

Southern Singapore: The Constituency of Tanjong Pagar and the Surrounding Areas of Marina, Bayfront and Raffles Place in Southern Singapore

In exploring Tanjong Pagar, the research team realized that there are different conceptualizations of this area. For Singapore's Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), Tanjong Pagar denotes the city center section of downtown Singapore around the Tanjong Pagar MRT station with boundaries reaching out to Pearl's Hill in the north, the end of Tanjong Pagar Road to the south, Duxton Plain to the west and Anson Road to the east.¹ The URA's boundaries for that area include a park connector leading towards Pearl's Hill.² For the city's urban planning and design authorities, Tanjong Pagar will eventually become part of Singapore's near-future greater Southern Waterfront City project, a 1000 hectare piece of land that integrates Bayfront, Marina Central, Labrador, Tanjong Pagar and Pulau Brani.³ The political constituency of Tanjong

¹Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), "City Centre Tanjong Pagar", URA website [downloaded on 10 December 2015], available at <https://www.ura.gov.sg/uol/master-plan/View-Master-Plan/master-plan-2008/Growth-Area/City-Centre/Tanjong-Pagar.aspx>.

²Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), "City Centre Tanjong Pagar", URA website [downloaded on 10 December 2015], available at <https://www.ura.gov.sg/uol/master-plan/View-Master-Plan/master-plan-2008/Growth-Area/City-Centre/Tanjong-Pagar.aspx>.

³Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), "City Centre Tanjong Pagar", URA website [downloaded on 10 December 2015], available at <https://www.ura.gov.sg/uol/master-plan/View-Master-Plan/master-plan-2008/Growth-Area/City-Centre/Tanjong-Pagar.aspx>.

Pagar is different from the URA definition of the same area. In political terms, the Tanjong Pagar Group Representative Constituency consisted of districts such as Cantonment Road, Customs Land Division HQ, Tanjong Pagar Railway Station and Duxton Plain, according to a map dating back to 1982 retrieved from the National Library.⁴ In the updated 2015 electoral boundaries, it consists of Buona Vista, Queenstown, Moulmein-Cairnhill, Tanjong Pagar–Tiong Bahru, Henderson–Dawson, Tanglin, Orchard Road, Bukit Merah, Stevens, Newton, Little India, Pek Kio, Bukit Timah and Novena. Tanjong Pagar’s political boundaries are much larger than its functional administrative boundaries for the purpose of urban planning. When needed, its identity has been subsumed into greater regional projects such as the Southern Waterfront City. This chapter conceptualizes the boundaries of these areas loosely, outlining them as part of Tanjong Pagar generally defined in order to include the analyses, archival documents, blueprints, plans, white papers, media commentaries and journalistic reports as comprehensively as practicable. In other words, this chapter takes the broadest possible view of the political and administrative definitions of Tanjong Pagar.

An important reason for focusing on Tanjong Pagar and the historical southern areas of Singapore is a pragmatic one. When the research team carried out trials to track physical changes in a given area using satellite tracking systems, the team discovered that the features in Tanjong Pagar are easier to map out compared with other parts of the Green Rail Corridor due to the availability of information and the longevity of heritage buildings in that area. Due to tremendous changes taking place in the area arising from the implementation of the Southern Waterfront City plans, these changes have not yet been covered in current literature. There is also substantial eco-heritage and historical heritage in that area for research purposes. When the author visited the URA city gallery exhibition, he came across exhibition materials on Singapore’s oldest districts dating back to the 1800s and 1900s which included Chinatown and Little India. To have a better understanding of the Tanjong Pagar area, the author visited the URA on 10 December 2015 to gather

⁴Singapore Government BookSG, “Map of Tanjong Pagar Constituency, circa 1982”, 1982, BookSG website [downloaded on 10 December 2015], available at <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/printheritage/image.aspx?id=c4b8d74b-c376-4c7b-9468-0db042686ccf>.

information. On this trip, the author learnt that the URA's definition of sustainability lies in the intersection between social factors (building a good living environment), environmental factors (using the environment responsibly) and using land in such a way that it provides jobs for people (economic factors). The URA strives to use land to promote sustainability. The author's research team recognizes the important and effective work done by the URA in urban planning, which is why Singapore has become a model for effective urban planning for other cities in the world. At the point of writing this chapter, Singapore had just concluded an agreement with the leadership of China to develop Chongqing bilaterally by capitalizing on Singapore's world-class strengths in urban planning. In fact, Chongqing is the third government-to-government project between the two countries; the second such project, Tianjin Eco-City, focused more on the concept of sustainability.

In that sense, Singapore's Southern Waterfront City will be its newest showcase in urban planning to the rest of the world. Historically, the Tanjong Pagar component in this project will be important due to the heritage value of the district. Tanjong Pagar served as both a site for human habitation and also Singapore's lifeline in the colonial era. There was both a functional and community-building purpose in that area. In fact, Tanjong Pagar was crucial to the industrialization process of the early-modern period under the British. Industrially, in the southern coastal area of Singapore, the author and his research team's visit to the URA revealed that the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company used to unload coal fuels at its wharves in the late 1800s. The Company constructed two-storey hostels to accommodate the coolies that carried the coal stocks from the ships to the warehousing facilities at the wharves. The URA city gallery also indicated that wind-powered shipping was replaced by coal-powered vessels as early as the mid-1800s and so a new harbor was constructed by the authorities to accommodate the new technologies. The new harbor in Tanjong Pagar eventually became Keppel Harbour.

Henri Lefebvre highlighted the tendency of urbanism to veer towards scientific studies.⁵ Lefebvre provides an additional perspective to scientific rationality by including ideology so that urbanism reflects prevailing political thinking within the ideological spectrum, conceptualized as a

⁵Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota), 2003, p. 6.

dialectic between the left and the right.⁶ Lefebvre argues that technical and scientific studies facilitate the input of capital and enterprise into business or urban planning, while the Left in society tries to resist such an eventuality by shifting the landscape away from the quest for complete urbanization.⁷ The dialectic that Lefebvre advocates is an important one and is inclusive in nature, taking into account all stakeholders' needs. However, there are no boundaries to demarcate the social consensus needed for development, particularly in a city economy that is dependent on limited land resources for productive economic activities. There are dangers that ideological dialectic debate can go on indefinitely as a form of dialectical determinism without reaching social consensus or compromise.

This reading takes into account Lefebvre's ideas and the important role of ideology (as well as the possibility of dialectic determinism); however, this volume argues that it is mitigated by a social consensus-seeking Singaporean context when the URA and other state and non-state groups reach out to all stakeholders to formulate a mutually acceptable solution to land use. The accent on this outreach is based on pragmatism, a deliberate attempt to remove destructive ideological conflicts and elements and to replace them with constructive consultation and a social contract that promises benefits for the majority of land users. The post-ideology space constructed here is forged not by unmitigated enterprise, capitalism or entrepreneurship but, rather, is guided by social equity made possible by an enlightened progressive state working with a highly educated affluent society allied with the common goal of the redistribution of resources to meet community needs. In this case, societal yearnings for green urban spaces and bohemian cultural spheres are pronounced, and they converge and coincide with the urban planners' ideas of sustainability as an outcome of meeting economic, social and environmental priorities. The state understands these needs and reaches out to the citizenry.

⁶Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota), 2003, p. 6.

⁷Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota), 2003, pp. 6 and 7.

CITY CENTER

Nestled in the center of the Central Business District is the Tanjong Pagar MRT station, which has become the nucleus of downtown Tanjong Pagar. The URA has been working with the community to improve and upgrade these spaces. Therefore, when the author and his research team visited the URA on 10 December 2015, they came across the URA Street Art initiative which featured 50 pieces of works from 33 artists, including those who worked on themes related to Tanjong Pagar. Two entries stood out in this sense—one of them advocated the improvement of Telok Ayer Park, while another proposed setting up a “Tanjong Pagar Backyard” using a space located above the Tanjong Pagar MRT station. The latter was the winner in the overall competitive category of the URA Street Art initiative while the former presentation included a narrative about Tanjong Pagar being the oldest conservation area in Singapore and commented how Singaporeans have forgotten vintage images such as jinrikishas plying their trade outside the Jinrikisha station in Tanjong Pagar.

HIGHLANDS

Interestingly, within or near Tanjong Pagar (defined both politically and administratively) there are three elevated areas that appear in contemporary maps: Fort Canning Hill (formerly known as Bukit Larangan), Mount Faber (part of the Southern Ridges) and Bukit Merah (Redhill). These areas were populated in the earliest human habitations found in Singapore. Pre-modern Singapore was populated by boat people or gypsies known as the *orang laut*, who resided mainly along the Singapore River, the Kallang River, the bay area at Telok Blangah and who, in the 1830s, were reputed to be pirates or their accomplices.⁸ These higher grounds are located in southern Singapore. In terms of trekking, according to hikers whom the author encountered they consist of highly urbanized terrain with lush green spaces and parks. The highest elevation in this area is probably Fort Canning Hill. Going further south

⁸Hack, Karl, “The Singapore Malay Community Enclaves and Cultural Domains” in the National Institute of Education (NIE) website [downloaded on 5 June 2015], available at <http://www.hsse.nie.edu.sg/staff/blackburn/MalayenclavesSingapore.pdf>, p. 5.

from the Mount Faber end of the Southern Ridges, one would reach the downtown area. According to the signage erected by National Parks at Fort Canning, when the British colonized Singapore, they removed the forest canopy on Bukit Larangan and, in the process, came across the remains of brick buildings. Artifacts have been recovered from this site dating back to the fourteenth century. These artifacts have played a part in providing clues to Singapore's ancient past.

The author's Civic District trek started at Fort Canning on 31 May 2015. This trip led the author through the oldest parts of Singapore where community life first started. Fort Canning is the highest elevated point overlooking the Civic District. The former Fort Canning facility had previously been transformed into a museum housing the Picotheque de Paris which was home to several galleries, including a free Southeast Asian gallery and a further gallery space featuring Western oil masters. The museum discontinued operations within a year. Near the Picotheque de Paris are structures designed by well-known architect George D. Coleman. A historical cemetery is located nearby. The National Parks signboard (numbered C8) indicated that this cemetery was known as the Old Christian Cemetery and was a place to bury the dead from 1822 to 1865; 600 individuals were buried here, one third of whom were Christians that were ethnically Chinese. The entrance was designed by Superintending Engineer Captain Charles Edward Faber, the namesake for Mount Faber, and is one of the earliest architectural structures in Singapore constructed in the Gothic Revival Style. Half of the cemetery was allocated to the Anglicans and half to other denominations. Due to wear and tear, most of the tombstones were removed in the 1970s. The entrance to the cemetery at Fort Canning features a white gateway lined by tall coconut trees. Following the removal of the tombstones, the cemetery is now a plain slope. The tombstones found at the Old Christian Cemetery reveal much about the Europeans who sailed to Singapore in the past and multiculturalism is rich in the textual information written on the tombstones. Some of the tombstones, for example, feature the Star of David, suggesting the presence of Jewish migrants and visitors to Singapore, while others prefer to indicate their military ranks and the names of the ships that brought them to Singapore.

Another important cemetery lies in the same area. Considered to be a powerful place, the keramat (shrine) is the burial site of Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, the last of the five rulers of Singapore during the golden age of the Malay kingdom in the fourteenth century, according to the

National Parks signage. The whereabouts of the remains of Singapore's founder, Sang Nila Utama and his chief minister are still a mystery, as they have not been recovered yet. The author and his research colleagues took time off to do some additional research on Iskandar Shah. There are conflicting sources about the origins of this historical figure. He is either the man who left Singapore to establish Malacca, or the offspring of this Malaccan founder; certain Portuguese records and the Malay Annals indicate that he is actually Parameswara (founder of Malacca) who took a different name (Iskandar Shah) after converting to Islam.⁹ This interpretation noted that Parameswara fled Singapura (the old Malay name for Singapore) after he killed the local ruler (Singapura was an allied vassal state of the Javanese) and faced reprisal from the Javanese.¹⁰ The Malay Annals added yet another layer of complexity to the story. It was noted that Parameswara, Iskandar Shah and the founder of Singapore Sang Nila Utama (later bestowed the royal title Sri Tri Buana) were one and the same person, as details from their life stories matched! All three persons administered Palembang before ruling Singapore and they saw a lion apparition in Temasek (yet another old name for Singapore).¹¹ It is suggested that the coincidence is too good to be true.

Other documentation recorded that Parameswara died in 1414 and was succeeded by (Megat) Iskandar Shah and this interpretation conforms to Ming Chinese records, which say that Iskandar Shah's successor Sri Maharaja visited Beijing in April 1424.¹² Portuguese Tomes Pires' records supported the idea that Iskandar Shah was the son of Singapore-born Parameswara and that the son persuaded his father to

⁹Low, Cheryl-Ann, "Iskandar Shah", 2009, National Library Board Singapore Infopedia website [downloaded on 16 December 2015], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

¹⁰Low, Cheryl-Ann, "Iskandar Shah", 2009, National Library Board Singapore Infopedia website [downloaded on 16 December 2015], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

¹¹Low, Cheryl-Ann, "Iskandar Shah", 2009, National Library Board Singapore Infopedia website [downloaded on 16 December 2015], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

¹²Low, Cheryl-Ann, "Iskandar Shah", 2009, National Library Board Singapore Infopedia website [downloaded on 16 December 2015], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

set up a community in Malacca after seeing a brave mousedeer stand up to his hunting dogs.¹³ The origins of the tomb were so ambiguous that the author's research colleagues had difficulty establishing the connection between the "King of Temasek" and Iskandar Shah. According to Pirés' Javanese-language records, which have been lost, Parameswara murdered the local head of Singapura eight days after landing on the island and then controlled the territories for five years before he was expelled from the island and, in his exile, established Malacca.¹⁴ This interpretation is given credence by that fact that 1389 marked the passing of the powerful Javanese king Hayam Wuruk and this date coincided with Parameswara (or Iskandar Shah)'s annexation of Singapura (or Temasek) after he left Palembang, either in 1390 or 1391; it also happened before he was ejected from the island in 1395 or 1396, after being attacked by Patani, Pahang or Majapahit.¹⁵

Iskandar Shah's identity is so ambiguous that the author's research colleagues wondered if he were also the "King of Temasek", a title encountered during archival research. Technically, he was the "King of Temasek" for five years from 1390–1391 to 1395–1396, following the different accounts of his story given earlier. He may have been an illegitimate king who usurped the throne after murdering the rightful ruler, who was said to be a vassal of an overlord in either Java or Siam (Patani); the motivation for the usurpation may have been Temasek's wealth, as contemporary excavations indicated a prosperous trading post here.¹⁶ The Portuguese records quoting Malay Annals recorded it was a vassal of the Javanese-centered Majapahit empire but the late Yuan Chinese traveler Wang Dayuan noted that the Siamese kingdom was the overlord of

¹³Low, Cheryl-Ann, "Iskandar Shah", 2009, National Library Board Singapore Infopedia website [downloaded on 16 December 2015], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

¹⁴HistorySG, "Sri Tri Buana/Parameswara 1299", 2014, HistorySG Singapore Government website, available at <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/history/events/a9cbd-bfe-e4d4-4aca-ab91-b357bd419bf4>.

¹⁵HistorySG, "Sri Tri Buana/Parameswara 1299", 2014, HistorySG Singapore Government website, available at <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/history/events/a9cbd-bfe-e4d4-4aca-ab91-b357bd419bf4>.

¹⁶HistorySG, "Sri Tri Buana/Parameswara 1299", 2014, HistorySG Singapore Government website, available at <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/history/events/a9cbd-bfe-e4d4-4aca-ab91-b357bd419bf4>.

Temasek or Singapura (the old Malay name for Singapore).¹⁷ Regardless of the differing interpretations, Iskandar Shah is today remembered by a traditional Malay tombstone *keramat* in Fort Canning. A wooden structure and terracotta tiles shelter the coffin from the elements. The *keramat*'s symbolic coffin of Iskandar Shah lies underneath the shelter.

Iskandar Shah (also spelt Iskandar Syah—who some said was also Parameswara who had changed his name to an Islamic one) was probably either the Sultan of late-fourteenth century Singapore who established Melaka (also spelt Malacca), or had taken over the throne of Melaka from Parameswara who passed away in 1414.¹⁸ The *Sulalat al-Salatin* (Genealogy of the Kings) (also referred to as the *Sejarah Melayu* or Malay Annals) portrayed Iskandar Shah as Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah (also known as Seri Sultan Iskandar Syah), a descendant of Paduka Sri Maharaja and successor to the Singapura throne, fifth in a line of kings, who administered Singapura for three years.¹⁹ Iskandar Shah escaped from Singapore when he was under a Javanese siege and eventually founded Melaka, controlling Melaka for two decades before the throne was handed over to his son, Raja Kechil Besar (royal title: Sultan Megat).²⁰ Another Portuguese account written by Tome Pires, who resided in Melaka from 1512 to 1515, noted that Parameswara settled at Bertam after fleeing the Javanese attack on Singapore. His son, Iskandar Shah (born in Singapore and married to the daughter of one of his father's *orang laut* aristocrats), asked the father to move to Melaka instead after observing a brave mousedeer confronting his hunting dogs; Iskandar Shah eventually succeeded Parameswara.²¹

¹⁷HistorySG, "Sri Tri Buana/Parameswara 1299", 2014, HistorySG Singapore Government website, available at <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/history/events/a9cbd-bfe-e4d4-4aca-ab91-b357bd419bf4>.

¹⁸Low, Cheryl Ann, "Iskandar Shah" dated 2009 in the National Library Board website [downloaded on 1 Jan 2016], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

¹⁹Low, Cheryl Ann, "Iskandar Shah" dated 2009 in the National Library Board website [downloaded on 1 Jan 2016], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

²⁰Low, Cheryl Ann, "Iskandar Shah" dated 2009 in the National Library Board website [downloaded on 1 Jan 2016], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

²¹Low, Cheryl Ann, "Iskandar Shah" dated 2009 in the National Library Board website [downloaded on 1 Jan 2016], available at http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_1540_2009-07-06.html.

The green space of Fort Canning also featured remains of the British defensive system for Singapore, which included one of the nine-pound cannon used to defend Fort Canning against invaders. There is also a building structure of what was previously the staff training college for the British forces stationed in Singapore. In the periphery of Fort Canning are other heritage structures, including a Chinese Methodist church. A lighthouse is located at the peak of Fort Canning Hill. According to the National Parks signboard, there used to be a pair of early nineteenth-century nine-pounders that had initially been located at the Padang. They quickly became outdated and were used as ceremonial and decorative pieces when Fort Canning was constructed. Another nearby structure had been transformed from a training college for military officers during the colonial period into Hotel Canning. A majestic-looking lion guards the entrance to Hotel Canning.

WILDLIFE AT FORT CANNING

As well as the heritage remains of the Fort, one can also find wildlife at Fort Canning. Wild junglefowl walk freely across the old Christian cemetery. After all, it was the first site of Singapore's Botanical Gardens, set up in 1822 by the founder of modern Singapore, Sir Stamford Raffles. Tropical plants are therefore found in abundance at this site. For example, during the author's visit to the site on 31 May 2015, he spotted a banana flower and its shadow cast upon a nearby banana leaf. A lone bird's nest fern stands nearby at Fort Canning. A banana plant can also be found near Iskandar Shah's burial ground. Crab claw flowers add color to the keramat of Iskandar Shah. Banyan tree dwarfs the park benches and provides shelter for visitors. Other familiar agriculturally cultivated plants include the wild yam and dwarf bananas near the peak of Fort Canning. In the same area, the author also captured a digital image of a cultivated ginger flower near Fort Canning peak on 31 May 2015 (Fig. 2.1).

One reason for taking reference from the highest elevation in the Civic District of Singapore is that Fort Canning is a strategic location from which to travel in a variety of directions. From Fort Canning, one can reach Arab Street or Little India through the city campus of the Singapore Management University. To travel eastwards, one can trek through the Kallang River canal system after Bugis and Lavender



Fig. 2.1 A mother hen leading three chicks through Fort Canning. These are wild junglefowl. The rooster rummages through the bushes while keeping watch over his family nearby. *Photo taken on 31 May 2015*

to reach Arab Street. Fort Canning is also located near some important water sources in Singapore, including the Singapore River and Marina Bay. Following the Singapore River and proceeding southwards before the mouth of the river that opens up to Marina Bay, one arrives at the Fullerton Hotel. Another landmark in this area is the historic Cavenagh Bridge at the Boat Quay end of the Singapore River that heads towards Marina Bay. Originally planned as a draw-bridge, it eventually became a landmark fixed-structure bridge in Singapore's Civic District. The bridge was built by Scottish engineers. Moving westwards, one comes across original colonial-era cast iron grills at the current vacated premises of what used to be the Central Police Station at Pearl's Hill. The building has changed ownership several times; initially a student hostel in 2015, it was the site of a commercial spa in late 2016.

MARINA AND BAYFRONT AREAS

Moving further south from the Civic District, the author reached the Bayfront area, which will eventually be integrated into the Waterfront City. For a more detailed on-site study of the Marina area, the author also participated in a night hike of Bayfront, Gardens by the Bay, Marina Bay Sands, Marina Bay and the Esplanade on 19 December 2015 from 7.00 pm to 9.30 pm. The author started walking at Bayfront and eventually ended up at the Esplanade. The distance walked was around 6 km but at a snail's pace, patiently navigating through throngs of people visiting the Christmas Wonderland extravaganza and events happening in the Marina Bay area. The proximity between Marina Bay and Tanjong Pagar has been celebrated by leading private sector property development firms. Leading private property developer in Singapore, Far East, carried an article from *The Business Times* (published by Cushman and Wakefield) characterizing the areas of Tanjong Pagar and Bayfront as "The renaissance of Tanjong Pagar" due to the integration of office space between the Marina, Raffles Place and Tanjong Pagar, offering a full range of rents ranging from S\$6 to S\$9 per square foot.²² In terms of near-future development, the port of Tanjong Pagar, whose leasehold will expire in 2027, will be connected with HarbourFront, Marina and Bayfront through the 4 km MRT line known as Circle Line Stage 6 (CCL6) and this line is likely to draw human traffic from Bayfront, Marina and HarbourFront to Tanjong Pagar.²³

The removal of the Tanjong Pagar port, Tanjong Pagar Railway station and the rail for the trains that plied the track signified the end of early industrialization. The future high-speed railway station located at Jurong

²²Dodd, Toby, "Rejuvenation of Tanjong Pagar", 12 September 2013, Cushman and Wakefield's *The Business Times* [downloaded on 20 December 2015], available at <http://www.google.com.sg/url?sa=t&rc=t&crct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0ahUKEwjZ8-7rmunJAhUVj44KHSipDo4QFghKMAg&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.fareast.com.sg%2Fedm%2FLatest%2520News%2F120913%2520BT%2520Rejuvenation%2520Tanjong%2520Pagar.pdf&usg=AFQjCNGnbHy0kxgA1dkUq-QBdD6VicCBIG&bvm=bv.110151844,d.c2E>.

²³Dodd, Toby, "Rejuvenation of Tanjong Pagar", 12 September 2013, Cushman and Wakefield's *The Business Times* [downloaded on 20 Dec 2015], available at <http://www.google.com.sg/url?sa=t&rc=t&crct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=9&ved=0ahUKEwjZ8-7rmunJAhUVj44KHSipDo4QFghKMAg&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.fareast.com.sg%2Fedm%2FLatest%2520News%2F120913%2520BT%2520Rejuvenation%2520Tanjong%2520Pagar.pdf&usg=AFQjCNGnbHy0kxgA1dkUq-QBdD6VicCBIG&bvm=bv.110151844,d.c2E>.

East and the port facilities at Tuas are the future spots for railway and port logistics in Singapore. For Henri Lefebvre, the industrial city is a transitional point between the origins of the barter trade town to a sophisticated global exchange of ideas, fine arts, talents and creative individuals.²⁴ Tanjong Pagar served the entrepôt trade during the British colonial era with railways transporting tin and rubber from Malaya to Singapore at the terminal station of Tanjong Pagar and wharf facilities in areas such as Kampong Glam adjacent to the Blair Plains. In the future, the world-class Waterfront City development will serve the service-oriented needs of global banking enterprises, leading property developers and the residential needs of high net-worth individuals and professionals and other Singaporeans interested in HarbourFront lifestyles and retail activities.

Lefebvre argued that although transformation to urban societies can be “sudden”, “gradual, planned, determined”, it is difficult to distinguish between changes that are pre-planned and pre-ordained as opposed to those that are sudden, organic and maybe even “violent”.²⁵ The question of dichotomous social relations is then further argued by Lefebvre in his observation that “urban reality modifies the relations of production without being sufficient to transform them”.²⁶ But, inclusive development appears to be the case for the Tanjong Pagar development, which is well-planned to serve the needs of Singapore’s economy and society and to bring different stakeholders in that space together. The *Straits Times*, the leading English-language daily newspaper in Singapore, pointed out three objectives for the masterplan in the Tanjong Pagar, Marina, Raffles Place, Bayfront and HarbourFront areas: (1) “to build townships for all ages that are green, healthy, connected, strong in community interaction and spirit”; (2) “bring quality jobs closer to home”; (3) “provide a range of housing options”.²⁷ The masterplan pre-determined changes, design and plans are likely to

²⁴Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 2003, p. 14.

²⁵Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 2003, p. 5.

²⁶Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 2003, p. 15.

²⁷Tan, Melissa, “HDB flats in Marina South?” dated 15 Dec 2013 in *The Straits Times* [downloaded on 1 Dec 2015], available at <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/hdb-flats-in-marina-south>.

work both with the market-driven *laissez faire* developmental projects of commercial tenants and private developers and for individuals users and consumers who use the space for their own purposes, often in ways unanticipated by the urban planners.

The symbolic landmark in the Bayfront is the Marina Bay Sands. The author caught a glimpse of the Marina Bay Sands under the pale December 2015 moonlight. In early 2015, at the southern tip of Singapore, Marina Bay, the author took the amphibious duck tour and spotted herons and egrets perching on floating buoys. Nature circumvents urban planning and finds its own niche in the urban landscape for survival. Nature adapts to the structures that humans built and then shapes it for its own habitation, complementary existence or destruction when there is dissonance with the forces of nature. From the Bay area, one can have a clear view of the skyline of the Central Business District of Shenton Way. Marina Bay features the daily Supertree Christmas light-up, which absorbs solar energy in the daytime to power the lights in the evening. Besides environmentally friendly technologies, the green space built on land reclaimed from the sea features festive community activities such as the Christmas Wonderland at the Bay 2015, which makes the Garden by the Bay a gathering place for visitors and tourists enjoying a religious holiday. Community life is strong during the Christmas weekends at the Gardens by the Bay. LED lights lit the entrances to the Christmas Wonderland where visitors enjoyed the Carousel rides set up for the Christmas season and a Christmas choir sang.

Even in such celebrations, nostalgia played a strong role in events planning. For example, there was a nostalgic appearance of the ice cream uncles who used to ply Singapore's streets, selling ice cream in cones or in bread. The recreation of traditional cuisines is a strong means through which to feed the passion for the past. Featuring local favorites, a seafood outlet in that location served the famous chili crab to visitors at the Esplanade. Makansutra Gluttons Bay featured the Tzu Char culture, a ubiquitous culinary tradition in Singapore where customers order a la carte dishes from a menu that usually offers a large number of dishes, mostly cooked by stir frying in a wok. The high heat obtained in a wok stir fry ensures ingredients are well-cooked by "wok hei", an ambiguous and amorphous term denoting the optimal combination of heat, oil and water to the wok ensuring ingredients are fried thoroughly without undercooking or charring them. Nostalgia was also visible; a hawker used a traditional dried leave fan while barbecuing chicken wings over

charcoal flames. Attracted by nostalgia, some of the author's walking companions consumed the well-known Hokkien mee in the Esplanade. Even the Hokkien mee is placed on dried banana leaf for authenticity in accordance with the theme of nostalgic presentation. This reconstructed nostalgic presentation of noodles is carefully recreated by the company of a well-known local food critic turned entrepreneur who operated the esplanade alfresco hawker center. He had written books and studied old-school Singaporean cooking in great detail.

Community life represented by the dried leaf fans of hawkers and the ice cream uncles are probably organic components of community life and not pre-planned. They represent how community users, tenants and even consumers mold public spaces for their own recreational and leisure use, the revival of nostalgic memory and even provide bohemian motivations for the hipster crowds. For example, the ice cream uncle (a nostalgic term of intimacy used by local Singaporeans for pushcart ice cream sellers) drew large crowds of people yearning for a slices of the nostalgic home-made bread (home-made in the past but mass-produced now) with sweet corn, red bean or durian ice cream sandwiched in between. The uncle's motorized ice cream freezer also served a utilitarian purpose for those thronging to the festival in the Christmas Wonderland park area. One of my team-mates on the night hike was drawn simply to a can of cool frothy Root Beer to quench the thirst she had built up over the distance of the walk and while snaking through the crowd soaking in the festive atmosphere. The function played by the uncle in quenching the thirst of my team-mate represents the *laissez faire* organic market-driven needs of consumers.

From this perspective of community-building, Melissa Tan from *The Straits Times* sparked off public debates and discourses with property development stakeholders when she raised the possibility of situating public housing (Housing Development Board flats) in the Marina South area, visualized as an upper-class residential area; some were for and others were against the idea.²⁸ Henri Lefebvre raises the urban problematic, questioning whether the urban city can be considered as a superstructure growing on the substrate of an economic structure and whether the city

²⁸Tan, Melissa, "HDB flats in Marina South?", 15 December 2013, *The Straits Times* [downloaded on 1 December 2015], available at <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/hdb-flats-in-marina-south>.

is a capitalist or socialist phenomenon or a reality.²⁹ The author does not conceptualize the Bayfront, Tanjong Pagar, Raffles Place, HarbourFront, Marina, Bayfront and the future Waterfront City areas in terms of a dichotomy of capitalist or socialist phenomena or realities. If those areas are defined ideologically, then it would become a natural argument against egalitarian community-building in these downtown areas. Reality indicates otherwise. Tanjong Pagar—despite being an economically productive area and a consequence of scientifically rational urban planning with its zoned commercial spaces even during the British colonial era—always had complex and ambiguous social and socio-economic relationships between different stakeholders and individual users of the urban space. Melissa Tan noted that, historically, urban planning policies in this area were deliberately aimed at a mixed reality of social relationships:

Early HDB precincts were built in the city centre such as Tanjong Pagar and Chinatown, to house people living in the overcrowded central urban core [...] The first two HDB blocks in Tanjong Pagar were built on Cantonment Road in 1963, at Duxton Plain where the Pinnacle@Duxton now stands. In Chinatown, the flats at Jalan Minyak in York Hill were completed in 1964, while Blocks 335A and 335B Smith Street were completed in 1983. American political scientist Robert Gamer, who studied Singapore's urban planning in the 1960s and 1970s, noted in a 1972 book titled *The Politics Of Urban Development In Singapore*: "The old city found millionaire and pauper living side by side [...] Rich and poor could get to know one another, talk to one another, and help one another out on a personal basis. This undoubtedly had a tempering effect on class antagonisms."³⁰

The projects were conceived according to market demand and supply. Historically, the community has had horizontal social relations between various socio-economic classes since the days of Singapore's independence. The co-existence of age-old public housing projects in Bukit Merah/Redhill, Tiong Bahru, Tanjong Pagar, Telok Blangah and Cantonment, all close to the Waterfront City, stands as testimony to the longevity of time and space with regard to mixed socio-economic

²⁹Lefebvre, Henri, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 2003, p. 15.

³⁰Tan, Melissa, "HDB flats in Marina South?", 15 December 2013, *The Straits Times* [downloaded on 1 December 2015], available at <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/hdb-flats-in-marina-south>.

projects if the founding of Singapore Improvement Trust in 1927 is taken as the starting date. The author shared his writings with a long-time resident in Tiong Bahru and Redhill within the Tanjong Pagar constituency and she made the comment that:

The continued and deliberate mix of housing and amenities across a broad socio-economic spectrum, especially in the Tanjong Pagar area and its environs, does play a key role, I think, in giving many Singaporeans a sense of a stake and an identity in Singapore's modernisation, given the location and history of the area, and its long association with the development of Singapore, especially from its modern founding.

This echoes the sentiments of Melissa Tan's comments. The hybridized nature of urban development in a progressive market-driven society co-existing with mixed social relations does not fit neatly into Lefebvre's categories of capitalism and socialism; neither is it a transitional social reality. Singapore's determination to build housing and residential projects across socio-economic classes is well-known, with public housing co-existing with private housing projects in the same area. Regardless of income level, all Singaporeans appreciate good urban facilities and greenery. Even in a commercial district such as Marina Bay Sands, care is taken to craft green landscapes; for example, cultivated bamboo at Gardens by the Bay or multi-colored bougainvillea flowers. The same *Straits Times* article also cited the masterplan highlighting two new development sites, Marina South and Kampong Bugis, which were to be established as environmentally—friendly and “walkable” housing areas.³¹ It is interesting to note that the article characterized the Marina South and Kampong Bugis projects as a “fenceless”, non-gated (socio-economically unrestricted) community accessible to walkers and pedestrians.³² In this urban planners' outreach towards the east coast of Singapore, the chapter will briefly discuss Kampong Bugis, Kampong Glam and Rochor areas.

³¹Tan, Melissa, “HDB flats in Marina South?”, 15 December 2013, *The Straits Times* [downloaded on 1 December 2015], available at <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/hdb-flats-in-marina-south>.

³²Tan, Melissa, “HDB flats in Marina South?”, 15 December 2013, *The Straits Times* [downloaded on 1 December 2015], available at <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/hdb-flats-in-marina-south>.

FROM THE CIVIC DISTRICT TO THE EAST COAST BY CONNECTING THROUGH EASTERN SINGAPORE

Leaving the Marina Bay area behind and heading eastwards, the first district that one reaches is Beach Road, followed by Bugis Street. It also means that one is leaving reclaimed land (man-made space with crafted landscapes and nature) for terrain that was part of the original shoreline. Bugis Junction, which straddles Beach Road, City Hall and Arab Street, was named after the Bugis community in Singapore. The Bugis were an ethnic group within the Malay world and were well-known for their naval prowess and warrior skills. They set up a massive sprawling maritime empire that included the Riau-Lingga Islands, Johore and East Malaysian territories. Bugis Street, in the Bugis Village area, became a notorious site for transvestite prostitution in the early post-war decades before it was gentrified and became a lively retail area anchored by a large shopping mall project known as Bugis Junction. At one point, it also hosted a well-known stand-up comedy club. The Queen Street end of the Bugis area was also developed into an art district in the same way as the neighboring Rochor area is being gentrified. Rochor will feature a park corridor system for jogging or cycling along the Rochor Canal in the near future. It could also become the park corridor node for hikers in the future.

Beyond Bugis, walking eastwards from the Civic District, one arrives at Arab Street and Kampong Glam. This was the site where Sultan Hussein first instructed his Temenggong to build a palace for the sultan in a 56 acre parcel of land that extended beyond Kampong Glam to Rochor Canal.³³ The sultan's palace or Istana grounds eventually included all the property between Jalan Sultan and Arab Street, extending to North Bridge Road along the coastal area.³⁴ The Sultan's compound was gradually surrounded by the Arab and Bugis communities, becoming a Muslim area with people from different races, ethnicities and countries.³⁵ Sultan Hussein's son, Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah, started

³³Hack, Karl, "The Singapore Malay Community Enclaves and Cultural Domains", National Institute of Education (NIE) website [downloaded on 5 June 2015], available at <http://www.hsse.nie.edu.sg/staff/blackburn/MalayenclavesSingapore.pdf>, p. 7.

³⁴Hack, Karl, "The Singapore Malay Community Enclaves and Cultural Domains", National Institute of Education (NIE) website [downloaded on 5 June 2015], available at <http://www.hsse.nie.edu.sg/staff/blackburn/MalayenclavesSingapore.pdf>, p. 9.

³⁵Hack, Karl, "The Singapore Malay Community Enclaves and Cultural Domains", National Institute of Education (NIE) website [downloaded on 5 June 2015], available at <http://www.hsse.nie.edu.sg/staff/blackburn/MalayenclavesSingapore.pdf>, p. 9.

a new Istana project between 1840 and 1843, placing George Coleman, Singapore's pioneering European architect, in charge³⁶; today, the Istana compound is a heritage center. Along with the former Istana, the most noticeable landmark in the Kampong Glam area is the current Sultan Mosque, which was constructed in 1924–1928 on the site of the original Mosque built during 1824–1826. The fence that rings the mosque has characteristic Roman-Greco ornamentation typically shaped like pine cones, pineapples or acorns.

Arab Street is also decorated with murals featuring the traditional crafts of Muscat, Oman. One of them commemorates the contributions made by Muscati merchants to the development of Singapore. The neighborhood reflects a rich Malay-Muslim heritage and lies along the eastern route. At its center is the majestic Sultan Mosque in Arab Street. The Sultan Mosque itself is surrounded by the earliest genre of shophouse architecture in Singapore. This is typically a double-storey shophouse of simple design, uncluttered by the architectural implements, mosaic design, broken ceramic tile decoration, gaudy tiles or figurine ornamentation that characterized late-transition shophouses. It is also a less tall construction than later modern shophouses. One reason for its humble design is because merchants had not yet accumulated great wealth from trading in the city and so budgetary constraints kept the construction simple. Such rows of early Nanyang-style shophouses now house retail shops in Arab Street.

Arab Street is a visual treat for hikers. Mosaic tile art found on the Malabar Muslim Mosque as well as the Muscati porcelain tile wall murals are not the only tile art visible in Arab Street. Visitors can also find a vibrant display of gaudy and symmetrical Turkish Iznik porcelain tile art along the street. Examples of such Iznik Islamic tile art can also be found on table tops positioned along the public spaces of the shophouses. The area is also rich in Malay-Muslim heritage and culture. The author came across an old Madrasah religious school during the trek on 7 June 2015 founded in 1912 by a prominent Muslim family, the Alsagoffs. In yet another example of multiculturalism in Singapore, Chinese shophouses have co-existed with the Malay-Muslim community

³⁶Hack, Karl, "The Singapore Malay Community Enclaves and Cultural Domains", National Institute of Education (NIE) website [downloaded on 5 June 2015], available at <http://www.hsse.nie.edu.sg/staff/blackburn/MalayenclavesSingapore.pdf>, p. 10.

for decades, conducting their trade and business. Alongside the mercantile society, Arab Street is also home to the Malay aristocracy. Kampong Glam, formerly the Istana grounds of royalty in Singapore, has been converted to a museum gallery and Malay Heritage Centre. The architecture of the Sultan Mosque building, its spires pointing skywards and a nearby colonial-era cast iron gate with defensive spikes, is an interesting fusion of local communities and European concepts of modernity. On a man-made structure near Arab Street, pigeons cool themselves down at a water fountain on a hot day. It is an example of how wildlife co-exists with human structures by making use of the fountain as a water source and a bathing area. In yet another example of how nature find its way to co-exist with humans, the author spotted a stray cat, probably fed and well-kept by the shophouse business owners in Arab Street, cleaning itself carefully on the streets, totally comfortable with human passers-by.

There is rich community life in the Jalan Sultan and Kampong Glam areas. The author came across a traditional Chinese wedding tea set in Jalan Sultan. The tea set is placed on stacked up tables with traditional ornate Islamic designs for its leg support. Near the table, the author found Indonesian Batik textiles displayed along the public walkways of Arab Street shophouses in this neighborhood that is a milieu of global Islamic cultures. Persian carpets were unfurled along the public walkways at Arab Street and revealing the typical, almost flawless (with the exception of the deliberate ‘Persian flaw’), symmetrical patterns of the carpets. Material objects in this case demonstrated the multicultural makeup of the neighborhood in Arab Street. To sample local culture, the author’s trekking team enjoyed a cup of teh halia, a traditional Indian ginger tea, on 13 June 2015. They also ordered a cup of bandung, an Indonesian rose syrup drink made with evaporated milk. The trekking team had a hearty meal of rusa murtabak, or Muslim deer pizza. For their side dishes, the team had complementary cut cucumbers with ketchup sauce.

There were many hard at work in this community, making roti prata with a beaten egg integrated in the hand-thrown dough. A major feature of Arab Street is the Muslim dishes from all over the Islamic world, including the rich Indonesian rice table culture. Here, in Arab Street, one can enjoy the Minangkabau-style nasi padang dishes. While one section of Arab Street, Jalan Sultan and Kampong Glam, remains traditional and has a strong ethnic flavor, another section of the same area is now gentrified, having become a boutique retailing district. The Middle Eastern, Persian and North African flavors of Arab Street are visible in

its restaurants. Here, one is able to spot Turkish lamps with Moroccan décor, a hybrid combination of the Middle Eastern feel and Southeast Asia Muslim traditions (Fig. 2.2).

While the Sultan Mosque has Southeast Asian origins, another nearby mosque in Lavender has an Indian Muslim architecture and historical background. The Malabar mosque in Lavender is Indian–Muslim in origin and it sits between Bugis and Lavender. The Malabar Muslim Jama-ath Mosque was built in the 1960s, a relatively recent construction. It is the only Malabar Muslim facility in Singapore catering to the Malabar Muslim immigrants coming from the Indian state of Kerala who migrated to Singapore as traders.

Creative elements in the local community welcomed the idea of street art to liven up the atmosphere. In the Jalan Sultan area, facing Lavender, the author spotted some creative street art, adding an artistic touch to the gentrified area. Even ordinary, everyday objects can be interpreted as an art form and, sometimes, they can be combined with the sense of yearning for nostalgia. For hikers, the terrain is a significant element of the walking activity. When walking from the Arab Street area through Lavender and in the direction of Little Thailand in Beach Road, the author passed by the remains of floor tiles left over from the 1970s psychedelic design phase. They presented a beautiful heritage art form that represented nostalgia for individuals born in the 1960s and 1970s who were able to recall coming across such gaudy designs.

LITTLE THAILAND

Moving eastwards and closer to the Kallang River, one reaches an informal ethnic community corner known as ‘Little Thailand’ to local Singaporeans. The author trekked to Little Thailand on 27 May 2015 and walked with another trekking team along the urban walkway from Little Thailand Golden Mile to Bugis MRT station on 7 June 2015. The landmark structure in Little Thailand in Singapore’s Beach Road is the four-faced Buddha altar located in front of the Golden Mile Complex. The altar is adorned with an array of traditional Thai dancers and flower offerings. Opposite the Golden Mile Complex is the venerable Golden Mile Food center, an old multi-storey hawker center that has served Singaporean foodies over generations. This is, again, an object of nostalgia for many Singaporeans who recall eating traditional hawker food in this facility and purchasing camping supplies from the wholesale



Fig. 2.2 The author's camera captures the lone figure of an Indian Muslim wearing muslin textiles sitting on a stool at the back of a shophouse taking a break from work, gazing far into the corridors of Arab Street where the watchtower of the Sultan Mosque stands. He is an example of the hardworking people in this area who make the daily commercial activities in Arab Street possible. *Photo taken on 24 May 2015*

distributors in the same complex. Near the food center, the multicultural character of Golden Mile Little Thailand is visible in a well-known Hainanese bakery that also sells Peranakan (a cultural fusion of the Malay and Chinese cultures) kueh confectionary. Not surprisingly, Little Thailand is well-known for its Thai food, serving both locals and Thai patrons with green curry, Thai-style milk tea and virgin coconuts. Thais and non-Thais alike shop here because fresh lychees, rambutans and other fresh Thai fruits and vegetables are sold in an open market format in Little Thailand. The iconic landmark in Little Thailand is a four-faced Buddha. The Taiwanese Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation is a sponsor of this Buddhist altar, which is revered by Thai expatriates living and working in Singapore.

LITTLE INDIA

Moving northeastwards from Arab Street and Little Thailand, one arrives at Little India, back to Tanjong Pagar's political boundaries again. Similar to the ethnic quarters of Chinatown, the old British colonial architecture of shophouses feature the spiral fire escape staircase and rows of these shophouses still remain in the retail spaces between Little India and the Rochor Canal. Zinc and terracotta rooftops lined the skyline of traditional shophouses in Little India juxtaposed against a modern public housing estate. The Indian Hindu character of Little India is prominently displayed. It is one of the most colorful and culturally rich areas of Singapore. A small Jewish community once co-existed with the Indian community here, while Chinese retailers ran jewelry shops in this area. Near the entrance of Serangoon Road, leading to Little India from the city direction, an old building stands testimony to the Jewish community that used to be here. The authorities have revealed that this building will make way for redevelopment. As with the other areas in the Civic District, Chinatown and Tiong Bahru, the co-existence of different racial groups and religious practitioners is clearly visible.

As with the other great religions that have come to the melting pot of Singapore, the local Indian community shows great reverence for their religion. Little shrines can be found throughout the shop corners and back lanes, set up by proprietors operating businesses in the Little India district. For example, a heavenly dancing maiden statue displayed in front of a Little India shophouse was erected by a proprietor whose shop faces the street. At another street corner, a statue of Ganesha is

visible. Such religious devotions are an immediate experience for hikers and foreign backpackers traveling through this area. Even in matters of the afterlife, Hindu rituals, customs and traditions are strictly observed. Indian casket services are available for rental at Little India, including their specially designed vans with traditional motifs such as peacocks which are permanently parked near the Race Course Road public car park. Religious activities are organized by local Hindu temples. One of the major places of worship is the Sri Veeramakaliamman Temple in Little India. The Temple is decorated with gilding and bells at its doors and a temple tile featuring the peacock design. Hindu devotees buy peacock feathers for their worship at the temple.

Due to the presence of affordable backpacking lodgings in Little India, one can often find backpackers wandering through this area. Besides cheap lodgings, backpackers, local residents and visitors alike can enjoy the affordably priced fresh produce in the provision shops in Little India. The retail and marketplace spaces of Little India are colorful and boisterous. Fruits are placed on sale by the roadside in Little India. The variety of restaurants here catering to Muslim, Hindu, vegetarian, Chinese and Malay patrons is delightful and prices range from the highly affordable to the extremely expensive. For his dinner after the trek, the author ate curry served on banana leaf. His team ordered naan served with curry. After his meal, the author respectfully made a flower offering on the steps of the temple. He placed oil lamps and left flower petals on a metallic offering table in the temple, in accordance with Hindu traditions. He also made coconut offerings to Hindu gods at the temple and lit a candle in the oil lamp stand in front of the temple. He wished for universal peace and good progress in the rest of the project's trek.

This chapter described the Civic District and its surrounding areas to paint an ethnographic picture of the oldest district in modern Singapore. It is where urban development started and all areas covered in subsequent chapters can take reference from this point as the rest of Singapore was once "peripheral" to this core area of development. Development extended outwards from this area, gradually absorbing these peripheral areas and, in the current context, only pockets of well-conserved catchment areas and secondary forests can truly be defined as the non-urbanized periphery today. But, as Lefebvre pointed out, when urbanization reaches its crescendo and becomes de-personalized from the city's inhabitants, a deep sense of nostalgia takes over and its stakeholders yearn for the return of things lost, such as the green spaces, old

traditions, rustic neighborhoods, customary ways of living and a sense of community bonding. Some individuals in Singapore are engaging in this nostalgic remembrance and re-constructing certain nostalgic elements as a means to recover old practices and memories. Chapter 3 will continue the discussion on nostalgia in one of the earliest developed public housing districts of Singapore, the district of Tiong Bahru.

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