronic equipment) were categorized as Western-Modern. Market hawkers and food stalls typify Asian-Traditional attractions. Western-Historic attractions were primarily related to the British colonial imprint on Singapore.

Western-Modern attractions comprised over half of the content of all of the guidebooks, except the Alternative sources (table 4). This was due to listings of hotels, transportation services, leisure parks, sports, and shopping centers. Attractions falling into the Asian-Contemporary category were the second most common type in all of the guidebooks, except the Alternative sources.

While hotels, shopping centers, restaurants, and transportation services dominate the content of all of the guidebooks, most of these are discussed very briefly, followed by a listing of places. The average weighted value for these attractions ranged between 1.6 and 2.5 (cf. table 1). These types of attractions cater to the comfort needs of travelers, focusing more on the "pathfinder" descriptions of basic facilities, prices, and access.

Temples, street stall restaurants, ethnic festivals, and historic sites comprise far less of the guidebooks' contents, even though these are more typical of the general concept of "tourist attraction." These Asian-Traditional attractions were discussed to a significantly greater degree in the Alternative sources, which emphasized ethnic neighborhoods. In contrast to Modern attractions, both Traditional and Historic attractions averaged between 2.1 and 4.2 in weighted value, due to colorful prose and photographs used to describe them. These "fascination" attractions are the core of the image-making and symbolism identification role which guidebooks provide. Fascination attractions are the focus of the tourist's interest in Singapore. Learning the symbolic significance of these attractions assist the tourist in forming a coherent and meaningful experience (MacCannel 1976). Similar image development is occasionally applied to service attractions, such as luxury resort hotels, but to a considerably less degree.

SPATIAL PATTERN OF ATTRACTIONS

The maps presented here have been generalized from 26 detailed maps showing the location, weighted value, and thematic orientation of each attraction type

(Lew 1986). Because the Manual and the Expatriate sources share many similarities with the Guide, only the Guide maps are shown in their entirety (Fig. 2). The distinct pattern of the Alternative attractions is shown separately in maps (Fig. 3) and discussed in some detail.

Mainstream Singapore (the Guide)

Shopping has always been the most important attraction in Singapore. Its location is the most concentrated of all of the attraction types and is close to travel services and cuisine, which are dispersed around the two Modern shopping areas. Papineau's Guide to Singapore focuses almost all of its shopping attractions in the central city area, emphasizing the Western-Modern Orchard Road tourist belt (Fig. 2b). Other than Orchard Road, the only other Modern shopping district discussed is the older tourist core area around High Street, where many Asian-Contemporary shops and hotels with are located. Shopping in the ethnic neighborhoods of Chinatown, Serangoon Road (Little India) and the Arab Street Malay area has a Asian-Traditional orientation. Ethnic district shopping is discussed in more generally terms, however, with few individual stores listed.

A clear pattern is evident in the Guide coverage of leisure attractions: entertainment and exhibitions predominate in the central city, while sport attractions and parks are located outside of this area. Entertainment is closely associated with hotels and cuisine. Exhibitions, such as museums, tend to be clustered in specific location and are often associated with government sponsored developments, such as on the recreation island of Sentosa.

Religious sites are present throughout Singapore, and a number of temples and mosques have been elevated to the status of tourist attractions; many more have not. Religion, a 'fascination' attraction, is used in portraying Singapore's image as a multi-cultural Asian society. However, most of the older ethnic areas have disappeared due to urban renewal. The remaining older neighborhoods have become the principal repositories of the Asian-Traditional and Western-Historic attractions.

Isolated scenery, lifestyle and religious attractions outside of the central city are also discussed in the Guide. These are often only a sampling of what is available in these areas. By limiting the coverage to selected attractions, the Guide is able to convey a greater sense of symbolic significance to each attraction, while the tourism industry is better able to manage tourist flows, behavior, and impacts.

Official Singapore (the Manual)

The Singapore Travel Agents' Manual presents Singapore from the perspective of the Singapore government. The most important tourist attraction in this publication is the Singapore Handicrafts Center (Fig. 1b), which is given five times as much coverage here than in any of the other sources. This complex consists of an arts and souvenir shopping center, an open air food stalls area, and a theater in which an introductory film on Singapore is shown. The Center was constructed by the Singapore government and houses the its Tourist Promotion Board. The prominence which the Manual gives to this one attraction is the clearest indication of publisher bias encountered in this study.

While similar to the Guide, the Manual comes closest to portraying the "mass tour group" perspective of Singapore. Mass tourists are characterized as having the least interest in meaningful encounters with local people and the greatest interest in packaged recreation and diversionary activities (Cohen 1979; de Kadt 1979). This is seen in an emphasis on shopping and a high concentration of attractions in the central core tourist area. For tourism managers, such concentration allows for greater control within the host country.

Expatriate Singapore

With a significant 74% of its content in the shopping and leisure categories, the Expatriate source contains the narrowest range of attractions among the tourist information sources examined. Shopping attractions are located in all of the major central city locations which are covered in the Guide. What is more significant is the large number of shops located in areas outside the central city.

Of particular prominence is the Holland Village Shopping Center area. This shopping district is situated at the far end of the high-status residential area that stretches from the central portion of Orchard Road to the northwest. The shopping center is smaller and older than most, with narrow corridors and staircases. Within it are found most of the items necessary to run an expatriate home, including: frozen foods and meats from Australia, music and clothing shops, antique and gift shops, and a bank. Next to the shopping center are old shop houses providing basket wares, hair styling, and an American fast food chain restaurant.

The other clusters of shopping districts outside of the city are similarly associated with areas where expatriates are residing. One exception is a small shopping street situated in the northern part of the island. Transit Road is a street of toy and consumer electronic shops located at the entrance to a military base. The shops thrived in the 1970s when large numbers of Australian and New Zealand military personnel came to the base to train Singapore's armed forces. Expatriates today consider the street to be among the best bargain places in Singapore.

The Expatriate source is similar to the Guide and the Manual in the spatial distribution of the hotels, cuisine, leisure attractions, and institutions. All three of these publications are geared toward a conventional, mainstream and largely English and Japanese speaking market.

Alternative Singapore

The two guidebooks which comprise the alternative or youth tourist perspective provide the greatest divergence from the mass, mainstream view of Singapore. Reflecting the values of their readers, youth tourist publications emphasize low cost experiences, traditional culture, and spurn mainstream tourist attractions (Vogt 1978).

The proportion restaurants and hotels listed in the Alternative sources is virtually the same as in the Manual and the Guide, indicating the importance of these comfort attractions for all tourists. The spatial distribution of hotels and restaurants, however, is very different (Fig. 3b). Almost every one of the hotels listed in the Alternative sources is situated in the older areas of the central city. The majority of these establishments are not even mentioned in the other publications. Several are dormitories and boarding

houses. Stier, in Time Travel in the Malay Crescent, describes typical Alternative hotel: On each [floor] the scene is similar. Shoes off at the entrance. You slide across the terrazzo to one of the several small rooms with mattresses on the floor. In the middle of one room a Canadian college student listens to his pirated tapes on his stereo earmuffs. An Australian is reading the owner's manual of his new Nikon with super zoom lens. A French woman peeks her head in the doorway to gather a flock for a forage to the Albert Street Food Center and a late night snack while they watch the billy boys (the transvestites) flirt (1985:142).

Other budget considerations can be seen in an emphasis on leisure parks, and urban and rural scenery and lifestyles, all of which are inexpensive to visit. Rural attractions are much farther distant from the central city than those listed in the non-alternative guidebooks. The northern and southern islands, even into Indonesia, are mentioned, as well as ways to get to them--a topic not covered in any of the other sources. Even the outlying industrial areas and new towns are given more prominence. The expanded area of secondary attraction appears to indicate a greater willingness on the part of alternative visitors to explore areas more remote from the tourist core districts. They are apparently more willing to experience the inconvenience of public transportation to obtain out of the ordinary experiences. This has traditionally been the case in developing countries where "hippie tourists" have been pioneers in opening up new destination areas (Turner and Ash 1975:255-79).

SUMMARY

Each of the guidebooks provides a distinct perspective based on its market. The Guide is written for the most general audience, and therefore provides a basis for comparison with the more specialized publications. The Manual was written by the official government tourism organization to help travel consultants advise potential visitors to Singapore. As such it emphasized government projects along with a diversity of public and semi-public institutions. The Expatriate source was written for long-term visitors and gave less attention to institutions, but considerable more coverage to shopping and sports activities. Both the tourist core area and the tourist attraction zone of the Alternative sources were shown to be significantly different than that of the mainstream Guide tourists, although both placed greater emphasis and more coverage on fascination attractions than did the other guidebooks. The secondary attraction zone for alternative tourists, however, was much farther afield than for the mainstream tourists.

While the core nuclei locations and the attraction orientations vary among different tourist segments, this study suggests that much of their spatial structure is essentially the same. All of the sources agree on the importance of the ethnic districts. Most agree on the importance of Orchard Road as a tourist center. The locational pattern of leisure attractions remains constant for all four sources: sports and parks are dispersed outside of the central city, exhibitions are clustered near the government center and on Sentosa, and entertainment is generally associated with food, both of which are located on the periphery of travel services. Natural attractions are largely ignored. The number of religion attractions remained fairly constant at around 20 for all of the publication.

CONCLUSIONS

The spatial manifestations of the way the different guidebooks present Singapore are significant. As a preliminary model, Murphey (1985:175) has applied systems analysis to understand the spatial dimensions of urban tourism. The results were similar to Gunn's earlier model (1972; 1979). The major spatial processes consist of a nucleus (core tourist area), boundaries, elements (or attractions), organization, behavior (seasonality, events), environment (location), and time (development history).

The present study both supports and expands upon this model of urban tourism. The example of Singapore demonstrates the presence, and defines the organizational content, of a dominant nucleus surrounded by decreasing densities of attraction elements. The dominant nucleus, however, is a reflection of the interests and values of the mass, mainstream tourist. Different or modified nuclei exist for minority tourist segments.

High population concentrations, a diversity of human activity, and numerous traveler related (and quasi-related) services enable urban areas to accommodate alternative core nuclei, attraction realms, and behavior patterns (Blank and Petkovich 1987; Pearce 1981:75-81; 1987:178-180). The multifaceted nature of urban environments, therefore, allows several different tourist realities to exist within a small area. The content of these different realities are selectively chosen to be congruent with the cultural ideology of different tourist market segments (Thurot and Thurot 1983).

Successful urban tourism, therefore, becomes a matter of creatively combining selective elements of the urban environment into distinctive experiential products for each segment of the tourist market. In this way, the results of this study expand upon the hypothesis that tourism benefits are maximized when the direct experience of a place and the image of a place are well integrated (Ashworth and Goodall 1988:232; Mathieson and Wall 1982:31).

Despite the considerable amount of research and theory on environmental perception and behavior, the cognitive map of tourists is not well understood (Pearce 1982:119). Individual characteristics, place characteristics and information have been shown to be basic variables influencing spatial perception and behavior (Gale and Golledge 1982). In the present study, each of the guidebooks represents the characteristics of a distinct social group, each of which has an affinity for specific tourist environments. The guidebooks help to match the group with the environment which best meet their interests and needs.

Lowenthal's (1961) seminal article ushered in the era of perceptual and behavioral geography. This involved a concern with how geographic knowledge "is acquired, transmitted, altered, and integrated into conceptual systems; and how the horizon of geography varies among individuals and groups" (p. 241). The market segments for different guidebooks offer empirical evidence of group values and place images that lie between the realm of shared consensual world views and individual private worlds. Using market specific guidebooks, tourists create order and organize their individual place experiences. As Lowenthal states, "We are all artists and landscape architects, creating and organizing space, time, and causality" (1961:260).

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