

# REcreation :

*adapting Jalan Besar stadium*

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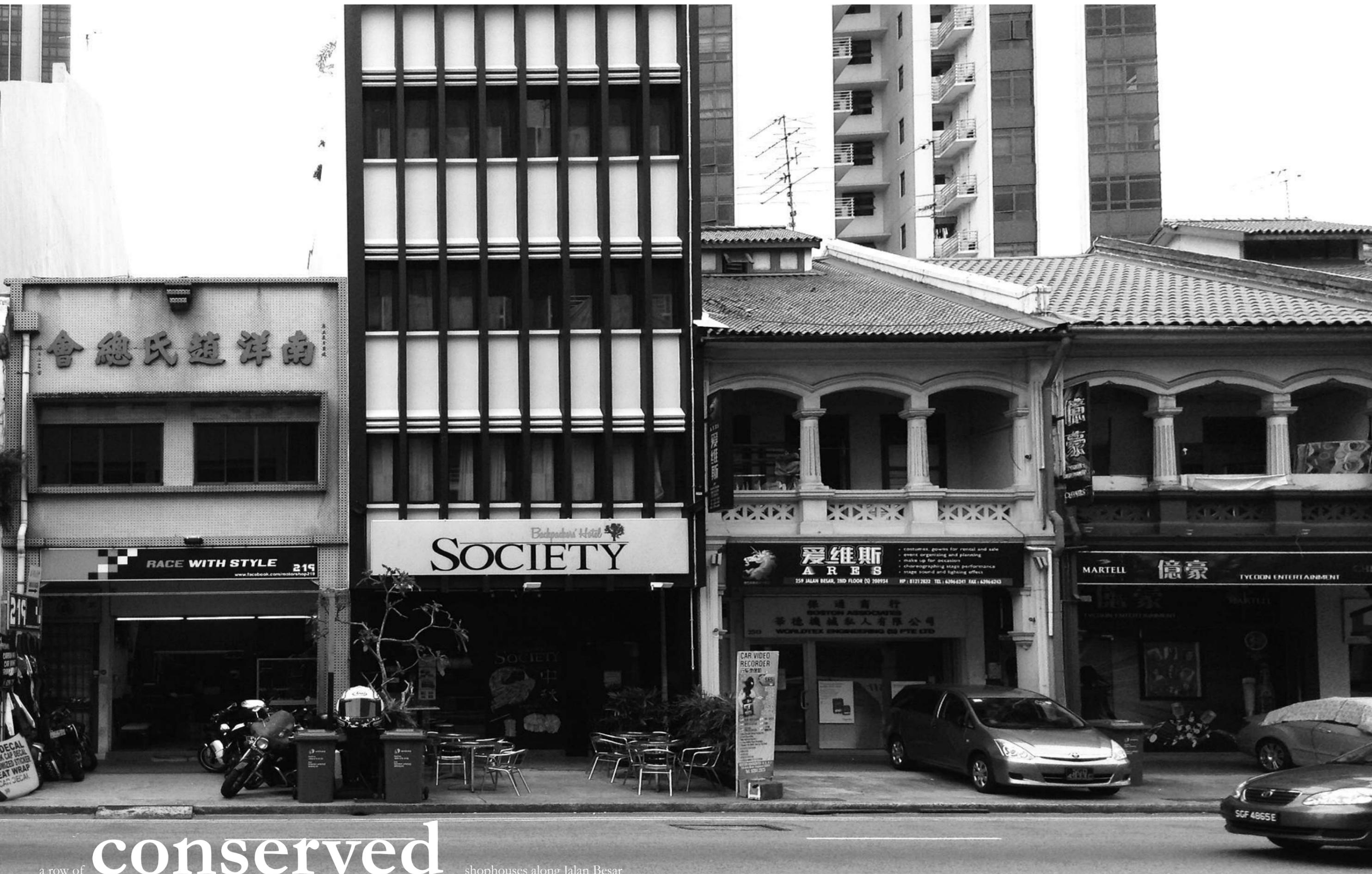
## 01 *introduction*



*Projecting a vision of the fate of Jalan Besar stadium - demolition in Singapore's constantly changing urban environment.*  
(Image source: singapore2010.sg; Chee Yong, Chow, Project 37. <http://invisiblephotographer.asia/2013/05/13/photoessay-project37-chowcheeyong>  
Photographs edited and collaged by author.)

This thesis looks at the topic of conservation in Singapore, particularly in the case of a special category of buildings – stadiums. Although stadiums are an important public space in the collective memory of a community, they are often demolished prematurely due to rapidly changing functional requirements, advancements in technology, as well as the need to project a city's image in the global sporting industry. Coupled with Singapore's obsession with new and shiny icons like the Singapore Sports Hub, any building that falls short of being classified as a 'National Landmark' will often be replaced promptly despite outcries from the public. As a critique on the city's selective erasure of history, the approach of this thesis counters the young nation's preoccupation with new transformations. The design project therefore takes the Jalan Besar stadium, remembered as the birthplace of Singapore's football, to explore the viable possibility of a stadium's conservation. Proposing a possibly different endpoint of a stadium's lifespan, the intervention conserves the old building that has held meaning not only to the football community, but to the surrounding community that works and lives just adjacent to this stadium. The stadium is one of the few prominent landmarks left in the area still surviving, and is therefore positioned as an integral public space in its surrounding urban fabric. In essence, the proposition welcomes old communities within Jalan Besar to appropriate the conserved building, and displays an alternative to redevelopments that commercialise and strip any sense of a past. Hence, through returning this public space to the long-time occupants of Jalan Besar, a revival of the stadium is proposed.

Buildings should not be forgotten once their economic value falls behind their social worth - in this 'new', old is gold.

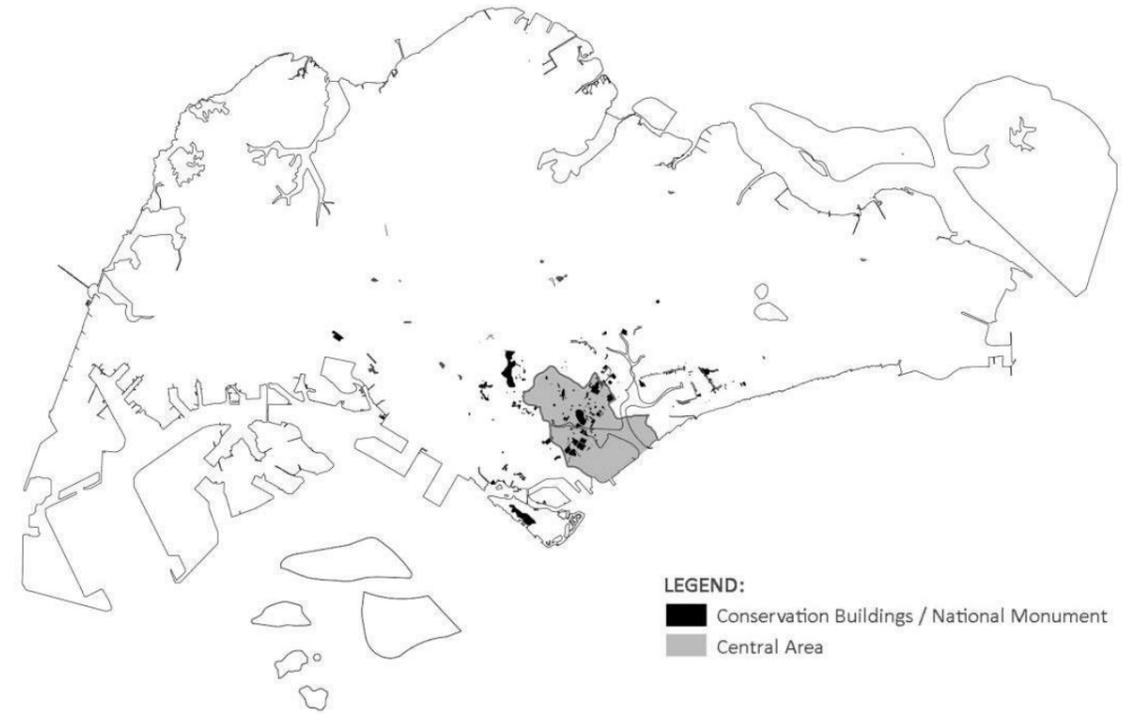


# conserved

a row of

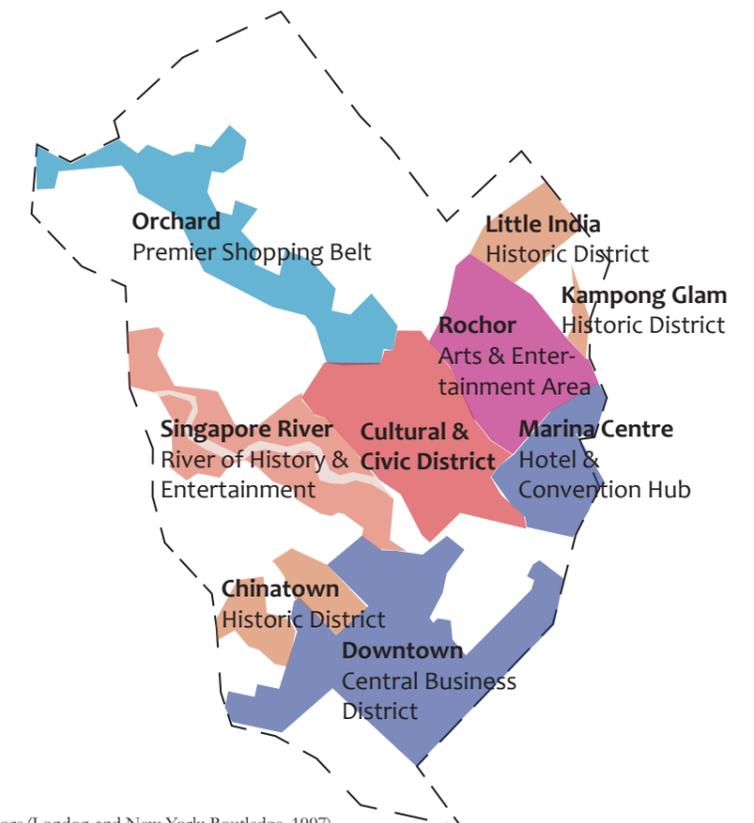
shophouses along Jalan Besar

Singapore is a distinct example of a meticulously planned society with the sizeable number of government regulations and restrictions on almost everything. It is evident in our urban framework that we live in a 'fully conquered island in the imaginary', in the sense that almost every plot of land is already designated for a practical function.<sup>1</sup> In URA's identity plan below, areas are already demarcated according to zones designated for a specific purpose/focus. Jalan Besar falls under the Rochor identity node, and businesses there are therefore geared towards Arts / Entertainment industries, rather than for 'historic' value.



02 conservation & preservation in Singapore

*Singapore's Conservation Scene*  
 (Image source: Ng Pei Yun, "Disassembly for a Conservation Project", M.Arch thesis, National University of Singapore, 2011)



1. Chua Beng Huat, *Political Legitimacy and Housing: Stakeholding in Singapore* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997)

Conservation Areas / Districts

**URA:** designated as the National Conservation Authority under the Planning Act. Makes recommendations to the government (Ministry of National Development)



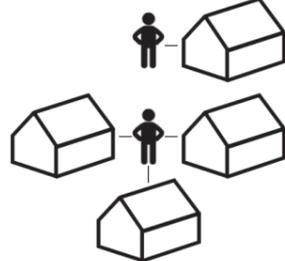
**IDENTITY PLAN:** identifies significant buildings for conservation; retaining & reinforcing character & scale of environment; recognising existing community activities to continue to thrive

**MASTER PLAN:** land allocation; desired usage of land; location of various activities; limits for development density

**Conservation Advisory Panel:** independent committee comprising multi-disciplinary perspectives. Advises URA on heritage matters, such as proposing buildings for possible conservation

Conservation Initiated by **Private Owners** scheme: property owners to volunteer their buildings of architectural / historical interest to URA

**USER PERCEPTION:** shift in economic motives: in the past, owners carried through their businesses simply to support their families and get by.



owners now also act like investors, often owning multiple properties to rent out, rather than just a single shop

10-month consultation period: feedback gathered through various media, focus group discussions, public dialogue  
- meetings, site visits, discussions with authorities and public to get views from stakeholders

subject groups to evaluate proposals; stakeholders discussion with residents & NGOs; various channels for general public to give suggestions/feedback. e.g. 3-month exhibition of draft Master Plan for viewing

quarterly meetings held to review proposals, research, & arguments by the URA. Conservation that is in line with the development blueprint is balanced against interests of the owners

URA conducts thorough studies:  
- building is evaluated under the following criteria

- ARCHITECTURAL MERIT AND RARITY
- HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
- CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENVIRONMENT
- IDENTITY
- ECONOMIC IMPACT

**USER PERCEPTION:** conservation shophouses have become more expensive than others, because of their rarity

**USER PERCEPTION:** difficult to get new owners for properties too, a lot of them want to hold on to their properties. So even if they move out they prefer to rent out if they have the capital to hold on to the place.  
- a lot of business owners that rent the space find no incentive to continue/expand the business or pass it down.

**USER PERCEPTION:** new social attitudes: choice of 'alternative' and 'unique' places to stay that reflect and express their individuality



recommendation report is prepared for MND: decision maker

Under the Planning Act, owners can object to the conservation of their property

- waivers for development
- provision of infrastructure
- land sales programme: selling government

National Monuments

**PMB:** empowered to make recommendations to the government (Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts) for gazetting a particular building or structure as a National Monument

inspects monuments  
- value determined by:

- AESTHETIC (form, scale, colour, texture, material)
- HISTORICAL
- SOCIAL
- TECHNOLOGICAL

preservation order is served by MICA upon advice of the board

LEGEND

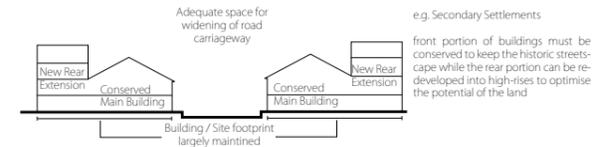
- STATE INTERVENTION
- PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
- SOCIAL INFLUENCES
- ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

1 | IDENTIFICATION / RESEARCH PROPOSAL

2 | CONSULTATION / PLANNING / FACILITATION

3 | EVALUATION / APPROVAL

4 | IMPLEMENTATION



**'OLD-AND-NEW' APPROACH:** new and taller infill developments are allowed to locate between old conserved buildings i.e. mixed development of new and old buildings within the same land parcel

Under the Planning Act, URA serves as the 'competent authority' with powers to implement the conservation provisions, duties and functions

- rent charge & carpark provision
- structure and supporting facilities
- rent-owned properties to private sector

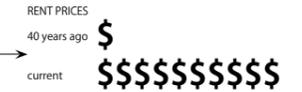


e.g. Secondary Settlements  
front portion of buildings must be conserved to keep the historic streetscape while the rear portion can be redeveloped into high-rises to optimise the potential of the land

becomes a more stressful and busy economic environment that does not accommodate for liveliness or socialising to occur

USER PERCEPTION

shift in economic market & needs: inflation, rise in prices have led to economic pressures (earning hundreds in income for small businesses no longer enough to survive)



difference in economic value of businesses: pubs, hotels generate a higher revenue VS lower-tier shops e.g. bike repair, hardware



e.g. CHIJMES

**USER PERCEPTION:** changes in lifestyles: branding, image-heavy mindsets e.g. apart from rental fees, new shops spending \$100,000 on renovation



This expression of a common aesthetic is a means of the gentrifiers in reinforcing their collective identity; it is also a way of differentiating themselves from the other residents shops in the area. The gentrification aesthetic of Jalan Besar is unique and combines the new interventions by the gentrifiers with the industrial character of the area. The iconic ambience of the neighbourhood is therefore reinforced by the rehabilitation by the gentrifiers.

The President may acquire any land / site / monument under protection by Preservation Order

land compulsorily acquired, compensation payable to owner based on market value of the date the Preservation Order was made

The flowchart presents an overview of the processes and influences of conservation and preservation of monuments in Singapore. In Singapore's state structure, the issues of methodically selecting the conservation and preservation of monuments fall under the bodies of the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) and Preservation of Monuments Board (PMB) respectively. In terms of National Monuments, the public has limited input with regards to selection and evaluation of a building's community value.

- export  
 - eradicate poverty  
 - collaborative civil society  
 - Govt encourages growth  
 - consultation before major policies decided, not just implementation

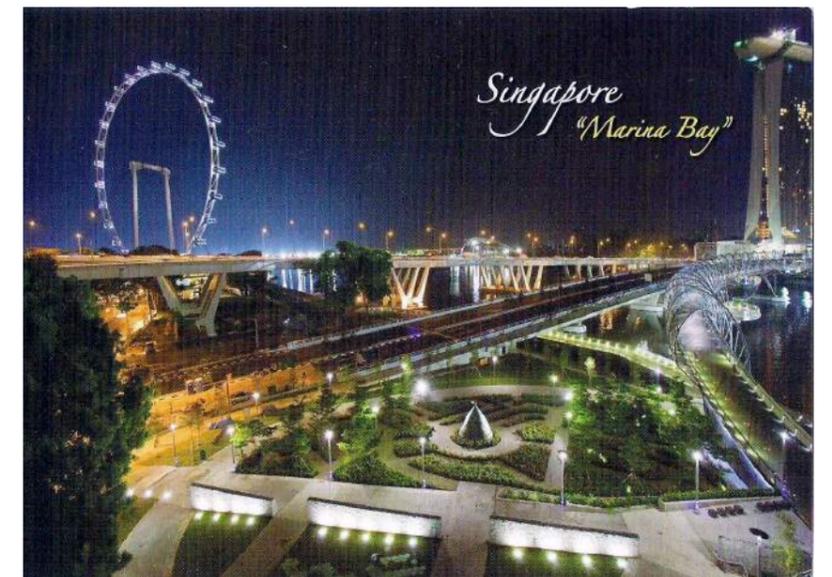
Formula One / Casino / Singapore Flyer  
 REPLACED by National Icons  
 Singapore Spirit  
 Singapore Spirit  
 Singapore Spirit

Community feedback - 'Our Singapore Conversation'.  
 (Image source: Our Singapore Conversation. [https://www.oursgcon-versation.sg/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/OSC\\_newsletter.pdf](https://www.oursgcon-versation.sg/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/OSC_newsletter.pdf))

Furthermore, despite keeping the architecture intact in our 'heritage' places, the commercialisation and functional intents of landmarks that the state implements strips the places of their significant heritage value and accomplishes little in stimulating the collective memory. This was saliently expressed in a news article on a few specific national monuments, which reflected on how the modern uses of these buildings do little to stimulate the past experiences and identity of the local community.<sup>2</sup>



Commodification of heritage at Chijmes



A Singapore postcard depicts the Marina Bay skyline as an iconic 'monument' of Singapore, rather than an image of a familiar past.  
 (Image source: [collectionpyowb.blogspot.sg](http://collectionpyowb.blogspot.sg))

Singapore's desire to be marketed as a modernised city has resulted in new icons that displace the past in an orchestration of our urban landscape. The findings from Our Singapore Conversation<sup>3</sup> presented a growing desire for our social fabric to be developed in a more 'natural and communal' way that is not centred on efficiency, pragmatism, commercialisation or capitalistic gains. Many prompted that profit-making icons such as the Marina Bay Sands and the Singapore Flyer did not wholly encapsulate the essence and spirit of our 'Singapore Culture'. The city's inexorable pace of development has also surpassed our ability to preserve a culture and heritage, with the progressive disappearance of 'historical signposts' becoming disorientating.

2. Kimberly Spykerman, Lester Kok, and Yeo Shang Long, "No Sense of History in these Buildings?" *The Straits Times*, April 13, 2010, B1.

3. 'A Singapore for Singaporeans' (p. 17) is one of the 12 perspectives arising from Our Singapore Conversation, as part of the public dialogue on Singapore's future. The public aspirations are elaborated in the document here: [https://www.oursgcon-versation.sg/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/OSC\\_newsletter.pdf](https://www.oursgcon-versation.sg/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/OSC_newsletter.pdf)



*Lost Monument Poster by Michael Lee*  
 (Image source: farm.sg)

There have been numerous cases in Singapore where long established institutions in the country become slated for demolition in order to make way for new developments despite several public pleas for its preservation. Here, where the buildings cost less than the land they stand on, it costs about 10% more to keep and restore than to tear it down for another development.<sup>4</sup>

4. Daniel Teo, Chairman of Hong How Group. "Going Going Gone." By Tan Hui Yee. *The Straits Times*, June 7, 2008.

# the case of the National Stadium

1966 - 2007

The design of the old National Stadium was considered “antiquated” and lacked value-added features such as corporate boxes and restaurants. In Singapore’s hopes to secure the rights to host world-class sporting events, visions of a new stadium materialised, boosted by potential economic benefits as well as an improvement in the country’s stature by a raise in sporting standards.<sup>4</sup>

The images below are part of a photographer’s four-month documentation that captures the last moments of the National Stadium throughout its demolition process as a tribute to the outdoor arena that has hosted innumerable National Day parades and worldwide sporting events. The National Stadium once united thousands of people in boisterous spirits and the work of remembrance is at once an archive of a nation’s history and each individual’s story.



“To quote the word of the famous architect, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969), “Architecture starts when you carefully put two bricks together. There it begins.” If that is so, then to me,

*a Landscape begins anew when the bricks are taken apart?*

- Chow Chee Yong, Project 37.



## Architecture + Landscape

(Image source: Chee Yong, Chow, Project 37. <http://invisiblephotographer.asia/2013/05/13/photoessay-project37-chowcheeyong>)

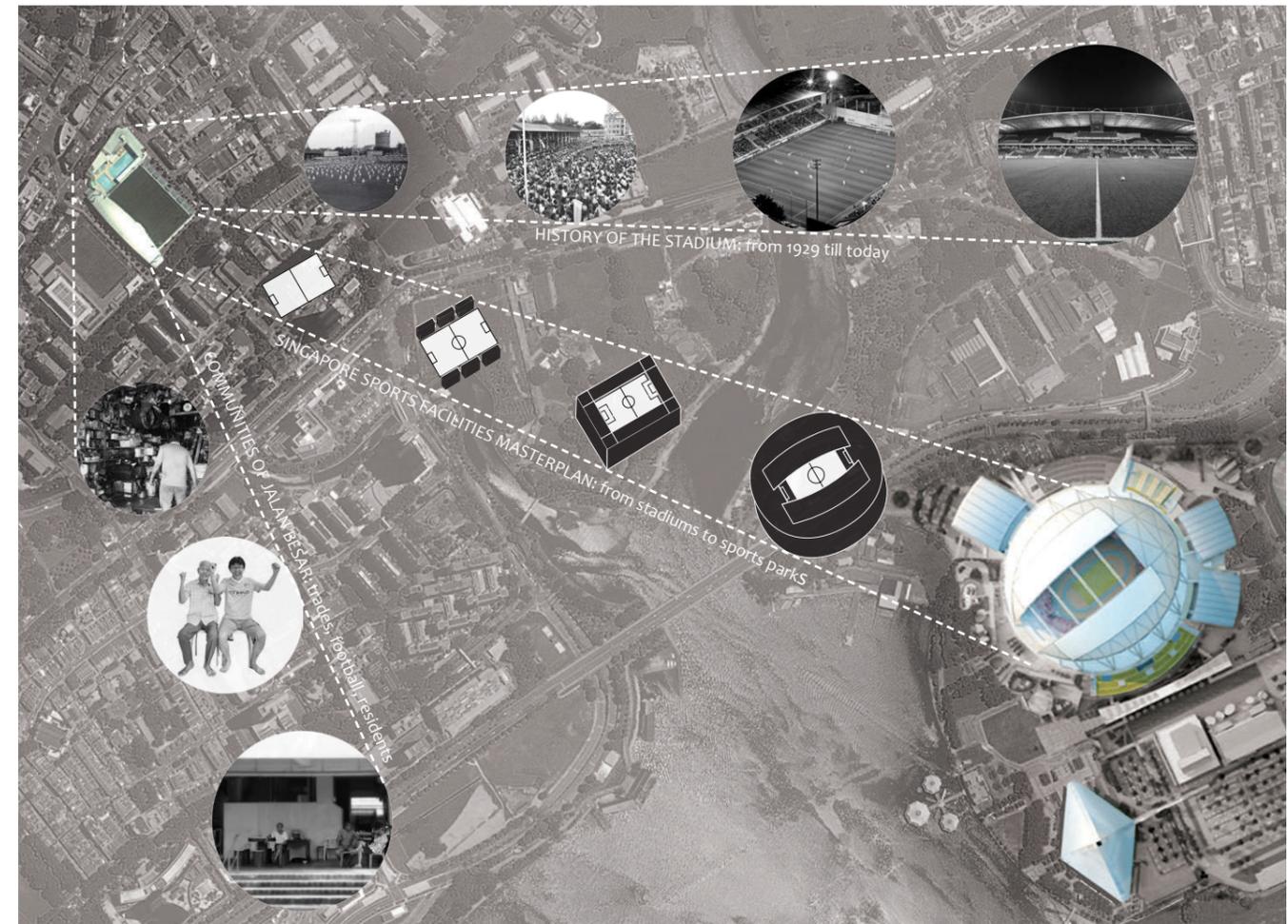
4. Jeffery Low, “National Stadium to make way for sports centre,” The Straits Times, February 16, 2003.



Singapore: **Jalan Besar** stadium

(Image source: Erwin Bolwidt, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/erwinb/584416412>)

### 03 site



The project uses Jalan Besar Stadium as a site due to its unique location as a massive structure tucked within a dense urban fabric of shophouses and HDBs. The stadium is therefore relevant to an interestingly divergent community in Jalan Besar, traditional tradesmen from the shophouses, the oldest football fans, as well as the residents in the HDBs.

The stadium also has a close relationship to the National Stadium, or now called the Singapore Sports Hub. Even before the *Kallang Wave* hit pitch fever at the National Stadium, Jalan Besar stadium hosted the first Malaya Cup in Singapore, and was home to all S-league matches.

Yet, just a few roads down, the Singapore Sports Hub now arises as the grander and newer facility. Anchor football matches currently being played at the Jalan Besar stadium will shift to the major stadium once it is ready. In line with the Singapore Sports Facilities masterplan, the older stadiums that are under-used will be converted into more open Sports Parks for the towns.

“[During the peak of Singapore’s soccer history], the Jalan Besar Stadium used to be a focal point of the community especially with kids. If you were to take a closer look at the older trees along King George’s Avenue, you will find wooden structures and planks on top of the trees used by children of the area as spectator benches to watch the football matches going on in the stadium.”

- Mr. P.E. Ashokan,  
long-time resident of Jalan Besar.



“I remember my dad taking us to the Jalan Besar Stadium to watch football matches in the heyday of the sport in the 90s. The atmosphere was simply electric; people would be singing in unison and cheering on the Lions to frenetic drum beats.”

- Denise Li



*Quah Kim Song heading the ball at Jalan Besar Stadium during a Malaysia Cup match in 1973 against Negri Sembilan.*

(Image source: National Archives of Singapore)

1929: Opening of Jalan Besar Stadium.

1933: Malaya Cup soccer tournament at the stadium.

1942-1945: The stadium was used as an assembly point and language centre during the Japanese Occupation.

1955: The stadium hosted the opening ceremony of the inaugural Singapore Youth Festival.

1967: The Malaysia Cup replaced the Malaya Cup following Singapore’s separation from Malaysia. Jalan Besar Stadium remained one of the venues for the tournament.

1973: The National Stadium was built and replaced Jalan Besar Stadium as the venue for Malaysia Cup matches. The Singapore Sports Council was formed to manage sports facilities including the stadium.

1984: Jalan Besar Stadium hosted the National Day Parade.

1995: The Football Association of Singapore withdrew from the Malaysia Cup.

1996: Launch of the S-League. Jalan Besar Stadium became the home ground for Home United FC.

1999: An exhibition match featuring ex-internationals commemorated the closing of the old stadium. The stadium was partially demolished but the pitch was retained and incorporated into the new Jalan Besar Sports and Recreation Centre.

2003: Opening of Jalan Besar Sports and Recreation Centre.

2008: The artificial pitch was replaced by a better-quality one. More powerful floodlights were installed.

2010: Jalan Besar Stadium was one of the venues for the inaugural Youth Olympics Games held in Singapore in August.

Categories of facilities:



Tier 1 Kallang Sports City	An integrated world-class ecosystem of sporting and lifestyle venues incorporating educational institutions, entertainment, community spaces, an innovation hub, and commercial/residential mixed use units.
Tier 2 Regional Integrated Sports Centres	One for each of the five regions in URA's master plan, with sports facilities capable of hosting major events. Other facilities include National Training Centres which will enable elite training and deliver community sport for a regional area.
Tier 3 Community Sports Spaces	A network of sustainable sports facilities including Sports and Recreation Centres, School Facilities (Dual Use and Free to Play), Community Clubs and Parks/Outdoor Sports Areas.
Tier 4 Community Play Fields	Co-create sporting spaces for every constituency to encourage more to play sports in their neighbourhood.

Top to bottom: Singapore Sports Hub; Tampines Town Hub; Ang Mo Kio Wet Play Field  
(Image source: Singapore Sports Hub Consortium, People's Association, Singapore Sports Council)

Conversion of Stadiums to Sports Parks

Some of the older stadiums that tend to be under-used will be converted into more open Sports Parks for the towns. These will be integrated with nearby parks, and park connectors. They will have a broader range of recreational amenities such as fitness stations, hard courts for ball games, playgrounds, tree adventure and sport climbing facilities, and BBQ pits etc, for residents and families to engage in sports, play and interaction.



2013 maintenance work in Jalan Besar stadium and relaying of artificial pitch.

Jalan Besar stadium stands likely in the third tier, with the current residing teams moving out in the future, its status will probably shift from a formal football stadium to a more informal community sports facility. Every effort to renovate and 'rebuild' the stadium has been purely a functional effort on the part of the Singapore Sports Council to ensure effectiveness in its utility. During the 2003 renovation, the seating capacity of the stadium was reduced from 15,000 to 6,000, and covered stands were also replaced with an uncovered gallery and a grandstand. As a 'backup' stadium, the seating capacity was reduced to make way for other more 'viable' uses such as the swimming complex. Yet, only the bare minimum is done to maintain the stadium through updating the infrastructure, such as relaying the pitch to meet International Federation standards.

Being overshadowed once again by the Singapore Sports Hub, how can Jalan Besar stadium retain its significance as a 'monument' for the community?



The facing map presents a collage of stories from the perspective of the community, which are collected and mapped to the relevant places that they are attached to. Ironically, most of these places fall outside of the official conservation boundary line – the more prominent places such as New world which has been demolished, as well as the Jalan Besar Stadium. Unlike the shophouses and the old Victoria school opposite the stadium, the sports facility is not gazetted as a conservation building. Yet, it is an important public space which changes the whole environment around it when large urban congregations gather during football matches, and the atmosphere of the place becomes electrifying. It is therefore socially significant, and conservation is a viable possibility for this public space.

Knowing this, then it is important that the stadium focuses not just on the football crowd, but should cater to the numerous communities familiar to Jalan Besar as well. Despite being a conservation area, the value of the old is constantly being pushed out by newer developments and increasing rent prices. The structure of the present community has been changing continually over the past few years. The project therefore proposes that the Jalan Besar Stadium be redesigned as a focal point for the public, that gives a second life to its declining importance. Exchanges through the form of stories, skills or services would help to foster a closer relationship between the old and new inhabitants of Jalan Besar. Through involving the people, and allowing them to recreate the public space, the stadium becomes a depository of layers of interventions that evolves over time. Eventually, the community and architecture grows with this public space, and Jalan Besar stadium becomes a collective entity, rather than an exclusive symbol of football.

3 main bodies of jalan besar community:



residents



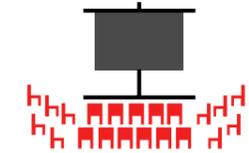
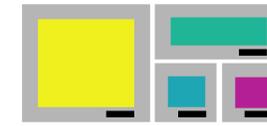
sports



old trades

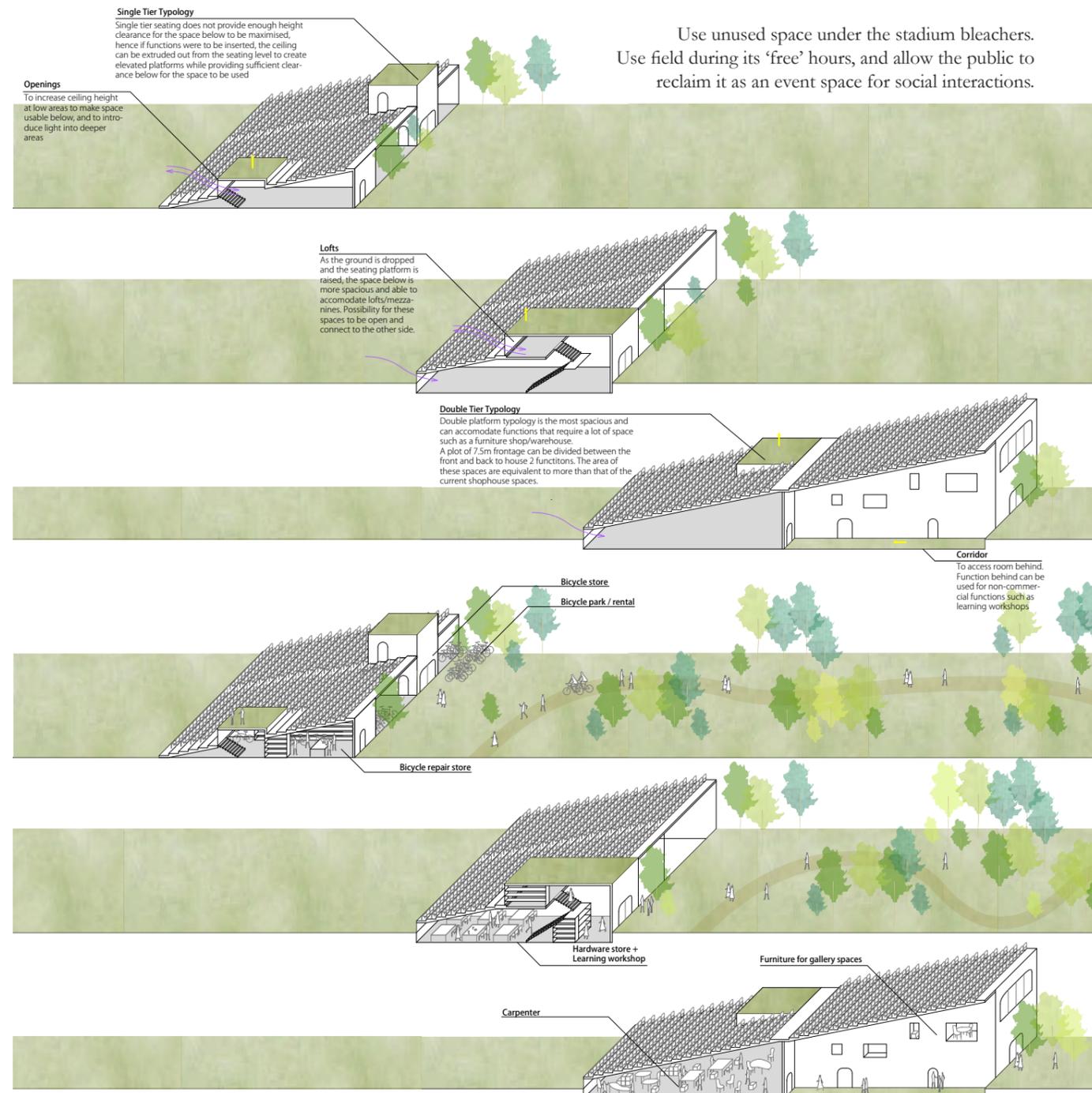
Refer to appendix for interviews

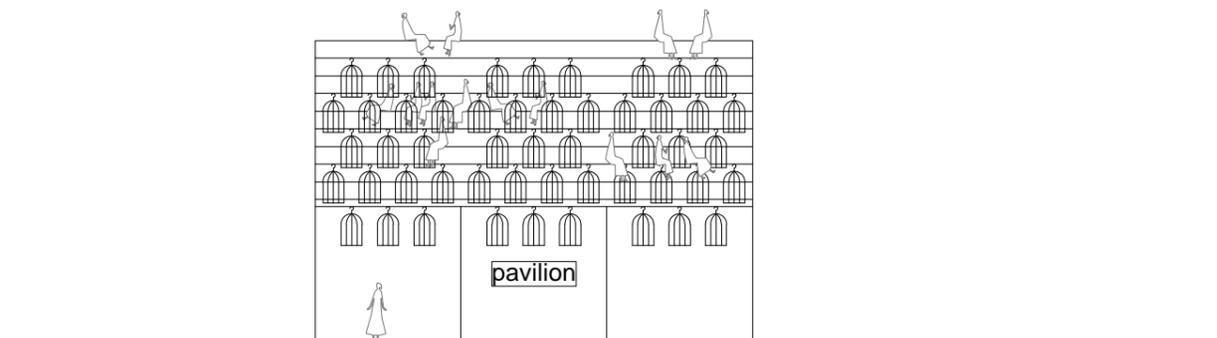
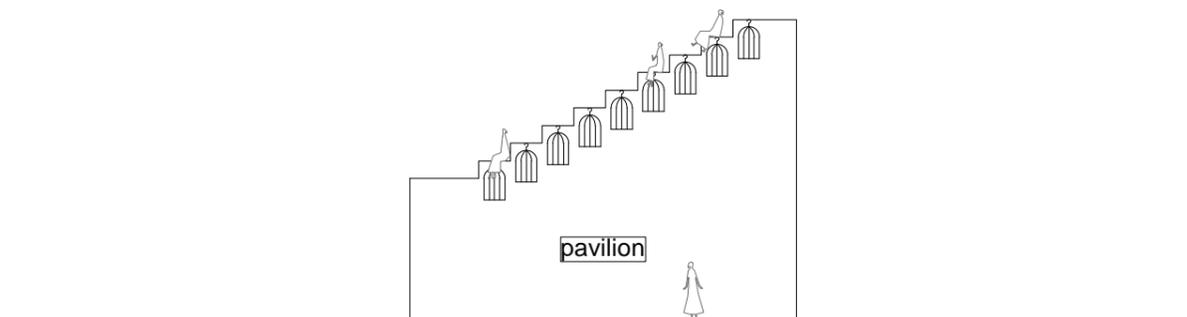
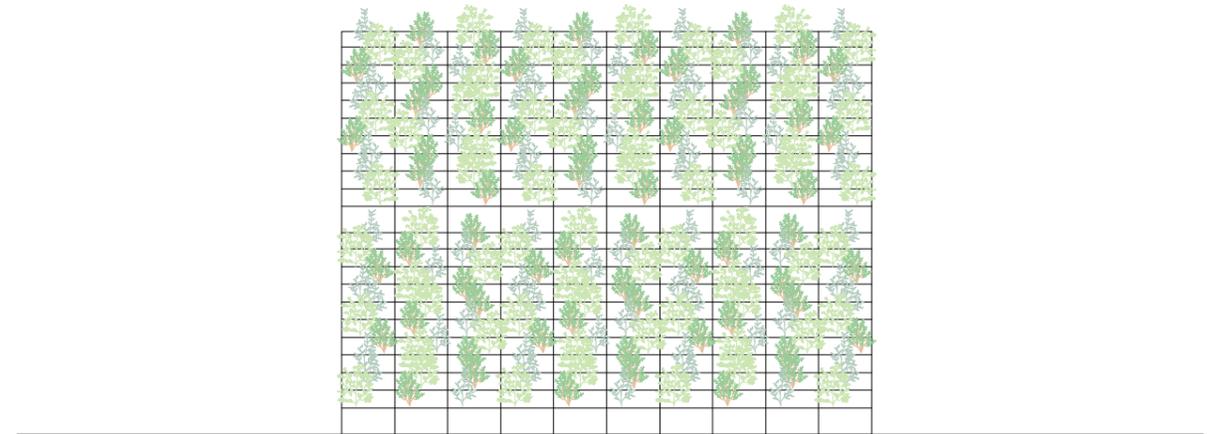
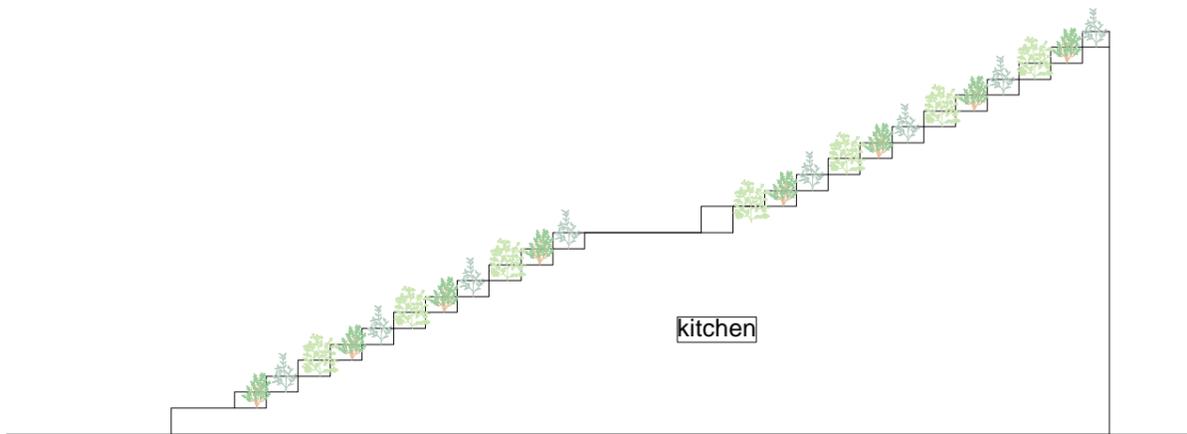
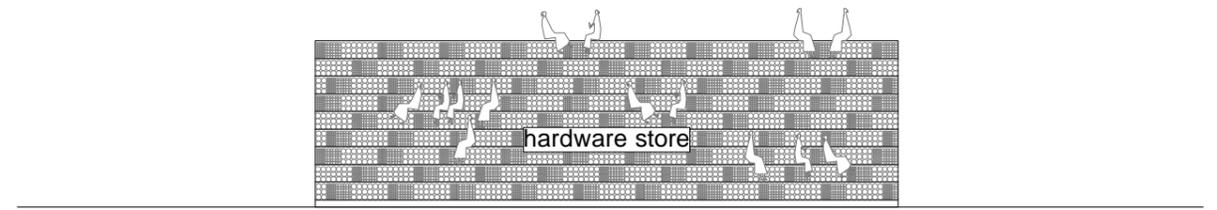
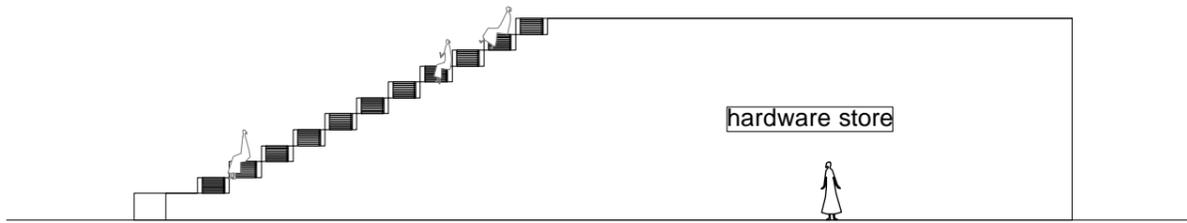
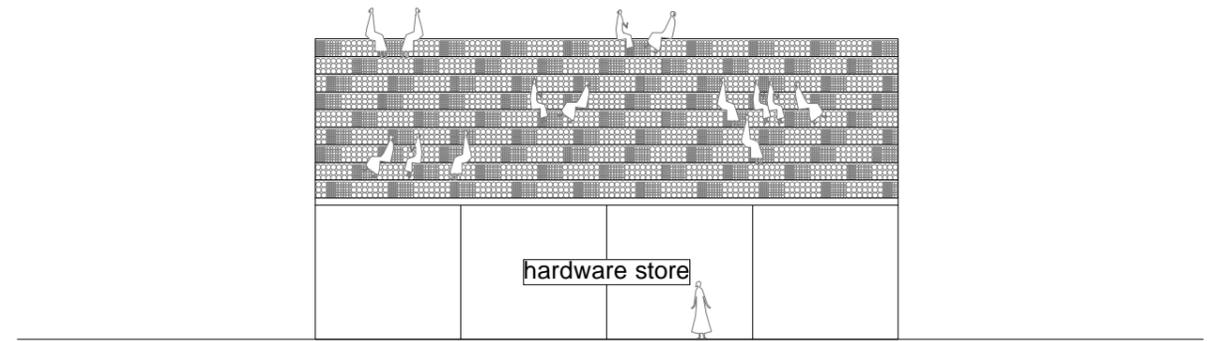
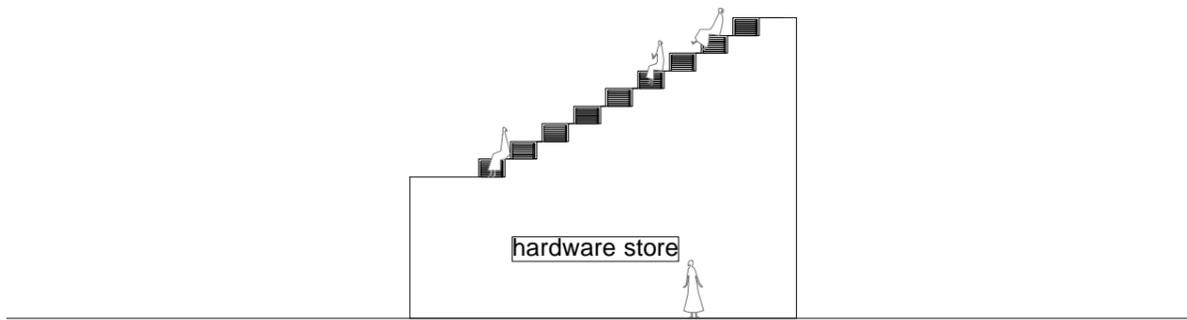
Programme considerations:



Use unused space under the stadium bleachers.  
Use field during its 'free' hours, and allow the public to reclaim it as an event space for social interactions.

04 REcreation

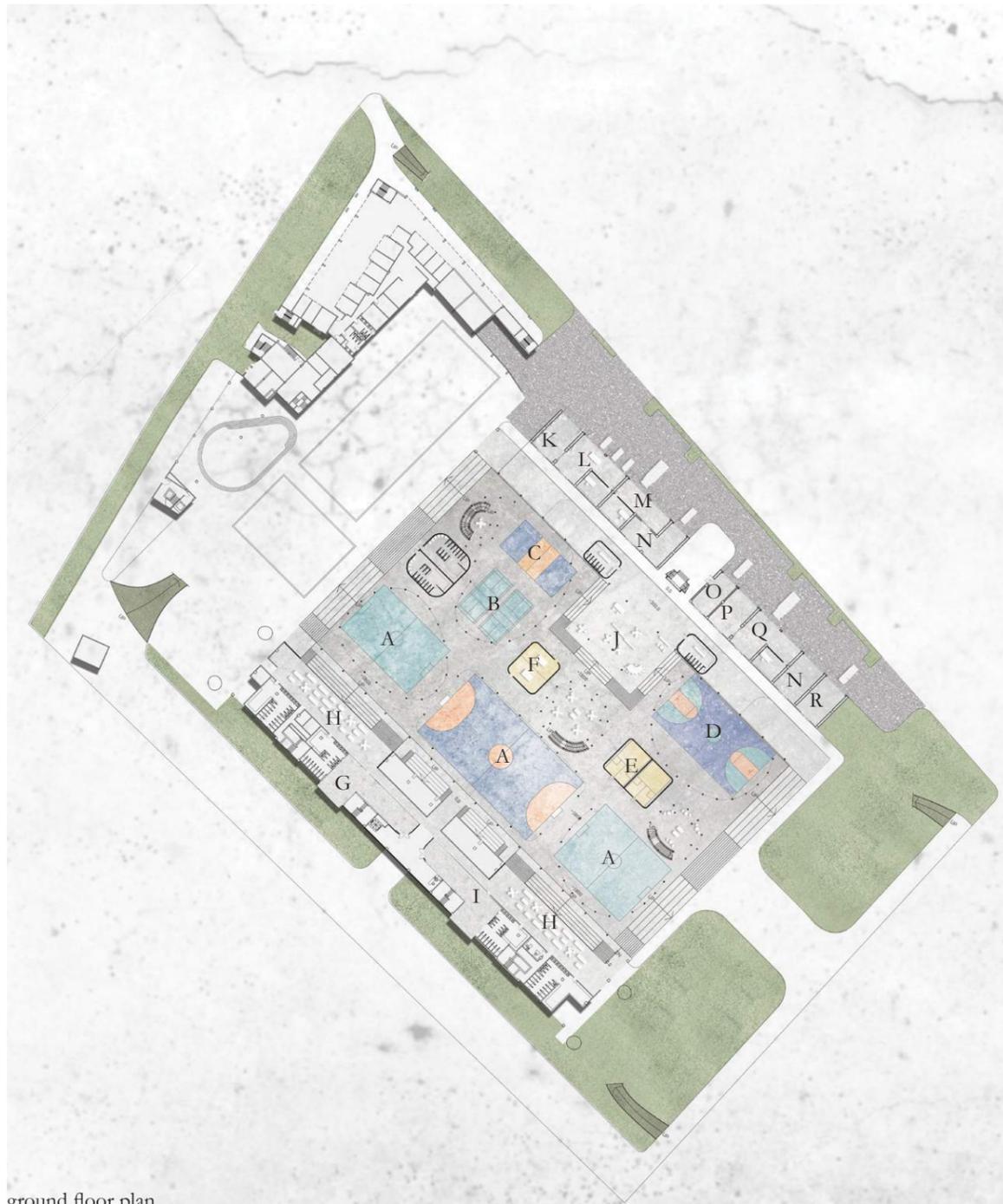






roof plan

Previously, the site of the stadium stands isolated within the fabric of Jalan Besar. The main intervention, an elevated recreation park, integrates the site by using the stadium as a connector between the different parts of the neighbourhood.



ground floor plan

- A. futsal B. badminton C. volleyball D. basketball E. squash F. table tennis
- G. physiotherapy H. viewing gallery I. cafeteria J. exhibition space
- K. bicycle workshop L. automobile workshop M. metalworks & machinery
- N. hardware store O. traditional medicine P. frame maker Q. carpentry
- R. canvas products

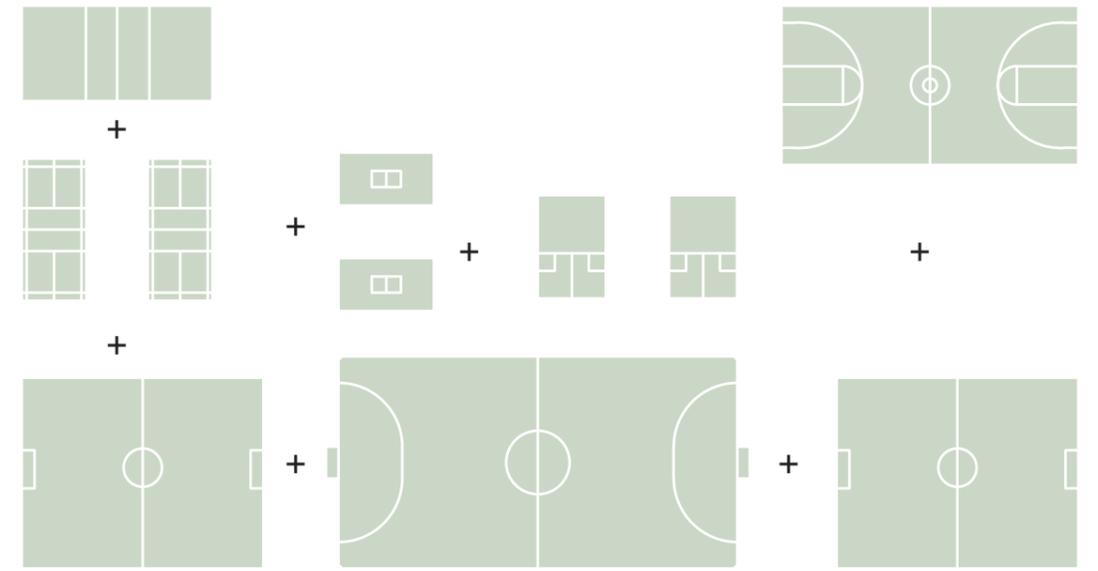
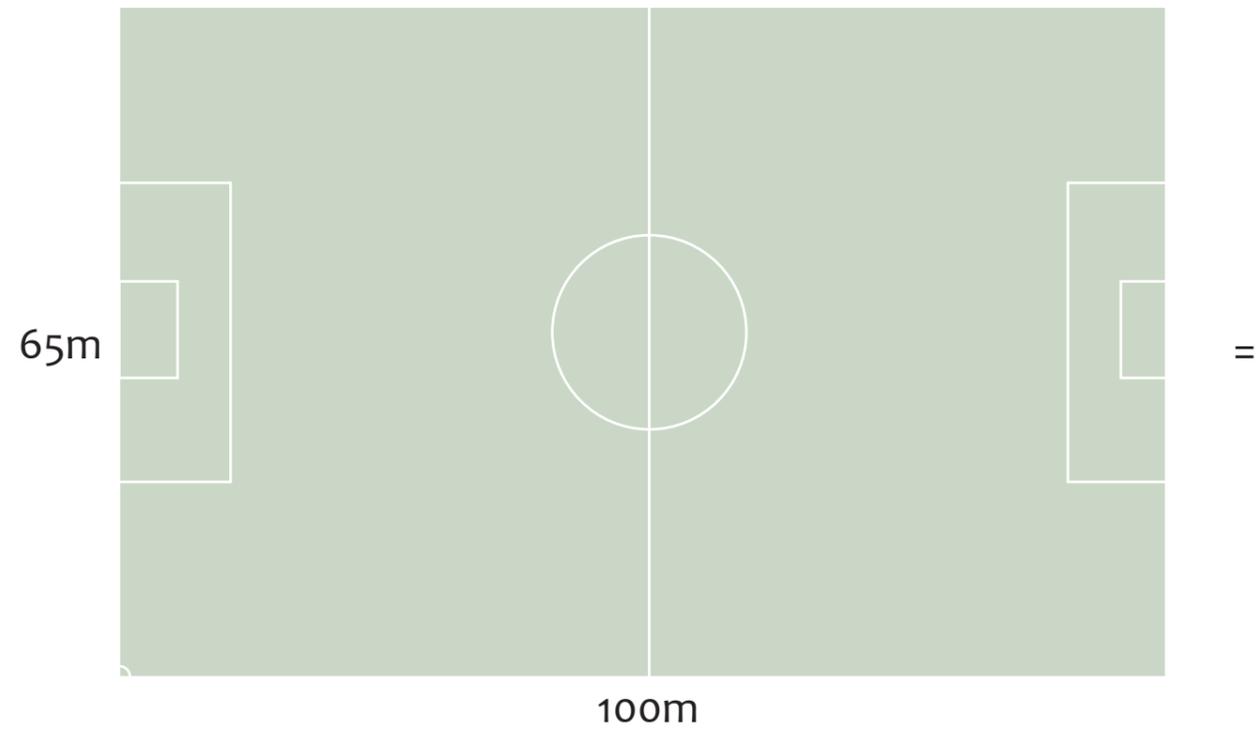
The level for the courts are sunken below ground at a height of 1.8m, with steps for viewing all around, while the existing stepped seating bays house artisan workshops, and gallery spaces for the trades in Jalan Besar facilitating the exchange of ideas and cultures. The road leading to the front of the workshop spaces is extended to create a loading / unloading bay and ample parking spaces for vehicles transporting goods. The pedestrian walkway is diverted into the building - a sheltered five-foot way that cuts in between the workshop spaces and the sports courts, allowing vistas to both activities.



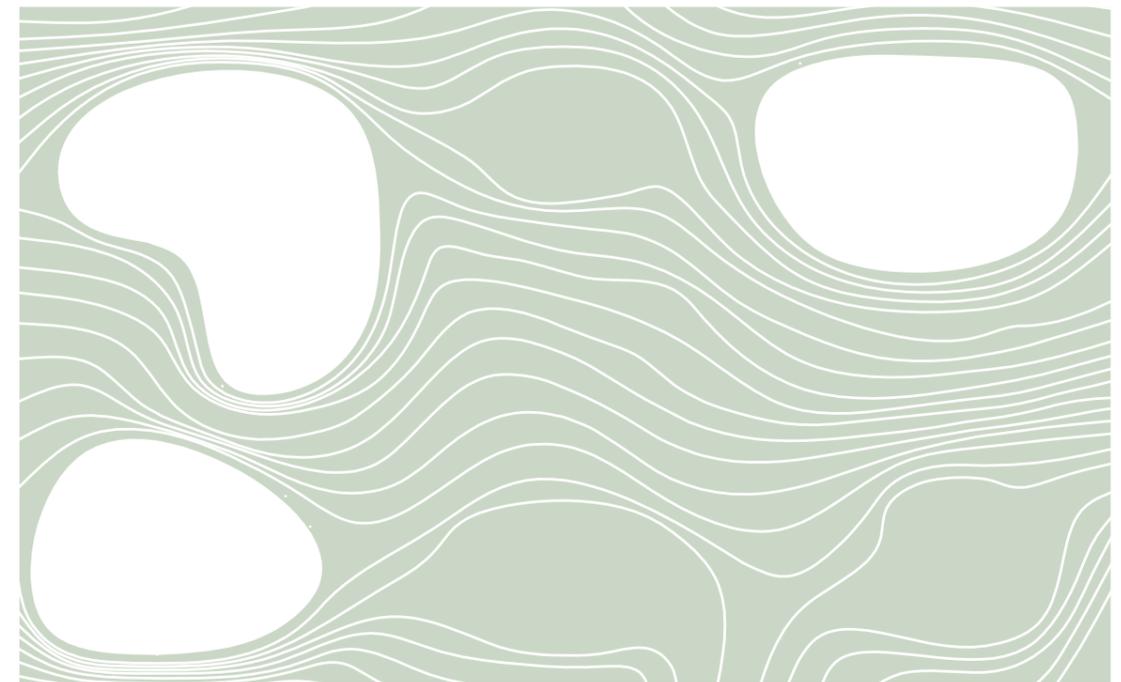
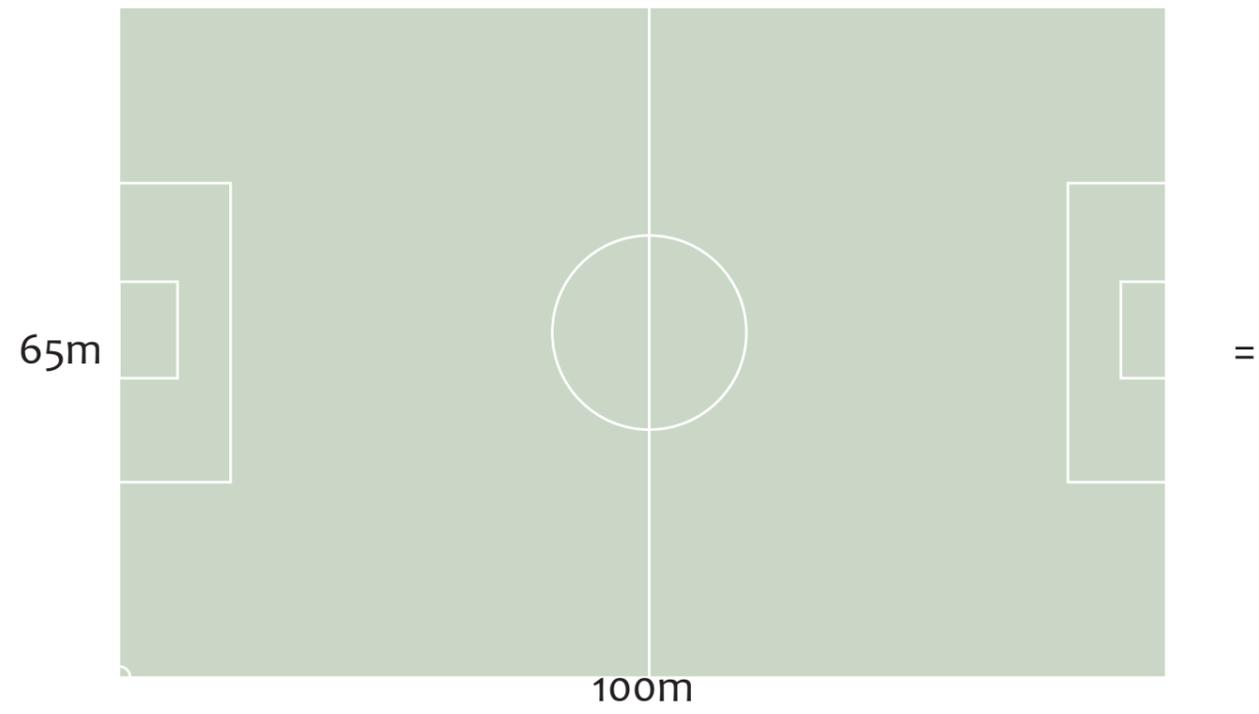
third floor plan

- A. pavilions B. cycling & jogging paths C. herb garden
- D. gymnasium E. exercise studio F. carpark G. offices
- H. public seminar spaces

Reminiscent of the old field, the park is kept rectilinear and wide open, bridging across both sides of seating platforms. Ramps connect the park to the surrounding parts of the site, and is also connected to the car park block on the second level for accessibility.



The old field is broken down into smaller, but more varied sports courts for the community.

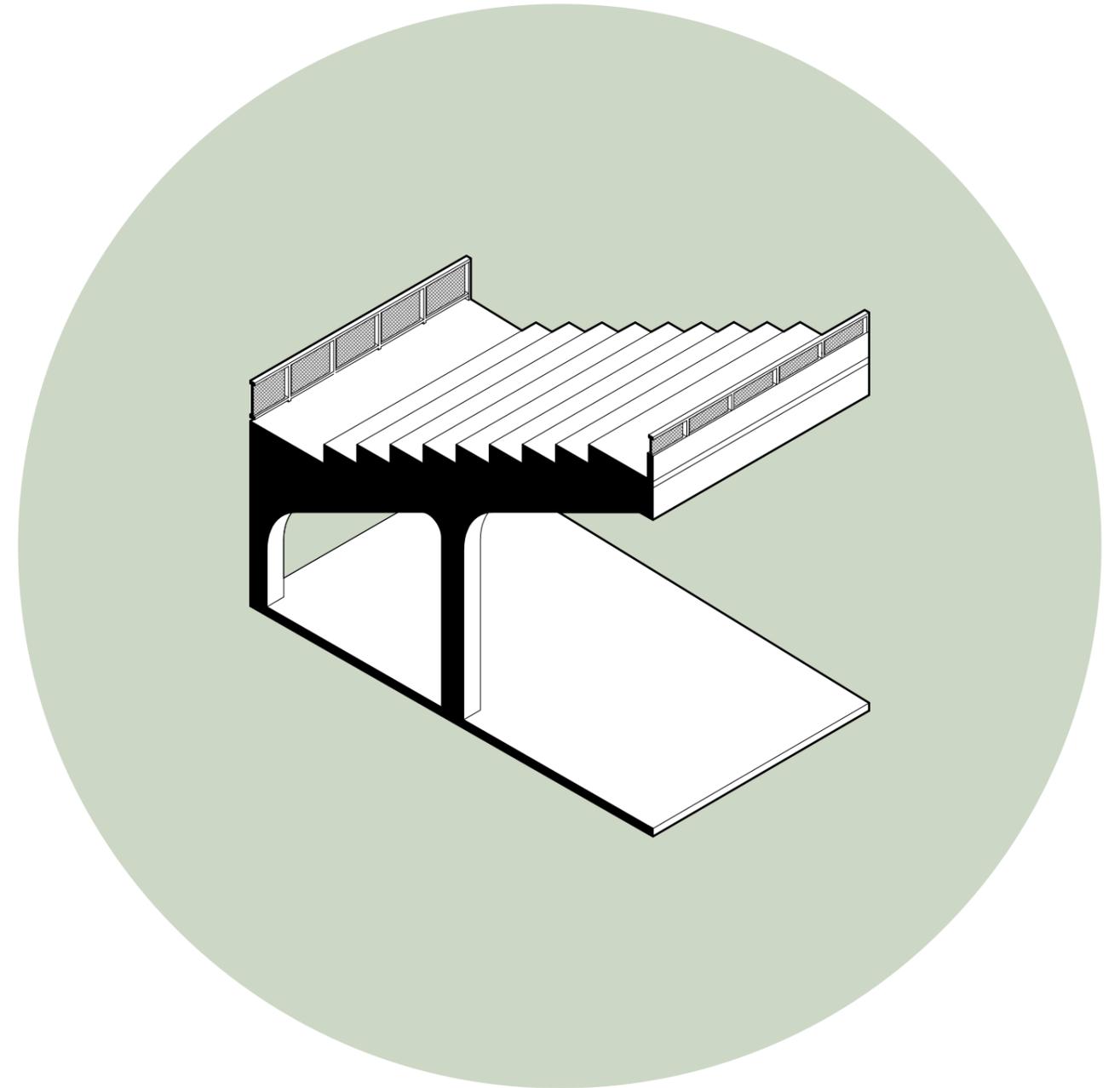


The old field is projected upwards as an elevated park to connect the surrounding community.

The existing seating bay structure consists of terracing steps with a depth 900mm and height of 450mm. The following iterations are adaptations of this typology for new programmes on site. The unused space beneath the bleachers is converted into usable property to house the old community of tradesmen that are being pushed out of Jalan Besar due to the high rent prices of shophouses. Variations in the dimensions of each of the stepped platforms are determined by the different objects that each trade accommodates.



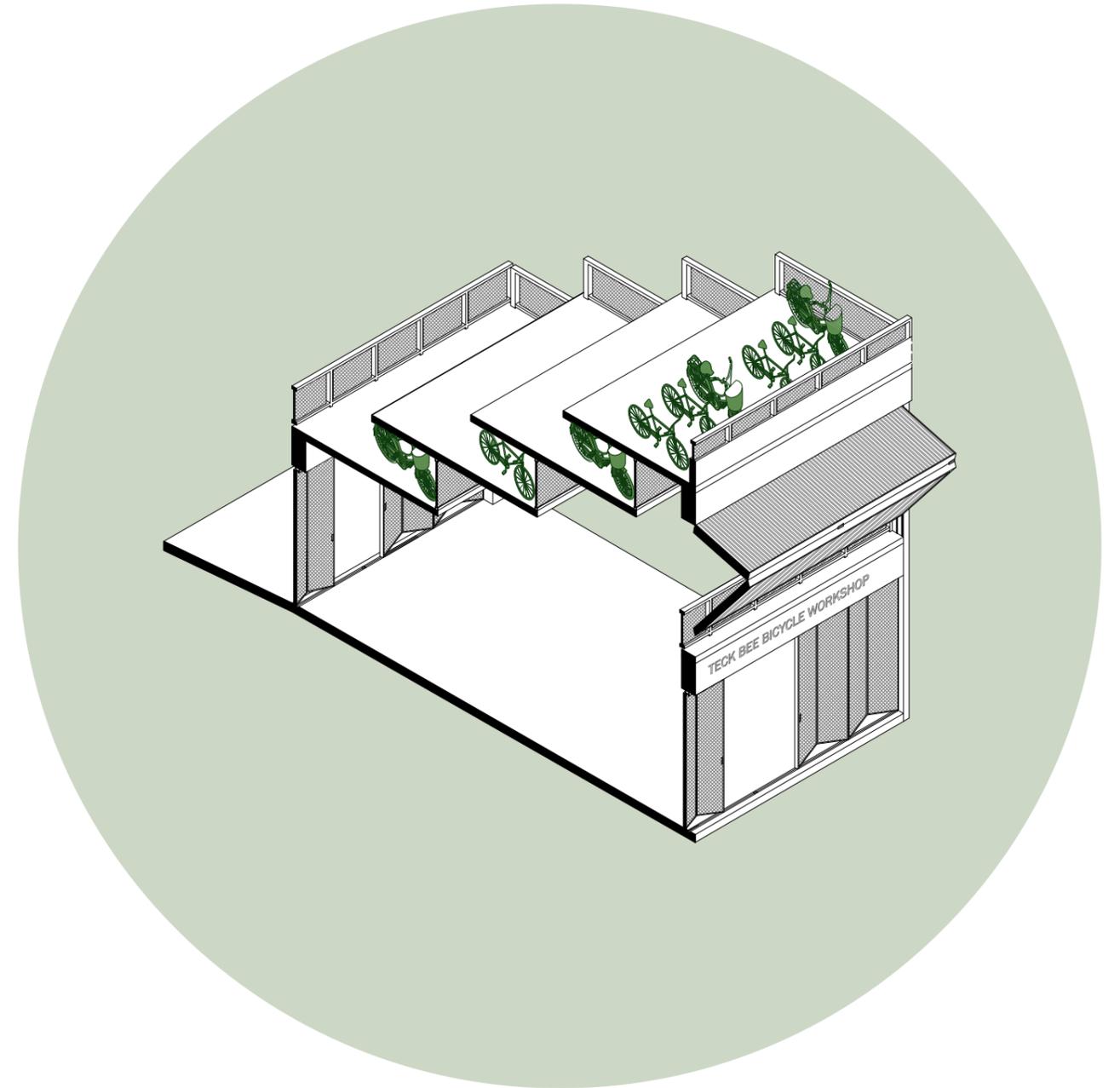
existing structure



Steps are widened to become platforms of 4500mm deep and 1350mm high that serve as a space for bicycle parking. Strategically located next to the access ramp at the corner of the elevated park, the public can also utilise this shared space by renting bicycles to explore the park on wheels.



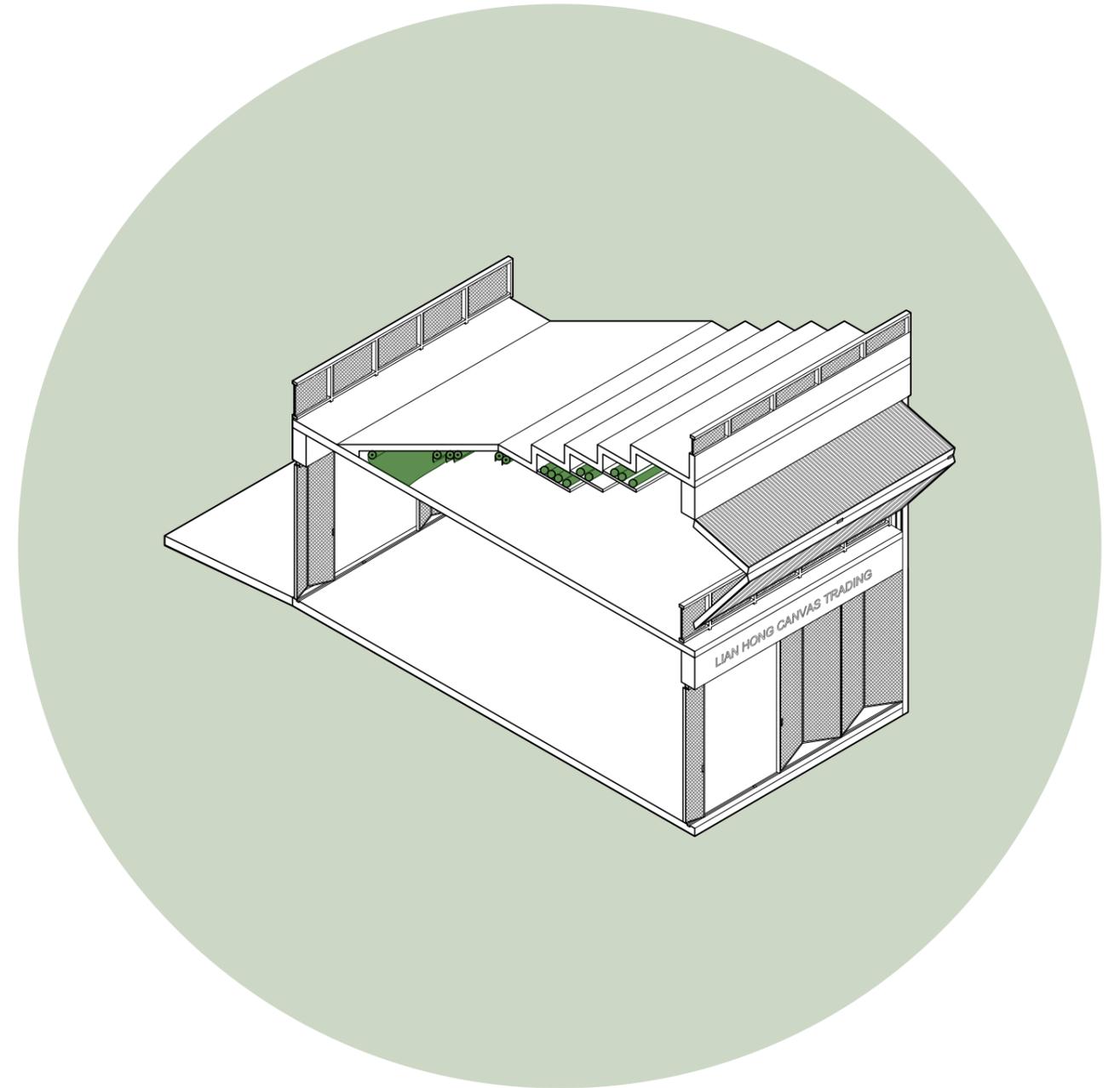
bicycle workshop



The mezzanine level utilises the underside of the steps as a surface for the production work that the long rolls of canvas require. A sliding system is attached to the sloped gradient of the steps to allow for height adjustments in assisting the laying out and cutting of the canvas sheets.



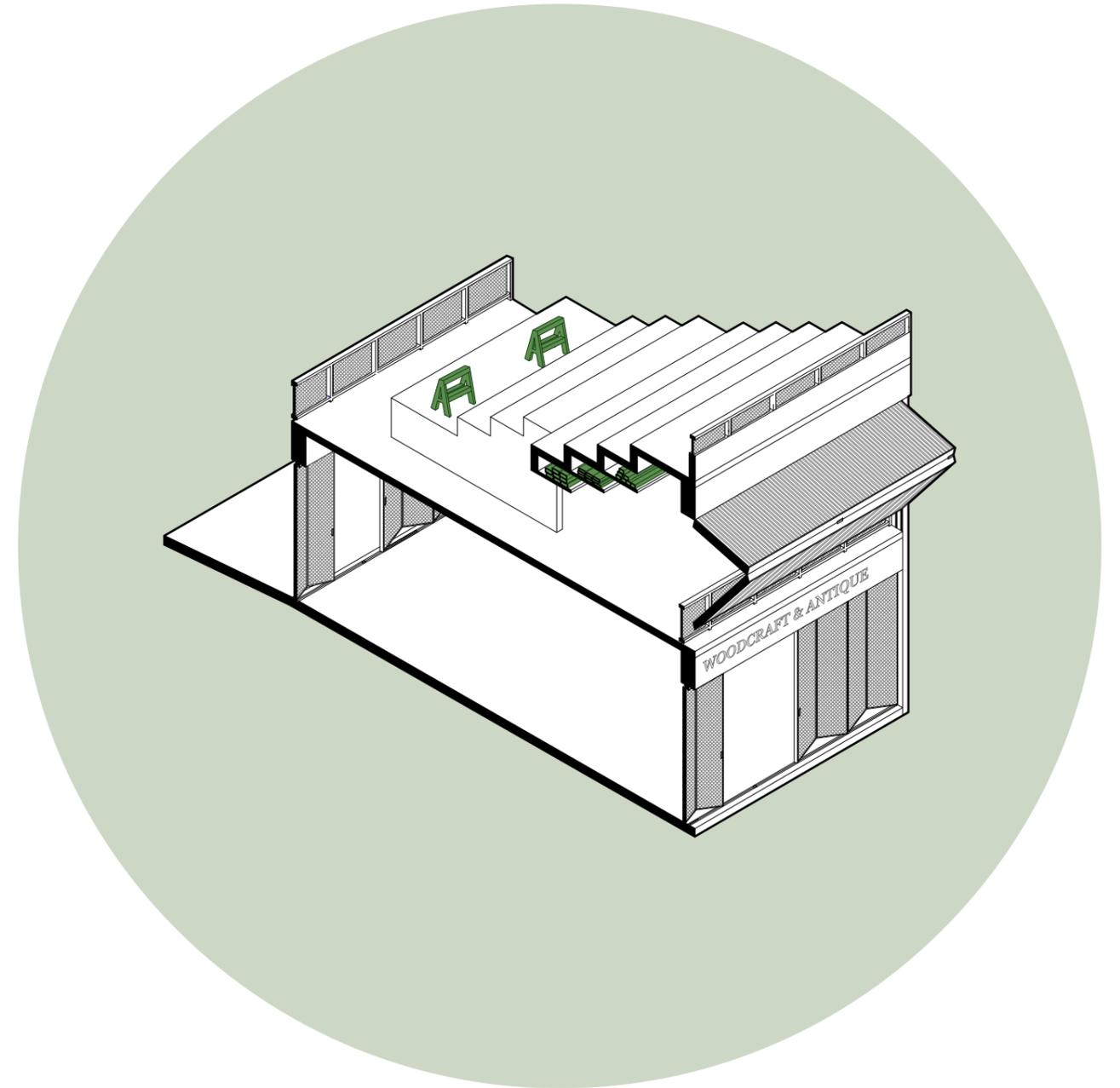
canvas production



The mezzanine level is linked to the stepped platforms as an extension of the shop's working space. The steps are widened and heightened at the first level to 3600mm x 900mm, creating a worktop space. The consequent steps are then used as shelving for wood materials on the underside.



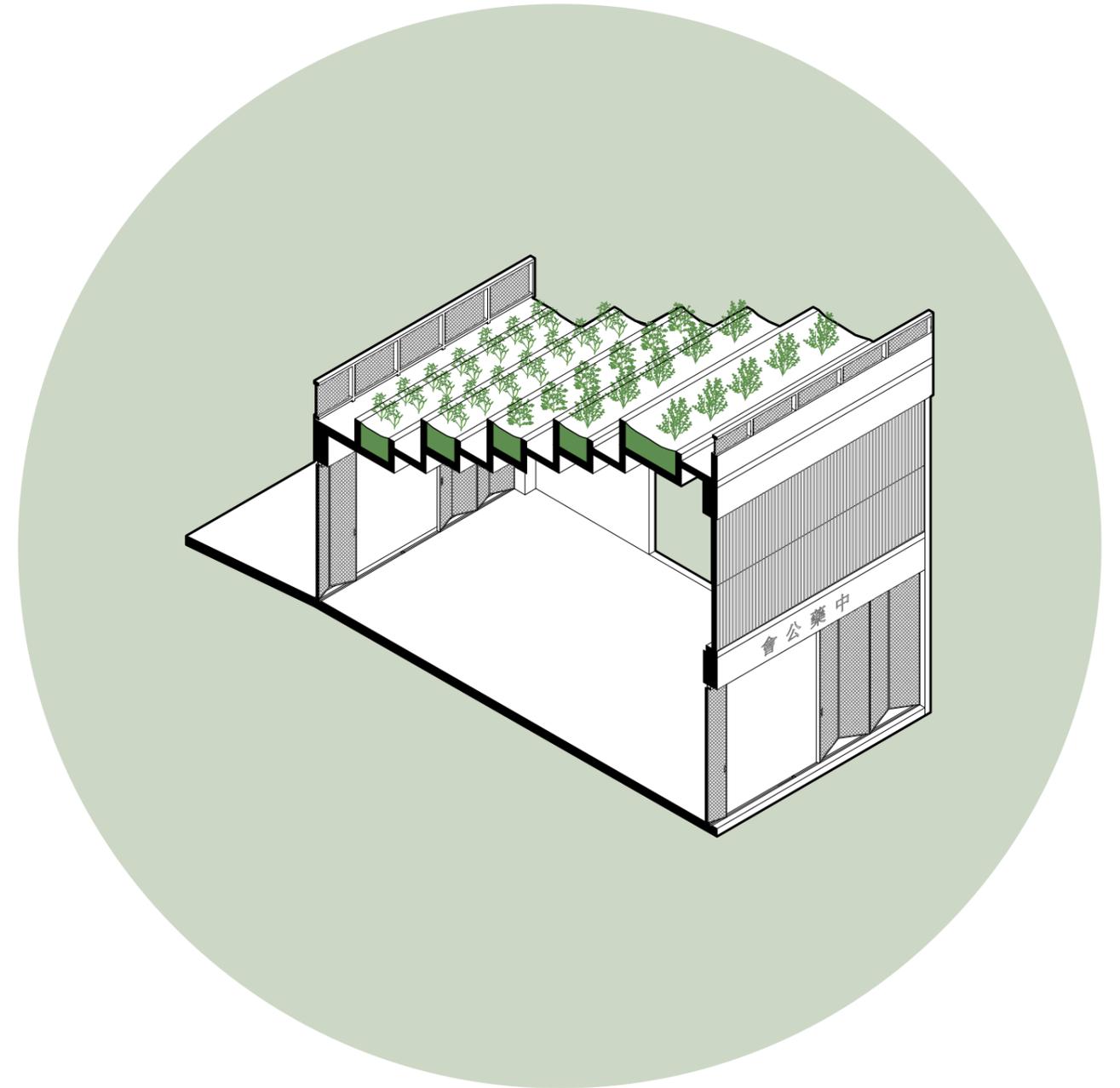
carpentry



Steps are widened and heightened to 1800mm x 900mm and used as planter boxes for the shop's herb garden. The harvest also becomes an extension of the elevated park, and provides the public with a better knowledge of traditional medicine in its rawest and most natural form.



traditional medicine



## STRUCTURAL DESIGN

**Curved Beam Lattice Planar System**  
- 600mm depth I-section castellated steel beams in a grid of 3600mm x 3600mm forms a horizontal lattice supporting the landscaped park above. Beams taper upwards around the voids, creating a crater-like topography that becomes a low barrier and structure for the railings.

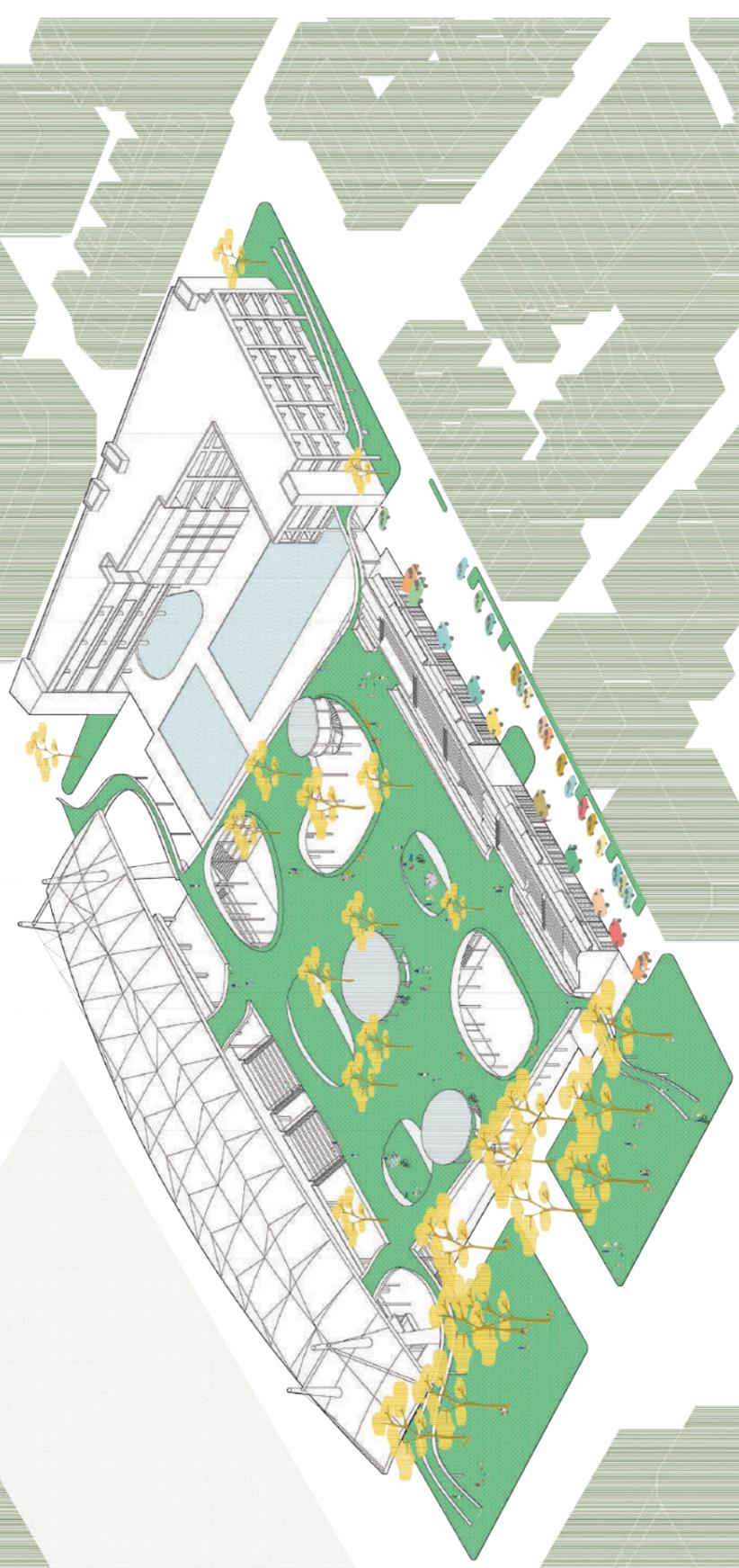
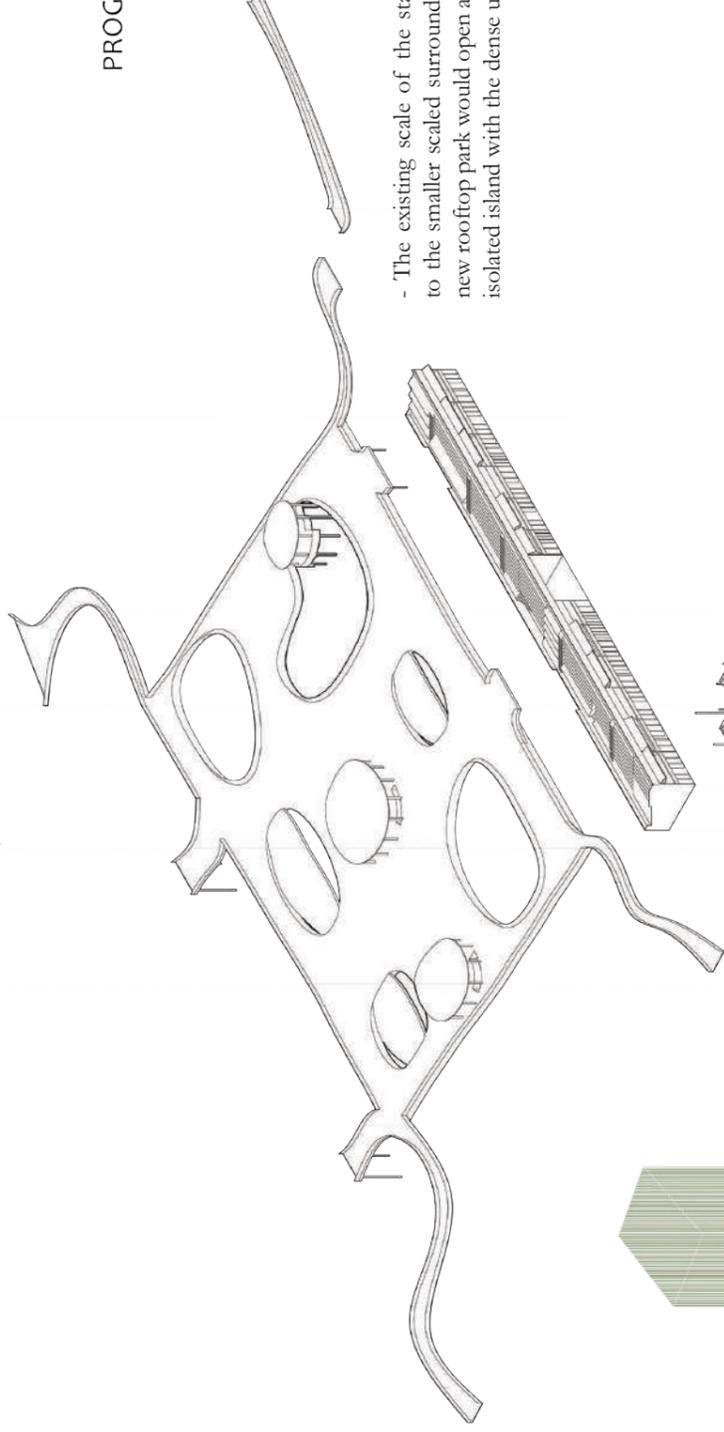
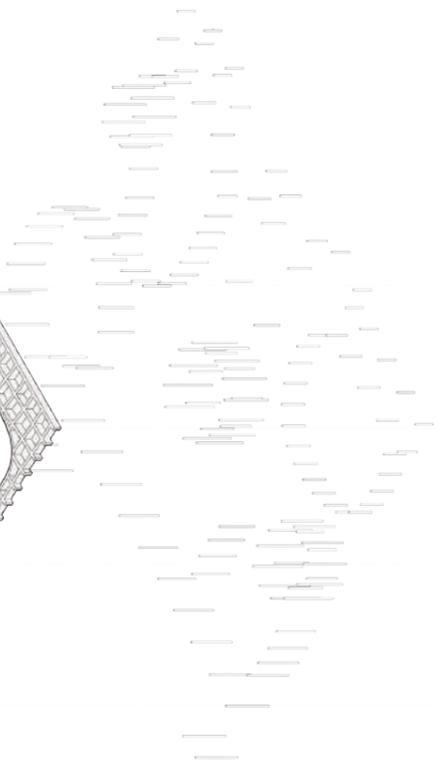
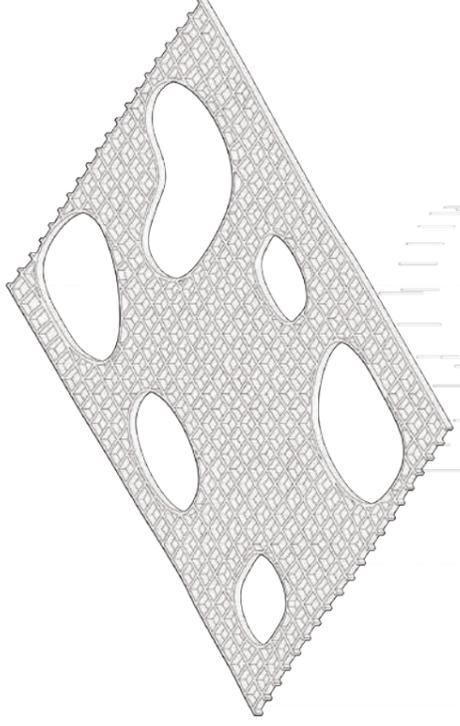
**Vertical Load-Bearing System**  
- 300mm diameter round columns are aligned around voids at approx. 3600mm distance apart, creating a forest-like field of columns on ground level.

## PROGRAMMATIC LAYOUT

**Landscape Deck**  
- The existing scale of the stadium is disproportionate to the smaller scaled surrounding building typologies. A new rooftop park would open and connect this previously isolated island with the dense urban fabric.

**Trades Workshop**  
- The phenomena of gentrification slowly consumes the area, and communities of old trades familiar to Jalan Besar are being displaced. By utilising the underused spaces beneath existing seating bays and transforming them into appropriate spaces for function, the possibility of coexistence of old and new can create a richer community.

**Recreational Sports**  
- The current monofunctional use of the soccer field is intensified to include more varieties of sports that the Jalan Besar community can engage in. The courts are located beneath voids and skylights in a semi-outdoor environment.





The cross-section depicts the layers of activities that are ongoing simultaneously in the revived recreation park - screening of live football matches on the grandstand, community sports facilities, and the industrial trades that are iconic to the character of Jalan Besar.

The north-east elevation faces a row of shophouses and the facade therefore mirrors this in character. The stepped structure allows for double-volume spaces, and retractable shutters are used for the facade.



The adjacency of dissimilar functions within one continuous space presents an immediacy in the proximity of interactions and encourages a more intimate relationship between the currently distinct and separate communities. Below is an illustration of a portion of the semi-outdoor ground-level space which shows the workshop exhibition space next to the volleyball court. The juxtaposition of sports and trades under the unifying roof creates a mutual exchange between the two different activities. The public is thus gathered in the context of a common shared space that reconciles the existing disparity that arises from the placement of a stadium within this industrial urban fabric.





The outdoor environment of the recreation park is reminiscent of older days in Singapore - children play amongst a meadow of grass and a field of lalang, and over small hills which let light in to the interior space through its sides. The huge voids also encircle the courts below, allowing the public to gather round the edge to watch the different games below.

*appendix*

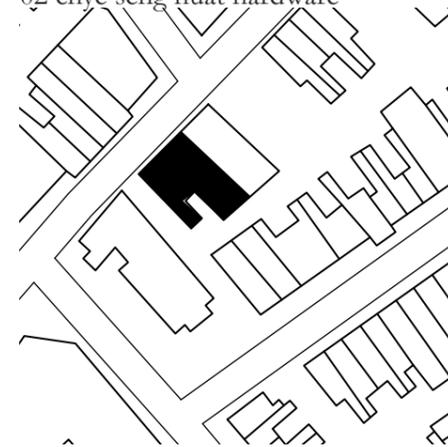
01 the tiramisu hero



address: 121 Tyrwhitt Road  
 owners: Peggy, Aileen  
 since: Oct, 2013

- Rents the space for \$6,000/month
- Previous owners downsized their place, they now have a separate entrance at the back, which serves the association (which works as the place is not for public, only for members). They still share the same mailbox, so this creates the chance for both the new and old owners to have regular interactions.
- Reasons for choosing Jalan Besar: wanted a shophouse-like space, rather than being in a commercialised shopping mall. Although the crowd traffic might be lesser, but they are targeting mainly people who come specifically to the place, have read about it, or are café-hopping. Sometimes they get older crowds (aunties and uncles), but passersby are generally not their main audience. Also counting on followers who have known them since their online business started.

02 chye seng huat hardware



address: 150 Tyrwhitt Road  
 owner: Leon  
 since: July, 2013

- Collaborated with original owner to come up with a suitable name to pay homage to the original spirit of the historical area, which is home to numerous existing hardware shops now.
- Previous tenant: Keat Seng Metals, hardware store established in 1950.
- He started with a \$25,000 roaster, a few sacks of raw coffee from local suppliers and some invaluable roasting lessons from coffee guru Tan Tiong Hoe, a major supplier of coffee to kopitiam. Yet, he has - helped to redefine coffee as a destination item where previously it was a convenience item, found near hospitals and libraries or below offices
- Coming by to this area is not just like the mall, not a typical tourist place. This area has a lot of meaning. His outlets have all been destinations with quirky charm, located far from the mainstream, but it wasn't really deliberate, it just turned out that way.

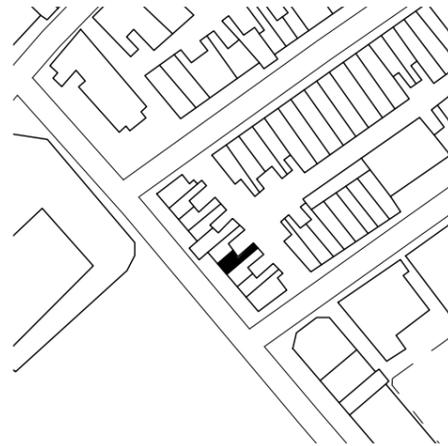
03 fisher bnb



address: 127 Tyrwhitt Road  
 owner: Li Hwei/James  
 since: September, 2013

- Bed and Breakfast owned by a couple, rents the space.
- Reasons for choosing Jalan Besar: A bit like Tiong Bahru vibes. Not too quiet, nearby the MRT. Convenience for guests – transportation-wise to attractions and direct from the airport. Amenities for tourists – food, convenience stores, cafes, public pool. Less busy than the city, or Chinatown, so it's conducive for the guests. But it depends on what kind of hostel it is too, if they were looking to be a fun party hostel, then they would choose someplace more rowdy. Heritage trail also adds to the historicity of the place that is attractive to them.
- Previous tenant was a temple. Don't know what happened to them, but the vintage chairs belonged to them, and sit there like a frozen piece of momento of the shophouse's past.

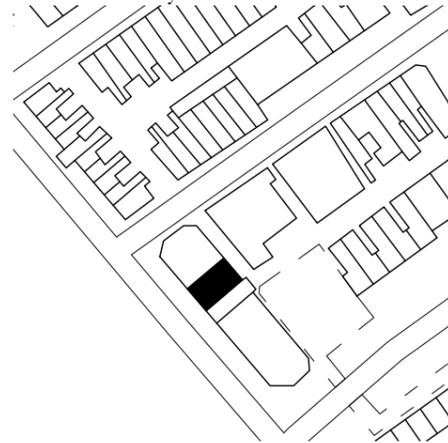
04 windowsill in the woods



address: 78 Horne Road  
owner: Sean / Jonathan  
since: December, 2012

- Shares conversations with his next-door neighbour usually during closing hours, when they are locking up their shops at 2am on the the five-foot way. The boss, a middle-aged woman of a hardware shop, Mary Ong, has tasted his pumpkin pie with bourbon cream.
- On how Jalan Besar is changing: Hipster elements are emerging here, though actually it has been hip for years, with media and event companies holed up in dodgy, low-rent buildings.
- Reasons for choosing Jalan Besar: Looking for a relatively ‘unloved’ neighbourhood, yet close-ish to town, and not too far from the east and west. Rental is still affordable. And the wide streets are perfect for customers driving up for takeaway pies. Likes the hardworking neighbourhood that is not nostalgic, not over-quirky. It wasn’t clinically clean liketown and has a touch of wildness to it. The people here don’t really care about the new-fangled kids and they are just treated as neighbours.

05 the bravery



address: 66 Horne Road  
owner: Shak  
since: August, 2013

- Second café venture. First is with partner at Craig Road, The Plain.
- Reasons for choosing Jalan Besar: decided to open in another area where it is more relaxed, yet the place doesn’t stick out like a sore thumb. Prefers this neighbourhood to duxton as the crowd is different. More chill compared to the edge of the CBD, where it is the office crowd. Also didn’t want some place packed like town or tong bahru.
- Likes being amidst the industrial shops, and drew from this theme for the interior décor.
- Only holds hi-bye conversations with neighbours. When they were constructing, the neighbours came over to have a look, “Wah! Building what?” “Coffee shop.” “Kopi?” “No, not kopi, but coffee.” So, they’re not the kind that will pay to drink their coffee. If they wanted coffee they would just go to the kopitiam.
- Main crowd are not the people from the shophouses, but the nearby PICO office, or private condominium. Singapore is also not very big, so it’s not that far from the east or west to come here.
- Previous tenant was a scrap metal shop. Heard they wanted a bigger space, and moved down the road.

06 singapore chinese druggists association



address: 119 Tyrwhitt Road  
owner: Singapore Chinese Druggists Association  
since: May, 1950

- The association owns (not rents) the place
- The people that were interviewed were there to help out for classes being held upstairs, and don’t own the place.
- When asked about the history of the association, they seemed proud of their heritage, claiming the many portraits hung on the walls as a testament to their time through the ages.
- Although they were not the owners, they felt comfortable in the neighbourhood, and said it generally was a nice place to be.

Mandy: How long have you been here?

*Mdm Ling: Not long, we just moved here.*

Mandy: Where did you all move from?

*Mdm Ling: We used to sell fruits at Sungei Road, that was like 30 years ago. Back then, we had this place but we rented it out. Then we decided to move back in here.*

Mandy: Do you all live here?

*Mdm Ling: We stay in the HDB at King George’s. So it’s very near.*

*Mr Ling: Yeab but we grew up all our lives here.*

Wilson: So who started this business?

*Mdm Ling: Last time we started out with a small stall along the road, then only moved in to this shop afterwards. So we sold the same things, fruits too.*

Mandy: Do you all know the neighbours?

*Mr Ling: Yes, of course! But they are always very busy, I don’t think they will have time for you, they are more busy, in the bicycle repair business.*

Wilson: So the community now, they are no longer familiar?

*Mr Ling: A few. Almost all have moved away. When they get a good price for their property, they sell it away.*

Wilson: How much did you rent this shop for?

*Mr Ling: This is ours, we own it. Last time when we were at Sungei, it was just a stall.*

*Mdm Ling: And last time, everything didn’t need money.*

*Mr Ling: Now everything is expensive already. The shop down the row, the ktv pub, the owner wants to sell it. The pub is renting the space, but the original owner wants to sell the whole unit. At least ours is freehold, so we can always pass it down to our next generation.*

*Mdm Ling: If you want to find the old community, it’s very difficult already.*

Mandy: Okay, we are interested in collecting any stories that you have.

*Mdm Ling: This place used to be a market, the whole road.*

Wilson: What kind of market?

*Mr Ling: Those like the old Chinatown, stalls all along the road.*

Mandy: How long ago was that?

Mr Ling: 30, 40 years ago.

Mdm Ling: Where the HDBs used to be, those were kampongs, attap houses.

Mr Ling: This street, the buildings were the same. The street diagonally across, those used to be shophouses like ours too, but then they redeveloped it. They wanted to drive us out too, but then after that they decided to retain it. The road where Swee Choon is, that row is still old. Now Mustafa has bought over, but hasn't changed the place yet. Those streets with the back alleys, they are also retained, and that area is those seedy activities.

Mdm Ling: But it's different from Geylang, because these are happening in the back lanes. The seedy activities in Geylang are all at the front.

Mr Ling: Yeah, in this area, they use the back alleys to enter.

Mandy: That's interesting! Thank you for sharing with us.

#### TECK EE BROTHERS CO

Function: Bicycle Shop

Owner: Mr Lim (Ling)

25/10/2013

#### SIONG ENG & CO.

Function: Coffee Import & Export

Owner: Vivian

25/10/2013

Wilson: We heard from the neighbours that your shop is considered one of the older ones in this area. So when did you all move in?

Mr Lim: I wouldn't say it's very long. We were here since 1976. I wouldn't say ours is the oldest shop around, the fruits stall, they are also from around the same era as me. The 60s.

Wilson: So it's been a bicycle shop all this while?

Mr Lim: We've moved here and there. We were from across the street, then moved to this shop. We sell new bikes of old models, trade-ins etc.

Mandy: How do you like Jalan Besar?

Mr Lim: Well, all my customers are from here, as well as old friends.

Wilson: Anything significant over the years?

Mr Lim: Mainly just the increase in pubs. The area in front used to be a red light district, and just beside this street were the gambling dens. Now the police are very stringent, and they do a lot of raids, so I think now there are less of these. Now our business is being taken over by the pubs, massage parlours. These businesses can earn thousands in revenue; small businesses like us how do we compete with them? They offer to pay a higher rental price, which owner would reject?

Mandy: How much rent do you pay now?

Mr Lim: \$5,000. The price has been driven up by them. Last time nobody would want to rent this shop, so it wasn't so high. I also don't know why all the pubs want to come to this area. Probably to do with the government policies, and letting them open their businesses here. \$5,000... it's very difficult to do businesses now.

Mandy: How much was it in the past, like 40 years ago?

Mr Lim: 40 years ago... it was probably \$200. So really all these small businesses, are being driven to the graves by all these new pubs. Once the government approves their licensing, it's very hard to stop them from opening. If you ask me, the Jalan Besar and Lavender area, there are probably a few hundred massage parlours all over. Both sleazy and proper. The proper ones are nearer North Bridge road.

Wilson: So will you pass this shop down to your children?

Mr Lim: See how lor. He just graduated, he helps me out sometimes. If not, there's no one else who would do this trade already.

Mandy: Would you still like to continue being in this area of Jalan Besar?

Mr Lim: Yeah, because if I move to someplace new like Woodlands, or Yishun, it becomes impersonal. I will lose the regulars who are from this community too. I know of some people who have moved to Woodlands, or Jurong, and they don't come back here anymore.

Mr Lim: Nowadays the people who buy these bikes are only Indians, those that deliver newspapers.

Mr Lim: Yeah, this place has changed a lot. Now everything has become pubs, ktvs, massage parlours.

Mandy: How long have you all been here?

Vivian: 30 over years but our business has been around for 50 years, started at the Singapore River. It started off with our father carrying bags of coffee beans and rice (coolies?) at the Singapore River from the port. Very long already.

Wilson: The rent is very high now, with all the pubs coming in, how can small businesses afford to pay rent of \$5000?

Vivian: We are a family business. Supposing if rent goes up all the way we too cannot sustain.

Mandy: But you all own this place right?

Vivian: Yes, so we're insulated from rent increase.

Wilson: Freehold?

Vivian: No all these belong to HDB - 99 years.

Wilson: That's really an advantage.

Vivian: Yea, otherwise over the 5 years rent has almost gone up 100%, so turnover and profits-wise we would be unable to catch up with the rent increase. That's why I do not understand why the government is not doing anything for the good of the public, although I'm insulated from the price increase. This is bringing the older generation out of the market as they are unable to sustain. The next generation has to go into this earning system, they are unable to be self employed. At least if you are self-employed you are building out your own initiative to develop a business. It's unhealthy for the next generation. There's no opportunity and chance to develop and be an entrepreneur.

Mandy: Usually your customers that come here are from the HDB, regulars?

Vivian: More or less.

Mandy: Do you think JB has changed a lot?

Vivian: The infrastructure and developments wise, yes. Drastic change over the 20 years.

Wilson: They said this place used to be a kampong?

*Vivian: Yes, kampongs, old buildings.*

Wilson: So they made it into an HDB and you all came in?

*Vivian: Ya, drastic change. Last time zinc roofs, cherry trees. They repair spare parts of vehicles, rent free so at least youngsters are able to sustain – they do repair jobs under the tree, so people are not under so much pressure.*

Wilson: Is it tougher, if you were still paying rent – would it be very difficult for you to sustain?

*Vivian: Of course.*

Mandy: Now that there are a lot of new cafes, is your business affected?

*Vivian: No, because we are selling to retailers, and supply to coffee shops.*

Wilson: So you are the first level? The shipping level?

*Vivian: Something like that. Level or no level also no use. Don't make money also no use. Not so much potential to develop.*

Wilson: Can't make money? Because coffee is very popular in Singapore now.

*Vivian: So competitive. Every industry is very competitive.*

Wilson: So there are a lot of people who undercut coffee prices also?

*Vivian: Every business nature has its own difficulties and burdles on and off.*

Wilson: I thought old businesses like yours would be more stable and have your own clients.

*Vivian: Same lab, same.*

Mandy: Are you going to pass down the business?

*Vivian: Nobody knows.*

*Vivian: Anything interesting for you all on my nature of business?*

Wilson: Of course, this is actually one of the older Singapore businesses. Since we are young we see this kind of shops.

So those things (grinder) you don't use anymore?

*Vivian: Oh, we are still using.*

Wilson: So can you all still find it if it breaks down? There're still people making it? Cos it's more or less an antique.

*Vivian: Not many people making already. More or less, very antique. Maybe you guys haven't seen the scale type of weighing machine, the big balancing one. Another type is the big platform type – the old traditional type you probably have not seen.*

Mandy: So this is passed down from your father?

*Vivian: Yes long ago.*

Wilson: So this has been around for 20 years?

*Vivian: Yes, never changed but sometimes it requires maintenance. Nowadays things aren't built to last at all, like electronic parts.*

Wilson: So these coffee beans are put in to roast?

*Vivian: Ground into powder first. Roasted already. Now you can't roast along the road, last time you could. The whole road would smell of coffee.*

Mandy: Do you know anyone else doing this kind of business here? Are you the only one?

*Vivian: No, very few already. No one wants to do this anymore.*

Wilson: Your kids don't want to take over?

*Vivian: Don't know, difficult to say. My shop is so old already, you can see the displays – all very old.*

Mandy: Any interesting memories about this place?

*Vivian: As I said, the structure has all changed, the developments. Internally, no change. Too fast also not good.*

Wilson: Nowadays are people still buying coffee beans?

*Vivian: Yes, people know it's cheap. You cannot get this price outside. At the supermarket/cafes 250g for \$7. We are the cheapest in town because we have not much promotions (marketing/ advertisements)*

Mandy: But can you sustain?

*Vivian: Youngsters all think differently, they feel good when they pay more, they have more confidence. That is the effect, so we just let the market determine the buying interest, because in fact they are paying for advertising premiums. They feel good when you serve them with a logo of Starbucks. But when you ask them to come here to buy, they won't have that confidence.*

Mandy: But there are young people who still come and buy?

*Vivian: Young people who know my quality will come and buy. But those who feel good when paying high prices, just let them be. They don't know. When their mums buy my type of coffee, they say it's no good. The kids are willing to go to Starbucks, to spend \$6-7. These are individual behaviours, so let them be. We sell 1kg for \$19, which means it's only \$9.50 for 500g.*

Wilson: And you can drink it for a long time.

Mandy: But will you increase your price?

*Vivian: I won't if I don't see a need to. If you increase your price you cannot capture the market. Some people ask for special coffee like Blue Mountain, but how much can I sell over here? So there's no point in me selling it. You have to see the demand and how much the general market can afford.*

Wilson: Have you gone to a place in Singapore where you felt those people can make good coffee?

*Vivian: So far, no. Why should I pay the premium for also?*

*Uncle: You see, those people that go to shopping centres or Chye Seng Huat, when you sit there you feel 'fashion', like you're cool, high class. They don't think about the quality. Okay, just think of Kopi Luwak. One cup selling at 313 Somerset is about \$20. But if you go to Indonesia and they serve you a cup of coffee, can you tell the difference? So it's like throwing your money away.*

*The coffee must match with the machine. Like my coffee, you must match with the machine's pressure. Something like a gas, the mechanical application.*

**Helen**

**Property Agent**

**25/10/2013**

Mandy: How has Jalan Besar (JB) changed over the years?

*Helen: HDB has been upgraded (808 & 809), the area has gone up because the PA moved from Kallang (previously it was a school), JB football stadium, condos nearby & V hotel. Also heard the government is going to upgrade the JB area but not sure when. That's why property prices have gone up quite a lot.*

Mandy: Mainly residential or commercial?

*Helen: More on commercial. But definitely residential as well as it's a central area with the mrt nearby.*

Mandy: Are you very familiar with the people in this area?

*Helen: Not really, more of the owners. I have stayed here for 10-20 years.*

Mandy: But not all the owners go through you?

*Helen: No not all, some have their own agents. Not all agents have a specified area, we can go anywhere where the clients have property.*

Mandy: The new people who have come here, what's the turnover rate like?

*Helen: Difficult to say, depends whether business is good. If business is good, they will renew their lease.*

Wilson: Old stores generally have moved out?

*Helen: Maybe, not all. It's difficult to get new owners now. Even if they move out they prefer to rent out if they have the capital to hold on.*

Wilson: What about the properties near Syed Alwi?

*Helen: Syed Alwi area mostly 3 storeys conservation shop houses, most are private, only a few HDBs. Some owners ask for permission to build another half or one storey.*

Mandy: The new people coming in are mostly in what kind of business?

*Helen: All kinds.*

Mandy: Age group?

*Helen: Some people who stay here are retirees. Since they are old already, they just rent it out.*

Mandy: What do you like about JB?

*Helen: I'm already old so I make my living here. The mrt is here so it's convenient (stays 5 mins walk from YCK mrt).*

Mandy: Conservation houses are they more expensive? Mainly for rent or sale?

*Helen: Yes, they are expensive because it's rare. Some people hold their property to pass to their next generation; some of them are old and do not want to do business so they just sell it.*

*Helen: In this area, some of the owners of businesses, their fathers or grandfathers were karung gunis at rochor road. They rented their house here from HDB, HDB sold it back to them and this is where they got rich. The campus here below my place, they belong to early generation karung gunis who are now multi-millionaires.*

Mandy: The hardware shops have been here for long?

*Helen: At least 20 years and above, this building has been around for about 30 years.*

Mandy: Were you the first to come here?

*Helen: Not the first, maybe the second. My company bought it from the open market.*

Wilson: What do you think about this area? Do you think prices will continue to go up?

*Helen: I don't know. But usually it goes up all the time, with small marginal drops. Worst time was in 1985 and 1986 – property prices took a big dip, this shop was only \$200,000-300,000. Across the whole Singapore, and the world too. During the middle east period it also fell, prices only rose 6 months later. For this year it's been stagnant, but it depends where. But for HDB, prices have soared a lot. Also because the HDB has started to follow the private free-market economy, compared to the past when it was so much cheaper.*

Mandy: JB compared to other areas, what's the difference property wise?

*Helen: JB is a central town area, but again it depends if your trade suits this area. For rental, ground area is definitely much more expensive, second floor is cheaper and mainly for office use. Rural area is of course cheaper, this area is considered town, it's nearer to transportation, food court. And with the MRT nearby, the property price automatically goes up.*

Wilson: How long have you been here?

*Mr Y: 40 plus years.*

Wilson: The longest we've met so far was only 20 years.

Mandy: So you must be quite familiar with Jalan Besar?

*Mr Y: Yes quite familiar, more with this region.*

Wilson: How about the further parts? Have your old neighbours left?

*Mr Y: Hmmm, the old ones... one of them is Hong Fab. Yes one of the older ones.*

Mandy: What do they do?

*Mr Y: They are in the hardware business.*

Mandy: So do you own this shop?

*Mr Y: No I rent the place, up till today.*

Wilson: So since the time you have been here, how have the rental prices been?

*Mr Y: It has just been increasing ever since. I used to co-rent the place with another tenant. Then in 1974, the Singapore Government passed the law that owners now have the liberty and control over rental prices. So from then the prices have been differing up till now.*

Wilson: So how drastic were the increases over the years?

*Mr Y: At least 100% Last time I use to pay 400 plus dollars. Now 4000 plus dollars.*

Wilson: So have you ever considered buying the shop?

*Mr Y: What can I use to buy? The money we earn from hard labor is insignificant.*

Wilson: So all this while were you the only one manning the shop?

*Mr Y: I use to have employees, but now I don't need, since I'm half retired.*

Wilson: So now you're doing this for recreation?

*Mr Y: Not really. I can't say its recreation. Even if I don't need to eat, I still need to pay rent. So I can't say the work doesn't matter.*

Mandy: So do you stay in the vicinity?

*Mr Y: I stay at Potong Pasir.*

Wilson: Oh so that's quite near.

*Mr Y: Yes it is.*

Wilson: Did you inherit this business from your dad?

*Mr Y: No, I just rented the place. Not inherited.*

Wilson: So where did you learn your skills from?

*Mr Y: I used to do motorcycle maintenance. So I learned my skills from working at Honda.*

Wilson: So you were interested in this line of business so you moved out to start on your own here?

**Function: Motorcycle Repair**

**Owner: Mr Y**

**29/10/2013**

Mr Y: *Not really. I am not literate so what else can I do? As long as I have a job, I am very happy. Since I was 12, I have been doing this till now. What could I have done at 12, primary 5? I had to survive on my own.*

Wilson: So how about your children? Are they helping you?

Mr Y: *They've all grown up. They are not interested in this at all!*

*If they study so much and still come back to help me, then what's the point of studying?*

Wilson: Maybe they could help you to hire more people?

Mr Y: *If this place belongs to me, I could continue and expand and develop my business and pass it on to my children. But if this is just considered my last job, I would pass it on. My children graduated from university, so surely they would not be interested in this business.*

Wilson: So why did you stayed on in this place and business for so long? For sentimentality reasons?

Mr Y: *Not really. I just submit myself to fate. As I am illiterate, and I felt that this job is good enough to keep me going, support my family and my children through their education, I am sufficiently happy and satisfied.*

Mandy: So what do you think are the places with interesting qualities in Jalan Besar?

Mr Y: *Do you mean in the past or now?*

Mandy: Both?

Mr Y: *In the past, this place was more convivial and belonging, as everyone was familiar with one another. It was fine to keep the shop unlocked for short periods to run small errands. The neighbours help look after each others shop when one was not around. There's this nature of caring. Even those who owned private limited businesses were also friendly and not arrogant for the fact that they were big bosses.*

Wilson: How about now?

Mr Y: *It feels less familiar now. Because, the rest (new tenants?) have their own way of business and system.*

Wilson: They won't come over to chat?

Mr Y: *Sometimes, occasionally. A close neighbor is still very important.*

Wilson: But the friendliness in the past was still much stronger?

Mr Y: *Yes. It's not really gone. But now everyone is busy in their own ways. Social and economic pressure results in a more stressful environment that does not accommodate for a bit of liveliness or socializing to occur. It was much more relaxing last time. You only need a few hundreds to survive. But now a few thousand is barely enough.*

Mandy: So who are your customers?

Mr Y: *All are old returning customers.*

Wilson: So you take care of everything in your shop?

Mr Y: *Yes all by myself. If I need to shift a heavy machine, I have to move it slowly.*

Wilson: So what if you can't manage?

Mr Y: *Just do it slowly, I'll think of a way – using a cart or something. I carried the old tv upstairs, and it nearly fell all the way down. It's very heavy.*

Wilson: Is it difficult for small businesses like you to survive?

Mr Y: *Generally, the people in the lower tiers get it bad. Even the wedding photography industry might get affected adversely. The photography companies in Malaysia are competing with local ones. One package can cover everything.*

Wilson: Yes in fact those from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Philippines, etc are coming to Singapore to do business. Singaporeans are willing to spend.

Mr Y: *Firstly, Singapore is safe and stable. Secondly, they have the better competitive edge of a weaker currency against the Singapore companies.*

*So yes, it may appear nice and appealing on he surface but the trouble and pain behind it is not seen by most. If you open your own shop you will understand. Then you will start thinking of new ideas to profit and cover your rent. Unless your agenda is half recreational or half passion and partly just to earn some spare cash.*

Wilson: So then do you specialize in antique vehicles?

Mr Y: *Not necessarily. Some times I don't wish to offer my service if the vehicle is too old. If the customer is willing to supply me with the spare parts, then I will do it. It's not that it's difficult, but that some customers are willing to spend but some are not. So sometimes I just won't do it, and I will get angry.*

Wilson: How about new ones?

Mr Y: *Not for sure. Some are too new, I can't catch up with the times so I'm not familiar with them. Actually the newer models bring more money because the parts are changed as a whole. Like for example, laptops nowadays the services no longer repaired by parts, they would rather change the whole system. If you bring a faulty computer to service, they won't know how to fix it, they'll just ask you to throw it away. Hence, there's nothing to be learnt.*

Mandy: So do you feel bored working alone?

Mr Y: *Not really. I watch tv, listen to songs, I don't like noise. I like to work in peace.*

Wilson: Alright. We will head to the next shop. Thank you for sharing so much with us.

**NEW ART FRAME & POSTER CENTRE**

**Function: Painting and Frame-Making Shop**

**Owner: Mr Low**

**12/11/2013**

Mandy: How long has your shop been here?

Mr Low: *6 years. We moved from North Bridge Road.*

Mandy: Are you familiar with this area?

Mr Low: *More or less. If you are looking for older businesses, the metal trading shop down the row is one of them.*

Mandy: Are you in this business alone?

Mr Low: *Me, and another partner.*

Wilson: Why did you start this business? Out of interest?

Mr Low: *I just happened to start off in this path.*

Wilson: Since army days?

Mr Low: *Yeah, and then I just continued ever since.*

Wilson: So these paintings, are they drawn by you?

Mr Low: *No, we source for them.*

Wilson: From China?

Mr Low: *Some from China, some from Bali. When my partner goes overseas then he will look out for some of these paintings.*

Mandy: Any local artists?

*Mr Low: The local artists usually just come to us to make the frame only, then they choose to sell it or exhibit it at Katong or the galleries in Orchard.*

Mandy: How do you think Jalan Besar has changed?

*Mr Low: A lot of the pubs are coming in now, across the street there are a lot of new ones that have just come up. Even my neighbour, for the next lease it's going to be converted to a pub. This whole row used to be a hardware street, but slowly other shops came in, first the lighting shops then now it's getting crowded with pubs. Probably the government allowed for this to take place, and they all start to come over from Katong.*

Wilson: Does it affect your business?

*Mr Low: In a way. These businesses, they earn so much in one night. How can we even compete with them? So the rent is always being driven up. At night it is also rowdier, and some of my customers find it hard to find space to stop their cars in front already.*

Mandy: The customers they are all your old customers?

*Mr Low: Yeab, mostly regulars.*

Mandy: So you rent this place?

*Mr Low: Yup, rent.*

Wilson: How much is it for a space of this size?

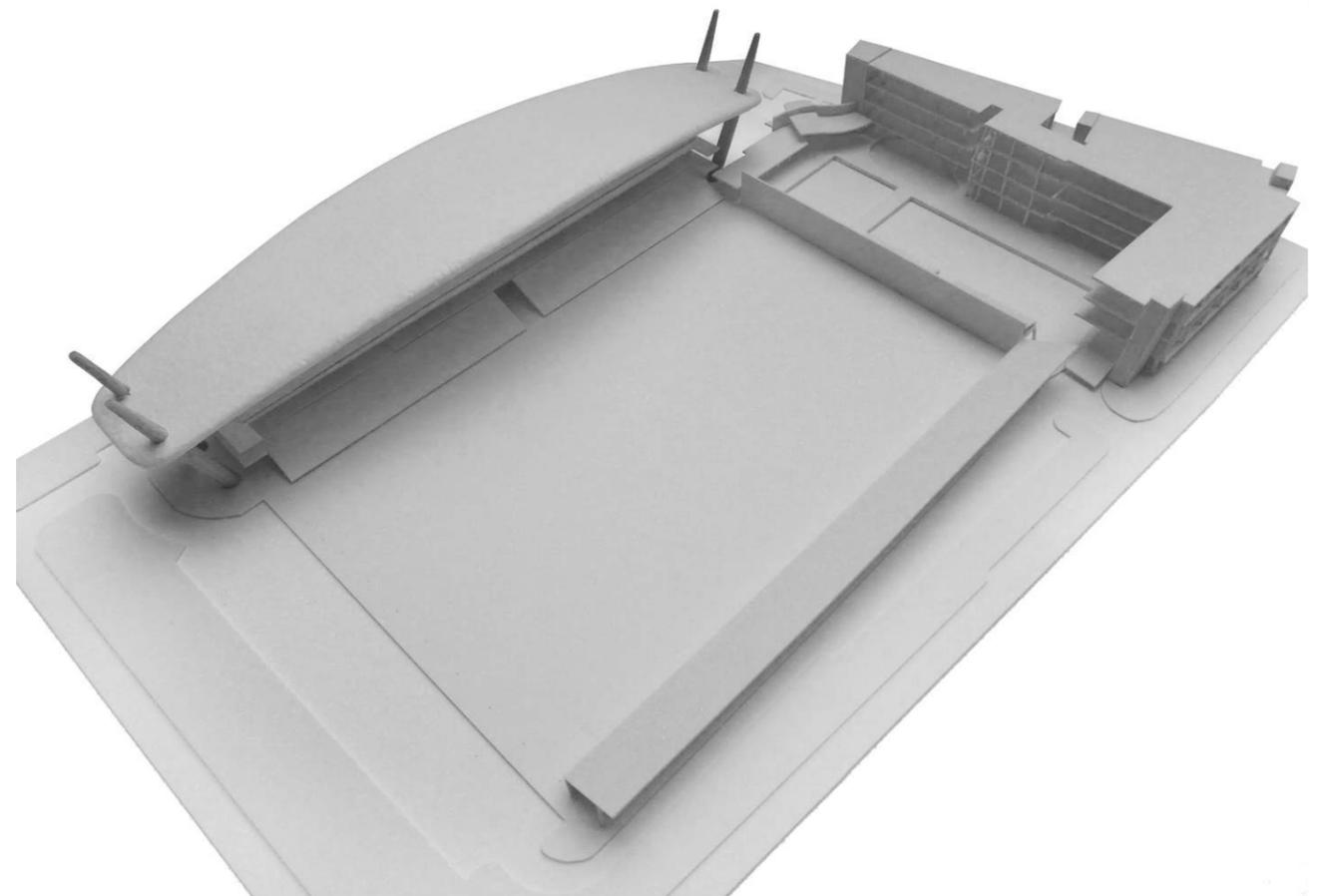
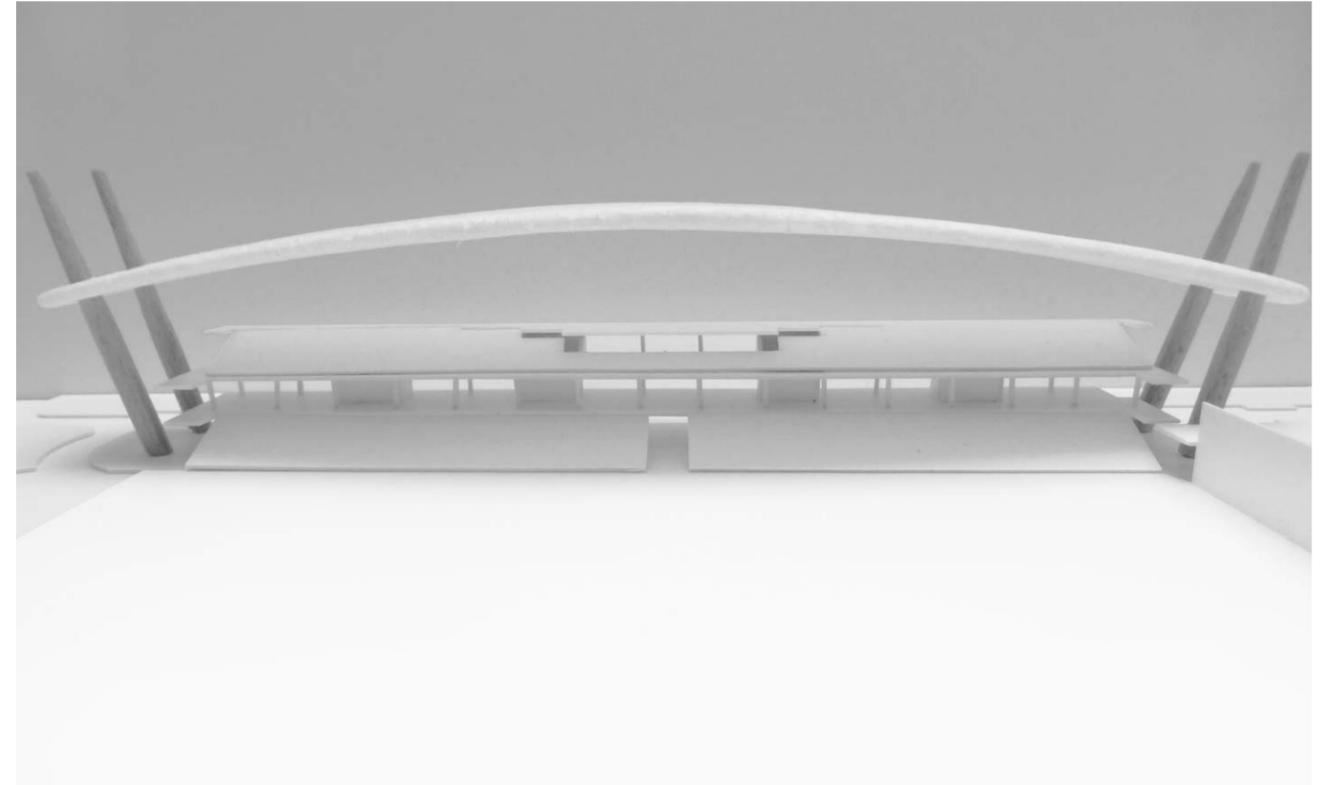
*Mr Low: About \$5,000.*

Wilson: And six years ago?

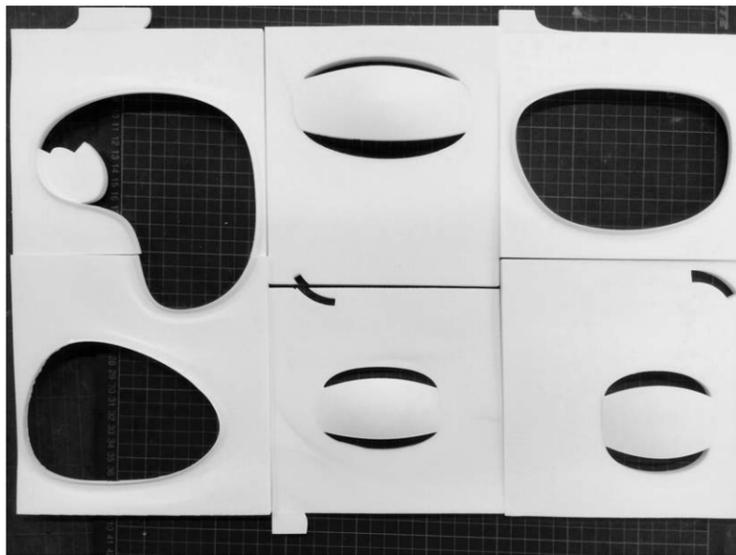
*Mr Low: \$3500.*

Mandy: Thank you for your time.

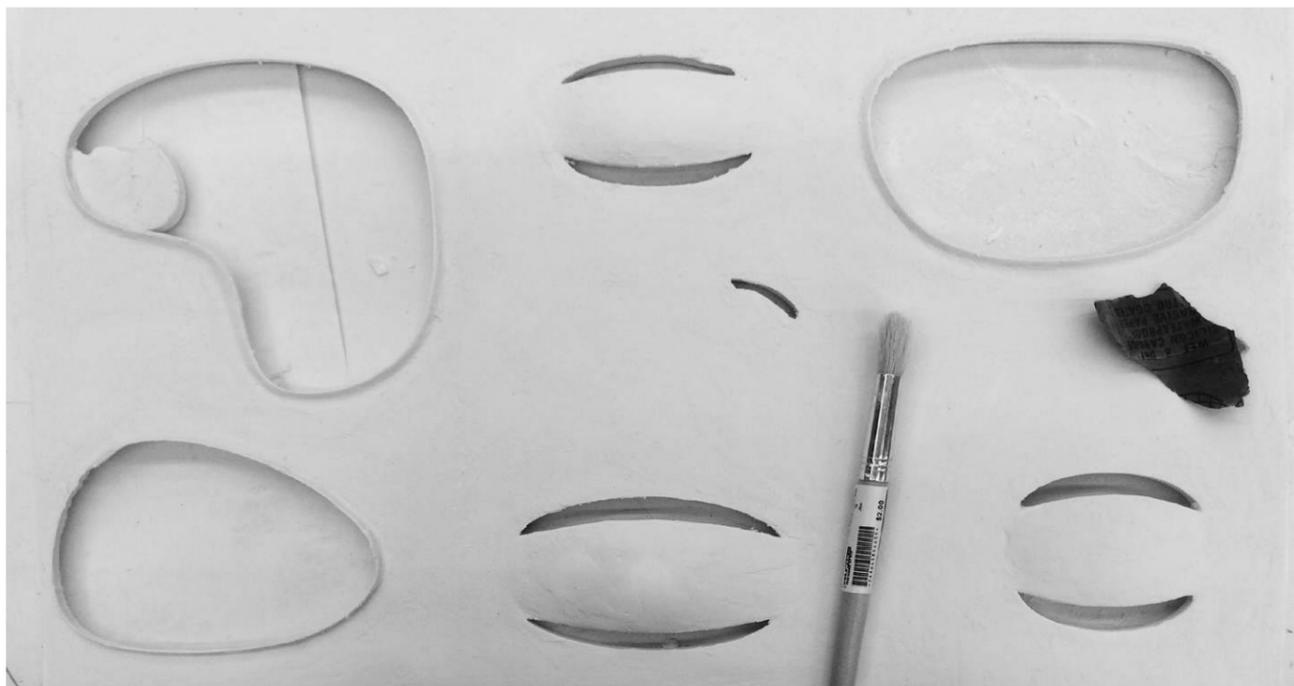
## model photos



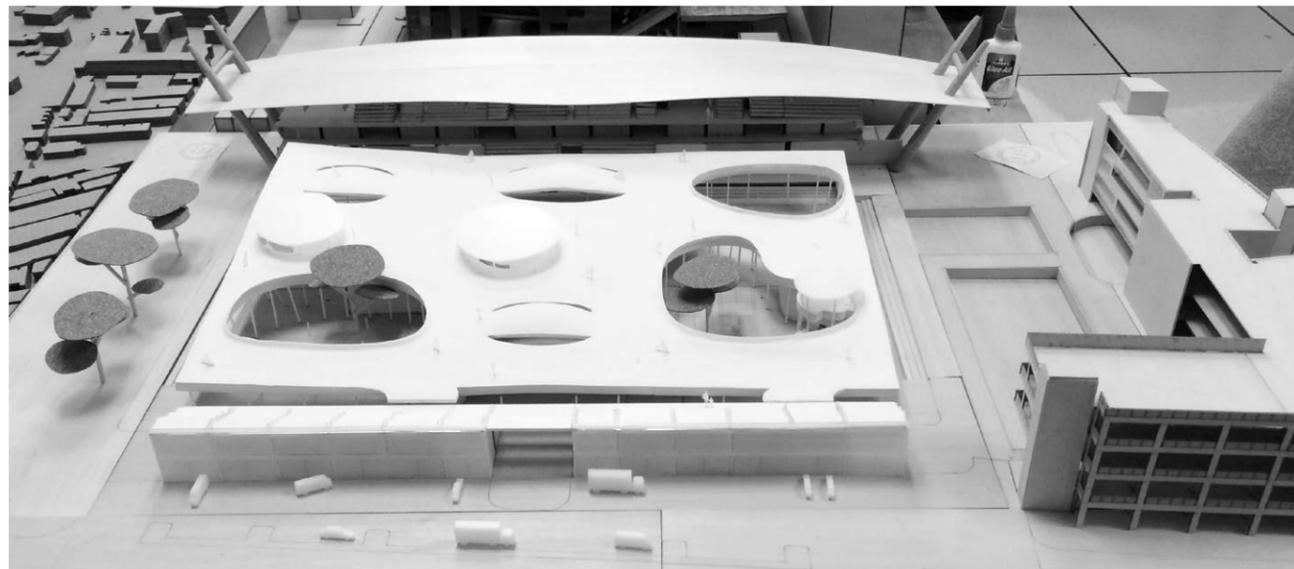
modelling the existing stadium to first understand the various components

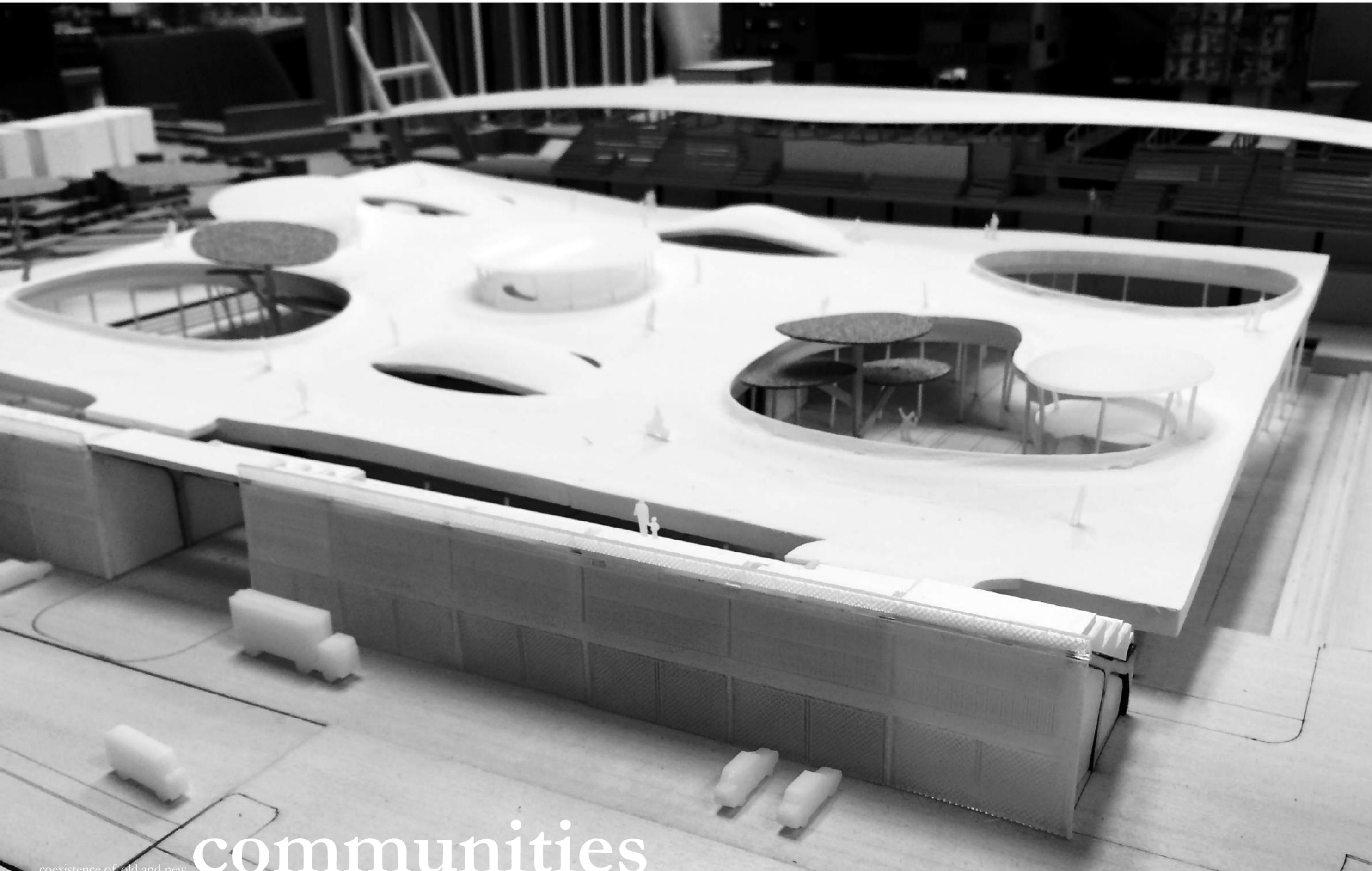


3d printing of landscaped park



above: plastering and sanding the surface for seamless jointing of model parts bottom: final model





coexistence of old and new

# communities