CONSERVING THE ETHNIC ENCLAVE:
THE CASE OF KAMPONG GLAM IN SINGAPORE

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ABSTRACT

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CONSERVING THE ETHNIC ENCLAVE: THE CASE OF KAMPONG GLAM IN SINGAPORE

This was a study conducted for the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board to advocate conservation as an alternate approach to urban redevelopment for Kampong Glam, a traditional Muslim settlement of Singapore, and to propose to revitalize Kampong Glam by making it a cultural tourist attraction.

This thesis addresses three main concerns: the rapid deterioration of the historically and culturally significant Kampong Glam which is also threatened by redevelopment pressures; the need to expand Singapore's cultural tourist infrastructure to attract more foreign visitors; and the disappearance of Singapore's unique historical cityscape as a result of massive urban redevelopment.

Through analysis of the tourist's interest, and the concerns and attitude of interest groups, the objectives, criteria and approach for this project were formulated. This study recommends preserving the physical and social character of Kampong Glam by revitalizing the stagnant commercial and cultural activities, improving and restoring historic buildings and urban spaces, maximizing community participation, and developing programs to interpret the history of Kampong Glam.

Four cultural themes of Kampong Glam's history of development are identified: maritime trade and commerce, Muslim culture, Singapore's monarchy linkage, and immigration and commerce. They are used as the focus of the conservation and development efforts and each of them is used as the activity theme of one of the four theme districts. A similar approach can be organized for other conservation projects in Singapore and administered under a national program, the National Cultural Park System.

This thesis proposes that resources should first be concentrated on key areas of each district to establish the image and the pace of the project and to stimulate improvement efforts in the background areas. Approach toward planning and design that would retain the unique character of Kampong Glam is necessary. Continuity of existing activities and communities should be ensured. Key implementation actions include: changes in legislation, arranging special financing assistance programs, organizing community and social assistance, and providing technical and development advice. A special task agency should be established to coordinate all implementation and management efforts.

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>History and Significance of Kampong Glam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Cultural Themes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>The Urban Scene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>People</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>TOURISM &amp; KAMPONG GLAM</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Tourism in Singapore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Tourist &amp; Cultural Interests in Kampong Glam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>CONSERVATION IN SINGAPORE</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Conservation in Singapore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Influences on National Level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Implications of the Current Conservation Approach on Kampong Glam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>CONCERNS FROM KAMPONG GLAM</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Local Concerns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Interest at Stake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Key Objectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Principles of Programming and Implementation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>A National Cultural Park System</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Kampong Glam National Cultural Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Major Concepts and Strategies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.0 IMPLEMENTATION, MANAGEMENT AND IMPACTS

7.1 Park Development
7.2 Legislative Changes
7.3 Development Control & Zoning of Activities
7.4 Project Finance
7.5 Implementation and Management
7.6 Impacts

8.0 SUMMARY

APPENDIX I Singapore Tourist Promotion Board

Bibliography
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
This is a study conducted for the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board to advocate conservation as an alternative approach to urban redevelopment for the Arab Street area of the Kampong Glam, a traditional Muslim settlement of Singapore. The study consists of the arguments supporting conservation, an analysis of the specific context in which conservation is advocated and an overall conservation and revitalization strategy.

Singapore is an island state of about 617 square kilometers, with a population of 2.4 million. It is located in the center of Southeast Asia, midway between the India and Pacific Oceans, just north of the equator (Fig. 1.1). It has neither natural resources nor scenic wonders, but has benefited since its earliest days from its strategic position on one of the world's great trade routes.

The development of modern Singapore began in 1819 when the British East India Company leased Singapore and made it a major British trading post in Southeast Asia. Singapore was then a British colony and a self-governing state. In 1963, it achieved independence as part of the new state of Malaysia. On August 9, 1965, Singapore became a fully independent, sovereign country.

Since then, the achievement-oriented, authoritarian government has embarked on major public housing, urban redevelopment, industrialization, administrative and
Fig. 1.1 Location
social reform programs to clear the slums, provide decent housing for the population, provide jobs to the mass of unemployed people, and raise the incomes and the standard of living of the people.\(^{(1)}\) The nation now enjoys a high level of political stability and rapid economic growth and social development.

Tourism development is an important sector of Singapore's economy. Not only does it bring foreign exchange earnings and attract investment in related industries, it also creates employment opportunities. It is expected to be one of the five economic growth pillars for the nation in the next decade. The tourist industry, however, has suffered a period of decelerated growth in the last three years for a variety of external and internal reasons.

The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB), the government agency responsible for the planning, development and management of the tourist industry (refer to Appendix I), is advocating the preservation and revitalization of historic structures and districts in Singapore. One of the key items on the board's agenda is the expansion of Singapore's tourist infrastructure to improve Singapore's appeal to foreign visitors and to attract more.

\(^{(1)}\) Information Division, "Singapore '82", Ministry of Culture, Singapore.
The STPB is particularly concerned about preservation because government-sponsored urban redevelopment has overrun many of the traditional characteristic, small-scale, high density, urban settings (Fig. 1.2 & 1.3). In addition, most of these historical structures are suffering from rapid deterioration (Fig. 1.4). This situation may be traced to a lack of maintenance caused by rent control, and uncertainty about future government acquisition and demolition. This situation is particularly unfavorable for tourist promotion.

To promote tourism and present a wide range of activities for tourists, Singapore must exploit its multi-racial and cultural heritage and build man-made attractions. Many tourists like to see something different. If most parts of the traditional city are redeveloped and replaced with new structures, new uses and new activities, then the city will look more and more like any international city. A unique Singapore will be lost, and thus, will hold less attraction for tourists. Preserving some part of the city’s traditional urban character and culture would give a sense of uniqueness to the tourist experience. The aim of preservation and revitalization is to attract visitors from Europe, Australia and North America, who make up the bulk of

(1) LEE, Catherine and JOHN DALE, Ole ‘How Many Tourists?’ Planews, May 1980, Vol. 7 No. 2
Kampong Glam is one of the five historic cultural attractions in the city center. The STPB wants to preserve and improve the existing cultural attractions and retain some of the city's old charm in order to maintain a wide range of activities for tourists.

The Kampong Glam (Fig. 1.5 & 1.6) is one of the five major historical cultural attractions in the city center (Fig. 1.7). The area may soon be swallowed by development, however, if nothing is done to preserve it (Fig. 1.8). One of the earliest settlements in Singapore, Kampong Glam has always been the center of the Muslim community. The Arab Street area is a specialty shopping district for the sale, both whole-sale and retail, of Batik fabric, traditional Malay and Indonesian crafts, as well as, Indonesian spices, Indian jewelry and textile products. The architecture and the urban setting are reminiscent of colonial Singapore. The Istana (palace) Kampong Glam symbolizes Singapore's brief history with monarchy. This area is popular not only among foreign visitors, but also among local citizens. It is an area rich in culture and history.

The task of this study is to identify a viable way to preserve the historical Kampong Glam and enhance its traditional cultural characteristics (Fig. 1.9). The aim of the effort is to preserve not only the buildings, but also the
Fig. 1.5 Kampong Glam
Fig. 1.6 Plan of Kampong Glam
people, the activities and the atmosphere which make up its total character. The ultimate objectives are to strengthen Singapore's image as a peaceful blend of many cultures, to ensure a varied choice of tourist attractions, and to make available a wider range of activities for foreign visitors.

The STPB's previous experience with preservation and tourist infrastructure development will be considered in formulating the goals of the conservation strategy. The conclusions drawn from this experience are as follows:

1. The area must be attractive to and patronized by local citizens.
2. There should be an appropriate, marketable theme for the activities of the area.
3. Use controls must be imposed to enhance the cultural theme and must not be based on the highest rental or income revenue.

These criteria have been emphasized constantly by officers of the STPB as the basis for a successful project.

This study (Fig. 1.20) begins with a brief introduction in Chapter 1, followed by a sketch of the historical and cultural context of Kampong Glam in Chapter 2. This is followed by an analysis in Chapter 3 of the components of the tourist potential in the area. In Chapters 4 and 5, the national-level pressures and the interest groups in and around Kampong Glam which have
shaped its past and present and which will influence its future are analyzed. The study then argues in Chapter 6 that conservation of both the physical and social fabric is essential to the success of the project, and that the project should be viewed as part of a nation-wide, on-going effort to preserve Singapore's historical heritage in the interest of both the visitors and the citizens of Singapore. A program for the conservation of Kampong Glam and the strategies for its implementation is outlined in Chapter 7. Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the ideas for the formulation of the conservation policy arrived at in this study.
CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT
2.1.0 HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF KAMPONG GLAM

Kampong Glam means, in Malay, Village of Glam trees. These beautiful trees with broad leaves were once unique to this area and provided its livelihood. The variety of its architecture and the townscape is a collection of over one hundred and sixty years of development. One of the earliest Muslim settlements in Singapore, Kampong Glam’s history can be traced back to the 1820s when the British first colonized Singapore. The area is now the nation’s center of Muslim culture and activity, focusing on the Sultan Mosque. For the purposes of this study, Kampong Glam is an excellent example of a traditional environment with a strong potential for tourism.

The Kampong Glam story can be described in three periods, each with its own economic, social and physical characteristics (Fig. 2.1):

* Prior to 1819:
  Rural Kampong Glam, Early Fishing Village

* Between 1819 and World War II:
  Colonial Era, Muslim Maritime Trading Center and Immigrant Community

* Post World War II:
  Independent Singapore, Transformation to Commercial Center

Fig. 2.1 Kampong Glam Story
Fig. 2.2 Map of Singapore 1822-23

Kampong Glam was a Bugis Village with Sultan's compound
2.1.1 RURAL KAMPONG GLAM: EARLY FISHING VILLAGE

Until the 1820s, the Kampong Glam area was characterized by swampy jungle and wooden sheds. Most of the residents, at that time, were Bugis from Indonesia (Fig. 2.2). Life in the village revolved around farming the Glam Trees (Malaleuca Leucadendron) and fishing. The Glam trees offered a variety of products. The trunk was used as hull planks for fishing boats and fire wood, the papery bark as weaving materials for the wooden huts; dried fruit provided black pepper, and the leaves provided oil. The Glam trees also provided essential materials for the maintenance of boats which were pivotal to the livelihood of the fishermen. Pirating was another active occupation of the villagers during this period.

2.1.2 COLONIAL ERA: MUSLIM MARITIME TRADING CENTER & IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

The colonization and development of maritime trades changed Kampong Glam drastically (Fig. 2.3). The British East India Company leased Singapore from the Sultan of Johore in 1819, to develop the city into a free port for its East

(1) Perkin, Jare 'Kampong Glam: Spirit of Community' Singapore 1984
Indian Trading posts. Singapore's locational advantages and the cultural and religious connections of the earlier settlers in Kampong Glam, led to the rapid expansion of an import/export trade for Asian crafts and spices. Each year, either the trade winds or the monsoon brought the trading season and the village came alive with activities both on shore and on board the anchored vessels loading or unloading Asian crafts, spices and slaves. Fish importing and distribution were other key activities in the area (Fig. 2.4).

Kampong Glam's economic importance led to its rapid urbanization. During this modernization period, Kampong Glam was transformed into a Muslim urban center. It was designated as a Muslim enclave in Singapore's first master plan (Fig. 2.5), which reflected the British colonial approach, whereby different racial and cultural groups were segregated.

Kampong Glam was a privileged residential area in the Earlier 1820s. The Beach Road was then called the 'Street of 20 houses' (Fig. 2.6). It was gradually transformed into a dense urban settlement for the Muslim migrant community. Many low-rise shophouses and sheds were built to accommodate

(1) Perkin, Jane 'Kampong Glam: Spirit of Community' Singapore 1984
Fig. 2.4 Beach Road Fishing Port and Fishing Market (Courtesy of National Archive, Singapore)

Fish imports and distribution were one of the key attractions.
Fig. 2.5 Plan of the Town of Singapore, 1823 (Courtesy of National Museum, Singapore)
The area between Beach Road and Rochor River is designated for Arabs, Bugis and the Malay Sultan.
Kampong Glam was a rich Arab merchant's neighborhood with many villas.
ever-expanding businesses and population in the area. The swampy village had become an extensive town (Fig. 2.7).

Programs to construct public infrastructures were carried out by the British colonial government. It built the major roads and bridges for the area in late 1820s. Most of these projects were constructed by convict labor brought from India by the East India Company. The government also drained the mangrove swamps at Kampong Glam, providing roads and covered gutters.

The community in Kampong Glam changed drastically with the development of the maritime trades (Fig. 2.8). A large influx of migrants transformed the Bugis' fishing village. The original Bugis traders and pirate were followed by Arab merchants, and Malay from Pahang and Malacca (Fig. 2.9). At the same time, a large number of Javanese, Boyance and Chinese migrants migrated to Singapore, attracted by the profitable Eastern trade or trying to escape the political unrest in their homelands and racial persecution in other ports.

During the colonial era, a police force was established to maintain social discipline, and Night Watch Fund was set up in 1821 to protect local shipping. Civic groups joined the colonial government in organizing and funding pirate hunts, using armed boats to free the area of its predators. The local
Many lowrise shophouses and shed were built to accommodate expanding business and population. Kampong Glam has developed into a maritime trading center and a Muslim immigrant community.
Fig. 2.8 Chinese textile retailers during the colonial period (Courtesy of National Archive, Singapore)
Fig. 2.9 Javanese meatsellers (Courtesy of National Archive, Singapore)
government also began to control gambling houses and cockpits through licensing for the first time. Carrying weapons (a Bugis tradition) was banned, too.

This period also witnessed the first anti-slavery attempt against the native nobles. Crawford, the British administrator of the area, freed 27 female slaves who has escaped from the Istana Kampong Glam.

Clans, associations, and assorted community groups, including the underworld Triad Society, were organized during the colonial period to provide for the needs of new migrants to the area. Jobs, housing, and educational opportunities helped the migrants and also protected them in their competition with other social groups. Most of them were self-organized by the immigrants, according to their ethnic or cultural backgrounds.

During this period, the local government had to cope with various civil troubles, including fires, flooding, tiger prowling, infectious diseases, opium smoking, over-crowded slums, and poor environmental conditions. The totality of economic, physical and social changes characterized the modernization of Singapore during the colonial period (Fig. 2.10).
2.1.3 INDEPENDENT SINGAPORE: TRANSFORMATION TO COMMERCIAL CENTER

The economic activities in Kampong Glam since independence have been dominated by commercial development. Kampong Glam experienced a great impact from the changes in shipping transportation (Fig. 2.11). The development of much larger cargo vessels, container liners and modern warehousing facilities resulted in a segregation of storage and administrative functions of entrepot business. Thus shipping access and storage facilities were relocated in other parts of Singapore because Kampong Glam's waterway and areas did not meet the requirements of modern shipping. Its administrative entrepot businesses, however, remained in the area.

Today Kampong Glam has become Singapore's commercial center for merchandise from nearby Muslim countries, such as Malaysia, Indonesia and India. The sale, both wholesale and retail, of Batik (a traditional Indonesian printed fabric) products, basketware, jewelry, Indonesian spices and Muslim religious items make up the major commercial wares. These businesses now rely on land-based transportation (Fig. 2.12).

The area has developed into a more integrated and cohesive community, following the independence of the nation. Although Kampong Glam is known
Fig. 2.12 Commercial Atmosphere in Kampong Glam
as a Muslim settlement, the emphasis is on a multi-racial, multi-cultural integration. The mixture of racial groups is very similar to the racial combination of the nation.

The community is less transient than before, although, as an ethnic neighborhood, it still tends to draw new immigrants. The occupational profile of Kampong Glam has changed quite substantially. The dominant form of employment the community has changed from labor to service jobs. This trend reflects similar changes in the structure of the national economy.

Drastic changes in Kampong Glam’s physical environment paralleled its economic transformation (Fig. 2.13). A public housing development of high-rise apartment blocks replaced the congested low-rise pre-World War II housing in the Crawford Road area (Fig. 2.14). The government-backed urban redevelopment program transformed areas north of Jalan Sultan and south of Beach Road into belts of multi-story, large scale mixed use commercial, office, and residential. Redevelopment pressure along North Bridge Road has reached Arab Street (from the city center). Commercial development in Kampong Glam has been a mixture of small-scale structures with large, multi-story complexes.
Some of the Kampong Glam's urban fabric leftover from the colonial period still remains, especially between Beach Road and North Bridge Road, and the area north of North Bridge Road and Arab Street. The center of Kampong Glam, an area bounded by Beach Road, Ophir Road, North Bridge Road and Jalan Sultan is also part of the surviving fabric. The future of these areas, however, is uncertain.

To summarize, historical developments in Kampong Glam have three main periods of commercial activity: 1) the fishing village, 2) the maritime trading center and immigrant community, and 3) the commercial center. These periods correspond roughly to the three key periods of Singapore's overall economic and political developments. With the transformation of the economy development activity in Kampong Glam has become increasingly intensive. The social fabric has changed from one of diverse groups into an integrated and more organized group, following the political development of the nation.

The following section is devoted to discussions about the cultural characteristics of Kampong Glam and an analysis of how such characteristics are manifested in the physical resources of the district.
2.2.0 CULTURAL THEMES

The story of Kampong Glam, which fascinates many visitors, centers on the integration of different cultures, ideas and forces into a multi-racial, commercial system. The physical embodiment of that system is an ethnic enclave such as Kampong Glam. The basic social and cultural themes which have influenced the Kampong Glam district throughout its history are maritime trading and commerce, Muslim culture, the monarchy linkage and immigrant and community development. Because they form the basic framework for the organization of future cultural and tourist developments, these themes are analyzed in the following sections.

2.2.1 MARITIME TRADE & COMMERCE

The development of a maritime trade in Kampong Glam can be traced back to the early days of the colonial period. Accessibility to the Rochor River and the sea, determined the development of Kampong Glam's entrepot trading activities. Arabian, Malay, Indonesian and Chinese traders sailed across the seas, bringing Asian crafts and delicacies, such as sandalwood, gold dust, coffee, oil, rice, wax tortoise-shell, spices, silks, and brocades. After 1820, the maritime trade expanded quickly.
Today, businesses in the area are no longer so closely related to the water. Although many of the buildings which housed the early traders remain. They have been transformed into administrative offices or retail stores. The old storage and distributing businesses, however, have been moved to warehouses located elsewhere in the city.

It is difficult to present the evolution of the maritime trade in Kampong Glam. Because the area's association with water is no longer obvious. The land reclamation programs carried out during the early 1960s and late 1970s on the southern waterfront blocked an easy view of the sea from Kampong Glam (Fig. 2.15). Furthermore, the Rochor River has been lined with a concrete embankment and renamed Rochor Channel. It now forms part of the monsoon drainage system. Such changes make it difficult to imagine that water was once the life line of Kampong Glam.

Since the 1820s Commercial activities have expanded in Kampong Glam's, to keep pace with the immigrant population. The flourishing of the Southeast Asian trade and the mass immigration from Malaysia, the Arabic countries, and India and China transformed the fishing village at Kampong Glam into an urban center. The census for 1824 showed that the population in the area rose from less than 150 fisherman to 9,652 persons. To support this population,
Fig. 2.15 Transformation of shore line
commercial activities developed accordingly. Stores and shops carried a large variety of clothing, food stuffs and other commercial goods and services such as barbers and restaurants to cater for the growing needs of the immigrant community.

Today, the area has transformed into a commercial center for textile products, and Muslim-related merchandise. A full range of Muslim-related products make this area a very popular specialty shopping district for both foreign visitors and local people.

The Arab Street and Bussorah Street area is the heart of this shopping district (Fig. 2.16). It has retained a strong Muslim flavor with shops and trading companies here dealing the sale, both retail and wholesale of textile products, Asian crafts, Malay and Indonesian spices, jewelry, Muslim religious items, and fishing equipments for both sport fishing and industrial fishing. This is one of the best places in Singapore to buy batik fabric and ready-made batik clothing. There is also enormous selection of silk and other materials, precious and semi-precious stones, jewelry, perfume essence, spices, dates, Indonesian delicacies and herbal medicines, prayer rugs, etc. Singapore’s largest range of caneware, baskets and other woven items are also sold here. There are a few stone
LAND USE

- Institution
- Residential
- Textile
- Traditional Craft
- Engineering
- Others (office, etc.)

Fig. 2.16 Existing Conditions
carvers and a larger number of metal workshop and motor vehicle mechanics in the area serving mainly the local population.

Although some parts of Kampong Glam have been redeveloped, the shopping district has remained almost the same since World War II period. The only exception is the disappearance of the street hawkers who were banned by the government. Most of the shophouses are intact. Some infill reconstructions illustrates the continuing history of urban development over the last 150 years. A host of interesting shops in nooks and crannies can easily be explored on foot.

The ambience of this shopping environment embodies the flavor of colonial Singapore. The shops are not air-conditioned and, therefore, shop doors are opened wide with merchandise displayed in traditional styles. Shoppers can wonder along one side of the street and then cross over to the other side to browse through another range of selections. The old-time air about the district makes this shopping experience unique in the Singapore context.

2.2.2 MUSLIM CULTURE

Kampong Glam's association with Muslim culture can be traced back to 1824, when the area was designated a Muslim settlement in the first Master Plan of
Singapore. A large number of Arab, Malay, Indonesian and Indian traders then settled in the area. Along with merchandise, they brought Islam, which eventually led Kampong Glam to be the center for Haji traffic, attracting Muslims from the Archipelago, Indo-China, and China.

Today, the Muslim culture is mainly reflected in the Sultan Mosque and the activities in the areas around it. The Sultan Mosque is the largest mosque in Singapore and is the center for the Muslim communities of the nation. It is packed with worshippers at noon every Friday. Areas around the mosque provide specialty services for the Muslim community, which include Islamic book stores, restaurants, shops selling prayer rugs and other Muslim religious items.

During the Muslim fasting month, Ramatan, Bussorah Street is transformed into a lively and colorful scene. Stalls are set up in the street, selling all kinds of Malay and Indian cakes and sweetmeats which will be eaten when the fast is over. Ramatan attracts hundreds of Muslims and other visitors. Calls for prayers emanating from the dominating minarets of the Mosque, five times a day, cast a solemn spell on the area for a few moments.
The dominance of the Sultan Mosque creates the Islamic character for the area. One enters the grand, golden-domed mosque by proceeding along Bussorah Street between the two-story Muslim residences. The mosque itself is surrounded by groups of tightly clustered shophouses. This analysis setting may be disrupted if redevelopment in and around Kampong Glam gets out of control.

2.2.3 MONARCHY LINKAGE

Kampong Glam is the historic seat of Malay royalty in Singapore. Sultan Hussein, the first sultan of Singapore, was given Kampong Glam by Temenggong, then the ruler of Singapore, and the Sultan built his palace there.

A treaty, marking the beginning of Singapore's colonial period, was made with J. Crawford of the British East India Company on August 2, 1824. The Sultan and Tremenggong ceded forever the island of Singapore and the seas, the straits and the islands within 10 geographical miles of the mainland. The Sultan abandoned his sovereign rights and authority, territorial and otherwise over Singapore, however, the treaty recognized the prior arrangement made between the Sultan and Tremenggong and left Kampong Glam to the Sultan, his heirs
and successors so long as they continued to reside there. Kampong Glam's association with royalty, therefore, continued.

The Istana (palace) Kampong Glam, a Palladian style, two-story building, is believed to have been commissioned by Sultan Ali, the son of Sultan Hussein in about 1840–43. It is located in the center of what used to be the Sultan Hussein's fifty-six acre estate. The Istana is now in the possession of the Sultan's descendants. Together with some ten single-story, timber houses, it accommodates about 20 families including the Sultan's heir and their many relatives. The building has deteriorated badly. Only the symmetrical layout and the simple Palladian features are still visible. It needs much repair and restoration to reveal its glorious past.

2.2.4 IMMIGRANTS & COMMUNITY

Colonial Kampong Glam was founded by the tough, adventurous and visionary traders and the migrants. They were either motivated by profit or were fleeing the civil commotions in their homelands (China, Phillipines, the Archipealagos, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Arab countries).

Most of the hardworking immigrants came to Kampong Glam bare-handed. They relied on the help of their native countryman in the new land for
immediate accommodations, and a helping hand with jobs and other opportunities. Some of them did well, moved up the social and economic ladder, and then moved to other parts of the city. Many, however, remained to participate actively in the life of Kampong Glam.

Because of their varied cultural and racial backgrounds, the immigrants tended to band together with their own countryman. The interaction among these groups was not always peaceful. Racial riots were common, even up through the early 1960s. Islam, however, the religion of most of the residents in Kampong Glam, brought many of these immigrants together.

The community organizations, clans and associations that were formed by immigrants in the colonial days, played an important role in helping the new immigrants. They were, and still are, the central focus of social activities in Kampong Glam.

Community activities mainly center on Aliwal Street, where a number of clans and associations, together with a community center, a primary school and an Arab school are, located. People meet formally and informally formally to exchange information, organize activities, learn special skills, or just enjoy the leisure activities held in these places.
2.3.0 THE URBAN SCENE

Today, the urban scene in Kampong Glam is a mixture of low-rise, traditional structures and high-rise, large-scale building complexes with an international style of design. (the details of the colonial-to-urban transformation are discussed in section 2.1.) This section contains an analysis of the character of Kampong Glam's physical environment, its local characteristics and its place in the city. The physical environment of Kampong Glam has been substantially transformed over the three main periods of its history (Refer to section 2.1.0): from a few fisherman's huts standing between glam trees on swampy land in the rural days to a neighborhood of large villas in the early colonial period, and finally to a full-blown urban environment. The spacious atmosphere of the colonial period was transformed into an extensive urban environment when the villas were replaced by a large number of low-rise (two to four stories) row houses during the late period of colonial rule.

Kampong Glam is one of the urban centers of Singapore formed by water (another example, the Boat Quay-Singapore River). The pattern of organization of Kampong Glan's physical fabric was dictated by its proximity to the Rochor River and the sea. For example, its accessibility to water resulted in a concentration of commercial developments in the area. Major access roads run
parallel to the original river and shoreline, with a main street connecting them. This utilitarian layout allowed most establishments direct access to the water (Fig. 2.17).

With redevelopment, Kampong Glam has become part of the area that extends the formal city center. Belts of developments radiate out from Singapore's government center to Kampong Glam. This belt-like pattern has become obvious now, with the Beach Road/Victoria Street redevelopment belt pushing further north. The contrast between the new and traditional forms is characteristic of this kind of extension.

On a local scale, the physical environment of Kampong Glam, today, is a coexistence of traditional shophouses and large multi-story commercial complexes coexist in Kampong Glam (Fig. 1.5). The two- and three-story shophouses were built mainly in the later half of the nineteenth century. Some of them were used as residences, while others provided a self-contained work and living unit. Later on, most of them became the congested quarters of immigrants.

The shophouses are similar to Southern Chinese row-houses in construction (Fig. 2.18). The narrow street frontage enables a larger number of shopfronts along the main road. The long internal spaces are penetrated by airwells which
North Bridge Road, Singapore.

Fig. 2.18 Shophouses along North Bridge Road (Courtesy of National Archive, Singapore)
provide ventilation and light and also serve as work yards. A five- to eight-foot-wide covered walkway links all the shopfronts. Some of the building facades are of plain, utilitarian design, while others have a combination of decorative elements from Europe, China, Malaysia and India. (1) Groups of four, five, and seven units of varied height, design and painted in pastel shades resulting in an interesting streetscape.

These buildings do not have a dramatic history, but for generations they have been an essential backdrop to everyday life. They embody the visual confluence of multi-varied ethnic roots, and never cease to delight the eyes and enhance the sense of time and place unique to the city. (2)

The urban environment is made up of long, thin blocks dictated by the row house layout. The pattern was changed only at the Mosque which has to look towards Mecca. Congestion in the area did not allow for much communal open space. (Such spaces were created later by demolition of several building blocks.) Although the street layout was highly influenced by the Southern

(1) Some called this architectural expression 'vernacular Singapore Eclectic Style'.

(2) S. Rajaratnam, M. Gretchen, 'Pastel Portraits - Singapore's Architectural Heritage', Singapore Coordinating Committee, 1984
Chinese utilitarian approach, some street names (Jalan Sultan, Arab, Bussorah, Baghdad and Muscat Streets) reflected the Malay, Indian and Arabic origins of the early settlers.

**Land marks in Kampong Glam** include the Sultan Mosque, the Istana Kampong Glam, Bendahara’s House, the Punduk Java, the Alsagoff Arab School, the Chong Cheng School, and the Fatimah Mosque (Fig. 2.19).

The Sultan Mosque was originally a simple structure with a three-tiered, tile roof constructed in 1824. It was replaced by the present Middle East style building in about 1925. Its parapet walls were adorned with battlements and the windows were of pointed arch frames with pre-cast ornamental block parapets. An interesting point about the building is that each of its golden domes is seated on a base of glass bottles. The mosque used to be the tallest building in the area. It is possible to see all the roofs on the minarets. This grand structure with its springs of minarets and golden domes used to be the focal point of the Muslim community in Singapore.

The Istana Kampong Glam was the residence of Sultan Hussein. This two-story Palladian style building was built in the 1840s. Bendahara’s House, standing right next to Istana Kampong Glam, belonged to Kendahara, the highest officer.
of the Kampong Glam. The Punduk Java was originally a drama house. It is now a community house for a large number of Javanese immigrant families. The Alsagoff Arab School, built in 1912, was founded by the wealthy Arab merchant, Alsagoff. This adapted Arabic style building has imported iron-grill railings, said to be from Arabia. It is one of the very few religious schools in Singapore from Muslims.

2.4.0 PEOPLE

The popular image of Kampong Glam was, and still is, as an Arab and Malay settlement, although many Chinese have also settled in this area (Fig. 2.21 & 2.22). The first census (of 1824) showed that Chinese made up almost 30% of the population (3,178 out of 9,652 residents). The population in the area, now, consists of 13% Malay, 10% Indian, 75% Chinese and 2% others.\(^1\) This ethnic composition is quite close to the ethnic composition of the country (Fig. 2.22).

Quite a few first-generation immigrants live in Kampong Glam. This is indicated by the number of people (about 20% of the residents) born outside Singapore and the Peninsula Malaysia (Fig. 2.23). Many of the first-generation

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\(^1\) KHOO, Chian Kim. 'Census of Population 1980' Department of Statistics, Singapore.
Fig. 2.21 Bugis dancers in Kampong Glam during colonial period
immigrants are men who came to Singapore before or just after the World War II. They have worked as laborers and are mostly in their 50s and 60s.

There is also a large number of older residents in the area (including the first generation immigrants). Residents age 60 or over made up 14% of the population in the district, which is double the national mean (Fig. 2.24). The aging of Kampong Glam has been caused by residents remaining single or never bringing their families to Singapore. For those who did establish families, their children may have moved out of the area because of the over-crowding in the house or because they have earned mobility for themselves. The high percentage of single person households (25%) in Kampong Glam and the smaller average size of households (3.86 persons) (Fig. 2.25) substantiate such observations.

Many of the older residents of the area have had a minimal formal education. Forty-three percent of non-student residents have no educational qualifications, while another 42% went only to the primary schools. The younger generation has attained a fair distribution compared with other areas in Singapore.

Most of the people in the area live in shophouses. They majority of them do not own the properties. They are either the sole tenants or are sub-tenants. The older shophouses are all subject to rent control (Fig. 2.26).
crowding used to be a problem in the area, but the situation has improved now. The number of households per house is 1.33; the average number of persons per house is 5.13.

Trade and manufacturing are the two major industrial sectors that the residents are associated with. As many as 40% of them either operate their own trading business or are employed by trading companies. Some of them work in sales and others hold clerical jobs. Twenty-three percent of the residents work in the manufacturing sectors (Fig. 2.27). In 11% of the households in Kampong Glam, there is no working person. Such situations usually involve older residents, some of whom live alone, who have retired or are too old to hold formal jobs. They are dependent on aid or some marginal employment to survive.
CHAPTER 3

TOURISM AND KAMPONG GLAM
3.1.0 TOURISM IN SINGAPORE

Tourism has contributed substantially to Singapore’s economic well-being and it is expected to be one of the nation’s five growth pillars (Fig. 3.1) in the next decade. Tourist developments attract investments in various related industries and create employment opportunities. Although there are mixed feelings about the social and cultural impacts of tourism, the government feels that developing tourism is desirable, on the whole. Because the tourist industry has suffered a period of decelerated growth in recent years, the issue addressed in this study is how to conserve and restore our ethnic enclaves to improve our tourist attractions, while retaining our cultural diversity and enhancing the life of the city.

3.1.1 ECONOMIC IMPACT

Tourism makes up 6 percent of the gross domestic product and contributes to an annual average of 16 percent of foreign exchange earnings, the third highest currency earner. In 1983, Singapore received 2.85 million visitors, second highest to the all time high of 2.95 million in 1982 (Fig. 3.2). These tourists

(1) ’Singapore ‘82’ Information Division, Ministry of Culture, Singapore
spent an average of S$785 (US$374) per person in Singapore. Tourism is an important source of foreign currency, with earnings in 1983 estimated at $4.1 billion. In the years ahead, tourism's contribution to Singapore's economic well-being will be even more substantial.

The development of Tourism leads to the development of service industries, such as hotel, retail, recreation, entertainment, transportation and communications (Fig. 3.3), inducing both local and foreign investments. This development in turn leads to increased employment opportunities. Many jobs are created in the construction industry to build tourist infrastructures and in the service industries. For example, using a worker-to-hotel room ratio of 1.2:1, the new hotels (total of 15,000 rooms) currently under construction will need some 18,000 employees when they are completed, not to mention the shorter term construction jobs created. The effects of tourism on service sector jobs in shopping, restaurants, tour and transport operations, supplies, etc. are also quite substantial (Fig. 3.4). Such employment has its own multiplying effects (e.g., employed people have their own money to save, invest, and spend) which bolster the economic development of the nation.

There is some conflict between the development of tourist industry and the broader economic targets for improving the productivity and skills of the
people for better paying employment in Singapore's Economic Development Plan for the Eighties (Fig. 3.5). Although tourism is being identified as one of the key growth pillars, tourism-related employment tends to be more labor-intensive, more people-oriented and less-skilled. Such jobs do not pay as well as high-tech employment. The government, however, has decided to support all efforts to promote the growth of the tourist industry.

The government's decision will have both positive and negative social impacts on Singapore (Fig. 3.6). Tourism has helped improve the standard of living and the general quality of life in Singapore. With better shopping facilities and a wider range of goods, better restaurants and coffee houses in hotels, the local people benefit from the activities and attractions designed for tourists. On the negative side, however, impolite personnel in the tourist-related service industry has been one of the negative outcomes of tourism. Local people sometimes feel threatened by the influx of tourists because they must compete with them for services. Mr. K. C. Yuen the director of STPB, noted in a recent speech:

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(1) 'Singapore '82' Information Division, Ministry of Culture, Singapore
I have often wondered how much of our taxi problem can be attributed to tourists? Not just the supply and demand aspects alone, but the attitude of taxi drivers to their passengers. The attitude of some of our shopkeepers and sales staff also need to be straightened out...When locals begin to complain of poor service, or feel the encroachment of tourists into their normal lives, we have to be alert.\(^{(1)}\)

Another negative social impact of tourism is the legendary affluence of the visitors and propensity for spending which the local people tend to pick up from them regardless of their income or consumption capacity.

The impact of the tourist on city life is not as significant. On any given day, there are about 28,000 to 29,000 tourists in Singapore. Although about 44% of tourists claim to be on vacation or pleasure trips,\(^{(2)}\) most are not the type to fill up our beaches or off-shore islands. Their sight-seeing is usually limited to the vicinity of the Central Business Area — Chinatown, Kampong Glam (Arab Street), Little India (Serangoon Road) and Orchard Road. They inter-mix with the busy workers in the central area. Their impact on the city is not too drastic if we compare them with the large number of local people living and working in these areas.

\(^{(1)}\) YUEN, K C. Excerpt from speech 'Tourism & Its effects on the Central Business Area' delivered on August 7, 1984.

\(^{(2)}\) Ibid
Strict government control over the import of certain "negative" social and cultural influences has prevented the society from suffering from too much tourist "pollution". Imposing heavy fines for littering and discouraging male visitors from wearing their hair long are two examples. The government has also discouraged developments, such as casino gambling, which would bring negative influence into the society. Various penalties hinder the spread of many of the negative social factors associated with tourism.

3.1.3 CULTURAL IMPACT

The cultural impacts of tourism are more satisfactory (Fig. 3.7). Local citizens benefit from many cultural activities and attractions organized for the tourists. Some of these events include the Singapore Art Festival, the Kite Festival, and International Dragon Boat Races. Local talent finds financial assistance available if they can help to promote Singapore's image of a multi-cultural, multi-faceted nation. The tourists keep reminding us that they want to see "Old Singapore" and, consequently, have created a greater awareness among the local people of their historical and cultural legacy. The preservation of 16 architectural monuments and a few street blocks is a consequence of such influences.
3.1.4 MANAGEMENT

The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB) is the government agency responsible for the planning, coordination and promotion of tourism in Singapore. Its functions and scope of services include the management of tourist activities, services and facilities, the planning and development of new tourist infrastructures, and the promotion of tourism in overseas markets (Refer Appendix 1).

3.1.5 IMAGE OF SINGAPORE

The image of Singapore that has been projected around the world by the STPB is of a modern, orderly, efficient, clean and green city, with a colorful blend of people and a multi-racial, multi-cultural legacy. The publicity slogan that has been promoted around the world by the STPB reads: "Singapore the most surprising tropical island on earth." Summarizing the tourist experience that Singapore offers the ad speaks of cultural diversity, clean and green, modern facilities, exciting shopping, an exotic range of food, striking festivals, tropical surroundings, etc. (Fig. 3.8) The official guide book for Singapore rapsodizes:

How can this small tropical island be such a dynamic, modern metropolis where skyscrapers thrust high above the world's second busiest port, expressways arch across the harbor, clean
and tree–shaded boulevards lined with ultra–modern shopping centers and luxury hotels....

A closer look reveals a city that has retained many elements of its fascinating past. Golden–domed mosques where the muezzin still calls the the faithful to prayer. Incense–filled temples built by migrants in thanks for safe passage across the Southern Sea. Quiet backlanes and bustling bazaars overflowing with all the treasures of the Orient. Gracious old colonial architecture and peaceful green parks....(1)

The impression visitors retain of a visit to Singapore is not far removed from the image its promoters have projected:

Take an island not much bigger than Barbados. Lace it with four–lane expressways and give it the beginnings of a mid–Manhattan skyline. You're on your way to grasping the amazing place called Singapore: a tropical island with a high–tech look....The city–state has scant natural wonders and little visible history, especially now that development has razed many of the old immigrant neighborhoods. But there still are ethnic quarters for strolling and shopping.(2)

This visitor, however, shows a strong disappointment about the disappearance of ethnic immigrant neighborhoods and historical areas. There is also a feeling here that we had better see these fascinating places soon, before they are gone. The massive demolition brought on by urban redevelopment and public

(1) SINGAPORE Tourist Promotion Board, "The Official Guide, Singapore"

housing programs has threatened the existence of Singapore's cultural legacy. Almost 70% of the central city area has been redeveloped in the past fifteen years. Many tourists, especially those from Europe, Australia and the United States complain about the disappearance of "old Singapore".

3.1.6 CRISIS IN TOURIST INDUSTRY

Reality for the tourist industry has not matched the government's predictions. The government had projected an annual tourist expansion rate of 10 to 12 percent for the 1980's, but tourist arrivals grew by only 3.9 percent in the first seven months of 1984 from the same period in the previous year. The growth rate for 1983 was minus 3.5 percent (1) and for 1982 was 4.5 percent (2). Again, they are far below the government's expectations (Fig. 3.9).

Despite the slow growth rate, the situation is still competitive with the neighbouring countries.

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(1) 'The Sunday Monitor' November 4, 1984
(2) SINGAPORE Tourist Promotion Board, "Annual Report, 1982/83"
Our immediate neighbors, Malaysia had 2.75 million, Indonesia only 0.64 million. Our nearest Asian rival, Hong Kong had 2.78 million visitors. For a little country with no natural scenic wonders like mountains or lakes, it was not too bad. (1)

Nevertheless, there is a growing concern over the decelerating tourist growth, especially amid massive investments in hotel construction, retail expansion and airport extension.

The key factors that have contributed to the decelerating tourist growth in Singapore, and which have been identified by the STPB, are:

* The prolonged world economic recession,
* The diminishing tourist traffic from Europe and other countries which exhort their citizens to holiday nearer home,
* The exit tax increases in the neighboring countries,
* The high cost of a holiday to Singapore caused by the fluctuation of certain world currencies.

The task ahead is how to overcome these external problems and attract enough tourists to Singapore to sustain the massive investments made in the hotel, retail and transportation industries (Fig. 3.10).

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(1) YUEN, K C. excerpt from speech "Tourism & Its effects on the Central Business Area" delivered on August 7, 1984
Preserving the well-known ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown, Kampong Glam (Arab street), and Little India (Serangoon Road), to reflect Singapore's cultural diversity, is one of the actions identified by the STPB to improve Singapore's tourist standing. Other suggestions to stimulate the industry include improving the quality of services in tourist industries, reducing the cost of favorite shopping items, promoting higher yield tourist traffic attractions as conventions, exhibitions and trade fairs, and developing Singapore as a tourist junction for tourists to the region, etc. (Fig. 3.11)

Preservation should serve not only the purpose of improving tourist attractions, but should also preserve Singapore's historical and cultural heritages for its people. One of the goals of this study is to advocate the use of income from tourism to revitalize ethnic neighborhoods, increase the income of the residents and communities in the areas, improve the quality of the environment, and retain the cultural identities on the Singapore cityscape. Ethnic neighborhoods should be more than a culture showpiece for visitors. They should be a viable community in themselves.
3.2.0 TOURIST AND CULTURAL ATTATIONS
IN KAMPONG GLAM

This section focuses on the issues of what should be conserved and restored in Kampong Glam in order to make it a better cultural and tourist attraction. The two parts are analysis of the visitors to the area: Who they are? What are they looking for? What Kampong Glam has to offer? What would be of interest to them if the area were to be improved? The chapter concludes with an analysis of the current government approach towards the area, followed by a proposal to link all the conservation efforts in Singapore to form a better system for understanding and developing our cultural and tourist attractions.

3.2.1 WHO ARE THE VISITORS?

Most of the visitors to Singapore come from Asia (Fig. 3.12). Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and Japan send the largest number of tourists to Singapore. These visitors come for pleasure or to vacation, while other come for business reasons. Still others are on their way to other destinations, but stopover to explore the city. Australians make up the largest number of such visitors.

The European, Australian and American markets are targeted for tourist expansion. While distant, these markets, can help Singapore obtain more diverse
Most of the visitors are from the Asian region. Australian make up the largest number of transit tourist. Europe and America are the targeted expansion area for tourism.
tourist traffic. Therefore, the particular interests of these markets in Singapore's cultural and historical sites should be taken into consideration when planning the city's tourist infrastructure.

3.2.2 GENERAL INTERESTS OF THE VISITORS

Regardless of a tourist's background the basic motivations to travel can be summarized as follows:

* Interest in other people's way of living
* Get away from one's own routine life
* Looking elsewhere for one's authenticity reflected on others

Tourists come to Kampong Glam to see how the people live and work in the area.

Interest in other people's way of life

All tourists desire ... deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel.\(^{(1)}\)

\(^{(1)}\) APPLEYARD, Donald 'The Conservation of European Cities', MIT Press 1979
The activities, life style and unique cultural integration of the communities in Kampong Glam provide the tourist with a chance to experience a different way of life. In Kampong Glam tourists can see that people, mostly small entrepreneurs, live in rows of low-rise, traditional shophouses and operate their businesses on the ground floor. They can see that residents go to worship in the Sultan Mosque nearby; that children play in the backlanes; in the less busy streets or on the open ground of the area; that neighbors greet each other or chat casually under the old trees, at road sides, or in the main hall of one of the clan or association buildings. Tourists can also have a glimpse into some one's backyard at the resident's collection of used paper boxes, bags, bottles, etc. They might also like to taste some of the local cuisine or buy some local crafts as souvenirs. The unauthorized bookies operating in the back-lanes are another interesting sight. Such impressions may be superficial, but nevertheless, the romantic scenery satisfies tourists' desires and expectations.

Get away from one's own routine life

Tourism is an escape from everyday life. Tourists are often attracted to and fascinated by places that are unfamiliar and very different from their regular vacation haunts. The experience satisfies their curiosity. At times, too, they like to visit settings familiar to them in a search for vital differences.
The unique urban setting of Kampong Glam has an interesting atmosphere, with its tightly aligned shophouses, its innovative back-lane gardens, its old Sultan’s palace (the Istana Kampong Glam), its Arab merchants’ villas of the 1840’s, and its stone carvers’ shed. These are some of the elements which make the area very different from the visitors everyday experience. For example, shops in the area are described in the official Guide, Singapore as: "reminiscent of pre-war Singapore. Ceiling fans have not yet been replaced by air-conditioning, and a leisurely mood prevails."

The phrase 'Leisurely mood prevails' best captures the atmosphere of the area. There are no crowded streets, except before and after prayers outside the Sultan’s Mosque. The bazzars and street hawkers have long been gone, banned by the government. Shoppers move casually along the covered corridors, wondering in the tropical sea breeze, from one shop to another. These characteristics make Kampong Glam unique among the other ethnic enclaves of Singapore.

**Looking elsewhere to see one’s authenticity reflected in others**

Modern man likes to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others.¹
The tightly knit communities, the unique cultural integration, a simple and visible way of life make the Kampong Glam especially tourist friendly. Visitors can stroll through the area, meeting the people and participating in the everyday life of these ethnic communities in their search for self-assurance. Therefore, it is advantageous to retain the wide variety of activities and life styles in Kampong Glam to meet the demand for authenticity.

3.2.3 SUPPORT OF THE LOCAL PEOPLE

The attractiveness and viability of an area is determined in great measure by its popularity among the local citizens. Tourists often choose to go to those places that number among a local person’s favorite. The Newton Circles Food Center and the People’s Park Shopping Complex are two of such examples. They used to be the most popular spots among the local people and later on became tourist attractions. The Singapore Handicraft Center, on the other hand, failed to attract visitors, although it was originally developed for them. Therefore, the local people’s tastes and interests should be considered in the planning stages of any tourist development.

Kampong Glam is a popular shopping place among both Singaporeans and visitors. The Arab Street area is a centralized location for specialty goods, as
mentioned in the previous section. The availability of a wide range of selections, the relatively low prices and the area's long-established reputation are the main attractions for local shoppers (Fig. 3.14). Therefore, preserving the basic components of these attractions will ensure their popularity among visitors.

SUMMARY

To summarize, the activities and life styles of Kampong Glam, historic urban setting, and unique cultural integration are the components that attract visitors to the area, and they should be conserved. The traditional street activities, including street hawkers and bazaars should be restored to a selected area, so that the historic atmosphere can be recreated and the unique character of the place enhanced. Maintaining the specialty shopping atmosphere and expanding the retail area to include continuous operations are other steps that should be taken to ensure Kampong Glam's popularity among the local people and the visitors.
CHAPTER 4

CONSERVATION IN SINGAPORE
4.1.0 CONSERVATION IN SINGAPORE

The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB) is now advocating the conservation of more historic areas and traditional ethnic enclaves to ensure the cultural diversity of Singapore's urban landscape and to improve the nation's tourist infrastructure. The government has taken a pro-redevelopment approach in handling these historic areas for the past twenty years, however, it has made several attempts at preservation recently. These projects have tested the attitudes of the government and people toward conservation. An understanding of these attitudes is essential, since the policy to conserve Kampong Glam will be formulated at the national level.

This chapter contains an analysis of the attitudes of the government and people toward conservation in Singapore and the various groups influencing the decision-making and their concerns. A review of the implications of the current approach toward the conservation of Kampong Glam is also included.

4.1.1 URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

In recent years, massive redevelopment has wiped away much of the past, the rich variety of cityscape created over a period of one hundred and sixty years.
Singapore has developed a modern skyline during the last 20 year of urban redevelopment. Congested low-rise, urban slums have been largely replaced with a clean, green and orderly modern city with a "mid-Manhattan look". During these years, said the Minister for National Development:

The priorities were slum clearance, resettlement of those affected and development of the central area as a regional tourist, financial and commercial center.

To date, 143 projects covering 158 hectares of land have been initiated under the urban redevelopment program, generating a total investment of almost $9 billion (US$4.5 billion). (1)

The urban redevelopment program decentralized the population, cleared the slums, initiated massive investments, generating growth and employment, and, at the same time, gave Singapore a new 'face' (Fig. 4.1). Almost 70% of the city's central area has been redeveloped. Its traditional character of aggregations of small scale, high-density buildings has been transformed with the predominance of new large-scale, high-rise structures. It is almost impossible to find the old Singapore now, except in some pockets of old quarters which managed to escape the massive demolition.

(1) TEH, Cheang Wan. "From Urban Slum into a Modern City" The Sunday Times, April 15, 1984.
Fig. 4.1 Urban redevelopment projects in areas around Kampong Glam
The surviving structures, however, are suffering from rapid deterioration caused by rent control, fear of government acquisition and uncertainty about their future (Fig. 4.2). If nothing is done to change the situation, these decaying structures will disappear as well.

4.1.2 PRESERVATION IN SINGAPORE

The idea of preservation or conservation is not entirely alien to Singapore. In fact, there is a growing awareness of the need to protect the city's historical urban form. People have recognized that, in the sixties, Singaporeans were too preoccupied with issues of survival to think about recording events for the future. Now, that the housing problem is basically solved and a relatively higher standard of living is in place, more land has been reclaimed, we should have more room for preservation or conservation. There is certainly no cause for a relentless pursuit of land for economic development, as some planners have recently pointed out:

"We have today reached a stage where conservation is becoming accepted as an integrated part of Central Area renewal. We do not have to tear the old city down. We have enough land to cater to all the projected demands for offices, shops, hotels and related uses. We have enough land for residential in appropriate locations. In the renewal of the Central area, in particular, we need to focus our aims on creating a city which is rich in variety and scale. We need the new offices, shops and tourist

Fig. 4.2 Surviving structures are suffering from rapid deterioration due to lack of investment in them and uncertainty in their future.
projects but we also need the history of the city represented through its buildings. (1)

In order to create a national pride in our own heritage, we must preserve our historic buildings to represent history and to maintain the richness and variety of the cityscape.

Reservations About Conservation

There are some legitimate reservations about historic conservation, however, including general concerns about poor structural conditions and the impossibility of upgrading historic buildings to meet current safety and health requirements. There is also a debate about the consequences of suppressing the development potential of these sites if older buildings are preserved. The government is also concerned about the bad reputation associated with the old city and its social problems. Whether the old structures can be adapted to the current style of the city and whether the city can afford the high cost of conservation are the other considerations.

Precedents

Some efforts to preserve the city's cultural heritages have been carried out. To date, nineteen prominent buildings have been designated as historic sites by the Preservation of Monuments Board, an advisory committee for the Ministry of National Development. The Public Works Department and the Urban Redevelopment Authority have worked on the conservation of several historic places. Tudor Court, a row of 2-story, pre-World War II shophouses, has been renovated as the head-quarter of the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board. Telok Ayer Market, a single-story cast-iron structure, which used to be the busiest food market in the central area, has also been renovated. It now houses the largest hawker food center in the financial district. Most of these projects consist of renovating a single building of architectural significance.

The emphasis, in all these conservation projects is on the physical renovation of the structures. The Urban Redevelopment Authority's description of its methods of reflects this emphasis on physical conservation.

The method of conservation often involves environmental improvement, prolonging the life span of the building, upgrading living conditions, enhancing pedestrian accessibility and creating focal points for outdoor activities.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Urban Redevelopment Authority, Singapore "Urban Planning" 10th Anniversary
Building facades have been carefully restored and the interiors of the buildings renovated to accommodate new uses.

But physical conservation should be complemented by an appropriate market analysis and long-term management program. Some previous projects have worked out well, while others have failed. For example, the Cuppage Road project, a block of two-story shophouses was acquired by the government, the URA restored its original facade, and converted the building into rental retail spaces. The public response to the project was poor. It attracted neither shoppers nor tourists. Physical conservation alone cannot guarantee the success of rehabilitation and revitalization.

The Emerald Hill project, Singapore's first preservation district, proved that the people of Singapore are receptive to conservation. The government declared the area, consisting of several rows of Malaccan style terrace houses, a preservation district in mid-1981, meaning that the area escaped both the acquisitive arm of the Urban Redevelopment Authority and the eager hands of developers. The emphasis of the project was on the physical fabric, the architecture and the

Commemoration Brochure.
streetscape. The URA pedestrianized the streets and made many public environmental improvements. Since then, the area has experienced a revitalization of some sort. The private market has welcomed conservation and the owners have been willing to invest in improvements to the buildings. Speculators have joined genuine buyers in driving up the price of an unrenovated pre-war terrace house from well below S$200,000 (US$96,000) to between S$600,000 (US$288,000) and S$700,000 (US$335,000) in two years. Facade renovation is controlled by the URA, but owners may do what they want with the interiors. Many owners have spent a fortune remodeling. One renovated, three-story house sold, in 1983, for S$1 million (US$480,000). The Emerald Hill experience has shown that when the future of an area is clarified, owners will spend to improve their buildings. The project has stimulates the public's interest and support for other conservation projects.

4.1.3 SOCIAL IMPACTS
Gentrification and displacement of communities have become obvious at Emerald Hill. The price of properties has risen sharply since the area was designated a preservation area. Complaints like the following have begun to appear:
Now you will have to be a millionaire to buy a house here. It would be a pity to see Emerald Hill turn into a millionaire's row because middle-class people won't be able to afford them. (1)

The original group of moderate to middle income residents have been displaced from the area. This problem must be addressed if conservation is to be successful.

4.1.4 NATIONAL LEVEL ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK

There is a need for a national conservation system with clearly defined goals to organize all conservation and revitalization efforts. Currently, there are many debates, among government agencies, on site selection and the approach to be used, whether physical, or both physical and social, on each proposed conservation project. A single organizational framework for evaluating sites, identifying the objectives of conservation and linking all such projects together to maximize their tourist, cultural and educational potential should be established.

4.2.0 NATIONAL PRESSURES

The future of Kampong Glam will not be determined by the wish of the people and communities of Kampong Glam. In the Singapore context, the government will direct the development policy for Kampong Glam at the national level. The policy's economic, social and political impacts should be carefully assessed in the national context and any approach or policy for the development of Kampong Glam (conservation or development) arrived at should fit into Singapore's national development policy before it is endorsed by the government. Therefore, an understanding of the various groups with influence on the national level, is essential in formulating conservation project guidelines.

4.2.1 INFLUENTIAL GROUPS

Groups that will play a vital role in shaping the future of Kampong Glam, and which have influenced at the national level include: private developers, the business community, the government, the preservationists and the general public (Fig. 4.3). The interests of each group in the Kampong Glam project and its attitude toward conservation are presented in brief and followed by a detailed analysis of the key concerns of each group (Fig. 4.4).
Private Developers

The interest and support of private developers and investors are essential to the success of the conservation of Kampong Glam. The concerns of this group in the areas surrounding Kampong Glam must also be carefully considered while formulating conservation guidelines, so that both areas can benefit from mutual enhancement. This section contains a discussion of the interests in and attitudes toward the conservation of Kampong Glam of private developers and investors in the surrounding areas.

The goals of this group are:

* To maximize profit
* To create future development project
* To improve image of the area

This group generally supports the conservation of Kampong Glam because:

* It enhances the development potential in the surrounding areas
* It reduces the potential for competition in the area
* It improves the environmental quality of the area
* It creates a unique image for the area
Private developers and investors cannot move into Kampong Glam on their own, however, because development in Kampong Glam is controlled by the government. In addition, they have some reservations toward conservation. They are concerned with:

- The compatibility of a conserved Kampong Glam with the surrounding areas
- The attraction of an incompatible group of people or clientele to the area
- The viability of the project

The Business Community

The goals of the business community in areas surrounding Kampong Glam are:

- To increase profits
- To expand markets
- To reinforce the various businesses in and around Kampong Glam
- To improve the commercial image of the area

The business community supports the conservation of Kampong Glam because:

- The overall quality of the environment would be improved, which would improve the image of the area
- It would attract new clientele to the area
However, the business community is concerned with:

- Losing competitiveness, since Kampong Glam would receive special attention
- Channeling clients from Kampong Glam to the surrounding areas
- Finding uses and activities that would be compatible

The Government

The concerns of the government for the future of Kampong Glam fall into several categories of considerations, including:

- Progress, on concern for the modern image of the nation
- Integration, or the need to forge a national identity
- Economic development, which strategy to choose:
  - Pro-development
  - Improvements for productivity
  - Tourism development
- Viability of conservation projects, whether revitalization of old structures is feasible
- Conflicting expectations about the ideal environment
The Preservationists

The historical preservation of Singapore is seen as an effort to retain some of the nation's historical assets, to create variety in the urban landscape and to maintain tourist attractions. Groups concerned with the preservation of the historical environment in Singapore include historians, artists, professionals in architecture and planning, some concerned citizens, and tour agencies and the Tourist Promotion Board. Unlike the case in some European countries where historical preservation is a political act to protect ethnic settlements, protest modernizations, or symbolize community power struggles and social conflicts,(1) the concerns of the preservationists in Singapore tend to be of a cultural and environmental nature.

The preservationists' interests in Kampong Glam are mainly to preserve historical structures rather than the history, atmosphere, and character of the area behind it. The goals of the preservationists for the future of Kampong Glam are:

* To preserve historically or architecturally significant structures

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To improve the environmental quality of the area surrounding these monuments

To obtain sufficient funds to maintain these places

To use the preserved structures as a means to generate profit (e.g., for tourism)

Recent experience in preserving the character of historical districts should encourage preservationists to concentrate on the social component of these areas more in the future.

The General Public

The support and participation of the people is essential to the success of a revitalization project such as Kampong Glam project. Traditionally, the people of Singapore rarely take an active role in the planning process. They place their trust in the politicians and government professionals to guide the nation, and are quite receptive to change. Riaz Hassan has described modern Singapore as follows:

The Singapore society is characterized by receptiveness to change, achievement, materialism, individualism, aspiration for social mobility, economic rationality and acquisitiveness.

Such attitudinal and behavioral orientations played a vital role in the mobilization of human and material resources for development and has markedly facilitated the process of modernization and social change...such as the urban renewal and public housing.
Public housing and urban redevelopment programs were implemented in Singapore without any manifested conflict or resistance, considering the large number of people who were affected.

While the responsibility for formulating an appropriate program for the conservation of Kampong Glam lies with the planning professionals, the people will play passive role in the process. They will rely on the judgement of government professionals to decide what is best for them and will accept the government’s proposal without challenge. This may be because the people of Singapore have a strong desire for the changes of modernization, but Hassan adds an important proviso:

> People accept change and the mobilization of resources to effect change because of their general orientation towards the idea of change, yet generally with little critical examination of what each particular change evolve.

Planning professionals, therefore, should put their proposal together carefully, considering the possible ramifications of each change.

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4.2.2 CONCERNS ON NATIONAL LEVEL

Image of the Nation

The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board has successfully projected the national image as one of progress, modernization and dynamism. For the past nineteen years since independence, the government's major efforts have been to reform the traditional ways of life and replace them with more modern ones. This reformation touched all aspects of life, from the social and economic to the cultural and educational.

The government believes that the conservation of historic districts contradicts its own approach to improving the national image. In addition, the historic areas, the old structures and ethnic settlements connote many bad experiences for Singaporeans. For example, a description of the Singapore River district, a historic area, reads:

The river and its surrounding areas were plagued with environmental and social problems. Trading from the river banks caused annoying congestion and pollution. The population of rats and other pests grew in alarming proportions along river banks. The old houses set close to each other were a fire hazard. Gambling, extortion, theft, murder and prostitution involving secret societies
were rife. (1) Singaporeans are trying to overcome this past through urban redevelopment and other social programs in the nation’s development process.

The point here, however, is that conservation does not necessitate the preservation of a site’s associated environmental and social problems. Nor is, the discard-and-rebuild approach to redevelopment the only way to remove a dim view of the past. Conservation can enrich the city’s cultural experience. Thus, it will not hinder the progressive, modern, dynamic image projected for the nation.

Need for National Identity

There is a growing awareness among politicians, historians, educators, architects and planners in Singapore that the records of our history have been lost. These groups are promoting awareness about preserving the evidence of historical events to "give a vivid portrayal of what life was like in Singapore in the early years."

In a move to "keep our past alive," the Archives and Oral History Department has begun an active campaign among the public to build collections of historical records. It exhorts the people to save the past with the slogan, "Anything that throws light on our past is worth preserving." There is a

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(1) The Mirror, Vol. 20 No. 22, November 15, 1984, Singapore
consensus that people were too preoccupied with issues of survival during the sixties to think about recording events for the future, however, it is never too late to begin preserving records of our past.

Along the same line, the importance of historical buildings and districts has also caught the attention of many officials and reformists:

The history of a city is recorded not only in books, but also in its buildings. While the written word captures the evolution of events and beliefs, buildings embody life styles and aesthetic tastes, technology and crafts. Therefore old buildings are more than just bricks and mortar. They are also a record of our ancestors' aspirations and achievement. In Singapore, many of the old buildings embody the visual confluence of our multi-varied ethnic roots. While the majority need some face lift, they never cease to delight our eyes and enhance the sense of time and place images to our own city.

— S. Rajaratnam, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Singapore

People are now aware that the rapid pace of modernization and urban renewal has threatened the historical record of our urban landscape. While Rajaratnam appeals to the people to preserve records and pictures so that future generations will know the shape, condition and texture of the Singapore of the past, he warns:

We must realize that photographs and words are no substitute for life-size towns and spaces. For one cannot walk into or around buildings in these photographs. Buildings demolished are
historical records gone. While some must make way for progress, some, we hope, will remain to link up with our past.

-- S. Rajaratnam

Recognizing the importance of preserving a sense of history to create the national identity, the question is how to determine the appropriate balance between "progress" and "history." What really constitutes historical records anyway? -- buildings? streetscape? people? activities? the general atmosphere?

Conflicting Expectations about Ideal Environment

It may be necessary to redefine Singaporeans' expectations of the ideal environment to conserve the spirit of Kampong Glam. The clean, green, and orderly garden city image has been the goal of all environmental improvement efforts in Singapore for the past 20 years. Superimposing such standards on Kampong Glam, however, will make it a place like too many others. Its special character will disappear. This section is an analysis of the impact standard expectations will have on the conservation of Kampong Glam.

The people's expectations for the city, its urban amenities and their own, social and spatial standards of living were changed completely by the Keep Singapore Clean movement, the Tree Planting campaign, and, of course, by the success of economic development and public housing programs.
The Keep Singapore Clean campaign involved various forms of disciplinary action, educational programs and new standards of expectation. Heavy fines for spitting, S$60 (US$30), littering, S$500 (US$250), and dumping garbage, S$2000 (US$1000) were imposed along with stringent police enforcement. Punishment for mosquito or housefly breeding was also imposed. The Environmental Health Department began inspect questionable properties and construction sites regularly. Educational programs carried out by schools, the mass media and through public campaign activities, promoted public consciousness about keeping the environment clean.

In addition, public services including, the provision of garbage bins at close intervals, the frequent and regular cleaning of public spaces by government agencies, an the regular maintenance of public disposal systems, were stimulated to Keep Singapore Clean. All these efforts raised the people's expectations about environmental cleanliness and changed the image of Singapore, from a 'not so clean' city to the cleanest in Asia.

The Tree Planting campaign, launched in 1973 by the Prime Minister, was aimed at making Singapore a garden city. During the annual tree planting week, hundreds of trees are planted by community groups led by prominent
politicians to promote greenery in Singapore. To encourage participation, incentives such as tax credits, are given expenditures incurred by planting.

The Parks and Recreation Department, under the portfolio of the Minister for National Development, is the government agency responsible for beautifying the city with plantings. The department has lined roads with trees, landscaped public open spaces, and shaded pedestrian walkways. Planting is required for all private developments, in the form of tree planting strips along property boundaries, hanging gardens, etc. All open-air car parks are planted, too. The tree planting movement has led to the provision of urban luxuries for the people in tree lined, paved pedestrian walkways, in new street furniture, and nicely landscaped parks.

The life objective of a modern Singaporean as stated in the humorous "1 to 5 rule of thumb" indicates his social, spatial and economic expectations. An average Singaporean expects to have one wife and two children, to live in a three-bedroom apartment, to drive four-wheels (a car) and to earn a five-figure salary. The spatial requirements and quality of life implied in the "1 to 5" rule of thumb is basically modeled after the public housing program, which set the standards for the ideal quality of life for Singaporeans.
The Keep Singapore Clean movement, the tree Planting campaigns, and the "1 to 5" objectives for Singaporeans have laid the groundwork for a rigid approach to environmental improvement in Singapore. The emphasis of the approach, as implied in these campaigns and attitudes, is on physical amenities, a sterile environment and material gain. It is no wonder that most of the conservation projects in Singapore emphasize a total cleaning, greening and modernizing of the environment.

For example, the environmental improvement project for the historic Singapore River area started with two phases of clean-up (the river and the surrounding district) followed by a physical improvement program. A newsletter report illustrates this program's rigid approach to improvement:

The Parks and Recreational Department and the Public Works Department will step in to landscape the river banks. A pedestrian walkway will be constructed, trees planted, and street lighting and furniture provided. (1)

In the Emerald Hill project, Singapore's first conservation district, conservation means the removal of incompatible activities, a ban of traffic from the area so that pedestrians can have the whole street, and of course, the planting and

landscaping of the area. A similar approach was used for the Murray Street (Food Alley) project. Historic buildings were cleaned-up, refurbished, and modernized before leasing to the highest bidder. The question here is whether such an approach to environmental improvement will retain the character and atmosphere of Kampong Glam.

Kampong Glam's environment does not mesh with the image of the ideal environment. In general, it is clean, a characteristic of most of the Malay neighborhood. The environment, however, is one of aligned shophouses, narrow streets, decaying structures, dark cubicles, temporary sheds, tiny backyards, and paved surfaces with little greenery. These effects contradict the ideal image. Can we still recognize Kampong Glam, if it is made "ideal" by sterilizing with an overlay of standardized, modern, landscaped walkways and open spaces (achieved by demolishing a few block of shophouses), and buildings modernized and gentrified. Will Kampong Glam be just another Emerald Hill or Murray Street?

The standard approach to environmental improvement is good in the sense that it represents an equitable distribution of improvement effort, but it also represents a single-minded way of implementing improvement. Kampong Glam may lose all the social and physical attributes of its historic spirit. We need to
make the Singaporean's image of ideal environment more flexible, allowing for more variety and tolerating some non-conformity in environmental improvement.

4.3.0 IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT CONSERVATION APPROACH ON KAMPONG GLAM

In Kampong Glam today modern high-rises coexist with a high density of buildings whose traditional structures are deteriorating. Much of the center of Kampong Glam remains intact, but its future is open to debate. Some areas around the center have been redeveloped, while others and the center itself are subject to tremendous development pressures (Refer to Section 2.13). The Inner city arterial road system (Rochor Road and Ophir Road) forms still another axis for potential large-scale developments to cut through the belts of traditional urban fabric along the old shore-line. Further development plainly endangers efforts to preserve the historic ambience of Kampong Glam.
4.3.1 CURRENT CONSERVATION PRACTICES

Based on the government's current criteria for conservation, a major part of Kampong Glam would be redeveloped. The criteria used to determine projects for conservation include:

- Architectural significance, i.e., buildings with traditional architectural styles, representing the culture and art of a particular period of time in our history.
- Sound structural conditions.
- Economic feasibility, i.e., conservation project must be economically viable, able to pay back the cost of conservation (The break even revenue period is a factor of consideration).
- Harmony with surrounding buildings.
- No conflict between the Central Area Comprehensive Pedestrian System and the conservation project

Only a few blocks of buildings along Arab and Bussorah streets might survive such a selection criteria. Many of the older structures in the area do not have a significant architectural character, need structure improvements, nor comply with some building codes. If we want to save them, we simply cannot assess them against such standards (Fig. 4.5).

(1) Interview with Senior Architect of the Housing & Development Board.
4.3.2 WHAT KAMPONG GLAM WOULD BE LIKE?

Areas along the main roads, such as Beach Road, Jalan Sultan, North Bridge Road, and Ophir Road, would probably be redeveloped, as some lots have already undergone redevelopment. Area north of Jalan Sultan, smaller parcels of land would be merged and be developed into medium-rise offices or commercial cum residential complexes. Other areas might also be redeveloped for higher intensity uses, and the appearance of the area would be changed completely.

Most of the current residents and community groups would probably be displaced. They would be resettled in public housing estates or in the Urban Redevelopment Authority’s resettlement centers. Kampong Glam’s current population would have to move out of the area because they would not be able to compete with other more profitable or larger businesses. Even the conserved shophouses would probably eventually house new residents and businesses. Once the people change, the ambience of the area will also be totally different.

The standard approach in designing pedestrian walkways in the area, by incorporating the Central Area Pedestrian System, would destroy the character of the place. Kampong Glam’s pre-war urban setting consists of small scale,
fragmented pockets of spaces, narrow streets and back alleys. The standard 'Singapore Brand' of landscaping of wide, tree-lined, brick-paved pedestrian malls would transform Kampong Glam into just another redeveloped place. A subtle and sensitive approach, taking the character of the existing environment into consideration, would be more desirable.

Imagine the Kampong Glam with larger blocks of medium-rise modern buildings, wider roads and sidewalks, and tree-lined and brick-paved pedestrian malls penetrating the area. Only parts of Arab Street and Bussorah Street would be lined with the familiar historic structures still standing today. The character of the area would be lost. It would be cleaner and greener. It would match the image of modern Singapore, but it would be a district without heart. Two rows of old shophouses would probably not arouse the curiosity of tourists enough to draw them for a visit. Tourists like to see the 'magic of the past' as pointed out in a traveler's magazine:

"Has Kampong Glam a share in the future? Will it be preservation or obliteration? Whatever the outcome, it is not too late to take another stroll through this quaint area -- the tantalizing tease of sandalwood in the air, the caress of the lustrous brocades and silks will reweave the magic of the past again." (1)

(1) AHMAD, Salbiah "Kampong Glam -- Memories of a Colorful Past"
The current approach to the conservation of Singapore's historical environment must be modified if the country is to preserve its unique character.
CHAPTER 5

CONCERNS FROM KAMPONG GLAM
The attitude of the people about social and physical conservation will have a significant impact on a conservation project like Kampong Glam. Such a project cannot be dealt with within the confines of its physical context. The success of the project will reflect the political conviction and support of the public for this kind of conservation.

Change in Kampong Glam will affect the interests of the communities there. The groups who participate actively in the daily life of the area include the residents, the business community, the Muslim worshippers, the shoppers, and the visitors. Among them, the landlords, tenants, and the business community will be particularly concerned with the future of Kampong Glam for their respective vested interests.

Although the interests of one group may conflict with those of another, the groups also share some common concerns. In this chapter, there is a brief description of the specific interests of each group, followed by a detailed discussion of their main concerns.

The conservation of Kampong Glam will affect two groups in particular: the tenants and the elderly residents. Therefore, the problems and issues affecting these groups should be carefully considered in formulating conservation
strategies and proposals. The impact of conservation on these two groups is analyzed in detail in Section 5.2.0.

5.1.0 LOCAL CONCERNS

The interests of important local groups (Fig. 5.1) in Kampong Glam, the impact of conservation on them and their common concerns (Fig. 5.2) are analyzed in this section. These groups are the landlords, the tenants, and the business community.

5.1.1 LANDLORDS

Most of the property in Kampong Glam is privately owned, but some property is let to long-term tenants. This property includes many buildings which are subject to the Rent Control Act of 1947. Under this act, the owners can not raise the rent or take back their properties without the approval of the Rent Control Board and the consent of the tenants.

Under the conservation project, the landlords hope to

- Claim full right to the property now restricted by Rent Control
- Explore the development potential of their property
- Maximize profits
These landowners can afford the cost of redevelopment or renovation, but they need incentives. Regarding conservation, they:

- Are against government acquisition of their property
- Support redevelopment, if they can explore development potential for profit
- Support conservation, if it guarantees no government acquisition
- Support conservation, if it allows them to claim their right to their properties
- Are against social conservation because they believe they will lose the chance to reappropriate their properties for profit.

5.1.2 TENANTS

Many people in Kampong Glam do not own the properties they currently occupy. As tenants, they can be divided into three different groups: business establishments, various institutions and associations, and residents.

Their key interests in the future of the area are to:

- Retain the low rent
- Right to remain in the area
- Improve living conditions
Their attitudes toward conservation are a mixture of feelings because conservation may still result in their displacement, as in the case with redevelopment. Conservation will also lead to the rising cost of accommodations. They may support conservation, especially social conservation, if they have an opportunity to remain in the area. Some tenants may not be able to afford a higher cost of living, but the trade off they could bear, between the choice of higher cost and staying in the area, is unknown.

Conservation of the area is a new option for the tenant communities in Kampong Glam. They have been expecting redevelopment, as have the inhabitants of any other central city site in Singapore. They are fully aware of the kind of compensation they can expect if Kampong Glam is redeveloped. They are also aware that they have to bear any losses or extra costs incurred. If they must consider conservation, they will use the compensation they know they can get with redevelopment as the basis for comparison and decision.

Most of them can afford to renovate of their premises if Kampong Glam is conserved. But the issue of ownership must be resolved and their investments guaranteed by the government before they will be willing to add their own funds to the matching assistance of the government.
5.1.3 THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

The business community in the area is comprised of the wholesalers and retailers, traders, craftsmen, and various service personnel. Its main interests in the future of the area are to:

- Increase profits;
- Expand markets and attract new clientele;
- Improve competitiveness;
- Reinforce the business operations and improve the commercial image of the area.

The business community's attitude toward conservation can be summarized as follows:

- Favorable to conservation if it creates a unique image for the area;
- Ambivalent:
  - fearful of displacement and the rising cost of accommodations
  - appreciative of the opportunity to remain in the area
  - concerned with the adventure because there it has no precedent
- Support the idea to develop Kampong Glam as tourist attraction.
Image of the Place

The business community is especially concerned with the image of Kampong Glam. At present, its benefits from Kampong Glam’s long-established reputation and its relations with clients. The area lacks a strong image, however, to stand out among other similar establishments. Historic conservation can help the business community to build a new and noticeable (prominent) image for the area. Eventually, it may also may become a prestigious place to live, a unique historical district for the people and businesses now residing there.

5.1.4 THE COMMON CONCERNS OF LOCAL COMMUNITY GROUPS

The common concerns of local community groups for the conservation of Kampong Glam are discussed in detail in the following section. These concerns include the land ownership issue and the groups' ambivalence toward conservation. The motives and reservations behind these issues will also be analyzed.

The Ownership Issue

One of the major concerns about conservation in Kampong Glam for both tenants and landlords in the area is whether they can retain their right to the properties in the future. Whether Kampong Glam will be conserved or
redeveloped, three possible scenarios regarding property ownership can be foreseen:

* Properties will be acquired by the government either for conservation or redevelopment.
* Owners will be given a chance to renovate or redevelop the buildings within government-controlled guidelines.
* Tenants will be encouraged to renovate the buildings and rent control in the area will remain in effect.

Whichever policy the government decides to adopt, it will affect both the property owners and the tenants.

The owners are against government acquisition whether for conservation or redevelopment. Base on the Acquisition Act, the government can acquire any property for purposes of the public good. Compensation to the owners will be far below the market price. It will be calculated based on one-third of the 1973 value of the acquired property, which is approximately one-tenth of the current market value. The owner will also lose the potential income from the development of their properties.

The tenants favor neither government acquisition of property nor owner-funded renovation. In the first case, tenants will be forced to move out of the area,
and they will get no compensation when their houses are acquired by the
government. They will be given priority, however, in the allocation of shop
spaces, apartments in public housing estates or in the Urban Redevelopment
Authority's resettlement center. In the second case, tenants can bargain for
some compensation from the owner, especially if the building is a Rent Control
property. The tenants may also get a chance to remain in the area after
renovation, but they will have to pay an adjusted rent. In both cases, the cost
of accommodations will be much higher.

Tenants will be concerned with the issues of property ownership and rent
control in the area if they are expected to improve or upgrade their buildings
for the conservation of the area. The presence of these tenants are important
in maintaining the spirit of the area. They must be encouraged to stay.
Therefore, two scenarios are possible. First, ownership is transferred to the
tenants with assistance from the government. Second, Rent Control in the area
remains in effect and tenants become responsible for making improvements.
Whichever the case, the security of the tenants' investments in improving
historic structures must be guaranteed.

The government has a different set of considerations regarding the issue of
land ownership. It is concerned with the problems of project implementation.
The current practice in implementing projects is based on discipline, order, strict control and compliance. But many problems exist in the historic districts, including: complicated tenancy, problem tenants, hidden social problems, and inappropriate uses and activities. Such problems are unacceptable to the political ideology of Singapore. Since these problems have not been cleared away in free market actions, compulsory land acquisition has been used to enforce the government's policies.

The issue government confronts here is how to encourage maximum private participation and gain support for the conservation of Kampong Glam, without over-reacting to problematic issues that private market actions have been unable to resolve.

Ambivalence About Conservation

Local interest groups have a mixture of feelings toward the conservation of Kampong Glam. They are concerned that conservation of the district will ultimately result in their displacement or in the rising cost of living and business accommodations. They appreciate, however the chance conservation offers them to remain in the area.
Conservation of historic structures does not guarantee the current residents and businesses accessibility to the area. The investments and efforts needed for conservation will lead to a higher cost of living in the area. The improved physical environment will make the area more popular, thus attracting other groups of users. Market competition will drive the prices. Thus, displacement and increased cost of accommodation become unavoidable.

There are contradicting views about whether the people of Kampong Glam really care to remain in the area. Some argue that people in Kampong Glam are just interested in getting low-cost accommodations. Once this appeal is gone, it is argued, social conservation in the area will have little meaning. In short, people may not really care about displacement or relocation as long as they get to share the profits. For example, they can renovate the buildings and sell them at higher price if there is nothing to prohibit them from doing so.

On the other hand, residents may not like to remain in a historic area because it sometime carries negative social connotations in the form of poverty, crime, over-crowding, etc. Living in a historic district is often regarded as indication of a person's inability to move out.
Some people may not mind moving to a new environment. People's enthusiasm toward public housing and (URA) resettlement centers indicates their receptiveness to new environments. After almost 20 years of massive public housing construction and urban redevelopment, many Singaporean have accepted high-rise living, shopping centers, large landscaped open spaces and tree-lined pedestrian walkways as the ideal living place. Except for the old and poor who are weary about living in unfamiliar social and physical settings, they are more than willing to move out of a condemned slum.

Many people have other options. They can afford the cost of moving and will move if their livelihood is guaranteed elsewhere. For example, some businesses have already expanded their operations to other parts of Singapore. They keep only an outlet here in Kampong Glam. Once the appeal of low costs or long-established reputation disappears they will leave the area immediately.

The key issue here is how to retain the desired community groups in Kampong Glam in order to conserve the spirit of the place and maintain the desired pace of transformation. Conservation will not be an issue of merely improving the condition of the environment. An appropriate policy to conserve the social components of the area is essential.
5.2.0 INTERESTS AT STAKE

Conservation will affect the people in Kampong Glam. Some will benefit from the process and others will not. There are two groups of residents, however, the tenants and the elderly whose interests and problems should not be overlooked. This section is an analysis of their attitudes toward conservation, and the likely impact conservation will have on them.

5.2.1 TENANTS

A large portion of the residents in the area are tenants or sub-tenants. About 80% of the households in Kampong Glam do not own their residences. Most of them live in the pre-war shophouses, which used to be owned by a few rich Malay and Arab merchants. These owners are mostly absentee. Some properties belonged to the Sultan Hussian with the government (Land Office) acting as trustee.

Fig. 5.3 Most of the residents live in these colonial shophouses


(2) Special arrangement since the colonial period.
Maintenance of the buildings in this area remains largely in the hands of the tenants. The owners do not have any vested interest in keeping the buildings in good condition because the rent in the area is protected by the Rent Control Act of 1947. The tenants usually have to take care of the maintenance and repair themselves. They also pay for occasional required improvements, such as building a flushed water sanitation system. Actually, the tenants prefer paying for all such expenditures in order to keep the rent at the original low level. (Landlord can charge extra rent for any improvements made to the building with the agreement of the Rent Conciliation Board, a government agency for regulating rent for Rent Controlled properties.) One tenant described his preferred relations with the landlord on these matters in an interview:

We paid S$3,000 plus to build the new toilet and install the modern sanitary fittings (the government built the infrastructure system) last year. We have got the landlord's consensus and bought him coffee to keep our good relations. We did not want him to pay for such improvement because he will then charge more rent then the actual cost.

Tenants are only willing to make the building livable because they do not own the properties. They do not care about their building's deterioration or appearance. The issue here is who is going to pay for restoration during conservation, the owner or the residents? Will the rent control be abandoned or not?
The current tenants choose to stay in Kampong Glam, although they could move out. The housing conditions in the area are poor and they are aware that they will probably have to move out when the area is redeveloped. Many of them are long-time residents who have witnessed all the changes in the areas around them. They anticipate development in Kampong Glam and like their neighbors across the street (along Beach Road and Jalan Sultan), they will then have to make way for new developments. They are just trying to stay in the area for as long as possible.

The issue here is whether they will have the option to remain in the area if conservation takes place instead of redevelopment. There are several reasons behind their choice to stay. First, the area's low rents is very attractive, and the Rent Control Act of 1947 prevents them from rising. There is also a great difference between the rentals in Kampong Glam and those in newly developed areas. As one resident, Ms. Ong, put it:

Guess what is the rent of an eating house in a Housing and Development Board (Government public housing agency) estate. It is approximately S$12,000 to S$15,000 per month. We are now paying only S$150 for our shophouse unit (shop cum residence) and the rent is protected by the Rent Control Act. There is no Rent Control to keep the rent for the eating house from raising. It is determined by public tendering process.
Therefore, moving out of the area does not seem to be a viable option for some tenants. The question here is what would happen to rents if the area is conserved. Will they still be controlled? Will they be affordable to the present tenants?

The central and convenient location of Kampong Glam is appealing to the tenants (Fig. 5.4). Kampong Glam is located at the fringe of the Golden Shoe Area (Singapore's Central Business District). It is also adjacent to the new housing and hotel development belt along Beach Road. The Mass Rapid Transit (the subway system under construction) station is just one block away from this area. The residents now enjoy the accessibility to jobs and other facilities in the city center.

Proximity to work is another reason for the residents to remain in the area. Many of the residents work or operate their businesses in this area, often or in the same shophouse unit. Living in the area, their transportation costs are reduced. Housewifes also find it convenient to work in the area which encourages their participation in work force and increases their family incomes.

Many Muslim residents feel privileged to live close to their religious center, the Sultan Mosque (Fig. 5.5). They enjoy the convenience of getting to the
Fig. 5.5 Residential areas around Sultan Mosque

Mosque for prayers on foot, the accessibility to the shopping and services around it and hearing the daily calls for prayers from it. Living in the area enables them to feel the pulse of the community, to join the crowd for Friday prayers, to engage in the festive mood during Ramadan (the fasting month). As one resident, Ms. Rohani, said:

We always take our annual family picture at our front door with the Mosque as background on the Hari Raya Puasa day (sighting of the new moon, end of Ramadan). Who else have such a chance?

The residents also choose to remain in the area for sentimental reasons. Most of them are long-time residents; they were either born or brought up here. For some, it was their landing point, as migrants.

The issue here is whether the tenants' future in the area can be secured through the conservation process. Can they afford the improvements? Can they secure ownership? Will they improve the buildings? How?

Most of the tenants belong to the middle-to-moderate income group. They can afford to move to subsidized public housing or to other private housing developments. If they move to public housing, they can obtain low interest loans from the government to purchase their new apartments. For the private housing buyers, loans are available for purchase and renovation. Both groups
can use part of their Central Provident Fund (pension) savings to make housing installments. To demonstrate the financial capability of some public housing owners, they spend an average of S$10,000 to renovate their apartments in addition to the purchase price. Theoretically, most Kampong Glam tenants should be able to afford to renovate the historical shophouses. The problem is that they do not own these properties. There is also some question about whether they can obtain the financial means, equivalent to the above-mentioned housing loan, for the renovation of these historical buildings.

The tenants will improve the buildings if their future in the area is secured and their investments protected. It is possible, however, that they will emphasize only the functional improvements because of their financial limitations. Decorative or luxurious restoration seem less likely to take place under their control.

Another consideration which would affect the tenants' decisions to invest in improvement is the provision of public amenities. Carparking spaces, public open spaces, and greenery in the area would improve the quality of living in the area and thus induce more investment.
The current building code encourages reconstruction or extensive renovation which might not be affordable to the tenants. These building codes were written mostly for demolition of historic structures. To comply with the requirements of the code substantial investments will be needed (Fig. 5.6). Therefore, the strict enforcement of building codes and regulations may discourage tenants from investing in the renovation and improvement of their houses.

5.2.1 ELDERLY RESIDENTS

There is a growing awareness among the politicians towards the problem of the elderly. Such concern are reflected in many new government policies: priority in public housing allocation for three-tier family applicants, tax credits for households with elderly parents, and incentives for religious and social organizations to build and operate homes for the aged. There are also discussions about extending the retirement age and the pension-withdrawing age. It is hoped that the new policies will ensure that the elderly population is better cared for.

There is a higher concentration of elderly people in Kampong Glam (Fig. 2.24 & 5.7). Elderly residents (age 60 or over) represent 14% of the population in
Fig. 5.7 There is a large proportion of elderly residents in Kampong Glam. These residents live and work in the same district, and probably have never moved to other part of Singapore since they first immigrated here.

There are two main reasons behind the higher concentration of elderly people in this area. First, Kampong Glam was the landing point for many migrants from Malaysia, China, Arabia and other Islamic countries. Like many other ethnic settlements, the area provided for the needs of the new immigrants during their transitional period. Temporary accommodations, jobs, connections for work and many other services for the new immigrants were available here. Some migrants did well and eventually moved out of the area. Others set up businesses to cater to the needs of new immigrants. The area eventually turned into a permanent home for many early migrants.

Second, Kampong Glam's low rents and convenient location are always attractive, especially to low income groups. However, with the rising economic means of the population, the fear of government acquisition, and the success of the public housing program, many have moved out. Those who remain in the area are mostly the elderly.

This section is a discussion of the problems, concerns and potential impact of conservation on elderly residents.

The proportion is double the national average of 7%. There are two main reasons behind the higher concentration of elderly people in this area. First, Kampong Glam was the landing point for many migrants from Malaysia, China, Arabia and other Islamic countries. Like many other ethnic settlements, the area provided for the needs of the new immigrants during their transitional period. Temporary accommodations, jobs, connections for work and many other services for the new immigrants were available here. Some migrants did well and eventually moved out of the area. Others set up businesses to cater to the needs of new immigrants. The area eventually turned into a permanent home for many early migrants.

Second, Kampong Glam's low rents and convenient location are always attractive, especially to low income groups. However, with the rising economic means of the population, the fear of government acquisition, and the success of the public housing program, many have moved out. Those who remain in the area are mostly the elderly.
Many elderly residents are welfare recipients, who represent a set of hidden social problems. They are the official 'destitute', a term defined by the Social Welfare Department, as someone with absolutely no means in earning a living due to incapacitation, age, or the lack of any form of assistance from relatives. Most of the 'destitute' are single elderly migrants. They had neither formal education nor any special skills. Many of them were laborers, but are now too old to offer such services. They do not have any relatives to take care of them. They have either lost their families, did not get married or never had a chance to bring their families from their homelands. (Elderly people with children who refuse to take care of them generally find it difficult to qualify for a social welfare subsidy.) Therefore, many of the policies mentioned above are not helpful to the 'destitute' at all.

The 'destitute' are mostly sub-tenants, living in tight cubicle-type tenement housing or in temporary structures. Most of these spaces are in poor condition, but the rents are cheap and this housing is close to their work places.

Their continued presence in this housing simply implies their inability to move to better accommodations. These single, elderly residents (Fig. 5.8) have the option to move to public housing. But in exchange for modern housing facilities, they must pay higher rents. They also have problems finding...
compatible friends to share an apartment and the rent, and public housing is often too far away from their work places. Moving can be quite traumatic for the elderly who have spent their lives in the same place. In addition, the transition from a two- or three-story shophouses to a twenty-story apartment is not an easy adaptation for a sixty-year-old.

A high percentage of these elderly are working because social welfare assistance is only meant to help them be self-supporting. Although, some of them may live on their life savings, receive aid from distant relatives, or depend on the assistance of the charity groups, most need partial employment to subsist. Many of their jobs are marginal form of employment, such as collecting used paper boxes, bottles, tires, or scrap metal and selling them to the junk shop for recycling. Other kinds of partial employment include helping in the assembly of fishing accessories, stone carving, food preparation, etc. Most of these jobs are low paying, time consuming and laborious, but the existence of these jobs is often threatened by environmental improvements.

To summerize, conservation may not sound as drastic as relocation, but the outcomes could be similar. Environmental improvement associated with conservation would threaten the availability of the elderly's current living spaces. Improving the physical environment would jack up their rent. Building regulation
enforcement would reduce the supply of their undersized rental spaces and the removal of temporary structures would leave the elderly homeless. Elderly residents do not want changes because their lives would then become more difficult.

The key concern for elderly residents is their future in the area. Conservation always improves the quality of the environment, making it more attractive to many other people. Thus, gentrification is likely to take place and needs to be carefully monitored.

The issue here is whether the conservation of Kampong Glam would be set up to depend on market responses or whether the approach could be made more sensitive to the welfare of elderly citizens. The impact of Kampong Glam's elderly residents would be short-term as this population slowly dies, but improving the physical and social quality of the environment with the welfare of the elderly of Kampong Glam as a major consideration would be a more humanist approach.
CHAPTER 6
DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS
The basic principles and programs for the conservation of Kampong Glam are discussed in this chapter. They have been developed to meet the STPB's objective of making Kampong Glam a cultural attraction as part of Singapore's tourist infrastructure expansion program. The criteria used to formulate these conservation principles and programs are based on the issues and concerns identified in chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this study.

The key objectives for this conservation project are presented first, followed by the principles for programming and implementation. The next section is a brief discussion of the recommended national level framework, the National Cultural Park System, to coordinate all conservation efforts. A portrait of the proposed Kampong Glam National Cultural Park provides an image of the suggestions made in this study. More specific thematic concepts and strategies for the development of each cultural district comprises the last part of this chapter.

Although specific proposal for the conservation of Kampong Glam is not included in this study, these concepts and strategies set forth the principle development programs, objectives, and criteria to be used in the development of a specific proposal in a later phase. Issues related to the implementation and management of these suggestions are discussed in the next chapter.
6.1.0 KEY OBJECTIVES

The main goal of this study is to conserve the cultural vitality of Kampong Glam as part of an effort to improve Singapore's tourist infrastructure. At the same time, it is important to explore the potential such an opportunity offers to revitalize the area physically, socially and economically. Based on these goals, the key objectives to be achieved through the program, design and implementation of the conservation project are (1)(2):

1. Preservation

   a. To preserve physical elements of the Kampong Glam environment, which embody various aspects of its social and economic evolution during Singapore's early period of modernization;

   b. To retain those aspects of the current communities, which have represented the social, cultural and economic character of this multi-ethnic neighborhood since the 19th century;


Section 6.1.1 Preservation of the traditional architecture in Kampong Glam is one of the key objectives.
2. Revitalization
To revitalize the stagnant cultural and commercial activities in the area and strengthen the special quality of these activities;

3. Interpretation
To explain to visitors and the people of Singapore, how the various social, cultural and economic forces evolved, interacted and shaped Kampong Glam and their significance in the development of modern Singapore;

4. Adaptive Re-use
a. To adapt historic buildings to modern uses, while retaining their architectural character; and

b. To enhance the cultural, economic and physical environment of Kampong Glam through renovation for re-use.

The long-term objectives of this project are to establish a nation-wide, integrated network for the systematic conservation of nationally significant sites, to expand the network of tourist infrastructures and explore their cultural and educational potential. Furthermore, through joint public and private efforts, Singapore’s ethnic communities, now situated in deteriorating historical sites,
such as Kampong Glam, and be transformed into middle-income communities with younger populations to ensure this vitality and continuity.

6.2.0 PRINCIPLES FOR PROGRAMMING AND IMPLEMENTATION

A set of principles for programming and implementation has been developed here to address the key issues and concerns identified in chapters 3 and 4. They should be used to formulate the planning, design, implementation and management decisions that will be made to address the objectives identified in the previous section. These principles are:

1. To Upgrade the Image of Kampong Glam
   To emphasize the national significance of Kampong Glam and improve its image in order to promote tourism and attract investments for the project both locally and nationally;

2. To Improve the Environmental Quality
   To improve the condition of Kampong Glam's buildings and its urban settings; and to extend the life of Kampong Glam's physical resources by ensuring physical soundness and maintainability;
3. To Ensure Continuity of Activities

To minimize the disruption of current activities in the area,\(^1\) which implies a minimum of disruption in the existing communities;

4. To Maximize Social and Economical Benefits

To achieve maximum social and economic benefits for Kampong Glam and its surrounding communities:

5. To Encourage Community Participation

To promote, organize and assist the current communities in order to increase participation and ensure the effectiveness of public and private joint efforts in the planning, implementation and operation stages.

6. To Concentrate Resources in Key Areas

To concentrate resources in selected small areas in the initial stage of implementation, to produce the maximum positive local impact and attract world attention.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Lowell Historic Canal District Commission, 'Report to the Lowell Historic
This study recommends the concentration of the resources and efforts in the center of Kampong Glam, in the area bounded by Beach Road, Jalan Sultan, North Bridge Road and Ophir Road (Fig. 6.1). Four of the key cultural themes of Kampong Glam are captured in this area. It is hoped that concentrated efforts will create a ripple effect in attracting investments and efforts to restore Kampong Glam.

The approach, in general, toward the conservation of Kampong Glam should be coordinated at the national and the local levels. On the national level, this project should be part of a larger program, relating the specific project for Kampong Glam to other historic conservation projects, making them a program which will draw nation-wide attention. At the local level, the physical and social characteristics of Kampong Glam should be categorized for an allocating of resources and scheduling for the development of these components which will set the image and pace of the project and stimulate further investments and efforts in the 'background' areas.

Land District Commission to the 95th Congress' U.S. Department of Documents, Washington D.C., Jan. 1977
Based on the above programming and implementation principles, the strategies for establishing a National Cultural Park System and the conservation and development strategies for Kampong Glam have been formulated.

6.3.0 NATIONAL CULTURAL PARK SYSTEM

This study recommends the establishment of a national program, the National Cultural Park System, to organize all historic conservation projects. Such a program should include the systematic identification of all areas of historical significance. The development, funding and management of such districts, and the creation of a national image for each of the conservation areas. Kampong Glam should then be part of such a national program, which will improve its image and emphasize its national significance, thus achieving one of the programming and implementation principles (Fig. 6.2).

Under the National Cultural Park System, Singapore's historic heritage can be identified, and based on its historical characteristics of development, can be given educational and commercial value. These characteristics are categorized into seven cultural themes, with each theme representing a thread of Singapore's cultural development. A historic area may illustrate more than one

Fig. 6.2 Hierarchy of developments.
cultural theme, however, each theme will represent at least one area. The objectives of identifying such a system of cultural themes are to\(^{(1)}\):

1. **Organize historic preservation efforts**
   The conservation of historic settings, the natural environment, and places of unique character is the basic goal of this park system;

2. **Attract tourist attention and provide public educational opportunities**
   The park system should be used as a basis for systematic exploration of historic developments in Singapore, with each cultural theme highlighting the issues of the city's progress;

3. **Create recreational opportunities**
   Each area should be a potential site for the development of various form of active and passive enjoyment;

\(^{(1)}\) New York State Office of Parks and Recreation, 'New York Urban Cultural Park System, Progress Report to the Legislature', April 1980
4. Promote economic development

The improved image of the historic sites should attract public attention, encourage investments and development in historic settings.

KEY CULTURAL THEMES

The most important cultural themes(1) in Singapore's history of development may be categorized into the following groups:

1. Maritime Trade

The development of maritime trade by the British colonial government since 1819 started the period of modernization for Singapore. Since then, the island has become the maritime trading center for South East Asian region. Illustrative areas include the Singapore River, Kampong Glam, and the Rochor River area (Fig. 6.3).

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2. Mining and Agriculture

Parallel with the maritime trade development was the exploitation of Singapore's natural resources, including tin mining, for example on Bukit Timah Hill, and cultivating the fertile soil and making use of the tropical climate of Rubber Plantations (Fig. 6.4).

3. Commerce and Capital

Merchantilism (which evolved together with the maritime trade), finance and banking which developed in the last 15 years), are exploiting the conveniences in transportation and communication. They represent the basic components of Singapore's economic development in the last 160 years. Illustrative areas include Chinatown and Shenton Way Financial District (Fig. 6.5).

4. Immigration and Community

Singapore society is basically an immigrant society. The story of the immigrants' struggle for survival and adaptation to a new environment is the key to understanding Singapore's history of community development. Illustrative areas include Chinatown, Kampong Glam, and Little India (Fig. 6.6).
5. Culture

The integration of four different racial, cultural and religious backgrounds (Malay, Chinese, Indian and European) evolved a unique Singapore society. The physical and social elements which embody the evolution of cultural integration and racial blend are important components in Singapore society. Illustrative areas include Chinatown, Kampong Glam, Emerald Hill, and various new towns (Fig. 6.6).

6. The Military

Singapore's strategic location at the Strait of Malacca made it the focal point of military interests. Major military events include the establishment of defense outposts on offshore islands during the colonial period, the Japanese occupation during World War II and the build up of Singapore's own defense forces after the withdrawal of the British military base. Illustrative areas include Sentosa Island, Kallang Airport, and the Changi British base (Fig. 6.7).

7. Natural Environment

There are very few natural "natural" environmental attractions on
a small island like Singapore. However, several man-made scenic spots have been constructed. Together, they support a livelihood and economic growth, provide points of relief and recreation, and serve as a tourist attraction. Illustrative areas include reservoirs, the Bukit Timah Natural Reserve, the Botanic Garden, the East Coast Park, and Bird Park (Fig. 6.8).

In developing the national system of cultural parks, this study suggests, first, to concentrate efforts in the key areas of Singapore's historical development (Fig. 6.2). These key areas should be the four urban ethnic settlements (Fig. 6.6): Chinatown (Chinese), Kampong Glam (Muslim), Little India (Indian) and Emerald Hill (Straits Chinese). These areas embody the evolution of Singapore's economy and its unique cultures during the last 160 years. They are all located within the city center. Because their very survival is now threatened by urban redevelopment, urgent plans are needed to save them. Conserving these historically significant areas will have many positive impacts on the culture and tourism.
6.4.0 KAMPONG GLAM NATIONAL CULTURAL PARK

As mentioned earlier, each of the four urban ethnic settlements actually represents more than one of the cultural themes identified in the section 6.3.

Kampong Glam represents four of cultural themes. These themes are:

- Maritime trade
- Commerce
- Culture
- Immigration and Community

The physical resources of Kampong Glam which embody these themes are organized along four of its major streets (Fig. 6.9). The themes of maritime trade and commerce can be illustrated by activities and physical make up of Arab Street. Two branches of the theme of cultural development are represented in Kampong Glam. The Bussorah Street area illustrates the theme of Muslim culture. The Sultan Gate area illustrates another cultural theme: Singapore's monarchy linkage. The theme of immigration and community development is represented by the Aliwal Street area.
These cultural themes are used as a basis for the creation of the unique character of each theme district. They are also used, together with the analysis of existing conditions, to formulate the concepts and strategies for conservation and development.

Details of the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park is presented as a visitor’s experience in the next section. It is meant to provide an image of the successful conservation of Kampong Glam. The major development concepts and strategies for each theme street are discussed in section 6.5.0

A TOUR OF KAMPONG GLAM

This section portrays Kampong Glam as a visitor might see it. The activities, and the historical and social significance of such activities, would be explained. The activities are focused around the four main cultural theme streets outlined in the previous section.

Entry and Orientation Area

The visitor can enter any of the theme streets from either Beach Road or North Bridge Road directly (Fig. 6.9). A visitor orientation center (Fig. 6.10) for the entire district, however, will be located at the Beach Road and Arab
Fig. 6.10 Maritime Trade and Commercial District (Arab Street Area)
Fig. 6.11 Creating accesses to water with display of old vessels or sculptures symbolizing the historic shorelines, can help visitors to understand Kampong Glam's maritime trade history.

Street junction. Visitors will get an overall view of the Kampong Glam story from the exhibits and displays in this center, where they can also obtain information for a walking tour of the district or take part in one of the regular guided tours departing from the center.

Maritime Trade and Commercial Area

The visitor can stroll along Arab Street and Haji Lane (Fig. 6.10). This area illustrates the maritime trading and commerce of the colonial days. The retail shops should retain the atmosphere of the early days, although the merchandise in this area should have a range of selected specialty goods rather than the more diversified choices during those periods.

Visitors will also be able to learn Kampong Glam's maritime trade story by visiting a few long-time trading establishments or by taking a walk along the trail to the edge of the water (Rochor River or the sea). There will be a display of old vessels by the Rochor River. A few sculptures will mark the historic shorelines (Fig. 6.11) along Beach Road and the Nicoll Highway.

Muslim Cultural District

From Arab Street, the visitor turns into Baghdad Street, takes a left into Bussorah Street, and he will be walking along the grand march towards the
Fig. 6.12 Muslim Culture District (Bussorah Street area)
Sultan Mosque, the center of Muslim communities in Singapore (Fig. 6.12). He will see a few shops selling religious items, books, etc., inter-mixed with a larger number of residential units along Bussorah Street. This setting illustrates the traditional Muslim residential atmosphere of Kampong Glam. Its restoration will represent life and times of the traditional residences.

During special seasons or events, visitors will be able to experience the busy commercial activities (dealing with food and religious items) along Bussorah and Muscat Streets.

**Singapore’s Monarchy Linkage**

Entering Sultan Gate from Baghdad Street, the visitor is on a grand procession to Istana (Palace) Kampong Glam, the residence of Sultan Hussian, Singapore’s first Sultan (Fig. 6.13). There will be exhibits illustrating the history of Singapore’s brief association with the Malay monarchy and the family history of the Sultan. The Istana Kampong Glam now houses the showcase and training center for the cultural activities of Muslim immigrants. (Refer to section 6.3.0)

Two large restored houses, Bendahara’s House and Punduk Java, stand alongside Sultan Gate. These compounds used to be the villas of rich Arab merchants.
Tour route

- Istana Kampong Glam
- Bendahara's House
- Punduk Java

Fig. 6.13 Monarchy Linkage (Sultan Gate area)
1. Association Building
2. Converted School Building
3. Glam Tree Park with Fisherman's Huts
4. Arab School
5. Shophouse for artists or craftsmen
6. Restore immigrants' congested quarters

Fig. 6.14 Immigrant and Community (Aliwal Street area)
They illustrate Kampong Glam's glorious days as the neighborhood of Singapore's upper class.

Immigration and Community Development

Entering Aliwal Street from either Beach Road or North Bridge Road, the visitor will see a reconstructed fisherman's hut standing in a park of Glam trees (Fig. 6.14). The congested quarters housing immigrants in a traditional residential area will be restored. Some protected traders and craftsman and woman will demonstrate their production processes, thus providing some clues to the arts and crafts of the immigrant society during colonial days.

The visitors' understanding of the community activities in the district can only be achieved, however, through observation at a distance. The visitors will see some clans and associations, organized in the early colonial days, housed in the renovated historic buildings along with the two major institutional buildings: the Arab school and the home for senior citizens. But visitors will not participate in these community activities.
6.5.0 MAJOR CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES

The development concepts and strategies for each of the theme streets are based on the analysis of both local and national objectives for the preservation, revitalization, and adaptive reuse of such areas as Kampong Glam. The programming and implementation principles discussed in the section 6.2.0 formed the basis for formulating the development strategies.

The general approach is to concentrate the initial effort on the major components of each theme district, using them to create a unique character for each district and to stimulate improvements and the development of background elements.

MARITIME TRADE AND COMMERCIAL AREA

In interpreting the area’s history, conserving its special trades and crafts, and revitalizing its businesses we retain the special flavor of the environment and inject life and vitality into this commercial district of Kampong Glam. These themes will be illustrated in areas along Arab Street and Haji Lane (Fig. 6.10). The key concepts and strategies are constructing a visitor’s orientation center, identifying old entrepot establishments in Kampong Glam, retaining special traders, restoring access to the water, and revitalizing businesses.
Section 6.5.1(a)

Arab Street illustrates the environment for Maritime Trading and commercial activities during colonial days. It is the center for merchandises from neighboring Muslim countries such as textile products, Asian craft, etc. Some of the trading establishments have been in this area for more than half a century.

1 Arab Street looking south
2 Arab Street looking north
3 Haji Lane will be the expanded commercial district
4 Shops along Arab Street
A visitors orientation center should be constructed at the junction of Arab Street and Beach Road. There should be displays, exhibits, films, and lectures to provide an overall view of the Kampong Glam story. Information for a walking tour or a regular guided tour of the district will also be available in this center. Educational items such as old maps, photographs and literature for a better understanding of the history of Kampong Glam should be sold at the center. This center will also house the STPB’s tourist promotion and management administration for the Kampong Glam district.

Identifying the old entrepot establishments (Fig. 6.15) in Kampong Glam and telling the story of each one through exhibits and the restoration of some of their historic features or functions will help visitors imagine the maritime trading history of the place. These shopshouses will be restored and improved. They will provide the visual connections to Kampong Glam’s past and stimulate more restoration and investment in the adjacent areas.

Retaining special traders is essential to the unique character of Kampong Glam. Traders and craftsmen in this area include stone carvers, spices dealers, traditional Indian medicine dealers, leather sandals traders, Sarabat store operators (dispensers of ginger drinks, tea, coffee and cakes), and Krupuk (dried wafers) stores (Fig. 6.16). These trades and crafts can not survive fierce
Section 6.5.1(b)

Identify some long time trading establishments in Kampong Glam and tell the story of each one of them. Retain special traders and craftsmen whose existence is essential to the character of Kampong Glam. They include the stone carvers, spices dealers, traditional India medicine dealers, etc.
market competition, especially when Kampong Glam is developed into a national cultural park. They must be protected. Financial assistance, such as rent subsidies, technical assistance such as marketing promotions, and legislative changes such as designating selected areas for these traders and craftsmen will help them to continue their operations in Kampong Glam.

Restoring 'access to the water' from Kampong Glam, with new focal points along the water, can recreate a historical atmosphere and help visitors relate Kampong Glam with its maritime trade story (Fig. 6.11). Access to the historic Rochor River can be achieved with a walking trail to the Rochor Channel displaying old vessels by its side. Kampong Glam's linkage with the sea will be represented symbolically with sculptures marking the historical shore lines along Beach Road and the Nicoll Highway. Linkage to the sea from this spot can only be achieved visually.

Business revitalization is an important aspect of the commercial theme. Coordination and management efforts are needed to develop Arab Street area into a specialty shopping district for merchandise from surrounding the Muslim countries. A specific range of goods may include Malay, Indonesian, Arabian and Indian textile products, semi-precious stones, jewelry, spices, and basketware.
The retail area should be expanded to Haji Lane (Fig. 6.17) to accommodate more retailers and provide a wider variety of goods' centers on the special shopping theme. This retail area's wholesale center will then be compatible with the surrounding new multi story shopping centers.

Group promotional activities must be organized to attract shoppers and expand market potential. Financial assistance and technical advice for marketing and management strategies will also be needed to revitalize business in Kampong Glam.

MUSLIM CULTURAL DISTRICT
Retaining the historic urban settings, conserving the Muslim community and its activities, and intensifying related uses in Kampong Glam are the developmental concepts aimed at maintaining and enhancing the unique character of this district. This cultural theme is illustrated in the areas around Bussorah Street and Sultan Mosque.

Some characteristic settings of the Kampong Glam environment should be preserved. These settings include the dominance, both in height and size, of the Sultan Mosque over the tightly knit small-scale, low-rise residential structures, thus preserving the formal spatial composition of two rows of houses.
Section 6.5.2

The characteristic urban setting, the Muslim community and the religion related commercial activities are the components to be conserved and enhanced.

1 Formal setting of Bussorah Street area. Festive activities should be organized and be located along this street.

2 Grand view of the Mosque from North Bridge Road

3 Mostly State owned shophouses along Bussorah Street

4 Muslim residences in the district
along Bussorah Street (Fig. 6.18), and the grand vista of the Mosque from the North Bridge Road. To retain these unique settings, conserving of the existing structures along Bussorah Street and controlling the height of buildings around the Sultan Mosque, both within and surrounding Kampong Glam, are essential.

The Muslim community in areas along Bussorah Street should be maintained. Most of the residents here are tenants. They dwell in these mostly state-owned, rent-controlled buildings. Keeping these tenants in the neighborhood can be done by using leasing controls.

The religious-related retail and service activities in the areas surrounding the mosque should be conserved and intensified. The establishment of related businesses and the restoration of some hawker stands should be encouraged. Such preferred commercial operations include the Muslim embalmer’s shop, the Bunga Rampai Store (selling a fragrant mixture of leaves, flowers and essences for Muslim ceremonies and for perfuming houses), the praying rug store, and the Muslim book store.

Festive street activities of both a cultural and commercial nature should be organized and located in areas along Bussorah and Muscat Streets (Fig. 6.19).
These events will transform the character of this area, highlighting the cultural season and creating special attractions.

SINGAPORE'S MONARCHY LINKAGE

Restoring and rehabilitating the Istana (Palace) Kampong Glam and the villas (Bendahara House and Punduk Java) along Sultan Gate will recall the memory of the Malay monarchy link. A development strategy for the proposed Muslim immigrant cultural activity center, along with financial incentives, technical advice, and social and community services is needed in developing this cultural theme.

The deteriorating Istana Kampong Glam should be restored and rehabilitated as a center for Muslim immigrant cultural activities. It will accommodate an exhibition of the history of the Malay royal family in Singapore. The center will also function as a showcase and a training center for Muslim immigrants arts, crafts, cuisine, games, music, dance, drama, and shadow play. This center should be financially self-supporting. The commercial, recreational, and entertainment activities should support the cultural and educational expenses.

The Bendahara's residence and the Punduk Java House\(^1\) located just next to the Istana along Sultan Gate, should be restored. They provide a clue to
Section 6.5.3

1 Marching toward Istana Kampong Glam along Sultan Gate

2 The Istana is badly deteriorated. Much restoration and implementation are needed before it can be used to house the proposed Muslim Immigrant Cultural Activity Center.

3 Bendahara’s House used to be rich Arab merchants’ villa. It illustrates Kampong Glam’s glory days when the area was Singapore’s upper class neighborhood.

4 Bird house in Bendahara’s House
Kampong Glam's days as an upper class neighborhood. Both of these buildings, however, are now badly deteriorated and are covered with layers of temporary sheds. Financial incentives and technical advice will be needed to achieve this preservation goal.

The Bendahara's residence is a two-story villa with Palladian influence in its design. There is an interesting bird house by the boundary wall, which used to be the place for feeding wild birds, as a gesture for kindness, in the older days. This house was the residence of the high officer of the Kampong (village). It is now a private residence.

The Punduk Java is a community house for a large number of Indonesian families. It was originally a drama house where traditional arts, such as Wayang Kulit (shadow play) and Wayang (drama), were performed by Javanese immigrants. It is a two story building with a front stage, an open compound for the audience, a community hall and a large communal kitchen.

Social and community services will also be needed while developing the Istana Kampong Glam and improving the Punduk Java. The Punduk Java provides accommodations for a number of poor, elderly, single and helpless residents while some twenty families currently reside in the wooden structures in the
Istana compound. The provision of alternative accommodations should be considered.

**IMMIGRATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

The life-style of the early immigrants in Kampong Glam, the accommodating community activities of the neighborhood, and the housing of social and community services in the area are the important concepts for this theme district, illustrated in the Aliwal Street area (Fig. 6.14).

The pastoral setting of Kampong Glam can be recaptured by landscaping the open space along Aliwal Street to an early fisherman's village with a fisherman's hut, from the early 1800s, which stands between Glam trees. A traditional residential unit can be restored to show the congested quarters of the early immigrants during the colonial days with a display of the life and history of these pioneers.

The community organizations such as clans and associations currently housed in buildings along Aliwal Street and Beach Road should be retained (Fig. 6.20). They provide the basis for community organization, participation, and social assistance programs.
Section 6.5.4

An Association Building

Community organizations such as clans and associates will be retained in the district along Aliwal Street. These organizations will form the basis for community participation and social security programs.

Congested living quarters of the immigrants. One of such unit will be restored to illustrate such living conditions during the colonial days.

Some community institutions along Aliwal Street. The visitors can have a glance of the community life of the residents in this ethnic enclave.
Senior citizens' housing should also be provided by rehabilitating some historic structures. These will accommodate the elderly residents who have spent their life-time working and living in this district, and who will be displaced by this conservation project if no alternative accommodations are provided.

SUMMARY
To explore the tourist potential of the nationally significant Kampong Glam, this study recommends the establishment of the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park as part of the proposed National Cultural Park System. The National Cultural Park System is a national program which integrates all conservation efforts, thus enhancing the image of all conservation districts in Singapore, including Kampong Glam.

The Kampong Glam National Cultural Park will illustrate four cultural themes: maritime trade and commerce, Muslim culture, Singapore's monarchy link, and immigration and community development. Development program for each of these cultural themes will be based on the objectives of preserving, improving and reusing the physical resources which embody various aspects of social, economic, and political evolution of Kampong Glam and Singapore. The current communities and character of this ethnic neighborhood will be preserved by
maximizing community participation, revitalizing the stagnant commercial and cultural activities and strengthening their characteristics, developing programs to interpret and enhance the history of the place, and at the same time exploring the potential of the tourism and the educational and cultural value of Kampong Glam.

The approach to developing the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park is first to concentrate resources on key areas of each cultural theme district to establish the image and pace of the project, and to stimulate private investments to upgrade the environmental quality of the background (non-key) areas. Other necessary activities include improving public infrastructures and integrating the tourist access system with the rest of the city's tourist network. A non-stereotypical approach toward design is necessary to retain the unique character of Kampong Glam. Additional attention must be paid to ensure a minimum of disruption to the existing community activities during implementation. Coordinating developments in the surrounding areas is also essential to the conservation of Kampong Glam. Legislature changes, development control, land use, and activity zoning are required to achieve the development concepts. The implementation and management aspects of the project are discussed in the next chapter.
The key concepts for each of the theme districts are:

**Maritime Trade and Commerce (in the Arab Street area):**
- Creating linkages to the historical maritime trade, and
- Revitalizing business

**Muslim Culture (in Bussorah Street area):**
- Conserving the historic urban setting
- Restoring seasonal religion-related commercial activities

**Monarchy Linkage (in Sultan Gate area):**
- Restoring and rehabilitating the Istana Kampong Glam, the Bendahara's House and the Punduk Java community house
- Developing new infill projects for self-supporting cultural cum commercial activities

**Immigration and Community (in the Aliwal Street area):**
- Adapting existing buildings for community and social activities and uses.
- Developing a public park depicting a historic fishing village setting

The ultimate objective is to conserve the nationally significant Kampong Glam as part of the effort to improve Singapore’s tourist infrastructure and to explore the potential of opportunities to revitalize the area physically, socially and economically.
CHAPTER 7
IMPLEMENTATION, MANAGEMENT AND IMPACTS
Having recognized the historical significance of Kampong Glam in the development of modern Singapore, its potential to become a major tourist attraction, and analyzed the various interests concerned and influences on the conservation of Kampong Glam, this chapter discusses the strategies for implementation and management of development concepts for the conservation of Kampong Glam and the development of the recommended National Cultural Park.

The strategies for implementation and management include the project development process, the actions to be taken, the roles and responsibilities of the various actors and interest groups involved, the source of funding, the strategy for resource allocation, the means of coordination and control, and the establishment of a development and management agency. An analysis of the impact of the conservation proposal and the development of the National Cultural Park is presented in the last section of this chapter.

7.1.0 PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

This section is a brief discussion of the development process and the major participants (Fig. 7.1) for conservation of Kampong Glam and its development into a national cultural park.
Conservation Strategy & Guideline
Kampong Glam National Cultural Park

Key Actions
- Legislative changes
- Development control & zoning
- Financing Program

Stimulate or Planning
- New Project

Financing Assistance
- Building & Development Projects
- Social & Community Service
- Tourist Development Projects

Technical Advice
- Promotion
- Business Revitalization

Social services
- Approval

Referral among different agencies
- Building & Development Approval
- Social Welfare Dept Approval
- Approval

Cultural Park Development & Services Approval & Coordination

Project Implementation

Cultural Park Management Coordination

Fig. 7.1(a) Development Process
Fig. 7.1(b) Major participants of each development phase

STPB & Planning Agency
- Participation
- Government agency

New Agency & Govt agencies

Developer
Tenants, owners
Roads Dept
Park & Recreation
STPB

Social Welfare Dept
Community Organization
Charity Group

Task Agency
STPB
Business Community

Building Control Division
Social Welfare Dept
Relevant Govt Agencies
Business Community

Special Task Agency
During the initial planning stage, the project initiators, the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB) and a planning agency, will, in collaboration with other relevant government authorities, will formulate the conservation strategy, program, and guidelines. These will be used to plan all subsequent projects and actions. The planning agency should be the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) or a specially appointed planning consulting group.

A few key actions should be taken at the beginning of the conservation project, to attract investments and actions, to guide and control development, to ensure that project objectives are met and to avoid undesirable outcomes. These actions include designating Kampong Glam a historical preservation district and a special tax assessment zone, legislating new development controls and land-use zoning, arranging special financial assistance programs, organizing social and community assistance, and advocating special design and development approaches to conservation.

During the implementation and operation phase, most projects and programs will be initiated, developed, and managed just the same way as other developments but with special consideration for the goals and objectives of this conservation project. Projects for development the of the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park can be categorized into three main groups: building and
development projects, social and community service programs, and special projects and programs.

Private developers, project owners, tenants, or relevant government authorities will be responsible for the first two groups of projects which include building renovations, infill development, and social and community assistance program. The STPB and the newly established special task agency, the National Cultural Park Development Board (refer to Section 7.5), will be responsible for special tourist-related projects and programs including the development of the visitor orientation center, and the restoration of old shop houses and immigrant living quarters. The special task agency will handle the coordination of all projects and programs, organization of promotional activities, preservation of special festivals, and the monitoring and the planning of the future for Kampong Glam.

The Means of control to ensure all developments and programs are in line with the objectives and development principles of this if the project are land-use and activity zoning, tax incentives and financial assistance, and the learning of state-owned buildings or land. The Key phases at which to monitor these developments and programs include: the project conceptualization or schematic design and programing stage, the application for development and
building approval stage, the registration of organizations or companies stage, and the application for operation permits stage. The various authorities and the special task agency should impose conditions and controls over the proposed projects and programs.

The following sections deal with the specifics of each key action which includes legislative changes, land-use and zoning control, project financing, and implementation and management issues for the conservation of Kampong Glam and the development of National Cultural Park.

7.2.0 LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

The key legislative changes required for the conservation of Kampong Glam include designating Kampong Glam a historic district for conservation and a special tax assessment area, legislating a new land-use zoning plan and a new set of building profile control guidelines. (Both are used to control development proposals.) These changes, coupled with effective implementation and enforcement actions, can ensure that historic buildings and this urban setting are preserved, improved and reused in a manner which will enhance the character of Kampong Glam.
7.2.1 DESIGNATION OF HISTORIC DISTRICT

The Kampong Glam area should be designated as a historic district for preservation (Fig. 7.2). In such a district:

- Buildings can not be demolished without the consent of the special conservation task agency or the relevant government department.
- Guidelines for renovation, especially on building facades, will be prepared to guide improvement efforts.
- All new structures in the district should conform to traditional styles. New buildings in contemporary styles should be rigidly excluded.

The enforcement of such legislation will be achieved through the standard development and building control approval process. Close coordination among the planning, controlling and management agencies is essential to monitor and control all changes. Technical advice should also be provided to assist the owners and developers renovating, improving, and rehabilitating the historic sites.

7.2.2 SPECIAL TAX ASSESSMENT ZONE

Kampong Glam should be designated a special planning zone for special tax assessments including property tax concessions and tax credits for renovation
expenditures. These incentives will attract investments and encourage construction to upgrade the environmental quality of the district.

7.3.0 DEVELOPMENT AND ZONING CONTROL

The special requirements of the conservation project can be achieved through the development and building permit process. These requirements include the development of theme activities in selected areas, the conservation of historical landscape features and the coordination of access paths in and around the district. They should be reflected in standard planning tools such as land-use joining plans, plot ratios, height control or building profile guidelines, and vehicular and pedestrian access requirements. In Singapore, a development or building permit is required for all developments, which are defined as any physical changes made above or below ground level for more than two square meters in area or higher than one meter. Upon the completion of construction, an occupation license will be issued by the Development and Building Control Department if the construction complies with all requirements. Without such a license, the building cannot be occupied. Thus, through the above-mentioned planning tools, the proposal approval process and the issuance of an occupation
license, the special requirements for conservation can be imposed, checked, and enforced.

The following sections analyze conceptual land-use and activity joining, and building profile and access requirements for the areas in and around Kampong Glam.

7.3.1 DEVELOPMENTS IN KAMPONG GLAM
ZONING OF ACTIVITIES

Certain kinds of activities and uses will determine the atmosphere of Kampong Glam. They should be carefully monitored. A conceptual land-use plan is recommended in this study, based on the following objectives:

1. To enhance the cultural themes of each theme street.
2. To encourage the gradual phasing out of non-complementary uses in the district.

Some-complementary activities in Kampong Glam include a metal work shop, a motor vehicle repair shop, and a warehouse. The activities and the environmental qualities associated with these establishments are not desirable in the development...
of any of the four cultural themes nor do they make compatible background activities.

This study recommends commercial uses on first floors, with residential quarters on the upper floors, for areas along Arab Street, Haji Lane and Ophir Road (Figs. 7.2 & 7.3). The intention is to enhance the commercial character of the area and expand the size of this wholesale/retail district to make it more competitive, as discussed in Section 6.4. The suggested range of merchandise to be marketed in this area includes textiles, jewelry, Muslim spices, Asian crafts, and Muslim religious items.

Demonstrations of craft production are encouraged. Baghdad Street and Pahang Street could be designated a the craftsman's workshop cum demonstration area.

The buildings along Bussorah Street would be mainly residential (Fig. 7.4). Commercial uses to enhance the religious flavor of the area should be encouraged, including the sale of Muslim religious items, books, flowers, and food stuffs.

The Istana Kampong Glam should be rehabilitated as a Muslim Immigrant Cultural Center. Public access to the development, however, must be guaranteed
during the negotiations for development. Areas along Sultan Gate are recommended for residential uses (Fig. 7.6).

Community facilities and organizations should be encouraged in the space along Aliwal Street (Fig. 7.7).

Some neighborhood commercial activities serving the residences in the district should be retained. The relocation of these establishments to a centralized area is not necessary. A dispersed distribution represents the historic situation before the zoning of uses.

### 7.3.2 DEVELOPMENT IN SURROUNDING AREAS

In planning developments, special consideration should be given to areas surrounding Kampong Glam. The objectives are:

1. To provide complementary uses and activities.
2. To enhance the character of Kampong Glam.
3. To ensure that the authenticity of Kampong Glam will not be threatened.
Fig. 7.8 Surrounding Developments
Some new developments have been completed or planned in areas surrounding Kampong Glam (Fig. 7.8). The Beach Road belt has been zoned for large-scale hotels, offices, commercial and high-class residential uses. The areas northeast of Jalan Sultan have already been redeveloped into mixed-use developments for shopping, and office and entertainment uses, with public housing further to the north. The areas northwest of North Bridge Road have not been redeveloped, yet. There are plans, however, to build high intensity mixed-use developments to capture the locational benefit of being adjacent to the Mass Rapid Transit subway station.

In planning the future of the surrounding areas, the following recommendations are essential to the successful conservation of Kampong Glam.

**Land-Use**

The government should monitor the land-use of the surrounding districts carefully. Non-complementary uses, such as factories, warehouses, amusement parks, should be discouraged because they will generate incompatible activities and create negative effects on Kampong Glam.

To control the intensity of the tourist trade and related commercial developments, the development, control and building permit should be used extensively. A
few large-scale projects can generate too many activities and too many visitors, which will threaten the authenticity of the quarter which constitutes Kampong Glam's essential tourist appeal.

Accesses
Car spaces for visitors' cars will have to be accommodated in adjacent sites because of the shortage of open space in Kampong Glam. It should be difficult to provide sufficient parking spaces in Kampong Glam without demolishing existing buildings. The public works department should impose such restrictions to development through development and building controls.

The government should also coordinate surrounding developments to ensure easy access to Kampong Glam by public transportation systems, such as buses and subways. This is important because some major stops and stations for east-bound traffic are located along Victoria Street, which is a block away from Kampong Glam (Fig. 7.9).

Building Profile
By controlling plot ratios and building heights, the government can retain a low-rise building profile for the areas between North Bridge Road and Beach Road and enhance the belt-like urban nature of in this part of the city. It
will also help to integrate Kampong Glam, visually, to the rest of the city because all the new developments around it are high-rise, modern structures (Fig. 7.10).

Similar means can be used to control the height of buildings around the Sultan Mosque to maintain its dominant character. It is particularly important to control the height of buildings at the junction of North Bridge Road and Arab Street because the curved North Bridge Road creates a unique vista for the mosque. This area is also one of the major entry points to Kampong Glam (Fig. 7.11).

**Linkage to Water**

An access requirement, through development control of adjacent sites, is necessary to ensure that space is provided to accommodate 'access to the water' (Refer to Section 6.4) from Kampong Glam. New focal points, such as old vessels or new sculptures can be constructed or displayed by the water.

### 7.4.0 PROJECT FINANCE

Government assistance, private sector investments and STPB's funding constitute the main sources of finance for the preservation, revitalization, interpretation,
and adaptive reuse efforts for Kampong Glam. The strategy for financing the project is to maximize private investment and minimize direct public funding.

7.4.1 GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

The government's basic objectives in providing financial assistance are:
- To encourage private participation and investment
- To encourage home ownership
- To protect the present communities' accessibility to the estate
- To create multiplying effects through the least direct subsidy

The government will provide the following financial assistance:

To establish the National Cultural Park System

The government will finance part of the cost to establish the National Cultural Park System as well as the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park.

To construct a public infrastructure and improvements

Building public a sewage disposal system, a fire fighting unit, a drainage system, road works, public space improvements, and renovating state-owned properties are some of the projects that must be funded by the government.
To provide revolving funds

The government should establish a revolving fund to provide some form of financial assistance to attract private investments.

The government can provide loan insurance to guarantee that the current occupants in Kampong Glam can obtain loans from private financial institutions for renovation, for purchasing the units they are occupying, or for assisting business operations.

Investment subsidies will be another form of incentive and financial assistance to encourage local communities to embark on renovation or to upgrade their business operations.

To acquire properties

In some special cases, the government must intervene directly to acquire and reallocate problematic properties. Such an approach will also be used to enforce conservation requirements.

In general, the government should initiate the funding of conservation projects in coordination with private investors and financial institutions. By means of
loan guarantees and interest subsidies, the government can demonstrate its commitment to conservation projects.

The government may also consider allowing tenants to withdraw part of their Central Provident Fund (pension) savings to renovate their dwellings, as owners do. Each person should be able to withdraw up to 80% of his or her Central Provident Fund (pension) savings for the purchase of his or her first residential property. It will be another incentive to encourage private investment.

By establishing these qualifications for loan insurance and interest subsidies, the conservation of communities can be achieved. The government will also be able to monitor and control the composition of the communities in Kampong Glam.

7.4.2 PRIVATE INVESTMENTS

Maximum private participation in this project will ensure the conservation of the social components of Kampong Glam. Private investments will be required in the following aspects:

* To preserve and improve the historic structures

Occupants should take the responsibility to upgrade their units so that they have a vested interest in remaining in Kampong Glam. If owners themselves
are financing a project, they will devise more economical ways of improving the environment.

* To acquire the properties
Private funds will be needed for tenants to purchase properties they are occupying. This is an important part of the effort to encourage the participation of the residents.

* To develop infill lots and redevelop special sites
Owners of vacant lots and problematic structures, such as fire-damaged units, are encouraged to construct new buildings. However, the scale and design of these development should follow the preservation guidelines closely.

* To provide funds for business revitalization
The business community or the Chamber of Commerce should work with the STPB to organize efforts for business revitalization and promotion and market expansion. The funds may be in the form of private business capital to establish new operations for expand existing businesses. Some funds from private financial institutions should also be made available to assist existing businesses, especially those essential in maintaining the cultural themes of Kampong Glam.
Private funds will be attracted if investors believe that their profit margins will be high, that they have accessibility to new venture capital, that their investments are secure, or that they have an opportunity to improve living conditions. Once they have participated in the project, they will have a vested interest in making sure the project works well. Therefore, creating attractive conditions to draw private funds to Kampong Glam is essential to the success of the conservation project.

7.4.3 FUNDS FROM THE SINGAPORE TOURIST PROMOTION BOARD

The STPB should fund all tourist and related educational efforts. Items to be funded by the STPB include:

Special restoration projects

Selected historic structures should be restored and refurbished for the display of historic records, exhibits, and demonstrations of historic activities and life styles. The STPB should also fund the restoration of key historic features in Kampong Glam in order to recapture the character of the district. These projects should then be transferred to the new special task agency, when it is established to manage the National Cultural Park.
Loan insurance and interest subsidies

These items may be funded by the Development Project Fund of the STPB instead by the government.

Tourist, cultural and educational program development

Funds are needed to interpret and present the history of Kampong Glam, in the form of exhibits, brochures, films, guided tours, etc. The construction and operation costs of the entry and orientation center will be other major items of expense in creating the tourist, cultural and educational experiences.

Promotion

Promotional efforts to be funded by the STPB include:

-- The advocation of conservation at the initial stage of the project

-- The encouragement of participation and investment during the planning and implementation stages

-- The promotion of Kampong Glam in foreign tourist market and to local visitors
To summarize, the successful implementation of the Kampong Glam project depends on the close coordination of three key sources of funding. The government is responsible for creating attractive conditions for private investors, improving the public infrastructure and services, and providing financial assistance to the communities. The private sector must take on the task of preserving and improving private historic structures. The STPB is the chief coordinator of the conservation project. It will fund all the touristic and educational programs and projects, and sponsor efforts to organize business revitalization. The basic strategy behind the project's financing is to encourage maximum private investment and to create a multiplying effect with a minimum of public funds.

7.5.0 IMPLEMENTATION AND MANAGEMENT

The implementation and management of the Kampong Glam conservation project includes: environmental management and coordination, social and community assistance, preservation/restoration/rehabilitation of historic structures, cultural and educational program development, and the administration of the financial assistance programs. The project will be initiated by the STPB, but the implementation of the conservation and development programs should rely
on joint public and private efforts. A government planning agency, such as the Urban Redevelopment Authority, will be responsible for working closely with the STPB to formulate the conservation policy in the initial stage of the project. A special task agency should be established to carry out specific implementation and development tasks and ensure the goals and objectives of the project is achieved. Details of each of the broader implementation and managements functions are discussed in the following section.

7.5.1 ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

To promote preservation and protect the integrity of Kampong Glam, the STPB, the government planning agency and the special task agency should jointly develop and establish standards, criteria and policies for public and private actions in Kampong Glam. Once the policies are approved by the government and accepted by the present community in Kampong Glam and the general public, the implementation of various public actions will be carried out by the relevant authorities, such as constructing public infrastructure by the Public Works Department, landscaping by Park and Recreation Department. Policies will be enforced through direct agency coordination. Private projects will be checked by the review for planning and building plan permits.
7.5.2 COORDINATION

The special task agency should be responsible for the coordination of all public developments and private actions within Kampong Glam, including inter-agency coordination of public projects, coordination between the public and private sectors on conservation or development projects, and the coordination of financial assistance for private improvements.

The special task agency will review all public and private projects for their reflection of the objectives of the conservation project and, through inter-agency coordination, will enforce the conservation policies.

7.5.3 PRESERVATION, RESTORATION AND REHABILITATION

The provision of technical assistance requires professional technical advisors, who should be available to government agencies and individual property owners. They should provide assistance design and the use of appropriate techniques, methods and materials to achieve preservation objectives.

In addition, special assistance should be provided to help individual property owners or tenants understand the project review and approval process.
A flexible interpretation of building codes is an important aspect of the successful conservation of Kampong Glam. Many building codes are written for the demolition of historic structures. Special guidelines should be formulated to provide alternative approaches to meet safety and health standards and fire fighting provisions.

7.5.4 SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ASSISTANCE

The community groups in Kampong Glam and the government's Social Welfare Department should organize special social service and community self-help programs to assist the present communities in Kampong Glam to cope with the changes that result from the conservation project. Such programs should include:

- Social Welfare assistance to single, elderly residents and tenants from lower income groups for alternate accommodation and employment opportunities.
- Private group efforts for renovation, construction training, and programs for self-help projects.
- Community participation and public education to increase community involvement in the planning, implementation and operation processes.
7.5.5 CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The STPB would be responsible for the development and encouragement of cultural and educational programs which occur in historic spaces and buildings. Grants for program development can be made to involve the local communities, educational, and cultural institutions. The ultimate objective is to develop programs and activities which have national significance and transferability.

The general tasks are:

- To establish cooperative relationships with local communities to use the resources of Kampong Glam effectively.
- To make Kampong Glam's resources available locally and nationally.
- To encourage research activities to preserve or interpret aspects of Kampong Glam's and Singapore's history.

7.5.6 ADMINISTERING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Financial assistance programs will be available to assist the property owners, tenants, and business community to obtain funds to improve their houses or their business operations. Such programs are also aimed at encouraging and attracting more private investments. The special task agency will be responsible for the administration of such programs. Management functions involved here are:

- To serve as a conduit for applicants, or agents to obtain funds
from either the public or private sectors. The Cultural Foundation and a few private foundations will be the source of promotions for conservation and cultural and educational program developments. Funds or incentives may be obtained from the Economic Development Board to assist in commercial revitalization:

* To work with private financial institutions to provide direct financial assistance, such as renovation loans;
* To help private owners obtain needed financial assistance;
* To channel funds to the needy;
* To monitor and control changes in the community’s profile.

The goals of the financial program are to encourage preservation of the existing environment and the conservation of existing communities.

7.5.7 MANAGEMENT ENTITY

This study recommends the establishment of a special task agency, which may be called the National Cultural Parks Development Board, to carry out specific management tasks for this conservation project and the National Cultural Park System. This special task agency will coordinate the development of Kampong Glam National Cultural Park. Its responsibilities are:

1. To develop activity themes to guide the conservation effort;
2. To coordinate efforts of historic conservation by government agencies, private developers and residents of the area;
3. To review proposals for renovations and development;
4. To review and interpret conservation guidelines, building codes, etc.;

5. To formulate the revitalization and promotion strategies for commercial activities in the area;

6. To develop programs, exhibits and tours of the district to explain the history and significance of the area to visitors;

7. To restore selected historic structures to demonstrate to visitors the historic life styles and urban settings of important periods;

8. To provide technical assistance and training programs for private preservation projects;

9. To coordinate social and community assistance programs;

10. To administer and allocate special loans, grants, of other financial assistances;

11. To monitor the community profile;

12. To coordinate the maintenance of the entire district.

The special task agency will be a statutory board, given a large measure of autonomy in making policy and in project administration and finance. The ultimate objective is to have the agency manage all the theme parks under the proposed National Cultural Park System.
7.6.0 IMPACTS

This evaluation takes account of three major factors:

* Economic Impacts
* Environmental Impacts
* Social Impacts

7.6.1 ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Tourism

The conservation of Kampong Glam and the creation of Kampong Glam National Cultural Park will increase the length of tourist stays and the amount of tourist-related expenditures in Singapore. Kampong Glam will attract more visitors now visiting other areas of the city. If they were attracted to Kampong Glam for a few hours or for half a day, they would probably increase their stay in Singapore, thus increasing the total of tourist-related expenditures. The variety of cultural attractions will help to project a unique image for Singapore, thereby, attracting more foreign visitors to the city. The educational aspects of the project will help to attract local visitors, thus increasing expenditures in this area.
Job Creation

The conservation of Kampong Glam and the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park project will create new jobs in operation and management, and in construction to implement the plan. In addition, an impetus will be given to the creation of jobs related to the expansion of Kampong Glam’s commercial section through permanent retail and service jobs.

Adaptive Re-Use and Development

The conservation project will improve the utilization of resources in Kampong Glam, as the result of the renovation and rehabilitation of historic structures and the development of vacant lots. They will also improve the quality and increase the number of housing stock.

7.6.2 ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

The conservation project will result in a substantial improvement in the environment of Kampong Glam. Historic structures and their urban settings will be preserved, public services will be upgraded and new urban amenities will be constructed. It will also create variety in the urban texture of this part of the city.
7.6.3 SOCIAL IMPACTS

Social conservation in Kampong Glam will protect the existing communities from disintegrating and will give them an opportunity to evolve a better economic situation and a more even age group distribution in the population. The community participation required to implement the project will lead to a better organized community and will arouse more public interest and consensus in the future of the areas. The development in cultural and social programs for the interpretation of Kampong Glam’s and Singapore’s history will provide a substantial educational resource for the nation.
CHAPTER 8
SUMMARY
The objectives of this study are to advocate conservation as an alternate approach to urban redevelopment for Kampong Glam, to exploit Singapore's multi-racial and cultural heritage, to present a wide range of activities for tourists, and to revitalize the area economically, physically, and socially.

Analysis of the existing context in Kampong Glam and the preservation precedents in Singapore shows a growing awareness of the need to conserve some historic cityscape. People in Singapore are more receptive to preservation, now, and the private market will support conservation if the direction of future development is obvious. There is concern, however, about the effect of historic conservation on the modern and progressive image of the nation.

Conservation can help to create national identity, but two questions must be defined: What constitutes an appropriate balance between progress and history? What constitutes history that can be preserved? There is also the need for a national conservation system with clearly defined goals to organize all conservation and revitalization efforts.

The government's current criteria and approach to environmental improvement for conservation should be more subtle and sensitive. It should take the
character of the existing environment into consideration. More flexible interpretation of building code and regulation is necessary.

The government confronts the issue of how to encourage maximum private participation and gain support for the conservation without over reacting to problematic issues that market actions have been unable to resolve. Such over reactions might include acquiring properties compulsorily or imposing penalties.

Singaporean's expectations of the ideal environment should be more flexible, allowing for more variety and tolerating some non-conformity in environmental improvement, so as to preserve the social and physical attributes of Kampong Glam's historic spirit.

Previous preservation experience in Singapore also indicates that social components of an historic district need to be carefully considered and monitored. There is the question of how to retain the desired community groups in Kampong Glam in order to conserve the atmosphere of the place, to maintain a desired pace of transformation, and to encourage their participation in environmental improvement and revitalization.

There is also the issue of whether the tenants' future in Kampong Glam can be secured through the conservation process. The tenants want to remain in the
area and they can afford the conservation with special financing arrangements. If they can not secure the ownership, they will make improvements but not fancy restoration. They need technical assistance and advice on conservation. The conservation approach should also be more sensitive to the welfare of the single, elderly, and helpless residents.

To explore the tourist potential of the nationally significant Kampong Glam, this study recommends the establishment of the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park as part of the proposed National Cultural Park System, a national program integrating all conservation efforts.

The Kampong Glam National Cultural Park will illustrate four cultural themes of maritime trade and commerce, Muslim culture, Singapore's monarch link, and immigration and community development. The key concepts for each of the theme districts are:

**Maritime Trade and Commerce** (in the Arab Street area):
* Creating linkages to the historical maritime trade;
* Revitalizing business.

**Muslim Culture** (in Bussorah Street area):
* Conserving the historic urban setting;
• Restoring seasonal religion–related commercial activities.

Monarchy Linkage (in Sultan Gate area):
• Restoring and rehabilitating the Istana Kampong Glam, the Bendahara’s House and the Punduk Java community house;
• Developing new infill projects for self–supporting cultural cum commercial activities.

Immigration and Community (in the Aliwal Street area):
• Adapting existing buildings for community and social activities and uses;
• Developing a public park depicting a historic fishing village setting.

Programs for each of these cultural themes should be based on the objectives of preserving, improving and reusing the physical resources which embody various aspects of social, economic, and political evolution of Kampong Glam and Singapore.

The character of this ethnic neighborhood will be preserved by maximizing community participation, revitalizing the stagnant commercial and cultural activities and strengthening their characteristics, developing programs to interpret and enhance the history of the place, and at the same time by exploring the potential of the tourism and the educational and cultural value of Kampong Glam.
To develop the Kampong Glam National Cultural Park resources should first be concentrated on a few selected areas of each cultural theme district to establish the image and pace of the project and to stimulate private investments to upgrade the environmental quality of the background areas. Other necessary activities include improving public infrastructures, integrating the tourist access system with the rest of the city's tourist network, and taking a non-stereotypical approach toward design to retain the unique character of Kampong Glam. Additional attention must be paid to ensure a minimum of disruption to the existing community and activities during implementation. Coordinating developments in the surrounding areas is also essential.

The conservation strategy and program will be formulated to guide and coordinate all subsequent projects and actions. The following key actions should be taken by the government. Kampong Glam should be designated as a historic district and a special tax assessment zone to stimulate improvement effort and investment. A zoning plan for landuse, and other development control guidelines for building height, facade design, accesses for areas in and around Kampong Glam should be legislated to implement the development concept and to prevent undesired outcomes.
Special arrangements with private financing institutions and financial assistance programs backed by government are needed to assist current communities to fund building renovation, infill developments, and business revitalization. Some government funds are needed to make public infrastructure improvements, to provide loan guarantee or interest subsidy. The STPB will fund all the tourist related projects, e.g., restoring historic activities, developing educational programs, and promotions.

Community and social assistance should be organized to assist the tenants and elderly residents. Technical advice on preservation technique and development guidance should also be provided.

A special task agency should be established to coordinate all projects and actions, implement special programs, monitor changes, administer financial resources, coordinate maintenance, and manage the National Cultural Park System. The special task agency should be given autonomy in its policy, administration and financing.

All the three main categories of projects -- development and building projects, social and community service programs, and special tourists projects -- will be
initiated, developed and managed in a similar manner to other developments in Singapore.

The existing government controlling functions, such as development and building permit process, issuance of building occupation license, and registration of societies, will be used to review, regulate, and control all the projects and programs.

The proposed development of Kampong Glam National Cultural Park by conserving and revitalizing the historic Kampong Glam as a tourist project can result in better utilizing of existing resources, improving environmental quality, creating more jobs, and as increase in foreign exchange earnings from tourism. The existing community will be protected, better organized, and given the chance to transform gradually. This proposal will also provide an additional educational resource for the understanding of the development of modern Singapore.
APPENDIX I

SINGAPORE TOURIST PROMOTION BOARD

The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board (STPB) is the government agency responsible for the planning, development and management of tourist industry in Singapore. It was established in 1963 as a statutory board under the portfolio of the Minister for Trade and Industry. As a statutory board, the STPB was automatically given a large measure of autonomy in terms of policy, administration and finance.

The function and duties of the STPB include management of tourist activities, services, and facilities, planning, coordinating and development of tourist infrastructures, and promotion in overseas markets. It is also the government agency for research in the tourist industry.

The STPB is responsible for the promoting of local festivals, training travel agencies and tour guides, regulating the standards to be maintained by tourist enterprises, licensing all classes of tourist enterprises, maintaining and managing of certain tourist facilities (the Culture Theatre, Merlion Park, the Singapore Handicraft Center, etc.) and administering the of compensation fund (deposits
paid by the travel agencies to compensate losses caused by their dissatisfied customers).

For its planning functions, the STPB is responsible for formulating policy and making recommendations to the government for any measure that would increase the number of visitors to Singapore. For example, the STPB monitors the demand for tourist facilities such as hotels, restaurants, and shopping centers and, in collaboration with other government agencies, formulates plans to supply such facilities. It is also responsible for attracting and negotiating investments in building and operating major tourist attractions (e.g. the Asian Theme Park, etc).

Marketing programs vary from direct-sell promotions to media-oriented presentations. The STPB takes dancers, musicians, fashion models and chefs to countries with potential visitors. It also assists local talents who can enliven the publicity for Singapore and promote tourism in the media of foreign countries. Soliciting conventions, conferences and trade shows is another marketing strategy.
The research department of STPB monitors tourist arrivals and their travel characteristics, hotel tariffs, and employment ratios. It also handles research and the evaluation of marketing and promotion strategies.

The STPB's involvement in tourism investment and development is mainly at the policy and coordination level. The implementation and management of tourist infrastructures are often entrusted to other government agencies such as the Public Works Department, the Parks and Recreation Department, the Urban Redevelopment Authority, and the Housing and Development Board, or to specially incorporated organizations (e.g., the Sentosa Development Company). Such agencies usually undertake the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance of the project.

The STPB also sponsors tourist-related cultural and recreational activities and organizations at the local level, in addition to its direct involvement in presenting some local festivals. Such events include the Dragon Boat Races, the Moon Cake Festival, the International Kite Festival, the Annual Singapore Marathon, the International Food Fair, and the Courtesy Campaign and Honesty Awards festival. It has also made financial contributions to organizations such as the Singapore Symphonia Company and the Singapore Zoological Garden. These activities are part of STPB's effort to project Singapore as a modern
city-state which has retained a distinctive amalgam of cultures, customs and cuisines.

The STPB has also set up the Development Project Fund to finance the development of the tourist infrastructure. The development of the Singapore Handicraft Center and the Sentosa Island recreational facilities are two such projects. The STPB's contribution in developing the tourist infrastructure for the 1982/83 financial year amounted to S$11 million\(^{(1)}\) (US$5 million), a sharp rise from the S$3 million the STPB spent in the previous year.

To bring more tourists to Singapore (to keep a high tourist growth rate) and to extend their length of stay are the current objectives of the STPB. To achieve these goals, the STPB is advocating the preservation and restoration of our cultural heritages (e.g., Chinatown, the Arab Street Muslim Quarters – Kampong Glam Center, Little India, etc.) and the creation of more activities and tourist attractions (e.g., Asia Theme Park) to make Singapore more appealing to tourists so they will stay longer. The STPB has also expanded its overseas promotional network in the traditional market and in new potential in

\(^{(1)}\) SINGAPORE Tourist Promotion Board, "Annual Report 1982/83". Actual Contribution was $10,611,768. Exchange rate is approximately US$1=S$2.10.
Asia, Europe, Australia and North America. Finally the STPB will solicit more conventions and trade exhibitions in still another effort to achieve its goals.
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