Paper 2

A Divided Audience,

Uncovering the History of the Cemetery

Table of Contents

Introduction

Part of the difficulty in determining a future development for the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery - how it should be developed, if it should be developed, or if it should simply be overhauled at the end of its 99-year lease – perhaps lies in that it represents competing narratives to different user groups. The site primarily struggles with its status as a cemetery. To some it is a place of grief and remembrance, but to the more superstitious, the supposed presence of ghosts cements it as a place to avoid. This paper examines these competing narratives and seeks opportunity for reconciliation. At the same time, it also examines the cemetery itself to uncover any hidden cultural significance on the site, in hopes that these discoveries can motivate the public to endear the site to them.

Coping with change in Singapore

To some, the Ying Fo Fui Kun is significant because it easily lends itself to discussions of urban development; its tenuous fate can be seen to be symptomatic of a larger condition of urban change, nostalgia and loss that has come to grip Singapore. With its main island measuring at just about fifty kilometres in length, the territorial constraints of the country has forced the government to adopt continuous redevelopment as one of its main means of economic stimulation. Perhaps also because of its small size, change seems to happen everywhere and at every time, with redevelopment projects occurring within close proximity to each other and within a short refractory period, exaggerating the speed and totality of change that seems to define Singapore. (Fig. 1)

As a result, Singapore is now undergoing a growth in "memory-mania"[1]. Blogs that document Singapore's history and its physical heritage, such as Lam Chun See's *Good Morning Yesterday* or *The Lion Raw*, have become increasingly popular, while the state itself, as though attempting to soothe a balm over the continuous change it has imposed on the urban landscape, has set up the Singapore Memory Project, a state-run web portal that allows users to upload personal photographs to form a digital repository on Singapore. At this point in writing, the website boasts 1,071,155 "memories".[2]

[1] Huyseen, A. *Twilight memories: Marking time in a culture of amnesia*. New York: Routledge, 3. Quoted in Blackburn, 2013, 432.
[2] Singapore Memory Project, http://www.singaporememory.sg/

Fig. 1: A Changing Singapore
(top to bottom) land reclamation works:1970-1980; 1990; 2000; 2010; 2013, 2016

At the same time, ground-up initiatives that resist change have sprouted, often in the form of heritage tours – to remind one of the value of the landscape as it is (untouched) now – or protests against planned demolition works. For example, proposals to redevelop Dakota Crescent, an early housing estate built in 1958, has been met with organised protest: a Facebook group has been set up to actively collect photographs and anecdotes regarding the estate, walking tours have been conducted, a short film (trailer-length) has been produced, and on-going meetings with government officials to negotiate the redevelopment plans are underway[3]; My Community, a charity-run organisation, regularly holds tours to "champion community heritage" and "celebrate civic life" in public housing estates for the general public[4]. Interestingly, its Commonwealth & Holland V Heritage Tour uses the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery as one of its stops along the heritage trail.

The discussion on Nostalgia

This anxiety that surrounds Singapore's changing urban landscape bleeds further into the existing body of literature on Singapore's redevelopment history and trajectory, seen in text written by international writers – most notably Rem Koolhaas' *Singapore Songlines: Thirty Years of Tabula Rasa*, where he compared Singapore's redevelopment to a form of manipulative prostitution[5] [6] – but critiqued most extensively by Singapore's own scholars.

For example, in their study *Recreating Place, Replacing Memory: Creative destruction at the Singapore River*, writers T. C. Chang and Shirlena Huang draw on this interdependency of loss and change, proposing to understand urban transformation in terms of "creative destruction" and "destructive creation". But more significantly, their discussion shifts from merely charting out the physical changes of the site to understanding the socio-cultural impacts of these changes, where the acts of physical destruction and creation are seen as agents in creating "the tensions between 'remembering to forget' and 'forgetting to remember'"[7].

[3] "Save Dakota Crescent," https://www.facebook.com/savedakotacrescent/timeline
[4] "My Community," http://www.mycommunity.org.sg/about.html
[5] The context this comparison was taken from is: "Still firmly marooned in underdevelopment, Singapore's only resources are physical – its land, its population, its geographical position. Analogous to the way poverty can lead to prostitution, Singapore's transformation is conceived again and again in terms of work *on the body of the island itself*. Its territory – its ground – is its most malleable material […] Like the Dutch, who also fabricated their country, Singapore is about selling and manipulation – an ideology, a population, an island."
[6] Koolhaas, 1995, 1031.
[7] Chang, and Huang. 2005. 267.

This notion, that urban transformation should be interpreted beyond work done on the physical body of the site, is heavily based on the premise that the built landscape is inherently accompanied by "associative identities"[8]. Changes in the urban landscape thus render "certain activities, people and place memories invisible"[9], an argument that is developed and repeated again across multiple writings on Singapore, albeit repackaged with slightly different nomenclature.[10] Texts like *Beyond Description: Singapore Space Historicity* present architecture as "an agent in forgetting"[11], while others like *Contestations of Memory in Southeast Asia* seek to uncover the disparity between state-led narratives and popular memories, in a bid to reveal the tenuousness nature of "socially constructed truths"[12] embedded in a state-designed landscape.

Sites like the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery thus prove to be so contentious because they have, as a body of sites, created a platform through which the public negotiates with the state on the latter's imposition of change on the urban fabric, and where society as a whole best seeks to understand the impact this change has on the Singaporean psyche. Certainly, an undertone of social anxiety persists. But more so, the discussion has taken on a political edge, as it has come to encompass the representation (or lack of) of certain social groups over others. As such, the treatment of the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery gains double significance: first in terms of how it addresses the site's immediate cultural and historical value, and second, its eventual fate, whether redeveloped, preserved or altered, can become representative of the many sites across Singapore that face similar uncertainty.

Ambivalence from the neighbours

But at the same time, a quick survey of the immediate residents of the area reveals an air of ambivalence over the fate of the cemetery. In an interview with some residents from the estate (Appendix A), while there were those that believed in the cultural importance of the site, others were unconcerned about a proposed redevelopment, so long as it was to their benefit.

One resident candidly stated that he would prefer the cemetery to remain, but only because demolishing it would likely mean an even denser development would replace the open space (a rarity in Singapore)

[8] *Ibid*.
[9] *Ibid*.
[10] It is thus worthy to note that Chang and Huang's own study unites "forgetting to remember" from Devan, J. and G. Heng's 1994 "A minimum working hypothesis of democracy for Singapore" and "remembering to forget" from Tay, K.S and R. Goh's 2003 "Reading the Southeast Asian city in the context of rapid economic growth."
[11] Bishop, Phillips, and Yeo. 2004. 6-7.
[12] Waterson, Kwok, and Chia. 2012. 11.

that the cemetery provides; if not for this advantage, he would not mind if the cemetery goes. Ironically, the same resident expressed concern for the fate of the public housing blocks instead, recognising their historical significance as one of the older 1970s public housing designs over the cultural value of the Ying Fo Fui Kun site. Another resident explained that while he was personally unperturbed by the sight of a cemetery at his doorstep (it is revealed during the interview that his apartment directly overlooks the cemetery), he was unsure if potential home-buyers would be similarly accepting of such a sight. Cemeteries are seen by the more superstitious in Singapore to be a sign of bad luck, or poor *feng shui*, due to the believed presence of ghosts. As such, even if the neighbouring residents to the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery do not personally subscribe to this superstition themselves, its proximity does depreciate the monetary value of their apartments in the housing market, a sore point for current home-owners when they want to sell or rent their apartment.

This mixed reaction between acceptance and discomfort is shared across Singaporeans who live in proximity to other burial sites. An early 2015 survey conducted by *The Straits Times*, a major local newspaper, with residents living near three other columbaria nestled within housing estates showed a similar range of responses, with some accepting the presence of a burial site - one even thought that the proximity was a convenience in offering prayers - and others believing that the columbaria brought bad luck.[13] But as a whole, the general sentiment seems to be that while most residents do not mind the presence of these burial sites, they are not invested in its existence, and would thus be unaffected by its removal.

Fernvale Columbarium – Open Hostility

Nevertheless, this level of acceptance cannot be taken for granted. In July 2014 a planned construction of a temple in Fernvale Link, an upcoming public housing estate in Sengkang (northeast of Singapore), was subsequently terminated after the incoming residents learnt that the temple would house a columbarium (briefly mentioned in Paper 1).[14] A group of residents who were to move next to the plot had vehemently protested against the state's decision to allow a columbarium on site, arguing that they were not adequately informed of the possibility of a neighbouring burial facility when they purchased their apartment. Their concerns were largely similar to those mentioned before – the discomfort of living next to the dead, or the economic concern over the resale value of their apartments.[15] The controversy ended in a termination of contract with the then-developer, and the site was re-opened for new proposals.

[13] Cheong. 2015
[14] Hio. 2015.
[15] The Straits Times, 2015.

Negotiation, maintenance

The relationship between the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery and the surrounding housing estate must therefore be viewed as something to be carefully cultivated. Part of this boils down to regular maintenance of the cemetery. Food left behind as offerings to the dead are seen as distasteful and can attract pests like crows, while the burning of paper offerings produces smoke and a smell that are irritants to some. Complaints from the residents have been made to the association in the past, and the association has responded by taking measures to clear the food at the end of each day, and only allowing the burning of offerings at specific locations in the cemetery.[16]

Future plans?

In a new ten-part series titled *Living City*, The Straits Times features short video clips 'rediscovering' places and spaces in Singapore that are often overlooked by the general public; the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery was the recent subject for its third episode. In it, former cemetery supervisor Loh Kwan Ling expresses the hope that the cemetery will be preserved, as it is one of the last pieces of physical heritage for Singaporean Hakkas, whilst acknowledging that its future is difficult to predict.[17]

More so, the association itself recognises that more can be done to integrate the cemetery with the general public. Mr. Loh believes that the current state of the cemetery is an "eyesore", with the spaces between the graves overrun with weeds, and that more time and effort can be put in to beautify the place. His personal desire is to see the cemetery transformed to something similar to the Arlington National Cemetery in the United States of America, a national park that has endeared itself to the public.[18]

But to achieve such a dream is undeniably challenging. Money is a chief concern, and the will needed from the association to see such plans through cannot be underestimated. More importantly, the association has to contend with not just external pressure from the surrounding residents, but also internal challenges – chiefly, dwindling participation from its own members. As of now, only about 20 per cent of the graves in the cemetery are still tended to by their families during Qing Ming Festival. This could be, as Mr. Loh explains, because the descendants have died, or moved overseas, or simply that they are no longer interested in upholding such traditions. Times are changing, and Mr. Loh, who is 86

[16] Interview with Loh Kwan Ling, NTU History Students. 2015.
[17] Teo, 2016.
[18] *Ibid.*

years old this year, believes that heritage and tradition hold less of an importance to the modern Singaporean Chinese today.[19] Hence, even if the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery were to be preserved, in time to come the association (if it still exists then) must face the reality that these graves may no longer be maintained or visited by their respective families, whilst Singapore continues to be challenged for space.

A Divided Audience

We can thus see that the 'public' the cemetery (and any subsequent plans for transformation) must address can be loosely divided into three very different groups: the association and its members, in particular, those who still visit the graves; the neighbouring residents of the public housing estate; and the wider Singaporean public that still struggles to understand the continuously shifting landscapes of Singapore and the resultant sense of nostalgia and loss these changes inadvertently bring.

Interestingly, the divide between those who actively support the cemetery's existence and those who shun it is quite clear. The former are often members of the clan, with their ancestors buried on site, while the latter has no personal connection to the cemetery or its dead, and are thus more preoccupied with matters of economics, or superstition. And yet, death is a personal, intimate matter that affects us all. Almost every Singaporean is tied to a site of burial in the country through their family or friends who have passed on, and having a loved one buried in a particular location can change the place from one viewed with apathy, to one charged with significance. If such a connection where to exist, things like superstitious beliefs become secondary to the raw desire to remember the dead.

A key means to transition the attitude to the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery from apathy to acceptance would thus be to open up ownership of the site to the greater public. If this connection is not created via the dead (by opening up the burial grounds to the greater public, as suggested in Paper 1), it could also be created, as cemetery supervisor Loh Kwan Ling suggests, by transforming the cemetery into a park – a place of serenity, where the public can actively participate in the site on a day-to-day basis. The ability to create daily interaction with the site is perhaps sorely needed. In comparison, if the cemetery were to remain purely as burial grounds, use of the site would be largely limited to commemorative festivals that occur only on specific days of the year, celebrated on an annual basis, though certainly much more evocative than a site used for recreation. Nevertheless, regardless of the direction to be taken to propel the site into greater public acceptance, the crux of its transformation perhaps lies in its ability to allow

[19] *Ibid.*

more people to become attached to it, such that they do not just mind the cemetery's presence, but have instead become personally invested in its existence.

Hidden Heritage

In his book *Landscape and Memory*, historian Simon Schama writes,

> And that is what *Landscape and Memory* tries to be: a way of looking; of rediscovering what we already have, but which somehow eludes our recognition and our appreciation. Instead of being yet another explanation of what we have lost, it is an exploration of what we may find. […] It is, rather, by revealing the richness, antiquity, and complexity of our landscape tradition, to show just how much we stand to lose.[20]

Schama contends that even the most banal of places are charged with "myths and memories" buried below their surfaces. [21] The recovery of these hidden narratives thus restores historical and cultural significance to the site, and helps to establish continuity from the present to a past history, culture or tradition, creating an enduring sense of place. At the same time, by claiming that these myths exists but are hidden, Schama further implies that a perceptive gaze is demanded from the viewer to elevate the site beyond its banality.

The Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery is perhaps one of these hidden gems that Schama so describes. Though its status as a Hakka burial ground already lends cultural weight to the site, further investigation traces its history back much further. Most notably, the ancestral hall that sits on the edge of the site with the semicircular pond in front actually references the *wei long wu* (围龙屋), a vernacular Hakka architecture typology specific to the Guangdong province in China.[22] [23] (Fig. 2)

Wei long wu, loosely translating to 'encircling dragon house', is characterized by a rectilinear body consisting of three public halls, one of which holds ancestral tablets, flanked by two rows of private units (central houses (中堂间) and side houses (横屋间)), with another row of units enclosing a semicircular garden at its back and a similarly-sized semicircular pond in the front of the complex to mirror it.

[20] Schama, 1996. 14.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Katayama. 2011.
[23] It is therefore important to note that the Ying Fo Fui Kun was established by Hakkas that had migrated from the Jiaying prefecture in Guangdong, China.

Ancestral Hall on site

Wei long wu in China

Fig. 2: Vernacular Hakka Architecture
Wei long wu

The *wei long wu* is typically built on a north-south orientation and set against a hill, with the garden at a higher elevation than the pond. And with its scale, these residential structures would have essentially housed a village each; the typology is designed in such a way that it can expand in size by adding rows of units to the sides and increasing the number of curved units to the back.

Part of the architectural features of the *wei long wu* stem from practicality. The structure's incline provides effective drainage and captures prevailing breeze, while the hill at its back aids in defense. But more importantly, the typology itself is symbolically charged. It combines principles of axiality, symmetry, hierarchy, with its circular composition echoing the *taiji* diagram of *yin* and *yang,* a sign of stability and harmony.[24] Though the Ying Fo Fui Kun ancestral hall is a much humbler, pared down version of the *wei long wu*, it is nonetheless a physical expression of the origin of the Hakka people in Singapore, and the values and beliefs they carried with them through migration. While the tombstones have remained unchanged since they were built in the late 1960s, the ancestral hall has been on the cemetery land since its inception in 1822.

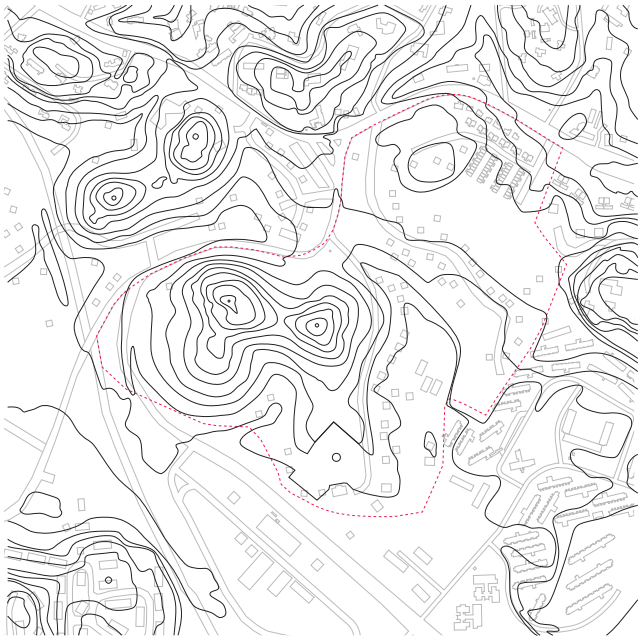
The replacement narrative

The symbolism of the ancestral hall contrasts heavily with the narrative that the public housing estate has subsequently imposed over the site. As distilled versions of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation, the public housing blocks emphasize the architectural ideal of creating space lifted off the surface of the ground. (It is thus remarkable that the new method of burial in Singapore – the crematorium – echoes this same architectural form of being given a unit in the 'sky', off the ground). But more significantly, the arrangement of the blocks loosely follows the curve of the major road just outside of the estate and thus creates a new axis on the overall landscape.

The tombstones in the Ying Fo Fui Kun Cemetery as seen today were built by the state when it had acquired a portion of the cemetery land and exhumed its graves. Rather than parallel the existing ancestral hall, the tombstones were built to instead parallel the public housing development. (Fig. 3) This effectively realigns the site, and forces the ancestral hall to become the odd-one-out, sitting on an awkward axis, in the newly composed urban fabric of burial ground and residential estate.

[24] Kawai, Hironao. 2011.

Fig. 3: Public Housing Grid



1970

2016

1: 15,000

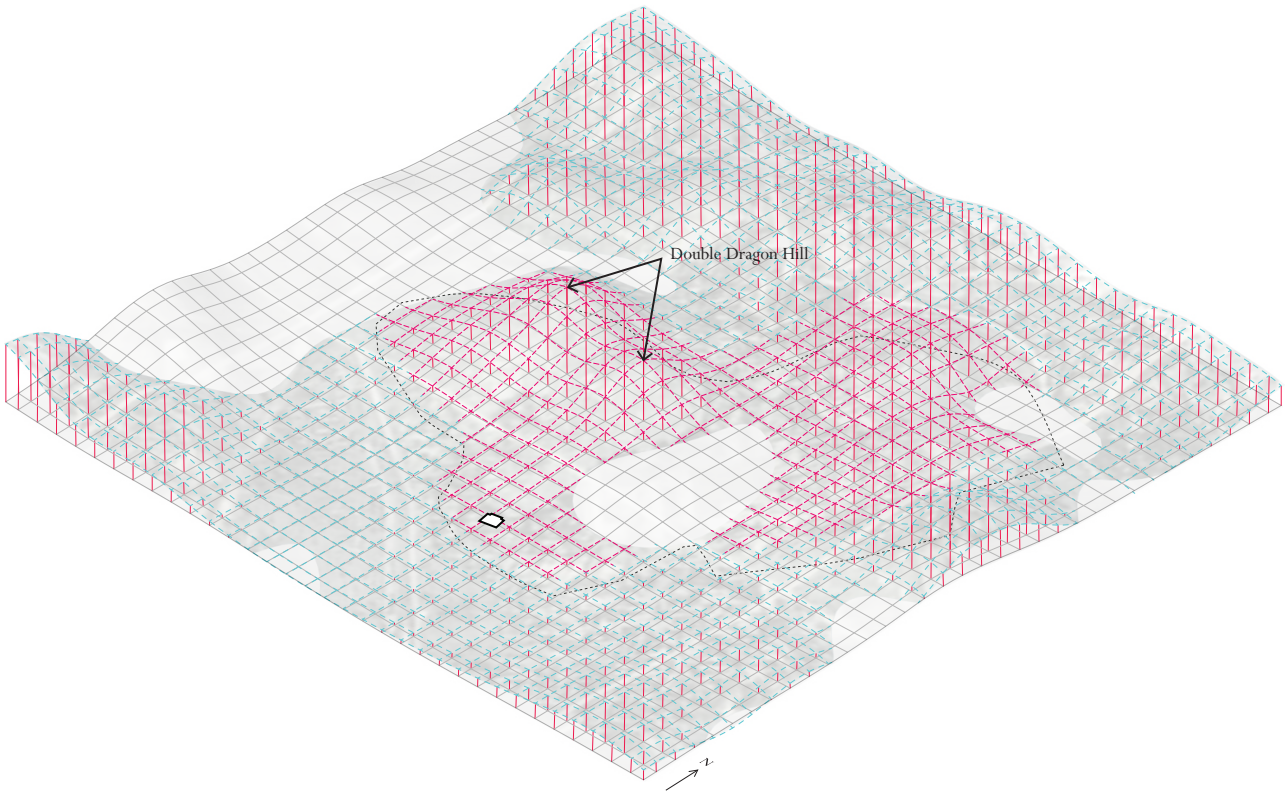


Fig. 4: Flattened topography

At the same time, the Ying Fo Fui Kun Ancestral Hall's north-south orientation would have pointed at the two hills[25] that formed the land mass of the cemetery at its inception. (Fig. 4) The imposition of the public housing estate effectively flattened this topography, removing the two hills that would have anchored and given the necessary context to read the Ancestral Hall.

Conclusion - The missing pieces

If Schama demands a perceptive gaze from the user, this gaze is one that must be severely aided, as the tools needed to properly read the site no longer exist. It is difficult to discern the value of the ancestral hall because of the way it now sits awkwardly on site; the auto-repair shops that crowd around its side of the site are immensely unhelpful as well. More so, the original landscape of the cemetery would have seen the ancestral hall pointing to its twin hills[26], a sign of good *feng shui*, as a result of its near north-south alignment. But these hills have since been flattened by the housing estate, killing the harmonious relationship between ancestral hall and its land. At the same time, its typological form is incomplete. While the ancestral hall has the semicircular pond in the front, it is missing the garden and the enclosing units at its back. Furthermore, compared to the now-dominant vista that straddles the site, placing the tombstones against a backdrop of towering apartment blocks, the path leading to the ancestral hall appears diminutive and easily bypassed. In this arrangement, the hall and its pond easily becomes a forgotten corner of the site, and yet its most historically and culturally significant gem.

With this in mind, any redevelopment of the site must take into account its differing target user groups. Part of this can be achieved by altering the nature or function of the site to court the more resistant audiences, but some effort should also be put in to rediscovering what is already on the land. Due to the development of the entire Queenstown-Commonwealth district, the original context in which the cemetery was designed to exist in has been completely eradicated. The topography of the land has been altered, and the new narratives imposed on the landscape only alienate the cemetery further. Much can then be done to re-establish the missing pieces needed to experience the cemetery closer to what was intended. Given the larger concerns of nostalgia and loss Singapore is facing as a whole now, we must recognise that the timing is in the association's favour; such an endeavour would perhaps be well-positioned to nudge the image of the cemetery into a more positive light.

[25] Hence the original name of the cemetery: Shuang Long Shan (双龙山) or Double Dragon Hill, as mentioned in Paper 1.

[26] Referring back to Paper 1, the site of the cemetery was chosen by the association because of the presence of these two hills. In Chinese *feng shui* culture, the placement of graves on hills was seen as auspicious.

Appendix A

Interview with residents

Title: Living with Cemeteries - The Hakka Cemetery Special (Nov 19, 2015)[27]

Resident A:

Q: How long have you been living here?

A: Since I was 32, till now. Around 42 years.

Q: So every day when you open the windows, you can see the whole cemetery. Do you feel anything?

A: No, no feelings at all.

(jokingly) When it's midnight, I open my windows and I would like to see [some ghosts], but I didn't find any. If I found it [the ghost] I would strike a fortune. There's no need to be afraid of any ghosts.

Q: How would you feel if the cemetery is demolished?

A: Maybe it's better if it is demolished because next time if we were to sell or rent – to me it doesn't matter that much because I am not scared, but others may be. So it's better for everyone if the cemetery is demolished. (But) it can be conserved, for example, they could build a Hakka cultural centre or something instead, and we can hold more activities and performances.

Mr. Eric, Car Salesman (Avil Motors Pte Ltd)

Q: How long have you been working here?

A: Two years.

Q: Before you came here to work, did you know there was a cemetery around?

A: Yes, I knew.

Q: Do you think having a cemetery near your workplace affects your business?

A: No.

Q: Why?

A: Because I just do my own business, and they [the spirits] are just sleeping.

Q: Oh, so you don't think it's of any bad luck?

A: No, no. It's fine as long as we don't think about it. They [the spirits] will protect and bless us.

Q: During Qingming and hungry ghost festival, are there more people around this area, burning their offerings?

A: Yes, there are.

[27] Wong Yuebin, Tan Yitorng, Marcus Teo, Clara Yan; Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) History; Documentary, Nov 19, 2015
Accessed Nov 16, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2aS94kiFB4

Q: Do you think these people affect the businesses nearby?

A: No, they usually park their cars outside and walk in to give their offerings. And during the hungry ghost month, we also join those giving offerings in their rituals.

Q: Do you think this cemetery has cultural values?

A: Yes, Lee Kwan Yew's ancestors are also buried here, at this Hakka cemetery.

Q: Oh, so you think that the government will not touch this piece of land?

A: No, they will not touch it; it has been around for so long, if they had plans for it, it would have long been developed.[28]

Q: I just want to hear your opinion on this: if the government has plans to develop this cemetery into something like a heritage centre, so students can be brought here, for visits…

A: Yes, this already happens now, some people bring their students, or hold tours for the public here.

Q: But if we were to make this place into something like a museum, or tourist attraction, what do you think of such a concept?

A: This is historical, so we should preserve it.

Q: Are you a Hakka?

A: I'm not a Hakka.

Q: Ah, so even though you aren't a Hakka, you think this cemetery is worth preserving!

A: Yes, it has been around for some time, and it's a serene place.

Resident B:

Q: How long have you been living in this area?

A: Maybe about 20 years.

Q: Wow, that's quite long. And when you bought the house, what were your thoughts, knowing that there is a cemetery nearby?

A: Yes, we know that there's a cemetery. But I understand that it's tombstones only, there's no real urn or anything.[29]

Q: During Qingming Festival, do you have any complaints? Or are there other people here who have complaints, perhaps about the noise and so on?

A: Okay, there aren't any complaints that I know of. But Qingming is also a problem. There's a lot of people here burning incense papers. It's a general thing, not just for them [Hakkas].

Q: One last question: if this place were to be demolished…

A: It would be quite a pity if they were to demolish the HDBs[30] here because they are the new HDBs, well, I won't say new, but they were the original HDBs. If it's just the cemetery, I'm fine if they demolish it. I do prefer

[28] Author's note: this interviewee does not seem to be aware of the current 99-year lease that the cemetery is on; hence the lack of redevelopment thus far.
[29] Author's note: this interviewee does not seem to be aware of the columbarium that has been incorporated into the ancestral temple and memorial hall.
[30] Author's note: the interviewee is referring to the public housing blocks.

if they didn't, because the developers will build another high-rise, which isn't really… there are too many blocks that are too close together. The space (as of now) is quite wide, which is quite rare. And there's a pond behind the cemetery; I bring my kids over to the pond. We cycle in, and then we go to the pond. Sometimes we go across it (the cemetery), I mean, there is nothing there (ghosts). So in terms of the space, the cemetery allows for it to be quite spacious, so I actually prefer it if they didn't demolish it.

References

Bishop, Ryan, John Phillips, and Wei-Wei Yeo.

2004. *Beyond Description: Singapore Space Historicity*. London: Routledge.

Blackburn, Kevin.

2013. "The 'Democratization' of Memories of Singapore's Past." *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde.* Vol. 169, No. 4: 431-56. http://dx.doi.org.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/10.1163/22134379-12340064

Chang, T. C., and Shirlena Huang.

2005. "Recreating place, replacing memory: Creative destruction at the Singapore river." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint.* Vol. 46, No. 3: 267-80.

Katayama, Kazutoshi.

2011. "Spatial Order and Typology of Hakka Dwellings." International Workshop on Rammed Earth Materials and Sustainable Structures & Hakka Tulou Forum 2011: Structures of Sustainability at International Symposium on Innovation & Sustainability of Structures in Civil Engineering Xiamen University, China. http://www2.cemr.wvu.edu/~rliang/ihta/papers/12%20FINAL%20katayama_paper_workshop.pdf

Kawai, Hionao.

2011. "Traditional Environmental Knowledge in Hakka Weilongwu: From the view of Anthropology of Landscape." International Workshop on Rammed Earth Materials and Sustainable Structures & Hakka Tulou Forum 2011: Structures of Sustainability at International Symposium on Innovation & Sustainability of Structures in Civil Engineering Xiamen University, China. http://www2.cemr.wvu.edu/~rliang/ihta/papers/13%20FINAL%20kawai_paper_workshop.pdf

Koolhaas, Rem.

1995. "Singapore Songlines: Portrait of a Potemkin Metropolis … or Thirty Years of Tabula Rasa," in *S, M, L, XL*, Rem Koolhaas Rem, Bruce Mau & OMA, edited by Jennifer Sigler. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995: 1009-1089.

Schama, Simon.

1996. *Landscape and Memory*. United Kingdom: Vintage Books.

Waterson, Roxana, Kian Woon Kwok, and Kelvin Chia.

2012. *Contestations of memory in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Internet Sources

"My Community," http://www.mycommunity.org.sg/about.html (24-12-2016)

"Save Dakota Crescent," https://www.facebook.com/savedakotacrescent/timeline (28-12-2016)

"Singapore Memory Project," last modified Dec 25, 2016. http://www.singaporememory.sg/ (28-12-2016)

Cheong, Danson. 2015. Jan 7. "Residents in other estates don't mind living near columbariums." *The Straits Times*. http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/housing/residents-in-other-estates-dont-mind-living-near-columbariums#2 (24-12-2016)

Hio, Lester. 2015. May 7. "Re-tender called for temple and columbarium site in Sengkang's Fernvale Link." *The Straits Times*. http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/housing/re-tender-called-for-temple-and-columbarium-site-in-sengkangs-fernvale-link (24-12-2016)

NTU History Students. 2015. Nov 19. "Living with Cemeteries," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2aS94kiFB4&t=509s (24-12-2016)

Teo, Basil Edward. 2016. Dec, 20. "Living City: A walk among the departed in Holland Close cemetery." *The Straits Times*. http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/living-city-a-walk-among-the-departed-in-holland-close-cemetery (23-12-2016)

Author unknown. 2015. Jan 29. "No commercial columbarium in Sengkang's Fernvale Lea: 7 things about the controversy." *The Straits Times*. http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/no-commercial-columbarium-in-sengkangs-fernvale-lea-7-things-about-the-controversy (24-12-2016)

List of Figures

Accessed Dec 14, 2016. https://www.meetup.com/Ninexplorer/events/224490842/

Figure 3 | Public Housing Grid
p. 13
Author's own.

Figure 4 | Flattened Topography
p. 14
Author's own.