



Reconstructing Socio-Cultural Identity:
Malay Culture and Architecture in Pekanbaru, Indonesia





Reconstructing Socio-Cultural Identity:
Malay Culture and Architecture in Pekanbaru, Indonesia

In fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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This thesis is dedicated to:
My parents, family and the Malay people

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Abstract

Identity can be changed and reconstructed. Thus, it is seen as capable of supporting dynamic changes in real life through the transformation of practices and the articulation of social relations. This study examines how the reconstruction of identity of place is affected by culture and cultural production, and is an unfixed, unfinished and varying process that affects both the place and society. Particularly concomitant with shifts of power, the reconstruction attempts to impose one group's values over those of other groups in cultural life and social transformation.

Despite forming only one-fifth of the population of the Indonesian city of Pekanbaru, Malay people have emerged as a group who have held important positions in both local government and urban society since 2000. This makes Pekanbaru city an intriguing research case. After more than a decade, the implementation of the group's has led to visible changes in the city. This can be seen in the use of Malay architectural motifs on buildings, and the introduction of 'new' traditions to establish the *madani* city, which develops physically, socially and in the spirit of Malayness.

By using a qualitative approach, this study investigates the influence of Malay culture in Pekanbaru city. The field data can be grouped into three types: physical evidence, people's interpretations, and archive data collected using a range of methods such as observation, semi-structured interviews, testimonies, and group discussions. The data are analysed and interpreted within an iterative process to expand understanding of the processes of reconstructing identity. Thus, this study affirms a wide range of thought about connections between the culture and identity of place which is identified through architecture and socio-cultural change in urban society. In turn, this study offers particular insights into how identity on the margins becomes an exclusive set of collective identities.

Key words: Culture, Identity, Architecture, Socio-Cultural Change, Urban Society

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Glossary

Adat	: Collective mind and customs in socio-cultural life
Atap	: Roof
Bahasa Indonesia	: National language of Indonesian
Balai	: Assembly Hall
Balai Kerapatan Adat	: The council of culture
Bangsa	: Nation
Batak	: An ethnic group and language of people from the northern part of Sumatra
Bhineka Tunggal Ika	: Unite in diversity
Hokian	: Informal Chinese language
Javanese	: An ethnic and language of people from the Central and East Java
Madani	: Sociable – Civilise
Marwah	: Pride - Refined character
Minangkabau	: An ethnic group and language of people from the western part of Sumatra
Modal insani	: Human capital
Musholla	: Prayer Place
Nusantara	: Archipelagos
Pasar	: Market
Persebatian	: Unity and integrity
Petang Megang	: Welcoming twilight before Ramadhan
Puak	: Cultural fragmentation
Putra Daerah	: True son of a local native
Rehal	: Book stand
Rumah	: House
Selembayung	: Gable Horn
Silaturahmi	: Friendship by strengthening ties under Islamic ways
Soko Guru	: Principal factor
Sudanese	: An ethnic group and language of people from the western part of Java
Sunnah	: The way of life prescribed in Islam
Syarak	: Canon law
Tunjuk Ajar	: Tutoring - Cultural guidance for daily life

Chapter 1

**Identity of Place: A Field of Culture and
Cultural Reproduction**

Chapter 1

Identity of Place: A Field of Culture and Cultural Reproduction

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Identity of Place: A Field of Culture and Cultural Reproduction

'We no longer believe in a primordial totality that once existed, or in a final totality that awaits us at a future date. We no longer believe in the dull grey outlines of a dreary, colourless dialectic of evolution, aimed at forming a harmonious whole out of heterogeneous bits by rounding off their rough edges. We believe only in totalities that are peripheral. And if we discover such a totality alongside various separate parts, it is a whole of these particular parts but does not totalise them; it is a unity of all those particular parts but does not unify them; rather it is added to them as a new part fabricated separately' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 42).

1.1 Introduction: the Argument for Research

1.1.1 Research Background: Can identity of place be reconstructed?

Identity of place can be reconstructed. To understand this, it is necessary to know about the concept of identity. From one perspective, identity is initially conceptualised as existing or being (Heidegger, 1968). According to this concept, which is also known as the being concept, identity cannot be deduced from any higher concepts and also cannot be represented by any lower concepts. Deeply rooted to the ground, this concept sees location as the experience or sense of place that is precognitive, with added meanings, and ignores social constructs of place (Dovey, 2010: 4). This concept tends to construct singular, fixed and static identities that are interpreted as bounded enclosed space which forms a barrier against outsiders (Massey, 1994: 119). In short, according to the being concept, identity cannot be changed; it rejects external influences and settles in stabilised conditions such as purity, picturesqueness, local spirit, and genius loci (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Jive and Larkham, 2003). This is in contrast to another perspective, which is identified as the concept of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004). The concept of becoming can be imperceptible, abstract and connected to many ideas and issues, but the basic idea is that identity can be reconstructed (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 277; Ballantyne, 2007: 103). In this concept, identity can be changed, and this changeability is defined by connections rather than essence (De Landa, 2006: 3). Identity can also be elucidated as transformation practices through the deep complicity of symbolic capital in culture and cultural reproduction (Dovey, 2010: 13).

In this research, the becoming concept is applied to frame identity of place. Identity is defined as an articulation of social relations which is constructed through interactions with one another, and which can obviously be renewed (Massey, 1994: 120). In this regard, identity becomes outward-looking, multiple, and open, characterised by connections and interactions (Dovey, 2010: 10). As they are socially constructed, these connections and interactions in turn can reconstruct identity of place which is seen as something of a process which can be changed,

reconstructed, and is unfixed (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004; Ballantyne, 2007; Dovey, 2010). This is a continual process without end. Thus, identity of place should be seen as a practice instead of something which is pre-given, and which valorises routes rather than roots, journey rather than home, and flows rather than stasis. In this way, the place can accept difference and opens up new possibilities for being reconstructed (Dovey, 2008: 57).

1.1.2 Reconstructing Identity and Malayness

This research was inspired by curiosity concerning three issues. Firstly, there have been attempts to use Malay culture in reconstructing the image of Pekanbaru city where the research was conducted. This can be found in contemporary city buildings and other built forms that have implemented Malay architecture, which appears ubiquitously in the city today. Secondly, in terms of reconstructing identity of place, Malay culture also has been defined as the core culture of the city by local government, even though Malay people are not the majority population of the city. This obviously leads to socio-cultural problems, particularly in an urban society context which consists of multicultural life. Another reason for this research is much more personal. Researching a culture is not only about the academic research subject, but also about people in their real daily lives (Faqih, 2005: 7). As a Malay person, it is an opportunity to examine Malay culture, and to provide an 'insider's view'. However, this can be tremendously challenging, demanding caution to develop self-criticism and self-awareness at the same time (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 95; Burgess, 1991: 1). Thus, this research is not only about investigating Malay culture, architecture and society, but also about Malay people and has therefore become a personal issue.

Issues surrounding Malay culture initially emerged from 1997-1998, when Indonesia entered into the reformation period with a new government. The government shifted its sense of nationalism from a single nation to autonomous decentralisation. In this sense, decentralisation has been used for normative claims in terms of identity, jurisdiction and territory by all local governments. Every region, province, city and regency can construct and develop their place according to their capacity, potencies, and local distinction (Setneg, 1999). Therefore, this programme is seen as one of the most radical decentralisation programmes attempted anywhere in the world (Long, 2013: 5).

One of the consequences of decentralisation is that it generates a sense of regionalism and localism. In this research, the shift from nationalism to autonomous decentralisation can be seen in installing Malay people as a new ruling group in the Riau region. According to Reid (2001: 311), Malays in this region, which covers the east coast of Sumatra, centred on Pekanbaru, are facing 'post-revolutionary nationalism'. This can be described as a period which is claimed by a particular ethnic group of people to conform to the cultural patterns of the group at the expense of individualism and cultural diversity. In this way, the ruling group attempts to install Malay culture as the core culture of the region.

Legal support of the decision to set Malay culture as the core culture has had serious consequences, not only on the sense of regionalism and localism, but also on local identity (Reid, 2001: 311; Long, 2013: 7). The ruling group has attempted to reconstruct identity with new markers through their power, and to distinguish them from prior markers. Therefore, reconstructing identity has become an important issue for the Malay of the region. This can be seen in the fact that Malay culture was defined as the core culture for the region in 2000

(Pemprov_Riau, 2000), and also for Pekanbaru city in 2001 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001). In short, the phenomena of regionalism and localism are also used to confirm and declare this whole region as the most Malay region in the Indonesian context. This is particularly evident in Pekanbaru, which the Municipality has declared the centre of Malay culture. Indeed, this is further evidenced in the Vision and Mission of City Development, which are used as legal guidance in issuing local regulations such as for trade and services, education, Malay culture, society, and religious life. Moreover, the ruling group can also be seen to be attempting to redefine socio-cultural life which is based upon the idea of Malayness (fig. 1.1). This idea is necessarily embedded into every field of daily life to ensure Malay people are no longer oppressed (Mahathir, 1970: 70). In this case, Hall (1995: 596) points out that the issue of identity emerges *'when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty'*. For Milner (2009: 185), the redefinition of today's Malay has become a serious reversal process. The process attempts to focus on the narrow definition that Malay people are identified only through habitually speaking the Malay language, following the Islamic faith, and conforming to Malay customs (*adat*). Thus, the importance of this research is not merely related to identity of place, but also in more broadly elucidating how Malay culture and Malay people are also being reformed within today's context. As Hall (2004: 185) affirms, it is necessary to seek and elucidate on the process of reconstruction through local examples in order to know how *'the identities on the margins become another exclusive set of local identities'*.



Figure 1.1 The Influence of Malay Culture on Architecture and Urban Society

A. The Office of the Governor of Riau

B. *Petang Megang* - Annual Cultural Event in Welcoming Ramadhan

C. *Balai Kerapatan Adat* - the Riau-Malay Pavilion.

1.2 Culture, Architecture, and Socio-Cultural Change in Urban Society

The reformation period is a turning point for Pekanbaru, wherein the Municipality, on behalf of local people, has mandated to realise the idea of Malayness and to name Malay as the core culture. Thus, Malay culture has become important in every aspect of city life. With various ways of developing Malayness and its interpretations, the culture has influenced not only local politics, but also most of daily life. This is clear from city buildings that have widely applied Malay architecture since 2000. Socio-cultural changes have also taken place in urban society where local people are trying to implement Malay values in both their private and public daily life (fig. 1.2). This is in accordance with Hutcheon's (1999: 12) view that the power of cultural beliefs and values can be used in order to shape physical and social movements.

As a signifier of mobility, culture is connected to symbols and processes of social negotiation (Dunbar *et al.*, 1999: 3). Culture becomes a negotiable factor which is constantly changing, and is identified from its representation and practice in daily life (Barker, 2002:222; Edensor, 2002: 17). Therefore, culture and cultural production are less a matter of location and roots, but are more products of interactions across space in everyday discourse. This puts culture into a continuous process which can be descriptive and interpretive in various ways (Cohen, 2001: 39). Thus, Malay culture should be understood as a continual process as well. The process involves things that are passed down the generations, and also the creation of something new which results from today's social interaction. In turn, this will affect and contribute to Malay culture itself.

Architecture cannot frame identity by itself; rather, it needs to be translated into observable things or particular forms. In this way, the connection between culture and architecture can be identified through symbolic functions, built forms, and the interrelationships between social changes in everyday life. In this sense, architecture is used to assert its supremacy via symbolic capital and symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1986), wherein there is no zone of neutrality (Dovey, 2010: 38). In turn, architecture becomes a product of the future and of social change (Findley, 2005: 35; Dovey, 2010: 1). This phenomenon can be found in Pekanbaru today. As a subset of Malay culture, Malay architecture is applied to city built forms, primarily in the physical expression of city buildings. In its implementation, it is not only used to seek the recognition of symbolic dominance, but also becomes a field of power contestation by leaving permanent markers. All of these factors affect and contribute to the development of architecture.

Identical phenomena have also occurred in urban society, where implementing the idea of Malayness is seen as a means of giving more privileges to Malay people and is also used to convey new interpretations of Malayness for wider purposes. In practice, this is fulfilled via internal and external conflicts and mutual agreements that aim to establish a collective identity for urban society. Obviously, this requires particular adjustments and negotiations that affect not only Malay people, but the whole of urban society. Therefore, reconstructing collective identity becomes an important concept in urban society where there is multiculturalism and becomes the basis and product of social action. In this sense, collective identity is social in character and is both self-describing and socially ascribed (Barker, 2002: 225). In this way, as Hall (1989: 16) points out, it is necessary to find a new identity which has '*not lost hold of the place and the ground from which we can speak, yet it is no longer contained within that place as an essence*'. Thus, this research will focus on two aspects. The first is the connection between culture and architecture, particularly in the representation of built forms. The analysis of this is not based on detailed built forms or planning, but focuses on

the urban architectural context. The second focus relates to socio-cultural change in urban society. This is due to the fact that attempts to set Malay as the core culture potentially generate socio-cultural problems in multicultural urban society. Both built forms of architecture and socio-cultural changes are synthesised in the notion of 'becoming', in terms of reconstructing the socio-cultural identity of place. Thus, this is the core of this research.

'Identity is cultural since the resources that form the material for identity formation, language and cultural practice, are social in character ... identity is a process of becoming built from points of similarity and difference. There is no essence of identity to be discovered; rather cultural identity is continually being produced within the vectors of resemblance and distinction' (Barker, 2002: 225).



Figure 1.2 Interpretations of Malay Culture in a Contemporary Sense

A. Malay Tradition as Communal Event of Urban Society

B. Cultural Ornament on City Buildings

C. Contemporary Malay Architecture

1.3 Research Framework

Research Location: Pekanbaru City, Centre of Today's Malay in Indonesia

This research was conducted in Pekanbaru city, Indonesia. The city is located on the east coast of Sumatra Island and is separated by the Strait of Malacca from Malaysia and Singapore. This city was founded in the fifteenth century and became part of the Malay sultanate. It had been colonised by the Dutch and the Japanese and joined with Indonesia in 1945 (Galib, 1980; Suwardi et al., 2006). Thereafter, Pekanbaru became a municipal in 1956, and was also appointed provincial capital of the Riau province in 1959. Therefore, there are two local governments in this city. During the reformation period, Pekanbaru city was granted full-municipal status, and became an autonomous decentralised city in 1999.

Today, Pekanbaru is one of the cities with the fastest economic growth in Indonesia (BPS, 2010). At the same time, Pekanbaru is being prepared as the centre of Malay culture in an Indonesian context, and Malay culture has been decided as the main preference for the cultural life of the city. This is interesting as, of a population of one million people, only one-fifth are Malay (BPS, 2012). Although they are only the second largest ethnic group, Malay people hold important positions in both local governments and urban society. It can be seen that Malay culture has been used to reconstruct not only the image of the city, but also the socio-cultural life of urban society since 2000. After more than a decade, the influences of Malay culture in this city are visible despite the city's multicultural make-up. For these reasons, it is clear that choosing Pekanbaru city as a research location is relevant with the research topic, which will investigate the reconstruction of socio-cultural identity of place.

Research Questions and Objectives

The overall premise of this research is derived from the exploration of reconstructing socio-cultural identity of place, and is described in questions and objectives. This research investigates today's phenomena, as well as historical and contemporary thoughts on Malayness. To achieve the purpose of the study, the main research question is:

How does Malay culture reconstruct socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru?

In order to elucidate this question, the research is directed by two objectives. The first is related to architecture and aims to investigate the connection between Malay culture and architecture, as well as to understand how the connection is represented in built forms. The second objective relates to socio-cultural change. Investigation of this objective is used to frame the connection between Malay culture and multicultural urban society, particularly in terms of how Malay culture is used to reconstruct urban social life. Both objectives are further delineated into two sub research questions as below:

Objective 1: to investigate the representation of Malay architecture as a recognisable architectural identity

1. How does Malay culture influence architecture?
 - a. How is architecture connected to Malay culture?
 - b. What kinds of relationships are necessary to accommodate this connection?
 - c. What is the result of this connection?

Objective 2: to investigate culture and cultural reproduction in urban society

2. How is Malay culture identified in socio-cultural change?
 - a. Why has Malay culture become the main cultural preference?
 - b. How does the interpretation of Malayness in multicultural society strengthen relationships among communities?
 - c. What is the importance of Malayness in seeking collective socio-cultural identity and how does this relate to its continuity?

Malayness is a key word in seeking the connection between Malay culture, architecture and socio-cultural change. Investigation into Malayness is not merely to get a more in-depth understanding of Malay culture, but also to know about products of the culture, how the products are distributed, and other connections that are generated by the culture. As Hutcheon (1999: 12) argues, culture is believed to have the potential to shape physical and social movements. Furthermore, it is useful to investigate culture to understand how to perceive meaning therein, or to attach meaning to culture (Cohen, 2001: 17). In some cases, culture represents ideals for today and also for the future (Hutcheon, 1999; 194). Therefore, an investigation into Malayness has become an important research area.

Methodological Approach

This research adopts a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach can help to find the nature and source of social problems (Patton, 1990: 160) as its focus is on understanding meanings and processes through collecting a variety of empirical materials (Groat and Wang, 2002: 199). By using this approach, research can combine multifarious methods to acquire research data, whether from peoples, artefacts, events, or interpretation (Groat and Wang, 2002: 176; Creswell, 2003: 19). By investigating connections between culture, architecture and socio-cultural change, the main data are obtained by fieldwork and are grouped into three types: physical evidence, people's interpretations, and written documents that have been collected through several different methods such as observation, semi-structured and photo elicitation interviews, archive data, field-notes, group discussion, and field documentation.

Despite having field data gathered by various methods, the interview proved to be the most reliable method for maximising opportunities to get information. Being a Malay person provided particular privileges in terms of accessing important sources and stakeholders (fig. 1.3). Indeed, the interview method was found to be the most useful means of recording the voice of Malay people who do not speak freely with 'outsider' people. In this case, being an insider with particular knowledge, such as familiarity with the local language and traditions was important for building social relations with those key sources in order to hear insider

voices. This can also be seen as a way of achieving intimacy in relationships whether this is ethnic intimacy or friendship that can be used to break through sensitive topics (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 69; Richards, 2009: 21). This is another advantage of a qualitative approach that encourages researchers to become an active part of the situation being studied (Richards, 2009: 35).



Figure 1.3 Interviewing important sources and stakeholders

- A. The Mayor of Pekanbaru City
- B. The Honorary Chairman of Malay Customary Board – LAM Riau
- C. Head of Urban Authority Office
- C. Traditional wood carver

Documenting the Thesis

This thesis consists of three parts that are distributed over ten chapters, documenting the initial ideas to the conclusion (table 1.1). The first part is dedicated to theme enhancement and comprises five chapters. This part is used to describe the issues and background that laid the foundations for the main premise behind this research. This first part also explains relevant theories from related literature that can support the research theme. As the research was conducted by means of fieldwork studies, several research methods are explained in order to depict how data were obtained and organised from the field. The field is explained in two separate research context chapters describing the visible changes in Pekanbaru city, and the history of Malay culture.

The second part of the thesis focuses on the analytical process and is distributed over four chapters. Each chapter centres on one main idea such as architecture, city buildings, cultural reproduction, and multiculturalism. The chapter investigating architecture provides a description of the connections between Malay culture and architecture. This connection is

detailed further in the next chapter, which investigates city buildings. Another two chapters discuss socio-cultural changes in the city, starting with a chapter which describes cultural production. This production is found to be affected by Malay culture, particularly in everyday life in an urban society. The final analytical chapter in this part describes the role of Malay culture in multiculturalism and the continuity thereof. The last part synthesises all of the issues of this research. This is identified as the conclusion and summarises how Malay culture is connected to architecture and socio-cultural change, and also what results are emerging from this connection in order to explain the reconstruction of socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru according to the research findings. This part also discusses the relationship between the findings and general theories which support the research as a contribution of knowledge; it then closes with reflections on the research.

Table 1.1 Thesis Documenting

Part	Topic	Chapter & Title	Description
I	Introduction	1. Identity of Place: A Field of Culture and Cultural Reproduction	Introduction, aim and research questions
	Literature	2. Theoretical and Literature Framework	Philosophy, theories, and theoretical path way
	Methods	3. Research Design: Methodology and Methods	Methodology, methods, and field study
	Context	4. Pekanbaru: From <i>Kampung</i> to City	Explanation of the place where field study research was conducted
		5. A Story of Transforming Malay culture	The Malay in several eras
II	Analysis	6. Representation of Culture through Architecture	Investigates a connection between Malay culture and architecture
		7. Cultural Elements on City Buildings	Investigates influence of Malay culture on built forms, particularly on contemporary city buildings
		8. Cultural Reproduction in the Living Space	Investigates an attempt to use Malay culture in daily urban society life
		9. Re-Interpreting Cultural Values within Multiculturalism	Investigates an emerging today's cultural urban society as a collective learning process
III	Conclusion	10. Becoming - Socio-Cultural Identity	Synthesising, findings, and closing comments

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Literature Framework

Theoretical and Literature Framework

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Theoretical and Literature Framework

2.1. Introduction: Dialogue of Theories

A literature review can be used to identify relevant theories and prior research studies. The literature review is also used to establish a link with research methodology, analysis and interpretation of data. According to Creswell (2003: 31), the role of the literature review in qualitative research is to compare and contrast theories and findings. This is seen as an ongoing dialogue which discusses certain topics and research gaps, and which extends prior study. Moreover, in an inductive process, the review becomes '*an aide once patterns of categories have been identified*'. From this point of view, the review is not used to prove a theory, but provides modes of conceptualisation for describing and explaining theories. Ridley (2008: 2) adds that the literature review is also used to frame complex phenomena into a theoretical framework and place the research within the context of other related research. In this case, the review is seen as '*the driving force and jumping-off point*' of the research (fig. 2.01). Furthermore, Richards (2009: 139) states that the literature review can be identified as a synthesis and clarification of the research topic, and is used to verify present and future research. Thus, the literature review helps to narrow and focus the research and can also be identified as a dialogue of theories and prior research.

This chapter describes relevant theories and literature to understand and clarify the research topic. It begins with a philosophical Interpretation which provides a comparison between two basic conceptions of identity (section 2.2). Dismantling the conception of culture (section 2.3) aids the description of how culture relates to the focus of this research, which is architecture (section 2.4), social change in urban society (section 2.5), and identity of place (section 2.6). This chapter concludes with a theoretical pathway which identifies how to frame socio-cultural identity of place (section 2.7).

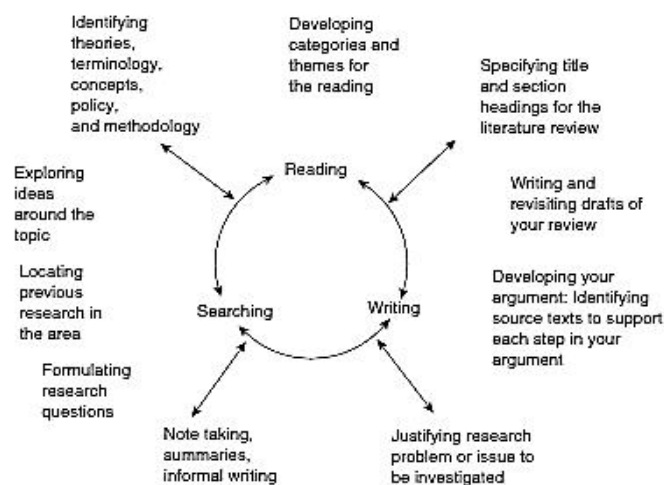


Figure 2.01 Literature Review Process Scheme

Source: Ridley (2008: 81)

2.2 Philosophical Interpretation

There are several conceptions and ideas relating to the best way to frame connections between culture and forms of social values, particularly in relation to the process of establishing relationships such as changes, adoption, and adaptation. One of these was pioneered in Gregory Bateson's work, which investigated the cultural values of the Balinese. Based on his research, Bateson (2005) argues that there are two ways to analyse social value-systems: schismogenesis and steady state. Schismogenesis maximises personal value at the expense of others, or between groups, and is concerned with potentially cumulative interactions among individuals or members of groups whose participation is based on internal processes. This establishes a route of communication between participating members through promoting social integration within larger communication systems such as societies (Thomassen, 2013: 199). As Bateson (1958: 175) affirms, schismogenesis is '*a process of differentiation in the norm of individual behaviour resulting from cumulative interaction between individuals*'. The steady state system tends to provide more balance. This system is mostly driven by Eastern cultures (Bateson, 2005; Ness, 2007; Charlton, 2008). Members in this system cannot be assumed to hold common characteristics. Their social lives preclude cumulative interaction and the involvement of ethnic and cultural values that have developed from childhood experiences by avoiding individual culmination and transgressions. This leads to the cultivation of balance and also self-correcting characteristics through society life or some other entity. In other words, the steady state is maintained by continual, non-progressive changes in relationship attitudes based upon bodily balance, and is essential for balance (Ness, 2007: 20). However, both conceptions can be used to interpret today's social whole so as to recognise the influence of culture, as well as social and identity transformation.

Bateson's idea for analysing value-systems has been further developed by Deleuze and Guattari, who devised what is known as the plateau of intensity and self-consciously rhizomatic (Ballantyne, 2005: 71; 2007: 38). A plateau is a continuous region of intensity which is constituted in a relatively stable way and which avoids any orientation toward a culmination point or interference from outside. A plateau of intensity is substituted for a culmination point to relate expressions and actions to exterior and transcendent ends. A rhizome is made of plateaus that relate to the connections between parts without a centralised core. Deleuze and Guattari (2004: 227) point out that the property of a social whole is not transcendent, but immanent. The immanent properties which inhere and settle within things might require special circumstances to become apparent (Ballantyne, 2007: 29). The works of Deleuze and Guattari can also be connected with many ideas and issues of the social field (Ballantyne, 2007: 103). One of these ideas relates to the plan of becoming. In this matter, De Landa (2010: 3) adds that social wholes can be conceptualised as an assemblage: a concept of emergent properties which is obtained from interaction between parts, and exteriority relations which retain autonomy of the parts.

In terms of identity, the idea of the plan of becoming could be imperceptible in abstract figures, but the basic premise is that identity can be reconstructed rather than pre-given (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 277). In this sense, identity of place can be formed and changed as a territorialised assemblage that is defined by connections rather than essences (De Landa, 2006: 3). These connections must be seen as practices of place transformation, at once material and experiential, spatial and social, that are deeply complicit in the symbolic capital of culture and cultural reproduction (Dovey, 2010: 13).

2.2.1 Place Identity Concept: Between Being and Becoming

Sense of Being of Place Identity

The initial conception of identity is ontologically considered as existing or being (Heidegger, 1968). According to this concept, identity cannot be deduced from any higher concepts, and also cannot be represented by any lower concepts. In terms of place identity, the concept is deeply rooted in the ground or location and sees place as an experience that is precognitive with added meanings, and which ignores social constructions of place (Dovey, 2010). Massey (in Dovey, 2010: 5) adds that this concept is often singular, fixed, fragile and static, that it is interpreted as a bounded enclosed space which is defined and which cuts across the binary division between subject and object.

Thus, the basic thought behind the sense of being is that identity cannot be changed and cannot be rejected for other external influences or stabilising conditions such as purity, picturesqueness, or local spirit, (Jive and Larkham, 2003) within the genius loci (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Furthermore, the conception of being refers to the logic of identity which ends within an inner dialectic of selfhood (Hall, 2000: 42). In contrast, for Dovey (2008: 50); (2010: 4), identity of place is produced by practices which cannot ignore social constructions of place. Therefore, it is necessary to move on to another concept which can support social dynamism.

Emerging sense of becoming as a continual process

The conception of being is mostly based on collective memory of experienced places and spaces, but not as flows. The concept, in turn, implies a state of being fixed and static and being against outsiders, establishing a sense of a place being essentially closed (Massey, 1994: 135). In contrast, the sense of becoming is a process that gives discretion for new spatial character, for the production and performance of new identities and cultures in everyday life (Dovey, 2008: 57), and for the inevitable reaction (Massey, 1994: 136). Thus, identity is never completed, never finished, and is always in the process of reconstruction (Hall, 2000: 47). For Massey (1994: 169), the most important aspect of place identity is that it is in part constructed out of positive interactions with other places. Therefore, the sense of becoming, as a conception of place identity, can be used to support the dynamic changes of real life, rather than the conception of being.

Massey (1994: 137) argues that, if people have been recognised in multiple identities, then the same point can be made of a place. For Massey (1994: 120), the conception of place identity is an articulation of social relations, the nets of which have, over time, been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed. This relationship is also constituted through social phenomena themselves. The conception, then, becomes open, outward-looking, defined by multiple identities and histories; its character comes from connections and interactions rather than original resources and enclosed boundaries. Dovey (2010: 10) affirms that it is necessary to move from recognising identity of place as essentially closed and stabilised to seeing it as an open concept in the sense of becoming.

The conception of place identity can also be seen as a continual process. Because it is continuously reformed, place is never finished. Rather, its identity can be reproduced through practices instead of being pre-given; it valorises routes rather than roots, journey rather than home, flows rather than stasis. Furthermore, Massey (1994: 123) points out that a place must be seen as absolutely not static and in no way relates to the 'Heideggerian' view of space/place as being. For Dovey (2008: 57), the conception, in the sense of a continual process, can accept difference and be different within a place where there is a capacity to limit identity formation, while differences within places open up new possibilities. When open to new possibilities, the changes of place can generate new forms of authority and authorship in everyday life which is unstable or nomadic. Thus, the place can be identified as an unfixed and unfinished process. This is the sense of becoming conception of place.

'... to rethink conception of place and to move on from the views of place as essentially closed and stabilizing ... to think the idea of place and place identity without the suffocating ideal of place as closed or finished. The places are lived and embodied; they are structured, ordered, transformed, infiltrated and negotiated; they are symbolised, packaged and marketed ... constructed from the contingencies of site and society' (Dovey, 2010: 11).

Place Identity in Space of Flows

Analyses of society transformation have also been developed by Manuel Castells. Castells (2000: 442) argues that society is constructed around flows. Flows are expressions of the processes which dominate social practices and which are embedded in dominant social structures, performing a strategic role in shaping symbolic life. The theory of the space of flows emerges from the implicit assumption that societies are asymmetrically organised around dominant interests specific to each social structure, and that they are constructed around flows. For Castells (2000: 445), space of flows is also the material organisation of time-sharing social practices. It is a spatial form characteristic of social practices that dominate and shape social networks. As a material form, space of flows can support dominant processes and functions in an informational society that exercise directional functions around restoring symbolic meaning where unconscious production is the result of conscious decisions (Ballantyne and Smith, 2012: 35). In the context of social transformation, spatial transformation such as architecture can be identified as an expression of society (Castells, 2004: 83).

Architecture in space of flows involves the transformation of social relations that are used to restore symbolic meaning through forms of architectural intervention. This engagement can be described as the condition of unconscious production that results from conscious decisions about other things (Ballantyne and Smith, 2012: 35); this provides potential for the new to emerge in both architecture and the social realm (Loo, 2012: 119). The flows in architecture are found in a state of constant fluctuation as metaphorical flows that constitute the uncertain, unpredictable and disruptive milieu (Tawa, 2012: 217). A sense of flows can also be identified as fluxional in architecture. The language of architecture emerges through the energy of flows in everyday life, and is constructed in specific locations (Sinuraibhan, 2012: 142), demonstrating how the force of change can be directed through networks with differentiated structures (Mortenbock and Mooshamer, 2012: 119). Therefore, architecture is seen as the systematic basis for re-conceptualising intensive agency as emergent in the

concrete empirical domain of extensity. Thus, architecture tends to be propositional or a pre-established realm of potential from which action flows (Loo, 2012: 207).

2.2.2 Plan of Becoming

'Finally, becoming is not an evolution, at least not an evolution by descent and filiation. Becoming produces nothing by filiation; all filiation is imaginary. Becoming is always of a different order than filiation. It concerns alliance' (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 263).

Massey (in Dovey, 2008: 50) argues that place is a product of interrelationships which are dynamic and open to a future where there can be no claim of essential meaning or authenticity based on a pre-given identity. For Dovey (2008: 7), this is recognised as a plan of becoming that can be used to frame how identities are formed and change, and where place can be understood as an assemblage which encompasses new conceptions of the relations of form to everyday life. De Landa (2010: 3) affirms that theory of assemblage, which was created by Gilles Deleuze can be applied to a wide variety of whole social realms and extended as an interpersonal network between parts or components that cannot be reduced in either direction or lose its individuality. The individuality of parts or components emerges from the interactions between them, which refers to any entity that is singular, unique and at the same level. Relationships within the network, parts or components retain their autonomy or individuality. In this way, the parts can be detached from one whole and plugged into another, thereby entering a new interaction. In short, the assemblage can be formed by two concepts; emergent properties, and relations to the exterior.

Deleuze and Guattari (2004: 554) stated that there are two concrete conditions of the assemblages. The first is to discover what territoriality they envelope, and the other is constituted by the line of deterritorialisation. De Landa (2010: 12-14) emphasises that the assemblage is parameterised within two aspects: the degree of territorialisation and of deterritorialisation, which refers not only to spatial boundaries, but also to the homogeneity of its components and the degree of coding and decoding in terms of the role played. Deleuze and Guattari (2004: 227) also add in relation to mutual immanence that no one of the social fields is transcendent; rather, immanence refers to a state in which each of the parts or a component works within the other. For Ballantyne (2007: 29), the immanent properties which inhere and settle within things might require special circumstances to become apparent.

Most social assemblages are composed of parts that come into existence after the whole has emerged. As they both constrain and enable the parts (De Landa, 2010: 12), assemblages can be used to frame the complexities of place and the practices of urban transformation (Dovey, 2010: 13). Therefore, an assemblage is more than a resource; indeed, it can also act as a limiting factor for its components. As Deleuze and Parnet (2002: 69) state: *'What is assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaison, relation between them, across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus the assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning; it is a symbiosis, sympathy. It is never filiation, lines of descent, but contagious, epidemics, the wind'*.

2.3 Culture: Dismantling the Conception

Culture is a broad and abstract domain. To understand culture, Kent (1990: 10) suggests dismantling the concept of culture into specific levels of component or expression that are observable. In this sense, for Barker (2002: 222), culture is seen as *'a mobile signifier that enables distinct ways of talking about human activity that stress divergent uses and purposes'*. From this perspective, culture can be used to promote social changes and to improve the human condition. Culture *'may be utilised for a variety of purposes'* (Barker, 2002: 84), and can be linked with the *'process of social negotiation and its symbolisms'* (Dunbar et al., 1999: 3).

Culture is part of a constantly dynamic process as it is not fixed but negotiated (Edensor, 2002: 17). This is seen as a product of interactions, relationships and interconnections that serve as *'constellations of temporary coherence of knots in the field of social space'* (Barker, 2002: 222). Thus, culture emerges from a dynamic dialogue that can be concluded as a process of becoming (Edensor, 2002: vii). The process follows a *'different order than filiation, but concerns alliance'* (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 263). Barker (2002: 74) affirms that *'cultures are not pure, authentic and locally bounded; rather, they are to be thought of as syncretic and hybridised products of interactions across space'*.

In terms of identity, Hall (in Barker, 2002: 75) highlights that *'culture identities are cross-cut deep internal divisions and differences, and unified only through the exercise of differences in forms'*. For this reason, Barker (2002: 76) suggests the conception of hybridity, emphasising that this can accommodate the *'cultural mixing and emergence of new forms of identity'*, and can also *'capture cultural change or stabilisation of cultural categories'*. In this case, there can be no purity in cultural practices and belonging to only a certain place. The conception of diaspora can also be used to explain that culture is identified as routes rather than roots. For Barker (2002: 147), *'diaspora space as a conceptual category is inhibited not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous'*. In this sense, purity in culture is understood to be not static or locally bounded, but dynamic, as a product of interactions across spaces where people have interactions with one another in everyday discourse (Lovell, 1998: 5). Therefore, it is necessary to understand culture as a process. As Hutcheon (1999: 188) points out *'culture is a human invention, and can be altered by humans so that it better serves the needs of the total group'*.

2.3.1 Culture: the Production and Circulation of Everyday Practices

According to Bourdieu (in Dovey, 2010: 35), *'every kind of capital tends to function as symbolic capital'*. Symbolic capital can be identified in types of capital such as economic, cultural and social when they have acquired legitimation. Therefore, symbolic capital can be used to display a form of honour such as a particular taste that *'accumulates in object and individual'*. Thus, as a form of legitimation and honour, culture is also recognised as both symbolic capital and cultural capital.

Dovey (2008: 34) points out that cultural capital can be identified as *'the accumulation of manners, credentials, knowledge and skills, acquired through education and upbringing'*. Then, cultural capital is seen as a form of presence that can be recognised through embodiment, objectification, and institutionalisation. Bourdieu (1986) affirms that embodied cultural capital is part of habitus, which is defined as the primary structuring-structure bearing upon individuals that is acquired through activities and experiences of everyday life. The habitus also

can be identified through lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectations. However, for Dovey (2008: 40), the objectification of cultural capital is not similar to habitus. He emphasises that objectification can be seen *'in the capacity to choose and consume'* something such as buildings. Edensor (2002: 19) adds that it is seen as institutionalisation, which is identified in two ways: *'as the organisation of everyday life, and solidification of everyday practical knowledge and values'*. As a sense of organisation, institutionalised cultural capital is defined through educational institutions (Dovey, 2010: 35), and all institutions are created to accommodate the whole way of life of people (Hutcheon, 1999: 6). To achieve a sense of solidification, institutionalised cultural capital can be recognised through inter-subjective communication, which is *'when people share similar habits, assumptions and routines, and when a reflexive sense evolves that this is a recognisable shared pattern'* (Edensor, 2002: 19).

It is also necessary to identify culture as a signifying system that is understood through its representation and practice in daily life (Barker, 2002: 68). This is supported by Delanty (2010: 24), who sees culture *'as variable as opposed to static: negotiated and contested'*. Barker (2002: 85) points out that *'culture is less a matter of location, but products of interactions across space that are thought of as carving routes rather than possessing roots'*. In this sense, culture is seen as the continual production of meaningful practice or performance in a global context. Massey (1994: 123) contests it is necessary to deliver cultural forms in the search for the essential contingency of universality. Cohen (2001: 39) also emphasises that culture can be descriptive and interpretive. Therefore, he suggests that culture can be used, and appropriately and properly applied by others. All of the above terms related to culture imply that culture may be identified with a sense of the local, but that it also contains a sense of the global.

In terms of architecture, cultural production is as part of symbolic capital and also as symbolic domination. Bourdieu (in Dovey, 2008: 41) points out that architecture is defined *'in terms of an opposition between a popular mass culture and an esoteric avant-garde ... for mass consumption which sustains the authority of those who already possess it'*. Vale (2008: 336) asserts that architecture is a subset of cultural production that can be used to deliver particular legitimacy, such as a sense of unity in a plural society. He argues that *'architecture becomes a mechanism for asserting the supremacy of the dominant culture ... where this dominance is challenged'*, while Dovey (2008: 12) points out that architecture, in the context of cultural production, is seen *'as the threat of force to secure compliance and may be construed as a latent kind of force'*. Thus, built forms of architecture can deliver a kind of intimidation, manipulation and seduction. Dovey (2008: 12) adds that architecture can frame dominant actions as desire and self-identity through its sophisticated representation of forms while blocking other possibilities.

2.3.2 Culture as A Way of Life

As a very broad and multi-interpretive concept, culture can be identified according to various definitions and terms. One such definition categorises culture into high culture and ordinary culture. High culture is posited as an ideology. In this sense, high culture is identified in terms of ideas, meaning and practice that provide the main guidance for life. Barker (2002: 225) points out that in high culture, the ideology is *'understood as maps of cultural significance that are not separate from the practical activities of life'*. Thus, the ideology in high culture is assumed to be attached to a particular location and is possessed with particular roots.

Conversely, ordinary culture is seen as encapsulating a whole way of life, and is assumed to be *'continually recreated by people through their social interaction'* (Cohen, 2001: 17). In this way, ordinary culture can lead people to extract meaning from social behaviour. William (in Barker, 2002: 68) emphasises that as wholes and distinctive way of life, culture is constituted by meanings and practices of ordinary people. He suggests that ordinary culture is identified as an active attempt to construct shared meaningful practices. This is supported by Barker (2002: 69), who sees ordinary culture as production from below. He points out that ordinary culture is not only an active attempt to share meaning in forms, but is also a kind of resistance to high culture. As he argues, culture is ordinary *'because it recouped the meaningful practices of the popular as valuable in the face of high culture disdain'*. Ordinary culture is seen as more suitable in combination with multi-culture in order to rearrange social formation, and is also understood to represent social relations through signs, the use of symbols and the maintenance of a sense of cultural coherence (Barker, 2002: 78). Therefore, ordinary culture can encapsulate a whole way of life and represent social relations. Moreover, for Dunbar *et al.* (1999: 6), a sense of cultural coherence in multicultural society can be acquired in three ways: through communal rituals, cooperation among groups, and symbols and representation.

Communal rituals, according to Dunbar *et al.* (1999: 6), serve mainly to generate both allegiance and coalition strategies at a group-level. He emphasises that they not only appear as *'mechanisms designed to control free-riders'*; but also generate cultural coherence. In terms of cultural coherence, Cohen (2001: 51) adds that it is necessary to cultivate a sense of commonality, which is needed to heighten consciousness in multiculturalism through a repertoire of symbols and communal rituals that can provide *'both context and medium for the affirmation of a society's fundamental principles'*. In this sense, communal rituals can be used to *'synchronise enactments of everyday life'* and are essential in seeking a sense of identity (Edensor, 2002: 96).

Key and Aiello (1999: 15) argue that cooperation is a fundamental characteristic of social life. It is seen as a way of compromising and coordinating group members in order to maintain cohesion between them, as well as a means *'to establish and maintain cooperative alliance with other group members'*. For Chase (1999: 38), cooperation in multicultural society is similar to altruism, which can be identified as a way to survive and reproduce by making *'a certain sacrifice for another if in the long run the other will reciprocate'*. However, altruism is not easy a thing to do, particularly in a large society. This is due to the fact that it needs a strong symbolic culture and also because in a *'large population and high mobility most encourage cheating and most discourage cooperation'*. Thus, a sense of mutual respect becomes a necessity, not only to secure cooperation and altruism, but also to secure both the rights and obligations of shared-groups.

Symbols are social inventions and therefore become cultural phenomena. Symbols are not merely signs that represent something else, but also refer to associations, resemblances and arbitrary conventions. As Chase (1999: 37) argues, symbols in cultural phenomena can be classified into two groups; symbolic reference and symbolic culture. Symbolic reference is defined as referring to things: concept, and relationships between signs. Symbolic culture can be seen as an extension of symbol beyond reference. In this sense, symbolic culture can be recognised as providing and justifying cultural imperative, and can also be used as social enforcement and emotional reinforcement.

2.3.3 Cultural Production and Power

Foucault (2000) noted that power can be used to acquire a sense of discipline and determination. He stresses that power is productive and enabling. As Barker (2002: 177) emphasises, power is defined *'as a force that individuals or groups deploy to achieve their aims or interest the will of others'*. For Dovey (2008: 12); using power *'to ensure the compliance of the other with one's will'* is known as 'power over'. The concept of power over in society can be identified in three forms; force, coercion, and authority. Power can also relate to authenticity which is acquired through flows of desire and the process of becoming. Therefore, to view *'desire as the basis of power is to see it as positive, productive and as operating at a micro-political level'* (Dovey, 2010: 11). For Barker (2002: 25), power can be seen not only as a form of material force in society, but also as a dominant intellectual force. According to this view, any issues of cultural representations can be concluded as political because *'they play of power that is intrinsic to question of representation enable some kinds of knowledge and identities to exist while denying that to others'*. Thus, this is not only related to acknowledgement of the culture, but is also about production and circulation of the symbolic meanings (Barker, 2002: 178).

In terms of identity, Vale (2008: 53) argues that groups or elites who have power obviously can use this power in cultural production to express a particular symbolic identity. It can be traced from six kinds of sources: assumption of blood ties, race, language, region, religion, and customs. In this case, the rhetoric of the symbol may be employed to generate a sense of unity, but the manner in which the symbols are chosen is still found to represent a particular group or elite which holds the power. As Vale (2008: 55) emphasises, this is an attempt to *'manipulate group-based ties to reformulate them in ways that best serve the interest of those powers'*. Using power to construct identity, is not only seen as a subjective self-concept or social role, but can also be identified as the subject of a dictate and artificial representation of power. For Brubaker (2004: 9), this attempt can be concluded as the reification of a social process that is part of an intellectual bad habit and which stores potential conflict.

2.4 Architecture: As Socially Constructed

2.4.1 Architecture and Flows: A Contextual Language Today

'Architecture involves not just the provision of shelter from the elements, but the creation of a social and symbolic space – a space which both mirrors and moulds the world view of its creators and inhabitants' (Waterson, 1997: xv).

Mumford (1940: 403) argues that architectural form plays an important role as a symbol of new social transformation. As well as being tangible and visible, *'architecture reflects and focuses such a wide variety of social facts'*. In this way, architecture is seen as a guide in bettering and transformation that can be used to respond to personal or social needs. As Jencks (1988: 178) points out, architecture represents not only facts and ideas, but also the

values of society. Therefore, social transformation can be identified as the point where architecture becomes a subject to convey hopes and ideas into visible things. Social transformation is seen as flows which are expressions of processes which dominate social practices (Castells, 2000: 442). This can be embedded into dominant social structures as a strategic role in shaping symbolic life through spatial form characteristics such as architecture. Thus, architecture in the space of flow is seen as involvement in a process of social transformation, and is also identified as a form of architectural intervention in social relations.

In the flows, architecture can connect symbols of harmony with context. This is seen where traditions and architecture are developed, particularly in connection with traditional architecture. It is assumed to be the best example of architecture which brings harmony to the lives of people, in cultural and environmental terms (Vellinga, 2013: 578). For Abel (2000: 83), this connection between architecture and tradition aims *'to extend knowledge or architecture as a form of culture'*, while Dovey (2008: 127) argues that contextual dominance such as localism can also be seen as a contradiction in architecture. Due to its dominance, this symbol can potentially lead to contestation in the context of a city. Symbols tend to be distinguished and protected as investments to maximise their role in order to maintain their symbolic capital. In turn, they are used as an image of timeless fashion in architecture. However, although modern movements impact the continuity of traditional architecture (Cengizkan, 1999: 17), this does not mean traditional architecture must remain or be instated as the most dominant architecture. Rigid dichotomies between traditional and contemporary architecture should be avoided. In this regard, traditional architecture is not merely rooted in the local, tradition and place, but also becomes a repository of architecture which is valuable in terms of the development of a sense of the contemporary (Vellinga, 2013: 570). As a contextual language, it is no more than a metaphor which can speak of specific relations or particular attributes (Abel, 2000: 81). Therefore, architecture needs to be aligned with flows in the everyday lives of society. As Castells (2004: 90) argues *'restoring symbolic meaning is a most fundamental task in a metropolitan world ... architecture of all kinds must be called to rescue in order to recreate symbolic meaning in the metropolitan region marking places in the space of flows.'*

2.4.2 Architecture: A Representation of Social Transformation

Representation is identified as a way of communicating a message. In architecture, it can be used to mediate social relations and to solve social issues (Dovey, 2010: 10). For Olsen (2012: 72), as a form of communication, representation can be identified in four aspects: discourse, narrative, text, and meaning. Thus, discourse can be understood as a way of conveying particular social norms and of making assumptions which are based thereon. Narrative is used as an extension of discourse to communicate these norms and assumptions while text is a more specific way of communicating symbols or movements. Finally, the term 'meaning' is not only used as a means of communication, but also as a way of carrying certain messages from the author. Therefore, meaning becomes the most contested term in the area of representation.

In terms of communication, Brubaker (2004: 78) sees two kinds of representation: public representation and mental representation. Public representation can be embodied in text, talk, buildings, monuments and other media that are used to express and give more tangible or visible forms of communication. Mental representation is from a cognitive perspective and

deals with social and mental processes of representation such as identity of place, which can be identified as a result of mental images or visual representations in the minds of individuals (Wills, 2007: 157). According to Dovey (2008: 2), architecture can be seen as a means of communication in order to frame urban life, and its impact is assumed as representative of both public and mental representations that construct desire, joy, fear and identity. In this sense, the representation of architecture is a social construction.

For Brubaker (2004: 80), the representation of social constructs through architecture is more easily communicated, transmitted, and remembered. As a result of widely shared-communication, this form of representation can be used to deliver terms and interests such as power, politics, the social realm, ethnicity, or a cultural agenda. Dovey (2008: 57) emphasises that the representation of power through architecture is never neutral in order to establish social relations and make new realities. Due to the fact that it does not belong to individuals, power in architecture is used to express particular purposes, such as the pursuit of a group's interests or for collective social representation. As Barker (2002: 226) argues *'representation ... is the process whereby signifying practices appear to stand for or depict another object or practice in the real world. Representation gives meaning to material objects and social practices which are brought into view and made intelligible to us'*

2.4.3 Regionalism in Architecture

Regionalism in architecture can be identified as an attempt to express and confirm a relationship between the past and present of certain places through forms of architecture. Particularly in developing countries, regionalism is seen as a way of seeking or enhancing identity (Abel, 2000: 163). In general, regionalism is used to express particular things such as cognitive mapping, symbolic function and localism. As a means of cognitive mapping, regionalism expresses social activity and formal attributes that are used to generate relations between formal character of place and the mental image of people (Lynch, 1960). For Abel (2000: 141), regionalism becomes a symbolic function which is used in the formation of personal and social identities, including architectural identity through style, form and character. Jencks (1988: 112) also argues that regionalism in architecture can be seen as a reaction in order to make closer relations within the context, cultural meaning, and against outsider dominance. In turn, this leads to localism, whether through creating new boundaries, political and cultural decisions, or denial of certain historical facts. As Frers and Meier (2007: 175) highlight, regionalism in architecture can also be seen as *'semiotics of the visual, how people symbolise their identity and culture in surroundings'*.

Regional architecture also contains several problems, one of which concerns essence. It is seen that regional architecture has a specific essence which must be used in both discourse and practice. In this way, regional architecture is subject to particular limitations (Abel, 2000: 144). This assumption can generate another implication: rejection of either a previous dominant form of architecture or of modernism. In turn, regional architecture tends to promote traditional or local architecture which is, again, assumed to be the most suitable for the regional context. From this point of view, traditional architecture is assumed to be capable of linking built forms and socio-cultural life. As Massey (1994: 119) highlights, localism in architecture can be seen as a kind of particularism, and often an essentialism, and a selfishness which refused *'to consider the supposedly greater good of some (implicitly or explicitly) supposed universal'*. Moreover, Edensor (2002: 103) views regional or local architecture as

decorative and as a vehicle for status. However, traditional architecture is not the ultimate solution to regionalism. Watson and Bentley (2007: 182) assert that today's regional architecture does not merely comprise homogeneous but also heterogeneous socio-cultural life. In this multicultural life, each group can claim and hold strong emotion and perceptions of what constitutes the traditional. In turn, this becomes a potential source of conflict not only in architecture, but also between different groups. Furthermore, as it is built and developed in a rural environment, traditional architecture needs a serious adjustment to meet today's demands, particularly in its application to an urban context, as rural and urban character is different (Abel, 2000: 203). Therefore, it is necessary to look at alternative solutions for regional architecture that can handle social complexity in a more flexible, acceptable and rational way.

Thus, regional architecture can be conceptualised in two ways. Firstly, it becomes open and accepts outside influences which can help its development. Abel (2000: 169) suggests putting regional architecture into *'a creative process of cultural cross-fertilisation and localisation of imported models, rather than in the purified identities associated with the usual reference'*. Jencks (1988:322) supports this cross-cultural view due to the fact that a blend between regional and 'outsider' architecture has happened in the past, and will also likely happen in the future, and produced a unique architectural phenomenon. However, it is also important to maintain local connections between the architecture and socio-cultural life, since regional architecture can be used to promote localism, whether in the architecture itself or in the social life that is demanded by locals. This raises more challenges for regional architecture today, particularly in relation to identity of place and contemporary sense. As Watson and Bentley (2007: 192) point out, this challenge will produce *'a new type of place identity which would be rooted in the past but be modern, progressive and forward looking'*.

2.5 Urban Society

2.5.1 Community, Society and Urbanisation

The words 'community' and 'society' are often confused in use and meaning. Community is mostly used to refer to particular people or groups. In contrast, society is much more commonly used to describe general classes of people or groups. According to Delanty (2010: 21), the main difference between community and society can be found in their expression of social relationships. These days, the difference is used to highlight particular meanings in order to distinguish the modernism view. However, both community and society can indicate emotional experiences.

For Cohen (2001: 12), community refers simultaneously to both similarity and difference. Community is used to express people or groups that have something in common and also to distinguish them from others. According to this view, community is not construed in terms of locality, but in having a sense of primacy of belonging. In certain places, community is associated with rights, obligations and sanctions as an expression of the greater responsiveness of the belonging. In this way, besides home, people or groups can obtain the most fundamental and substantial experience of social life from their community (table 2.01).

As Delanty (2010: 18) emphasises, community becomes the basis for moral entity, the acquisition of traditional values and forms of social organisation. Moreover, community becomes a medium for learning and obtaining culture (Cohen, 2001: 15). Thus, community is assumed to be a force which determines the behaviour of people or groups. Therefore, as Massey (1994: 163) affirms, community can be a stable basis for the identity of people, groups or place.

As well as community, society is also seen as a medium to encapsulate spiritual insights and values in order to establish relations with tradition and culture. However, for Barker (2002: 213), society is more related to associative emotional thinking. As a result, society is assumed to have less-value than community (Delanty, 2010: 18), and society is also constructed as a simplification of the relationships between people or groups within the society (Cohen, 2001: 29). In urban society with multiple contexts, these relationships are built by similar interests that are clearly demarcated by population, function and social mobility. Therefore, society is more often founded upon a sense of solidarity and interdependence.

Today, the boundaries between community and society are more blurred. Massey (1994: 171) points out that modern social interaction, whether within a community or society tries to maintain a balance between being internally focused and externally connected. In turn, the interaction has shifted dramatically. On the one hand, modern community aims to preserve traditions and conserve a way of life. As Cohen (2001: 25) affirms, community provides *'a reasonable degree of potential self-sufficiency'*. This implies that modern community also seeks solidarity and equality, which can be assumed as opposing traditional values. Thus, community is more modest and can become the basis of social integration. This can be seen as a way of retaining cohesive entities within the community, and of rejecting the ways of modern society at the same time (Delanty, 2010: 23). On the other hand, modern society assumes community to be residual of old social values which are now obsolescent. Society also needs more than solidarity and interdependence; it requires re-socialisation. This implies that society requires stronger ties of obligation, wider cooperation, and more conscious action, as is characteristic of community (Delanty, 2010: 30). Therefore, the meaning of today's community or society becomes more confusing. In this case, Cohen (2001: 12) suggests that they should not to be understood in the sense of lexical meaning, but in terms of usage as a point of reference in a particular situation and arena. As (Delanty, 2010: 34) argues *'community is not rigid, but fluid and open to change. Community is not a compelling moral structure that determines behaviours, but is a resource from which people may draw'*

Table 2.01 Comparison between Community and Society

Community	Society
More rooted in locality and is natural	More a rational, 'mental' product, sustained by relation of exchange.
Expressed in family life in concord, in rural village life in folkways, town life in religion.	Expressed in city life in convention, in national life in legislation, and in cosmopolitan life in public opinion
Shaped by the conflict of town and countryside Seen as the natural habitus of the individual	Dichotomy of society and the state More conscious effort and rational forms of action
Encompasses the social and the cultural	Primary focus on social relations

Source: Delanty (2010: 22)

2.5.2. Social Changes: A Symbolic Expression of Modern Society

Articulating Social Formation

Cohen (2001: 24) argues that society is established by individuals who have differences. These differences become the basis of their interactions in order to maintain their relationship as a whole. This affects society, which in turn must be changed. For Delanty (2010: 26), a civic morality which is articulated by citizenship becomes a unifier in modern society. This can be identified as solidarity among citizens and is expressed as an abstract collective representation. In contrast, habitus is seen as contributing to social change (Bourdieu, 1986). Habitus can be defined as a personal ideology which is built from childhood as knowing the world and as a set of dispositions upon which to act. Although mostly seen as a reason not to change, habitus motivates the desire for social space to be translated into tangible space with less distortion. Dovey (2010: 33) adds that *'habitus is a social world subject to constant change'* in a revolutionary way. Thus, habitus can be understood as making a contribution to changes within society.

As it is developed in social formation, society can be seen as an expression of a particular ideology or culture. As Barker (2002: 79) argues, society is *'always constituted by a set of complex practices'* in specific ways which are articulated at different levels or in different practices. Hall (1995: 599) adds that modern society is defined by extensive, rapid and continuous change. This implies that social practices in society are aligned, reformed and examined by the current situation. He emphasises that modern society is *'constantly being de-centred or dislocated by force outside'*, meaning that there are external influences on society. In turn, society can alter its character which is influenced not only by a single, internal ideology or culture, but also by its relationships with others. Thus, society can be defined its differences.

Society can also be changed by community, although this does not apply to a particular community which preserves the past. As Delanty (2010: 27) states, *'community was a primary source of strength for all kinds of societies'*. This implies that it is necessary to identify a new kind of community which is based on a sense of belonging. Belonging in this case is identified as being unstable, fluid, and open (Delanty, 2010: 151). Hence, community can contribute to social change. However, there are other consequences of changes to society. One of these can be drawn from the symbolic expression of community. According to Cohen (2001: 94), blurring or weakening of community boundaries is one of these consequences. This can be interpreted as a decreasing incidence of symbolic performance from the community. Another consequence of social change is emerging groupism. Groupism can be as an attempt to seek discretion in particular bound, and a tendency to become a basic constituent at the expense of individualism and cultural diversity. As Brubaker (2004: 7) points out, groups are a fundamental aspect of social life in terms of collective action, multiculturalism, and cultural identity. In this sense, groupism is used to force a particular pattern of the group onto others.

In Between: Transition and Transformation

Delanty (2010: 31) points out that liminality can be addressed in the process of social interaction when a society or group proclaims its collective identity, and this is seen as an expression of symbolic renewal or re-socialisation. Thomassen (2009: 16) argues that liminality

is defined as the condition of being on a threshold or at the beginning of a process, and also refers to any betwixt and between situation of modern society. Liminality can be applied to three types of subjects: individuals, social, and the whole of society. Liminality can also be found in the temporal dimensions of moment, period, and epoch. In terms of the spatial dimension, liminality can be related to a specific place, area or zone, and country.

According to Szokolczai (2009: 155), there are two central themes of liminality: transition and transformation. Transition is seen as a short and temporary situation. This can be recognised as a situation in which a solution is sought with an escalating process of imitation. For Thomassen (2006: 322), transition in liminality can be used to mark status in order to explore the basic character of an individual or society and this can be done in three steps: separation, liminal, and reintegration. Transformation in liminality is therefore recognised as capturing active aspects of a situation (Szokolczai, 2009: 167). Transformation is not a single process, but a series which needs the existence of something to be transformed.

The concept of liminality is seen as relevant to modern society. Because liminality can capture possibilities of a novel configuration of ideas, reality and relations may arise in social interaction (Shure, 2005; Thomassen, 2009). In this regard, liminality does not aim to seek a precise outcome, but a contingency. Therefore, social interactions in modern society are open to being carried in different directions. Thus, liminality does not only affect society, but also influences individuals in society through their reactions to liminal experiences. In turn, liminality can shape the individual (Thomassen, 2009: 16). This is why the concept of liminality is important in processing re-socialisation in modern, urban society.

2.5.3 Multiculturalism in Urban Society

Delanty (2010: 75) argues that multiculturalism is drawn from the political community and is a reflection of cultural differences, seeking tolerance and knowledge of other cultures. It can be further defined as an extension of liberal tolerance and as an expression of society. Tolerance is needed when there are cultures that need to adjust to a dominant culture. This is more often seen as merely the management of cultural diversity within an established structure. Hutcheon (1999: 193) adds that tolerance in multiculturalism is recognised as mutual respect which demands interaction and a willingness to learn from each other. It also requires fewer constraints between established communities and new incomers. Thus, any potential to jeopardise multiculturalism, such as isolation, separation and stagnation can be avoided. In turn, a multicultural society can develop a self-organising system which can manage complex behaviour and social boundaries (Barth, 1998: 11). As an expression, multiculturalism is seen as a new pattern of consumption which is formed by ethnic or cultural policy. However, as it promotes cultural differences, this expression can lead to contestation. Hence, Brubaker (2004: 16) points out that, once a frame is established, interpretive framing will lead to conflicts and contestations.

For Hutcheon (1999: 184), multiculturalism can be interpreted as the legitimisation of the new ethnic varieties in modern society. This can be seen as jeopardising multiculturalism due to several reasons, such as the preclusion of interactive cultural life, restriction of external influence, and limitation of any resources which are brought by incomers. However, as Brubaker (2004: 4) points out, today's modern society is less about ethnic matters, but relates more to identification, self-understanding, commonality and connectedness. Thus,

multicultural society becomes a significant aspect of place or city. As Liggett (2007: 12) asserts, making a good city is not merely about physical matters, but is inseparable from making a good society and assembling coherent boundaries.

2.6 Identity

2.6.1 Recognising Identity: A Definition

'The term identity is used to highlight non-instrumental modes of action; to focus on self-understanding; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of selfhood; to deny that such core foundational aspects exist; to highlight the procession, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of self, a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse that are contingently activated in differing contexts' (Brubaker, 2004: 35).

There are various definitions of identity. One of them is recognised as the core aspect of selfhood; the fundamental condition of social being for the individual or collective that is used to both highlight and reject notions of fundamental sameness. Identity is a non-fixed entity with an emotionally charged description in discursive practice (Barker, 2002: 106) which is dominated by historical origins and political lineaments (Edensor, 2002: 1), as well as a sense of belonging (Wills, 2007: 157). Identity has been described in a wide range of works and fields. Therefore, it is necessary to define the basic concept of identity. To that end, Hall (1996: 597) proposed three conceptions of identity. The first is the enlightenment subject conception, which is based on the centred, a personal identity as the inner core or essence which is fixed and stable.

The second concept of identity is related to interactions between the self and society, and the self is formed and modified by cultural worlds (Hall, 1996: 597). According to this concept, the self becomes fragmented as it is mediated by values, meanings and symbols of culture. The interaction can be identified as connecting the emotional inside of the self with the discursive outside. In other words, identity is understood as a description of ourselves in an emotional commitment. As Barker (2002: 225) affirms, identity is social in character as both self-description and social ascription.

The last concept of identity is defined as a post-modern subject which is historically defined without fixed, essential, or permanent identity (Hall, 1996: 598). Identity, according to this conception, can therefore be identified as a means of representation within a cultural system. Therefore, the subject of identity is assumed to have different identities at different times. Identity represents the process of becoming, without essence, that is continually being built from points of similarity and difference within the vectors of resemblance and distinction (Barker, 2002: 225), and which is continually reproduced to ensure fixity (Edensor, 2002: 29).

Brubaker (2004: 33) highlights the importance of knowing how to use identity. Firstly, identity can be used as a basis for political action. In this respect, identity is seen as the actions of an individual or collective that is based on particularistic self-understanding. Secondly, identity is understood as a specifically collective phenomenon. This implies that identity is used as fundamental and consequential of collective action. Thirdly, it is defined as being used as a fundamental condition of social being. Identity is also known as a collective self-understanding, solidarity, or group-ness in collective action. Finally, it can be used to express an evanescent product of multiple and competing discourse.

To understand identity in social life, Brubaker (2004: 33) highlights some key points of significance. As a specifically collective phenomenon, identity becomes fundamental, consequential and a core aspect of the social being of a group or category. Identity can be seen as a basis and also a product of social or political action within particularistic self-understandings that can be used for collective action. It is defined as a product of multiple and competing discourses and is unstable, multiple, fluctuating and fragmented in its contemporary nature. Furthermore, Brubaker (2004: 41) suggests three ways to understand the phenomenon of identity. The first is by means of identification and categorisation to specify the agents that necessarily result in internal sameness, distinctiveness, and bounded group-ness such as relations, categories and self-identification. The second way to understand identity is through self-understanding and social location; the ways in which individual and collective action can be governed by particularistic understandings of self and social location, such as self-representation and self-identification. The last thing about identity in social life is commonality, connectedness, and group-ness; it is often based on race, religion, ethnicity, nationalism, and other collective identities laden with a sense of belonging to a distinctive and bounded group.

In order to understand identity of place, Massey (1994: 121) argues that, since various social groups are living in the same place, identity will be found in multiple senses. Identity is produced by these groups and can be differently located in complex social relations. In this respect, social relations are seen as something full of power and meaning. Identity is not only multiple, in social relations of place it can also be varied over time. In turn, identity of place is changeable as a matter of contestation. Therefore, identity of place is defined through interconnectedness and the recognition of social relations which embrace personal and collective identity as a way of life in that place. Thus, the definition of identity must be conceptualised in a diverse and plural sense. Identity is always questioned and contested through discourse of practice and rationality. As Hall (1989: 11) argues, identity should be viewed '*as a process of identification that is never absolutely stable*'.

2.6.2 Cultural Identity

'Cultural identity is continually being produced within the vectors of resemblance and distinction ... a matter not only of self-description but also of social ascription' (Barker, 2002: 225).

Barker (2002: 225) argues that cultural identity should be recognised as social in character with identifications and emotional investment. Cultural identity is consistently reconstituted as a process of becoming that is built from points of similarity and difference (Edensor, 2002: 29), and which is inextricably linked with sense of belonging in a spatial setting (Wills, 2007: 157).

According to Hall (1996: 601), cultural identity can be constructed by a changing conception of identity from the enlightenment subject into a sociological concept. This provokes a shifting from a sense of fixity and stable self to become a fragmented from a closedness to become open and unfinished. In this way, cultural identity can configure modern societies on a large scale, such as those in cities, regions and nations.

In modern society, there are common threads of cultural identity, such as discontinuity, fragmentation, rupture and dislocation. According to Hall (1996: 596), these fall into three main arguments: crisis of identity, modernity, and globalisation. Crisis of identity, or dislocating/de-centering the central structure, is defined as the decline of the old identity, thereby making space for a new identity, and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject. This process of change transforms modern societies in a social and cultural world and also shifts personal identities, which causes a loss of the stable sense of the self.

The second argument is the distinction between modernity and traditionalism. Modern society is characterised by a never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself (Harvey, 1989: 12), and is constantly dislocated by outside forces (Hall, 1996: 596). The process of modernity is also constantly influenced by incoming information and social practices that can change society's character (Giddens, 1990: 37). This concerns internal and external forces that could change modern society, as well as differences. According to Hall (1996: 600), modern societies have different elements and identities that, under certain circumstances, can be articulated together and which can open up the possibility of new articulations or forge new identities.

Another common thread of cultural identity is globalisation. Giddens (1990: 63) argues that modernity is inherently globalising, being away from the idea of a bounded system in society as a social life across time and space. According to McGraw (in Hall, 1996: 619) globalisation can be described as a process which cuts boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organisations. As a result, globalisation brings consequences to cultural identities. As Hall (1996: 619) argues, some effects of globalisation include the decline of existing identities; the growth of cultural homogenisation and the global post-modern; the resistance of local or particularistic identities by being strengthened; and the possibilities of new hybrid identities.

For Barker (2002: 128), cultural identity relates to addressing emotional commitment, which is seen as a representation of cultural constructions. Therefore, emotional commitment in cultural construction can be drawn from ethnic difference. Hall (1996: 612) adds that ethnic differences in cultural construction which are gradually fused with others become a '*powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities*'. Thus, cultural identities are seen as a matter of 'becoming', as well as reflecting shared historical experience and cultural codes for the future. As something that all people have, seek, construct, or negotiate (Brubaker, 2004: 29), cultural identity is inevitably related to embeddedness and embodiedness (Massey, 1994: 123). As Hall (2003: 226) argues '*cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture, not an essence but a positioning.*'

2.6.3 Identity of Place

Framing A Place

According to Dovey (2010: 4), the first conception of identity of place came from Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, who saw place as inseparable from being or existence. This view is known as a form of ontology which is deeply rooted in a sense of essentialism and cannot be changed. According to Heidegger (1968: 26), being or existence is an evident concept, the universality of which goes beyond that of any genus; it is thus obscure and indefinable. According to this concept, being or existence cannot be deduced from any higher concepts, and cannot be represented by any lower concepts. In its development, the concept has tended to develop within emotional experience of the place, such as aesthetic appreciation, garden history, the atmosphere of the place, neo-romantic art, a sense of place, the spirit of place and picturesqueness (Jive and Larkham, 2003). As Norberg-Schulz (1980) emphasised, places can be constituted by existing spiritual identity, known as the *genius loci*. It is used as the structure-based central direction of the place. In this way, transforming its *genius loci* means changing the identity of place.

In addition to its ontological grounds, another conception of identity of place can be defined that is based on location within spatial coordinates and a site. In both of these conceptions, places are seen as the experience or sense of place that is precognitive with added meanings in everyday life, and which ignores social constructions of place (Dovey, 2010: 4). As Massey (in Dovey, 2010: 5) noted, these views tend to construct singular, fixed and static identities of place which are bounded in defined, enclosed space. However, most places today have complex and ambiguous conditions. As they are changed and superseded, identities of place are identified by their different types of social expression and built forms. Thus, another concept of place identity can emerge through social constructs, such as the interrelationship between architecture and social change in everyday life (Webster, 2011: 2). In this way, identity of place is understood as a mental image or a representation in the mind of the individual (Wills, 2007: 157). This can be elucidated upon through the deep complicity of symbolic capital in culture and cultural reproduction in the field of transformation practice (Dovey, 2010). Barker (2002: 109) emphasises that identities of place are commonly found as representations of existing cultures that are wholly socially constructed and which are embedded, stabilised and achieved in daily life. In this respect, Dovey (2010: 6) affirms that identity of place is not formed through pre-given cultural characteristics, but is socially constructed. Therefore, place is seen as both a producer and a product of this social construct (Lefebvre, 1991: 26). As (Hall, 1996: 597) argues *'identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty.'*

Socially Constructed: Identity of Place - Becoming

Another conception of place identity is known as becoming. The 'becoming' idea can be used to frame social phenomena of places. The idea is imperceptible in abstract thought (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 277), but the basic premise here is that identities of place can be formed, changed, or constructed rather than pre-given. Ballantyne (2007: 103) argues that Deleuze and Guattari's works can be connected with many phenomena and issues of the social field. In the

pursuit of capturing social phenomena, the notion of becoming can be transformed in certain ways. Barker (2002: 128) argues that identity of place is becoming rather than existing as a stable entity. This process of becoming is constituted by representations of connections between individual emotional investments and the discursive outside. From an anti-essence perspective, identity of place can be continually formed by social and cultural practice (Barker, 2002: 255). Massey (in Dovey, 2010: 5), therefore, offers an open concept of place. According to this view, place identity can be seen as provisional, unfixed, outward-looking, and multiple identities as coming from connections and interactions rather than original resources and enclosed boundaries. A similar notion of becoming is also expressed by Edensor (2002: 24), who highlights that identity of place is always a process, not an essence, and its fluidity has coherence by continually being remade in consistent ways within social, geographical, material, temporal and spatial contexts. This process can also be seen as an internal-external dialectic between individuals and society.

One of the practical theories of choosing the process of becoming rather than being is known as territorialised assemblage. According to this theory, identity of place can be changed, constructed, unfixed, and also dynamic, by redefining the framework connections between built forms and social change (Ballantyne, 2007; Dovey, 2010). The conception of identity of place as a territorialized assemblage is defined by connections rather than essences (De Landa, 2006: 3), and these are used to understand place and the practice of place transformation, which is at once material and experiential, spatial and social (Dovey, 2010: 13). According to De Landa (2010: 3), territorialised assemblage is constituted by two concepts: emergent properties, which emerge from the interactions between parts; and relations of exteriority, which retain the autonomy of the parts. Both of these concepts can define social wholes. As Dovey (2010: 7) avers '*...a pre-eminent philosophy of becoming, of how identities are formed and changed. The framework adopted is a conception of place as a territorialised assemblage, defined by connection rather than essences. Place is a dynamic ensemble of people and environment that is at once material and experiential, spatial and social.*'

2.7 Concluding Comments: Theoretical Pathway

One way to frame identity of place in the sense of becoming can be drawn from social relatedness. Mumford (1940: 481) argues that social relatedness can be used to frame identity of place in order to create significant collective opportunity. Massey (1994: 137) emphasises that local sets of social relations can be seen as a logical starting point for seeking potentialities of the future. However, it must be framed as a process which constantly articulates its social relations. This is due to the fact that identity of place, in terms of social relations, is not only a product of social relations, but constitutes a social phenomenon as well.

For Massey (1994: 169), social relations affect identity of place to become unfixed, dynamic and changing. This unfixedness is caused by the fact that its social relations are continuously produced, which has further social effects. Moreover, social relations can be enriched by social tensions which are sustained and sustainable. In this way, social relations become closely associated with dynamic intensity (Dovey, 2010: 27). In turn, all of these can confirm that identity of place can be changed and is changeable. Furthermore, Massey (1994: 171) adds

that, as it is continuously being produced, identity of place becomes very likely connected to cultural identity. This connection is seen as an attempt to keep a balance between an internal and external focus in order to construct the identity. Thus, this is a socio-cultural identity which is mainly constructed from social relations. As Hutcheon (1999: 178) points out, socio-cultural identity is defined as collective ideas, ideals and customs. It is beyond particular ethnic identity or groups, but is a collective identity. Indeed, Brubaker (2004: 41) asserts that collective identity is found in an *'emotionally laden sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity or oneness with fellow group members and a felt difference from or even antipathy to specified outsiders'*. In turn, collective identity generates a sense of belonging which is seen as a way of constructing collectiveness and connectedness among people to a place in their social relationship (Lovell, 1998: 1).

Thus, socio-cultural identity of place can be defined as a means of stabilising and expressing a sense of selfhood that is constructed out of a variety of different discourses. Hall (1989: 20) adds that identity which is built in this way becomes a new conception of identity *'because it has not lost hold of the place and the ground from which we can speak, yet it is no longer contained within that place as an essence'*.

Chapter 3
Research Design:
Methodology and Research Methods

Research Design: Methodology and Research Methods

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Research Design: Methodology and Research Methods

3.1. Introduction: Framing the Research Flows

Research design can be defined as the structure of and strategy employed in compiling the research in order to generate validity, objectivity and accuracy in research procedures. It also needs to be understood that methodology and research methods are two different things. Methodology refers to the logical reasoning behind the choice of research methods for operational purposes, and is identified as the sets of conceptual and philosophical assumptions to justify the research methods (Payne and Payne, 2004: 148; Hammersley, 2010; 2010). Research method can also be described as the specific techniques that are used to perform the research operations to identify the research questions, collect and analyse the data, and present the findings (Kothari, 2004: 7).

This chapter describes how this research was designed, and explains the investigation into (reconstruction) of the socio-cultural identity of place. This research has been conducted using a qualitative research methodology (section 3.2) and focuses on Pekanbaru city as a research location (section 3.3). Using several methods (section 3.4), data were collected from the field, analysed and interpreted through an iterative process (section 3.5). This chapter describes the research flows; it also contains a reflection of the process (section 3.6) and comments (section 3.7).

3.2 Research Methodology

Strategy of Inquiry in Qualitative Research

There are three elements of inquiry in research design: knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry, and methods (Creswell, 2003: 5). Knowledge claims are understood as the foundation and standpoint from which the research purpose is clarified (Patton, 1990: 150). In qualitative research, the strategy of inquiry is used to find the nature and source of problems by focusing on meanings, processes, and perceptions (Groat and Wang, 2002: 199; Richards, 2009: 21) (table 3.01). Although research subjects are often unclear, researchers can employ personal insight and experiences to understand the problems in depth and detail through direct engagement with research subjects to clarify the less visible and intangible aspects (Kellest, 2000: 189). In this sense, qualitative research locates the researcher into the 'real world' of the problems, and can use a multi-method strategy in the field study to obtain and interpret

meaning from people’s activities and artefacts (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 67; Lincoln and Denzin, 2000: 3; Groat and Wang, 2002: 176; Creswell, 2003: 19).

Maintaining interaction with participants in the field can be described as grounded theory strategy (Creswell, 2003: 13). This interaction is not aimed at gathering specific data, but at exploring and describing field phenomena that can be identified by maximising the similarities and the differences. This can be found in several prior research works which investigated such connections between culture, identity and architecture as dramatic social transformation and cultural values (Akbar, 1998), changing identity in the built environment (Al-Naim, 1998), construction of place identity (Senan, 1993), and the emergence of new cultural forms (Faqih, 2005). As Groat and Wang (2002: 176) argue *‘qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter ... in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, the phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring them ... involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials.’*

Table 3.01 Strategies of inquiry and methods in research design

Inquiry	Qualitative
Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Narrative ▪ Phenomenology ▪ Ethnographies ▪ Grounded Theory ▪ Case Study
Methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Emerging methods ▪ Open-ended questions ▪ Interview data, observation data, document data, audio visual data ▪ Text and image analysis

Source: Creswell (2003: 13)

The Relation between Methodology and This Research

In this research, the main research question aims to investigate how Malay culture reconstructs socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru. To find out the answer, this research is focused on two objectives which seek connections between culture and architecture and social change. Malay culture is the main research subject, and the urban society setting of Pekanbaru city is the particular focus.

Grounded theory strategy is used in this research as the aim is not focused on specific data or theory. The main sources of data and information are obtained from physical evidence, people’s interpretations, and archive data collected from fieldwork studies through several different methods such as observation, semi-structured interview, group discussion, participant observation, archives, and documentation. These data collections were structured, analysed and interpreted within an iterative process. Thus, the purpose of the data collection is not merely to find prior conceptions and assumptions, but also to present the reality of the field (Olsen, 2012: 211).

Identity of place can change for reasons such as the influence of culture. Culture is observable; in particular, its representation can be found in tangible aspects of culture. This is obvious in its physical presence, such as in built forms (Rapoport, 2005). However, imperceptible aspects of culture such as ethnicity, dominance, cultural life, and hegemony are found to be dominant

aspects of Malay culture in Pekanbaru today. Most members of urban society, regardless of their ethnic or other group, implement particular cultural aspects in their daily lives. Therefore, a qualitative method is seen as the most appropriate approach to use in examining those visible and intangible influences of Malay culture; this is done through field research and interview to interpret this phenomenon (Kellett, 2000).

Table 3.02 Characteristics of this research with a qualitative approach

Inquiries	Characteristic
Philosophical assumption	Participatory knowledge claims
Strategies of inquiry	Grounded Theory, Case Study
Methods	Field observation, interviews, observation, documentation, visual
The Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Takes place in the natural setting ▪ Uses multiple methods ▪ Emergent rather than tightly prefigured ▪ Fundamentally interactive ▪ Views social phenomena holistically ▪ The researcher systematically reflects on personal matters and how these shape the study ▪ The researcher uses complex reasoning that is multi-faceted, iterative and simultaneous ▪ The researcher adopts and uses one or more strategies of inquiry as a guide for the procedures
Practices of researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collects participant meanings ▪ Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon ▪ Brings personal values to the study ▪ Studies the context or setting of participants ▪ Validates the accuracy of findings ▪ Makes interpretations of the data

Source: Adapted from Creswell (2003: 13)

3.3 Research Location: Why Pekanbaru City?

There are three main reasons why Pekanbaru city was chosen as a location for this research. The first reason is related to historical bias and asymmetrical information about the Malay. History has been adulterated by perceptions of a single origin-place of the Malay, alongside one of the coloniser markers. There has been a strong assumption that Malay culture originated and was only constructed in the Malaya Peninsula (Malaysia today). In fact, the construction of Malay culture has been centred on the east coast of Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malaya since the fourteenth century (Raffles, 1835; Reid, 2001; Milner, 2009) (fig. 3.01). Secondly, after being marginalised for centuries, Malay people have become the new ruling regime during the reformation era, particular at the east coast of Sumatra. Consequently, Malay has been set as the core culture, and at the centre of which lies Pekanbaru city which is assumed to be the epicentre of Malay-Indonesia. This had shifting sense of nationalism in Indonesia, and altering into local within multiculturalism (Reid, 2001: 311; Long, 2013: 7). Another reason for focusing on Pekanbaru is the delivery and interpretation of the term 'Malayness'. This term has an imprecise meaning and has become a multi-trajectory terminology that can be identified in different settings and periods (Long, 2013: 17). This is particularly true in today's context, when Malay people are trying to reconceptualise Malayness into the narrow concepts of language, Islam and *adat* (Milner, 2009: 2). As a result, the term is constantly being reconstituted according to various conceptions. Therefore, it is

necessary to seek a precise meaning of the term Malayness from local Malay people who live on the east coast of Sumatra - particularly those in Pekanbaru city - to hear insider voices.



Figure 3.01 The Malacca Strait as a connection between east coast Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula
Source: www.google.co.uk

3.4 Fieldwork Study: Collecting Qualitative Data

'Qualitative data are records of observation or interaction that are complex and contexted, and they are not easily reduced immediately (or, sometimes, ever) to a number' (Richards, 2009: 34).

Patton (2002: 4) points out that qualitative data are typically collected from field study. In conducting a field study, a researcher can obtain first-hand data such as interviews, direct observation, and written documents through daily activities and direct interaction. Moreover, this can help further personal engagement with the source of data, and should be understood within the context (Richards, 2009: 34; Olsen, 2012: 8).

3.4.1. Getting into the Field

Burgess (1991: 1) argues that fieldwork study is *'the main instrument of social investigation in order to acquire a detailed understanding of situation'*. Therefore, real life situations can be

learned and extracted in a natural setting through various combinations of field methods (table 3.03). Being in the field for a prolonged amount of time is not only advantageous for gathering data, but also useful for highlighting a relationship between the researcher and the people who are being studied. As Kellett (2011: 341) posits, *'relationships have always been central to fieldwork ... everything is contingent on the quality of the relationships which the fieldworker is able to build up with others'*.

For Richards (2009: 61), a *'data record should be as large as it needs to be and as small as it can be'*. It is necessary to be well-prepared before going into the field. In this research, this preparation also concerns an awareness of free-choices and opposite views of the research subject. Thus, data gathering was conducted twice. During the first fieldwork study in mid-2012, the main purpose was to collect data from physical evidence, respondents' interpretations, and documents. Whyte and Whyte (1984: 119) affirm that if the researcher has found problems in the field, then *'those problems can be handled only by fielding a new and improved survey'*. Therefore, the second field work was conducted in order to complete unfinished interviews and to undertake the validation of preliminary findings in mid-2013. Despite this being conducted over a shorter period of time than the previous stage, this revisit successfully secured interviews with the main interview targets: the Mayor (fig. 3.02) and the Vice-Mayor of the city. In addition to interviews and preliminary validation, one of the supervisors, Dr Peter Kellett, came to the field. His visit was mainly to help to confirm the preliminary findings, particularly in terms of refocusing the data and information that should be acquired.

Table 3.03 Data collection procedure in qualitative approach

Data	Options	Advantages	Limitations
Observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observer as participant: role of researcher is known • Complete observer: researcher observes without participating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A first-hand experience with participants • Record information as it is revealed • Unusual aspects can be noticed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Private' information may be observed that the researcher cannot report
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-to-one, in-person interview • Group discussion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants can provide historical information • Allows researcher 'control' over the line of questioning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides information in a designated 'place' and the natural field setting • Researcher's presence may prejudice responses
Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public documents, minutes of meeting, and newspaper 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents data that are thoughtful, which have been given attention during compilation • It saves time and expense 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requires the researcher to search out the information in hard-to-find places • Materials may be incomplete
Audio-visual materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Photographs • Videotapes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides an opportunity to directly share their 'reality' • Creative in that it captures attention visually 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May be difficult to interpret

Source: Adapted from Creswell (2003: 185-189)



Figure 3.02 Main activities in second fieldwork study, 2013
 Left: Interview with the Mayor; Right: Visit by Supervisor

3.4.2 General Observation: Resetting Local Sense

Richards (2009: 39) highlights the importance of general observations in collecting field data. General observation is also used to make necessary responses to understand and raise awareness of the situation in the field (Patton, 2002: 23), and to generate a sense of familiarity for people and their social group (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 84). Going back to conduct the observation led to a change in personal feeling. Despite being born and raised in Pekanbaru, it was necessary to reset the feeling of being local to that of an objective researcher in order to obtain substantial data and information that suited the research purpose. Moreover, conducting observations in this well-known urban setting also presents particular problems such as access and concerns over the locality. Therefore, reading the field through observation can be time-consuming due to having to break down superficial information from the beginning of the process. However, this general observation has two purposes: to identify the focus of the research, and to approach potential interviewees.

Identifying the focus of the research

There are two focuses of observation: city built forms, and communal events. Most city built forms have been found to adopt Malay architecture, whether a traditional or contemporary sense. The implementation of the architecture has obviously created a particular tone in its expression which is evident on government buildings as well as public facilities and private buildings. It is also clear that this expression is found in features such as roof form, colours, and cultural elements. Communal events are a way to give more understanding of the traditions associated with Malay culture for all members of urban society, and most of these traditions have become citywide events (fig. 3.03 [C]). These events fall into three groups: the routine, the special, and the untoward (Burgess, 1991: 77). To some extent, these communal events are creating new traditions for the city, and are also seen as an attempt to strengthen social relations and to seek acceptance by different groups (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 70).

Approaching potential interviewees

Although a list of interviewees was prepared in advance, general observation is also used to seek further potential interviewees. This can be done through key informants, who help to find these potential interviewees and to correct any anomalies in the interviewee list. At this stage, it became a snowball technique in order to find interviewees, and key informants also played a significant role in providing information about field data. In this research, key informants are identified as people who are positioned as a source of information on traditions and culture, and their knowledge is important for securing particular patterns of information, as well as access to other groups of society (Burgess, 1991: 77; Tremblay, 2011: 100).

General observation provides more valuable data and also important information for the interview session. Whyte and Whyte (1984: 93) emphasise the importance of combining observation and interviews. The interviews with particular respondents during and or after observation can be used to interpret the significance of what is being observed and its details, which are based on the interpretations of the interviewees. In doing this, the researcher can link qualitative data from observations with those from the interviews. Because observation cannot fully answer what happened in the field and why, interviews are a significant complementary method for explaining the field data.



Figure 3.03 Observations in the Field, 2012

3.4.3 The Interview: Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview is an attractive method because of its flexibility, the fact that it is less structured, and because it accommodates the personal life of the researcher (Bryman, 2012: 469). As it is formed naturally and flows freely, the researcher can '*access the perspectives of the person being interviewed*' who might not realise that rich information is being extracted; at the same time, the interviewer is able to give appropriate responses (Patton, 1990: 278). This unconscious condition can construct a relationship between the interviewee and researcher by sharing knowledge and experience (Kellett, 2000). However, semi-structured interviews might also face some obstacles. As a less systematic and comprehensive approach, the information-rich data are collected in various quantities from different people with different questions and this can generate a lot of data rapidly (Richards, 2009: 40). This in turn can lead to difficulty in structuring the data, as well as in the pre-analysis process, for example in transcription.

In order for the interviews to be systematically conducted, a list of questions is needed as a guide to cover specific topics with a degree of flexibility in the question sequence (Appendix 3). In this research, interviews were categorised into six groups: professional, officer of local

government, common people, cultural promoters, academics, and elites of local government (Appendix 4). The professional in this regard is categorised as respondent who are relating to research topic such as construction consultant and architects. The officer is selected from municipal officers who have assigned to handle city buildings, local policy, and socio-cultural matters. The common people are identified as people who are aware on culture, and have spontaneously met during in fieldwork. The cultural promoters are group of people who concern with development of Malay culture and are recognised as member of Malay cultural board. The academics are professors and lectures from local university. The elites of local government in this research are identified as group people who design local policy such as the mayor, the vice mayor of the city, and member of local parliament.

In order to obtain information rich from respondents, there are two approaches in this research. First is identified as a general approach which is mostly used on respondents. In general approach, respondents can be directly found at office, public space, and house where they have agreed to be interviewed. However, in terms of accessing specific targeted interviewees or respondents, a different approach was necessary. This was due to the fact that previous attempts to meet the Mayor and the Vice-Mayor of the city had ended in failure in first fieldwork study, but this was rectified with help from local politicians in the second fieldwork study. Thus, the meetings occurred because of the influence of personal and political relationships. This became the second kind of approach. Moreover, three important things happened during the interviews with respondents.

Expect the unexpected

Firstly, the unplanned interview was found to be an effective way of securing good data. Most interviews were not completely smooth and did not go according to plan. Rejection and being ignored or unwelcome became common experiences, despite prior arrangement with the interviewees. However, spontaneous or coincidental interviews gave better results. These interviews were conducted in offices or workshops or any other suitable place, such as the interviewee's home, a public space, mosque, or on the street. The interviews were conducted not only during the day time and working hours, but also at night when the interviewee was ready. Hence, the interview process created its own time and place.

The second matter of importance which arose during the interviews was related to intimacy and personal insight to achieve trust. By maintaining a distance between the researcher and respondent in particular interviews, it was not possible to obtain rich information. This necessitated greater familiarity with the interviewees' daily activities through joining in their work at workshops or studios, getting in touch with their construction site, or exchanging experiences. After attaining their trust, information was unconsciously given. In this situation, the interview was not just a means of recording and documenting, but also of feeling, touching and learning by practice. Thus, obtaining trust became important through this direct involvement in the interviewees' daily practices. As Kellett (2011: 342) points out, *'field research is a symbiotic social process in which data, identities and texts are mutually constructed through the act of conducting research'*.

Power of particular language

The final matter of significance which arose from the interview process concerns the power of local language, as there are various local languages and dialects in Pekanbaru. Most interviewees found it more convenient to make conversation in their mother tongue, which included Javanese, Sudanese, Minangkabau, Batak, Malay, and Hokian, instead of using Bahasa Indonesia, which is the national language. By using these local languages, the participants also want to be distinguished according to their ethnicity. Moreover, the Malay language itself has a variety of dialects and meanings. Thus, it is also significant to know, and is directly asked during the interview, where the interviewee's family-roots come from. This helps to understand what they have said in their language or dialect. Knowing several local languages and dialects is therefore helpful in order to establish a good relationship with the interviewees. As Peattie (1992: 24) argues, *'although each point of view has to be understood in terms of a particular starting position, there were elements in the situation to which each of these views could relate'*.

Local language and ethnicity were significant aspects of the interview process. Indeed, knowing and being able to speak in several local languages with different dialects, either Malay or others, proved helpful in the field. The national language was mostly used in introducing or as opening to the interviews as most interviewees expressed their opinions and interpretations more fluently in their own language or different dialects. For example, they used particular terms or wordings that are rarely used in Malay society today. This was very useful for both them and me for understanding the topics being discussed in their own words.

As well as facilitating expression, local languages with different dialects can be used to build intimacy in conversation so as to obtain information. It was therefore not surprising when interviewees enquired about the ethnic background and origins of my parents; my *'kampung'*—in order to know with whom there were speaking. This information helped them to speak freely, and to construct a notion of trust in the interview sessions. This was evident particularly in the interviews with Malay respondents, who tended to use the word *'kite'*, which means 'we' in an intimate sense, when they realised I was of the same ethnic background. This relationship is defined as *'dynamic but always jointly constructed with a fluid balance of power between the two parties'* (Kellett, 2011: 341). As Whyte and Whyte (1984: 69) assert, *"the sensitiveness of the question of question"* is related to the degree of relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Selected pictures of interviewees can be seen in figure 3.04. Most interviews were conducted during the first fieldwork study in mid-2012. 27 respondents were interviewed, such as Tenas Effendy, the Honorary Chairman of LAM-Riau); and Suryadi Khusain, the Honorary Chairman of Javanese-Riau. In the second stage of fieldwork in mid-2013, there were seven more interviewee conducted with respondents such as Firdaus, the Mayor of Pekanbaru City. In total, there were 34 respondents interviewed during these two fieldwork studies.



Figure 3.04 Informal conversations with interviewees
 Left to right: Tenas Effendy, Suryadi Khusaini, Firdaus

3.4.4 Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI)

Using photographs in an interview can provide certain advantages, particularly in focusing on the topic and making the interview more lively and energetic. Collier (1957: 846) points out that this method was pioneered by Bateson and Mead's work in 1942, which documented Balinese culture with a focus on the physical properties and social situation. Later, photo-interviews became a method which was developed by many researchers as part of a visual method, known as PEI, or photo elicitation interview (Hurworth, 2003; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Blinn-Pike *et al.*, 2006; Fanning, 2011; Alexander, 2012).

PEI can be used in three ways: (1) as a visual inventory of objects, people, and artefacts; (2) to depict events that are part of collective or institutional paths, and; (3) to intimate the dimensions of the social world (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). During the fieldwork studies, a series of photographs were used in the interviews. At least two situations emerged from using the PEI method: affirmation and inducement. Photographs can be used as a means of confirming something during an interview session. This confirmation can be generated from the interview itself or as a reaction in response to the photos. Consequently, photos are an efficient medium for eliciting particular memories of interviewees and for generating further ideas related to the photos (fig. 3.05). In addition to memories and new ideas, photographs can induce undiscovered information. In a spontaneous reaction, interviewees might react to photos by showing conformity, affirmation, or argument against the topic (fig 3.06). According to Hall (1989: 19), photographs are not only used to show about the past, but also as a creative medium of language to express *'their own experience and construct their own identity'*. As Collier (1957: 859) argues *'a photograph commands interest, deflects digression, and helps the interview to proceed on its meaningful way ... a photograph is an abstraction. No matter how familiar the object or situation portrayed may be, a photograph is a restatement of reality; it presents life around us in new, objective, and arresting dimensions, and can stimulate the informant to discuss the world about him as if observing it for the first time.'*



Figure 3.05 Using PEI methods to find affirmation on particular topics with respondents



Figure 3.06 Spontaneous sketches during photo-interviews

3.4.5 Small Group Discussion

Small group discussion is described as a group of six to eight people from varying backgrounds and disciplines who are explicitly concerned with a specific topic (Bloor *et al.*, 2001: 4). Differences between participants are essential to ensure contrasting opinions in order to construct and identify important issues of the topic (Krueger and Casey, 2000: 4).

Originally, small group discussion in this research was planned in the form of a focus group discussion, or FGD. Unfortunately, as it was concomitant with the fasting month in mid-2012 and due to obstacles, FGD was cancelled and altered to become an open-group discussion. This can be described as guided, small group discussions. Despite this change, the participants in the discussion still conformed to the required characteristics of small group discussion in that they had varying backgrounds, such as professionals, officers, and academics. This discussion took place at the university in the evening and was recorded (fig. 3.07). In addition, there were also discussions with academic colleagues in similar topic. On reflection, it is evident that the changes to the planned discussion meant that it was not easy to maintain the participation of respondents. Indeed, despite having received confirmation of their involvement, it was necessary to remind the participants several times to ensure their presence at the discussion. However, all participants were interested in the topic, in spite of the fact that some officers of local government gave uncertain responses. This is understandable given their positions as operators of city policy.



Figure 3.07 Small Group Discussions, 26 July 2012

3.4.6 Archive Data: Uncovering Collections of Secondary Data

Secondary data are reliable data which are gathered by others that can be accessible, and can become a complementary resource to primary data such as census, statistics, and archives. In researching culture, archive data make a significant contribution as a review of what people have done (Richards, 2009: 47). Thus, archive data are not only data to be examined, but can also be objects of research.

Most collections of the secondary data used in this research were collected through institutional surveys. These surveys were conducted by government institutions such as the Statistical Bureau, the Public Works Office, the Urban Authority Office, the Regional Development Planning Agency, the Major Office, and the Regional Library. Data collections from government institutions are seen as good sources of secondary data because of their reliability and the fact that they are collected in an organised manner. However, they are also scattered across several institutions and are not easy to freely access; this is particularly true of new regulations. For example, during an interview with one highly ranked officer, he provided a copy of a regulation which is unavailable both in the office's archives and on the official website, although the regulation has been enacted for months. Another instance of this occurred when seeking documentation on the traditions of local Malay culture at the Regional Library, as the data are shelved in a special room - the Malay Corner - which has limited access (fig. 3.08).

Collections of secondary data are not limited to government institutions only. Similar surveys were also conducted by NGO institutions such as the National Construction Service Development Board, the National Association of Indonesian Consultants, the Indonesian Institute of Architects, and the Malay Customary Board. These institutions provide data from different viewpoints, particularly in relation to current conditions. Most members of this institution are professionals who work closely with everyday practitioners such as architects, construction workers, and cultural observers.



Figure 3.08 Collections of Secondary Data from Government Institutions

3.4.7 Taking-Notes in the Field

Fieldnotes are substantial, detailed material which are used in the data gathering process and which are taken in the form of personal impressions of a situation, involvement, and as thoughts about the scene of data collection (Olsen, 2012: 212). The content of fieldnotes can be varied and dependent on the field situation, but should be a clear representation of basic information about *'a chronological description of events, detail of informants and conversations and details on the content of documents'*. Therefore, fieldnotes not only contain details of what happened during fieldwork, but also provide a rough idea of the preliminary analysis within certain codes and themes. Hence, fieldnotes can be used to initiate the analysis process after the fieldwork stage (Burgess, 1991: 193). However, the action of taking notes may become a distraction during interview sessions, particularly when the researcher cannot fully give attention to the respondents and may thus not capture physical movement, gestures or facial expressions (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 114).

In this research, all activities during fieldwork were documented, including gathering and compiling field data and information in fieldnotes, field reports and field summaries (fig. 3.09). Field reports therefore became a medium through which to communicate the progress of field work between researcher and supervisors. These reports were periodically submitted and responded to by supervisors. At end of the field work, all activities in the field were written as field summaries.

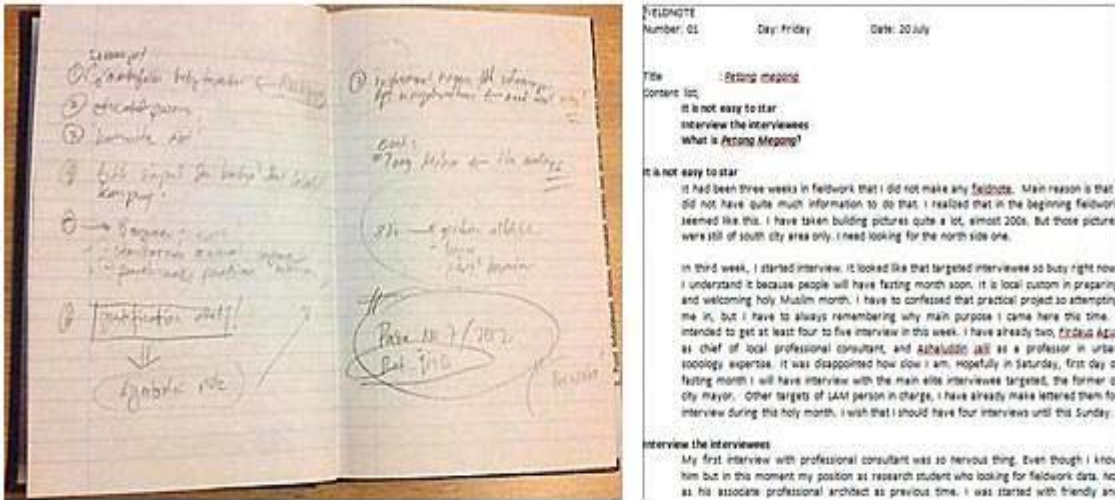


Figure 3.09 Field Notes: Interview notes and summary of events

'Many thanks for your report. It seems you are making progress – well done! Don't forget that in all your activities you need to remind yourself about your objectives and key questions – to try to ensure that the data you collect is relevant. I assume you are making detailed (field) notes about everything you see, hear, think..... Good luck with your continuing fieldwork! And keep sending reports (Kellett, email Reply, 22 July 2012).

3.4.8 Documenting the Field

There are several concerns in relation to collecting and documenting data in the field. Besides taking notes, using mechanical or digital devices such as voice recorders and cameras is also significant as practical tools in order to represent the reality of the field (Collier, 1957: 859). However, digital devices cannot be superimposed on all field settings (Burgess, 1991: 193). It can be exceedingly time-consuming, for example, to produce a transcription from a voice recorder, and this also raises both ethical and practical concerns (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 114). Similarly, a digital camera is can be used as a complementary tool in observation. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the advantages and drawbacks of using them.

During the fieldwork studies, two issues arose in documenting the data; time management, and recording ethics. Interview sessions varied in duration, situation, and means of documentation. Most interviews were limited to no more than an hour long for each session. This was driven by two main factors. If the interview was longer than an hour, it was not easy to maintain the focus of the topic; thus, the information would not be entirely relevant or there would be repetition. Another reason is that several interviews were conducted in the office of the local government during the work day, so it was sensible to limit the time. However, when the interviews took place in people's homes or in public spaces, they became longer interview sessions. Consequently, time management was also important.

Most interviews were documented with a digital voice recorder. In particular sessions, it was also possible to take pictures of the interviewees and to make fieldnotes. The reactions of the interviewees when they recognised these documenting devices were of interest. In this notion, consent from interviewee and ethical issue becomes an important part of interview. For some,

mostly educated, interviewees did not object to being recorded, photographed, or having their responses noted as long as they were informed that the interview would be used for research purposes. These people tended to show more enthusiasm in giving opinions, and anonymity is also not an issue. This means that their name can be mentioned in the research as long as in accordance with the purpose. However, the recording devices generated some inconvenience, particularly for common people, who showed expressions of suspicion. This group preferred an informal conversation without any recording devices because they were afraid that any record of the interview could be misused.

3.5. Analysis and Interpretation: Structuring the Data into a Research Framework

3.5.1 Post-Fieldwork Studies: Transcription and Translation

The process of analysis begins when data collection has formally ended, and can be started by developing rough ideas which have emerged during data collection, or by generating more ideas during the analysis process (Burgess, 1991: 193; Patton, 2002: 437). As qualitative data are voluminous, it is necessary to structure the data into a certain pattern. This can be seen as an ongoing process which involves *'continual reflection about data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the research'* (Creswell, 2003: 190). Thus, structuring data involves not only preparing and analysing the data, but also interpreting the data to ascertain a deeper and larger meaning from the key issues extracted from the interview transcriptions. Transcription is not one-pass process, but is made through repeatedly listening to the recordings of the interviews, and occasionally involves fieldnotes. It concerns learning and noticing detail, and can elicit flashback memories of what happened in the interview sessions. For particular recordings, despite being time-consuming, a full transcription is needed to reveal the nuances of meaning from the interviewee (Richards, 2009: 59).

Making a transcription is not a simple form-transfer from voice recording to written record. Rather, every transcription offers a reflection of the interview process and how the recording was created. Making a transcription is also seen as an attempt to make a map of the voice, words and the meaning, particularly when there are variations in the language, slang and dialect which require more effort to transcribe and which also generate complexities in the next stage of the process (fig. 3.10).

'I have recordings of interviews taken by digital voice recorder. At this moment, I am transcribing 20 recordings into Bahasa Indonesian. I think it will help in the analysis process if all interviews are fully written. Then, I'll highlight the transcriptions before translating them into English. This really takes time; I hope that I can finish all this process here. I have sent you an example' (email to supervisor, Fieldwork Report #3, 19 September 2012).

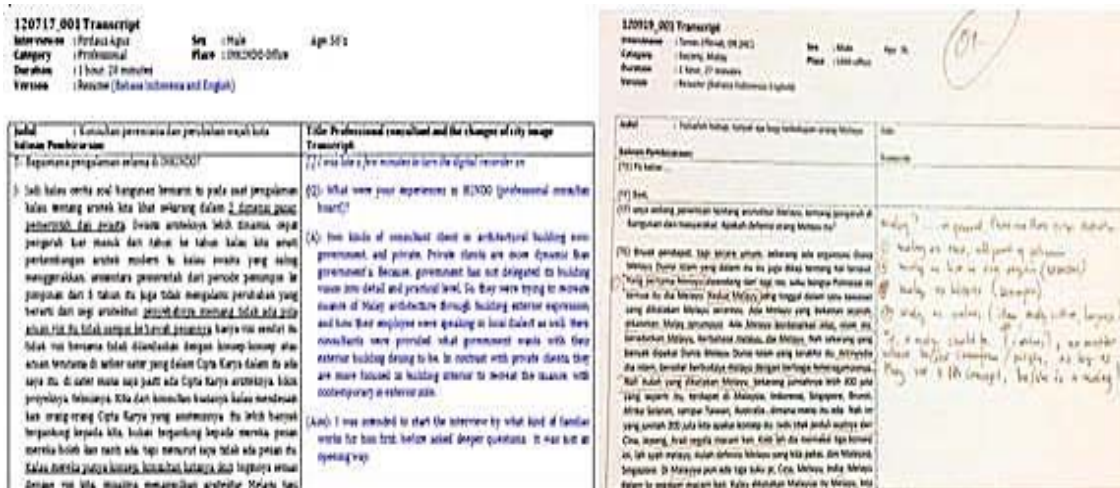


Figure 3.10 Transcription of interview recordings

3.5.2 Process of Data Analysis

An Inductive Analysis in Iterative Process

With voluminous data, the real challenge is not about how to generate data, but how to make the data useful, valuable, relevant and suitable to the research aims. Therefore, the process of analysing the data is not a one-pass or linear process; instead, it is an iterative process, in which it is necessary to constantly revisit the data and ideas, or to combine them with new emerging ideas during the process (Richards, 2009: 77). Furthermore, the deep personal involvement and interpretations of the researcher in the whole research process are seen as something that can enrich the research itself, and as a way of delivering new meaning (Olsen, 2012: 56). As Richards (2009: 73) notes, *'data don't speak for themselves, but we have to goad them into saying things'*.

The process of analysis is basically identified as inductive analysis. It is driven from detailed readings of specific observations to draw broader generalisations or theories; this involves discovering concepts, patterns, themes, models, or categories through interpretation of the data (Patton, 2002: 453; Thomas, 2006: 238). Inductive analysis is an accumulation of various small details of the data which are seen as a result of the analyst's interaction with the data (Olsen, 2012: 214). In other words, inductive analyses move from the data to a theory or from the specific to the general (fig. 3.11). As Strauss and Corbin (1998: 12) emphasise, *'the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data'*. Therefore, inductive analyses are usually focused on exploring phenomena or emerging ideas that come from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes of the data. For Thomas (2006: 239), an inductive approach is frequently referred and related to grounded theory. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 13) add that grounded theory offers a framework of analytical tools in structuring voluminous data, giving alternative meaning to phenomena and the building blocks of theory. It means that grounded theory is meant *'to build theory rather than test theory'* (Patton, 2002: 489) through a set of coding procedures which involve using multiple stages, refining, and the interrelationship of categories (Creswell, 2003: 14). As Richards (2009: 73) avers *'the most exciting and challenging process in qualitative research requires the discovery and exploration of ideas from the data.'*

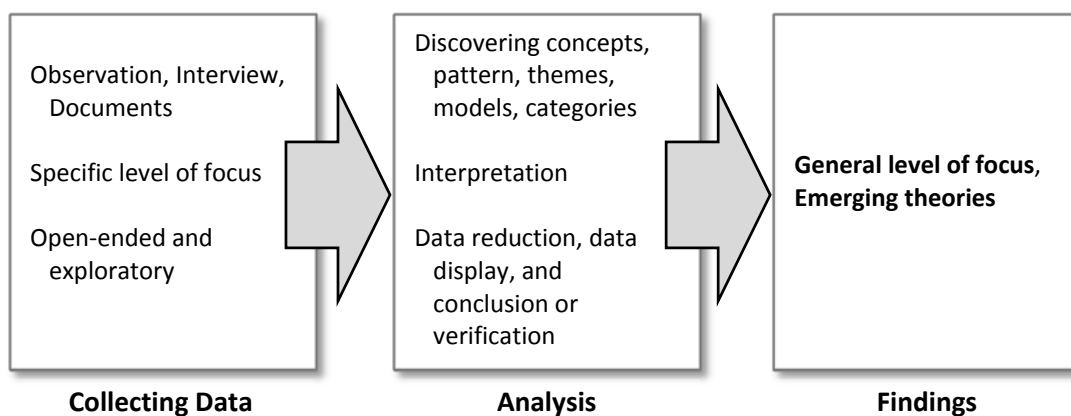


Figure 3.11 Inductive Analysis outline in qualitative research

Coding Process: Categories on the Data and Analyses Process

With no strict pattern, structuring data can be drawn in a generic systemic order. It begins by extracting a general sense of the data and reflecting on its overall meaning, which will lead to a coding process (Creswell, 2003: 190). The coding process is defined as a process which generates new ideas, organises all research material into several categories which have similar contents, and labels them (Becker and Geer, 1991: 245). Therefore, this is seen as an attempt to reduce preliminary data, either by a system of symbols or by numbers (Thomas, 2006: 239; Richards, 2009: 93).

The coding process is also described as an attempt to produce a database which connects various selected items of the data. In short, a code can represent and retrieve some of the data in a highly purposeful way (Olsen, 2012: 46). In addition to organising unstructured data, coding can also occur during the analysis process in order to review and refine the notions of categories: thus, descriptive coding is for storing information; topic coding entails labelling text according to its subject; and analytical coding leads to theory emergence and theory affirmation (Richards, 2009: 96). Therefore, the process of coding aggregates all material and data so they can be recalled in the analysis process; it is also used to generate themes and sub-themes that are rendered within descriptions and particular details. In this research, the coding systems used were threefold: numbers, letters and coloured-lines (fig. 3.12). Each type represents a different purpose i.e. focus, theme, importance of the issue. This coding helped with the data analysis process and also in writing the data into the chapters of the thesis.

<p>703 harus dipertahankan. Misalnya, budaya melayu bersifat terbuka, bisa menerima perbedaan, agamis, ramah tamah. Nah ini lah bagian budaya, pondasi budaya melayu itu sendiri yang tidak boleh hilang. Sedangkan tampilan budayanya tergantung pada saatnya dan generasi itu mampu mengembangkan dari akar budaya tadi.</p>	<p>SC * cultural appearance in society ... but how cultural appearance, it will depend on when and how its generation develop the cultural foundation.</p>
<p>723 (YF) ketika berkeresi, berkeaktifitas setiap budaya akan membawa nilai leluhrya. Sejahterama persinggungan/asimilasi antara budaya melayu dan budaya jawa saat ini</p> <p>(SK) akan terjadi asimilasi, sadar atau tidak. Cuma waktunya tidak bisa ditentukan. Proses budaya itu terjadi ratusan tahun dan sudah banyak terjadi asimilasi budaya itu. Pengaruh itu pasti ada. Jangan kan pengaruh jawa, kita yang satu rumpun satu bangsa ya, pengaruh penjajah aja masih terjadi dalam budaya kita. Misal kerajaan Siak yang banyak dipengaruhi eropa, peninggalan istana siak itu banyak dari eropa. Begitu juga arsitektur siak itu perpaduan antara arab dan eropa. Jadi itu wajar terjadi, dan sangat mungkin terjadi asimilasi diantara kebudayaan.</p>	<p>entre assimilation ... it is possible happened ... it had been for many years ... So does with Malay architecture which is mixture from some foreigner culture. It is possible happens ... for example may be as a prime of it.</p>
<p>(YF) kembali kearsitektur. Misalnya saja rumah bapak, ketika membangun rumah ini adakah pertimbangan mempergunakan arsitektur melayu atau arsitektur jawa. Bagaimana memutuskannya ketika itu.</p> <p>(SK) kalo rumah saya ini sudah tidak ada pakemnya lagi. Apakah melayu, jawa ato apa tetapi kombinasi. Ini lah suatu contoh asimilasi. Missal ukiran atap, mahkota, perabung dari bali. Lalu sentuhan kayu dari jawa. Lalu bagian rumah lama itu ada mushola yang tentu melayu, kan. Jadi sudah menjadi tidak ada lagi pakem jelas, arsitektur kombinasi. Hal ini mengalar saja, karena itu indah menurut saya. Dan indah menurut saya belum tentu indah menurut orang. Jadi dasarnya begitu saja, karena saya menyukai yg indah2 menurut saya, terutama barang-barang seni budaya tradisional nusantara. Begitu juga dg interior, bayak benda budaya dari papua, bali, Sulawesi, luarnegeri.</p>	<p>SC * asimilasi culture assimilation product/result</p> <p>BC * as long as Nusantara heritage traditional heritage, it is a good things to present as local traditional treasure as inspiration.</p>

Figure 3.12 Coding Transcription by number, letter and line colour

Process of Framing Analysis: Connecting Problems, Ideas, and Codes

Post the coding process, it is continued to distribute over the codes into several groups of main themes. Main themes were used to direct the analysis on focus of research and its objectives. In this case, the main theme is divided into two analysis groups: architecture and socio-cultural change. Each theme was formed based on four sources: field-notes, the most frequent coded of transcripts, literature reviews, and personal insight (fig. 3.13). In framing the analysis process, field-notes give preliminary ideas how to distribute a main theme into sub themes. It is reinforced by 'evidence' from field data whether generated by interview, discussion, photo or documents that were categorised by the coding system. At a certain stage in the process, literature reviews were not merely used to support the framework, but also to create and fill the framework, particular issues from the field that cannot be categorised or identified by field-notes or the code system. Similar to personal insight, it is also used to complete and enrich the framework of the analysis process. As doing research in qualitative approach, personal insight of the researcher becomes important contribution in whole research process. Particular in analysis process, personal insight is also determined by how the relationship between researcher and the field was and how to set positionality of researcher (Whyte and Whyte, 1984: 84; Creswell, 2003: 19; Kellett, 2011: 341). Through this way, analysis process can be structured into a mind-mapping, and is developed as the chapter structure (fig. 3.14).

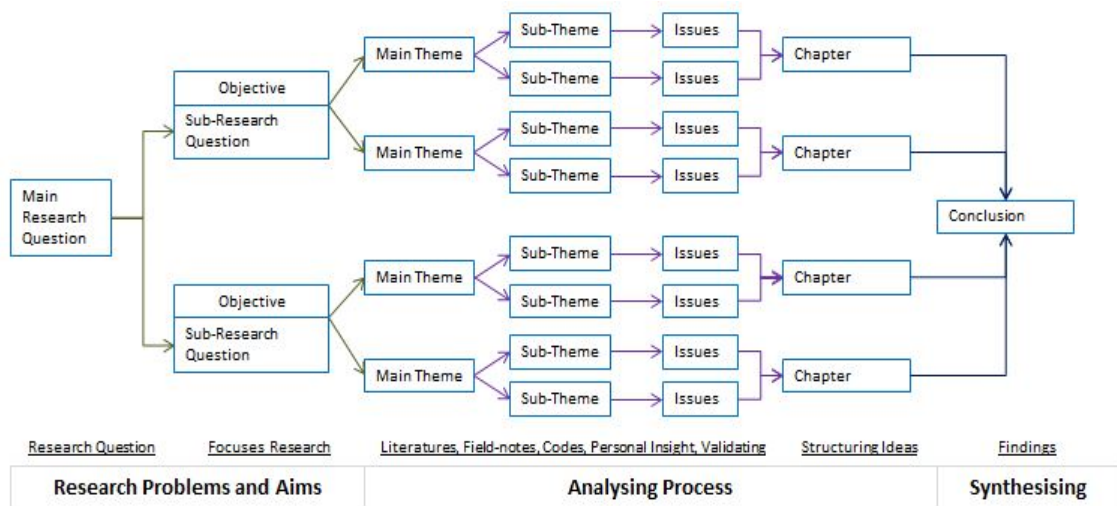


Figure 3.13 Connecting Problems, Ideas, and Codes

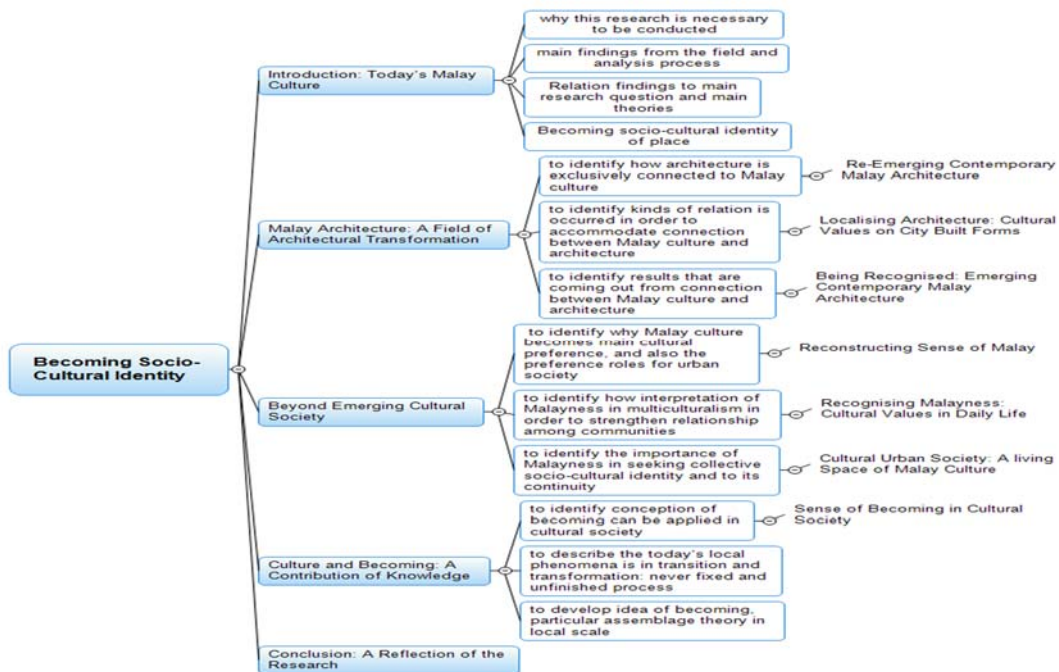


Figure 3.14 Using Mind-Map program in structuring chapter

Validating the Accuracy of Findings

In terms of validation of findings, it is necessary to make a coherent justification through triangulation of different data sources. The facts of the data play a role in supporting the validation and accuracy of the findings within complex arguments (Olsen, 2012: 205) which are defined by a combination of methods (Patton, 1990: 187). Lincoln and Denzin (2000: 5) point out that triangulation *'is not a tool or a strategy of validation'*, but an alternative to validate a series of research processes and the accuracy of findings. Thus, triangulation can be applied during the whole process of analysis, such as data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978).

However, in terms of validation, Creswell (2003: 195) sees triangulation as a way of validating the findings in order to clarify bias and to become part of the reflection process. This involves multiple sources of data and triangulation can generate varying perspectives or views. Richards (2009: 74) adds that triangulation *'is not to describe your data records, but to take off from them'*. Furthermore, validation of findings can also be obtained by thick description, refutation of discrepant information, as well as by clarifying the bias. This helps to reduce ambiguities and to identify the findings in order to be applied more widely. As (Denzin, 1978: 28) avers *'no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors....because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed. This is termed triangulation. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation.'*

Handling Ideas: Writing Chapters

Summarising the whole process of research into written form is the final step in the process of research. Writing can be described as an attempt to select *'what material to leave out of the story: the agony of omitting'* (Patton, 2002: 503). In this sense, it is necessary to strike a balance in writing between description, analysis, and interpretation. Therefore, the writing down of the whole research process is not only to display what and how the researcher has learned about the research, but also to impress the reader with a clear focus in the writing. In doing this, this thesis is constructed in four stages: preparation, fieldwork study, data analysis and interpretation, and findings. In detail, the content of the thesis is grouped into three parts: theme enhancement, the analysis process, and synthesis; these are distributed over ten chapters (fig. 3.15). With regard to the analysis, every chapter refers to sub-research questions. The aim of this is to make the ideas and content of each analysis chapter clearer.

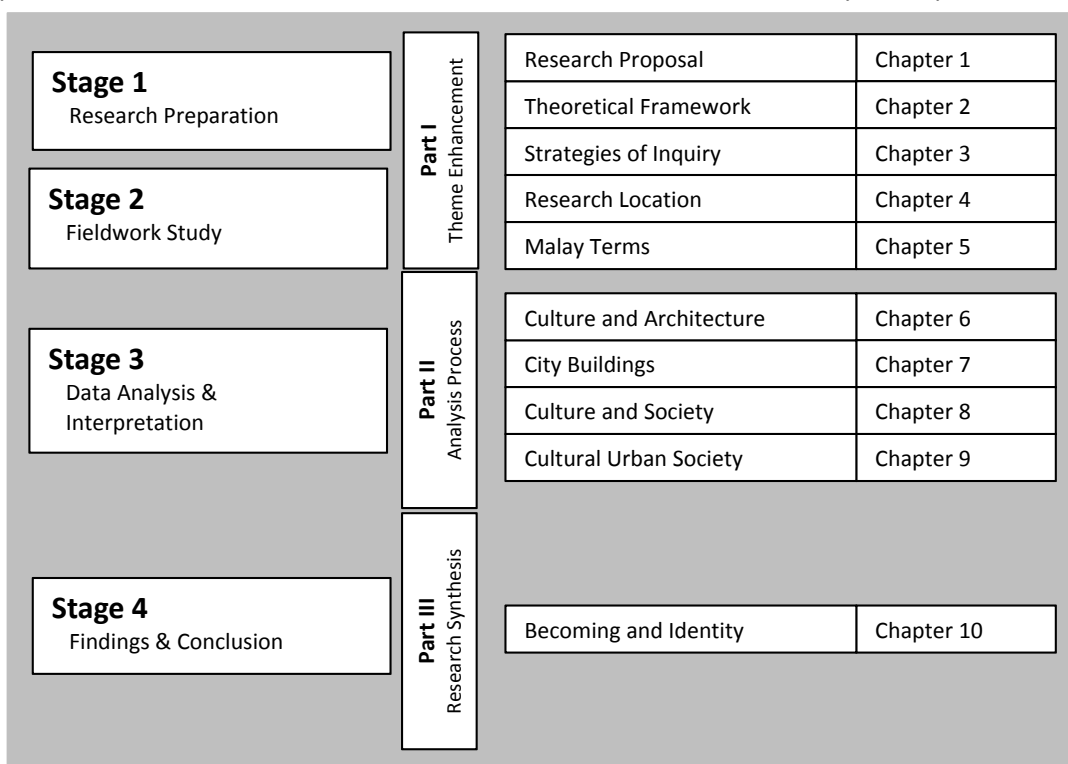


Figure 3.15 Structuring chapters in documenting thesis

3.6. Reflection on Research Design

Collecting field data in qualitative research, particularly in relation to culture, is a personal matter. This is difficult to avoid because the data can be seen as collaboratively constructed between the researcher and what is being studied. To some extent, the construction can be affected by emotive aspects of a situation (Olsen, 2012: 65). Thus, personal reflection on *'the ways in which you [researcher] enter and effect a situation, and create and use data from that situation'* becomes an important matter (Richards, 2009: 21).

Positionality: Standing on Both Sides

Due to a shift in educational direction from conventional architecture, it became necessary to rearrange thoughts from a technical and engineering perspective to a more theoretical and humanistic aspect. Similarly, during time in the field, I was asked by some respondents and colleagues why I was investigating culture and its relationship to people, rather than 'real' architecture such as buildings. As it was not possible to provide a good explanation for everybody, given their varied backgrounds, the best generic answer was that the research was borne of an interest in learning about Pekanbaru city from the people who live there, that I would like to know what they think about 'our' city. Most respondents accepted this answer and were willing to answer questions. The logic of this response was to make the respondents feel 'safe' so that they could freely answer questions. However, it needed to be reconfigured in line with the context of the person with whom the interview was being held. My role as a lecturer at a local university helped to convince the respondents that the process was 'safe' as it was part of an educational framework. Thus, this response provided a means of establishing familiarity with the sources of data, as well as the opportunity to create a congenial atmosphere for everyone involved.

The ethnic backgrounds of Malays can present certain difficulties in the field if not well used. My own ethnicity provided privileged access to particular sources of data which are held by Malay people. This is indicative of the hegemony and euphoria of the emerging ruling group. However, it also became a social barrier to relationships with other ethnic groups. Consequently, it was necessary to find the most appropriate way of dealing with this matter. Although my professional background helped to bridge this social gap, it was apparent that a sense of suspicion toward Malay people is still found in urban society. This created a dilemma in terms of being an 'objective' researcher and ethnically Malay at the same time.

The few months after the first fieldwork study were a crucial time. It was a difficult period for structuring the volume of data from the field, and also for focusing and arranging the research pace. This difficulty was mitigated to an extent in a supervisory meeting with the words: *'as a Malay, you probably cannot be neutral in this case, but all you can do is to keep a balance in writing it down'* (Ballantyne, 15 January 2013). This speaks of the researcher's position in doing qualitative research. It is necessary to realise that the position of the researcher is 'in' the research, where interpretations and opinions from the researcher also become important 'data'. In this sense, the researcher is not only observing the field as an outsider, but is also part of it: an insider. As Richards (2009: 35) notes, the researcher in qualitative research is *'an active part of the situation being studied'*, and his/her activities and reflections on the process of collecting the data are also data themselves. Irrespective of how difficult the researcher

finds his/her position, he/she must always be an insider. Therefore, reflections on the research design help in terms of a deeper understanding of the research problems.

Particular Issues and Limitations

In addition to the art of collecting data, there were two other issues during the first fieldwork stage. The first was the smog which shrouded the city. This smog was caused by the deforestation of central Sumatra and Kalimantan Island and occurred over months during the dry season (fig 3.16). Consequently, people were more concerned about being outside of houses or buildings. Another issue related to the extended holiday. It is common during the fasting month that people conserve their movements and also reduce their activities outside of the house. This is also commonly followed by an extended holiday after this month. This affected the fieldwork schedule, particularly in terms of arranging interviews. However, these issues only arose in the first fieldwork period, as the second fieldwork was conducted after the fasting month, and the smog was less troublesome.

'I think I have some drawbacks for the last two weeks, because people do not want to be interviewed during the fasting month, Ramadhan. It seems that I will continue interviews after the Eid Mubarak holiday (bank holiday). Perhaps, I can work more effectively in the following weeks. I will send you another report in the next two weeks' (email to supervisor, Fieldwork Report #2, 22 August 2012).



Figure 3.16 City Shrouded by smog for months

3.7 Concluding Comments

This chapter has described how this research was designed to investigate the phenomenon of reconstructing socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru city. Framing the research flow is understood as a systematic process which consists of the preparation stage, visiting the field, data analysis and interpretation, and compiling the findings. As the research was conducted in the cultural realm, which is connected to people and social life, a qualitative methodology was found to be the most appropriate approach as it combines multifarious methods in order to collect and process the data. Thus, this research can find the nature and source of problems by focusing on meanings, processes, and perceptions. In turn, this reconstruction phenomenon can be explained. The following chapter is used to describe the context of place, which is defined as the location of the research where the phenomenon was observed.

Chapter 4

Pekanbaru: From *Kampung* to City

Pekanbaru: From *Kampung* to City

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Pekanbaru: From *Kampung* to City

4.1 Home of Malay in Indonesia

Riau: The Epicentre of Malay

This chapter centres on Pekanbaru where this research was conducted. It begins with a description of the connections between Pekanbaru, Malay culture and the Riau region. It then continues with an examination of how the place began as a small settlement and grew into a city (section 4.1). This transformation obviously affects all the aspects of the city, such as built forms (section 4.2) and socio-cultural life (section 4.3), that generate Malayness (section 4.4).

It is necessary to know about the relationship between the research place and the Riau region, which is identified as the home of the Malay in Indonesia (Long, 2013: 47). This region is known as the place where the culture, language and ideology of the Malay are developed (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, 1975: 9). As part of Indonesia, the Riau region began as a province in 1957. It covered the area of the east coast of Sumatra and thousands of small islands around Sumatra, Singapore and Malaysia. Due to a military insurrection, the provincial capital was placed at Tanjung Pinang in Bintan Island, and then moved to Pekanbaru on the east coast of Sumatra in 1960. During the reformation period, Riau province was administratively split into two provinces in 2004: Riau province, and Riau Island province. Pekanbaru city, the location for this research, is still the provincial capital of Riau today (Long, 2013: 54) (fig. 4.01). More than merely the provincial capital, which manages 12 of the regencies and cities, Pekanbaru is also a municipality which manages 12 sub-districts (fig. 4.02). Therefore, there are two local governments which are centred in this city.



Figure 4.01 Administrative Boundary of Riau Province
Left: Between 1957 – 2004, Right: After 2004



Figure 4.02 Riau with 12 Regencies and Cities after 2004

Kampung Senapelan: From a Weekly Market Life to Bandar

Pekanbaru flourished from a traditional Malay settlement, *kampung Senapelan* (fig. 4.03). The Malay word, *kampung*, translated into English as *kampong*¹, is defined as an ethnically homogenous community with socio-cultural and socio-political institutions (Wirjomartono, 2013). As well as being used in Malay-speaking lands (6.3.1), the word is also used in other places to mean a traditional village (Marsoyo, 2012: 106). For Funo et al. (2002: 193), *kampung* can be used to identify an urban settlement which continues to preserve the characteristics of a rural village as a bounded space with a particular appearance, social system, and traditionally based values that may be different to the general modern urban form.

Kampung Senapelan was used not only to develop the centre of the sultanate, but also to accommodate trading activity and river-port life. Later, this place became known as *Pekan Baharu*, which literally means ‘new-weekly market’ (fig. 4.03) (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2000; Suwardi et al., 2006). Founded by a riverine community, it can be understood why the

¹ www.oxforddictionaries.com

kampung is centred near a river. Not only does it form part of the community identity, but the river is also used as the main transportation link to other places, particularly for delivering natural resources to places such as Malacca in sultanate times and Singapore in colonial periods. In this sense, *kampung Senapelan* has an important connection to the river and river port life. As it became more developed with complex activities, it was recognised as a *bandar* which can be equally described as a city; *Bandar Pekan Bahru* (Galib, 1980). Today, being part of Indonesia, it is described as a city and has been renamed in accordance with the national language pronunciation; 'Kota' Pekanbaru, while *kampung Senapelan* has become the name of a sub-district in the city.

Although little remains of its genesis (Mulyono and Sugiharta, 2012), there is still some physical evidence of *kampung Senapelan's* history. Several traditional houses have been preserved by descendants of house owners and municipalities (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2013). River ports, which belong either to the government or particular families, still operate (fig. 4.04), as do traditional markets, old shop-houses and warehouses (Firzal, 2007). Furthermore, the cemetery of the sultans can still be found on the same site as the Sultan Mosque. This site has become not only a landmark of the *kampung*, but also an important place to observe urban cultural traditions (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010b). In this sense, *kampung Senapelan* today still fulfils an important role as a point of reference for the Malay community and also for the wider society of the city (fig. 4.05).

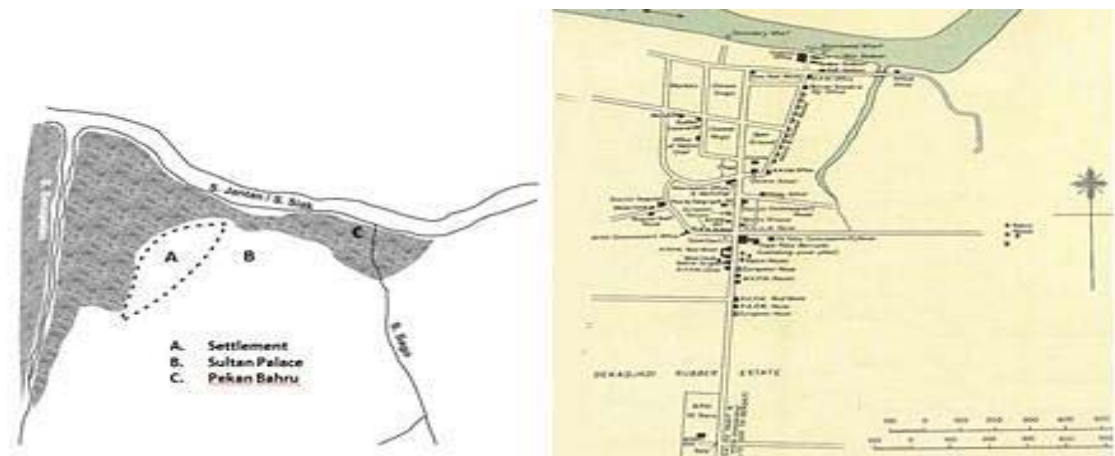


Figure 4.03 Early Maps of Pekanbaru

Left: Reconstruction of *Kampung Senapelan* in the Fifteenth century (Suwardi *et al.*, 2006: 25)

Right: Structure of *Bandar Pekan Bahru* in early 1900s



Figure 4.04 Private river ports in *kampung Senapelan*



Figure 4.05 Aerial View of *kampung Senapelan* today
 Source: www.maps.google.com

Pekanbaru: Development as a City

From its beginning, Pekanbaru has developed as a hub for transit purposes and also as a centre for the production of natural resources. It was accoutred during sultanate times, colonisation and continues to be today. As an important hub in central Sumatra, Pekanbaru has changed not only in terms of its physical form, but also in its socio-cultural context, developing gradually from a traditional to an urbanised space. Similarly, it has developed from a river-port to accommodate more complex activities as a modern city over the last 200 plus years (table 4.01).

Table 4.01 City Scale Development of Pekanbaru

Year	Status	Leader	Governance
1722	Named as <i>Senapelan</i>	<i>Batin</i>	<i>Siak</i> Sultanate
1761	Centre of <i>Siak</i> Sultanate	The Sultan	<i>Siak</i> Sultanate
1784	Named as <i>Pekan Bahru</i>	The Sultan	<i>Siak</i> Sultanate
1919	District	<i>Districtshoofd</i>	<i>Siak</i> Sultanate
1931	District	<i>Controleur</i>	The Dutch
1942	Gun	<i>Gokung</i>	Japan
1946	<i>Haminte</i> - Pekanbaru	-	Indonesia
1948	<i>Kota Kecil</i> – Small City	Regent	Indonesia
1956	<i>Kota Kecil</i> – Small City	Mayor	Indonesia
1957	<i>Kota Praja</i> – Township	Mayor	Indonesia
1959	Become the Provincial Capital	-	Indonesia
1965	<i>Kota Madya</i> – Medium city	Mayor	Indonesia
1999	<i>Kota</i> – City	Mayor	Indonesia

Source: Pemko_Pekanbaru (2000), Suwardi *et al.* (2006)

After being appointed the provincial capital, Pekanbaru needed to be planned and well prepared as a city. To this end, the boundary of Pekanbaru has been amended three times. As

part of Indonesia, in 1945, the boundary covered a 16 km² area with two sub-districts. In 1960, this was enlarged to 62.96 Km². By National Law Number 19/1987, the area of the city was extended to cover 446.50 Km² with eight sub-districts in 1987 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2000).

With this administrative boundary, before the reformation period, only the side of the city south of the river was developed. Indeed, most public facilities were built and developed on this side (fig. 4.06). The main reason for this was the intervention of the central government, which had given privileges to foreign oil companies to be concentrated on the northern side of the city, and this became an exclusive bounded area. At that time, the local government - both provincial and municipal - could not do anything to rectify this (Galib, 1980; Suwardi *et al.*, 2006; Long, 2013). As a consequence, city development was focused only on the southern side, including the CBD and housing. Therefore, this side became the most populated area (fig. 4.07).

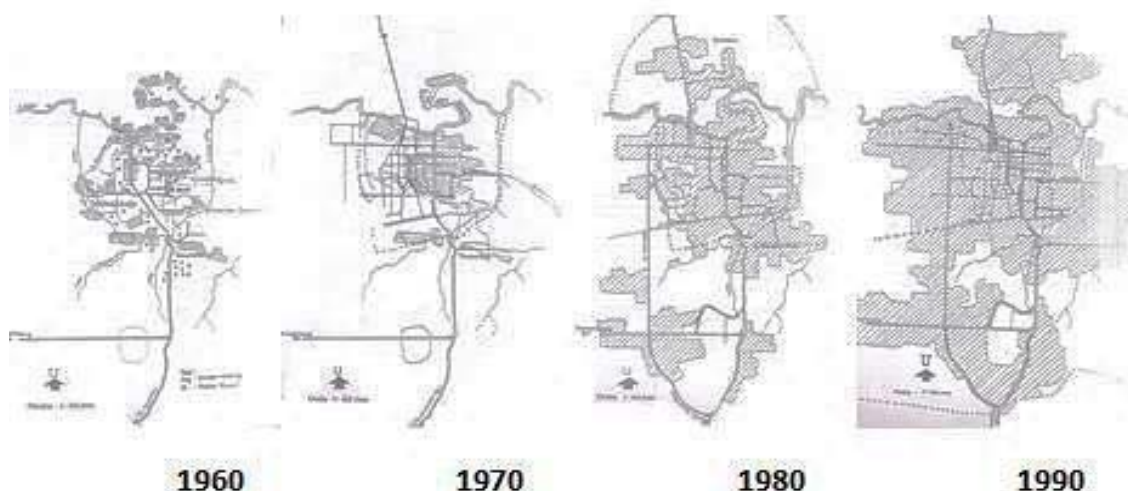


Figure 4.06 The Development of Pekanbaru City from 1960 - 1990

Source: Pemko_Bappeko (2012)

Table 4.02 Pekanbaru with 12 Sub-Districts

Name of Sub-District	Areas in Km ²
1. Tampan	59.81
2. Payung Sekaki	43.24
3. Bukit Raya	22.05
4. Marpoyan Damai	29.74
5. Tenayan Raya	171.27
6. Lima Puluh	4.04
7. Sail	3.26
8. Pekanbaru Kota	2.26
9. Sukajadi	3.76
10. Senapelan	6.65
11. Rumbai	128.85
12. Rumbai Pesisir	157.33
Total Areas	632.26

Source: BPS (2012)

City development changed in the reformation period from 1997-1998 when the municipality finally had control over the whole city. Thus, Pekanbaru has covered an area of 632.26 Km²

with 12 sub-districts since 2013 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2000) (table 4.02). According to the city development plan (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012b), the municipality regulates the area into five *Wilayah Pengembangan* – WP, or concentric development zones, which are developed in multi-nucleus development concepts (fig. 4.08). In this way, the aim is to accelerate equitable development for whole city.

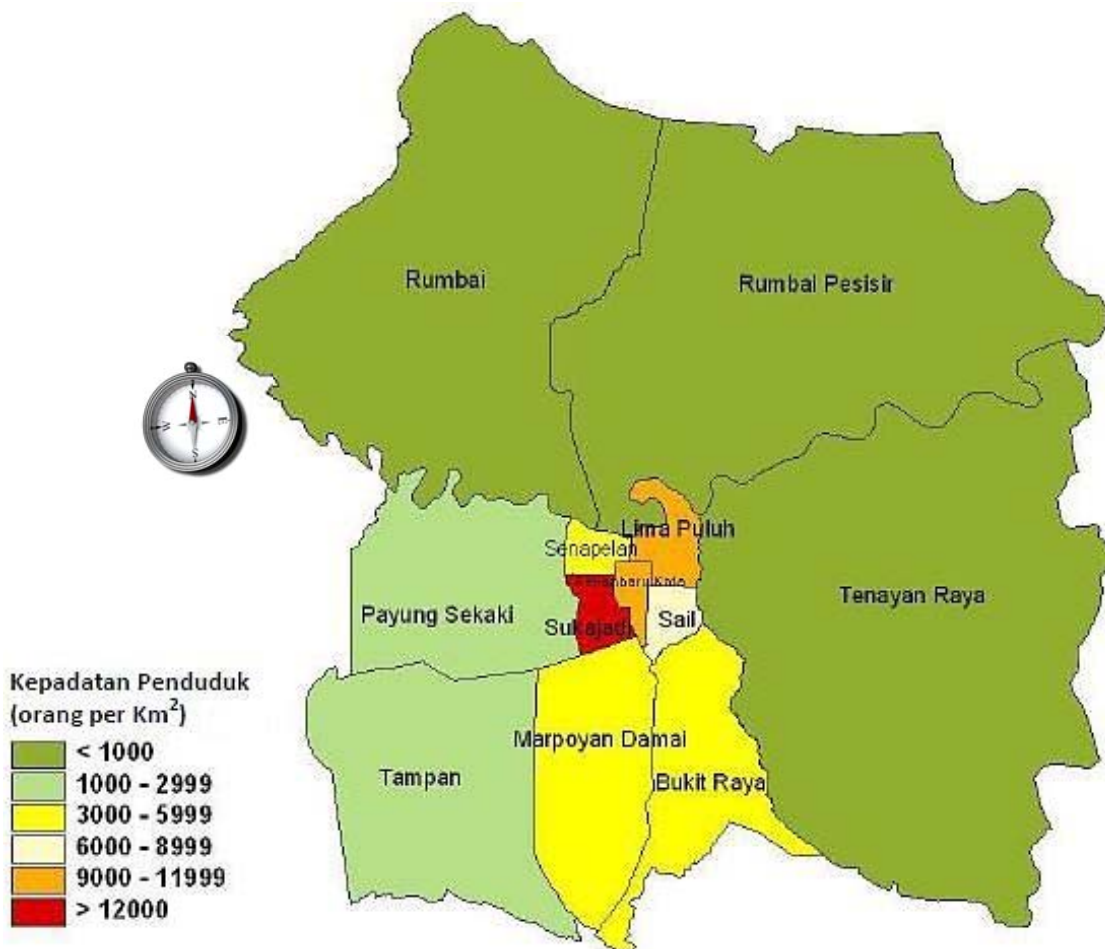
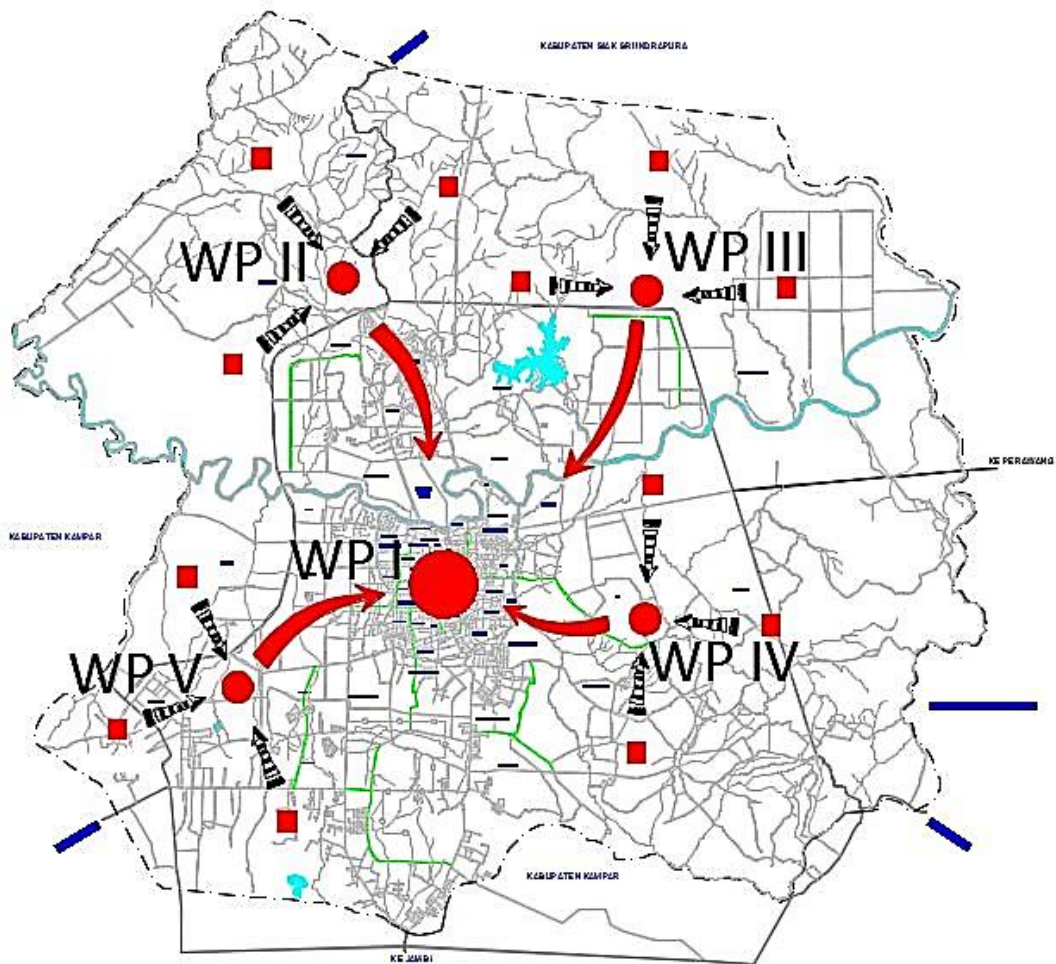


Figure 4.07 Population Density of the Pekanbaru City (person per km²)
Source: BPS (2012)

Since it was developed multi-concentrically, the administrative boundary of Pekanbaru city is almost 40 times larger than it was originally. In this sense, the city is not only wider administratively, but also is increasing in population. With an annual growth rate of 11.86% (BPS, 2012), the city's population has increased almost tenfold in 50 years (table 4.03).



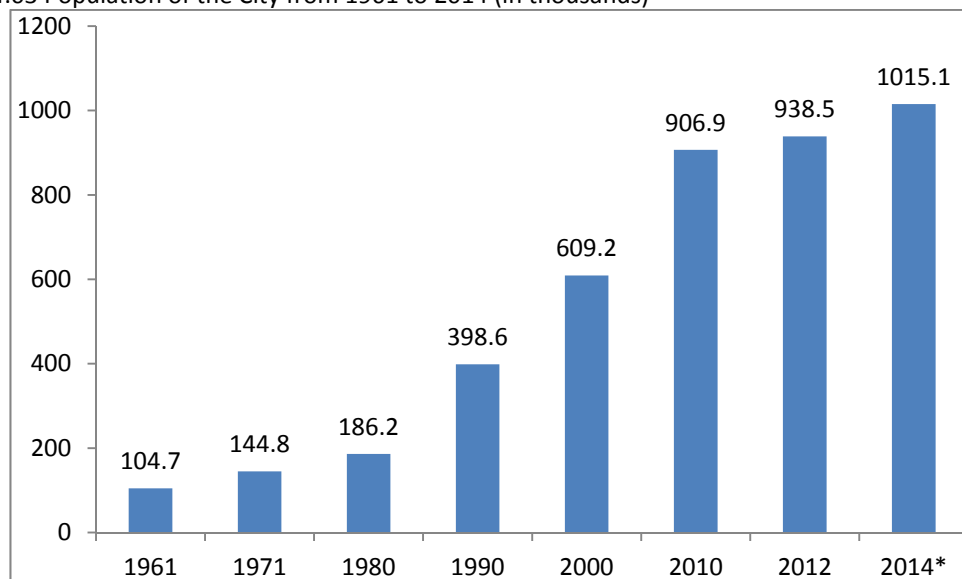
KOTA PEKANBARU



0 1.25 2.50 5.00
Skala 1 : 10.000

Figure 4.08 Concentric Development Zones of Pekanbaru
Source: Pemko_Bappeko (2012)

Table 4.03 Population of the City from 1961 to 2014 (in thousands)



Source: BPS (2012)

Pekanbaru today plays a role as the centre of local government and has also become the locus of Malay culture in Indonesia. In this context, Pekanbaru is trying to express Malayness throughout the city, which can be seen as an attempt to install the city as the seat of Malay culture. This is evident in the implementation of Malay architecture in the city's built forms, and the reintroduction of Malay values into socio-cultural urban life.

4.2. Toward to a Metropolitan City

4.2.1 City Architecture: Preserving the Legacy of *Kampung* Built Forms

When it was first founded, the Sultan of Siak established three important facilities in *Senapelan*: a mosque, river-port, and a traditional market. The Dutch also made some improvements to transportation facilities and buildings. Several of these facilities still exist today, whether renovated or rebuilt, including traditional Malay houses. The first mosque in Pekanbaru was built in 1726 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2000). After several moves, this mosque, which is today known as Masjid Sultan or Masjid Raya, was rebuilt in 1926, and has been renovated three times (Pemko_Bappeko, 2010) (fig 4.09). The latest renovation has generated serious issues. This was caused partly by the provincial government, which conducted renovations to the mosque in 2008 as these extensive renovations were seen to be too extreme. According to local scholar Amrun Salmon (Resp 08), all of the original construction has been changed, except for the four main pillars. These renovations are as yet incomplete after being halted in 2010. In addition, local people are disappointed with its current condition as they cannot pray properly in the mosque, and have demanded appropriate improvement by the municipality. However, the municipality has little power to improve this situation due to the fact that the renovation project is being supervised and carried out by the provincial government (Defizal, 2013). In this sense, this is a movement against the Malay culture in that the mosque, which was inherited from the sultan, is given less serious attention.



Figure 4.09 Architectural Expression of Masjid Raya

Source: Firzal (2007)

The first traditional market is still preserved close to the river. Due to several fires, the market today has been moved into permanent buildings which now belong to private investors. This is in contrast to other traditional markets of the city, which are mostly owned and operated by the municipality. Several old shop-houses are also preserved in the area surrounding the

market. These shops became the first shop-house model in Pekanbaru built over two storeys with arcades.



Figure 4.10 Traditional Markets at *Senapelan*
Traditional Market *Pasar Bawah* (above); Old Shop-House (below)

At more than two hundred years old, the city also comprises traditional houses that are mostly of stilt-wood construction (fig. 4.11 A). Although similar to other Malay houses, the stilt house in Pekanbaru has its own character; it is simpler in form and its wood-carving is known as the piercing carving type. In addition to the stilt-wood type of construction, traditional houses in Pekanbaru can also be of brick construction, which is a legacy of the Dutch (fig. 4.11 B). These houses have become the basic pattern for the built forms of Pekanbaru, especially two of them: *Controleur* house and *rumah singgah*.

The *Controleur* house was built by the colonising Dutch and was used as the official house (fig. 4.11 C). It continued during Japanese rule as a house for *Syu Cukang*, the leader of the Japanese Army (Suwardi *et al.*, 2006: 83). Today, the house belongs to the central government and is used as a radio station, while the *rumah singgah* which literally means ‘drop in house’ was used by the Sultan when he came to inspect *Senapelan* (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2013). According to those born at the house, such as Dastrayani Bibra, a descendent of the house owner (Masrohanti, 2013), and Firdaus, the Mayor of the City (Resp 34), *rumah singgah* was built in 1895 and was renovated in 1928 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2013). In common with other stilt houses, this house is raised on piles with concrete steps to the front door, wood carving motifs of the piercing type, and without any *selembayung* on its *atap* (fig. 4.11 D). In this sense, all of these buildings which were left by previous generations and which have been preserved for today have become important for the city, not only for historical reasons, but also because they have become a precedent design for local architecture.



Figure 4.11 Traditional Houses at *Senapelan*
 A. Typical Stilts House; B the Dutch House; C House of *Controleur*; D *Rumah Singgah*

During colonisation, the Dutch built transportation facilities with the aim of supporting their interests in transporting the natural resources of Riau by train, airport, and river-port. Although it has been rebuilt several times, the airport still occupies the same site as when it was first opened, and takes its name from the Sultan: Sultan Syarif Kasim II (fig. 4.12). The river-port has been improved by local government and is named *Pelita Pantai* port, which is only used to deliver goods and to supply industry, while for passengers, a new river-port is provided in nearby *Sungai Duku* (fig. 4.13). The municipality allows local people to have private ports along the river, as well as using these two river ports. These private ports mainly belong to the earliest settlers in this city and are also seen as giving respect to local life (fig. 4.14). However, none of the train systems that were built by colonisers remain; the only remnant of this time is the office (fig. 4.15). Thus, the local government in Pekanbaru plan to rebuild the train system in the near future (Pemko_Bappeko, 2014).



Figure 4.12 The Sultan *Syarif Kasim* International Airport
 Left to right: Main Terminal Building 1985-2012; New Main Terminal Building since 2012



Figure 4.13 The River-ports and Trains Office at Pekanbaru
 Left to right: *Pelita Pantai* River-port; *Sungai Duku* International River-port

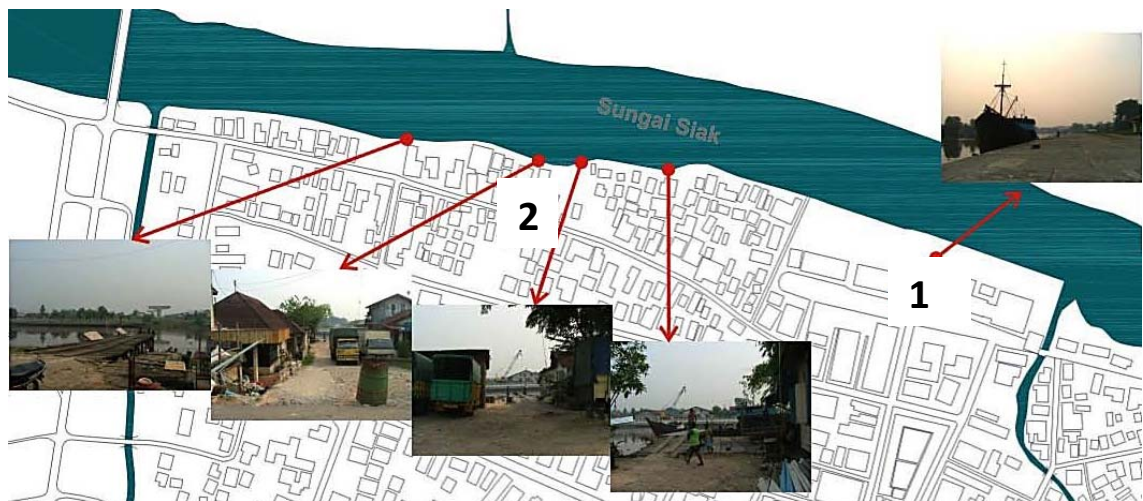


Figure 4.14 The Private river-port along the river in the city



Figure 4.15 The River-ports and Trains Office at Pekanbaru
 Left to right: Formerly used as trains office; Train Maps; Old Locomotive
 Source: www.facebook.com/festivalkampungsenapelan

4.2.2 Shifting the Urban Built Forms

After the independence of Indonesia, Pekanbaru's built forms underwent two significant changes. The first change occurred in the early 1960s when Pekanbaru was prepared as the provincial capital (Suwardi *et al.*, 2006: 132). In addition to constructing new government buildings, the city was expanded to provide space for housing and other facilities for officers

and their families who had had to move from Tanjung Pinang to Pekanbaru. Hence, it was not only the centre of the governance that was moved, but the city was also upgraded from Kota Praja, or small rural environment, to a provincial capital. The development in this time not only brought massive changes, but also set the stage for the changes that followed. The second change occurred in the early 2000s. This change was driven by a sense of local independence during the reformation period that gave many advantages to Riau province, particularly in relation to financial and economic matters. As provincial capital, Pekanbaru became a significant bench-mark for this change as it shifted from a city to a metropolis (Suwardi *et al.*, 2006: 197). The change is also seen as part of a continuing process that can be found in the renovation and demolition of either single or groups of buildings.

One renovation project was centred on the office of the Riau Governor. The office was built in 1959 (Suwardi *et al.*, 2006: 133) (fig. 4.16). For centres of provincial power, it was a common design feature at that time to put a local cultural element on government buildings as an identifier of the region and its local culture (Kusno, 2000). According to local scholar Amrun Salmon (Resp 08), the design of the office was originally inspired by *layar*, which is a kind a sail from the traditional Malay boat *Lancang Kuning*. In 2004², additional cultural ornaments were added to the entrance and top floor of the office. This was assumed to enhance its local character and was driven by the Vision of Development (6.2.1). Thereafter, this became a reason to renovate other offices in order to emphasise a sense of local culture. However, the addition of saddle roofs and traditional carving motifs are not only a part of the pattern of renovation, but have also led to several issues. In order to enhance local character, this pattern has provided justification for demolishing more buildings, including historical built forms.

The continuing process of change, particularly through demolishing single old buildings, can be found in the case of *Balai Dang Merdu* (fig. 4.17). This building, named Malay Tales, was a convention centre which was built as a single storey construction in the 1970s. The *balai* was designed and inspired by the traditional Malay house and had been used for more than three decades, becoming a land mark for the city. In 2005, the provincial government demolished and replaced the *balai* with a 15 storey building called the Dang Merdu Tower. The provincial government, and in particular the Governor himself, insisted that, by replacing the *balai* with a tower, the people and the city would have a more representative multipurpose-building, a high-rise building, that could be used as a convention centre, bank and offices (Mad, 2005). However, it emerged as a particular issue in urban society as the replacement was seen as the abolition of memory and of a historical part of the city (Ihsan, 2006).

² Another prominent issue in the beginning of reformation period was that the design of the office is assumed to imitate Alvorada Palace at Brasilia that was designed by Oscar Niemeyer in 1958.



Figure 4.16 Architectural Expression of the Governor Office



Figure 4.17 Dang Merdu: from Balai to Tower Building

Another example of demolishing a single old building to enhance the sense of local culture can be seen in the *Soeman HS* Building. This building is used as a modern library and has been reconstructed by demolishing one of three old local parliament buildings - the *Lancang Kuning* building which was built in the 1960s. This new building was inspired by the *rehal* and built in 2006 (Ihsan, 2006) (fig. 4.18). In the Malay community, the *rehal* is used as a bookstand to keep Al-Quran in a higher position than the feet when sitting cross-legged. The new building generated controversy as it looks similar to an open book (Roesmanto, 2012), and is seen as a failure of the architect to interpret the *rehal*. However, although they have not totally

disappeared, the issues concerning this building have faded with time. Indeed, as the building is contemporary, it is helping to deliver a new interpretation of Malay architecture and has also become a new landmark of the city today (Rizki, 2013).

Demolition has also taken place on groups of buildings. This was demonstrated in *Pasar Pusat* which literally means central market and is a complex of buildings which belongs to the municipality. The new complex was rebuilt in the early 2000s, implementing a particular cultural element on its roof and named *Pasar Sukaramai* (fig. 4.19). A similar phenomenon also occurred at a cultural compound. This compound comprises exhibition halls, offices, support facilities and pavilions which are replicas of the traditional Malay house of regions that was built in 1994. This compound is known as *Bandar Seni Raja Ali Haji - Bandar Serai*. Although instated as a cultural compound in 2000 (Ahmad, 2013), half of the pavilion was demolished and changed into a modern commercial building by the provincial government in 2012 (fig. 4.20).



Figure 4.18 Soeman HS building, the Main Library of Pekanbaru, 2006

Rehal as bookstand (above)

Source: <http://www.simplyislam.com>



Figure 4.19 Pasar Pusat, the central Market of Pekanbaru

Left to right: Firstly built in 1960s; Rebuilt in 2000s

Source: <http://www.bluefame.com>



Figure 4.20 Demolishing Several Pavilions of Regency at *Bandar Serai*

4.2.3 Negotiating with Contemporary Architecture

The continual changes to the built forms of the city of Pekanbaru are not always as a result of renovating or demolishing modern or old buildings. Another way to enhance the sense of local culture can be retrofitting these buildings with contemporary features. Retrofitting, in this sense, can be described as a way of adding something only to the frontage of the structure, without necessarily making many other changes to the buildings. Retrofitting has mainly occurred on old commercial buildings, where it is necessary to apply today's finishing materials to follow current trends. This phenomenon can be observed on old-shop-houses near *Pasar Pusat* (fig. 4.21). This is a group of shop-houses built in 1960 which have been retrofitted with cultural ornaments and colours. A similar phenomenon also occurred with another commercial building (fig. 4.22), which mainly saw changes to the finishing material of the façade.



Figure 4.21 Shop-house around the central Market of Pekanbaru
 Firstly built in 1960 (above); Retrofit in 2004 (below)



Figure 4.22 Changing Façade with New Finishing Materials
 Left to right: Firstly built in 1980s; Retrofit in 2011

After 2000, there was an attempt to adorn most new city buildings with cultural ornaments. This occurred not only on government buildings, but also on commercial and private buildings. In particular, on recent shop-houses, enhancing the sense of local culture is seen as an inherent obligation, whether or not its design is reasonable. Mostly, shop-houses today are built over three storeys in a continuous, linear arrangement along the street, and are equipped with *selembayung* ornaments on the front door or top floor (fig. 4.23 A). This became a common pattern design from 2000 to 2006. Shop-houses with a similar appearance became another phenomenon as they grew in popularity and spread all over the city. As a result, this unconsciously created a similarity in expression, but also formed a monotonous pattern. Therefore, the city is also called by local people *kota seribu toko* (city of a thousand shop-houses).

In 2007, the pattern changed slightly. Rather than adding cultural ornaments, it was now allowed to apply various ornaments based on Malay architecture (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010a). This can be mostly found on commercial buildings and rental spaces (fig. 4.23 B). Since 2012, the addition of cultural ornaments on shop-houses and other commercial buildings has become more various in pattern and design form. Furthermore, a combination of other cultural ornaments are allowed in response to the requests of other communities, such as Chinese, while it is possible to forego cultural ornaments altogether to protect a company's brand-image (fig. 4.23 C). This phenomenon has started to create a fluid situation in terms of enhancing the sense of culture in contemporary architecture today.



Figure 4.23 Changing Façade with New Finishing Materials
 A. Shop-houses; B. Commercial Single-Buildings; C. Chinese's Ornament on Shop-houses

The more fluid approach to enhancing the sense of culture can be found in most recent public facilities. These facilities were built mostly by the provincial government in 2012. This was initially begun with the new terminal building at the airport and several sport venues which aimed to accommodate the National Games Event in 2012 (fig. 4.24). Despite criticism due to overstepping local regulations and overexploiting ornaments, these new public facilities have also come to be seen as a new interpretation of Malayness in a contemporary sense. Therefore, the criticism has faded with the passage of time.



Figure 4.24 Several Sports Venues with Cultural Sense

The changing Pekanbaru today is not only found in the scale of the city forms, but also in the city buildings. The buildings, whether passed from the previous generation or new, are seen as trying to accommodate Malay architecture. These attempts can be found with various degrees of success, and will be described in detail in chapters 6 and 7.

4.3 The City and Multicultural Society

Shifting Paradigm: Locally bounded in Malayness

Entering the reformation period has had a significant effect on Pekanbaru, and is seen as a new era for local life. This has generated sentiments which are locally bounded that can be identified in the discretion given to the local government in charge of the whole city in labelling it (5.4.1). Labelling the city with a specific theme during a particular time by the municipality has become a new phenomenon. Previously, for many years, Pekanbaru was only known as ‘the oil city’ which was based on the fact that the first oil well was sunk there by the Dutch in 1940. This is still the biggest crude oil deposit in the whole of South East Asia, and has been exploited since before the independence of Indonesia until now.

Just in the last 12 years, the city's label has changed several times. In 2000, Pekanbaru was named ‘Kotamu, Kotaku, Kota Kita Bertuah’ which means ‘our city’. This label became a new slogan that can be identified as an attempt to express local independence and emphasise the difference to the previous name of the city, particularly by using the local language. Concomitant with changing the Mayor in 2002, another label was added to the city, the motto ‘Bersih, Tertib, Usaha Bersama, Aman dan Harmonis’ which means ‘cleanliness, order, togetherness, safety and harmony’ (fig. 4.25). However, both the slogan and the motto are mostly recognised by local people in the abbreviation ‘Kota Bertuah’, or ‘virtuous city’ (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012a). This label was used until another change of the Mayor in 2012. Today, Pekanbaru city has a new label with a new motto ‘Kota Metropolitan Madani’ (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012b) (5.6.2 and 8.2.1).

In one sense, today’s label is mainly aimed at encouraging a sense of belonging, locality, and cultural possession. The municipality wants to embrace people of the city from different backgrounds in one cultural society, particularly within Malayness. In another sense, labelling, whether as a slogan or motto, can also be seen as a power marker of the local regime. It is obvious in every change of the Mayor, when a new label or new name with a set of policies is given to the city and is enshrined in local regulation (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012b).



Figure 4.25 The Slogan and the Motto of Pekanbaru City on the Municipality Website
Source: Pemko_Pekanbaru (2012a)

New Emerging Group Ethnic: Reclaiming Cultural Power in Daily Life

Being locally bounded in Malayness brings other consequences, not only in terms of regionalism and localism, but also in terms of local politics. As well as agreeing on Malay culture as the basis of local unity, Malay people also insist on holding significant positions, both in governance and society. This is seen to be the only way to ensure the region and city remain stable (Long, 2013: 60) and can be found in the elections for the leader of the city or the region. Although all people are welcome to come and settle, only Malays are permitted to become Mayor or Governor (9.2). It has become the highest demand and absolute necessity for Malay people that should be recognised by others.

Another attempt at giving privileges to Malay people can be found in the system of becoming a local government officer, in that only Malay people will be given the opportunity to fulfil posts in local government, despite being theoretically open to everybody. Although this has been found to be the case in practice, local government has always denied this. As one nation, all Indonesians are permitted to work as officers; however, since 2012, this practice has become more obvious and has also been legalised by central government due to pressures from local governments. The exception is only applied in certain fields such as medicine, education and field instructors. Because of this, most Malays work in local government rather than in other fields. This can also be seen as a way to secure a newly emerging ethnic group, as holding an important position - whether in governance or society - is the only way to guarantee Malay culture can survive in this place.

It is not surprising that today's atmosphere in the city is dominated by Malay culture. In order to protect local independence and *marwah* (dignity and honour), Malayness has become a priority agenda in urban society. This is evident in communal society events that are held in accordance with Malay culture (fig. 4.26), where the procession and all other aspects of the event must consider Malay values. This can also be found in most urban amenities that have close relations with daily social life, such as signage and graveyards (fig. 4.27). All of this can be seen not only as an attempt to re-introduce Malayness to urban society as a primary preference, but also as a way to show the reclaiming of the group ethnic power in all aspects of urban society life.



Figure 4.26 Several Contemporary Cultural Events with Malayness in Urban Society
Left to right: *Petang Megang*; *Musabaqah Tilawatil Quran*; *Rebana – Tambourine Percussion*



Figure 4.27 Implementation of cultural ornaments on urban signage and graveyards

The Malay and Urban Society

With a population of one million (table 4.03) and governance by a new emerging regime (5.4.1), the municipality is highly concerned with two socio-cultural aspects in urban society daily life: ethnicity and religion. Although founded by the Malay sultanate, Malays are not automatically in a dominant position in the city. Today, Pekanbaru consists mostly of four ethnicities i.e. Minangkabau, Malays, Batak, and Javanese.

In the composition of today's population, Malays represent only the second largest ethnic group, with 23% of the population of the city (BPS, 2012) (fig. 4.28), while Minangkabau people, who came from West Sumatra, are dominant not only in the population, but also in terms of informal life and the everyday language which is widely spoken by local people. In this sense, they have also brought their own set of cultural values and traditions, which obviously affect urban society life in Pekanbaru. Therefore, ethnicity becomes an important concern of the municipality, particularly in delivering Malay values. However, despite the fact that it cannot be strictly imposed, the municipality has tried to encourage the delivery of Malay values into urban society, such as traditional Malay clothing as uniforms for officers and students (fig. 4.29) (8.3.2).

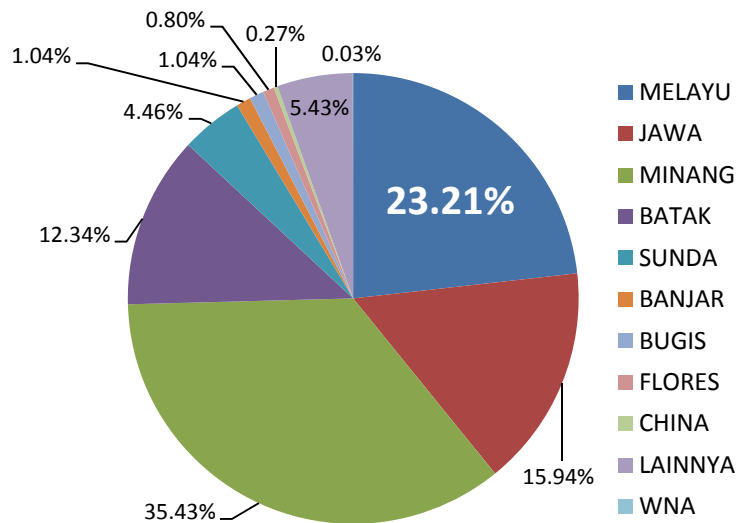


Figure 4.28 Ethnic Compositions in Population of Pekanbaru City
Source: BPS (2012)



Figure 4.29 Traditional Malay Clothing as Formal Uniforms today

Although Pekanbaru is multi-ethnic, the social composition is simpler in terms of religion. In this case, 82% of the population of the city can be identified as Muslim (BPS, 2012). Thus, it can clearly be seen that Muslim people constitute the majority of the population in the urban society (table 4.04). This is also clear from the fact that mosques and *'musholla'* are spread all over the city in greater numbers than other kinds of religious buildings (fig. 4.30).

Table 4.04 Different Religions in Pekanbaru

Religion	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Muslim	589,900	593,355	600,495	607,281	614,312
Catholic	35,777	36,869	38,679	40,446	44,253
Protestant	40,217	41,385	41,385	45,227	49,766
Hindu	2,258	2,306	2,306	2,320	2,425
Buddhist	16,262	16,582	16,582	17,113	21,571

Source: BPS (2012)

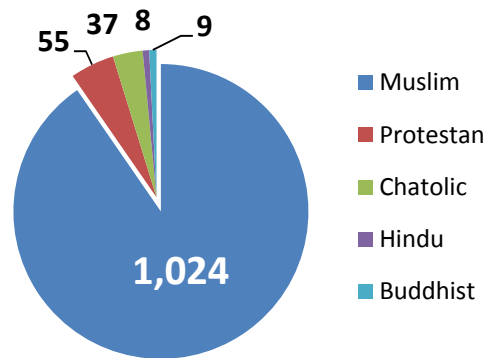


Figure 4.30 Numbers of buildings of worship by religion in Pekanbaru
Source: BPS (2012)



Figure 4.31 The Great Mosque at Pekanbaru City
Left to right: Built in 1980; renovated in 2003

Although it has become a modern city, Pekanbaru today is still reintroducing cultural values which are based on the traditions of Malay culture. Concomitant with the newly emerging ethnic Malay people, the municipality is trying to impose Malay values onto society in terms of multiculturalism. This attempt is obviously generating socio-cultural problems among local people, which will be described in chapters 8 and 9.

4.4. Concluding Comments: Pekanbaru towards *Madani* City

This chapter has described the development and changes of Pekanbaru city. It is not only about the transformation of the city form, but also of urban society. In this way, the municipality aims to generate Malayness and is using this to develop a *madani* city: a religious and cultural city. This is the main agenda of the municipality in their governance of the city today. However, this agenda is not something to be easily obtained. Although it is assumed the home of the Malay in the Indonesian context, the implementation of Malay culture in all aspects of city life may meet with both support and resistance, particularly in light of the fact that the Malays are not the majority ethnic group in the city. This situation can bring specific technical and social problems that need to be solved by local people. This will be explained in more detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 5

A Story of Transforming Malay

A Story of Transforming Malay

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Chapter 5
A Story of Transforming Malay

'All identities are historical, as long as the word is used to refer not only to human history' (De Landa, 2010: 33).

5.1 A Cultural Ideology in Daily Life

Certain histories of a place are not only telling how a place evolves and develops, but are also about in connecting with different places and times (Ballantyne, 2002: 6). Thus, history becomes a way to identify and recognise the features of that place. As Ballantyne (2007: 3) points out, *'the important point for the story is that the questions themselves define the identities of the place where they are asked'*. For De Landa (2006: 3), history plays as important a role as a 'language' in the process of assembling a place, but not a constitutive role. Therefore, it is necessary to know the stories of Malay which can support this research.

This chapter describes how Malay culture has been transformed through time. It is a historical account of the Malays which has been passed down through several periods such as the chronicles of Melaka and colonialism by Europeans, until independence (Section 5.2). This chapter also explains why the Malays struggled to be recognized (Section 5.3), and how they sought dominance in power through the emerging idea of Malayness and cultural networks (Section 5.4). In redefining the Malay today (Section 5.5), it is important to explain how the idea is developed in urban society, which consists of heterogeneous ethnic groups and people. As a prologue to the analysis, the story of transforming Malay culture can provide a preliminary image of the Malay from the early period till today and why residual elements of the history have come to play an important role in terms of reconstructing Malay identity (Section 5.6). It is also necessary to explore how this history relates to this research (Section 5.7).

5.2 Melayu and Malay

To understand Malay culture, it is necessary to know what it is and how it has been constructed. *Orang Melayu* (Malay people) cannot be identified based on one nationality or one place of origin. As part of the Malayo-Polynesian family group of languages, also known as the Austronesian family, *orang Melayu* have dispersed from southern China through the islands of Southeast Asia and much of the Pacific, and westward to Madagascar (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, 1975a; Tryon, 1995; Reid, 2001; Nunis and Ragman, 2006;

Milner, 2009) (Fig. 5.01). Although West Kalimantan (Borneo) has been assumed to be the place of origin (Adelaar, 2004), several researchers have argued that the origin of the *Melayu* can be found on the east coast of Sumatra (Indonesia) and the Peninsula of Malaya (Malaysia) (Raffles, 1835a; Reid, 2001; Milner, 2009).



Figure 5.01 The Geographical Range of the Austronesian family
Source: Waterson (1997: 13)

Historically, the region of the east coast of Sumatra is the place where the *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay language) and its civilisation were constructed. From this place, the *Melayu* colonised the archipelago and Strait of Malacca for not less than seven centuries (Bowrey, 1701; Blagden, 1917: 98; Mahathir, 1970: 34). According to Malay Annals (Leyden and Raffles, 1821), the ancient Hindu ruler crossed from *Andalis* (Sumatera) to build a fortified town at *Temasek* (Singapore) and then established a kingdom at *Sungai Bentan* (Melaka River). Thus, it can be argued that the *Melayu* and their way of life have an important connection to the region of the east coast of Sumatra. As Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1835a: 21) noted '*the Malays I have met affirm, without hesitation, that they all come originally from "Pulo Percha" (Sumatra) ... I am more than ever confident that those in the Peninsula derive their origin from the country of that name in Sumatera*'

The meaning of the word 'Malay' is more complicated than its English translation might suggest, as it connotes colonisation as well. The word was created and established during the European colonisation of the Southeast Asian region. As Cortesao (in Milner, 2009: 12) and Barros (in Reid, 2001: 299) argue, the word was undoubtedly employed in a broad way by Europeans after the sixteenth century to identify territory and people in a wide area on the east coast of Sumatra. The word had also been used initially as a term identifying people loyal to the Sultan of Melaka (Reid, 2001: 298). Thus, European colonisers, particularly the Portuguese, had acknowledged *Melayu* as a culture and civilisation beyond the previous identity of the riverine community; this was Malay culture (Mahathir, 1970; Reid, 2001; Milner, 2009).

By specifying its territory (Mahathir, 1970), Malay was recognised as a nation in the time of the Sultanate of Melaka 1430–1511 (Raffles, 1835b; Galib, 1986) (Fig. 5.02). This nation was constructed as an 'entrepôt' (Reid, 1995: 334) that not only served as a trading node, but which also developed as a centre of culture, language and ideology of the Malays (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, 1975b: 9). Although it existed for less than a century, the sense of being one nation has been immensely influential for Malay people (Blagden, 1917: 98; Reid, 2001: 311), and also is used to reconstruct the identity of Malay people today (5.5).



Figure 5.02 The Malacca Sultanate on the East Coast of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, 1430–1511
 Source: Gunkarta (2011)

5.2.1 The Culture: A Way of Everyday Life

‘Due to its openness, all previous cultures had been included within Malay culture ... and any previous values that fit the Islamic way will be allowed to be used; if not, then they have to be ignored ... thus, Malay culture itself can be influenced by other cultures as long as it is suitable with Islam’ (Resp 21).

The interview quotation above is from Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), the Honorary Chairman of LAM-Riau (*Lembaga Adat Melayu* – Malay Customary Board), shows how Malay culture has been constructed as a way of everyday life and also how it can be reconstructed. As a culture, the initial construction of Malay took place in the fifteenth century by means of a socio-cultural revolution (Milner, 2009: 42) when Islam was adopted as the state religion during the time of the Melaka Sultanate (Nunis and Ragman, 2006: 7). Sir Richard Winsted (in Milner,

2009: 15) noted that the 3rd Sultan commanded all the people of Melaka, whether of high or low birth, to become Muslim.

By adopting Islam, Reid (in Milner, 2009: 42) argues that the reconstruction of Malay culture was found to be a '*profound disruption of social order*' with dramatic changes in dress, eating, and aspects of daily life. It was a tremendous change to the Malay way of life as a wide range of daily customary practices and beliefs, which contrasted with the teachings of Islam, had to be discontinued or disobeyed (Mahathir, 1970: 35). Then, Islam became a fundamental aspect of the continuity of Malay culture. It was assimilated into the socio-cultural constructions of daily life, and also became a permanent barrier to further changes in Malay religion (Mahathir, 1970: 70). This is how the everyday way of life was reconstructed, particularly for the Malay-Muslim community. As a result, religion is assumed to have an important role in the culture, in that it is possible to give '*order and comfort to individuals and group identity*' (Hutcheon, 1999: 9).

5.2.2 Colonialism, Race, and Ethnicity

The concept of race and ethnicity was not deployed by the Malays, but was injected by European colonials such as the Portuguese, the British, and the Dutch into the Malay community. Labelled as a series of cognate blends of brown races, the Malay were identified within different races based on physical appearance and skin colour (Raffles, 1835a; Blagden, 1917: 298). This classification was also used to maintain a gap between the Eastern and the Western people (Reid, 2001: 306), and to distinguish the Malay as rural communities and idlers (Mahathir, 1970).

Colonials also categorised the Malay as an ethnic group of the archipelago (Reid, 2001: 307) through a racial category in the censuses of between 1871 and 1930 (Gillen, 1994). By continuously being listed as an ethnic group (Milner, 2009: 126), the definition of Malay was narrowed; the colonials changed the notion of one nation of Malay into ethnicity, an ethnic minority which would disappear (Reid, 2001). As Brubaker (2004: 67) points out, '*colonial rule transformed antecedent patterns of social identification and shaped patterns of ethnicity mobilisation through the identification, labelling, and differential treatment of ethnic groups*'.

Engaging with European colonials gave rise to vital contributions to broad constructs of Malay culture and Islam which have made their way into other regions. Thus, there were two methods of Malay dispersion: through lines of kingship, and through the merchants (Reid, 2001: 300). The first construct was developed through royal lineage and the court style of Melaka. It was well developed for two centuries through the Riau-Johor line. After that, the focus was more on the monarchy and genealogical legitimacy rather than the development of the idea of the Malay (Milner, 2009: 110). These rulers, claiming to be descendants of Sultan Melaka, tended to separate and make war with one another. Enmity and contestation among their ranks further divided the Malay as a nation. However, eventually there remained no biological descendants of the Sultan and so the sultanate of the Malay Peninsula failed to be rebuilt (Nemreusa, 1974: 549).

Another way in which the construction of Malay culture dispersed was developed through merchants who fled after the colonialists took over Melaka. They expanded the trading

community, mostly Muslim traders, to almost all of the Southeast Asian regions (Reid, 2001: 300) (fig.5.04). As traders, they unconsciously developed moderate communities of simpler Malay that mixed with other ethnicities from different regions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

'... in this manner did the Portuguese deceive and cheat the people of Malacca ... at a time when the people of Malacca were asleep (at night), that the Portuguese began to fire off their guns ... thus did the Portuguese take possession of Malacca whilst Sultan Ahmed Shah fled ... to establish another country' (Raffles, 1835a: 36).



Figure 5.03 Plan of Melaka after capture by the Portuguese by Pedro Barreto de Resende, 1641
Source: <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk>

European colonials not only fragmented the Malay as a nation, but also separated them by narrowing the definition of their place of origin. Reid (2001: 304) argues that British scholar-officials deployed an *'almost exclusively English perception'* which named the Malay Peninsula (Malaysia) as a single origin-place of the Malay through a document published during colonisation. This perception was further enhanced through the Anglo-Dutch Treaty in 1824 which divided the Malay nation into two different colonised countries: the Dutch colonised regions of Riau and Lingga (Indonesia), and the British colonised regions of Johor and Pahang (Malaysia). Therefore, this perception has confused, obscured, and been contested among the Malay people. As Barker (2002: 74) argues, diaspora culture cannot be located just in one place within state borders.

From a historical standpoint, it shows that the Malay have been established in various locations throughout time. This is not simply due to the movement of power, people, and genealogical links from the east coast of Sumatra (Indonesia) to Melaka (Malaysia), but also through the development and enhancement of the Malay culture, way of life, and Islamisation.

The engagement with Europeans by trading, war or treaty, was not merely about colonialism, but has also been used to develop the idea of Malayness in order to recognise the culture and ethnic groups of the archipelago since the sixteenth century. This recognition was not only generating sense of a nation among Malay people, but also as belief, perceptions, understandings, and identification that will be influencing on *'the self-understandings, social organisation, and political claims'* (Brubaker, 2004: 67).

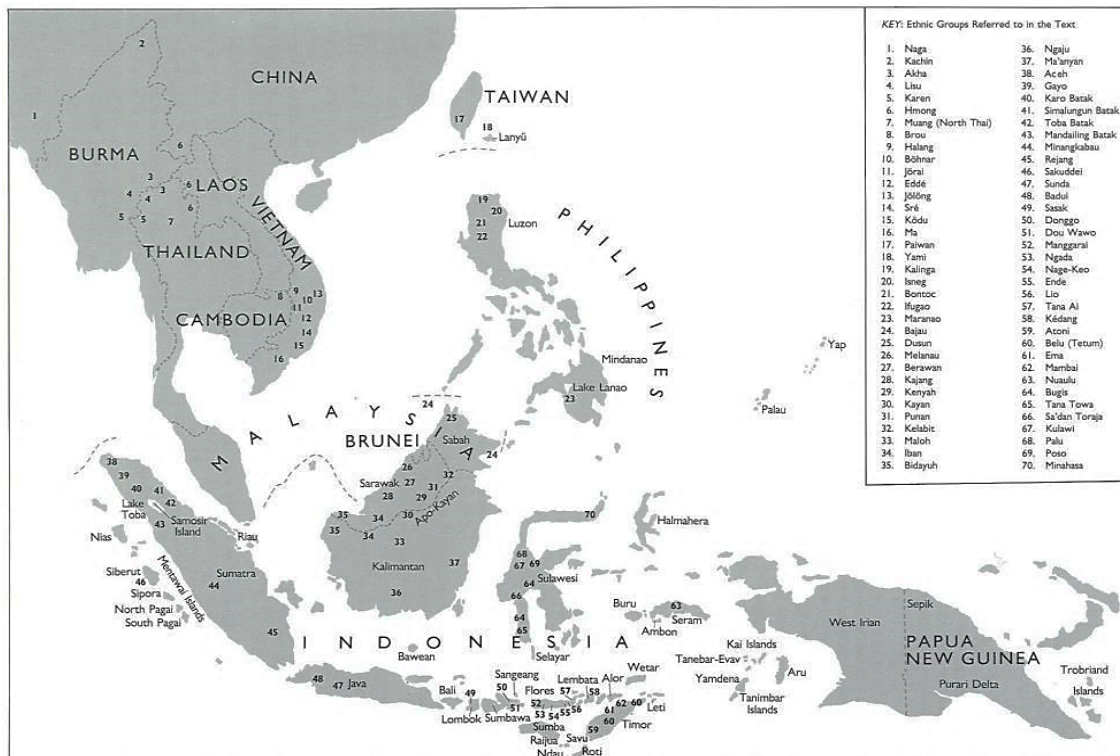


Figure 5.04 Distribution of ethnic groups in Southeast Asia
Source: Waterson (1997)

5.3 Struggle for Recognition: Being Suppressed during the Independence Period

5.3.1 Guided Democracy Era: Nationalism as One Nation

The guided democracy era was the first regime of Indonesia after European colonisation. The era was ruled according to the notions of nationalism and patriotism that were embedded by the first Indonesian president, Soekarno, from 1945 to 1966. Embedding a sense of nationalism was a very significant way of retaining unity between the archipelagos, which consist of 17,508 islands with 300 ethnic groups and 583 different languages and dialects spread along the equator for over 5,120 kilometres (Kartohadiprojo, 1999: 77). By also embracing Javanese values (Kusno, 2000), the passion for unity emerged from the president, which meant ignoring ethnicities and becoming one nation (Milner, 2009: 169). This can be

seen in the national motto, *'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'*, which literally means 'unity in diversity', referring to the need to include all Indonesians (Kartohadiprodjo, 1999: 77).

As a newly independent country at that time, the unity notion and actions were needed to avoid all possibility of fragmentation, sources of disintegration, and threats to the country as one nation, including from traditional kingdoms. As a result, all the kingdoms were pushed to be under centralistic control (Milner, 2009: 171). This is what Reid (2001) defines as the 'revolutionary nationalism' in Indonesia, which started from the gaining of independence. During this period, the Malay culture never achieved power as the core culture and core ethnicity on the east coast of Sumatra. The Malay had felt under pressure by the dominance of the Javanese, the Minangkabau people, and the Chinese. According to Milner (2009: 169), the dominance of these incomers weakened the Malay as a minority ethnic people in its own land, which was further suppressed as the first President had stated that there was no ethnicity except as one *bangsa* (nation) with a single fate: Indonesia. As the President said:

'There is no "bangsa" Kalimantan, there is no "bangsa" Minangkabau, there is no "bangsa" Java, Bali, Lombok, Sulawesi or any such. We are all "bangsa" Indonesia. There is no "bangsa" Sumatera "Timur" (east coast Sumatra). We are part of a single "bangsa" with a single fate' (Reid, 2001: 310).

The construction of nationalism as one nation was problematic among regions in this period. In one sense, colonisers had recognised cultural and ethnic identities for centuries. Traditional kingdoms such as the sultanate of Malay were preserved and cooperated under certain rules. The Malay people were also recognised in their culture and ethnicity. In another sense, although the Malay language was used as a basis for the national language (Reid, 2001: 310), the culture and ethnic identity was not recognised in the framework of the new nationalism. The regime constructed a culturally coherent nation which was based on territory and was geographically bounded (Reid, 2001: 311). This was assumed as the strongest basis upon which to unite all Indonesians as one nation. However, at the same time, it was contrary to acknowledging the Javanese people and to acknowledging and recognising their traditional kingdoms. As a result, several insurgencies emerged out of this condition, particularly of people outside of Java island, to demand local recognition (Suwardi et al., 2006: 128). Reid (2001) also mentioned that the nationalism in Soekarno's regime was no longer seen as a natural construct, and was thus also contested.

5.3.2 New-Order Era: The Construction of Centralised Power

The New-Order era emerged to replace Soekarno's regime. Through military intrigue and to purify communist influences, this new regime replaced the Guided Democracy era in 1966. As the President of Indonesia, Soeharto had been running his regime for more than three decades. He not only served as a president, but was also the highest-ranked army officer and leader of the ruling party. With tremendous power, the regime had constructed stable political conditions, and also sustained economic growth through *Repelita* (continual five-year development planning) throughout the country that was divided into 27 provinces with centralised Jakarta as the Capital. One of these provinces is Riau province, which covered a region of thousands of islands, as well as the east coast of Sumatra, of which Pekanbaru city is

the provincial capital. As such, the city not only served as a centre of socio-economic life, but also became the centre of local politics (Suwardi et al., 2006: 137).

Although recognised for its territory (Suwardi et al., 2006: 128), the Malay culture continued to experience negative conditions under the regime. Despite an abundance of natural resources, the lives of Malay people tended to worsen rather than improve. Although they contributed almost 20% of the national wealth, it was not given back to develop the region, but was mostly taken to the Capital (Long, 2013: 47). As Suwardi et al. (2006) noted, there was inadequate education and health facilities. Jobs and working opportunities were controlled by incomers, mostly by the Javanese and Minangkabau people, including government administration posts. Milner (2009: 174) also noted that the position of the highest local leader, such as the governor, could be occupied only by a military general of Javanese ethnicity, to control the interests of the central government.

Malay cultural life became more oppressed. This was caused by the increasing indoctrination of the Javanese culture as the national culture of society. Any attempts to introduce forms of local culture were seen as '*a charge of disloyalty to the nation*' (Milner, 2009: 9). Thus, the Javanese and Minangkabau people were more dominant in society. All of these conditions stimulated ethnicity challenges and led to anti-central government feeling (Milner, 2009: 174; Long, 2013: 48). However, the regime finally fell due to internal corruption and the economic recession in 1997. After months of national rioting that was initiated by young people, Soeharto resigned as the President of Indonesia in 1998. It was not only the end of his regime, but also a turning point of power and the cultural life of Indonesia in welcoming the next ruler for the reformation regime. As a local scholar, Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04), points out:

'We had been colonised by the Europeans. It was one episode of our history. Then, we also had been colonised through Javanese power (regime) which was another episode as well. Both of them are done. Today, we are colonising by ourselves; our mind. It is our episode which is controlling by our own people (Malay).'

5.4. The Reformation Regime: A Shifting of Nationalism

5.4.1 The Autonomy Era

In 1998, the reformation regime changed the concept of nationalism. The regime, also known as the autonomy era, amended the Constitution, national statutes, and other laws that aimed to support local government. The bottom line was a decentralisation policy which handed over almost all of central government power to autonomous regions to frame the unitary Republic of Indonesia. The exception is applied only in certain fields such as foreign affairs, defence and security, justice, religion, monetary and fiscal policies (Setneg, 1999).

Hall (1995: 616) argues that a single identity at a national level is never *'simply a point of allegiance, bonding and symbolic identification'*. The identity is constructed by different social classes and ethnic groups. Therefore, in this case, the changes during the autonomy era have been widely supported by people. Reid (2001: 311) noted that similar efforts found equally strong forces in the direction of nationalism between the periods of 1945-1954 (independence) and 1998-2000 (reformation). Differences appear in that nationalism in the reformation was being constructed through the notion of local independence in the framework of nationality, instead of unity as one nation with a single fate. As a consequence, every region, i.e. province, city and regency, can construct and develop according to their capacity, potencies, and local distinctions (Setneg, 1999). Obviously, this gives more opportunity for particular regions, such as Riau, which are supported by wealthy resources, to work towards local development, as well as the politics of representation, which concerns questions of the right to representation and contestation of marginality. In turn, the politics of representation will be related to issues of culture, ideology, ethnicity, hegemony, and recognition (Hall, 1996: 433).

Mumford (1940: 348) also highlight that *'re-animation and re-building of regions is the grand task of politics for the opening generation'*. Hence, the autonomy era provides an opportunity for Malays on the East Coast of Sumatra to develop their own land by themselves. It affects both cultural and political forms of belonging, which *'entails normative claims to community in terms of identity, jurisdiction and territory'* (Delanty, 2010: 150). However, although the Malays have obtained local independence, the ruling, which is based on certain claims, is not easily upheld as it not only leads to contestation over claims, but also questions the integrity of the claims (Cohen, 2001: 106; Delanty, 2010: 150).

5.4.2 Contemporary Primordial Structure

The autonomy era has also opened more opportunities for socio-cultural life. According to the law, every local government is allowed to stabilise its core culture and local identity (Reid, 2001: 311; Long, 2013: 7). On the east coast Sumatra, of the government of Riau province named Malay culture as the core culture in 2000 (Pemprov_Riau, 2000), and this culture has been followed by the Municipality of Pekanbaru since 2001 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001). It has also been stated that Riau region and Pekanbaru city are centres of Malay culture. Thus, the local governments have legally attempted to reinstate Malay culture into society life in a bid to place Malay culture in its rightful home where it belongs, and also give a chance to reconstruct Malayness in its own land.

The attempt has also, however, created socio-cultural problems in society. By obtaining more power, Malay people have been constructing various perceptions of how to build a sense of Malayness in society. Temporal interest and political movements have dominated through repeated efforts in peculiar forms. Segregation within society cannot be avoided through cultural and ethnic jargon such as *putra daerah* (local native), incomer and native issues, and residual issues of the previous regimes. As Hall (1989: 9) argues, any questions on the relationship between identity, ethnicity and culture are potentially used in terms of political agenda. The agenda is described as the subject of ethnicity in politics, which, as Hall affirms, is when *'a whole series of different developments in society and a set of related discourse intersect'*.

These perceptions can be seen as being borne of a fundamental passion for the construction of Malayness, and a kind of primordial mentality which leads to the construction of ethnic hegemony. As Long (2013: 5) notes, the decentralisation process in Indonesia today has become *'one of the most radical decentralisation programmes attempted anywhere in the world'*. Anwar Ibrahim, the former Vice-PM Malaysia, argues *'the hegemony has been obscuring conception of Malayness through "ketuanan Melayu"; supremacy over other ethnicities'* (Patria and Dewi, 2013). It denies the essence of the Malays - Islamic teachings - which focus on justice, humanity, tolerance and respect for human rights. Therefore, this condition generates a distortion, euphoria from the autonomy era that has been used by certain groups to create the sense of a contemporary primordial structure. In this matter, Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04) points out that the Malays have been *'bringing out new ideas ... a politic of identity ... as a reaction and euphoria to actualise their supremacy over other people's minds through celebration of Malay progressiveness'*.

5.4.3. New Alliance Network: *Dunia Melayu Dunia Islam*

Reconstructing Malay consciousness is not only the domain of the Malay people on the east coast of Sumatra, but also of the worldwide Malay movement today. It is an organisation named *Dunia Melayu Dunia Islam* – DMDI (Malay and Islamic World) that established a resolution at the Malay-world Convention in Melaka in 2000. The main purpose of DMDI is to promote solidarity and unity among the Malay-Muslim community, and also to promote cooperation in all aspects of the development of the Malay-Muslim community with other nations of the world (DMDI, 2013).

Besides promoting solidarity and unity, DMDI has deployed a new definition of Malayness which is focused on certain values. This implies narrow characteristics for how to recognise the Malay, which are speaking the Malay language; implementing *adat*; and being Muslim. Milner (2009: 185) argues this redefinition of Malayness is *'a process that has faced some serious reversals'*. It not only covers Malay all over the world, but also directly points to the past glory of the community during the time of the Sultanate of Melaka in the sixteenth century when Islam was adopted as the state religion. According to Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), by redefining Malay, the DMDI has also regenerated a distinctive relationship between the culture and Islam as *'the most important knot rather than other socio-cultural definitions'*. There has therefore become a fixed character and a definable essence for Malay people today. He points out that *'although scattered within various "puak" (fragmentations), Malay culture has distinguished itself through "adat" which is "adat bersendikan sarak, sarak bersendikan kitabullah" (based on religion) that is also recognised by the DMDI'*.

Concomitant with the reformation era, the establishment of the DMDI has provided more opportunity for Malay-Indonesia. This is a new alliance both in business and culture among Malay regions that includes cooperation in eight focus areas: economics, social life, politics, knowledge, arts, culture, language and religion. This has accelerated the development of the regions on the east coast of Sumatra by directly engaging with foreign countries without the intervention of the central government. This cooperation is not only about access, but is also related to a sense of local independence and acknowledgement of the culture. Thus, Malay-Indonesia on the east coast of Sumatra has had allies to develop a new order and to reconstruct Malay identity at the same time.

5.4.4. Reconstructing Malay as the Core Culture

As it has developed across a wide geographical area and has been influenced by different historical events over the centuries, Malay culture has been conveyed in different ways among the regions and places in line with the times and local needs. Although presented in various forms, the idea of Malayness today refers to the Melaka period of the sixteenth century. According to Raffles (1835a: 21-27) and Blagden (1917: 98) Malay people came from the eastern coastlands of central Sumatra that were already influenced by Indian culture (Hindu and Buddhist), and also formed a riverine and trading community (Mahathir, 1970: 49). By settling in Melaka, the community adopted Islam as the state religion (Milner, 2009: 42). This period has been assumed as a revolution of the Malay as a nation (Reid, 2001: 311) that has not only defined its united territory but also set up the culture, Malay culture (Mahathir, 1970).

During European colonisation, the Malay people dispersed from Melaka and brought, and then developed, the culture, the idea of Malayness, and the religion into others regions of the archipelago, before meeting with other settled cultures. This meeting of cultures brought about more variation by adaptation and adoption of certain aspects of culture (Nemreusa, 1974: 557). During this time, the Malays developed as a cultural community but were also burdened with new term of ethnic Malay (Reid, 2001: 307; Milner, 2009: 126). Colonials did not only fragment the Malay as a nation into several colonised regions, but also separated them using narrow definitions related to race, ethnicity, and place of origin.

Furthermore, during the colonisation period, the Malay developed in more varied ways. The racial strategy of British colonisation (Gillen, 1994; Mydin, 2008), which was contested by immigrants such as the Chinese and Indians, meant that the Malay struggled for their place on the Malaya Peninsula (Malaysia) to develop a core culture and core ethnicity. Another consequence could be seen in *Temasek* (Singapore), where Malays lost their exclusive rights as natives, and were replaced by Chinese invaders. Under Dutch colonisation in Riau (Indonesia), Malay communities were disintegrated and pitted against one another under what was known as the '*divide et impera*' strategy, which literally means divide and conquer, for 350 years. The colonialists had also brought large numbers of local immigrants as *romusha* (forced labourers), such as the Javanese, to the east coast of Sumatra. This meant that the Malay people not only lost their domination of the land, but also became an ethnic minority.

After European colonisation and the achievement of independence, the concept of '*Malayanisation*' became widespread (Mahathir, 1970: 70). However, it was not an easy task for Malay people who struggled in newly independent countries due to its domestic nationalism. Although they represented a dominant force within the population, Malays could not automatically assume control over the governance and society in Malaysia. Indeed, there was much compromise and political intrigue necessary to be recognised as a powerful ethnic group (Gillen, 1994: 5). In this period of revolutionary nationalism, the Malay were also marginalised in Singapore and Indonesia (Reid, 2001: 311). Milner (2009: 171) argues that the Malay in Indonesia tended to be excluded, and felt they were under the control of the national government. This was particularly so in the region of the east coast of Sumatra, where the successors of the Malay sultanates lost important roles by handing over their power, and merged under the national government. During this period, the Malay in Riau did not obtain dominance, and also had been pressured by the Javanese, Minangkabau, and Chinese people.

However, several researchers agree that the construction of Malay culture originates from the east coast of Sumatra and Peninsula of Malaysia regions in the 15th century (Raffles, 1835a; Reid, 2001; Milner, 2009). Malay as a culture and ethnicity has not only developed through lines of kingship and merchants, but has also been influenced by the governance of the regimes of two revolutionary periods: revolutionary as nation and revolutionary nationalism. In Riau province on the east coast of Sumatra, it is more important that the Malay culture can exist and play its role after obtaining dominance during the autonomy era, which lasted from 1997-1998. The Malay in this region are facing what is called a 'post-revolutionary nationalism period' (Reid, 2001: 311), during which attempts are made to claim and reinstall Malay as the core culture within a multicultural society.

5.5 Being a Today's Malay in Indonesia

Within the multifarious ways of developing Malayness, various interpretations have emerged regarding who can be considered Malay in today's context. According to Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), there are three ways how to define Malay people. The first definition is based on race and classifies people as being of the Polynesian or Austronesian families. Secondly, they can be defined according to their place of origin as *serumpun*, which literally means sameness in terms of family roots; *serantau*, which relates to sameness in the place of origin; and *sejiran*, which has a similar meaning to neighbourhood. The third definition is based on values that refer to sameness in religion (Muslim), *adat* (daily customs), and the language.

The definition which is based on the values has become more popular and accepted today. Cultural values have also become a more important concept among the Malay people, instead of geographical, racial, or nationality conceptions. This has led to a narrower definition about who can be considered Malay today. Milner (2009: 2) argues the narrower definition has recently defined a Malay person as one who '*habitually speaks in Malay language, professes the Islamic faith, and conforms to Malay customs (adat)*'.

Furthermore, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) emphasises that '*Malayness is not merely based on genealogy terms, but more on relationships and a mixture of people from many places as long as they have acknowledged the values*'. He also argues that Malayness is not only formed through genealogical or territorial factors, but also through kinship and fusion in daily life. To some extent, the kinship ties can also be produced by marriage between members of different ethnic groups (Mydin, 2008: 53). Milner (2009: 236) emphasises that genealogy or blood ties play less significant roles in most Malay societies. Even for people without consanguinity, it is possible to become Malay (Long, 2013: 15). For this reason, Long (2013: 17) notes that Malayness is a very difficult term to define accurately. The term of Malayness therefore becomes multi-faceted and can be recognised in different settings and different periods. In this research, the term is driven from the point of view of the east coast of Sumatra on what Malayness is and how it has developed throughout time.

5.5.1 Speaking the Language

The Malay language was formed after absorbing Sanskrit from India in the second century and was then enriched with Arabic (Nunis and Ragman, 2006: 19; Milner, 2009: 38). The language has also been used as the lingua franca of trade, diplomacy and religion across the archipelago and Asia-Pacific regions since the 13th century (Fig. 5.05), and has been written in the Arabic script since the early 20th century (Bowrey, 1701; Blagden, 1917; Milner, 2009).

Milner (2009: 2) argues that Malay language is not used in all regions of Malay for daily life. Others languages are also spoken, for example English in Cape Malay South Africa and Sinhala in Sri Lanka, despite the fact that both places are home to Malay people. Conversely, some people who do not claim to be part of the Malay, such as the Temuan dan Jakun in Malaysia, have used the language as their primary language. Even on the east coast of Sumatra, the place of origin, the Malay language has been replaced by the national language: Bahasa Indonesia (Nunis and Ragman, 2006: 19; Milner, 2009: 233), and Minangkabau language in daily life; Malay language is only used in government offices, cultural events, and at home. Only in Malaysia and Brunei is the language used as the national language. It can therefore be argued that the language is no longer the exclusive domain of Malays. Furthermore, although the ability to fluently speak the language does not automatically mean a person can claim Malayness; this connection is often made in certain regions as part of an effort to reconstruct the identity of Malayness. As Milner (2009: 21) notes, the distribution of the language has not only occurred through the migration of people, but also due to political and social expediency.

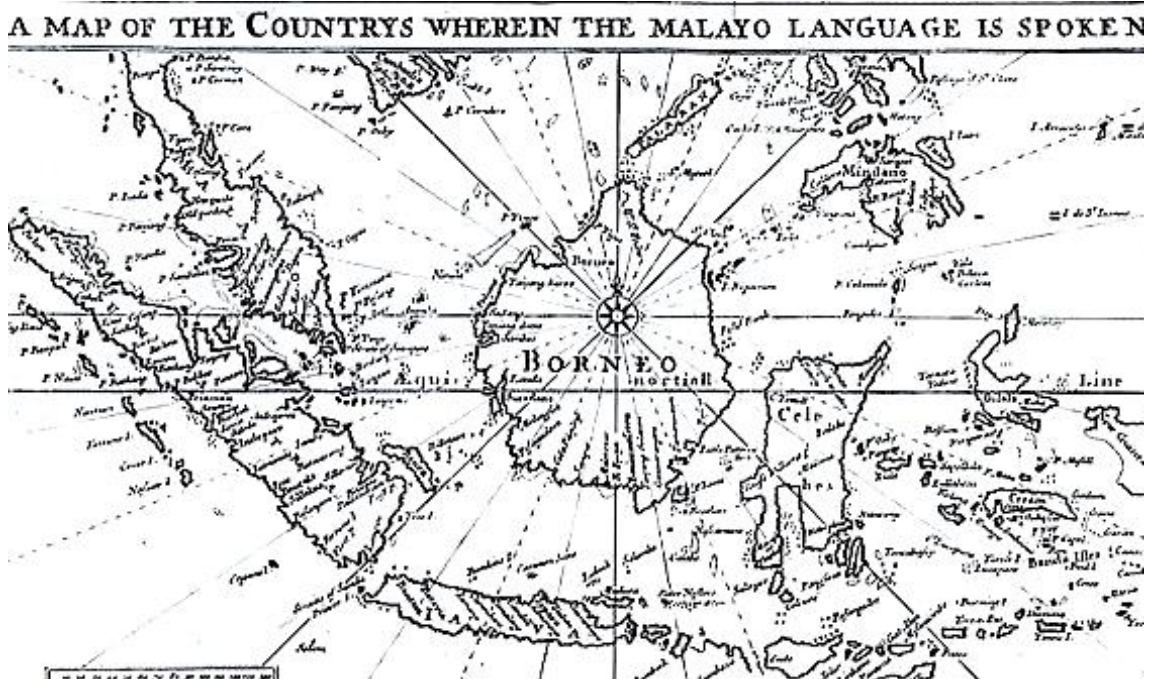


Figure 5.05 Map of the Malay language by Thomas Bowrey, 1701

Source: <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk>

5.5.2 Based on Religion: Islamic Faith

Islam plays an important role in defining Malay culture. In earlier history, the Malay had been converted from animism to Hinduism and Buddhism. Raffles (1835a: 40) argues that the Malay did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians. As Muslim traders, the Arabians gradually influenced and separated the Malay from their original stock through a mixture of blood, language, and religion (Mahathir, 1970: 36). By being gradually adopted, Islamic practices have become an important characteristic of Malay culture (Milner, 2009: 8), and this reached its summit in the 16th century.

Being spread over a wide range of regions and with different historical backgrounds, the Malay have not only adopted Islam, but also preserved various religions and beliefs, particularly within the Indonesian context. However, most Malay people are known as Mohammad followers (Raffles, 1835a: 259). People who converted to Islam can be said to have become Malay, and vice versa (Reid, 2001: 305; Naim, 2011: 1; Long, 2013: 15), though there exist different views on this in modern society, particularly on the east coast of Sumatra, where changing religion will not automatically affect ethnicity as previous ethnic backgrounds are also preserved. Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04) argues that *'Malay as an ethnicity is embedded in 'blood', but not in religion. In this sense, 'some people have used Islam just to cover up their social-identity'*. They only want to become a part of a majority religion, but do not implement Islam practices in their daily lives. In this respect, Reid (2001: 309) points out that Islam has been used as a key marker of common identity, and also served as a modern mass movement. Therefore, conversion to Islam cannot automatically mean becoming Malay, and vice versa, in today's context.

Another notion of Malayness is also found in Malay-Muslim families who are living with *adat*. Islam and its practices are the most fundamental part of being Malay (Mahathir, 1970). Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) states that *'a high obligation for a father is to ensure each member of his family remains Muslim and passes on Islamic practices to his descendents'*. Furthermore, he argues that:

'If (s)he has merged three things in daily life; being a Muslim, living within "adat", and speaking the same language, then (s)he can be said to be Malay. Islam cannot be separated from Malay culture ... if (s)he leaves Islam, (s)he will be void of all of the rights of the Malay. Therefore, Islam is fundamental to Malayness'

In this matter, responsibility to Allah (God) cannot be compared to loyalty to others (Gillen, 1994: 4). In other words, it can be said that Malay people must live and die as Muslims. This phenomenon on the east coast of Sumatra is similar to that within Malay-Muslim communities in other regions, such as in Malaysia and Brunei, in terms of identity construction. Malay people today have given priority to Islamic obligations over any others (Milner, 2009: 211).

5.5.3 *Adat*: A Daily Custom of the Malay

Adat in Malay culture can be described as a daily custom which has been constructed, developed, and inherited for generations. *Adat* teaches and defines correct behaviour for a Malay person in everyday life. It not only transmits rituals and traditions for individuals, but also pays attention to what these mean for communities (Raffles, 1835a: 258). Milner (2009: 4-7) notes that '*adat*' is a collective mind, of which the content comprises a united code for culture and social life.

Formed over a long time, *adat* has been influenced by various other cultures and customs. By '*accumulating and combining rather than replacing*' (Milner, 2009: 44), openness has become the main characteristic of *adat*. As a Malay proverb says '*yang sesuai yang dipakai, yang senonoh dijadikan contoh, yang sepadan dijadikan teladan*' (Resp 21) which means 'anything can be a model as long as it fits with society life'.

In the time of the Melaka Sultanate, *adat* was redefined to adopt Islamic practices. As a result, a mixture of cultures which had previously formed had to be readjusted to accommodate Islamic practices. This became another characteristic of *adat*. Tenas Effendi (Resp 21) asserts that '*although openness means the acceptance of other influences, these must be aligned with Islamic values*'. In this way, Islam is not only identified as a religion, but also as a filter for Malay-behaviour. As a Malay proverb says '*kecil kami sambut telapak tangan, besar kami tadahkan dengan nyiru*' which literally means 'everything that comes must be sifted and filtered by the values, Islamic values'.

For Al-Azhar, Head of LAM-Riau (Resp 12), the '*relationship between adat and Islam cannot be distinguished as two opposite poles, but as a hierarchical relation*'. Thus, Malay culture has been influenced by Islam in one direction. This is what Naim (2011) terms a synthetic relationship between culture and Islam, which is known as '*syarak*'. It is a term which literally means religion over culture, instead of syncretism which attempts a reconciliation between religion and culture. *Syarak* therefore has become another characteristic of *adat*. This is exemplified by a Malay proverb '*adat bersendikan syarak, syarak bersendikan kitabullah*' which means 'daily customs hinge on '*syarak*' which relies on the Holy Quran as the highest resource'.

Milner (2009: 8) notes that Islamic practices and beliefs have tended to be identified as characteristics of the Malay community since the 15th century, when the culture was influenced by Arabic traders. However, it cannot be claimed that Malay culture and *adat* are similar to Arabian culture, as Malay culture has developed differently based on its history and places within the synthetic community. As a result, *syarak* has become an intermediary between Islam and *adat*. This is illustrated by the Malay proverb '*syarak mengata adat memakai, syah kata syarak benar kata adat, bila bertikai adat dengan syarak, tegakkan syarak*' which means that *adat* must align to *syarak*, and whenever there is any quarrel between them, *syarak* wins over *adat* (Effendy, 2005: 86).

By living within a multicultural society, cooperation is necessary between people in the society. In this matter, Malay culture has provided guidance not only for Malay families and their communities, but also for people with different cultures and religions. INdeed, the Malay proverb '*hidup sebanjar ajar mengajar, hidup sedusun tuntun menuntun, hidup sekampung tolong menolong, hidup senegri beri memberi, hidup sebangas rasa merasa*' (Effendy, 2005:

81) encourages the Malay to develop '*persebatian*' (unity and integrity) when living with others, as well as respecting each other, '*gotong royong*' (working together), tolerance, and togetherness in society. This is supported by Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), who highlights that *silaturahmi* (friendship) is one of important conducts in Malay society ... as is openness, respect to newcomers, tolerance and honesty within togetherness and kinship'. Therefore, although many cultures and ethnicities cohabit in the same place, conflicts can be avoided most of the time.

Defining the Malay has been narrowed as a concept to focus on culture and ethnicity in particular. It depends not only on the place of origin or particular claims, but also on definitions of various perspectives. It is also possible to connect them with several criteria such as values which are used in daily life. Thus, Malay cannot be seen as merely formed descent and genealogical connections, but also in terms of political and socio-cultural expediency.

5.6 Bandar Pekanbaru: Toward the Centre of Malay Culture

5.6.1 The Vision of City Development

'To realise the city of Pekanbaru as the centre for trade and services, education, and Malay culture toward a prosperous, faith-based Godly society' (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001).

The above quotation is a fundamental element of the guidance to the Municipality of Pekanbaru City; it is the vision of city development (appendix 1). It was proposed by the Mayor and the DPRD (local parliament) in 2000, and must be implemented from 2001 to 2021. This is a turning point for urban society in that the municipality, on behalf of the city's people, has mandated to realise the idea of Malayness, and to name Malay as the core culture. Thus, the culture is set to become the preference in all aspects of urban society life for 20 years, and '*cannot be reviewed until 2021*' (Resp 14). The Vision, then, is further explained in the Mission of city development. It consists of five articles: trade and services, education, Malay culture, society, and religious life (Appendix 2). This becomes guidance for the municipality to issue certain local regulations in relation to the centre of Malay culture.

However, the Vision and the Mission are not always understood by all city people. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02), has doubts about the guidance although it has been in the process of implementation for more than a decade, saying it '*became a controversial decision at the very beginning*'. It was filled with the political intrigue and euphoria of the autonomy era that utilised the passion for local independence to influence decisions. He argues that '*the Vision and Mission were different than had been discussed and proposed as it had been changed by the DPRD at that time ... once had been approved, nothing could be said afterwards*'. In addition, the Vision and the Mission are also not clearly defined. As Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that local government and local parliaments were said to have been too rushed in making decisions at that time. As a consequence, despite local passion, ambiguity and unpredicted results were emerging as well. He emphasises that '*the vision should be gradually*

implemented by realising Malayness at Pekanbaru and Riau first, before get broadening its scope. In fact, Pekanbaru has failed, honestly speaking, in implementing Malayness on a broader scale, as the vision is just a vision without practical manifestations’.

Mumford (1940: 348) sees this situation as a process of unification. It has not only occurred in the political arena, but has also happened in cultural areas that *‘do not exist in a concentric relationship which is characterised by overlapping, duplications, conflicts, and blank spaces’*. These have become a consequence that could possibly generate more attention on categorisation and classification (Brubaker, 2004: 64). This process has also become a field of rival interpretations where *‘there are always multiple and competing allegiances’* (Delanty, 2010: 150).

5.6.2 Sub-Vision: A Signature of the Mayor

The Vision and the Mission have been stated as the guidance for the municipality to develop the city within Malay culture over 20 years. However, as a long term policy, it does not always fit with time and reality. One of the problems is local power shifts; the change from one leader to another does not always occur smoothly. Commonly, in Indonesia today, every leader, such as a governor or mayor, brings a different agenda and tends to discontinue previous policies. As a consequence, the leader of the local regime tends to act and make decisions based on group or personal interests. As Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) points out, *‘as the leader changes every five years, it never produces a clear pattern for delivering the Vision from the top leader to the bottom ... it will never be our vision, but is only for the elite’*.

Firdaus, the Mayor (Resp 34), argues *‘the vision is too broad. Therefore we (the Mayor and the Vice-Mayor) need a prolongation of the vision, a sub-vision’*. Concomitant with the local power shift, the sub-vision is only used for the five years of the Mayor’s governance. In this sense, its function is not only as a prolongation, but also serves to distinguish each new Mayor from the previous one. Furthermore, the Mayor also emphasises that Pekanbaru will be developed as a *madani* metropolis city. In his explanation, a *madani* metropolis city is:

*‘A modern city through three comprehensive approaches; smart, liveable, and environmentally friendly within a religious society ... in short, the city will **not only develop physically, but also socially and in the spirit of Malayness’**.*

This means that the municipality will develop the city not only in a physical manner, but also in terms of society life as a religious society. Furthermore, the period of implementation has been readjusted until 2025, instead of 2021 (fig. 5.06).

Dalam rangka mewujudkan pembangunan jangka panjang sebagaimana tercantum di dalam Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah Kota Pekanbaru 2005-2025, Visi Kota Pekanbaru adalah *Terwujudnya Kota Pekanbaru sebagai Pusat Perdagangan dan Jasa, Pendidikan, serta Pusat Kebudayaan Melayu, Menuju Masyarakat Sejahtera yang Berlandaskan Iman dan Taqwa*.

Visi Kota Pekanbaru diatas merupakan salah satu bentuk azam dan cita-cita masyarakat Kota Pekanbaru yang harus diwujudkan oleh setiap Kepala Daerah yang terpilih untuk memimpin kota Pekanbaru. Visi dan misi Kepala Daerah terpilih merupakan visi antara yang harus memenuhi kriteria untuk mewujudkan visi kota tersebut.

Berdasarkan Visi dan Misi Daerah Kota Pekanbaru, maka untuk periode 2012 – 2017, ditetapkan Visi Pembangunan Kota Pekanbaru adalah :

**TERWUJUDNYA PEKANBARU SEBAGAI KOTA METROPOLITAN
YANG MADANI**

Figure 5.06 The New Vision in RPJM - the Long Term of City Planning Agenda 2012
Source: Pemko_Pekanbaru (2012: V-1)

As it consists of multicultural life, the city needs something which comes from ‘inside’, something which operates within and which can stabilise, accommodate, and integrate the pluralistic society, something that can also promote interaction and mutual respect among members of the city (Hutcheon, 1999: 193). In this respect, Dovey (2010: 23) proposes viewing a city as *‘an assemblage that stabilises dwelling but also encompasses line of movement and the process of becoming’* the immanence of place. Deleuze and Guattari (2004) state that the immanence of a place is where each part or component works with others, though it *‘might take special circumstances to make them apparent’* (Ballantyne, 2007: 29). In this way, reconstructing the identity of a place can be stabilised within a pluralistic situation.

5.7 Concluding Comments: Being today’s Malay

The transformation Malayness has been constantly reconstituted in various conceptions. Today, the Malay of the east coast of Sumatra has reclaimed dominance in terms of power, and have tried to embed Malay as the core culture. In Pekanbaru city in particular, Malay culture is also used as the main preference in terms of the reconstruction of identity. This can be understood from the Vision of the city which promotes a move toward Malay culture.

Hutcheon (1999: 12) points out *‘the power of cultural beliefs and values to shape the physical and social movement’* is significant. Dovey (2010: 38) adds that *‘practice place-making lies in an acceptance and articulation of the deep complicity of architecture and social change ... will always be political. There is no zone of neutrality’*. Architecture itself has a role in building a connection between buildings and culture (Ballantyne, 2002). Hence, investigating the influences of a culture on architecture can reveal social problems related not only to built forms, but also to socio-cultural change. Thus, investigating the influence of Malay culture on architecture, it can be argued, is one possible way of reconstructing the socio-cultural identity of Pekanbaru. This is further explained in the following chapters.

Chapter 6

**Representation of Culture through
Architecture**

Representation of Culture through Architecture

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Representation of Culture through Architecture

*'The built environment **reflects the identities, differences and struggles of gender, class, race, culture and age.** It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order ... because **architecture and urban design involve transformations** in the ways we frame life ... **cannot claim autonomy from the politics of social change**' (Dovey, 2008: 1).*

6.1. Architecture: A field of Transformation

In terms of examining a connection to culture, *'architecture always has a cultural dimension to the practicalities of living'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 2). The connection is something observable in certain forms such as built forms (Hutcheon, 1999; Ballantyne, 2002) and symbolism (Findley, 2005; Dovey, 2008; Vale, 2008). In turn, this connection can be used to frame the identity of a place through how it represents the cultural system (De Landa, 2006: 3) and practises *'place transformation [which is] at once material and experiential, spatial and social'* (Dovey, 2010: 13). Thus, representation becomes an accumulation of assets and generates other connections with society. Representation can therefore be used in respect to the concept of the identity of place (Hall, 1996), the imagination and production of the future (Dovey, 2008: 1), and social change (Findley, 2005: 35). In this way, identity of place is seen *'not as a natural attribute but a process that must be cultivated'* (Vale, 2008: 49).

The connection between culture and architecture can be identified as *'a key role in reinvigorating the existing field of privileged practices'* (Dovey, 2010: 31) that generates *'unpredictable outcomes which emerge from alliances, connections and symbioses'* (Dovey and Pafka, 2014: 74). Hence, this connection can be framed within the conception of dynamic assemblage, which examines the properties of parts and their connections with others (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004; De Landa, 2006; Dovey, 2010). Thus, the connection becomes important in reconstructing architecture (Ballantyne, 2002), and also as a form of resistance to cultural practice at the same time (Findley, 2005: 30). In this way, architecture serves as a field of transformation where culture and the cultural are reproduced. Findley (2005: 30) argues that *'architecture is a visible, spatial, high profile form of cultural practice that deals directly with space. As such it is intimately tied not only to power, but also to cultural agency; architecture lends credence to that agency. It is the primary spatial way for people to represent themselves in the world'*.

The previous chapter showed that the Malay had been transformed over several periods, mostly as a powerless ethnic group. In this chapter, in contrast, the Malay culture plays an important role as the core culture which is applied as an ideology to local architecture (Section 6.2) through localising regional architecture (Section 6.3). Although widely implemented, this approach raises particular issues (Section 6.4) in relation to urban architecture (Section 6.5). In this way, representation in architecture is seen not only as a precognitive expression of local

architecture, but also as a space to represent today's Malay in terms of the reconstruction of identity of place (Section 6.6).

6.2 Injection of Malay Culture into Architecture

'Our leader today is not consistently directing us, particularly on buildings ... [we] already have local regulation, but it's not applied ... have built luxurious buildings, but none of them implement "senibina". So, which ones does belong to us?' (Tenas Effendy, Resp 21).

The above quotation relates to *senibina*: Malay architecture. It implies at least three things are happening today: power shift, local architecture, and its implementation. This concerns an attempt to 'inject' Malay culture into local architecture by the new ruling regime in Pekanbaru. Reclaiming dominance by a newly emerging regime is not an easy task as it is not only about having 'power over' (Dovey, 2008), but also concerns how to use the power to convey particular aspects of culture and its production in daily life. This is something that takes time (Vale, 2008), is not always fully successful, or could be lost altogether (Findley, 2005). Such an attempt to reclaim dominance might lead to reproduction, or to the product of something new as a side effect of the emerging culture (Anzaldúa, 2012). Both production and reproduction of culture will meet with the 'existing' culture. Therefore, the focus is not only on scale and strategies related to how to deliver the culture, but also on dealing with perception and interpretation. As Findley (2005: 5) argues, this relates to:

'power shifts ... using strategies to embody particular attitudes, cultural practices and ideologies ... to reflect a new set of ideas, constituents and power relation as a long-term endeavour necessary to complete any political, cultural and social transformation'.

In a research context, it is necessary to look back at Malay history. Founded as a nation of sultanates, Malay culture had been distinguished according to several colonialist markers for centuries such as ethnicity, place of origin, and emotive content (5.2.2). For most of the last five centuries, Malays had been a powerless ethnic group, suppressed by other groups in their own land. Conversely, by gaining local independence, Malays have become a powerful group during the reformation period. This can be seen as an opportunity to reinstate Malay power in both the political and cultural life of the land. This attempt has also become more significant due to its new alliance with the Islamic World. However, as it is possible to abuse this new dominance, leading to ethnic hegemony, it is important to examine how the Malay can exist and reconstruct their identity today. This examination will begin with an attempt to inject Malay culture into local architecture, which is promoted by the local government and Malay community on the east coast of Sumatra.

6.2.1 The Vision and Malay Architecture

The Vision of City Development is a general statement (5.6.1). It cannot be directly implemented into daily life, and needs to be translated through a strategic policy, which is known as the Mission of City Development (Appendix 2). The Mission consists of five articles, and the 3rd article has directly engaged with architecture:

‘... the will to make Pekanbaru city as the center of Malay culture through physical appearance of buildings as reflection of local identity ... (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001).

To reflect the emerging local identity, the municipality of Pekanbaru has been trying to change the ‘appearance’ of city buildings. It is an attempt to inject Malay architecture as the main preference through local regulation (6.2.2). In practice, the changes have focused on the façades and roofs of the buildings that have become important for the municipality. As mentioned by municipality officers, Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) and Firdaus (Resp 14), the municipality has shown more concern regarding the expression of city buildings in the last twelve years.

After more than a decade, the implementation has been forming a particular pattern that tends to generate similar features on the buildings. This has occurred not only on the government’s buildings, such as offices and schools, but also on public buildings such as hospitals, courts, churches, mosques, and *ruko* (shop-houses) and is being continued currently. As mentioned by the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), the *‘identity of city buildings is the most interesting matter in term of identity of this city’*. Similarly, it has also been mentioned by local professionals that the local government pushes local architects to follow an unclear policy to implement Malay architecture which is based on the traditional Malay house. As a local architect, Alfiandri (Resp 09), comments that *‘obviously, there is a bit of coercion in this matter’*.

Interpretation of traditional architectural forms in contemporary architecture in urban spaces can be problematic in its implementation. Abel (2000) argued that traditional architectural forms do not offer such clear models which can be applied to contemporary buildings. These buildings are not as simple as the traditional ones and need to be both flexible and rational forms. In contrast to Abel, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that the problematic interpretation, particularly in Pekanbaru, is caused by three factors: *‘lack of understanding of philosophy of traditional built form; architects in practice; and the leadership of the ruling regime’*. He also highlights that traditional architecture can fit with the contemporary and new materials. In this matter Alfiandri (Resp 09) emphasises that *‘models and technology are not the main issues today, but economic demand and building function aspects’*.

Furthermore, under today’s governance, the injection of Malay architecture has been enhanced through the Sub-Vision (5.6.2). As the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) confirms, *‘we (the municipality) will keep encouraging the use of cultural elements on city buildings in expressing Malayness’*. This echoes the views of the Mayor (Resp 37) that traditional Malay architecture has become the main preference for Malay expression in city buildings. He emphasises that *‘Malay architecture is rich ... can be combined with modern and Islamic forms’*.

Temporary power policies have become common in Indonesia today. Local leaders, such as governors or city mayors, have become part of the new local regime. As Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02), a local urban sociologist argues, *'our governance today reflects the power politics which rule a place. So, they bring their own "colour" to normative culture that is easily changed, and also place us in a disorderly condition by recreating a new normative-identity which is unclear in its conception ... almost everything is regulated for, but not implemented'*.

Foucault (in Dovey, 2008: 189) noted that the practice of power in architecture can generate positive effects in the exercise of freedom. However, the *'reassertion of political, cultural and territorial control'* into architecture does not always occur smoothly and peacefully (Findley, 2005: 24). The implementation of progressive societal and legislative agendas is also possible, in common with the rhetoric of unity in a pluralistic society. It becomes a symbol of production *'of elite with its own set of group preferences'* such as using local architecture as a visible means of connecting with cultural preferences and social conditions (Vale, 2008: 54). In reality, the agenda is mostly used to distribute the power of the ruling regime (Findley, 2005: 24), instead of being a real reflection of society. Dovey (2008: 44) points out that, in terms of mediation between power and architecture, *'once reduced to text, all architectural signifiers are available for appropriation into new codes of domination'*. In this situation, the representation of architecture can lose its aesthetic autonomy. For Dovey (2008: 2), *'relegation of built form to the unquestioned frame is the key to its relation to power ... the more that the structures and representation of power can be embedded in the framework of everyday life, the less questionable they become and the more effectively they can work. This is what lends built form a prime role as ideology'*.

6.2.2 Local Regulation: The Instrument to Inject the Culture

The autonomy era gives wide discretion for every region or city to regulate their territory. Having more power, in some sense, generates more advantage for the locals to reconstruct their place as an autonomous place. However, in another sense, this also stimulates hegemony, particularly in politics and policies that are promoted by certain groups and elites. They make certain choices which are based on their own preferences, and then present them to society. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) argues that it is *'problematic today that all regions in Indonesia can freely speak and make any things such as local regulations, and also freely implement their programs, although they might not fit with wider perspectives. Once this relates to power, it becomes unarguable because it is assumed to be always 100% true'*.

In the case of Pekanbaru, the municipality has issued several *Perda* or local regulations. These *Perda* are used as an instrument to accommodate Malay architecture in its implementation. The *Perda* have also been revised and signed by three different Mayors in the last 12 years. The first of the local buildings regulations was issued in 2000, and then revised in 2010 and 2012. Although revised, all of them are similar in content in that there is a lack of further explanation and technical guidance on how to adopt Malay Architecture. There is only one article of the regulations which was written by an officer in practice to support architecture (table 6.01). Based on this article, it is assumed that most city buildings must implement cultural features of Malay architecture. This is still the case, as long as no changes to the regulation or any further instructions from the Mayor are made.

Table 6.01 Building regulations in the autonomy era

The Article	Main issue	The Mayor
Establish specifics of adopting Riau-Malay architecture	Initial effort	H. Osman Effendi Reg. Number: 14 18 December 2000
The city mayor may assign specific buildings for the adoption of Riau-Malay architecture	Practitioner and revenue	H. Herman Abdullah Reg. Number: 01 16 February 2010
The city mayor may assign specific buildings for the adoption of Riau-Malay architecture	High rise buildings and revenue	H. Firdaus Reg. Number: 07 09 August 2012

Practices and changes in the legal text can be used to camouflage power practices in mediating particular forms of control to achieve a wide range of ideological objectives. It is possible that this may become a kind of authority on architecture that establishes a connection between power and buildings and also between people, through a shared assumption on building metaphor. In this case, the regulation has ‘forced’ city buildings to implement Malay architecture. This continual implementation aims to generate a sense of belonging (Dovey, 2010). As Findley (2005: 29) emphasises, the practice is not only to show resistance and dominance, but also *‘the ability and power to act on one’s own behalf’* to mitigate and to preclude other cultural forms.

Municipality officers, Firdaus (Resp 14) and Edwin Supradana (Resp 18), mentioned the lack of detail and continuity in the regulations. A similar concern was also mentioned by the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), who *‘has realised that the Perda are not reliable instruments these days ... they need to improve, with more technical guidance. But, it is the Mayor in person who has the power to change it’*. During an interview with the Mayor (Resp 34), there was an opportunity to ask about his next policy in terms of city buildings. He explained that, although signed in 2012, the regulations did not aim to limit the architecture of the city to certain patterns. In his explanation, the Mayor agrees with previous governance decisions to adopt Malay architecture as the ‘main colour’ for city buildings. However, he was also reticent about this being interpreted only into certain cultural features in its implementation. As the Mayor says, *‘we are living in a dynamic world; therefore we cannot be static, or we will be left behind ... I also disagree that Malay should be narrowed in its interpretation to certain ornaments, totally disagree in this matter. We must develop the culture in line with the times through creativity and a wide range of innovation within Malayness’*.

By having local autonomy, the city grows fast with complex activities and problems. Therefore, it is necessary for the municipality to review its regulations to control the whole area of the city and to understand the demands and needs of urban life. In this way, regulations which link to the adoption of Malay architecture must not be formed in rigid ways, but should be flexible. This adoption cannot only be limited through interpretation of the traditional Malay house, but must be open to other possibilities. As the Mayor (Resp 37) argues, *‘traditional Malay architecture is capable of being formed in modern ways ... and whatever kind of city policies we have; they should offer the chance for the architecture to be developed’*.

Barker (2002: 233) argues that a policy *‘is not only a technical problem of administration, but also one of cultural values and social power set in overall context of the production and circulation of symbolic meanings’*. In this case, the regulation as a product of power practices

can also 'command' architectural production to look for '*pattern, similarities and difference and for the unique that might be enhanced in an urban setting*' (Findley, 2005: 200). Thus, this can provoke the production of one thing as symbolic of another. Production is not always necessarily done through brute force, but also through claims of expertise on various matters (Foucault, 2000; Dovey, 2010). Therefore, the regulation of architecture to represent certain meaning is also likely to lead to serious effects on social relations (Dovey, 2008).

6.3 Malay Architecture

6.3.1 *Kampung*: A Repository of Socio-Cultural Life

Kampung is a rural settlement which is sustained traditionally within a certain habitat or territory. Within this boundary, the *kampung* constructs a particular sense of belonging through homogeneity and social practices in everyday life. According to Abel (2000: 151), the *kampung* frames social relationships between people, built forms and cultural life in a range of single family units on a community scale. Thus, the *kampung's* social life is well-integrated within the community, and less in premium individual privacy, in order to favour intimacy at the community level (Yuan, 1987: 88; Milner, 2009: 29) (fig. 6.01). In this way, every *kampung* develops its own accent, custom, personality, and *adat* (Milner, 2009: 4). *Adat* is stabilised and socially maintained from early childhood and taken through a person's whole life. Therefore, the notion of habitus becomes significant in the *kampung's* life. This can be identified by how social practices are constructed and learned as a way of knowing the world of people and things which are set to act as dispositions of space and time.

The *Kampung* built form has tended towards evolutionary rather than revolutionary change, and its identity has remained stable within its environment. In terms of spatial arrangement, the *kampung* is different, and determined by local tradition, social relations, and the life styles of inhabitants (Milner, 2009: 29). This composition is seen to support its social life in order to define social space and ecological response (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 181). Yuan (1987: 91) argues there is no particular geometric arrangement of the *kampung*. However, the way inhabitants live can provide a reference to how the *kampung* is arranged in a particular pattern: linear or cluster. A *Kampung* within a linear pattern is commonly found by the estuary of a river and coastline, where inhabitants depend on fishing and harbour life, whereas the cluster pattern can be found in the hinterland along a river or stream, where mostly farm life and agricultural activities take place (fig. 6.02). These patterns are documented by Raffles (1835a: 21), who notes that Malay settlements must have been on or near coasts, and not in the interior of a land. Indeed, on the east coast of Sumatera, there can be found a '*koto*', which is identified as a small compound where the oldest settlement and traditional houses are preserved by the community. Each house represents a particular '*puak*', or cultural fragmentation, of Malay culture (fig. 6.03). This serves as a nucleus of the *kampung* and becomes the informal centre of power that regulates the socio-cultural life which has been passed down for generations through the ruler of the community. For Milner (2009: 29), the ruler is just a ruler who exists as an axial component in the life-world of the community and is conceived to have merely implemented sacred cultural law or traditional values, i.e. *adat*.

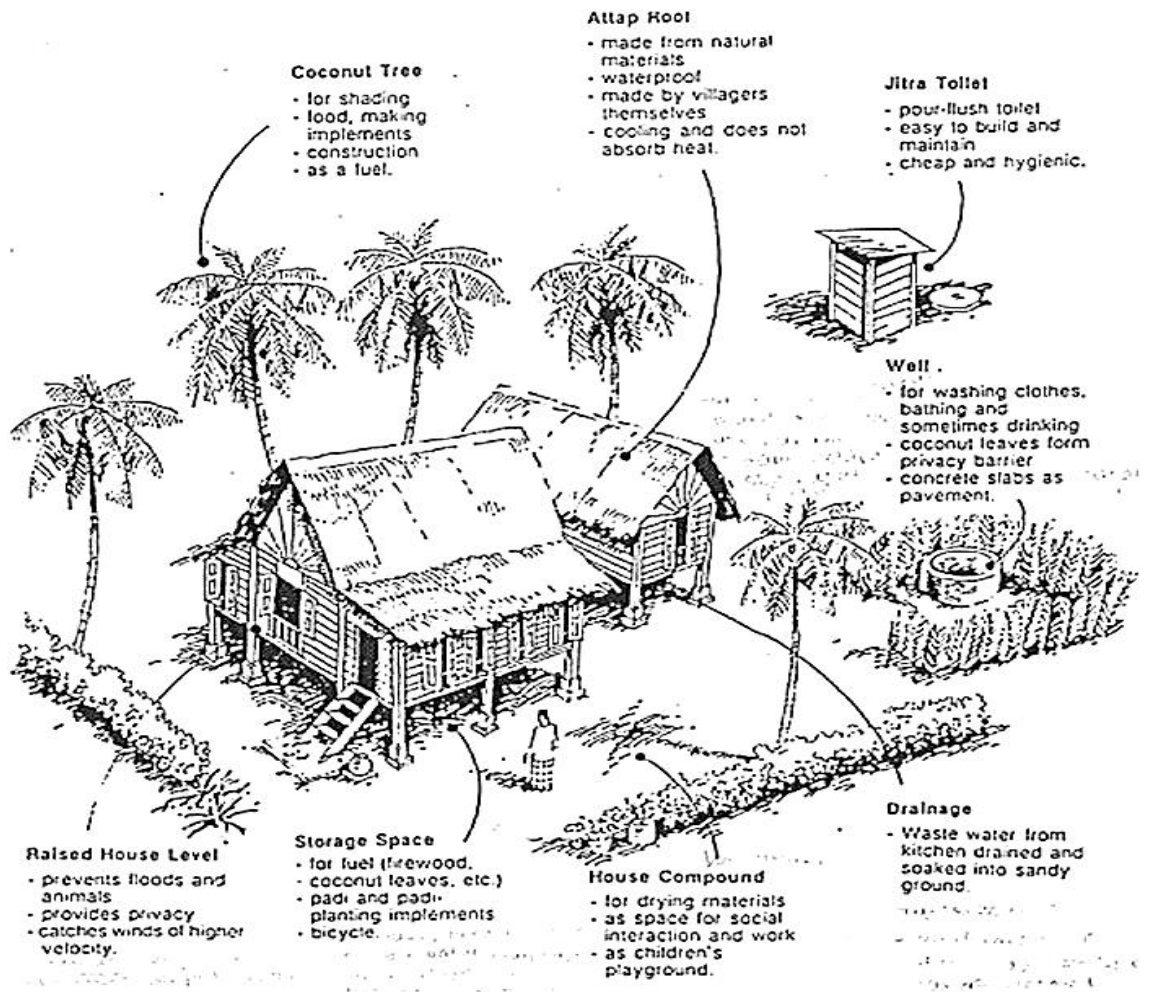


Figure 6.01 External environment of a traditional Malay house in a *kampung*
Source: Yuan (1987: 92)



Figure 6.02 Traditional houses in the hinterland area



Figure 6.03 Group of houses in the *koto*

6.3.2 Malay House: Generating Architecture and Cultural Values

The Form of a Malay House

'The house is a microcosm, reflecting in its layout, structure, and ornamentation the concept of an ideal nature and social order. Houses and settlements always offer themselves as a useful means of encoding such information' (Waterson, 1997: xvii).

The Malay house can be recognised from its appearance; it is raised up off the ground and placed on piles, with a low wooden wall and large saddle roof. Roof materials are traditionally made from the leaves of palm trees or from thatch, but have been mostly replaced with zinc today. Watson and Bentley (2007: 184) describe the Malay house as a post and lintel structure of wooden materials; its walls have plenty of windows to provide good ventilation and views. In general, in order to identify the Malay house, there are three shared physical features in the mode of construction: the fact that it is raised on piles, the roof form, and the gable-finials (Firzal, 2011) (fig 6.04). According to Waterson (1997: 1), being raised on piles - whether of wood, stone or brick - is the main characteristic of the Malay house. This construction is seen as suited to a tropical climate and environment that can be found in a wide range of regions such as Micronesia, Melanesia, South-East Asia, and Polynesia. By providing a gap between the ground and floor, being raised on piles is not only fitting for the environment, but also for the social life of the people (Waterson, 1997: 1). Abel (2000) supports this view and emphasises that the physical character of the Malay house is a good example of close relations between society, built forms, and traditional culture.

Another feature of the Malay house is the roof form and shape, which is identified as a saddle roof in a funnel or A-shape. The roof ends with a gable wall which can vary between regions (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 184). The saddle roof is equipped with an extended ridge-line, which often slopes outward of the gable-end. In certain places, there are also highly exaggerated points to the eaves which are known as gable-horns. The gable-horn, which is likened to that of an animal and is a decorative finial, is believed to hold a certain meaning such as protection, wealth, sacrifice, and can be used as a sign of rank or social status in society (Waterson, 1997: 8). The last shared characteristic of the Malay house is the decorative gable-finials, which can be described as a vertical surface situated at one or both ends of the roof, adjoining a pitched roof. Its shape depends on the type of roof and parapet but is mostly triangular.

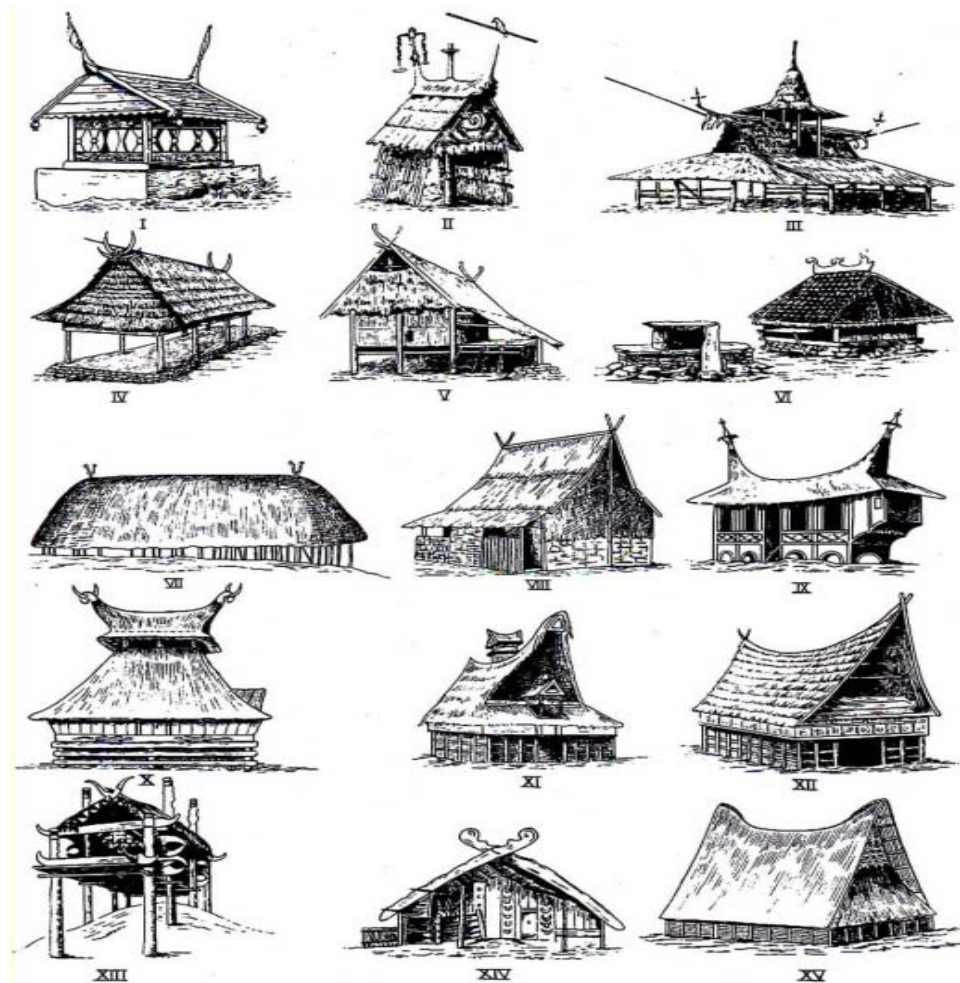


Figure 6.04 Traditional Built Forms of Southeast Asia
Source: Waterson (1997: 21)

Traditional Malay House: The Local Uniqueness of Malay Architecture

In a research context, it is necessary to know how traditional Malay houses are constructed on the east coast of Sumatra. The remarkable features of the house are very similar to those of other Malay regions, but are enriched with local uniqueness. Being raised on piles offers advantages for dealing with a hot and humid climate as the gap created between the ground and floor provides space for air circulation to cool down the house (Yuan, 1987: 75); it is also used as a temporary storage space and semi-private space for social activities (fig. 6.05).

In terms of roof forms, traditional houses are mostly rectangular in shape or, very rarely, square. They can be grouped into three: (1) *Belah Bubung* Roof or *bubung/rabung Melayu/lipat kajang/lipat pandan/atap labu/atap layar/atap bersayap/atap bertinggam*; (2) *Limas* Roof or *limas penuh/limas berabung*; and (3) *Lontik* Roof or *pencalang/lancang* (traditional boat)/*gorai* (Wahyuningsih and Abu, 1986) (fig 6.07). On the gable wall, there are two significant decorations: the gable-finial and gable-horn, which each carry their own meaning and variations (fig 6.08). Today, the gable-horn is mostly called the '*selembayung*'.



Figure 6.05 Multi-purposes of the gap under the house
Serves as a temporary storage space (above), Used as a space for social activities (below)



Figure 6.06 Basic forms of saddle roof on the east coast of Sumatera
Left to Right: *Belah Bubung*, *Limas*, *Lontik*



Figure 6.07 Variations in the form of Malay's Gable-Wall Finial

Another unique feature of the traditional house is the wood carving ornament, which is mostly inspired by interpretations of local flora and fauna. As well as being beautifully and skilfully hand-carved (Waterson, 1997: xv), each motif of the carving ornaments has its own symbolic meaning and values that have been handed down through the generations (Yuan, 1987: 46). These ornaments can be found on all parts of the house, such as on the stairs, cladding, ventilation and walls (fig. 6.08)



Figure 6.08 Wood carvings on traditional Malay houses

Importance of the House: Home of Malay Architecture

The distinction between and significance of the house and home are interpreted variously in different regions. Home, as De Landa (2006) argues, is a place of territoriality that constructs a sense of familiarity and order within the connection to different boundaries in everyday life. For Rapoport (1969: 132), the house is in some sense an expression of an ideal environment, reflecting social ideologies and an ethos of living. Rapoport (1985: 265) also adds that the house can serve as a home when activities occur as a process of progressive contextualisation, which can vary across different groups and system settings. This is also seen as an expression of identity or status. Bourdieu (in Waterson, 1997, p. xvii) notes that the manner in which a house is inhabited may serve as an embodiment of cultural messages. It might be absorbed and internalised in society as a dialectical relationship between habitat, the socially structured environment, and habitus as the collection of scheme perception, attitudes and behaviour which shape the cognitive world and lend order to experience.

House as an inhabited space, its construction and everyday use, can provide a way in to a whole culture and its ideas. Kent (1990: 35) argues that the house has a deep impact on human action and decisions. This can be seen in actual human decisions that are made involving the construction, possession, and dwelling process of a house. Ballantyne and Smith (2012: 4) highlight that the house is not only used to accommodate real needs for practical and effective shelter, but also as a mark of social status and the possessions accumulated through a lifetime to pass as a respectable citizen.

For Abel (2000: 151), Malay houses have proved to show a general nature of relations between built and social forms within traditional cultures. The tradition of the house has become a good example of how culture and cultural production are constructed. The concept of habitus in the house can be defined as the interpretation of predispositions or customs generated through past experience (Lawrence, 1985: 117). Waterson (1997: xvi) adds that Malay houses as inhabited spaces are never neutral: they are all culturally constructed, which inevitably carries some symbolic load. House symbolism can be interpreted as something extraordinary or unique which gives form and meaning to life. Therefore, the Malay house is an important source of reference to local architecture, but is also a reflection of individuals and members of a community where culture and cultural production can be found. In turn, Malay houses do not only serve as homes, but also express the relationship between people, built forms, and the social world for Malay people.

6.4 Localising Regional Architecture

6.4.1 The Culture and Local Architecture

As a subset of Malay culture, there have been attempts to adjust Malay architecture within a local context. For example, building regulation number 7/2012 (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012a) has been used as an instrument by the municipality to reinstate a sense of Malayness on city buildings. Indeed, clause 76 of the regulation states that:

'The Mayor may assign specific buildings to adopt Riau-Malay architecture'
(Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012b).

This regulation therefore is not only related to Malay architecture, but more specifically to 'Riau-Malay architecture'. This term specifies the region, Riau, which is seen as the home of Malay culture (Raffles, 1835b; Reid, 2001; Milner, 2009). In 2002, Riau region was split into two separate administrative regions: Riau Province on the east coast of Sumatra, and Riau Islands Province (Long, 2013: 7). In relation to city buildings, the article raises particular issues caused by the term 'Riau-Malay architecture'. In this case, it can be argued that the regulation refers to the administrative boundary of the region, instead of the city. Unconsciously, the article has localised Malay architecture as regional architecture within the administrative boundary. This has in turn generated new questions about the nature of Riau-Malay architecture.

Unclear definitions in the regulation have led to different interpretations among local stakeholders. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) points out that *'when LAM (Lembaga Adat Melayu – Malay Customary Board) had suggested that all buildings must adopt Malay architecture, which one is it? By having various kinds of Malay culture in the Riau region, they cannot answer it. In my personal opinion, it should be to the 1985 conception when the Conference of the Malay-World at Tanjung Pinang defined Malay according to three things: the language, "adat", and Islam'*. Another interpretation is given by Edwin Supradana (Resp 18), municipality officer: *'expression of city buildings in Pekanbaru refers to traditional houses which are scattered in Riau'*. It means that the expression of local character today is generated by various characters of place: a mixture of characteristics. Every traditional house in the region differs in form and character, which is mentioned by Firdaus Agus, a local construction consultant (Resp 01): *'there aren't even similarities between our coastal and main-land culture in terms of ornaments, customs and architecture style. Many other places do not have the saddle roof with a funnel like in Pekanbaru. Therefore, the conception of architecture style in Pekanbaru today is unclear'*.

In light of the above, there is an argument for stabilising local identity through architectural forms. Firstly, from a historical perspective, Pekanbaru was initially founded as a remote area of the Malay Sultanate that was developed by multi-ethnic groups without any single dominant culture. Thus, Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) argues that *'this city was developed by heterogenic peoples and built forms, and has become a mixed city'*. For Al-Azhar (Resp 12), Pekanbaru is *'a satellite area of the Siak Sultanate; thus, cultural values from the palace were not well absorbed. But today, it has become unique as well. Because of its history as a transit place, the society has developed as "masyarakat kacukan" (mixed community) with river port life that has never had a dominant community since the beginning'*.

Secondly, in terms of developing Malayness, the municipality has tried to implement similar architectural forms since 2001. It has unconsciously redefined sources of architecture that can only be extracted from the traditional houses of the Riau region. This has become the most practical way to reconstruct local identity in the architectural form. From a different perspective, this is also seen as problematic for the Malay in that the local architecture has been limited by the administrative boundary. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that *'Riau-Malay architecture has tended to be framed in a narrow perspective. At the very least, the architecture should be interpreted just as "senibina" (built form) which is found locally without any specific character. In terms of preserving local identity, Malayness in Riau must have the openness which is emerging from daily cultural life and is based on a geo-cultural conception, instead of a geo-administrative conception'*. Mixing geo-cultural and geo-administrative conceptions has generated a chaotic assumption that architectural forms of certain places of the region can be implemented in the city, while other forms are unwelcome. This has limited Malay architecture to certain patterns of local styles, such as those based on roof form. In some cases, this interpretation has denied other various forms that already existed and created more ambiguity in the implementation of local architecture itself, including for the traditional houses of Pekanbaru.

In terms of traditionalism, Firdaus (Resp 14) emphasises that *'every place of Riau region has its own style. So, what is the Riau-Malay architecture?'* Although traditional forms are recognisable, implementing them in contemporary buildings requires a different approach and cannot be generalised in just one way. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) points out that the implementation of Malay architecture in city buildings can also be seen as a counterproductive effort. Although it is understandable, the need for a single, local identity cannot be met for fundamental reasons. Furthermore, as identical to Islam, Malay architecture becomes something debatable matter. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) emphasises that *'the implementation of architecture these days is partly attributable to the euphoria of the reformation era. Being framed in a normative sense, it has generated fatal consequences in terms of reproducing the old-style with fewer alternatives. Therefore, its essence is lost'*.

The interpretation of local architecture is not always based on the traditional house, but also can be inspired by other structures such as Malay palaces. Although they are no longer centres of power, the palaces still have meaning for local people and have become a symbol of distinction and society life. However, as they are mostly of wooden construction, the palaces have problems with decay and are becoming at risk (fig. 6.09). This is highlighted by Amrun Salmon (Resp 08), who mentions that *'most Malay palaces are built of wood, so they hardly last for a long time, except the Siak Palace'*.

The Siak palace, named Asseraiyah Hasyimiah Palace, was built in 1889 (Siak, 2012) (fig. 6.10). The palace, as Al-Azhar (Resp 12) and Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) mention, was not built in the traditional style, but rather demonstrates a mixture of architectural styles. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) emphasises that the *'form of the palace is much influenced by Indian architecture'*. Furthermore, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) explains that *'when the Sultan Syarif Hasyim built the Siak Palace, he didn't want to build his palace to look like a Balai Kerapatan (Community hall – a wooden construction), but was inspired by European buildings of that time'*. In this sense, the Sultan had exemplified the fact that local architecture did not have to mirror the general pattern or be an 'authentic copy' of a traditional Malay house. Instead, he showed that it was possible to interpret the style into something new as long as the new form could be accepted by the people. The Siak Palace is actually influenced by European architecture which was transmitted along with colonisation by those who came to Southeast Asia. Although built in

the late 19th century and colonised by the Dutch, the palace was not built in the form of *Indisch*-architecture, but as indigenous Malaysian architecture (6.3.2). Therefore, the Palace looks similar to buildings in the Malay Peninsula cities (Malaysia). As Abel (2000) noted, this architectural style is defined as a mixture of Indian-British architecture and traditional Malay houses.



Figure 6.09 Various Palaces of Malay Sultanates in East-coastal Sumatra

A. Indragiri, B. Rokan, C. Sahilan, D. Pelalawan

Source: <http://www.riaudailyphoto.com>



Figure 6.10 The Asseraiyah Hasyimiah Palace at Siak Sri Indrapura City

Another construction of local architecture can be found in reproductions of encoded architectural elements. Through continual implementation, it can be argued here, that it is possible a sense of belonging. Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) mentions that expressions of city buildings today are based on traditional houses which use the patterns of *atap* (roof), *singap*

(gable wall), *ukiran* (carving) and *selembayung* (gable horn). Thus, the encoded elements have also been widely recognised by society, particularly *selembayung* (fig. 6.11).

Although it has become popular as a cultural element of local contemporary architecture, in fact, the *selembayung* was much debated. Built on piles, Malay houses in Pekanbaru are characterised by piercing wood-carving motifs, a rectangular *atap* (roof) and an A-funnel roof without any kind form of gable horn or *selembayung* (fig. 6.12). As the Mayor (Resp 34) highlights, ‘*Malay architecture is not only symbolised by the “selembayung”. This is a superficial thought. Are there any “selembayung” on traditional houses in Pekanbaru? Please take a look at those houses*’.

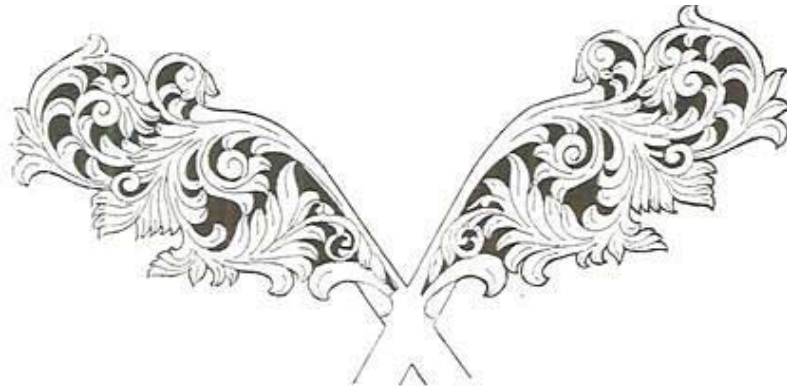


Figure 6.11 Basic pattern of *Selembayung*
Source: Depdikbud (1984)



Figure 6.12 Remaining traditional Malay houses in Pekanbaru
Source: Firzal (2007)

The fact that they cannot be found on traditional houses in Pekanbaru (Firzal, 2007) raises questions about how *selembayung* arrived in this city. Amrun Salmon (Resp 8) points out that in the late 1960s, the local government of Riau Province was urged to find and compile an

index of particular building elements which were representative of the local architectural identity. These features were inspired taken from various elements of traditional Malay houses of the Riau region at that time, as well as the east coast of Sumatra and island regions, and then implemented into the Riau pavilion in The Indonesia Miniature Park (TMII) Jakarta in 1971. One of these elements was the *selembayung* which was derived from *suluhbayung* (fig. 6.13) which can still be found in its place of origin in the Kampar area (Resp 21).

As representations of regional architecture, all the elements were brought back to Pekanbaru, the provincial capital, to put on city built forms. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) argues that *selembayung*, one of the elements, was 'implemented for the first time on the gate of "Kacangmayang", the amusement Park in 1975'. In addition, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) mentions that, in 1984, the local government built another pavilion of Riau with all these elements in Pekanbaru (fig. 6.14). This new pavilion, then, came to represent buildings of Riau-Malay architecture, and is also used as the office of *Lembaga Adat Melayu – LAM Riau* (Malay Customary Board).



Figure 6.13 *Suluhbayung* from Kampar area



Figure 6.14 *Balai Adat Riau*; the Office of LAM Riau

Irrespective of their authenticity or origin, encoded-elements have become common and acceptable architectural elements in the reconstruction of city buildings. This can be recognised as a new symbolic agreement of cultural elements and also of how to represent Malay architecture in an urban context today. As a subset of culture, architecture also brings

other cultural values. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that the interpretation of the future *'should not be trapped in old-style built forms'*. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) also adds that *'it is not necessary to conclude that Malay architecture takes certain forms or must be within a concrete definition'*. Malay buildings can be interpreted as buildings that can *'produce an amazing feeling of Malayness and cultural life'*. The flexibility notion of Malay architecture in terms of contemporary city buildings is also mentioned by the Mayor (Resp 34), who emphasises that *'architecture of the city already adapts, grows, and develops within multicultural societies and multi-ethnic communities, who have brought their own character and forms. As we are living together, we (Malays) cannot only implement ours (Malay architecture), and deny theirs'*.

Ballantyne (2002: 1) points out that *'architecture always has a cultural dimension to the practicalities of living'*. In this case, localising regional architecture can also be seen as a form of cultural production which has adapted to living traditions in society. As Bourdieu (in Webster, 2011: 41) noted, legitimised culture is circulated as a form of capital in society, and cultural capital is the object of social struggle and status which should be appreciated as authentic, meaningful and of value. This echoes the notion that traditional Malay architecture has potentially been developed in reasonable ways. According to Vellinga (2013: 571), expression from traditional architecture is possibly *'involved in the design of contemporary architecture'*. This can be constructed and stabilised in its historical identity from heterogeneous parts as an on-going process (De Landa, 2006). The process can also enhance the existing architecture to produce something new from the interrelationship between existing and other architectures. In this matter, Vellinga (in Asquith and Vellinga, 2006: 83) proposes that the representation of traditional architecture must not be frozen in time, or limited by narrow assumptions and definitions that lead it to be static, passive, and often romanticised. As cultural practices cannot only be located in just one place within state borders (Anzaldúa, 2012), a new representation becomes a way to understand how to reconstruct identity in architecture *'as networks of identification [which are] at once local and global'* (Barker, 2002).

Changing and transforming, whether locally or internationally, is actually a part of the natural process that occurs in any place. Although conveyed in particular forms and meanings, localising phenomena is not a single process which autonomously occurs by itself, but is *'inevitably influenced by the supra-local'* (Vale, 2008: 321). As Barker (2002: 153) emphasises, the process of localising can be meant as a process *'to create their own meanings from text'*. In addition, Massey (1994: 119) argues that the localising process can be seen as *'a kind of particularism, an exclusivity, often an essentialism, and a selfishness'*. The process, at a certain point, rejects the deliberation of something which can bring the supposedly greater good into the process.

One of the localising aims is focused on social and political matters (Massey, 1994). Localisation is conceptualised as an acceptable process which is given *'a prior recognition of differences, and valid only by virtue of the potentialities of the future'* (Massey, 1994: 137). In this research context, localising regional architecture can be seen as a process to chase future forms of architecture that have the potential to be accepted in the social and political spheres. Similarly, traditional architecture is actually not static, but undergoes *'continuous evolution, especially in heterogeneous societies subject to ever-increasing architectural cross-pollination, and rapid urbanisation'* (Vale, 2008: 321).

6.4.2 Adaptability, and Continuity

There are two perspectives on how to identify vernacular architecture. Firstly, it is defined as authentic, traditional buildings which preceded modernism as pristine buildings (Vellinga, 2006), or buildings which reflect tastes which were formed according to the tradition of antiquarianism. They are regarded as *'preindustrial buildings within a distinctive socio-cultural space, and outside of the classicism tradition'* (Upton, 1993: 10). Secondly, vernacular architecture is regarded as traditional buildings. As Upton (in Vellinga, 2006: 84) argues, *'Asian vernacular architecture has tended to focus on those building traditions that are regarded as traditional, in the sense that they are or have directly evolved out of indigenous building traditions that existed in the period just before or during the colonial encounter'*. This difference in perspective and historical background has led to particular implications, especially for local people, in terms of attitudes and practices in architecture. These implications include certain changes in the architecture which have *'clear effects but uncertain outcomes'* (Findley, 2005: 192). In order to respond to the changes, architecture can also be questioned with respect to its variation and authenticity (Massey, 1994). Dovey (2008: 56) points out that authenticity are not a quest for essence, but is ambiguity of experience. Authenticity is also *'an active engagement with wholly new contexts and fresh points of view combined with immediacy of cultural change'* (Findley, 2005: 192).

In the context of the Southeast Asian region, the interconnection between Western and traditional architecture is not new. During European colonisation, Malaysian architecture was known as a mixture of Indian-British architecture and traditional Malay houses (Abel, 2000), and *'Indisch'* architecture was a mixture of the Dutch architecture and *'Nusantara'* houses (Sidharta, 1988; Kusno, 2000). These buildings are not only the result of hybridisation of architecture, but also of built forms and social life.



Figure 6.15 *Indisch* architecture buildings in Indonesia

Left to right; Hotel, Commercial Shops, Hotel

Source: Firzal (2007)

Eric Wolff (in Asquith and Vellinga, 2006: 86) noted that contact and interconnections between cultures have *'taken place in the past as much as in the present'*. This also applies to authenticity in Malay architecture, particularly in traditional Malay houses. Features of the house such as being built on piles, actually must have been transmitted from somewhere else before being assimilated into a Southeast Asian environment and becoming a characteristic of the house (Abel, 2000). Thus, Malays see the form of the house as a legacy of previous generations. Firdaus Agus (Resp 1) points out that these houses can be mostly found in *'kampung'* where the previous generations lived. According to Al-Azhar (Resp 12), *'for people in kampungs, the architecture and its territory have been exclusively inherited from their ancestors, but not within an urban context, which is needed to reformulate and redefine'*.

Despite being constructed at different times and under different conditions, it is possible to develop traditional architecture for current and future purposes. This is because traditional architecture can fit with contemporary architecture, albeit as an active adaptation and a continuity of living traditions which will evolve and develop. On this point, Vellinga (2006: 86) argues that there is a *'contemporary emergence of all kinds of new and adapted traditions that, though different from the ones that preceded them, are authentic in their own right'*. An active adaptation becomes reality in daily life so that traditional architecture needs to be reinterpreted and re-created with new meaning, particularly in a place which flourished from *kampung* into an urban settlement. In this regard, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) highlights that *'the future of Malay architecture is not as an 'extra-zoom in' on traditional houses, but a reconstruction of objects from Malay daily life: something to embed with new understanding which needs to be reformulated and renewed in meaning. This is the strength of the Malay: giving new meanings to something. Malayness will be more lively in plural-interpretation, and should be fluid and unfrozen as a means of survival in an urban context'*.

6.4.3 Transforming Urban Architecture

Sir Thomas Raffles (1835a: 21) argued that Malay *kampung* *'must have been on or near the coasts, and not the interior'*. As a space, *kampung* frames the *'relation between built forms and socio-cultural life'* within a low premium of individual privacy in favour of intimacy in a range of single family units on a community scale (Abel, 2000: 151). It generates a sense of social life through homogeneity and social practices as natural aspects of everyday life. A *kampung's* social life is well-integrated within the community, meaning it is difficult to differentiate and demarcate the territories of public and private space due to this intimacy (Yuan, 1987). As a built form, the *kampung* is enhanced by a particular arrangement (Yuan, 1987; Milner, 2009) to define social space and an ecological response (Watson and Bentley, 2007) that also has a tendency for evolutionary rather than revolutionary changes, and *kampung's* identity remains stable in that environment.

Pekanbaru has flourished since its time as a *kampung* with its traditional life along the river. Although the *kampung's* structure still remains, the centre of the settlement has moved from the riverside and river-port life has lost its significance as the primary focus of daily life. Old buildings, shop-houses and traditional houses along the river have been abandoned and replaced by new buildings. As a consequence, people's lives have changed from rural life, which was sustained traditionally, into urban life. This has displaced the sense of traditional intimacy and social life and also people everyday lives have tended to become more practical. With these changes, in terms of architecture, the *kampung* characteristics have transformed into urban characteristics. Alfiandri (Resp 09) points out *'in earlier times, it was homogenous in religion and culture, but is heterogeneous today: people tend to be practical in their lives, including in architecture and society'*.

In the context of developing countries, Abel (2000) argues that displacing local buildings can produce cultural side effects. International and other Western styles could be recognised as new forms of continual colonisation that must be avoided. It is necessary to find more sympathetic forms of architecture which can be accepted by most people. The forms must be seen *'as [an] accumulation of metaphors and themes from symbolic function, interpretations and social conditions'* (Abel, 2000: 141) that are not only reflected in the identity of place, but

also in the imagination and production of the future (Dovey, 2008). In Pekanbaru, negotiating outside forms of architecture is seen as an opportunity to put traditional Malay architecture back into urban built forms. In this way, it is assumed that it is possible to generate a sense of locale which fits with the identity of place. Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) emphasises *'in the end, images of this city will be a mixture of many non-uniform gestures of architecture. But local architects will keep trying to develop Malayness even though it has an unclear pattern'*.

The implementation of traditional architecture, which developed in rural areas where the built environment and social conditions are sustained traditionally, can be problematic if directly adopted into urban areas. Abel (2000) noted this form of architecture needs to be readjusted. Traditional architecture will face growing complexity in urban society. For Findley (2005: xiii), architecture, in which sustained cultural identity can act as a force for change in cultural practice *'can manifest renewed cultural agency by making it spatial, material, present and undeniable ... [providing] a new arena for architects willing to use their own cultural power strategically and it suggests a revitalised role for architecture as a provocative cultural practice'*. Mumford (1940: 402) points out that a common architectural form becomes a symbol for bettering life and its environment. It is not only something visible, but also the architecture *'reflects and focuses such a wide variety of social facts and becomes a guide for others'*. Castells (2004: 90) also emphasises that *'architecture must be called to rescue in order to recreate symbolic meaning'*. Therefore, the symbol becomes something that must be embedded into the whole of the city space.

However, it is also possible to misuse traditional architecture practices to undermine culture, such as by using them as propaganda commodities in mass production (Vale, 2008: 342). Calinescu (1987: 226) argues that spurious replicas or the mass reproduction of something in urban areas can be described as *'kitsch'* which can be interpreted as imitation and banality. The reproduction has *'tended to produce noticeably inferior versions of the original'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 89), and *'relegated distinction of taste and attempted to climb that aesthetic hierarchy'* (Dovey, 2008: 44). Production is only aimed at awakening collective memory through *'figurative and mimetic representations that are taking fragments of the past out of their contexts and forming new juxtapositions'* (Dovey, 2008: 36), and is recognised as a temporary development which is uncertain in its continuity and ability to lead on to the next chapter in the story (Ballantyne, 2002: 89). As Barker (2002: 69) also points out, this can be recognised as *'the shallowness and manipulating of commerce or mass culture'*. Conversely, in another sense, the banal production of cultural replicas can also be seen as disguised prejudices of cultural elitism. As Binkley (2000: 132-133) argues, *'the uniqueness of kitsch [is] as a distinct style, one which celebrates repetition and conventionality as a value in itself'*. Thus, for repetition with creativity and criticality, it will produce a new interpretation of innovation.

6.4.4 Being Implemented on Urban Built Forms

The injection of Malay Culture into architecture has not only occurred on city buildings (chapter 7). To some extent, this has also been implemented in most urban built forms. After more than a decade, several historical built forms and artefacts of the city have been replaced (Tien, 2011). One of municipality officers, Firdaus (Resp 14), argues that *'as the centre of Malay culture, the municipality has tried to implement Malay architecture which is not enough on city*

buildings only, but should also be on other built forms'. In this matter, Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) mentions that *'unconsciously, the cultural agenda has generated particular images as an identity of this place'*. Whether within conflicts or controversies, these changes have continued to occur until today, such as on historical landmarks, monuments, public transport facilities, and urban amenities (Mor, 2011).

Tugu: Monument and statue

One controversy is the replacement of *Tugu Pesawat* (the fighter plane monument) (Mad, 2011; Muhandi, 2013) (fig. 6.16). The *Tugu* has been located on a primary road since the 1960s to remind people of the city's role in Indonesia's war of independence (Suwardi et al., 2006; Muhandi, 2013). By standing for a half century, it became a landmark, part of the identity of the city, and also a part of social memory. Then, in 2011, the *Tugu* was been replaced with a new artefact: the *Zapin* Monument.

With respect to this replacement, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that *'the controversy is not only about the replacement, but mostly about its name and design'*. *Zapin* is the name of a traditional dance which tells about society life and was performed at the Malay palace when welcoming guests. Therefore, the monument was sculpted in the form of a couple performing the dance in the *bahenol* posture, which is seen as too suggestive (fig. 6.18 B) (Muhandi, 2013). Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that the monument was *'designed as Zapin by a Balinese sculptor, and represents Malay's women in terms of vulgarity and marginality ... thus, this new tugu cannot represent the culture of the Malay as it shows a lack of understanding of our values, and instead bureaucratic policy and practical reason'*. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) emphasises *'in creating something monumental, at least, it does not generate something which cannot be accepted by the public, by common sense and by adat. As a symbol, an appreciation of a form of art, it is not merely about technical things, but more a matter of appropriateness'*. For Tenas Effendy (Reps 21), *'the new monument ... as an art and architectural artefact, is a good example, but not of Malayness'*. Thus it is evident that the *Tugu* is seen as a symbol of disrespect for Malayness, and to the name of dance (Nolpitos, 2012).

After protests by society, mostly Malay people and cultural elites, the local government changed the name of the monument to *Tugu Titik Nol* (the zero monument) which literally means the starting point of the city (Mad, 2012). This generated another problem as the local government was accused of denying a particular part of the history the city by recreating a new starting point marker (fig. 6.18 C); instead of promoting the first marker (fig. 6.18 A) which still exists on the Siak riverbank. However, despite these issues, the replacement can also be seen as a way of widely embedding modernism into the city (Tien, 2011). In this sense, Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) points out that the monument must be recognised *'just as modern art and viewed in a neutral sense'*. In this way, the monument can be seen as a sign of something can be accepted by most people, and *'is not necessarily claimed as part of Malay art'*. Otherwise, it can be built in a truly local sense based on the cultural values of the Malay (Jabbar, 2012). In this regard, there are already 18 of *tugu* that have built in the city (table 6.02). However, the local government will build another *tugu* or monument. As the Mayor points out, the city needs an appropriate *tugu* that is not only a reminder of something, but also an iconic representative of the city (Eko, 2014).



Figure 6.16 *Tugu Pesawat* as a historical artefact of the city
 Source: Mad (2011)



Figure 6.17 The *Zapin* Monument in front of the governor's office



Figure 6.18 Polemics on the starting marker of the city
 A. Original Signage; B. Back-Side of Monument; C. New Sign Post Marker

Table 6.02 List of *Tugu* at Pekanbaru until mid-2014

	Name	Location
1	Tugu Demokrasi	Sudirman St.
2	Tugu Selais	Sudirman St.
3	Tugu Adipura	Sudirman St.
4	Tugu Titik Nol	Sudirman St.
5	Tugu M3	Sudirman St.
6	Tugu Pesawat Terbang	Sudirman St.
7	Tugu Tepaksirih	Sudirman St.
8	Tugu Pahlawan Kerja	KH Nasution St.
9	Tugu Pesawat AURI	Bandara.
10	Tugu PON	Cut Nya Dien St.
11	Tugu Selamat Datang	SM Amin St. – Soekarno Hatta St.
12	Tugu Songket	SM Amin St. – Tambusai St.
13	Tugu Menabung	SM Amin St. – Riau St.
14	Tugu Kompang	A Yani St.
15	Tugu Keris	Diponegoro St. – Pattimura St.
16	Tugu Perjuangan Rakyat	Diponegoro St. – Gajah Mada St.
17	Tugu Bambu Runcing	Diponegoro St. – Hang Tuah St.
18	Monument Perjuangan	Riau St.

Cultural elements on urban facilities

Urban facilities have also become a medium to generate a sense of Malayness. One of these facilities is the fly-over bridges, two of which were built on Main Street in 2011-2012. The street itself connects the southern area, which is mostly new settlements, houses and an airport, to the city centre. Although built to solve traffic problems, the bridges have generated issues through their design and the cultural ornaments along them (Figure 6.19). Alfiandri (Resp 9) and Suyatno (Resp 15) point out that this it is not common to adorn sloping bridges with cultural ornaments, particularly small motif ornaments, where people drive at speed. Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04) emphasises that the ornament design can *'endanger traffic as a distraction for drivers'*. Conversely, for Firdaus (Resp 14), although uncommon and controversial, the bridges can be seen as a potential place to *'preserve cultural ornaments in different ways and to recreate a cultural sense in society daily life'*. Yanto (Resp 13) points out that the bridge could become a signpost for the next generations and to remind them of local culture. Alfiandri (Resp 09) emphasises *'although it may seem weird for now, the carving on the bridge is impractical and expensive, but they must have some value in some sense, at least, as a reminder of our cultural history for incoming generations. Therefore, it is a wise alternative to use cultural ornaments in this way'*.



Figure 6.19 Malay carving on a Fly-over Bridge

Another urban facility that has been decorated with cultural ornaments is public transportation such as bus stops, terminals, and on the bus as well (fig. 6.20). Similar attempts have also been made to adorn urban amenities such as the gates of streets and sub-districts, pedestrian bridges, and also on welcome signs (fig. 6.21). Thus, the implementation of the ornaments is seen as an attempt to make people, unconsciously, becomes more familiar with Malayness through daily urban facilities. Thus, in this way, Malay culture can be embedded in urban built forms and into society life at the same time.

The addition of cultural elements on various built forms can be seen not only *'as a proactive participant and rearranging of contemporary social-ecological life'* (Harvey in Findley, 2005: 35), but also as a *'part of a story that is told about the development of architecture through the ages'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 113). For Dovey (2008: 36), this is seen as a process of place-making as a part of cultural production which needs to be recognised by *'public engagement and popular reception'*. This is not as a means of production, but also can be used to generate *'legitimation of the definition of the field as new symbolic capital and a new form of expression'* (Dovey, 2008: 43). As it is widely implemented in events of everyday life, it is also possible to make it *'meaningful and significant for a large number of people'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 32) through a sense of familiarity and order (Dovey, 2010). Castells (2004: 89) points out that, by focusing on public space, innovative architecture can become the epitome of urban life as a means of communication. As Dovey (2010: 18) also emphasises, *'to join design imagination to the public interest; it is to catch the public imagination with visions of a better world. The task, albeit in a small way, is to change the world. It is to keep alive the liberating spirit of design. We cannot erase the complicity of architecture, but we can render it less silent'*.



Figure 6.20 Bus station and its facilities
Featuring traditional carving motifs on the bus and the pedestrian bridge (above),
and over-exposed on roof design (below)

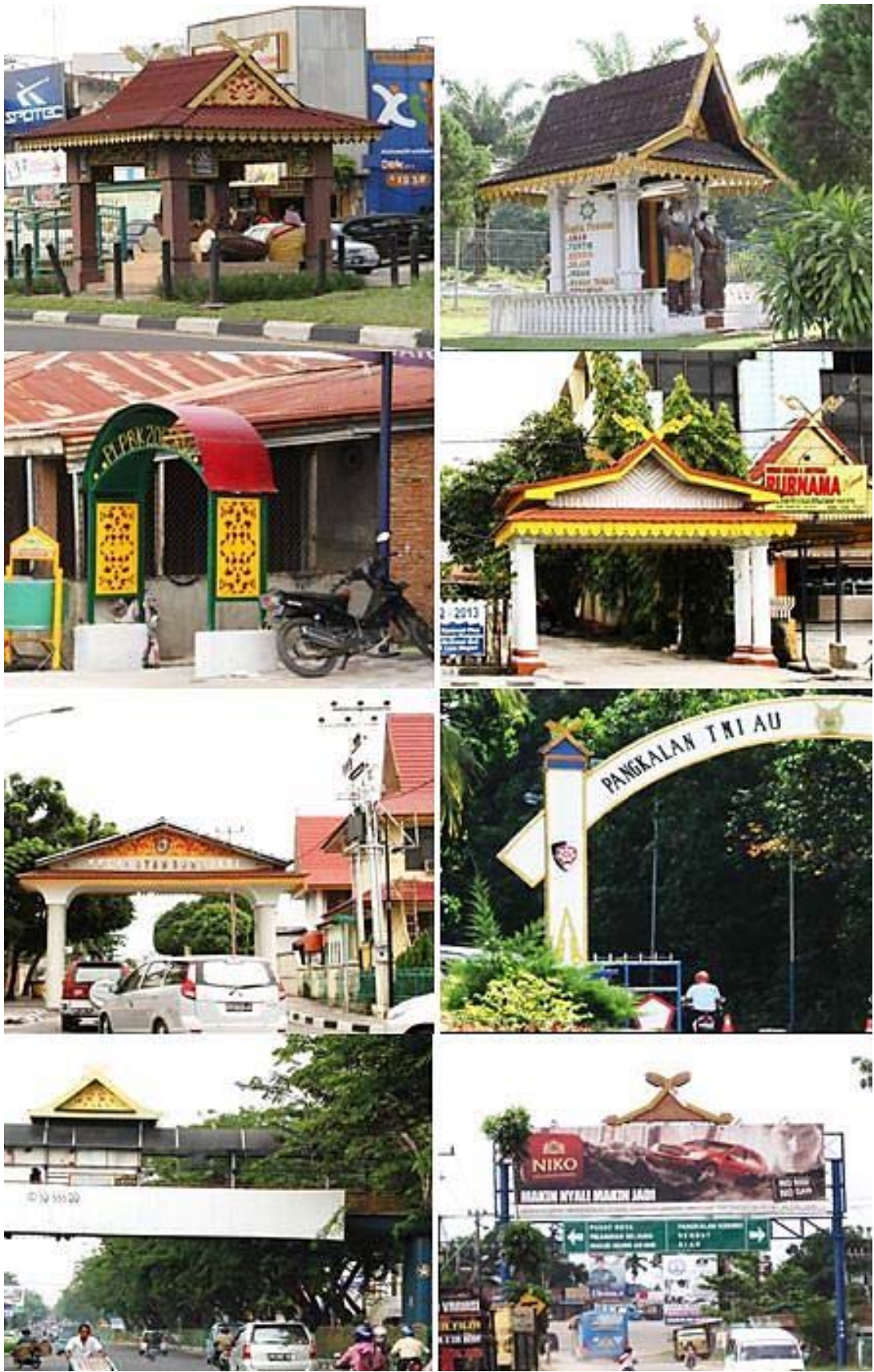


Figure 6.21 Cultural ornaments on urban amenities
 Cultural ornament as decoration-added on the welcome signs,
 street gateway, and commercial board

6.5 Urban House: Preserving Cultural Ornament through the Living House

6.5.1 Official Residence: Providing Models for the Contemporary House

As well as government and public buildings, Malay architecture is also applied to houses. It can be found on urban houses, such as official residences and common people's houses. As an official residence built by the local government, it is not an alternative design; instead it is an obligation for the municipality to build the house according to such designs (fig. 6.22). Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) points out that *'all government buildings, including the houses, will be supervised in technical matters and style by CK Team (Public Work Office), because this is related to the vision of the city'*. Firdaus (Resp 14) also mentions that the municipality provided models for contemporary houses as well as the official residences. He mentions that these houses also deliver *adat*. For this reason, the local government must ensure the implementation of cultural ornaments on official residences, such as the houses for the Mayor, Vice-Mayor, head of Parliament, and heads of departments and must make their houses different from common people's houses. In this regard, Kellett (2013: 154) notes that particular changes to houses do not only *'embody more fundamental social and economic changes, but also symbolise progress and achievement'*.

The implementation of cultural elements on contemporary houses can be seen as an alternative way of expressing Malayness through the patterns of ornaments. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that this is *'a symbol which is assumed as a connection of the past and today by searching for similarities in building elements such as selembayung, and standardising and reformulating roof forms and other cultural ornaments'*. From a different perspective, Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) points out that those patterned-houses are a part of an urban phenomenon that bears a relation to the social status of the dweller. He emphasises that when high-ranking officers *'become part of an elite group, they will distinguish themselves through their houses in a contemporary Malay style'*. The official house can be assumed to represent not only the social status of the dweller, but also cultural values. The house, then, becomes another cultural symbol in an urban context. In this sense, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) posits that the *'Malay house should be harmonious and congenial as a representation of the culture. It also must have a balance which depends on current needs and the sensitivity of the owner in representing equality in the cultural conception of home, both physically and in spirit'*. In this sense, Kent (1990: 4) affirms that *'architecture plays an active role in structuring social hierarchy'*.



Figure 6.22 Government Houses for High Ranking Officers
 Design pattern of the houses: the saddle roof in red, traditional carving ornaments,
 and the wall-painted in white or yellow.

6.5.2 Dwelling House: Retaining Ethnicity and Emerging Sense of Belonging

In addition to the official residence, common people's houses have also been influenced by Malay architecture. For Malays, the house is more than a shelter; it is a place to construct cultural values. These values are embedded in daily life in the daily customs known as '*adat*'. '*Adat*' are nurtured by Malays from childhood in the dwelling house and brought with them to their adulthood. Thus, the relationship between the values and dwelling house in urbanised areas can be explained through two main elements: social status and sense of belonging.

For Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), the houses can differ from one to the next in terms of *'space arrangement, symbolic detail, carving motifs, and philosophy'* (Figure 6.23). With regards to the sense of belonging, it is not only a physical matter, but also concerns the daily habits of the dweller. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) points out that *'in reality, Malay wealth is not only related to physical possessions, but also cultural treasures that can be reconstructed according in today's conditions. This could be differences in meaning and forms, such as habits in welcoming guests, and various culinary customs. Thus, these can also reconstruct Malayness in the house.*

For non-Malays, Malay architecture is an optional architectural style and they are under no obligation to implement it. Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) points out that the municipality should *'regulate Malayness on government buildings and public buildings only, instead of on all dwelling houses as the owners could have different ethnic backgrounds. They should be free to decide'*. Although it has discretion, the municipality has always tried to promote the implementation of cultural ornaments for non-Malay people, even in peculiar ways (fig. 6.24). This is due to the fact that the municipality needs to ensure the cultural agenda is delivered for all parts of the city. All this matters have found to become a contradiction that certain styles cannot be fully implemented. Furthermore, therefore, it is arguable that this is also as a kind of subtle coercion in terms of promoting the culture. To respect the local culture, all people have to implement Malay culture on dwelling houses. This can be seen in certain settlements in the city, such as *Kampung Dalam* (fig. 6.24). Indeed, Alfiandri (Resp-09) argues that *'the local government has encouraged the application of Malay architecture in all parts of the city, but this is not necessary for dwelling houses'*.

Regardless of the re-emerging sense of belonging and coercion by the municipality, Alfiandri (Resp-09) points out that the *'architecture of traditional houses in the Riau region, which are various in form, are not easily combined with another as a unified form'*. Therefore, dwellers of urban houses need another way to retain their different ethnic senses, such as through a mixture of several ethnic styles. Although not formalised, this can be accepted today. Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) supports this by emphasising that *'the style of an urban house should not be dictated; instead of a cultural assimilation, there should be a combination of various ethnic elements from several places of nusantara.* Mixing various local elements constructs another sense of local architecture that can be enriched through a combination and elaboration of architectural styles (fig. 6.25). Local architecture, then, can also be developed within various forms and shapes, and will not become trapped in an old style of traditional Malay house.

The house generates a connection between the dweller and their place which is emotion-based and which leads to a highly specific and meaningful relationship (Dovey, 1985; Rapoport, 1985). Due to this familiarity and personal aspect (Ballantyne, 2002: 17), the relationship can be used to develop a personal ideology from childhood, known as habitus (Dovey, 1985; Bourdieu, 1986; Ballantyne, 2002; Dovey, 2008). This relationship can also be *'reshaped and re-evoked within any socio-cultural context'* (Dovey, 1985: 39) that gives a unique meaning (Waterson, 1997), and source of pride and values (Rapoport, 1985). Saunders and Williams (in Dovey, 2008: 159) noted that the *'house has a central role in the reproduction of social life: a social factory, the engine room of society'*, and is also a social symbol of identity (Dovey, 1985: 47). For Kellett (2013: 151), the house becomes a place which is *'continually reproducing and reinforcing the social order'*, which occurs through a range of everyday social practices. This confines the domain physically and also demarcates the territory with a symbolic boundary as a result, giving and taking the identity of its place (Dovey, 1985: 41). The symbol is also considered a non-functional feature which might become essential in representing the cosmos, society, or the human body (Waterson, 1997: xvii).

The house as a representation of identity can be transformed to fit with its environment (Rapoport, 1985). This is not only to maintain a sense of belonging; the transformation is also influenced by interpretation which is significantly determined by attitudes and values during the life cycle (Lawrence, 1985). As part of the process of place-making, the transformation deals with a reference point which *'proceeds not by the motives of dominance and acquisition, but by respect; live with difference, with the fluidity of culture and with the instability of the self'* (Findley, 2005: 195).

In terms of reconstructing identity, Dovey (2008: 173) argues that the house is formed in the sense of *'becoming rather than being'*. Kellett (2013: 159) emphasises that the house must be recognised as an on-going journey in the formation of new identities through practice. In this sense, the house is not a pre-given, but rather is a process in which to establish a sense of home that can be reconstructed through modifying, changing, and adapting (Rapoport, 1985). The house can stabilise identity if its identity is formed through an evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary change. Therefore, the house has an important role in reconstructing identity and its continuity, and has also become *'a prominent institution supporting society'* (Vellinga, 2008: 757). As Deleuze and Guattari (in Dovey, 2008: 173) point out:

'Home does not pre-exist: it was necessary to draw a circle around that uncertain and fragile centre, to organize a limited space ... the forces of chaos are kept outside as much as possible ... finally one opens the circle a crack, opens it all the way, lets someone in, calls someone, or else goes out oneself, launches forth. One opens the circle not on the side where the old forces of chaos press against it but in another region, one created by the circle itself ... one ventures from home on the thread of a tune'



Figure 6.23 Cultural Ornaments on Private Houses
Saddle roof and fence decorated with traditional carving ornaments

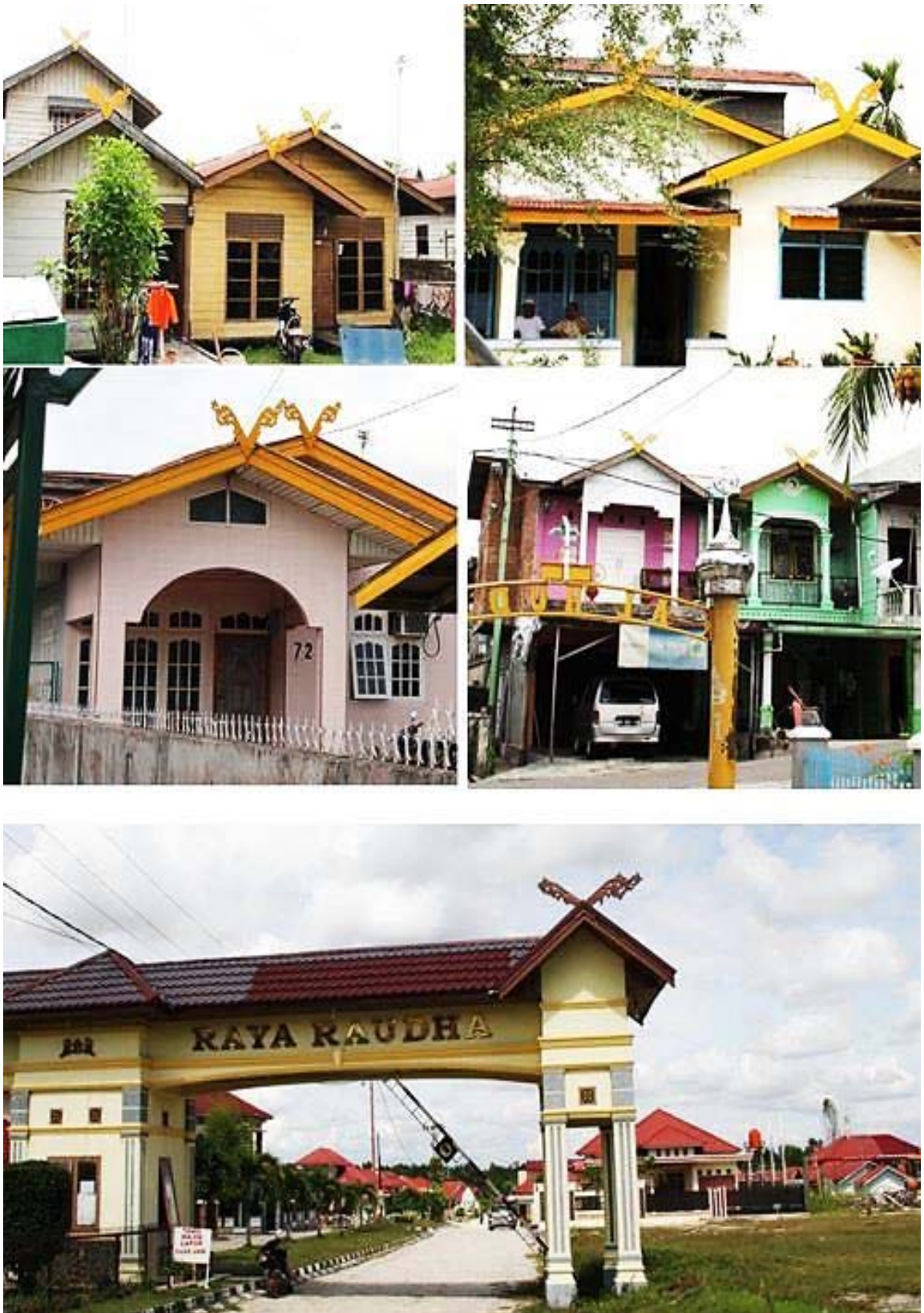


Figure 6.24 Additional Cultural Ornaments on Housing and entry gates



Figure 6.25 A Mixture of Architecture Styles in Urban Houses

One of example of the house which is designed in architectural style of Malay, Minangkabau, and modern

6.5.3 Traditional Malay House in Pekanbaru: Ignored and Forgotten

The addition of cultural elements, whether on buildings or dwelling houses, is not based only on the traditional Malay house of Pekanbaru. Various cultural elements from outside the city have also been adopted. Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) argues that *'although a mixture styles has been implemented, Pekanbaru itself has its own style'*. Indeed, Alfiandri (Resp-09) also mentions that *'traditional houses in Senapelan are truly in the style of Pekanbaru: the funnel roof, for example, is in an 'A' shape which is known as "Putik Cengkeh" (pistil of clove)'* (fig. 6.26).

Traditional stilt-house features are rarely used on contemporary urban houses. The stilt-house, which uses stairs and piles, in fact, is the main type of Malay house (Waterson, 1997: 1). Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that *'stairs cannot be separated from the house as they have meaning and value to the house'*. Furthermore, in terms of cultural elements, there have been

recognised at least '685 kinds of elements and motifs that are inspired by flora and fauna in Malay architecture'. Nonetheless, although it cannot be found in the traditional Malay houses of Pekanbaru (6.3.1), *selembayung* has become the most acceptable cultural element to be widely applied, including on urban houses. Therefore, it can be argued here, the implementation of Malay architecture on the urban house today is not merely inspired by the traditional Malay house of Pekanbaru, but instead by a mixture various traditional styles that came from various places. In this matter, Waterson (1997: 1) points out that any reduction of traditional architecture is seen as initiative and a fair degree of tolerance, and as 'an attempt to reach a compromise over the house issue' that is also used to show resistance to 'an alien model'. For Kellett (2013: 154), 'dynamic processes of changes and appropriation can be interpreted as reflecting changing social ideals'. A similar notion is also mentioned by Vellinga (2008: 757) that the house must be seen as 'a process and focuses on the dynamic interrelationship of its architectural, social, and symbolic aspects'.

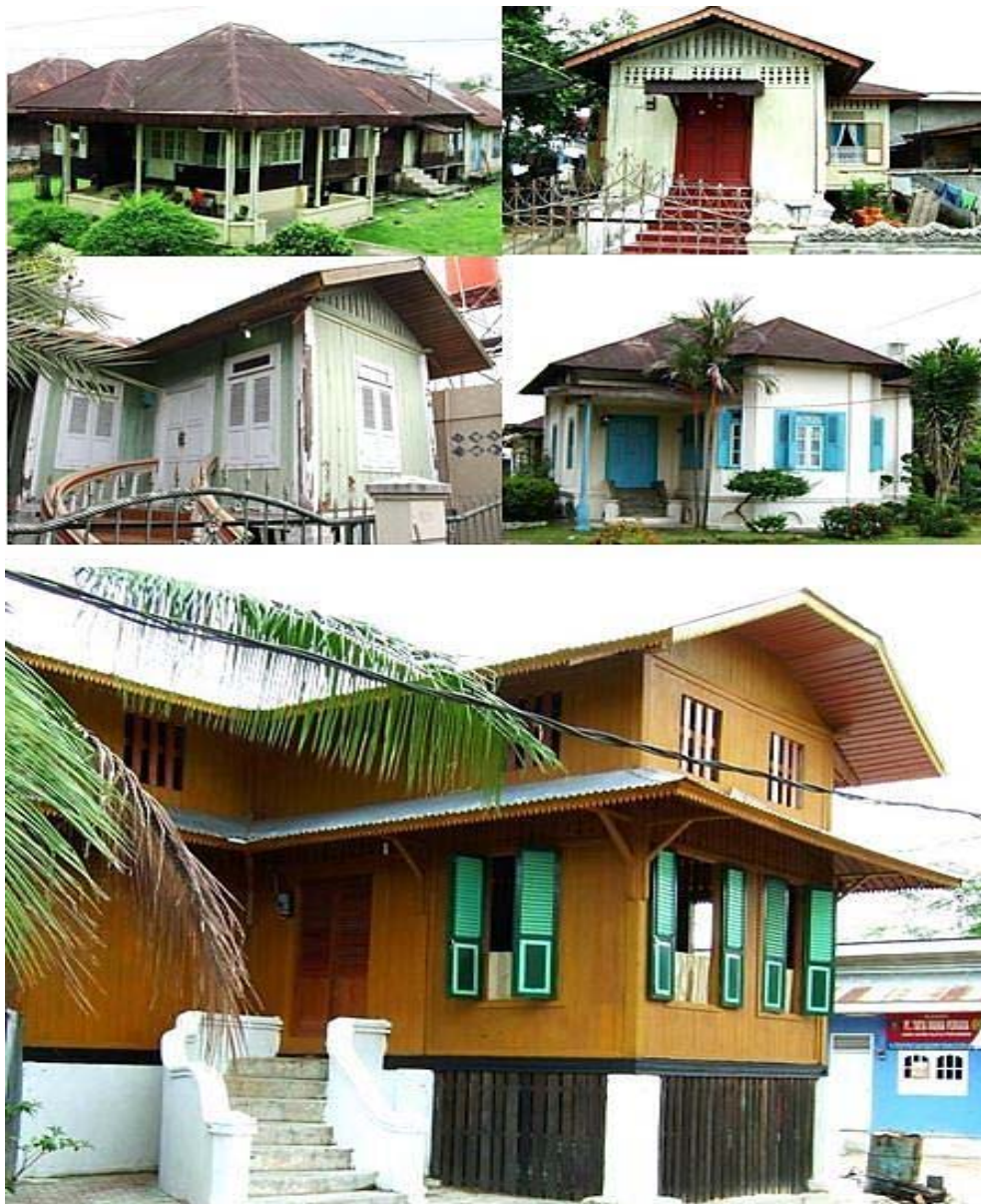


Figure 6.26 Traditional Malay house at Senapelan, Pekanbaru

6.6 Concluding Comments: Localising Architecture

From what has been described in this chapter, there is a clear connection between Malay culture and local architecture. This is firstly driven from local political decisions and then became a cultural agenda which attempts to embed Malayness into the whole life of the city, including the architecture. This is evident in the Vision of city development, particularly in the 3rd article of the Mission, which has become a 'foundation' and point of reference for local architecture. This is, it can be argued, a way for Malay culture to be deliberately linked to architecture by the new emerging regime in Pekanbaru today. Thus, it mainly aims to reconstruct expression in local architecture through particular preferences of Malay architecture. This phenomenon is observed by Findley (2005: 5), who notes that power shifts can be used to deliver a new set of ideas in terms of political, cultural and social transformation. This is most obvious when the regime increases local regulation in order to implement a cultural sense of Malayness through architecture. In this case, regulation is used not only to convey power and carry out administration, but also to produce and circulate symbolic meanings of culture (Barker, 2002: 233).

To embed a cultural sense in architecture, the regime has localised regional architecture, Malay architecture, into a local enclave. This is seen as an attempt to reduce regional architecture into certain boundaries such as administrative terms, and the physical delineation of areas, and it is also a matter of authenticity and origin that has been present in the practices of local architecture since the regulation was first imposed. Without clear guidance on the regulations, these practices have formed similar expression which is only seeking to be recognised as different from other places. As Dovey (2008: 2) asserts, the more that practices become habitual in everyday life, the closer they become to assuming a primary role in ideology. However, although regulated within certain boundaries, it cannot be denied that local architecture has developed and adapted according to need and the times. Thus, the interpretation of local architecture generates various senses as the ways of survival in the urban context. This condition is noted by Massey (1994: 137), who posits that the recognition of differences can survive only by virtue of its potential for the future.

This chapter has shown that localising architecture has become a field of transformation, in which the influence of Malay culture is evident through regulation and practices. This transformation occurs both through general discourse in an urban architectural context, but also in practical terms. Ballantyne (2002: 1) points out that '*architecture always has a cultural dimension to the practicalities of living*'. This will be described further in the next chapter, which shows the implementation of cultural elements on city buildings.

Chapter 7

Cultural Elements on City Buildings

Cultural Elements on City Buildings

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Cultural Elements on City Buildings

*'... a story about different styles of building. One set of shapes gradually transformed into another over the course of time ... as if there is in architectural forms a will to evolve and develop. Traditions grow up, and architects **keep trying out new possibilities**, some of which are seen as improvements and are copied by others, **before being improved upon in their turn** ... that can lose sight of the fact that there is a practical rationale to building'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 4).

7.1 Culture, Architecture and City Buildings¹

The cultural forces behind architecture can be seen as a way of supporting the ruling regime by incorporating particular symbols (Vale, 2008). These symbols are also used to show domination. Barker (2002: 177) argues that using architecture as a symbol of domination could be identified as an attempt to make new history and highlight the struggle to defend it. Thus, the distribution of symbols becomes something important which can be consumed, practiced, and shared in terms of understanding (Findley, 2005: 205; Dovey, 2010: 39).

By nurturing a local culture, the distribution is identified as a manifestation of symbols in a physical expression of architecture (Findley, 2005: 39) that is necessary to have familiar encounters in everyday life (Ballantyne, 2002: 32; Dovey, 2010: 38) and make them *'as close as possible to the dominant conventions'* (Kellett, 2013: 152). Being continuously practiced, the expression can lead to new forms (Hutcheon, 1999: 16) and meanings (Barker, 2002: 169). This chapter investigates the influence of Malay culture on architecture, which can be found in the expression of city buildings that have been used to establish a sense of identity of place (section 7.2). The expression is not only used as symbolic of power (section 7.3), but is also in the practice of design on built forms (section 7.4) that can be identified in an attempt to apply particular cultural elements to the city buildings (section 7.5). Furthermore, the continual implementation of the cultural elements on city buildings is recognised as an accumulation of cultural assets (section 7.6) and as a representation of today's local architecture (section 7.7).

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 28th ASEASUK Conference, September 2014 Brighton, UK

7.2 A Precognition of Local Architecture

In Indonesia, using architecture to develop a sense of identity is a common power instrument of the ruling regime. Indeed, charging buildings with meaning through materials and decorative details has occurred since the colonial period. The aim of this was to seek and establish a sense of identity through initiating, promoting, designing and building, and then managing the representation of architecture (Markus and Cameron, 2002). This phenomenon of stabilising identity was continued in various incarnations after the post-colonial period by the domestic regimes.

The representation of architecture by different regimes can be described in three stages (Kusno, 2000). The first is known as the pacification stage, which took place during Dutch colonisation with *Indische* architecture. This was a hybrid of European and traditional architecture. The second stage was the guided-democracy stage through to modernisation, which embraced local architecture with traditional Javanese values from 1945-1965. The third was the New-order stage from 1965-1998. The architecture was emphasised with variations of indigenous art and national culture. This can be recognised through twenty-seven replicas of authentic traditional houses as a reference for future Indonesian architecture. These replicas have been at The Indonesian Miniature Park (TMII) in Jakarta since 1975, and one of them is the Riau-Malay pavilion (Fig 7.01). The replicas have also been used as a main reference in the design of government buildings (Kusno, 2000). As a result, these buildings not only represent national culture and architecture, but are also a symbol of the power of the centralistic regime at the same time (fig. 7.02). In this way, the reference which comes from traditional architecture is seen to have '*become a more sustainable alternative to conventional contemporary forms of architecture*' (Vellinga, 2013: 570).

Today, concomitant with the power shift in the reformation regime, it is necessary to investigate how to represent Indonesia's architecture, particularly on buildings constructed after the aforementioned stages. The focus on national culture and architecture has shifted to a local focus. This has led to local architecture becoming the main preference. As it has the potential to stabilise local identity, local architecture is not only symbolic of power, but also expresses local differences. This phenomenon has obviously occurred on the east coast of Sumatra where Malay architecture has become the preference.

In a regional context, although inspired by Malay architecture, representation of the architecture tends to differ in its implementation between one place and another in the region. The implementation of most of its features is inspired by the 'authentic copy' of the traditional Malay house as this is assumed to be the most suitable model for incorporating the identity of local architecture into contemporary buildings. Thus, identity comes to be recognised as a subset of local architecture. This condition is inevitably aimed at only enhancing the sense of local identity and also generating a sense of being different. This is evident in the fact that every local government on the east coast of Sumatra tried to re-establish a physical identity which implemented similar design features into their contemporary buildings, such as on the regent office buildings (fig. 7.03). The buildings are therefore used as a role model and reasonable alternative design in terms of generating a sense of being different through a locally distinctive design. Thus, contemporary buildings of the region have adopted Malay architecture by imitating the authentic copy of the traditional Malay house or features of the role model.



Figure 7.01 The Replica of Traditional Malay House at TMII, Jakarta



Figure 7.02 Examples of Indonesian Governor Offices

Left to right: West java, West Sumatra, West Kalimantan

Source: <http://www.riaudailyphoto.com>



Figure 7.03 Regional Offices on east coast of Sumatera

Left to right: Kampar, Siak, Kuantan Sengingi

7.3 Symbolic Architecture and Contestation of Power

Pekanbaru accommodates two local governments: municipal and provincial. It is common for several cities in Indonesia to have two different levels of local governance. Having a hierarchical power structure simplifies bureaucratic relations. Moreover, as a consequence of the reformation regime, every level of local government can stabilise local identity in their local territory. However, having dual power in one place also generates more pressure, ambiguity and problems, particularly in synchronising policy and regulations. In turn, this obviously affects architecture as well. Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04), a local Malay researcher, comments that architectural control *'should not be imposed by personal power practice such as the Governor's thoughts, as we have already entrusted this city to the Mayor in terms of re-configuring the city form'*.

7.3.1 Dual Power - Dual Architectural Sense in One Place

In local architecture, the effect of dual powers can be found in the expression on government buildings. On the one hand, the Municipality has a legitimate right to impose regulations as the governing body of the city. Therefore, all city buildings have to follow the regulations that have been issued by the Municipality. On the other hand, as the extension of the central government, the provincial government has more political power and wealth resources, and is not subject to governance from beneath. Therefore, this city has two different architectural models today (fig. 7.04). In turn, using different models alter the expression and the products tend to differ from one another. As a consequence, it is not an easy task for the Municipality to reshape the identity of city buildings through regulation. Inevitably, a sense of competition with regard to building identity cannot be avoided in the city.



Figure 7.04 The models of government buildings in Pekanbaru
The Mayor's office (left), The Governor's office (right)

The difference in building forms is also due to paying attention to public interest. To provide intimacy and close the distance between the governing bodies and people, the Municipality has constructed its offices in a style similar to that of residential buildings. This means that the Municipality's buildings are not only in the city centre, but also in sub-districts and neighbourhood areas (fig. 7.05). These buildings are small in scale and size and tend to be similar in design and significant in number, in contrast to provincial buildings that are mainly located centrally to the main road in the city centre. The buildings mostly service large scale corporations and investors and have tended to be massive with varying designs (fig. 7.06).



Figure 7.05 The Office Buildings of the Municipal government
Gable wall, funnel roof and *selembayung* become important elements in the design



Figure 7.06 The Office Buildings of the Provincial government
Contemporary design with modern materials as a new design approach on the offices

7.3.2 One Vision within Different Strategies

Differences in the expression of local government buildings is also caused by different interpretations of the regulations for realising the city as the centre of Malay culture by means of the development strategy (table 7.01). The Municipality has based its strategy for producing cultural life, including buildings, on Malay traditions (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001). This reifies traditional matters which are based on local history and tradition. For this reason, purity and authenticity have become important. Firdaus (Resp 14) highlights that *'because they have similar functions, the provincial buildings must follow the expression of the Municipality buildings. But, in fact, their buildings are different'*. Conversely, empowering Malay culture as a *'unifier among different ethnicities'* has become the basis of the provincial strategy (Pemprov_Riau, 2000). In this way, the provincial government puts cultural values at the heart of multicultural life. In turn, this opens up more possibility to accept various influences on the expression of buildings. In this regard, Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) argues that *'obviously the provincial government is still 'playing' and tends to use more modern form. In particular cases, their buildings are outrageous in form i.e. a ship, or a pen, and are totally different to the municipalities. They are not only creating difference, but also ignoring suggestions and regulations from us (the Municipality)'*.

Table 7.01 Interpretation of Malay architecture into development strategy

Strategy	Municipal Government	Provincial Government
The vision	The realisation of the city of Pekanbaru as the centre for trade and services, education, and Malay culture for a prosperous and faith based Godly society	The realisation of Riau as the centre for economics and Malay culture within religious community, prosperous physically, and spiritually
The Mission	3. Malay cultural centre is a reflection of the cultural values of society which is established in the city of Pekanbaru by maintaining, preserving, appreciating, practicing, and developing the Malay culture. Making the preferences of Pekanbaru city central to Malay culture, will be accomplished through the physical appearance of buildings that reflects identity, the cultural places, and the growing consolidation of customary life that was founded on the noble values of the Malay (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001).	9. To realise a regional culture through the continuance of Malay culture in terms of community empowerment as a unifier of the various ethnic groups (Pemprov_Riau, 2000).

Regardless of the differences, both levels of local government in Pekanbaru have a similar development vision toward becoming the centre of Malay culture in 2021. By adopting elements of the traditional Malay house, local government buildings have looked similar since 2001. Saddle roofs, gable wall with horn, and carving ornaments have become standard features on the buildings. Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) mentions that *'local government suggested putting the elements on contemporary buildings in 2001'*. Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) also points out that *'until 2006, all city buildings were strictly regulated and forced to install cultural ornaments, which became a part of the process of acquiring a building permit. But this was slightly relaxed in 2007'*. This change was promoted by the cultural elite, who argued that cultural elements on city buildings have been over exposed, particularly the *selembayung* which has been applied to all kinds of buildings, such as churches, security posts, and even on rubbish bins. This is seen as disrespectful to the culture. Therefore, the stipulation to

implement cultural ornaments on city buildings has become a mere formality and is not obeyed. Thus, the different expression of government buildings has continued from 2007 until today. The provincial government implements Malay architecture on its buildings in the form of hybrid architecture with modern materials. As Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out, these buildings also generally adopt *'Western style, and just put cultural elements as additional parts'*. Conversely, the Municipality's buildings continue to take a traditional form. Erwin Supradana (Resp 18) supports this in his claim that the architecture of the Municipality's buildings tends to represent a sense of neo-traditionalism/contemporary vernacular.

7.3.3 The Expression of Power in Architecture

From another perspective, the differences in the implementation of Malay architecture on government buildings have a deeper reason, which is the hegemony of power expressed by the local leader, the Governor of the Riau province. The Governor has deployed a particular strategy for the implementation of Malay culture. Through a new conception, culture is redefined into three groups: Malayness, Islam, and Modernism. In this matter Al-Azhar (Resp 12) asserts that *'it became more interesting when the Governor talked about the culture in terms of Islam-Malayness-Modernism. This has always been his wish and is reflected in today's developments. But to elaborate on these things is also problematic'*.

Unconsciously, the Governor has made a distinction between Islam and culture, which can be seen as a personal desire and as an expression of power by the regime. It can be argued that this shows arrogance and it is certainly not easy for citizens to understand. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) points out that *'the leader today (the governor), is just looking for his personal enjoyment. Therefore, we cannot see much of his love for the culture, almost nothing in fact. Rather than promoting it, he is undermining the culture'*. This view of the new conception and declining Malay culture is echoed by Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), who argues that *'our leader today (the Governor) prefers modern things, as these reflect his taste and his main preferences, but he forgets that we have ours here (traditional). It has become a problem now, **particularly with the new conception of Malayness, which is defined by three objectives: firstly, to develop Malay culture; secondly, to align to Islamic ways; and thirdly, to embrace modernity'***.

A hegemonic expression of power can be found in the architecture of contemporary buildings. In accordance with the Governor's decisions, the buildings have been designed in a modern style through renovation and rebuilding, or as new constructions. With financial supported, this architectural taste was used during his governance from 2003 to 2013. However, although it generated new ideas on how to represent Malay architecture in a contemporary sense, it was not automatically accepted by all people. In this regard, acceptance and resistance become equally common in society. This is evident in Tenas Effendy's (Resp 21) statement: *'take a look at the Regional Library building, not only at its form which has failed, but also at its design, as well as the new office of the governor with its sphere on top, and the teacher buildings. In developing the city, the government should be pioneers by giving examples of how to achieve a sense of Malayness in the buildings. But these days, all their contemporary buildings cannot be understood'* (fig. 7.07).

The problematic interpretation of Malay architecture cannot be totally blamed on the leader, as some blame lies with the architects. Instead of bringing personal preferences to their work, architects must learn about local architecture. This then should become the primary aim for architects in practice. In this matter Al-Azhar (Resp 12) point outs that *'this chaos today is not*

only derived from the cultural and or political realms, but also from the fact that the architects are not being true to their ideal function, but just act as a 'good drafter'. For Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), 'they (architects) do not understand Malay architecture in terms of cultural philosophy and its symbolic meanings'.



Figure 7.07 Provincial buildings in Pekanbaru
A. Teacher building; B. Hand-craft Centre; C. Public-Work office;
D. Regional Library; E. Exhibition Centre; F. New Governor Office

Regardless of the rejection and denials, these new buildings are creating a different architectural feel for city buildings in Pekanbaru. The buildings demonstrate a new interpretation of Malay architecture today. The buildings have become the city's landmarks and also a precedent for local architecture (fig 7.08). This, therefore, can be seen as a first step in the development of contemporary interpretations of traditional architecture, as well as being imitations which adhere to a model. According to Firdaus Agus (Resp 01), *'most city buildings today have tried to include Malay ornaments in different ways to create a nuance of Malayness, instead of simple saddle roofs on the entrance'*. Alfiandri (Resp 09) also emphasises that local people *'cannot find a specific character on city buildings, except in various new forms and shapes'*. Conversely, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that there is *'a passion in today's architecture, but only in terms of visual aesthetics, and there is less knowledge and insight into Malay philosophy, ornaments, and motifs. Therefore, these buildings cannot explain the relationship between symbols and their meanings'*.



Figure 7.08 New Sport Venues built in 2012, Pekanbaru
A. Badminton Hall; B. Main Stadium; C. Archery Field; D. Volley Ball Hall

Power over architecture (Dovey, 2010) and control of the actions of others can be manifested in the scale of buildings (Findley, 2005), particularly in government buildings; it is used to *'demonstrate (architects) power through aesthetic exaggeration'* (Vale, 2008: 346) and is obviously aimed at achieving a deliberate sense of a certain taste (Ballantyne, 2002). In this sense, the power is mostly manifested as *'a consequence of the margins coming into representation'* which is used to reclaim some form of representation for symbolic purposes (Findley, 2005: 14). This becomes more apparent for the leader in terms of homogeneity and a certain cultural acceptability, and in turn creates *'implications for architectural form and cultural production'* (Vale, 2008: 51). In this sense, Harvey (in Findley, 2005: 35) pointed out that role of the leader becomes as a metaphorical figure and insurgent cultural actor who can be identified holding potential of power in acting as both participant and regulator. Furthermore, irrespective of how democratically the leader has been chosen (Dovey, 2008: 15), he or she can consciously act *'to manipulate group-based ties to reformulate them in ways that best serve the interest of those powers'* (Vale, 2008: 55). According to Findley (2005: 3), the power of the leader is not only misused for self-serving or arrogant purposes, but also out

of *'a desire to leave a permanent marker of greatness that will communicate forward into history the power'*. For Barker (2002: 151), *'hegemony is not merely reproduced but refigured in the processes'*. In this case, the hegemonic power in architecture can obviously be found whether through contestation or coercion in the expression of city buildings.

Technology and modern materials can enhance markers. This is more than a simplistic means of conveying the cultural strains (Vale, 2008: 329) which are *'associated with power and with the commodification'* (Findley, 2005: 202). Indeed, technology and modern materials in architecture can be used in terms of social change for *'resistance to the status quo'*. In addition, they not only demonstrate access to resources and invention, but can also be used to demonstrate relative position, and potentially lead to confrontation with others (Findley, 2005: 202). Permanent markers can also be constructed through reputation *'by producing work that is in some sense original'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 100). The reputation is based on the ability to *'translate a wide range of non-physical ideas into solid spatial form in a particular context'* (Findley, 2005: 194) and functions as a translation of culture values at the same time (Ballantyne, 2002). In turn, power can also be used to frame architecture as a symbol of dominance. As Dovey (2010: 35) argues, *'symbolic domination is the power to frame the field'* within the expressive dimension of an assemblage.

Symbolic domination is not the final destination of power over architecture. Findley (2005: 38) argues that symbolism in architecture is *'the spatial results of a complex set of social, economic, political and historical interactions that explicitly take on the issues of cultural and political power'*. This can also be interpreted in such a way that the symbol carries a particular agenda which is aimed at overt agendas for social change through architecture. Therefore, the symbolic domination of architecture is seen as an attempt to embed a new story and the struggle to defend one symbol over others (Barker, 2002: 177).

7.4 City Buildings: Power over the Practice of Design Architecture

Symbolic architecture is not only relating to the practice of power, but is also into practice of design architecture. This obviously can be found in Pekanbaru where, in order to re-emerging sense of local identity, the practice is used to symbolise the power of the ruling regime through various built forms, particular on city buildings. In this regard, it can be argued that there are three ways to implement local architecture that have been identified through fieldwork studies: copying features of the traditional Malay house, using the model buildings, and experimenting with ornaments to convert the architecture into contemporary buildings.

7.4.1 Authentic Copy as a Design Approach

The implementation of Malay architecture in city buildings can be identified in the *'authentic copy'*, which can be described as an attempt to imitate the features of the traditional Malay house, and then apply these to contemporary buildings. This is seen as a design approach to widely implement the architecture style on city buildings. One such building is a 150,000

square metre compound which was built in 1994 to accommodate the National Islamic Event, MTQ, in Pekanbaru (fig. 7.09). The compound is equipped with exhibition halls, offices, support facilities and pavilions which are replicas of traditional Malay houses. One of these replicas was the pavilion of Pekanbaru (fig. 7.10). The compound was acknowledged as the centre of Malay Culture and Art by the local government in 2000 (Ahmad, 2013) and named '*Bandar Seni Raja Ali Haji - Bandar Serai*'. During its twenty years, the compound has become both a city node and a living library. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that '*the Purna-MTQ (the compound) has historical meaning for this city in that it consists of traditional pavilions of the region, and can be used to educate people*'.



Figure 7.09 Aerial view of the Bandar Serai compound before 2012
Source: <http://maps.google.com>



Figure 7.10 Replica of a Traditional Malay House in Pekanbaru
 This pavilion has been demolished by the Provincial Government in 2012
 Source: Firzal (2007)

Changes in the local leader have had an effect on the compound. In 2003, the provincial government built an art and concert hall in the centre of the compound (fig. 7.11). However, despite being built using contemporary Malay architecture, this building is seen as a product of the controversial policies to seek local identity. By demolishing several buildings, the local government has disrespected not only this cultural site, but also the previous governance. Azwan Razak (Resp 27), one of the management staff of the compound, points out that it was *'founded by cultural elites and the previous governor to accommodate art and cultural activity; several buildings had been demolished for Anjungan Idrus Tintin, as the new building can be seen from the street'*.

The provincial government made another plan for the compound. In 2012, a business agreement was struck with a private investor to build Riau Town Square – RITOS, a new modern business centre. After some political intrigue, the Mayor issued a preliminary building permit (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012a). Then, the 55,000 square metre north-side of *Bandar Serai* was demolished (fig. 7.12), including main halls, a Malay school, and several replicas of the traditional Malay house, such as the pavilion of Pekanbaru (fig. 7.13). In 2013, this development was stopped due to issues with building permit, but continued 2014 even though the final permit was not granted by the Municipality (fig. 7.14) (Kisaz, 2014). Yanto, a local resident (Resp 13), points out it was *'disgraceful to know that only half of the pavilions remain as the compound has a significant meaning for local people who want to see traditional houses of the region and cultural events as well'*.

The compound has become central to the study of how to translate Malay architecture from a textual context into practice, and as an attempt to seek and stabilise traditional cultural identity in a contemporary sense. In this regard, the authentic copy approach is not always an appropriate choice. In order to avoid provocation in terms of cultural practice (Findley, 2005: xiii), forms of traditional architecture need to be readjusted to suit the current conditions (Abel, 2000).



Figure 7.11 The Anjungan Seni Indrus Tintin - Art and Concert Hall, Pekanbaru



Figure 7.12 North-side of Bandar Serai compound has been demolished

Source: <http://maps.google.com>



Figure 7.13 The remaining replicas of the traditional Malay house in Bandar Serai
Only three of six of the replicas still exist today



Figure 7.14 The construction of the *Ritos* Project has been neglected in Bandar *Serai* [left], 2014

7.4.2 Following a Role Model

In addition to the authentic copy approach, imitating the model building has become another way to implement Malay architecture in contemporary buildings in Pekanbaru. In common with the regent buildings of the region, the city Mayor's office has become the model for the design of city buildings. The office has been renovated, and several cultural features were added in 2000 (fig. 7.15). As one of municipality officers, Edwin Supradana (Resp 18), argues, *'these features have been a model for other city building designs since 2001'*. This is supported by Firdaus Agus (Resp 01), who notes that *'all city buildings which are facing out to the main street must apply Malay architecture, which is similar to the features of the Mayor office, such as saddle roof, selembayung (gable horn), and gable finial'*.

Being mimetic to the design of the office, almost all municipality offices (fig. 7.16) and any buildings which have been funded by the Municipality, such as schools, have been renovated or rebuilt in order to implement Malay architecture (fig. 7.17). Indeed, Firdaus (Resp 14) comments that *'in relation to the use of cultural ornaments, the Municipality must ensure all government buildings, without exception, implement Malay architecture, and also for schools, at least on the main roof'*. With the support of local regulation, the Municipality has made massive changes to the expression of city buildings since 2001. However, this is not only caused by the regulations, but is also in line with the governance of the former Mayor of the city. As a municipality officer, Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) argues that *'although it's a heterogeneous city, similar expressions of cultural features can be found on all city buildings, and these were very strictly regulated during the time of 'Pak Herman' (the former Mayor)'*.

One factor which connects the identity of place and architectural power practice is being *'inextricably wrapped up with questions of authority'* (Dovey, 2010: 11). It is possible for authority to become *'the most fundamental expression of spatial power'* (Findley, 2005: 7) when the cultural forces behind architecture are used as a symbol of power in order to support a regime and elite groups (Vale, 2008). Hence, architectural expression can be seen as a source of potential meaning for the ruling regime to express significant symbols (Vale, 2008: 9).

Moreover, engaging with cultural issues in architecture can be seen not only as a part of the regime, but also as an agenda. As the governing body, the regime and group of elites have the chance to use their power in everyday practice as a premise for shared understanding (Dovey, 2010: 14) and for serving personal interests (Vale, 2008: 55). In terms of shared understanding, architectural expression can be used to present not only in physical terms but also in social context by nurturing local culture (Findley, 2005: 39). Thus, it is possible *'to give a sense of decorum on cultural memories of the architecture of the past'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 82). Therefore, the shared understanding is not only generated by the physical quality of the architecture, but also by familiar encounters in everyday life (Ballantyne, 2002).

In terms of serving personal interests, architecture can be used in a primary role relative to power *'to make visible invisible values, ideology and perspectives'* (Findley, 2005: 193). In this role, as Clifford (in Findley, 2005: 205) points out, architecture needs to be translated to be *'made available for understanding, appreciation, and consumption'*. Thus, the successful translation of architecture is also related to who *'has the power to command the production'* (Findley, 2005: 193), which *'can turn into individual personal traditions, and can be recognised'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 112). In this way, people who have the power can define and control the circumstances, and also *'influence things to go in the direction of [their] interests'* (Dovey, 2008: 11). Barker (2002: 169) emphasises that the production of a particular style is also a form of resistance. As *'an obviously fabricated display of codes of meaning'*, the style also plays a role as the constitutional form of a group identity. As Dovey (2010: 38) argues *'architecture is mostly cast as necessary yet neutral to the life within; our gaze toward place is oblique. Yet this supposed neutrality of place is its primary power; the more that practices of power are embedded in place the less questionable they become and the more effectively they can work. This is the complicitous silence of place.'*



Figure 7.15 The city Mayor's Office at Pekanbaru
In 1984 (above), 2000 (below)



Figure 7.16 The Municipality Offices in Pekanbaru, 2012
 The offices have been renovated or rebuilt between 2001-2010



Figure 7.17 Public schools in Pekanbaru, 2012



Figure 7.18 University buildings in Pekanbaru, 2012
 Most of the buildings whether belong to public or private have decorated with cultural ornaments

7.4.3 Experiment with Ornaments: Another Design Approach

Dovey (2010: 39) argues that the field of architecture, which focuses on the struggle for symbolic capital, centres on how symbols can be distributed. Thus, architecture can be plundered to serve as an aesthetic producer of standard market goods under dominating forces, a process which in turn leads to the enforcement of a formal design. This situation can also produce a new wardrobe of cultural clothes and a new 'depthlessness' of cultural life (Dovey, 2008: 38). According to Ballantyne (2002: 8), this is due to the fact that the more specific knowledge about something is sought, *'the more statements about it sound like sweeping generalisations'*.

In 2013, the Municipality built a new city library building. As an experiment in design, it has become the first building in the last 12 years to be built differently. For example, it does not follow the existing pattern in terms of including gable walls, a funnel roof and *selembayung* (fig. 7.19). This change in design pattern is aimed at enhancing not only Malayness, but also a sense of belonging. Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) states that there has been *'an attempt to preserve culture on all city buildings by applying elements of Malay architecture, such as a saddle roof, that have already become a typical, except on one building: the new city library building. It is slightly different and built in a special way'*.

As this building was constructed by the government, this sets a precedent for a new design approach. Instead of mimetic construction in the form of traditional Malay houses, or following a model, the city library building has generated a sense of fluidity in terms of the implementation of contemporary Malay architecture. This shows that it is not always necessary to follow the existing patterns, particularly for contemporary city buildings. Alfiandri

(Resp-09) points out that *'being influenced by Malay culture, local architecture has become more dynamic in form. Although its proportions are not good, the design conception for government buildings has been shifted in the city library, which does not conform to the old-pattern'*.

The domination force behind architecture can also be seen as *'a form of control over symbolic capital'* (Dovey, 2008: 133) which can be misused and manipulated by the regime. This can be worse when architects, as cultural agents, *'accept their complicity with the regime that commissioned them'* (Vale, 2008: 337). In this case, architecture becomes a self-referential commodity, both a form of currency and a decisive component of political life, which is produced and consumed merely as a means of the production of signs (Dovey, 2008). In this way, architecture also becomes a manifestation of creative destruction which generates internal resistance.

One type of emerging resistance can be defined as fluid creativity. In one sense, this creativity is seen as a product of a *'new connection between previously unrelated ideas and an intersection of different frames of reference'* as lateral thinking runs against the hierarchic logic of common sense (Dovey, 2010: 20). Creativity is also seen as a fluidity of lateral connections with the potential to dissolve old patterns and replace them with new patterns called *'supple segmentarities'* (Deleuze *et al.*, 1987: 214; Dovey, 2010: 20). In another sense, the creativity can be seen as an effort to reinvent and to find new possibilities through improving existing properties that respond to new ways of living (Ballantyne, 2002: 100).

By continuing to find new possibilities, whether through confrontation or not, continuous changes can generate new styles (Hutcheon, 1999: 16). As a fabricated display of codes of meaning, the style should not be seen as a marker of the end of authenticity, but as *'a creative recombination of existing items to forge new meanings'* (Barker, 2002: 169). Therefore, a new approach to implementing Malay architecture cannot be seen as shallow, irrespective of whether it follows existing patterns. In contrast, it should be seen as a renewed form of the architecture which is more appropriate to today's conditions. Thus, the approach can be accepted and can diminish resistance, be continuously generated, and be applicable to contemporary built forms. Logically, in the near future, a similar phenomenon will be repeated, and must be addressed with the same acceptance. Thus, Malay architecture can survive in an urban context. As Ballantyne (2002: 4) points out style of buildings can be identified as *'one set of shapes gradually transformed into another over the course of time ... a will to evolve and develop. Traditions grow up, and architects **keep trying out new possibilities**, some of which are seen as improvements and are copied by others, before being improved upon in their turn'*.



Figure 7.19 The City Library and Archive Building in Pekanbaru, 2014
The first buildings which belongs to the Municipality that is not designed with gable walls, a funnel roof and *selembayung*

7.5 Cultural Elements: Coding, Patterning, and Mass Production

Implementing cultural elements in city buildings is mainly designed to express a sense of Malayness. As found in various built forms, this implementation has changed the face of urban architecture since starting on government buildings in 2001. These buildings are not only on the main road of the city centre, but are also scattered among the sub-districts and neighbourhood areas. As they are regulated, they have become an 'injecting tool' by the government to stabilise a sense of Malayness through local architecture. Firdaus (Resp 14) argues that *'all city buildings, particularly (local) government buildings but including public and private buildings, must have a building permit, which has been issued by the municipal government since the autonomy era'*.

Although widely implemented, the Malay architecture is still widely debated. The regulation stipulates the implementation of Riau-Malay Architecture (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2012b), which has never been concretely defined. This opens up the possibility for various interpretations of how to express local architecture. On this issue, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that *'defining Riau-Malay architecture can also be inspired by various aspects of local culture. It means Pekanbaru has its own style of Malay architecture which also match its sources, providing a multicultural sense'*.

7.5.1 The Implementation: Consensus and Practice

Despite being deployed since 2001, there is still little technical guidance on how to implement building regulations in order to apply Malay architecture to city buildings. This has led to ambiguities in practice for two main reasons. Firstly, the Municipality does not provide any written guidance or detail about what constitutes Malay architecture; furthermore, there is no advice on how to translate the architecture into contemporary buildings. This problem has occurred since the beginning. Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) mentions that it is *'more like a recommendation than a regulation. It has never been standardised, from 2001 till today'*. The most specific recommendation given by the government is *'only a suggestion to install a saddle roof with a selembayung'*. Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) adds that *'the regulation is just an entry point in a very general matter, instead of a specific regulation. The Municipality should have some concept of this which has been well prepared through, for example, research and academic debate ... rather than simply insisting putting selembayung on buildings, but never explaining the rules. It seems that they are never convinced about the details of Malay architecture'*. However, the regulation cannot be well implemented in practice, despite the fact that it has run for more than 12 years. Firdaus (Resp 12) mentions that the regulation is only outlined in general terms; therefore, in daily practice, it is not effective and creates ambiguity. He emphasises that *'although it was revised in 2012, the regulation also needs Perwako, a set of finer details, to give guidance on how to implement Malay architecture. Although we do not have the Perwako yet, the implementation must continue, at least on the inside of all buildings'*.

The second reason is related to municipal officers in practice. Since many officers lack any kind of architectural capability, they cannot give further advice or legal interpretation of the regulations. The best advice from officers is to put several cultural ornaments which are to imitate elements of traditional Malay houses on contemporary buildings. However, Firdaus (Resp 14) points out that *'to apply cultural ornaments through building permit is more like an agreement in practice than legal guidelines. It can be followed, or disobeyed. This is the real situation for now as the officers are not quite qualified to formalise the regulations, and so architects do'*. The matter of officer in practice is also mentioned by several professionals, and particularly by local architects. As the officers cannot give further translations of the regulations, there is more ambiguity for the architects. Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) points out that there is confusion regarding *'which kind of Malay architecture must be implemented. As there is insufficient knowledge about the architecture, none of the officers in practice are good in this matter'*. Thus, this condition has caused more problems for architects and for the business sector, particularly in terms of investment into property and commercial buildings. According to Alfaindri (Resp 09), *'the expression of city buildings in the end is only to chase a 'comfortable notion' no matter what it looks like. Giving respect to the local architecture should be just a suggestion which is possible for building investors, instead of being strictly regulated ... there should be improvements made to the guidance which are supported by officer's competence'*. However, this problem of the regulations and the officers is already known by the current government. Ayat Chayadi, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), points out that the regulations will *'definitely be evaluated. As our governance runs for two years, it means we still have time and opportunities to cope with these problems'*.



Figure 7.20 An example of façade transformation of city buildings
The ambiguity of regulation enforcement has affecting in the design practices,
in particular to commercial buildings

7.5.2 Dominant Colour

Regardless of the form and ‘language’ of local architecture, the colour of city buildings has become important. In the beginning of the autonomy era, besides white, there were three main colours, which were always used as the official colours by local governments; these were red, yellow and green (fig. 7.21). These colours have been assumed as the main colours of Malay architecture.

Of course, colour can contain certain meanings and this can be misused by the ruling regime. As the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) mentions, *‘there is a political nuance in the colour which has been used recently. Therefore, the use of colour that in cultural elements and on city buildings need to be criticised’*. Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) supports the idea that the colour on city buildings can be connected with the current leadership and with the main colour of the ruling party. He points out that *‘colour on government buildings should be green, yellow, and deep-orange (reddish), but not blue which obviously refers to particular party. Cultural elites and researchers of Malayness must speak out about how to appropriately use colour in terms of developing Malayness’*. Furthermore, he also criticises the use of various colours on government buildings recently. Blue has become a popular choice for use on buildings such as fire stations and the transportation department (fig. 7.22). Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) adds that *‘various colours can be allowed in uniform of officer, but not on the office buildings. This phenomenon can endanger Malay’s colours, which could slowly disappear’* (Resp 18). In contrast, Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) argues that *‘Malay culture obviously has main colours with particular meanings. As they are chosen by heart (feeling) instead of in a technical manner, these colours, such as red, yellow, and green can be readjusted without necessarily detaching from their roots. He also emphasises that it is not necessary for colour use to be strictly controlled within rigid guidelines for contemporary usage such as on city buildings, and this includes the use of the colour blue. Therefore, as long as it does not lead to social problems, all kinds of colour can be used for contemporary purposes.*



Figure 7.21 Dominant Colour on city buildings
 Yellow, green and red are most colours used on the buildings since 2001



Figure 7.22 Blue has been used on government buildings since 2012

7.6 Architectural Reproduction: An Accumulation of Cultural Assets

7.6.1 Values and Cultural Forms

Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) affirms that the relation between culture and local architecture is actually rooted in Malay values. It is a primary guide to daily life, and the values also become an inherent part of the tradition of the Malay house. Thus, the house is the first physical model to represent people's thoughts on how Malay culture is constructed. He emphasises that *'Malay values should be firstly formed at home as Islamic ways. In terms of the physical and spiritual, senibina (architecture) must be supported in this matter by preserving its symbolic meanings. As represented by adat, it is **important to reinterpret and harmonise our cultural values and senibina with today's real needs** from various perspectives, and also **to avoid repetition of the old-style**'.*

In addition to the house, Malay architecture can also be enriched by other physical materials that are familiar in Malay daily life. By giving renewed meanings within a pluralist sense, the interpretation of local architecture will be not trapped and frozen in an old-style. As it is reconstructed, local architecture should also not be framed into technical terminology within strict regulations. For Amrun Salmon (Resp 08), local architecture needs a space to develop 'a cultural taste'. This can be identified as *'something new in various forms. As long as it does not imitate something from somewhere else, having novelty in design, and fitting with today's conditions, then the forms belong to the Malays'*.

Although it is possible to be widely developed, Malay architecture also faces particular resistance. As it has been redefined, Malay culture has been developed to be identical to Islamic ways. This in turn generates architectural problems because architecture needs to align with modernism and Islam simultaneously and equally. Firdaus Agus (Resp 01) argues that *'although living together, it not necessary to put Malay ornaments on HKBP buildings (church). It becomes absurd as Malay and Muslim architecture are still identical'* (fig. 7.23.B). This phenomenon has given rise to an ambiguity. For example, Malay architecture must be implemented only on those city buildings follow the Islamic way. This tends to be exclusively where the architecture is owned by Malay-Muslims.

Cultural elements also need to be widely implemented on various built forms as a way of promoting Malayness, and also to be easily recognised. This is the aim of the Municipality's regulations for city buildings. Firdaus (Resp 14), a municipality officer, comments that *'government buildings have to implement Malay architecture. There is no chance for negotiation on this matter, but for shop-houses or supermarkets (commercial buildings); the Municipality has not yet decided how these buildings should look'*. Thus, Malay architecture belongs to all people who live in the city. Although mostly populated by Muslim people, Pekanbaru is not only multicultural, but also a multi-religious place. It is necessary to distinguish the local architecture of any religion of a certain scale and level of thought. In this way, the architecture can be smoothly embedded into society at the centre of Malay culture. Firdaus (Resp 14) also points out that *'in terms of Malay culture being identical to Islam, what does it matter? Nothing is wrong if Malay architecture is implemented on all city buildings, including Churches. It is just on the buildings, not the content'*.



Figure 7.23 Religious facilities
 A. Mosques; B. Churches; C. Buddhist

7.6.2 Conflict on Particular Interests

Cultural values can also be misinterpreted according to particular interests. In terms of being at the centre of Malay culture, on the one hand, the Municipality has been trying to re-instate Malayness through local regulations on city buildings. This is evident in their attempts to embed Malay architecture with cultural elements on various built forms of the city. On the other hand, for particular cultural elites, Malay architecture must interpret Malay culture with

an awareness of religion and traditional forms. This is what Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) asserts has generated conflict between the elites and local governments.

The conflict is caused by different perspectives on how to interpret Malay culture into modern life and especially in contemporary architecture. The cultural elites' view is that the interpretation should follow the idea that *'adat bersendikan sayrak, syarak bersendikan kitabullah'*, which means 'daily customs hinge on "syarak", which relies on the Holy Quran as the highest resource'. Moreover, Sayfri Gamal (Resp 05) points out that it has been assumed that *'the religion of Riau-Malay culture is Islam'*. Thus, the elites consider imitating the traditional forms, such as the Malay house, to be the most appropriate way of translating architecture. According to Firdaus Agus (Resp 01), any failure to translate architecture in this way can mean that practice in contemporary architecture is abusing cultural values. Most contemporary built forms with cultural elements i.e. buildings, monuments, and statues that were built by the government have been criticised by the elites. Indeed, Al-Azhar (Resp 21) argues that it is important to *'not only see built forms from an aesthetic perspective, but also in terms of its cultural ethics'*. These cultural ethics, which are never further explained by the cultural elites, have become a focus for critique. Municipality officer Edwin Supradana (Resp 18) points out that *'as a heterogeneous city, the Municipality has considered that city buildings at least should implement several cultural elements i.e. roof forms, carving motifs, and selembayung. Consequently, it has also generated novel forms which have been criticised by the elites'*. On this point, the Mayor (Resp 34) emphasises that *'we have agreed to practical practices in terms of reconstructing cultural character in built forms, but have been prevented from using cultural ornaments on litter bins for cultural sanctity reasons. Why has it become so sacred? Who has said it should be so? It is only at the insistence of the cultural elites'*.

A recent example of conflict is the litter bin case (fig 7.24). The cultural ethics in this case is related to the sacred and profane in using cultural ornaments. From the point of view of the Malay elites, the implementation of cultural elements, which is seen as part of culture, must be considerate of this relationship. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that ethics in Malay architecture should encompass appropriateness as every element has its own meaning. Thus, particular elements must be applied to particular buildings, instead of ubiquitous or sporadic implementation. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) emphasises lack of knowledge about culture as the main reason that most of *'today's contemporary products cannot be understood from the point of view of the relationship between their symbol and meaning in terms of Malayness'*.

In another case, the elites of culture also criticised contemporary buildings, in particular the Regional Library: the Soeman HS Building (fig. 7.25). From its inception, the building courted controversy due to the demolition of the *Lancang Kuning* Building (4.2.2). The replacement building was designed to look like a *rehal*. However, the architect failed to translate the concept of *rehal* and culture into the contemporary design and its form was more like that of an open book (Roesmanto, 2012); furthermore, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that the new library was built without any cultural ornaments, which can also be seen as an improvident design.



Figure 7.24 A Controversy of Cultural Ornament on the Litter Bin
Implement the ornaments are also linked to holy-profane and religious-cultural traditions



Figure 7.25 The Regional Library Building
The design of the building has inspired by *rehal* (above) which is seen as part of Malay element

7.6.3 Becoming Assets of Urban Society

Neither both local governments, with their architects, nor the cultural elites can define exactly how to include Malay values in contemporary architecture. This is the situation today. Through passion, on the one hand, the Municipality has formalised Malay architecture with local regulations, although it does not provide clear guidance. On the other hand, the cultural elites

understand the values but have never put these into practice. Therefore, there is a field of continuous conflict between both parties. For Syafri Gamal (Resp 05), *'preserving culture through local architecture is necessary for the identity of the city. Therefore, it needs agreement from all stakeholders since the elites of culture and the local governments cannot give precise answers about how to interpret Malay architecture for certain'*. With such an agreement, any contemporary versions of changeable forms could be accepted by the whole society with less controversy. Furthermore, Syafri Gamal (Resp 05) emphasises that *'reconstructing local architecture is seen more as a part of preserving Malay culture, instead of a particular ethnicity'*. In this respect, local architects see that cultural change needs to be supported by architectural creativity.

Regardless of the conflicts, Malay architecture also requires space to develop in natural ways. As Alfiandri (Resp 09) states, *'it is not necessary to push local architecture in certain directions as this can lead to setbacks. The cultural forces today have moved in another direction. In turn, local architecture and the culture are not well-fitted one to another at this time'*. However, by being reconstituted in everyday practice, local architecture has been widely accepted by society. This is evident on government offices and schools, as well as on religious buildings (fig. 7.23), public facilities such as hospitals (fig. 7.26), commercial buildings (fig. 7.27), and rental space (fig. 7.28), where cultural elements are not only used as additional ornaments, but have become a design inspiration on most city buildings.

In terms of reconstructing the identity of place, architecture can become an asset of place. It needs recognition and acceptance and can be used to reconstitute local styles in everyday practice, framed by *'public imagination with visions for a better future'* (Dovey, 2008: 218). As Brubaker (2004: 68) states, recognition can be seen as considerable room for manoeuvre to divert into particular purposes. In this case, the interpretation of Malay architecture in an urban context must not be trapped and frozen in the old-style; instead, it should be a fluid translation of the contemporary sense by giving respect to the culture, people, and place. This leads to an accumulation of assets, about which one *'should ask not what they meant but what they do and how they work'* (Dovey, 2010: 25).

As an accumulation of assets, it is possible to connect local architecture to the practice of symbolic domination, including a cultural agenda. However, this also has other consequences. These practices can fall into the banality of culture itself by being over-coded and over-exposed in everyday experience. For Calinescu (1987: 223), cultural banality is seen as kitsch: *'a vicarious experience and fake sensation'* that has *'tended to produce noticeably inferior versions of the original'* (Ballantyne, 2002: 89), as well as a *'relegated distinction of taste and (attempt) to climb that aesthetic hierarchy'* (Dovey, 2008: 44). Hutcheon (1999: 184) emphasises that the banality of culture can be defined as the *'personification of immutable ideal culture'*, of which the main aim is to preserve the legacy of previous generations and refuse the encouragement of adaptive change. Dovey (2010: 26) also points out that the practices can be trapped in a *'sense of a cliché: a pre-packaged meaning for consumption'*. Therefore, culturally banal practices, whether seen as kitsch, preserving essence, being impostors, being part of the aesthetic hierarchy, or generating sense of cliché, are less significant to the reconstruction of the 'real' identity of place because they are only temporarily recognised, with an uncertain future.



Figure 7.26 Public Facilities buildings
 A. Local Parliament; B. Hospitals; C. Civil Courts; D. Private School



Figure 7.27 Commercial Facilities
 A. Shop-Houses; B. Mall and Commercial Facilities; C. Traditional Market



Figure 7.28 Rental space office buildings

7.7 Concluding Comments: Towards Recognition

By regulating the application of cultural elements, the ruling regime has set local architecture not only as the main preference on city buildings, but also as a symbol of their power over others. This can be found in Pekanbaru today through three architectural approaches to design: copying an authentic, following a model, and experimenting with ornaments. In this way, the regime has shown its preferences and authoritarian command over local architecture in an expression of power. The spurious production and circulation of cultural elements on city building has become important, whether through consensus or daily practices. Therefore, local architecture has become a field of transformation, where power conflicts occur through various interpretations of architecture. This situation is reported in Vale (2008: 346), who opines that in certain aspects, the cultural force behind architecture is used to serve the personal interest of the regime or group of elites who hold power through the expression of aesthetic exaggeration. This also can be seen as an attempt to create a permanent marker in the history of power (Findley, 2005: 3).

As well as producing and circulating symbols, the implementation of local architecture is also linked to holy-profane and religious-cultural traditions. This situation creates another field for contestation, which is based on the particular interests of society: room for manoeuvre (Brubaker, 2004: 68); this is used to reconstitute the architecture in everyday practice, which in turn is aimed at garnering wide recognition and acceptance from society (Dovey, 2008: 218). The implementation of local architecture is expected to become an accumulation of the assets of society. However, spurious production and circulation of cultural elements on city buildings can easily lead to banality of culture, exemplified in the exaggeration of the elements, and pre-packaged meaning for consumption (Calinescu, 1987: 223; Ballantyne, 2002: 89; Dovey, 2010: 26).

This chapter has explained how the implementation of cultural elements on city buildings can be for various purposes, such as to convey power, to seek recognition of symbolic dominance, and to leave a permanent marker of the ruling regime. Both chapters 6 and 7 have elucidated the connection between Malay culture and local architecture. The next two chapters will describe another connection between culture and socio-cultural change in urban society.

Chapter 8

Cultural Reproduction in the Living Space

Cultural Reproduction in the Living Space

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Cultural Reproduction in the Living Space

'The Malay Cultural Centre is a reflection of the civilization ... steady in maintaining, preserving, living, practicing and developing Malay culture' (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2001).

8.1 Cultural Values in Urban Society

The above quotation is part of the city development Mission (5.6.1) and shows that attempts are being made to reconstruct Malay culture and develop urban social life. This is a cultural agenda which obviously generates social problems as urban society today is multicultural and multi-ethnic. This can also be seen as a kind of material and intellectual force (Barker, 2002: 25). In an urban context, the identity of place must be defined not in a fixed, essential, and permanent conception (Hall, 1996), but according to the multiple, fluctuating, and fragmented nature of the contemporary (Brubaker, 2004). Identity, thus, is defined by the connections between things (De Landa, 2006) and by practice, which is at once material and experiential, spatial and social (Dovey, 2010). Regardless of dominance within the population, the cultural agenda can be seen as the hegemony of one ethnic group over others that cannot be used to enact the disappearance or destruction of difference (Hall, 1989: 9; 2000: 58). Thus, culture is presumed to be *'the source both of beliefs and the values to guide people'* (Hutcheon, 1999: 1), and is assumed as a non-instrumental mode of action that is recognised through maintenance and challenges (Barker, 2002) as *'imagination and production of the future'* (Dovey, 2008: 1).

'Hegemony ... exercises social authority and leadership over subordinate classes through a combination of force and consent ... a series of alliances in which one group takes on a position of leadership ... wherein the strategies and power of the ascendant social group are maintained and challenged ... a relations concept marking a temporary settlement and series of alliances between social groups ... indicates structure of feeling and a set of cultural practices ... a sense of the fragmentary, ambiguous and uncertain nature of living together within an awareness of the centrality of contingency' (Barker, 2002: 57).

Chapters 6 and 7 investigated the connection between culture and architecture as a field of transformation, where culture and the cultural are maintained and reproduced in built forms through time. As it is continually being reconstructed from points of similarity and difference, its representation is not only as a self-description but also as social ascription, which can be both highlighted and rejected within the vectors of resemblance and distinction (Barker, 2002: 225). In this regard, the representation can reconstruct the identity of place by non-single preference (Dovey, 2010), and by generating shifting relations with various effects: *'each is placed in a different way in relation to the shifting scene'* (Massey, 1994: 164). In this case, Milner (2009: 242) notes that *'the differing ways in which these ideas have been localised, and the dynamic of that process, are certainly central to the history of Malayness'*. This chapter

investigates attempts to use Malay culture as the main preference of urban social life in Pekanbaru city. It begins with an investigation into how Malay culture is established in an urban context (section 8.2) through several phenomena (section 8.3), and a concise conclusion (section 8.4).

8.2 Establishing the Living Space

8.2.1 The Re-Emergence of *Persebatian Melayu*

'Madani city is a modern city with three comprehensive approaches: being smart, liveable, and environmentally friendly within a religious society' (the Mayor, Resp 34).

In terms of identity of place, a cultural agenda is applied in implementing Malayness into urban social life through local government policy. After more than a decade, the agenda has become more intensely embedded in daily life. Therefore, the Mayor of the city argues that Pekanbaru will be developed as a *madani* city, which is not only developed around physical aspects, but also *'on socially and in spirit of Malayness'* (Resp 34) (5.6.2). This means that the city's policies are focused on encouraging urban social life to become a religious society. In this context, it is more related to Islamic teaching and Malay values.

The idea of *madani* is derived from the main agenda of the Vision of the city development (Appendix 1), which has been readjusted to fit with today's situation and also to facilitate its implementation, particularly through the Mission of the city development. The Mission has five focuses: trade and services, education, Malay culture, society, and religious life (Appendix 2). By focusing on society, it encourages a prosperous society which is adequate materially and spiritually. Religious life can be obtained through strengthening attitudes and behaviour as individuals and as a whole society. Through the readjustment, this sub-vision has intentionally regrouped society and religious life into one term: *madani* society.

The relationship between urban society and religious life is inextricably intertwined in Pekanbaru. According to the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), *'Malay culture is the main preference in urban society life, while remembering other cultures and ethnicities by respecting and embracing them ... and it is also an important matter in daily life to implement the "tunjuk ajar" (8.3.2) which is based on the Quran and "Sunnah"*¹. It is aimed at re-invigorating *persebatian Melayu* (unity and integrity within Malayness), which is based on religious life and cultural values, and which sets Malay culture as an umbrella for other cultures.

In terms of unity and integrity within Malayness (5.5.3), Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that urban society consists of many *puak* (ethnic fragmentations), all of which can be defined as

¹ Sunnah is recognised as the teachings of the prophet Muhammad

part of Malay society as a whole. These *puak*, which are distinguished according to their different *adat* (daily customs), still remain similar to one another in fundamental ways; *'adat bersendikan syarak, syarak bersendikan kitabullah'* (daily custom hinges on *syarak* which relies on the Holy Quran). Within this perspective, Malay society must not be interpreted in a narrow perspective.

Urban social life in Pekanbaru today is more like a compound of many *puak* that is not only composed of different Malay communities, but also by incomers, according to Al-Azhar (Resp 12). Incomers, who come and settle within different ethnic groups, do not bring their particular cultural agendas with them; rather, they are driven economically to find a better life. They often do not care about the place identity and cultural life of the city. The respondent also emphasises that *'it will be a problem if Malays, who first settled the society, do not take any action in this matter, such as reintroducing cultural signage and reconstructing the identity of the city'*.

Furthermore, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that it is not a matter of *'minority rules over majority; instead, the community, Malays, care more about the sustainability of cultural life'*. Thus, re-igniting Malay culture is not only a chance to promote the culture, but is also a challenge in terms of how Malayness can play its role as a core culture in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society, *'particularly in three matters; ideas on cultural life, patterns of society, and the creation of real works'*.

Malayness generates certain influences, particularly on relations between local people in an urban society in order to reconstruct identity. Massey (1994: 164) argues that ethnicity can produce serious implications on how people *'inhabit and experience space and place'*. A similar notion is also expressed by Hutcheon (1999: 5), who states that habits and chosen values affect the relationships between people and also determine how to give responses and make decisions in these relationships. Irrespective of past experiences, the particular ethnic values may also fit with today's needs. These values can possibly generate and stimulate a sense of familiarity in urban society through new interpretation (Cohen, 2001: 99).

8.2.2 Necessary Conditions

Firdaus, the Mayor (Resp 34), argues that the concept of *madani* society has become significant in terms of the governance of the city. He points out that *'whatever religion professes, every member of urban society must learn and implement the teachings of their religion'*. In this way, according to the Mayor, tolerance and respect for each other can emerge and accelerate toward a religious urban society. The Mayor (Resp 34) also emphasises that this concept is adopted from Islamic ways. For Muslims, *madani* can be seen as an obligation to *'obey the Holy Quran and Islamic teachings in their daily life'*. In this context Ayat Cahyadi, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), also points out that most members of urban society are Muslim, although Malays account for only about 24% of the city's population (4.3). Therefore *'Malay values which adopt Islamic teachings can be embedded and serve as the main guidance for urban society life'*. Thus, by implementing the concept of *madani*, it is assumed that Malayness can be generated in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society. In this sense, religious matters have become important in urban social life today.

In addition to engendering unity and integrity through the concept of *madani*, urban society necessarily puts more concern on preserving *adat* and cultural traditions. With this in mind, Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) argues that *'the most significant unifier in urban society today is "adat", rather than anything else'*. Conversely, *adat* is fading away. According to Alfiandri (Resp 09), *'society today has changed, particularly in relation to cultural values and pride in matters of ethnicity'*. He emphasises that the 'mind-set' of Malays needs to be changed in anticipation of the future. However, this is not an easy matter to accept for Malay elites in particular, who assumes this to be an attempt to undermine *adat*. In this sense, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) sees that there is a tendency *'to put "adat" only into particular ceremonies and events'*, while other conditions are completely disobeyed or forgotten. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that urban life today has been plunged into a *'pseudo-literary society which is more concerned with principles than meaning'*. These become a serious problem for the cultural life of the Malay as there lacks a decent translation of *adat*. Moreover, local governments have supported this condition through their governance practices, i.e. through regulations, public ceremony, contemporary cultural traditions, and events.

In terms of social practices, culture *'deliberates expression of human will and purpose'* (Mumford, 1940: 367) that is *'constituted by changing meaning and practices'* (Barker, 2002: 72). Hence, the particular values of culture can be seen as *'a reason and justification of social action'* in society (Barker, 2002: 41) that is possible to be *'interpretively, reduced to terms which are appropriate to another'* (Cohen, 2001: 39). In this way, a community is necessarily drawn together and *'encompassed by the social and the cultural'* (Delanty, 2010: 23). The role of the community can appropriately guide the powerful culture strands (Hutcheon, 1999: 6), to act as a *'moral structure and as a resource'* (Delanty, 2010: 34). Thus, on one hand, the Malay community and its culture play these roles in both governance and society. The culture is therefore used as the main reason for collective mobilisation, and in the transformation of social practices. For Delanty (2010: 35), the community brings not only certain values, but also *'a form of social organisation and of belonging'* that can act as *'a resource for civic association'*. On the other hand, a sense of locality becomes more important in this situation. Although pioneered by the Malay community, the sense of locality has grown under the influence of the Malays as well as other communities. Therefore, the embodiment and representations of the past and present culture need to *'emphasise a sense of former cohesion, solidarity, egalitarianism and the homogeneity of identity and belonging'* (Lovell, 1998b: 16). This also contributes to the re-constructing of local identity, where the interactions of communities in a place can be seen as part of a trans-local learning process (Barker, 2002: 151) to understand their differences (Massey, 1994: 129), as well as a way of unifying cultural diversity (Barker, 2002: 72).

8.2.3 Cultural Hybridisation

Despite being founded by the Malay community, the city was formed as a mixture of communities without any dominant ethnic group from the outset (6.3.1). This changed with power shifts during the reformation period of Indonesia, at which point the Malay became the dominant ethnic group, though not necessarily the most influential group in cultural daily life, particularly in urban society.

Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) points out that through various processes, conscious or not, *'local communities have assimilated to one another'*. This assimilation has delivered several changes in communities and cultural life, and can be seen as a part of the natural process with

uncertain results. For Yanto (Resp 13), despite being recognised as *Pujakesuma*, (Javanese born in Sumatra), his children, who were *'born and grew up in the city, became Malays from the first day of their lives'*. In this case, people who are defined as incomers or come from non-Malay communities have merged and become part of the Malay community through different processes.

Malay culture today is much more influenced by other cultures. This influence has significantly contributed to the formation of Malayness. Alfiandri (Resp 09) highlights that it *'is reasonable if Malays are influenced by other people such as Arabs, Bugis, and Chinese. Malays have changed'*. The Mayor (Resp 34) emphasises that *'by living together for such a long time with those people who inhabit this place, they cannot be identified as incomers anymore, but as Malays who are similar to us (Malays)'*. Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) adds that, although different traditions are still preserved, these incomers *'are unconsciously living within Malay traditions in their daily life today'*. In this sense, it is clear that it is possible to become Malay whether through integration, fusion, or the merging of daily life.

In relation to the production and reproduction of identity, Barker (2002: 149) suggests the concept of hybridisation of cultural practice. He points out that the hybridisation can help to *'capture and recognise the production of new identity and cultural form'*. He also emphasises that the products can be seen as a *'constellation of temporary coherence of knots'* (Barker, 2002: 75). Therefore, it can be argued that cultural practices today subconsciously reproduce a new identity of place and also of people. Through various processes, identity is reconstructed through daily activities. This can be captured as a self-constructing process, and is also an internalised adjustment of identity. Because hybridisation *'is not merely reproduced but refigured'* through a less coherent, unified and direct process (Barker, 2002: 151). Therefore, the influence of Malay culture in this case can be seen as a hybridisation process of local identity. As Delanty (2010: 34) emphasised, culture change needs more than symbolism; it requires the wider cognitive and creative aspects.

8.3 The Home of Malays: Reclaiming and Place-Making Society

8.3.1 Living with Cultural Values

In terms of emerging cultural life, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) argues that the *'concept of "madani" can be used to frame heterogeneous communities in urban society'*. The concept is a tool to construct a religious society, particularly in alignment with Islamic ways and Malay values. Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) agrees that, irrespective of ethnic background, *'religious society and Malay values can be accepted by most members of urban society'*. In this way, the values given priority are the sense of openness, respect of differences, religious matters, friendliness, and sociability. He also emphasises that *'the values should never disappear from the society'*. Moreover, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out particular social conflicts in society *'cannot be solved through formal law enforcement, but by 'common laws' which are based on adat*. In this sense, cultural values are needed by today's society. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) asserts that putting cultural values at the heart of daily life needs *'strong intentions to*

translate and implement them'. Thus, the values can be preserved, and become the cultural preference for all members of society.

Cultural preference today is mostly focused on Islamic ways. This is because the majority of the population is Muslim (4.3); however, this also causes a synthetic relationship between culture and religion (5.3.3). Alfiandri (Resp 09) points out cultural preferences in urban social life have changed according to the population of the city over time. He points out that by changing from a homogenous to a heterogeneous society, *'members of urban society become more practical in their lives, including in cultural life and religious matters'*. Thus, particular questions can be addressed to those living with different religions and cultural references.

Al-Azhar (Resp 12) emphasises that, although they do not have a particular cultural agenda, *'non-Malay communities do not refuse the influence of Malay culture on their lives either'*, and in certain cases, they can fully accept the culture. However, there are also some opposing views. For Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19), this is *'caused by a lack of understanding that Malay is the host culture of the region and the city'* (8.4.1). He also emphasises that if mutual respect and tolerance are maintained, there are no serious problems of social and cultural matters. Furthermore, if there are any indications of conflict, these can be assumed to be part of the dynamic process of cultural life. As Suryadi Khusaini (Res 19) points out, *'every single one of us here must implement Malay culture ... and also take responsibility for preserving and developing our ancestral culture at the same time'*.

Delanty (2010: 52) argues that community can be used as *'an alternative way to organise localities'*, and as an eloquent intermediary for sharing values of place. In this sense, communities with local cultures can act *'as constellations of temporary coherence'* (Barker, 2002: 82) that can lead to unity on a broader scale, such as urban society. For Barker (2002: 58), today's society is united by a *'structure of feeling and a set of cultural practices'*. The feeling can be defined as *'a sense of the fragmentary, ambiguous and uncertain nature of living together within an awareness of the centrality of contingency'*. Mumford (1940: 349) also emphasises that *'a unity does not grow out of spontaneous allegiances and natural affiliations'*, but through continuous collective attempts with deliberate efforts. These efforts can be linked to the cultural practices of the community to form the cultural preferences for the entire society. As temporal coherence, thus, the cultural preference also cannot avoid internal contests and competing allegiances.

8.3.2 Sense of Belonging and Locality

Senses of belonging and locality are important aspects in reconstructing the identity of place. However, cultivating these senses is not easy in multicultural society. As Delanty (2010: 150) argues, a sense of *'belonging is never established as final for once and for all'*. Thus, it always becomes a field of interpretations and contestation. He emphasises that these senses need to be discovered through wide participation in social movements which are in the common interest (Delanty, 2010: 48). This can emerge as a new expression of collective identity symbolism.

A sense of locality can also be used as symbolic expression. Massey (1994: 138) argues that a locality is not made up of *'bounded areas but spaces of interaction'*. The space can even be reformed through factors which are totally unrelated. She emphasises that the locality is not

only about belonging, but also how people *'could afford to locate their identities'* (Massey, 1994: 166). In this sense, locality becomes a symbol of identity, even when there is a lack of unity. For Cohen (2001: 21), symbols are effective because they are imprecise. Symbols of collective identity, then, become ideal media for free interpretation by members of society. They can express in their *'common'* language, mimetic behaviour in daily life; participate in similar rituals and traditions; dress in similar outfits, and so forth. The meaning of these symbols is to *'encompass tangible explicit localities and imagined places'* (Lovell, 1998a: 6) that are also related to who has power of the place. However, determining this is not an easy matter as the society will deal with the hegemony of the ruling group and dominant groups of people, or other kinds of subordinating.

Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that *'although time changes, a sense of belonging which is culturally based is still an important means of establishing Malayness'*, and also plays *'a significant role in translating culture into a contemporary context'*. He emphasises that, through a sense of belonging, Malay culture and its identity can survive. Therefore, it becomes the responsibility for all members of society to preserve, develop, and implement Malayness. One of several ways to cultivate a sense of belonging is through the *'wide use of traditional Malay clothing in daily life'* (Resp 21). Along with *'certain codes and manners'* (Resp 08) the clothing, such as *tenun songket, baju kurung, teluk belanga, batik tabir* and *kain samping* can be fit with today's context and situation.

Reintroducing Malay Clothing

In order to strengthen a sense of belonging, the Municipality has attempted to reintroduce and popularise Malay clothing by wearing the clothing at least once a week. In addition, according to the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), the municipality has regulated for the use of *'Malay clothing as a uniform for the officers and students'* (Figure 8.01). He emphasises a firmness and adequately informed with regard to the regulations, and that any disobedience on this matter should lead to particularly serious consequences (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2011). In addition to the officers and students, the Municipality encourages employees of the public and private sectors to wear the clothing (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010c). Furthermore, the Municipality supports working women covering their hair with a veil or *'hijab'*. This is to fit with the regulations and also with Malay values (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010d), and as it is assumed that Malay clothing not only belongs to the Malay community, but is the property of the whole society in Pekanbaru.

Originally, forms of Malay clothing were influenced by other cultures. In this sense, clothing is seen as something changeable. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that *'the clothing can be readjusted in its form and pattern'* as long as it follows the dress code. However, although items of clothing have been regulated, the manner in which they are to be worn is not always well understood. Clothing is seen as just *'a casing'*; an element of the external appearance without any sense of inherent cultural values (Resp 13). As a result, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that wearing the clothing can be seen simply as *'a social pattern action without any sense of pride and belonging'*. Thus, little regard is given to its meaning and values, despite the fact that it is worn in daily life. As Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) emphasises, the reintroduction of Malay clothing to all members of society needs time and effort in order to ensure it is a practical step.



Figure 8.01 Malay clothing as formal outfit in Pekanbaru

Above: Student Uniforms; Below: Officer Uniforms

Re-introducing Malay clothing has generated local economic gain, particularly for home-based enterprises (figure 8.02) (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010c) as it stimulates local production of clothing. This local production also fits the local economic development policy (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010a). Due to different variations, the motifs and forms of the clothing can be developed to meet contemporary needs (Hawe, 2010). Therefore, the production is not merely about popularising the production and economic opportunities, but is also an alternative way to preserve cultural traditions (figure 8.03).

Malay clothing can obviously become a symbol of collective identity in urban society. Indeed, Vellinga (2008: 763) points out that clothes '*are commonly seen as signs of social relationships*' that can reify connections between culture and society. As one of the symbol repositories of the Malay, clothing can be seen as part of the mental construct for members of society. According to Cohen (2001: 19), this symbol provides '*the means to make meaning*'. However, clothing is more than a symbol of collective identity; it presents a sense of cohesion (Lovell, 1998a: 4). In this way, the more members wear this clothing, the more the intentions of the government are embedded into society. Conversely, an attempt to wear Malay clothing through affirmative action such as regulation is seen as a top down approach. This intention can put pressure on society (Hutcheon, 1999: 187). As the aim of regulation is to ensure all members of the society accept the intention, this representation has tended to ignore social boundaries. As a result, there are practical differences between presentation in public and private life. In public, the members show that wearing the clothing is symbolic of identity. However, in their private lives, the clothing is seen as a form of 'internal alienation' which conflicts with particular private boundaries such as different traditions and customs. Thus, this complexity proliferates and becomes another facet of society as a silent conflict. Cohen (2001: 74) states the public face and 'typical' mode are the symbolically complex objects of internal discourse where '*members of different communities may use similar structures, yet think about them in quite different ways*'. Delanty (2010: 28) also emphasises that a sense of belonging which is taken from symbols of collective identity cannot preclude conflict. The conflict in this matter is a feature of the life of the society and, eventually, the more conflicts emerge, the

more symbols of collective identity can be used as an integral part of the process of reconstructing a place.



Figure 8.02 Traditional weaving machines to produce Malay clothing



Figure 8.03 *Batik Tabir*, reintroduced as part of Malay heritage
Re-evoking and reintroducing traditional batik as a home based industry in Malay community since 2000s

Malay language in Daily Life

Another way to cultivate a sense of belonging is through daily language. The Mayor (Resp 34) points out that, although they do not represent the majority group, Malays should be proud of their language. The language is not only used in the region of Riau and Pekanbaru city, it also forms the basis of the Bahasa Indonesia spoken by 250 million Indonesians. However, because of the dominance of the Minangkabau people over the population of the city, their language is widely used in society, particularly as a market language (Resp 08, 12, 13). This language is also used as an informal language (Resp 12). Therefore, it is common in Pekanbaru for most people to speak this language in addition to the national language and their mother-tongue. In contrast, Malay language has become rarely used (Jamil, 2012), particularly by young people (Resp 27). Al-Azhar argues that *'speaking in Malay language is not only a means of verbal communication, but also an expression of cultural values'* (in Effendy, 2013). For this reason, the governments have devised several programmes to strengthen the Malay language through public speaking (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2004), a Malay corner in the library (Resp 25), traditional songs in public facilities (Pemko_Pekanbaru, 2010b), and also as a local official language (Jamil, 2012), as adopting the language more widely is assumed to encourage Malayness in urban society.

Restoring Community Traditions

In addition to clothing and language, another way to cultivate a sense of belonging is by recalling community traditions. One Malay tradition is known as *Balimau Kasai* or *Mandi Balimau*, which relates to purifying the body and mind in welcoming Ramadan, and which is conducted by the Malay communities on the east coast of Sumatra every year. This tradition can also be seen as a way of translating cultural values into practices by '*sharing joyful traditions in socio-cultural context*' (Jamil, 2013). In Pekanbaru, the tradition was introduced for the first time as a public event by Malay cultural promoters in 1997 (Netmediatama, 2013), and was fully supported by the local governments (RiauPos, 2013). In order to be more easily understood, the tradition is observed in a modest way and combines several traditions; this is called *Petang Megang*. Thus, the tradition has become an annual event that is held at a particular spot on riverbank in the city (Figure 8.04).

Although it is seen as '*a good attempt to reintroduce Malay tradition to urban society*' (Resp 29), *Petang Megang* has raised several issues among Malays. The event is seen more as ceremonial and more focused on entertainment (Syarifuddin, 2013) than on cultural tradition (Amri, 2013) (Figure 8.05). It has subverted the real meaning of purifying and *silaturahmi* in order to maintain a good relationship between relatives (Syarifuddin, 2013). Particular parts of the tradition should not be open to the public, but must be done privately (Jamil, 2013); for examples, men and women cannot bathe together in the river (Ahmad, 2013) as to do so would be contrary to Islamic teachings (Syarifuddin, 2013). In terms of Malayness, whether open to urban society or within the community, *Petang Megang* should align with Islamic ways (Jamil, 2013). After complaints by several cultural promoters and Islamic scholars, *Petang Megang* has been gradually adjusted (Pemko_Bappeko, 2013), and now proceeds according to several socio-cultural traditions and with more Islamic rituals (Azf, 2013b) (Figure 8.06). Therefore, representing cultural identity through new cultural practices has become problematic over claims about authority and authenticity. As Hall (2003: 222) highlights, the practices are '*never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation*'. Therefore, it is debatable how far cultural practices can represent cultural identity in society.



Figure 8.04 *Petang Megang* as a contemporary urban society event 2012
Taking place on the riverbank to welcome Ramadhan as a new tradition of urban society



Figure 8.05 Orphans being bathed by the Mayor at *Petang Megang* 2013
The ceremony becomes an annual event and agenda by local government
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rkM0GyFNOM>



Figure 8.06 Local leaders at *Petang Megang* 2014

Source: <http://www.epaper.riaupos.co/>

In addition to *Petang Megang*, urban society has also reintroduced traditional Malay dance. By re-arranging the dance in contemporary forms, it is easier to learn, particularly for young people. In practice, the dance is conducted as a mass dancing event in a public space. It is found in two forms: *Senam Sehat* and contemporary Malay mass-dance.



Figure 8.07 Malay dance and *senam sehat*

Source: <http://www.epaper.riaupos.co/>

Senam Sehat is a kind of gymnastic exercise, of which the motions are based on traditional Malay dance. The first mass-gymnastic exercise was performed by an all women group in 2005 (Esi, 2013), and was repeated by 20,000 people in 2007 (Mad, 2007). A similar event was also performed by 21,000 kindergarten and elementary students in 2009 (Esi, 2013) (figure 8.07). Thereafter, gymnastic exercise became a subject in all schools in 2010 (Mad, 2007) and

compulsory exercise for officers in 2013 (Azf, 2013a). Another modification of the traditional Malay dance led to the contemporary Malay mass-dance. The latest performance of this dance was by 22,000 students in 2013 (Gus, 2013) (figure 8.09). Vivien, a professional dancer (Resp 11), points out that the event is not only targeted at re-introducing Malay dance, but also aims *'to deliver Malay values, and to develop a sense of belonging among young people whether they are Malays or not'*. The Mayor also mentions that the dancing has *'aimed to directly introduce Malay traditions for the public and students'* (Gus, 2013). In this sense, students become a tool for delivering the dance as it is easier for schools to arrange and students form a large proportion of the city's population (Fig. 8.08).

Restoring community traditions and displaying them as an urban communal event can be seen as another collective attempt to use Malay values in urban society. Cohen (2001: 51) argues that community tradition generates a sense of communality which can lead to heightened consciousness. In particular, traditions of religion and ritual can *'provide both context and medium for the affirmation of a society'*. In this case, through a series of adjustments, Malay traditions play their role as eloquent intermediaries of society life. As Thomassen (2009: 7) argues, certain public traditions in society are singled out not only as central to the constitution of religion, but also to society itself.

For Delanty (2010: 29), restoring community traditions can be seen as new communal forms of belonging that are marked by the declining traditions of a particular community in urban society. These forms are a logical consequence of temporal coherence and are an inextricably intertwined knot of symbolic construction within new boundaries (Barker, 2002: 82; Delanty, 2010: 35). This new symbolism then expresses the immediacy of a sense of belonging and of imagining social relations in urban society. In this way, the event has become a tradition and ritual that can be accepted by almost all members of the society and is no longer exclusively belong only to the Malay community. In turn, this has become a structure of feeling and a set of cultural practices which have reconstructed the identity of place. As Mumford (1940: 349) notes, a *'continuous collective attempt with deliberate efforts'* is important to unite allegiances and natural affiliations.

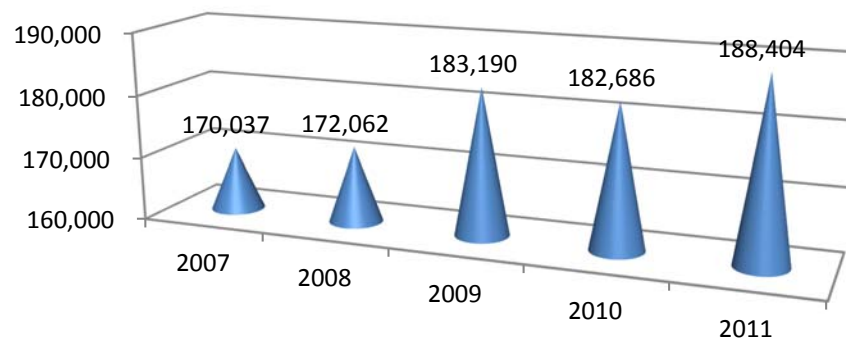


Figure 8.08 Numbers of Students in Pekanbaru from 2007 to 2011
Source: BPS (2012)



Figure 8.09 The event of contemporary Malay dance

Accepting the contemporary Malay dance as one of local identities, and becomes familiar for all local people

Source: <http://www.epaper.riaupos.co/>

Tunjuk ajar for Young Malays

Dovey (1985: 42-43) argues that home creates a *'strong root in the experience of childhood'* where identity is formed and grows; this *'requires a certain freedom of interaction between present and future, between experience and dreams'*. Moreover, Hutcheon (1999: 7) points out that family is *'the most fundamental unit of human society'*, and is the earliest institution where individual character, knowledge, and culture are formed and evolved from childhood. Thus, home and family are an important starting point for the introduction of Malay values, as the adult can deliver culture and are able to shape the character of the child. Furthermore, Hutcheon (1999: 151) also notes that school is another institution of early life which operates as a mock-up of a pluralist society, and the place where character can be developed. Through carefully selected curricula, the child can learn about the ideals, norms, and customs of the culture.

In the Malay tradition, cultural life is ideally taught in the earliest stages of childhood, particularly at home where children can absorb the culture directly from their families. In this sense, an upbringing in which cultural life is pivotal for children is not only an obligation of their parents, but also of the community at large. However, this education pattern is not easily achieved in today's urban society. It is more effective to educate children about cultural life, *adat*, and the traditions of the Malay through formal institutions such as school. For Malays, this is known as *Tunjuk Ajar*.

Tunjuk Ajar is defined as '*ditunjuk pada yang elok, diajar pada yang benar*', which means being 'shown the truth and taught within correctness'. In short, *Tunjuk Ajar* can be described as cultural guidance for daily life. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that the most important aspect of *tunjuk ajar* is the values. These values can guide people on how to live as Malays when they are living in a Malay community. The contents of the *tunjuk ajar* are seen as the teaching of logic and reasonable manner, and can therefore be accepted by broader societies (Resp 27). In this matter, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) emphasises that '*the reflection of conduct and behaviour of Malays can be learnt through "Tunjuk Ajar" which has become more important for our society today*'. Furthermore, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) mentions that *tunjuk ajar* has been taught in elementary school since 1990. It is delivered in the form of short stories about cultural traditions. As these stories were written in a Malay-Arabic style, this was problematic at that time as most of the students could not read it. The written style, which was used by the Malay community, was found to be unfamiliar for most students. Therefore, it was changed and written in the national language so that it would be easier to understand (Fig. 8.10). Today, *tunjuk ajar* and the Malay-Arabic written style have become subjects of study that must be taught in schools (Indriani, 2011).

'... the existence of individual persons...once they have been socialised by the family and the school, they have so internalised the values of the societies or the social classes to which they belong that their allegiance to a given social order may be taken for granted' (De Landa, 2007: 5).

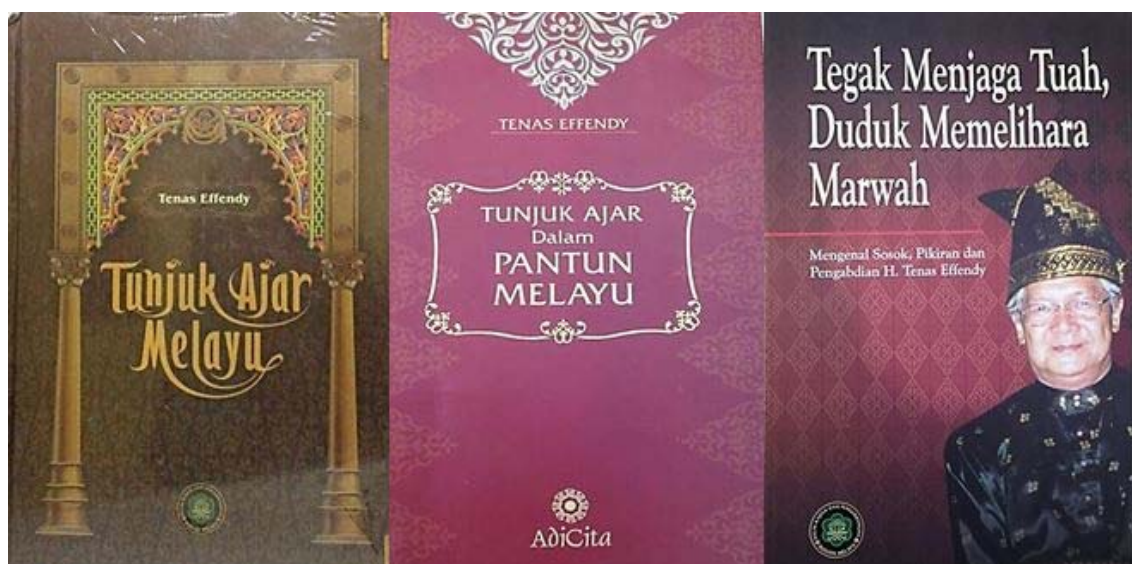


Figure 8.10 *Tunjuk Ajar* in the National language



Figure 8.11 *Tunjuk Ajar* is distributed through digital media

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2HxrX6inzE>

8.3.3 Changes, Transformations, and Continuity

Barker (2002: 83) argues that culture, as a bounded way of life, *'is reproduced through acculturation and subject to the inventive change of human agency'*. This means that culture is not static, but can be changed and transformed. For Hutcheon (1999: 16), *'culture change is the only certainty'* whether in the universal culture or in a particular subculture. In terms of culture changes, Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) argues that *'culture is not just what has been done, but also what will be given to our offspring'*. He points out that it is necessary to have 'liberty' in expressing Malayness which is based on the present. Culture must not be chained within certain rigid norms that can lead to limitation of the culture itself. On this point, the Mayor (Resp 34) argues that Malay culture must not be framed through rigid rules which can prevent innovation in cultural life. He also emphasises that *'Malay culture must be aligned with today's needs and time'*. From one perspective, Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) states that the cultural life of Malays has been changing in areas such as rituals and traditions. Most of the rituals today have *'shifted into ceremony and celebration which lack cultural meaning'*. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) also comments that *'rituals and tradition in urban society have become symbolic of cultural life that has not only changed, but has also been reinterpreted with new meaning'*. He emphasises that this can be seen as a part of the dynamics of Malay culture.

From another perspective, as one of the highly urbanised cities in Indonesia (BPS, 2010), Pekanbaru is not only developing in physical terms, but also with regard to the composition of the society. Many incomers support city life and have become the majority group in the city's population (Suwardi et al., 2006; BPS, 2012), making a contribution to reforming particular parts of the cultural life in society. In terms of population growth, the incomers have been

'increasing in number through the birth rate and displacement from other regions into the city'. This differs from the Malays, whose *'growth [is] by birth rate only'* (Resp 19). By changing its composition, the urban society has become a multi-cultural society. This phenomenon has *'obviously appeared in the last twelve years'* (Resp 14) as the city has become more populated by people of different ethnic backgrounds, such as Javanese, Minangkabau, Batak, *Bugis, Sunda*, and *Tiong-hoa* (Chinese) who have also brought their culture, rituals, and traditions (Resp 09).

This situation has also raised social issues among the incomers, such as opportunities to find work, which is influenced by ethnicity, particularly in informal sectors (Resp 13). In this case, as it is mostly Malays who work in government, the incomers of Minangkabau ethnicity who come from the West Sumatra region have become the majority population. They also have dominance in trade and economic areas such as markets and street vendors in the city (Resp 08, 19, 21). The remaining incomers must work in other fields such as the military and construction (Resp 09, 13, 19). However, the incomers have shown a sense of respect to Malay culture in their daily public life. They have already recognised the Malays as the hosts and owners of the land (Resp 13). Driven to find a better life and work (Resp 12, 13), they are also allowed to have discretion to develop their own culture as part of a cultural repertoire (Resp 19, 29). This has become a new pattern of cultural life in urban society today. This is reflected in the Malay proverb *'tamu adalah raja'* which means 'hierarchical relations by respecting each other'. Thus, urban society today is different to that of the previous period, before the reformation era, when Malays had been suppressed by other dominant ethnic groups.

Although cultural references can be *'so apt a device for symbolism and for expressing symbolically the continuity of past and present'*, they can also be seen as a form of rejection of cultural change (Cohen, 2001: 104). In this respect, the references need to be appropriate to the current context. Hutcheon (1999: 16) points out that *'cultures have always either changed in order to allow their carriers to adapt to changing times, or else they have perished'*. In the case of the Malay culture, it must change and adapt to today's context and the greater heterogeneity. Indeed, culture is not only about politics and elites; it is also about the ordinary and everyday matters. As Barker (2002: 68-69) highlights, culture as being both ordinary and political can be found in *'working-class popular culture with an eye to the possibilities for social and cultural changes'*. Culture is also seen as *'production from below'*, which refers to the active and creative capacity of common people to construct shared meaningful practices. In this way, social change is obviously able to produce new forms of culture without the need to *alter it in any substantial way'* (Cohen, 2001: 86).

Changes do not mean the end or loss of cultural authenticity. On the contrary, as Barker (2002: 70) argues, *'new culture'* must not be denied authenticity, but rather should be the result of *'the creative recombination of existing items to forge new meanings'*. This means that the new culture emerges from the negotiation process where *'positions of resistance are strategic and themselves enabled by the structures of power'*. This can blur structural boundaries in society, and must also be seen as *'symbolic expression of both change and commitment'* (Cohen, 2001: 94). As Hutcheon (1999: 188) emphasises, *'culture is a human invention, and can be altered by humans so that it better serves the needs of the total group'*. In this sense, any attempt to subordinate one culture will be seen as destructive in the long run.

Cohen (2001: 24) also argues that, because of *'society living and acting within us'*, the great heterogeneity in society, whether as individuals or groups, is not necessarily a barrier to culture change, but can be used as *'the basis for integration and collaboration in a whole'*. For Brubaker (2004: 78), this heterogeneity must be seen as the social and mental processes that

can sustain collective cultural representations. Therefore, cultural change must be understood as a natural process of development, the direction of which does not need to be specified or prevented. As Hutcheon (1999: 189) argues, no one can stop cultural change, but it is possible to *'apply the wisdom gained from past mistakes to affect the fact of its development'*.

8.3.4 Defining Malayness in Urban Society

Any attempt to reconstruct a place which lacks unity for a particular purpose is mainly directed at creating a new identity such as in the case of localising. Localising can be identified as a bounded area of the place and space of interaction. For Massey (1994: 138), this is seen as intersections and interactions of concrete social relations and social processes that can only succeed *'if there is a shared local consciousness that is inordinately and arbitrarily restrictive'*. In this case, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) argues that although there are concerns about the possibility of *'horizontal friction'*, *it is necessary to define urban society as a religious society within the Islamic way as the most reasonable way to promote Malayness in Pekanbaru'*.

However, it is very hard to use religion to construct urban social life in the reformation period. This is because it not only runs contra to the passion of reformation itself (chapter 5.4.1), but it can only be applied to a particular place which is strictly regulated by laws and needs extraordinary power to make it happen, such as in the region of Aceh, Indonesia. Therefore, something more defined is necessary to frame the place identity of a multicultural society. For Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), although based on Islamic teachings, openness is a fundamental characteristic of Malay culture that should be more emphasised. Through openness, it is possible to frame today's urban society by asserting the social consciousness of Malayness. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) emphasises that this consciousness is *'aimed at bringing out the idea of Malayness in various ways such as the materialisation of culture, re-interpretation of traditions, and cultural signage'*.

Conversely, the construction of Malayness nowadays is much influenced by political power, instead of social consciousness (Resp 27). Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that this is a social phenomenon which is caused by seeking only cultural recognition in a social context. This is often encouraged by local governments that are controlled mostly by Malays. In this situation, local governments have attempted to reassert their authority in the processes of developing Malayness in society. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) also argues that the recognition can be seen from two perspectives: in terms of the Malays as an ethnic group, and Malays within society. From an ethnic perspective, Malayness is developed through three principles: religion, *adat* and language (Resp 02, 12, 21). As members of society, Malays demand exclusive recognition of particular rights and property such as community territory land (Resp 12).

For Al-Azhar (Resp 12), the process of promoting Malayness can also be seen as an attempt to form a relationship between the local government and society life. The local government encourages and preserves the culture, but also *'needs justification by the cultural elites to ensure their position in society through cultural symbols and traditions'*. Hence, the leader of the government is awarded the title of *Datuk Bandar Setia Amanah*, an ex-officio of the highest cultural rank, which means 'knighted by culture stakeholders' (Resp 08) (Fig. 8.12). This is a new way to ensure and retain the dominance of Malays in governance and society life.

The Mayor has particular obligations to cultural life that must be undertaken during his governance. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) posits that the Mayor must invest a great deal of commitment to the cultural agenda. By holding the highest rank in both governance and society, the Mayor has the power to realise the vision of the city as the centre of Malay culture in 2021. At the same time, he has a moral obligation to those Malays who have entrusted him to preserve and develop Malay culture (Susandi, 2014). Although this cultural role was bestowed upon him during his governance (Saputra, 2014), it can be revoked if the Mayor breaches Malay values (Susandi, 2014). Nevertheless, cultural life has been enriched through attempts to define specifically the concept of Malayness during the last decade. However, Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) asserts that, once it has been reduced to a specific concept, the essence of Malayness will be lost. In this sense, Malayness in urban society must be open to re-adjustment and aligned with today's urban conditions.



Figure 8.12 Awarding the highest cultural rank for the Mayor, 2014
The rank with all the rights and obligations is merely embedded during his governance period
Source: Saputra (2014)

Whether influenced by politics or authority practices, this process is still continuing to redefine Malayness. As the Mayor (Resp 34) argues, redefining Malayness will depend on how members of society combine particular nodes of cultural life to produce today's characteristics. Alfiandri (Resp 09) also highlights that searching for today's character must not become counterproductive by eliminating the pre-existing features of the culture. For Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), although it is possible to define in various forms, it is important to preserve Malay values in today's society. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) adds that preserving the values can serve as a precaution against the misuse of Malayness in politics and authority practices.

The phenomenon of framing Malayness in urban society can also be seen as a mental construct which has symbiosis with symbols and is not merely a reflection of political provocation (Massey, 1994: 126). Cohen (2001: 15) argues that this shared local consciousness is a mental construction which condenses symbolically and adeptly through similarity and difference. The consciousness then becomes an *'eloquent and collective emblem'* in social relations and social processes through particular symbols. These symbols are assumed to include *'a commonality of form whose content may vary considerably, and can simply be interpreted in ever novel ways'* (Delanty, 2010: 33). In this sense, symbols become vehicles of interpretation. This phenomenon can also be understood as a kind of hegemony of cultural

politics, according to Barker (2002: 58). He argues that shared local consciousness has become *'a field of play where the strategies and power of ascendant social groups are maintained and challenged'*. This field has become a temporary space to be marked and for the practice of alliance among social groups. He also emphasises that, although repetition of traditions can provide practical knowledge and wisdom or ritual truth, it is more important to see how this attempt to define Malayness in urban society can be useful for today and the future (Barker, 2002: 191). As Hutcheon (1999: 15) points out, in cultural evolution, culture must be understood as *'the simplest form of covert or overt behaviour which can be passed along the generations'*. In this sense, the defining of Malayness as social relations and social processes must acquire a character and contribute to Malay culture, instead of temporary political practices and authority only.

8.3.5 Urban Society Network

According to Cohen (2001: 17), culture can be seen as webs of significance. That is to say, culture is constructed and continually reconstructed in social interactions as a process which *'endows people to perceive meaning in or to attach meaning to social behaviour'*. Moreover, Barker (2002: 68) emphasises that culture must be defined *'within flexible but sketch-able boundaries'* through its representations and practices of daily life to become an aggregate of integrated society through shared institutions. Thus, one shared institution can be found in an ethnic community which, through its practices, becomes a pioneer in cultural life by attempting to install the preferences of a culture - such as the Malay culture - into daily life.

Despite attempts to establish Malay culture as the main preference in cultural life, it cannot be implemented in rigid ways in urban society. This is because Malay society is multicultural and multi-ethnic and, therefore, the preferences and influences of other cultures cannot be avoided. Therefore, the need for cooperation among all members of urban society, whether or not there are differences in social background, cannot be ignored. These preferences, however, may change with need and time to a greater or lesser extent.

Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) argues that urban society today can accept Malay preferences as a starting point of cultural life. This can be seen as a chance to change. Ashaluddin Jalil (Resp 02) emphasises that urban society will always change to search for a sense of equilibrium which is removing specificity. Thus, according to the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), ethnic communities have an important role in culture change because they can serve as *'nodes'* to deliver cultural preferences to their members. Therefore, in terms of awareness of Malayness, these ethnic communities need cooperation and mutual understanding which is overseen by informal culture organisations such as LAM Riau (Pemprov_Riau, 2012). As Head of LAM-Riau, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) explains the two main roles that are played by LAM Riau: namely, those of cultural organisation, and intellectual society. As a cultural organisation, LAM-Riau aims to reinstate Malay culture and its traditions into all aspects of daily society life (LAM-Riau, 2014) because it realised that Malay culture was being abandoned, both in *kampung* life and in urban places. For this reason, LAM-Riau had to adopt the role of active promoter to encourage Malayness in daily life. It is the primary purpose of the existence of LAM-Riau. This organisation was founded by urban and educated people who had held positions in government, administration, and academia in 1970 who realised that Malay culture had been suppressed in certain ways and needed help to survive and escape. However, according to Al-Azhar (Resp 12), LAM-Riau is the product of modern rather than traditional Malays and aims to elevate the culture to be recognised at a higher level.

Members of Malay community have tried to become pioneers in reconstructing Malayness in urban life by promoting Malay culture to a wider audience in urban social life through a passion to move forward and be more open. Castells (2000: 442) points out that *'a society is constructed around flows'*. These flows can be defined as expressions of the processes and symbolic life that dominate and shape social networks. In this sense, the flows are resetting internal logic by playing *'a strategic role in shaping social practices and social consciousness for society at large'*. The flows also provide *'universal rationality over traditions'* through shared institutions which are comprised of different cultures as an ideal in order to hold people together for the achievement of particular goals (Hutcheon, 1999: 191). In this way, the resetting of the internal logic of Malay culture becomes 'the glue' in an urban society context, where the network is a necessity. This in turn creates a new boundary in urban context that encapsulates the identity of the communities by the exigencies of social interaction. Cohen (2001: 12) argues that these boundaries emerge because *'communities interact in some way or other with entities from which they are, or wish to be, distinguished ... upon the specific community in question'*. Thus, by reducing particular boundaries of the ethnic community, urban society reconstructs a new identifier through social interaction and shared institutions.

Today, LAM-Riau plays a bigger role than previously. And has become a point of confederation of various other ethnic societies, and is not only for the Malay community. Honorary Chairman, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), points out that LAM Riau organises 32 ethnic societies that meet regularly and which aim to generate and retain inter-ethnic relations. In this way, all socio-cultural dynamics in urban society can be found and anticipated so that can be solved through this inter-ethnic relationship. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) also emphasises that LAM is going to re-establish Malay rituals and traditions, particularly in an urban context. He adds that LAM Riau has become a custodian of culture in a narrow sense which focuses on three matters; *'ideas on cultural life, pattern actions of society, and the creation of real works'*.

As it is supported by the provincial government, LAM Riau is organised within hierarchical levels, namely provincial, municipal, district, and sub-district (LAM-Riau, 2014). LAM Riau is a formal organisation which attempts to cover the entire region through regulation (Pemprov_Riau, 2012). However, the hierarchical nature of LAM has led to issues in terms of the relationships of socio-cultural life, particularly in *kampung*, where there is a traditional ruler of the community (Masnur, 2011). This is because, as Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out, the traditional ruler has become the centre of informal power in the community, while also acting to stabilise and maintain the community. Milner (2009: 29) emphasises that this ruler, who comprehends culture law and *adat*, has a role as an axial component of the community and is deeply rooted in the community's socio-cultural life. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) adds that, as regulators of socio-cultural life, the traditional rulers have to be respected and obeyed, and there is no connection with LAM Riau. In this matter, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) admits that the relationship between the traditional ruler and LAM Riau has never been explained and resolved. Thus, LAM Riau is more of an extension and 'vehicle' of local government, instead of a real custodian of Malay culture. Regardless of its aims, LAM Riau can be misused by certain interest groups. For Amrun Salmon (Resp 08), this organisation has occasionally been used by politicians and local governments for certain purposes that have no relation to the implementation of Malayness. Furthermore, he suggests that LAM Riau must restore its main role as custodian of culture to actively promote the cultural life of Malays.

Misappropriation and manipulation can occur in the process of social interaction, particularly when culture is formalised by power. As a formal institutional, the role of culture is significant in terms of policy orientation and is used to facilitate and accelerate socio-cultural change (Barker, 2002: 190); it is also an eloquent intermediary for conveying particular interests to

society. Conversely, Delanty (2010: 156) points out that being formalised, cultural institutions 'can easily end up as part of the institutional structure of society by becoming an ideology of governance'; worse still, they can become an ideology of total power. In this sense, the exigencies of social interaction in terms of urban society network become endangered.

8.4 Concluding Comments: Today's Malay Community

This chapter has described how Malay culture is connected to urban society. In common with architecture, the connection is also derived from a political agenda which sets Malay culture as the main preference. Then, it becomes a cultural agenda that attempts to reconstruct socio-cultural life toward a *madani* society. In this sense, *madani* society is identified as a modern society which is imbued a religious sense and a feeling of Malayness. As it is implanted into urban society, this obviously has serious implication for Malays. This is due to the fact that particular habits and values are deliberately chosen to be implemented on a broader scale, such as urban society, which can lead to various responses that affect the relationships between people (Hutcheon, 1999: 5) and also become the reason and justification for social action (Barker, 2002: 41).

Because it is rooted in Malay values, the agenda has a significant effect on the Malay community. Malays do not only encourage the implementation of cultural values, but also Islamic ways in both private and public life. This is mainly to establish a sense of belonging and locality by placing Malays in a position of model community for urban society life. This is in accordance with Delanty's (2010: 52) findings that a community as a role model has the potential to become an intermediary for organising localities by sharing their values. In another sense, this also leads to the emergence of particular internal boundaries and conflicts for Malays as the sense of belonging not only leads to contestation over the claims, but also is never properly and finally established (Delanty, 2010: 150).

However, internal conflicts and contests can be seen as a way of strengthening the bonds of Malays because they help to locate and symbolise identities (Massey, 1994: 166). Therefore, attempts to enhance internal Malay identity can be seen in the reintroduction of traditional clothing, local language, restoration of community tradition, and the compunction to learn '*tunjuk ajar*' and these attempts are advantageous for Malays and also for the identity of urban society. In addition, attempts to broaden participation in social movements are recognised as a common interest and seen as a new expression of collective identity symbols (Massey, 1994: 166).

This chapter shows that implementing the idea of Malayness in urban society is used to strengthen internal of Malay culture whether through conflict, contesting, or new boundaries. The basis for this implementation is not only to provide privileges for Malays, but also for collective purposes, where the idea is conveyed through new interpretations and on a wider scale, such as urban society. This obviously requires particular adjustments and negotiations that affect Malays as well as the rest of urban society. This will be explained in the next chapter, which focuses on re-interpreting cultural values within multiculturalism.

Chapter 9

**Re-Interpreting Cultural Values
Within Multiculturalism**

Re-Interpreting Cultural Values within Multiculturalism

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Re-Interpreting Cultural Values within Multiculturalism

9.1 Being the Host in a Multicultural Society

Delanty (2010: 73) asserts that there is no place for multiculturalism, except on the margins of society. This assumes the absolute separation of cultural and political identity. Conversely, political identity becomes coeval to cultural identity where particular aspects of culture have been used as the 'main vehicle' in politics. It can be found in the grand tasks and rhetoric of local politics which centre on instating Malay as the core culture in urban society. As the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29) argues, Malay culture must be the *soko guru* (the main cultural model). Through the idea of Malayness, *soko guru* can unite and embrace all existing cultures in urban society. In this way, the heterogeneity of cultural life can be 'glued' within an understanding of cultural urban society.

With regard to installing Malay as the core culture, Suryadi Khusaini, a local sociologist (Resp 19), argues that '*almost all members of urban society can accept this matter*'. Due to historical and other reasons, Malays and incomers have been able to live side by side until today. This is because it has become recognised by members of society that Malays are actually already the hosts of this land. In turn, Malays also must respect incomers. Thus, incomers accept Malayness as the main culture, particularly in public matters but they are also allowed to develop other preferences. This becomes a kind of discretionary cultural life.

In a multicultural society, urban society also comprises various religions. Therefore, all cultural preferences in the society must also be aligned with a sense of religion, particularly Islam. This has become another social pattern in Malayness today that has developed from a religious society, and which has continued to incorporate other cultures. As a result, maintaining and retaining this recognition has become crucial. However, as Malayness is not automatically accepted, there is also resistance by particular members of society. This chapter describes the internal challenges of the Malays (section 9.2) and how the cultural preference of Malayness is externally utilised in today's urban society (section 9.3) and in daily practices (section 9.4). The chapter concludes with closing comments (section 9.5).

9.2 Contesting within Malayness

Massey (1994: 169) argues that any attempt to seek identity by a particular claimant group can lead to open contestation. This contestation occurs on a local scale and in the space of interaction in society; it can also occur in the community. As Delanty (2010: 152) points out, a

great deal of conflict is a consequence of community that *'is abstract and lacks visibility and unity'*. Community is characterised by conflict, oppression, exploitation and patriarchy (Delanty, 2010: 30). Hence, contestation in the Malay community can be drawn on certain issues such as local politics, internal conflicts, becoming Malay, leadership, pride, and religious discourse.

A Political Commodity

The idea of *Malayanisation* generates several phenomena, particularly as the main subject of local movements which can be drawn within particular interests in local autonomy. Malayness has become 'bargaining goods', not only between local politicians and local government, but also within urban society, particularly by highly ranked officers who exploit the idea as a commodity (Resp 27). This can be found at contemporary public events such as cultural ceremonies that exaggerate its appearance rather than its meaning or whether it fits with Malay values. Moreover, Malay culture is always related to Islam, and is often used to cover up these certain interests. In this way, it is assumed that urban society will be delighted to accept whatever events are displayed via Malayness and Islam. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that this phenomenon can be seen as a 'shallow attitude', which is used to obtain cultural justification from the public through new symbols and traditions. In this way, any public agenda or mass movement can be smoothly delivered with less resistance if it has a connection to religion and culture. In a synthesised society, religion is an essential, sensitive matter, and an absolute that cannot be questioned. However, in this case, religion and a sense of belonging to culture have become important and sensitive matters in society today. Therefore, the emergence of Malayness has possibly been misled from its main purpose and has become a political commodity which is used as a form of 'precious bargaining goods'. For Al-Azhar (Resp 12), an *'emerging new identity such as Riau-Malays, which has never been known before, has been covered under a sense of the Islamic and become another field of practice for politicians'*.

In terms of localism, autonomy is seen as an excellent basis for political action, but it is not enough to be perpetuated for a long time (Massey, 1994: 141). Indeed, it mostly happens when political rhetoric borrows 'condensed' versions of particular community symbols. Although these symbols *'attain particular effectiveness during periods of intensive social change'* (Cohen, 2001: 102), they cannot resist current transformation and changes. However, as Delanty (2010: 51) points out, community resistance also exists, and for that reason community *'can easily take authoritarian forms'*. In this regard, authoritarian forms are open to misuse, particularly in political actions which retain the symbols.

Internalising Malayness

Reconstructing Malayness in urban society can be seen as a social movement in the political sphere which influences the Malay community. Through various recent phenomena, the community has responded to the movement. According to Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), living in various *puak* (ethnic fragmentations) provides many interpretations of Malayness that are seen as potential ways to develop Malay culture. This generates more advantages in regard to interpreting the culture. However, until today, this fragmentation has also been internally

problematic among those who claim to be true Malays. Moreover, there are other ethnic groups that are actually subsets of the Malay who also do not want to be defined as Malay, but would rather belong to different cultures and ethnicities. As a result uniting all Malays has become a significant challenge.

Malay society today is still trapped by social jargon such as *putra daerah* (true son of a local native), according to Azwan Razak (Resp 27). At the beginning of the reformation era, the word *putra daerah* was used to distinguish between local people and incomers. At that time, it was used to strengthen *persebatian* (unity and integrity) among Malays, as it was based on ethnical, cultural and blood relationships. Additionally, it was used to obtain 'more power' against the central government. Today, the word is interpreted in more depth but with a narrower meaning. It is used to differentiate between local people and Malay who come from different parts of regions or cities. It is also used as a 'filter' for job security and for protecting particular positions at government and society levels. Thus, the word *putra daerah* does not only pertain to 'outsider', but is also used to describe those within the Malay community itself. However, the term in its narrowest sense is generating social problems and is endangering the unity of the Malay region. This is due to the fact that, in addition to distinguishing people, this term is also used as the main reason to secede from administrative territory, and then become a new autonomous area such as a province, city or regency. In situations such as this, the term *putra daerah* becomes 'very friendly jargon' to undermine Malayness. Conversely, according to Effendy (2001), the term *putra daerah* cannot be used to explain definite criteria and fixed characteristics. Indeed, within various *puak*, the word remains open to interpretation within various local definitions. Therefore, it is not necessary to define the word in precise terms as it is not a fundamental part of Malay culture and was unknown before the reformation era.

Massey (1994: 141) highlights that there is always a blurring in the use of a particular term, according to whether it is used with reference to place-based or place-bound actions. Although this can be seen as a kind of flexibility, this phenomenon has obviously had an effect on the community. Barker (2002: 79) argues that social formation in social movements which involve culture is unique. It is not used as a total expression '*but as a complex arrangement of instances: levels or practices*'; it is an attempt to achieve temporary stabilisation and is '*always constituted by a set of complex practices*'.

Massey (1994: 162) also argues that '*the social relations which constitute a locality increasingly stretch beyond its borders: less and less of these relations are contained within the place itself*'. She adds that '*a sense of the fragmentation of local cultures and a loss*' affect not only the place, but also the internal coherence of the culture. Mumford (1940: 363) emphasises that an attempt to reconstruct a bounded place '*will not automatically solve a community's problems: on the contrary it will raise new problems*'. In this case, the Malay community is trying to make today's boundary marks, both for the sake of others and for their own community. Because of the exigencies of social interaction, a community tends to be marked by its own boundary. Thus, the boundary marks are not only used to encapsulate the identity of the community, but also can be seen as the beginning and end of the community. Cohen (2001: 12) affirms that '*the boundary may be perceived not only by people on opposite sides, but also by people on the same side*'. Thus, the boundary symbolises the meanings people give to it.

Becoming a Member of Malay Society

One of the boundary marks can be found in religion. For example, Islam is identified as the only belief for the Malay community and culture (5.5.2). However, this has also generated particular problems within the Malay community itself. As Azwan Razak (Resp 27) argues, redefining Malayness in this way has led to another consequence, particularly for the 'Sakai' people, who are the oldest and were the first group of people who came and settled in east coastal Sumatra. From the time of the Malay sultanate until today, not all 'Sakai' have converted to Muslim (Resp 12). Although very few in the population as a whole, the 'Sakai' live in small groups and have no religion. Having no religion contrasts with Malay values which require Islam to be a fundamental part of Malayness. However, Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that this small group of 'Sakai' people can be described as *orang asli* (the original ethnic people). The 'Dayak' people in Kalimantan and Sabah Malaysia have also been classified as *orang asli*. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) emphasises that all *orang asli* who do not possess any religion can be known as old-Malays, and have the privilege of being recognised in terms of their own ethnicity and territory.

Redefining Malayness which is based on a religion can affect not only Malays, but also incomers. Malayness is therefore known as a 'cover term', which can allow personal flexibility without the need to change ethnic identity. Cover term is identified as a selecting and manipulating certainly rise against the issue in term to fit with situations, whether facing to politics and peoples (Milner, 2009: 76). Switching the identity for a long time has led the incomers to become Malays. This situation becomes more complex if the incomers had previously formed syncretic societies. A syncretic society attempts reconciliation between religion and 'adat'; this obviously differs from Malay society, which puts religion over 'adat' (Naim, 2011: 2). In this sense, the incomers will face internal socio-cultural problems that need to be resolved before accepting Malay values. According to Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) this 'cover term' can be used only under certain conditions. Most descendants of incomers, particularly of the Javanese who were born and grew up on the east coast of Sumatra, such as Yanto (Resp 13), do not want to be questioned about their ethnicity any longer. This is also true of new incomers who are looking for a new life (Resp 24). In this situation, these people have tended to accept the local preference in public matters only, where this is driven by economic, cultural, or social demands. Djamour (in Long, 2013: 18) argues that '*ethnicity should not be seen as a fixed anchorage to which the individual is unambiguously bound and that individual could exploit advantages inherent in marginal or dual ethnic status to their own benefit*'. For Mahathir (1970: 28), the former PM of Malaysia, heredity is an important factor for Malays, but doesn't mean they must adhere to their predecessors' ways in developing Malayness. It can be different from time to time. Thus, in this case, these people want to be localised and included as Malays, but still preserve their previous ethnicity at the same time (Milner, 2009: 29).

Brubaker (2004: 85) argues that a particular identity, such as an ethnic identity, is resuscitated if it is affected by a personal or group perception of a situation. He emphasises that this can be concluded to '*narrowly instrumentalise, strategically manipulate, deploy, mobilise, or downplay ethnicity*' to align with personal or group interests. Any attempt to dichotomise others '*implies a recognition of limitations on shared understanding*' (Barth, 1998: 15). It can be concluded therefore that there is a difference in criteria and a restriction of interaction in something that is assumed to be a common understanding and mutual interest. This is mostly addressed to incomers who '*need to be aware that although ideas are unrestricted, there are certain behaviours which will not be tolerated*' (Hutcheon, 1999: 194).

For Delanty (2010: 31), this situation is defined as a liminality; the condition of being on a threshold or at the beginning of a process, that is often linked to *'moments of symbolic renewal when a society or group asserts its collective identity'*. This situation places emphasis on certain social relationships that are seen as *'expressive of creativity and perform an important social function'*. In other words, this situation is also known as *'betwixt and between'*, where all contingencies in this situation may be carried in different directions (Thomassen, 2006: 322; 2009: 5). In this way, the society can be identified as being in transition and transformation state, which is not only a temporary situation, but which also captures active aspects (Szokolczai, 2009: 155). In turn, the aim is not only to search for roots and belonging, but also to construct something that can unite the self and others in a shared responsibility to preserve the boundary mark. As Barker (2002: 121) points out, this will lead to acculturation, which is the process of becoming a member of the culture, and to being a person who is *'changeable and related to definite social and cultural conjuncture'*.

The Leaders and Ethnicity

Barker (2002: 107) points out that cultural politics are linked to re-making and retaining definitions of subjectivity and identity through power. This occurs both in social and cultural movements, and also in terms of personal character, which is changeable. Cohen (2001: 93) argues the particularities which are related to the *'commandeering'* of cultural production can be seen as an *'attempt to make sense of the disjunction between personal problems and social system'*. Thus, a person who holds the power in commandeering the production is often placed in a dilemma as to whether to take the side which favours the interests of society, or his own personal interests.

According to Ayat Cahyadi, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), it is the role of the leader of the city to provide certainty in civil rights and protection for all members of society, irrespective of any differences in ethnicity, religion, race, or group, and also to become a role model for them. This idea is supported by Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), who posits that it is important for the leader to maintain the unity of society and ethnicity. During the reformation era, Malays demand that the leader also make a difference to Malay culture. Consequently, only a person with a Malay ethnic background will have the full support of local people and cultural elites as the highest leader in the city. This has been evident in several local elections during the reformation period and can be understood as an effort to reduce intervention by central government and to retain Malay's hegemony.

However, although there are advantages for Malays, this can also be seen from a different perspective. This hegemony fails to recognise the contribution of previous non-Malay leadership and also has the potential to cause the horizontal segregation of society, particularly for incomers who have settled and lived in the city for a long time. As Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) argues, incomers have already given their best to developing the whole region and have also lived with Malayness. Logically, all members of society should have equal rights to lead the region and the city. Furthermore, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) and Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) emphasise that ethnic hegemony can endanger Malay culture itself. This is visible when the leader becomes inconsistent in terms of governance and cultural life, particularly in the way that Malayness is interpreted. Indeed, inconsistencies have been found to occur in the political rhetoric of the leader which aimed to segregate the culture, Islam and

modernism. This can result in the leader easily losing cultural charisma and the respect of the people and community.

Pride in Malayness

Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that *'today's Malays are less proud of their culture'*. This is the case not only in Riau region, but also in other Malay regions such as Sumatra, Kalimantan and also in Malaysia. He argues this is caused by less understanding of the principles of Malay values. One of the main reasons for this is related to childhood when young Malays should learn these values. Therefore, he suggests that it is necessary to invest more attention in young Malays, particularly through education such as *'tunjuk ajar'*. In this way, young Malays will obtain a good understanding of the values that are needed to construct a sense of belonging and pride in the culture. A stronger sense of belonging and cultural pride can strengthen group identification. Group identification can be obtained by generating a feeling of peoplehood, which is related to personal attitude (Dashefsky, 1976: 30). Therefore, establishing a sense of belonging and pride in the culture of personal discourse is also seen as an attempt to promote the inner unification of the group, or in other words to establish ethnicity. Ethnicity in this case is defined as the consciousness of difference, a subject of prominence, and is also the mobilisation of the difference that becomes the preference for social order and is used to increase ethnic identity (Eller, 1999: 9).

Dashefsky (1976: 8) states ethnic identity is *'both a process and a product'*. It is identified as a shared sense of peoplehood which is presented as collective sociocultural experiences, and which also refers to a shared feeling within the same group. As Eller (1999: 8) emphasises, research on ethnic identity is not only subjective, but also can be repeatedly connected to symbolism, meaning, cohesion, solidarity, and belonging. As a result, the cultivation of Malayness through personal insight in childhood can be seen as a way to unite the group ethnically.

Hall (1989: 15) asserts that reconceptualising identity is always a process of identification, particularly in pluralistic situations. This process is never fixed, but rather is an ambivalent point that is also related to the relationships of others with oneself. However, although Malay culture has accepted as the main preference, with less in population in the city has had a serious matter on the identity of Malay. Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) mentions that this has occurred in the regions as well as the city, where Malays are not the most populous ethnic group. As another consequence, this situation might also affect cultural preferences in the near future. In this case, he argues that Minangkabau people, who are the majority ethnic group in the city, ultimately have more of an effect on Malays, whether or not this is a conscious decision. Thus, the population in general becomes an important factor for sustaining the preferences of cultural life in the society. This notion is supported by Yanto (Resp 14), who states that the domination of non-Malay people is becoming more apparent in most sectors of the city and in daily life.

The Bias in the Relationship between Religion and Culture

Hutcheon (1999: 182) argues that the interrelation between ethnic and religious boundaries has '*great power to command unquestioning commitment*', particularly in terms of inter-religious harmony, although this only applies to people from different cultural backgrounds and incomers. For Malays, Islam is the only religion which has to be followed. In this way, Malays have distinguished themselves on the basis of religion as Muslim or non-Muslim. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that '*Islam cannot be separated from Malayness. When someone leaves Islam, all of their rights as Malays become void. Therefore, Islam is fundamental for Malays*' (chapter 5.5.2). Furthermore, Alfiandri (Resp 09) opines that the identification of Malay with Islam can be logically accepted in spirit. However, with regard to social matters, this identification cannot be assured for the future such as inter-religious marriage of Malays. Yusman Yusuf (Resp 04) also asserts that Islam '*has been used just to cover up social-identity as most Malay-Muslims do not implement Islamic practices in their daily lives*'. In this sense, being a Malay Muslim means applying the teachings of Islam, and is not merely a social 'stamp'. Therefore, absoluteness in a religiously diverse culture has also become an issue for Malays recently.

Al-Azhar (Resp 12) points out that Malays in Pekanbaru still face a crucial problem related to religious matters, as religion was used to distinguish colonisers and also became a symbol of Malay culture which has continued until today in a different context. This is to some extent seen as an attempt to impose Malayness on Islam, as highlighted in a local proverb, which says '*tidak beradat sama saja dengan tidak beragama*', meaning 'disregarding "*adat*" is equal to having no religion'. In fact, Islamic teaching states that no-one should be forced to become Muslim, but that they should join Islam through *syiar* (invitation) (Resp 27). Thus, Yusmar Yusuf (Resp 04) sees that the symbolism is more a '*reaction and euphoria to actualise their supremacy over other people's minds*'. This is a serious reversal, in which the symbols receive more attention than the religion and is an obvious threat to the notion of *syarak* which ranks religion above culture (Naim, 2011) (5.5.2). For Anwar Ibrahim, the former Vice-PM Malaysia, reconstructing Malayness today has led to ethnic hegemony which has denied the essence of Malay and Islamic teachings (Patria and Dewi, 2013), and which has also been misused as part of the modern mass movement (Reid, 2001).

Barker (2002: 180) argues that traditional intellectuals have attempted to generate, retain and deliver certain ideology, such as religion, in society through the ruling-class. This being the case, religion is assumed to be a symbol of culture that should be embedded deliberately in society, whether as an ideology or belief. In contrast, for Hutcheon (1999: 8), religion is seen as '*a powerful shaper of individual values and attitudes in every culture*'. Religion therefore ultimately becomes a symbol of reality and the most effective motivator of human behaviour. He also emphasises that religion is not only useful for self-discipline, but also for '*the communal grounding and moral justification for general social discipline*' (Hutcheon, 1999: 19). In this case, for Malay society, religion is also identified as symbolic behaviour. Religion can thus be attached, and naturalised as belief, to self-consciousness and aspects of social life. As Cohen (2001: 70) states, symbolic behaviour can be used to reconstitute the boundaries of culture as a consequence of social changes, and traditional intellectuals who fill the scientific, literary, philosophical and religious positions in society, including universities, school, the media, and publishers can take on roles to facilitate, and not necessarily deliberately impose a particular religion onto society.

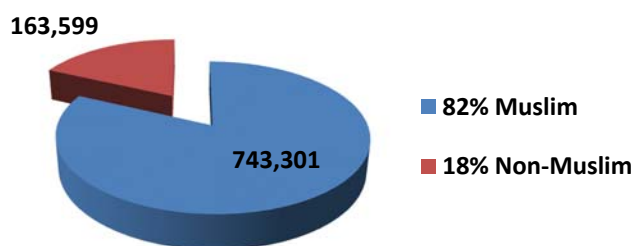


Figure 9.1 Proportion of Muslim in Pekanbaru in 2011
Source: BPS (2012)

9.3 Re-Establishing Cultural Life in Multicultural Society

9.3.1 Preserving Malay Values in Daily Life

Hutcheon (1999; 194) argues that *'a culture's core of values does indeed represent ideals'*, which plays an important role in reconstructing society, whether in the past or present, and also in directing its future. Moreover, Barker (2002: 71) affirms that the role depends on sensible conclusions as to *'what values and practices we seek to promote or resist'*. In other words, it can be said that value judgements are needed to achieve an image. In human culture, values are not only shared ideas and customs, but also visions of the future through strengthening and/ or circumscribing the values (Hutcheon, 1999: 6). Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that preserving Malay values is the most urgent matter in reconstructing today's Malayness. These values can be maintained mainly in four ways; a sense of belonging, pride, understanding, and the implementation of culture in daily life. He also emphasises that the future of the Malay will be defined through these ways. Another way to preserve Malay values today is by generating *modal insani* (human capital). For Tenas Effendy, *modal insani* can be understood as human capital that is based on cultural values, which is easier to teach to young Malays during their daily activities in the early stages of life. In this stage, the young Malays can absorb and understand Malay values that will be carried forth into their future. He also insists that this is why *tunjuk ajar* is very important for today's context in helping generate *modal insani*. For the Mayor (Resp 34), Malay values can also be preserved in religious society. Through the concept of *'madani'*, a religious society can be described as one which not only learns and understands religion, but that uses religion as its main source of guidance in all aspects of daily life. He emphasises that religious societies do not only follow Islamic ways, but whatever religion is observed by members of society. Thus, religion can lead to understanding of how society can be maintained within a large family in the spirit of tolerance and cooperation.

The cultural life of Malays is identical to the *kampung* way of life, according to Al-Azhar (Resp 12). It is fostered in a sense of the traditional, where the values are retained within community and ethnic life. Therefore, in order to put cultural life into an urban context, it is necessary to make adjustments, and the results will obviously be quite different from the original culture with regard to traditions and rituals. As Al-Azhar argues, *'what is called today's Malayness is considered as a cultural marker. It can act as a connection between the past and the present, or between urban and kampung life by means of formulation, standardisation, and*

reinterpretation of the past'. Amrun Salmon (Resp 08) describes the traditions and rituals of Malays as changing. Although these changes cannot be undone, they must be followed by interpretations which are true to the origins of the culture. As long as these are conducted in a proper manner, the new interpretations can then be accepted, and also become unique, such as '*pentasbihan datuk setia amanah*' (giving cultural rank to the leaders). It means that '*we are trying to align the culture with the times, and keep holding on to its roots at the same time*'.

Dovey (2010: 25) points out that '*sensation operates at a pre-reflective level, prior to cognition and meaning. Sensation does not exist in things; it is an event that connects the material and expressive poles of the assemblage*'. He argues that the event can be described as an attempt to stabilise meaning through 'a despotic signifier'. In addition, Cohen (2001: 110) emphasises that a particular event can become '*the motivation of community assertiveness*' that can personify personal identity by following precedents that have been marked as distinctive by the poser. In this research, the attempt to preserve Malay values in daily life has been marked as culturally distinctive by the ruling group and is assumed to be a representation of ideals in terms of reconstructing society, and other groups feel compelled to follow suit. These behaviours of these groups can be affected by the event within its 'character and language'. According to Cohen (2001: 17), although different people can have different interpretations of particular phenomena, '*they may not be aware of this difference, especially if the phenomenon is a common feature of their lives*'.

9.3.2 Cultural Difference: *Silaturahmi* and mutual respect

Massey (1994: 127) states the complexity of local particularities requires '*a solid foundation, (and) a recognition and understanding of the reality and conditions of diversity*'. This situation obviously requires a strong bond of belonging that can be generated through communication (Delanty, 2010: 52). Hutcheon (1999: 188) emphasises the fact that this situation also faces what is called a 'silent majority'. The silence is recognised as a test of tolerance for those who may already feel themselves to be among the majority. Although this can be seen as reckless, it is necessary to ascertain the strength of 'the glue' which binds the entire society together.

Al-Azhar (Resp 12) argues that '*Malay society will not evolve if it still preserves a corrupt cultural mentality of selfishness and arrogance*', as it leads to a sense of superiority over others that can engender a less positive attitude in relations of urban society. This is supported by Azwan Razak (Resp 27), who opines that the society today has plunged into an '*attitude of over formality in daily-cultural life*' that builds a separation which is based on cultural arrogance among societies. In contrast, Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) stresses that today's society is still in a conducive condition. Although supporting various ethnicities, the society is able to construct *silaturahmi* (togetherness) through a process of synergy, and to preserve a sense of familiarity. The cultural domination by Muslims means that *silaturahmi* is encouraged, establishing the idea that all Muslims are brothers irrespective of their ethnicity. The Mayor (Resp 34) emphasises that living with various people from different backgrounds necessitates the definition of urban society as being of one family, which in turn generates the spirit of tolerance and cooperation among members of the society.

Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) also points out that, as resistance cannot be avoided, the society must be defined in recognisable ways that can be accepted by most members of society. In this sense, tolerance and cooperation in urban society are obviously needed. In terms of cultural life, he argues that one of the defining characteristics is related to the main cultural

preference: *'Malay is the host culture of the region and cities, and also gives discretion to the other cultures to be developed at the same time'*. He emphasises that *'everyone in Riau must acknowledge Malay culture, and also must be responsible for developing their parents' culture as well'*. Thus, every culture is assumed to include some 'good points' that can be passed to the next generation. Therefore, it is not necessary to preclude non-Malay culture. This shows that tolerance and mutual understanding still exist in urban society. In turn, anything which endangers cultural life can be identified and anticipated by the society itself.

To some extent, in contrast, excessive tolerance can be seen as a weakness in developing Malayness. Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) argues that, after more than a decade, Malays started to lose their confidence as rulers of the region, particularly in terms of political alliances. According to Tenas Effendy, although tolerance and cooperation in society can be accepted in general terms, the Malay community must be more united and hold important positions, both in governance and in society. In this way, Malay can be realised as the core culture, and as an attempt to avoid a repetition of the oppression of Malays.

In urban society, Hutcheon (1999: 193) argues that it is necessary to avoid cultural isolation which can bring *'stagnation and racist backlash'*. Delanty (2010: 25-33) also points out that forms of solidarity and certain kinds of group awareness can be further developed as symbols of the boundaries which are used to differentiate between groups. In this sense, interaction between groups requires mutual respect and a willingness to learn from one another. Massey (1994: 121) emphasises that if different social groups can be placed in this way, their social relations are full of power and meaning. Thus, urban society becomes an 'eloquent place' where *'they are caught up in the reconstitution and increasing spread of those relations'* and a multicultural society can be achieved. However, there is inevitably some resistance. As Barker (2002: 171) asserts, resistance should be *'thought of as challenge to and negotiations of the dominant order'*. He emphasises that *'resistance is an essentially defensive relationship to cultural power experienced'*. Therefore, mutual respect and a willingness to learn each other's cultures should also become a foundation of society. In this case, the concept of *'silaturahmi'* can be addressed as one of the foundations of multiculturalism.

9.3.3 Emerging Multicultural Society

Hall (1989: 12) argues that collective identities stabilise our sense of ourselves and are seen as a way to locate ourselves in relationships. Thus, to realise a multicultural society, it must *'be conceived of as a collective learning process'*. The purpose of the process is to obtain integration of social differentiation and larger social networks by giving new definitions to work, social relations and the material environment (Delanty, 2010: 26-52). Suryadi Khusaini (Resp 19) implies that there is *'no intention to replace Malay as the main cultural preference with another, and whatever today's culture, it should be developed naturally'*. He emphasises that assimilation and acculturation must be done without any coercion. In addition, Ayat Cahyadi, the Vice-Mayor (Resp 29), points out that all people who are living and have settled in this city, irrespective of their religion or ethnicity, have already become members of urban society and deserve to be treated like local people without any difference and as equal citizens.

For Al-Azhar (Resp 12), the *'process of acculturation between Malay and non-Malay occurred slowly'*. This is not only due to the many *puak*, but is caused by internal problems within Malay

itself. However, urban society today is based on multiculturalism. He emphasises in this case that a multicultural society is necessary for equality between the self and others. Any differences must be accepted as a logical consequence of urban society life. This is supported by Al-Azhar, who implies that although the rulers are of Malay origin, they must accept the reality that society consists of many cultural lives, and cannot be pushed by only one cultural preference. This is echoed by the Mayor (Resp 34), who opines that although mostly dominated by four ethnic people - Minangkabau, Malays, Javanese and Batak - Malay society is also populated by other people who have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. These people also need to be recognised as they are living in the same place. Thus, multiculturalism can be recognised as encouraging *'cultural difference as a positive virtue'* through cultural awareness, encouraging tolerance, and knowledge of other cultures (Delanty, 2010: 75). The most important effect is *'the surreptitious return of difference'* (Hall, 1989: 16), and mutual respect between groups in society that must be contingent and relational (Cohen, 2001: 116). Hutcheon (1999: 189) adds that any differences among groups or cultures are surface attributes, and *'only the culture of pluralism can accommodate this fundamental fact'*.

Hall (1989: 16) argues that collective identities in multiculturalism can be seen as a new concept of identity which is reconstructed in a variety of different discourses. The concept has *'not lost hold of the place and the ground from which we can speak, yet it is no longer contained within that place as an essence'*. For (Thomassen, 2009: 11) this can be identified as liminality in a wider context, which is not only related to simultaneously demarcated transitions for individuals, but also on a collective level in society. Therefore, society can be found in two situational conditions: transition and transformation (Szokolczai, 2009: 155). The condition of transition is defined as a temporary situation in which a solution to the condition is sought. In the transition situation, particular acts are assumed fixed, and can be rearranged at intervals. Furthermore, transformation is seen as a process of capturing particularly active aspects of the situation. The transformation can reconstruct that which already exists to become something new. However, due to the fact that it is related to human attitudes, values and identity, transformation can be undertaken without undue force and violence. Thus, collective identities can be acquired and used to realise a new emerging multicultural society.

9.4 Mallet and Chisel: Cultural Practices in Daily Life

Barker (2002: 68) argues that, in terms of materialism, culture is not only recognised by its representation in daily life, but also *'in the context of the material conditions of production'*. This is why culture is known as a signifying system, and also as a form of action (Delanty, 2010: 154). Productions of cultural materialism also become symbolic forms that are made as part of a communicative cultural process. Therefore, the forms can carry both conflict and consensus. According to Hutcheon (1999: 13), cultural change, particularly in economics, can provoke alterations of the physical environment which, as a consequence, *'may induce a tidal wave of altered behaviours'*.

Wooden carving is one of the Malay treasures and has become a feature of the built form of Malayness. As these carvings have a wide range of variants, every carving motif has its own character which can be used as an indication of a particular region (Resp 33). Therefore, the

carving is not solely about the physical form, but also has a relationship with socio-cultural matters (Resp 01, 21). In Pekanbaru, according to Tenas Effendy (Resp 21), Malay carving was reintroduced at the *Balai Adat* building for the first time in 1984. Ten years later, the carving was installed on contemporary buildings with more variants at the *Bandar Serai* compound in 1994 (7.3.1). Most of these carvings were made using traditional tools by Javanese and Malay carvers of that time (Resp 21). Since then, Malay carvings have been produced in small workshop studios with simple tools and low technology. The highest demand for these wood carvings was between 2004 and 2007. Mostly, the carvings were used to support government projects (Resp 15). Thereafter, wood carvings were replaced by new materials such as 'GRC', copper, brass and fiberglass. Although less attractive, these new materials can provide a wider range of options from the point of view of mass production and economic aspects (Resp 08, 15). This also opens up opportunities for more creativity and variation in the carving form. One of the carvers who had been involved in the project 1994 is Pak Suyatno (Resp 15), who runs his own work-shop studio (Fig. 9.2). He said that:

'I had been given work by Pak Tenas with 50 carvers or more at MTQ's project (Bandar Serai). Most of them were Javanese who came from Jepara and Pati ... several Malays had been learning carving at this studio, but no one was successful except 'our people' (Javanese). After 20 years in wooden carving, I have only recently started using new materials such as 'GRC' as demanded by the market ...'



Figure 9.2 Production of carving using various moulds, casts, and materials

Today, almost all of the carvers are Javanese people who have come from cities of Java Island (Resp 3, 13, 15, 21). They have already adapted the carving style from Javanese to Malay style (Resp 3, 15). In addition to the sense of kinship among the carvers (Resp 3, 15), job opportunities and economic motives have become the main reason to do this work, particularly for new incomers (Resp 13). As there is good market demand, more than 30 workshop studios are still running to produce Malay carving in the city (Resp 15). Pak Rusdi (Resp 03), another Javanese carver, states that (Fig. 9.3):

'I have been working for five years. My family is still living on Java Island, and I visit them once a year during the fasting month. After that, I come back to work again, here. I got my carving skills at school in my home town, and worked temporarily there before I moved here. Initially, I was following a friend, and we are still working together now. In terms of the motif, local carving (Malay) is simpler than Javanese's carving, but looks nice ...'



Figure 9.3 Wood Carving and Traditional Tools
Most of the artisan of the carvings are incomer who seeking a better life

Suyatno (Resp 15) expresses his view that with many studios today, it can be seen that Malay carving is a promising market and can provide job opportunities (Fig. 9.4). However, the need to place carvings ubiquitously in this city not only results in more carvers, but also requires the invention of new ways of working and new materials that can make them more practical for mass production. He adds that mass production helps the acceleration of Malay culture. Furthermore, Yanto (Resp 13), another Javanese worker, argues that almost all incomers are just working for money, rather than out of passion for the job because, in Pekanbaru, the incomers have more opportunity to fill informal positions, including Malay carving, than in their home towns. These workers care little about the carving and even less for Malay culture, according to Yanto. In contrast, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21) points out that it is not enough to see the carving merely from an aesthetic perspective and that there is a need to understand its ethnic and social value as every carving motif has a different meaning and function. Al-Azhar (Resp 12) adds that this work is the necessary not only for the carvers, but also for architects and professionals as they are stakeholders in disseminating Malay carving in this city.

Cultural change is not always concerned with the discourse of social production, traditional-modernity, elitism and power. As Barker (2002: 68) points out, change is also about the expression of *'the march of the working classes through institutions of contemporary life'*. He emphasises that culture can be found in production from below through shared meaningful practices such as mass reproduction. Whether seen as the shallowness and manipulation of commerce (Barker, 2002: 69), kitsch (Calinescu, 1987: 226), inferior versions (Ballantyne, 2002: 89), banality (Dovey, 2008: 44), or competitive displays (Kellett, 2013: 151), these mass reproductions or spurious replicas can be used to support basic sentiments and beliefs. As

mass reproduction, they *'are usually quite vivid and forceful, and leave a fairly strong impact on people'* as to what the symbols refer to (Kulka, 1996: 27).

However, although carvings can be seen as impostors of something instantly identifiable, Kulka (1996: 24) argues that the reproductions must be defined *'in terms of necessary and sufficient condition that does not require aesthetic judgment for their recognition'*. For Kellett (2013: 151), imitation appears to play a key role, particularly in transforming social relationships, cultural transmission, and personal identity, as much of this imitation appears *'to occur unconsciously and is embodied in everyday practices'*. As Binkley (2000: 149) points out, that reproduction which is considered kitsch must be recognised as the *'taste of necessity'*. This taste is used to show a more autonomous sense that can reinforce practices in daily life, and can also be used as a portion of modern social life. He argues that *'kitsch is not the property of a distinctive strata but a general corrective to a general modern problem'*. Thus, a criterion for the assessment of mass reproduction of Malay carvings can be that they must not merely be banal, but should be a necessity for today's culture symbols in urban society. As Vellinga (2008: 763) notes, the material aspect of architecture is one of the factors for understanding the meaning of culture that is associated with *'the constitution of social and cultural identities'*.



Figure 9.4 Work-shop studios of traditional Malay carvers

9.5 Concluding Comments: Embracing the Future of Malayness

Implementing Malayness today by seeking a collective identity has led to two serious issues with regard to relationships in the socio-cultural life of urban society. The first consequence is contestation within the Malay community. This contestation is a result of the interpretations of Malayness in the Malay community itself. The term 'Malayness' is not easy to understand or explain clearly. This is evident from the various interpretations of the concept and practices such as serving as a political commodity, redefining Malayness, becoming Malay, local leadership, pride, and relations to Islam. Barker (2002: 79) and Massey (1994: 169) concur

that seeking collective identity can lead to contestation, internally and externally, and is a complex arrangement and practice.

Seeking collective identity also affects external relations between communities. Although it is the main preference in socio-cultural life, the idea of Malayness needs to be readjusted, whether through adaptation, adoption, or negotiation. It also needs to be selective by implementing only those values of Malayness which can be accepted by most members of urban society. Furthermore, it is necessary to seek new collective symbols, markers, and traditions that can be used as a solid foundation for urban society. In turn, the society is renewed in multiculturalism, which encourages a sense of tolerance, cooperation, and respect for each other in its social relations. This multicultural society must be conceived of as a collective learning process which requires the integration of social differentiation and larger social networks (Delanty, 2010: 26-52). In turn, collective socio-cultural identity can be acquired and rooted in the self-awareness of the society itself.

Collective socio-cultural identity in multiculturalism can be seen as a new concept of identity which is reconstructed in a variety of different discourses. As Hall (1989: 16) argues, this concept has *'not lost hold of the place and the ground from which we can speak, yet it is no longer contained within that place as an essence'*. Thus, this and the preceding three chapters have provided a local example of how identity of place is driven from an exclusive set of local identities that are formed by the emerging properties and external relations of society.

Chapter 10

Becoming Socio-Cultural Identity

Becoming Socio-Cultural Identity

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Chapter 10

Becoming Socio-Cultural Identity

10.1 Introduction: Representing today's Malay

This last chapter, the conclusion chapter, summarises the key ideas of the research. The main research question concerned how Malay culture reconstructs socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru. There were two objectives which were further delineated into research questions. The first objective was to investigate the connection between Malay culture and architecture and how this connection is represented in built forms as a recognisable architectural identity. The second objective was to frame socio-cultural change and the connection between Malay culture and multicultural urban society, particularly in terms of how Malay culture is used to reconstruct urban society, in other words, culture and cultural reproduction in urban society (1.3).

As described in the introduction chapter, the reconstruction of socio-cultural identity is drawn from curiosity regarding three issues (1.1.2). Identity in this research is understood as collective identity which is mainly constructed through social relations, a sense of belonging, collectiveness and connectedness. According to Hall (1989: 20), reconstruction in this way becomes a new conception of identity *'because it has not lost hold of the place and the ground from which we can speak, yet it is no longer contained within that place as an essence'*. In other words, identity of place can be rebuilt by practices concerned with articulation of social constructions of the place (Massey, 1994; Dovey, 2008; 2010), and is seen as a continual process which is never complete and finished (Hall, 2000).

This study also makes a connection between contemporary philosophy, theory and identity, particularly in interpreting the findings of the fieldwork study. Analysis of the fieldwork in 2012 and 2013 found three key things. Firstly, Malay can be accepted as the core culture by urban society with certain conditions where other cultures are also given discretion to develop. Second, the findings confirm that today's condition is seen as a transition period that will be naturally developed and transformed. Third, in this way, collective identity can be established and embedded not only in the place, but also in the people. This is described from two focuses: architecture and socio-cultural change. The findings of the fieldwork are distributed across several analysis chapters in order to explain the reconstruction of socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru.

This chapter begins with an explanation of how the representation of Malay architecture has become a recognisable architectural identity in Pekanbaru (10.2). This is followed by an explanation of how the cultural life of the Malay is reproduced in urban society (10.3). The two focuses then are synthesised to establish a sense of becoming as a contribution to knowledge (section 10.4); this chapter then closes with a reflection of the research (10.5).

10.2 Malay Architecture: A Field of Architectural Transformation

Reinjecting Malay Architecture in Pekanbaru

This sub-chapter concludes the discussion about the connection between Malay culture and architecture and how this connection is represented in built forms. The connection has produced architectural boundaries by localising regional architecture into local architecture. This production is identified as being made by the text, and is a deliberate attempt at power. In this sense, local government has used its power to affirm a particular set of cultural values in order to reinject Malayness in Pekanbaru city. Therefore, in particular, this sub-chapter is addressed to explain research objective number one which is investigate the representation of Malay architecture as a recognisable architectural identity, and also is used to answer the main research question about how Malay culture influences architecture.

This research confirms that the connection between Malay culture and architecture has been established (6.2.1). This confirmation is also aimed to answer research sub-question 1a which is questioning the way in which architecture is connected to Malay culture in Pekanbaru. As this connection was initially the result of local political decisions, it became not only a cultural agenda but also a 'foundation' for local architecture. In practice, the aim was to reconstruct expression of local architecture. Despite being an ambiguous term, Riau-Malay architecture has been widely implemented as the main architectural reference. This implementation can be ubiquitously found on most built forms of the city, particularly on public facilities (6.4.4) and buildings (7.6.3).

In order to enhance the connection between Malay culture and architecture, the Municipality stipulates '*perda*' - local regulation. This regulation is seen as a tool to promote the implementation of Riau-Malay architecture. Although unclear and confusing, the regulation has been used as a legal basis and practical tool for implementing the architecture in the city since 2000 (6.2.2). Thus, in this case, it has been found that local architecture is deliberately and exclusively connected to Malay culture by the local government through Malay architecture in order to reinforce its importance and as an affirmation of Malay culture. In this way, the power of culture is seen as shaping physical forms through architectural practices (Hutcheon, 1999: 12). In other words, the practices of power become an effective way to reconstruct local architecture.

The implementation of Riau-Malay architecture and local regulations unconsciously creates new architectural boundaries. This is manifest in a localised architecture where the boundary narrows its definition (6.4.1). This boundary can be seen from two perspectives. First, localised architecture in this case is driven to promote local character. It refers to Riau-Malay culture and its context, which are assumed to accord with today's Indonesian nationalism, which in turn supports local autonomy. In this sense, localised architecture by regulation requires a prior recognition of differences (Massey, 1994) by creating new meaning from text (Barker, 2002). Second, localism can be identified as an attempt to confine the architecture within certain limitations, such as administrative boundaries which can restrict architecture itself. This limitation tends to create superficial perspectives and particularism that reject other perspectives (Massey, 1994). Furthermore, in terms of resistance, being over-coded and over-exposed to local architecture can produce more consequences, not only for architecture, but also for culture, where architectural practices can fall into the banality of the culture (7.6.3). Banality here refers to giving less significance to the reconstruction of 'real' identity of place due

to the fact that it is only temporarily recognised as a spurious production with an uncertain future.

Cultural Expression on City Built Forms

The connection between Malay culture and architecture has also been found to generate several relationships. In this regard, the connection is produced by practice in terms of power, transforming the image of the city, and as a symbol of collectiveness. These relationships are addressed to answer research sub-question 1b which is enquiring about kinds of relationships are necessary to accommodate the connection between Malay culture and architecture.

In terms of power, despite similar visions of development, the interpretation of local architecture by two local governments is found to vary, particularly when applied to interpreting traditional Riau-Malay architecture in a contemporary sense (7.3.1). This is due to the fact that the Municipality regulates the architecture in a neo-vernacular sense by implementing cultural elements into traditional forms with prevalent materials. It is assumed that the most appropriate way to develop local architecture is by giving more attention to tradition. However, provincial government tends to create a hybrid contemporary architecture with modern materials and to construct buildings in various styles. Indeed, local architecture is seen as a unifier of various architectural styles. In turn, based on this difference, expression of the interpretation is a symbol of power over others where it also becomes a field of contestation between powers (Dovey, 2010). Thus, the expression of local architecture has been found not only to transform the image of the city, but also as a symbol of the domination of power that is used to interpret a sense of traditional in a contemporary sense. Therefore, the cultural force behind architecture can be used to serve those who hold the power (Vale, 2008) and to engrave a history of power at the same time (Findley, 2005).

In term of transforming the image of the city, the relationship can be recognised through localising Malay architecture. Localising the architecture today in Pekanbaru is focused on using certain cultural elements on city built forms. This can be found in three architectural approaches to design: copying authentic elements, following a model, and experimenting with ornaments (7.4). This is seen as an attempt to absorb the values of Malay culture by changing the appearance of city built forms through architectural practices. Moreover, due to a lack of satisfactory interpretation of values into practicalities, architectural practices mostly repeat old styles and mimic traditional forms. It is commonly accepted that traditional forms are the most appropriate way to bring back local identity rather than new translations. However, these practices generate a visible change in the city. Indeed, most city built forms, such as buildings, amenities, street furniture, and public facilities have been adorned with certain cultural elements. Obviously, the transformation of architectural expression can be identified as a tangible form of Malayness which is clearly visible and observable.

In addition to transforming the image of the city, the implementation of cultural elements on city built forms is obviously found to be a form of power practice (6.2.1). This can be seen on city buildings, particularly on government offices (7.3.2). In this case, the decentralisation policy in Indonesia has given rise to the assumption that every local government derives tremendous benefit from defining certain boundaries. This obviously affects architecture, as architecture takes advantage of the policy to become the main point of reference. This puts local architecture in a superior position. Thus, localism becomes a free-agent of architecture and provides a lot of

discretion (Jencks, 1988). However, architecture is used as both an extension and subject in the contestation of power. From this perspective, architecture obviously becomes a designated-agent which is regulated and directed by whomever holds the power (Vale, 2008). This is evident in Pekanbaru, where Malay architecture has been appointed the main reference for local architecture (table 6.01).

As well as being used in transformation and contestation of power, local architecture is also found as a symbol of place. Thus, as they are continuously used and circulated, cultural elements on built forms become familiar in the city. Particular carving motifs, encoded elements and new interpretations of the elements, are well recognised and used in today's practice (6.4.2). These can garner wide acceptance and generate a sense of belonging which in turn can become a symbol of collectiveness. However, this symbol is not merely constructed by traditional forms of Malay architecture, but is also formed by other architectural styles that are unconsciously adopted in today's architectural practices. In this case, local architecture, which was initially assumed to have adopted only an 'authentic' version of Riau-Malay architecture, has become an 'adulterated' form (7.6.2). This assumption has generated certain controversies and rejections, though it is also accepted. In other words, this conscious practice is driven within an unconscious acknowledgment that is reforming the character of today's local architecture. Besides localising regional architecture, the 'outside' architectural style also contributes to the reconstruction and reinforcement of local architecture (7.6.3). This architectural phenomenon can be identified as a way to reconstruct symbols of collective architectural identity within today's context.

Being Reconstructed: Emerging Contemporary Malay Architecture

As architecture grows with and within a local context, issues of purity, authenticity and originality may diminish. Thus, contemporary Malay architecture is emerging not merely from the local traditional Malay house, but also from today's Malay architecture, which is enriched by other influences. In turn, reconstructing Malay architecture in a contemporary sense can be identified as the collective identity of local architecture that accommodates needs to imbue a sense of belonging to the architecture. This is the paramount result of the connection between Malay culture and architecture in Pekanbaru today: reconstruction of a new, local, architectural identity. This result has provided an answer to research sub-question 1c which is asking for the result of the connection. In other words, the connection between Malay culture and architecture has been reconstructing today's local architectural identity in Pekanbaru that is influenced by Malay culture in the sense of contemporary Malay architecture.

Through the reconstruction, the connection between Malay culture and architecture can be identified as a way of producing a contemporary Malay architecture. Particularly in a complex and heterogeneous context, it is necessary for architecture to grow by means of text and practice (Dovey, 2010). In this research, the production can be seen in two ways. Firstly, the production is seen as an attempt to reinforce internal Malay architecture. Localism in architecture creates more chances to extend knowledge of Malay architecture as a basis for the contemporary, particularly with regard to traditionalism, traditions and contextual architecture. In other words, these can be recognised as the emerging properties of Malay architecture. Secondly, this production can also be seen as developing an outward looking perspective in response to time, needs, and real conditions. Malay architecture is thus strengthened and enhanced by outside influences. It can be stated that Malay architecture is trying to construct

external relations. However, this construction is also bringing unpredicted effects such as particular manoeuvre. Although contextually based, construction practices in this case may produce an inferior version of contemporary architecture that can be concluded as spurious production, and is known by several terms such as kitsch (Calinescu, 1987), impostor products (Ballantyne, 2002), cliché (Dovey, 2010), and personification of phenomena (Hutcheon, 1999). In contrast, banality of production in architectural practices may be recognised in a different sense and detached from disguised prejudices of elitism. This is because banality may be recognised as a distinct style with a value in itself, and is seen as another interpretation of the contemporary. Moreover, production of banality can help the architecture to become familiar through its ubiquitous presence in daily practices (Kulka, 1996; Binkley, 2000).

10.3 Beyond an Emerging Cultural Society

Perpetuating the Malayness as the Main Cultural Preference

Reconstructing Malay culture is not an easy task in the city of Pekanbaru, which comprises multicultural life. In fact, Malay culture was struggling for survival amidst intrigue and compromise. These compromises are seen as necessary attempts to ensure Malayness can be accepted in urban society life. In this regard, this sub-chapter summarises the role of Malay culture and Malayness in terms of culture and cultural reproduction in urban society, and also is used to explain how Malay culture is identified in socio-cultural change in Pekanbaru.

This research confirms that reintroducing and reinjecting Malayness became the most important local agenda and is identified through normative claims in terms of identity, jurisdiction and territory. The agenda can be identified as an attempt to re-build not only the place and the generation, but also to prevent marginalisation of Malay culture. This is the main answer to respond research sub-question 2a which is enquiring the reason why Malay culture becomes the main cultural preference. Being placed as the main cultural preference, this becomes another reason to put back Malay as the core culture on the east coast of Sumatra, particularly in Pekanbaru city, which serves as both the Municipality and the provincial capital of the region. Furthermore, this situation is also supported by the shifts of power during the reformation era as well, when today's nationalism gave discretion to locals since 2000 (5.3 and 5.4). In this regard, by placing Malay as the core culture and the main cultural preference, this has found as a turning point for Malay people in becoming an emerging group who held important positions in both local government and society.

This research also confirms that Malayness has further claimed as the main cultural preference. However, Malayness does not automatically occur and dominates the life of the city, despite the support of regulations. In this regard, Malay culture has made certain compromises to others in order to be accepted as the main cultural preference. And after more than a decade, these compromises have led to more visible changes in the city. One of the changes is described as an attempt to reintroduce the values of the Malay culture (9.3.1). This attempt was initially delivered as local policy and implemented through formal institutions such as local government and schools (8.3.2). Local government is seen to have an important role in conveying values, whether through power or role models, to society. In practice, local regulations became a tool

to reinstall these values. With the exception of home, school is seen as the earliest institution of life which shapes human character and which functions as a model of a plural society, into which ideals, norms, values, and customs of the culture can be embedded (Hutcheon, 1999; De Landa, 2007). Therefore, students were given priority in initiatives to reinstall values (8.2.3). Later, more attempts were delivered through public facilities and communal events of the city. In turn, all these attempts aim to generate a sense of familiarity with the values for all members of urban society by linking the values with daily life activities. However, reintroducing the values is not easy due to multifarious obstacles (8.2.2. and 9.2). Therefore, compromises are required in order to render the values of Malay culture within today's context, particularly in terms of multiculturalism.

Compromises on Malayness have had serious effects on the whole of urban society and Malayness itself has generated domestic problems in the Malay community. This can be seen in redefining the internal boundaries that lead to conflicts over interpreting the values, ethnicity, leadership, pride, and religious meaning (9.2). This internal contestation over the claims in terms of identity, jurisdiction and territory is a logical consequence of strengthening the bonds of the group and locating new identities (Massey, 1994). In turn, the internal problems must be seen as passion in terms of reconstructing a sense of belonging which is never detached from conflicts and conclusions (Delanty, 2010).

By living in a multicultural society, Malay people engage with other groups of people and communities. As a result, some further compromises are needed, particularly if Malay values are placed above others. This is defined as an external compromise between Malay people and others. Although there remains the same passion to fight for local autonomy as there was in early 2000, non-Malay people also wish to be recognised in this localism, particularly to exploit more opportunities to govern the city. As a part of this local movement, non-Malay people are not equally placed with Malay people. After a decade, this desire to gain equality of rights has become more visible, especially where non-Malay people are dominant in certain activities of the city life. As a result, Malay people have to make not only compromises, but also certain negotiations. This is seen as a way of trying to establish and maintain groups' alliances through compromises and negotiations.

The compromises between groups in society are generally accepted with mutual understanding and respect. One of the understandings is that Malay is placed as the host culture of the region and the city. This has deep implications for urban society, one of which is that all members of the society must implement Malay culture, whether or not they are Malay born; at the same time, they must also take responsibility for preserving and developing their ancestral culture (8.3.1). Another implication is seeking collective symbols which, in the case of Malayness, can be installed into daily life activities, and which become the medium for a coherent society through local language, mimetic behaviour, communal rituals and traditions, dressing in similar outfits, and so forth (8.3.1). Implementing these habits and values, which are deliberately chosen, can lead to particular effects on the relationships between members of urban society (Hutcheon, 1999), and can become the reason and justification for social action (Barker, 2002). Another important compromise is to develop interrelationships between ethnic groups. Such interrelationships are used to build up urban social networks by placing the Malay ethnic group in a leadership position (8.3.5). In this way, any networks or institutional organisations can be recognised as assemblages due to possessing a variety of society's components (De Landa, 2007). This is not only to develop interrelationships on a city and regional scale, but also across the Southeast Asian regions (5.4.3). Additionally, interrelationships can be used to anticipate hegemony of one ethnic group over others, because hegemony can be seen as possible danger

to society. Therefore, interrelationships between ethnic groups are a way of building communication in urban society, and of maintaining understanding and togetherness.

Representing Malayness in Multicultural Society

This sub-chapter is addressed to respond research sub-question 2b which is enquiring of how the interpretation of Malayness in multicultural society has strengthened relationships among communities. Not only need certain compromises, cultivating Malayness within multiculturalism becomes another important way to preserve Malay culture as the core culture and the main cultural preference in this city. This is seen as an attempt in order to strengthening relationships in cultural society that is aimed to generate sense of belonging and collectiveness. In this regard, Malay community takes its role as the leader community. Community leadership, in one sense, is needed in terms of nurturing collectivism where roles can be used as intermediaries in order to organise localities by sharing their values with other communities (Delanty, 2010). In another sense, the leading community must also consider particular things in terms of continual attempts. As one community is different to another, the values of Malay culture cannot be fully imposed over the other communities, and vice versa. Thus, the most logical step in this case is to deliver the spirit of Malayness. In turn, non-Malay communities can enrich Malayness with certain compromises in their communities. In this way, deliberate attempts can be made to unite allegiances and natural affiliations among communities (Mumford, 1940). Therefore, delivering the spirit of Malayness becomes significant aspect to generate sense of belonging and collectiveness.

In addition to delivering the spirit of Malayness, the Malay community has been reintroducing particular cultural traditions that can be utilised by other communities and become new communal traditions in urban society (8.3.2). Although seen as declining, communal traditions are identified as a new symbolic construction in order to seek a knot or 'meeting point' (Barker, 2002; Delanty, 2010). In turn, the symbols do not belong to a particular community or ethnic group but to everyone. Moreover, new communal traditions need to be seen to reinforce prior traditions within today's context. In this way, the construction of new communal traditions can give significant advantages to both the community and society as a whole because cultural practices such as traditions, events and ceremonies are continuously regenerated, never finish, and are always constituted by representation (Hall, 2003).

Representing today's Malayness in multiculturalism can be seen as a way of nurturing collective identity. The main purpose of this representation, whether through community or society, is to generate a sense of belonging (Brubaker, 2004). Although never properly formed, it is necessary to create a sense of belonging and to encourage its smooth transition into daily life through several means, such as familiarity, encouragement, or promotion (8.3.2). Thus, it is seen as a persuasive attempt to represent Malayness. In another ways, a sense of belonging can emerge from conflict (Delanty, 2010). Indeed, conflict is identified as a feature of the life of society: the more conflicts emerge, the more symbols of collective identity can be resuscitated. Therefore, an emerging sense of belonging, whether through affirmation or difference, is also seen as a crucial way of reconstructing and maintaining the values of Malay culture in urban society (9.3.1).

In addition to a sense of belonging and collectiveness, the representation of Malayness also needs commonality, connectedness, and group-ness (Brubaker, 2004). In a multicultural society,

representation cannot be based only on a single cultural preference, but must be an assemblage of multi preferences. Moreover, cultural life itself cannot avoid the influences of 'outsiders', and may also change with needs and time to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, today's phenomenon, which reconstructs Malay as the core culture and main preference, is seen as the starting point of cultural life rather than an absolute result, and can be readjusted in the future (8.3.5). In addition, mutual respect and togetherness are also necessary in multiculturalism (9.3.2). In this research, all necessary attempts to nurture collective identity within Malayness are recognised as ways to reform the city through a sense of *madani*, or as a religious society (5.6.2).

Cultural Society: A Living Space for Future Malayness

It has been described that cultural society can be constructed in several ways. The basis of this construction is a collective identity and its continuity that can have particular consequences for both communities and society. This sub-chapter, then, is used to provide an explanation on this matters, and is also to answer research sub-question 2c which is looking for the importance of Malayness in seeking collective socio-cultural identity and how does this relate to its continuity. This research has found that, to varying degrees, nurturing collective identity is still open to negotiation in order to cultivate balance and self-correcting characteristics in urban society, rather than to maximise personal value at the expense of others, or between groups. This implies that a social-value system of steady state exists in Pekanbaru, despite the imposition of Malay culture over others. Through this way, the importance of Malayness can be maintained and preserved in this city.

This research can also confirm that the phenomenon of social transition and transformation has happened in the society in the form of cover term and liminality (9.2). Cover term helps to explain personal flexibility in order to adjust to socio-cultural issues and situations (Mahathir, 1970; Milner, 2009; Long, 2013). In other words, living together in a society is the starting point for conforming and adapting within a multicultural situation, even though this can be recognised as duality of cultural preference. In terms of liminality, by focusing on seeking a symbol of renewal, the society is recognised as being at the beginning of a process. The process is identified as a temporary period which also captures active aspects in order to search for roots, a sense of belonging, and to construct something that can unite the self and others in a shared responsibility, such as mimetic behaviour and traditions (Thomassen, 2006; Szokolczai, 2009; Delanty, 2010). In this way, the phenomenon can be identified as a construction of a new socio-cultural identity for both people and place that can define social and cultural conjuncture (Barker, 2002). However, this phenomenon also produces something instantly identifiable that is used to support basic sentiments and beliefs (Calinescu, 1987; Barker, 2002). To an extent, this production can be seen as shallowness, manipulation, banality, or even as inferior versions of the original. However, it can also be seen as a necessity that does not require aesthetic judgment for its recognition, but which is used to reinforce practices in daily life (Kulka, 1996; Binkley, 2000).

To conclude, constructing socio-cultural identity in today's urban society is identified as an attempt to affirm a collective identity which is beyond a particular ethnicity or group of people, but which includes all members of society in order to express collective ideas, ideals and customs. This construction is also used to stabilise the sense of selfhood of the society in order to differentiate it from other societies and to promote collectiveness and connectedness, which

are constructed in social relations. Moreover, collective identity is driven by identity on the margins with cultural values that are developed by emerging properties and external relations of the society; in this research, this is through architecture and socio-cultural change. Finally, this research affirms the importance of Malayness in seeking collective identity and its continuity in Pekanbaru. The reconstruction of socio-cultural identity is an attempt to move today's Malayness away from being pre-determined, static, and possessing roots, towards being unfixed, dynamic, changing, and becoming. Only in this way can Malay culture survive on its own land in the future.

10.4 Implications of the Findings

Capturing Contemporary Theory

Dovey (2010) affirms that assemblage theory can be used to frame problems in architecture and social discourse. This theory is based on the philosophical stance of becoming from Deleuze and Guattari (2004), and has been developed by De Landa (2007). Deleuze and Guattari (2004) stated that an assemblage is tetravalent, consisting of content, expression, territoriality, and deterritorialisation.

Assemblage theory has been adopted for this research in order to frame socio-cultural phenomena. Hence, this research implicitly discusses these four aspects of the assemblage. Content refers to internal properties that can be identified according to whether they are local, community, of a group of people, ethnic or social. Expression is used to articulate and indicate certain variables such as cultural values, stratification, implementation, interpretation, and a sense of changing. Territoriality refers to any attempt to increase internal homogeneity, and the process of territorialisation itself is used to strengthen spatial boundaries, such as ethnicity; reinterpret Malayness; address native and incomer issues; and define place. In contrast, deterritorialisation is understood as an attempt to destabilise spatial boundaries or increase internal heterogeneity and mutual understanding, negotiate values, and make compromise. Therefore, this research has utilised contemporary philosophy and theory in order to explain the process of reconstructing socio-cultural identity in Pekanbaru, and also as an example of how identity on the margins becomes another exclusive set of local identities.

Developing Ideas in Assemblage Theory

Assemblage theory is characterised by two concepts: emergent properties, and relations of exteriority (De Landa, 2007; 2010). Based on field data and analysis, this study found an aspect which can be added to the theory: a temporal aspect in the process of social assemblage. The temporal aspect is drawn from the architectural and socio-cultural changes experienced in Pekanbaru. The changes become evidence which shows the emergent properties occurring prior to relations of exteriority. As an illustration of the temporal aspect, emergent properties in architecture started to develop by expanding the implementation of traditional Malay

architecture in 2000, whereas the relations of exteriority started in 2007. This is marked by using various architectural approaches to design, such as copying authentic elements, following a model, and experimenting with ornaments, as well as by accepting interpretations of contemporary forms and other architectural preferences for city built forms. To some extent, similar evidence is also found in relation to socio-cultural change, wherein the values of Malay culture compromised with other values in 2012. This is evidenced by various conflicts and compromises which have happened in the community or society, and by the promotion of the conception of *madani*, which implies an acceptance of multicultural life with multi-preferences.

Evidence from architecture and socio-cultural change has shown that the emergent properties occurred prior to relations of exteriority. This implies that there is a tendency in the process of social assemblage to prioritise developing the interiors of the properties, before making connections with the exterior. As a consequence, time difference occurs in the process. Another implication can be that the development of the relation of exteriority in urban society takes more time compared to architecture. This is due to the fact that collective identity in social relations is complex and complicated. Despite the difference, it still can be argued that the temporal aspect in the process of social assemblage exists and can enrich assemblage theory.

Reconstruction Identity: A Continual Changing Process

Culture is changing and will always change. Culture is a product of interactions, relationships and interconnections of social space. As a signifying system, culture is identified through its representation and practice in daily life (Barker, 2002). Therefore, culture is deemed a process and a continual production within social space. This is also true of Malay culture, which has changed over time in order to frame various conceptions of Malayness (5.2). For Indonesian-Malays in Pekanbaru today, the reconstruction of Malayness is concomitant with the localism movement. In some ways, the culture is an intermediary medium to achieve particular aims or convey agendas such as reconstructing the image of the city to become a Malay city, imposing Malay cultural values on urban society life, or redefining a new identity. Therefore, the change of culture can be understood to generate certain connections which are used to shape the physical and social movement (Hutcheon, 1999: 12).

As a product and subset of culture, identity is also changing. This is identified as a changing process which is never fixed or finished in its construction (Hutcheon, 1999; Cohen, 2001; Barker, 2002). In terms of place identity, the construction is built according to similarities and differences, conflicts and relations. This has become characteristic of identity, which can be negotiated, compromised, and reconstructed. There is a similar situation in Pekanbaru today. Identity, whether it relates to people or place, is a state of being which changes within social relatedness and Malayness. Changing is identified as an attempt to seek significant collective opportunity (Mumford, 1940) by using particular local sets of social relations as a logical starting point (Massey, 1994). Therefore, the construction of identity in Pekanbaru is understood as a process of rebuilding a collective identity in social relations and of cultural life which is beyond any particular ethnic or group identity. In other words, this is defined as a process of reconstructing socio-cultural identity with the aim of cultivating a sense of belonging and Malayness.

Towards Further Research

The aim of 'becoming', as a philosophical stance, can be applied to a wide range of fields, and opens links with other contemporary theories. This research shows that becoming can be utilised in research on a local scale in order to explain cultural phenomena. As with this research, despite being focused on architecture and socio-cultural change, investigating connections between culture and identity can also be drawn from varying perspectives and contexts. Therefore, this research can be improved by developing and further expanding particular research themes.

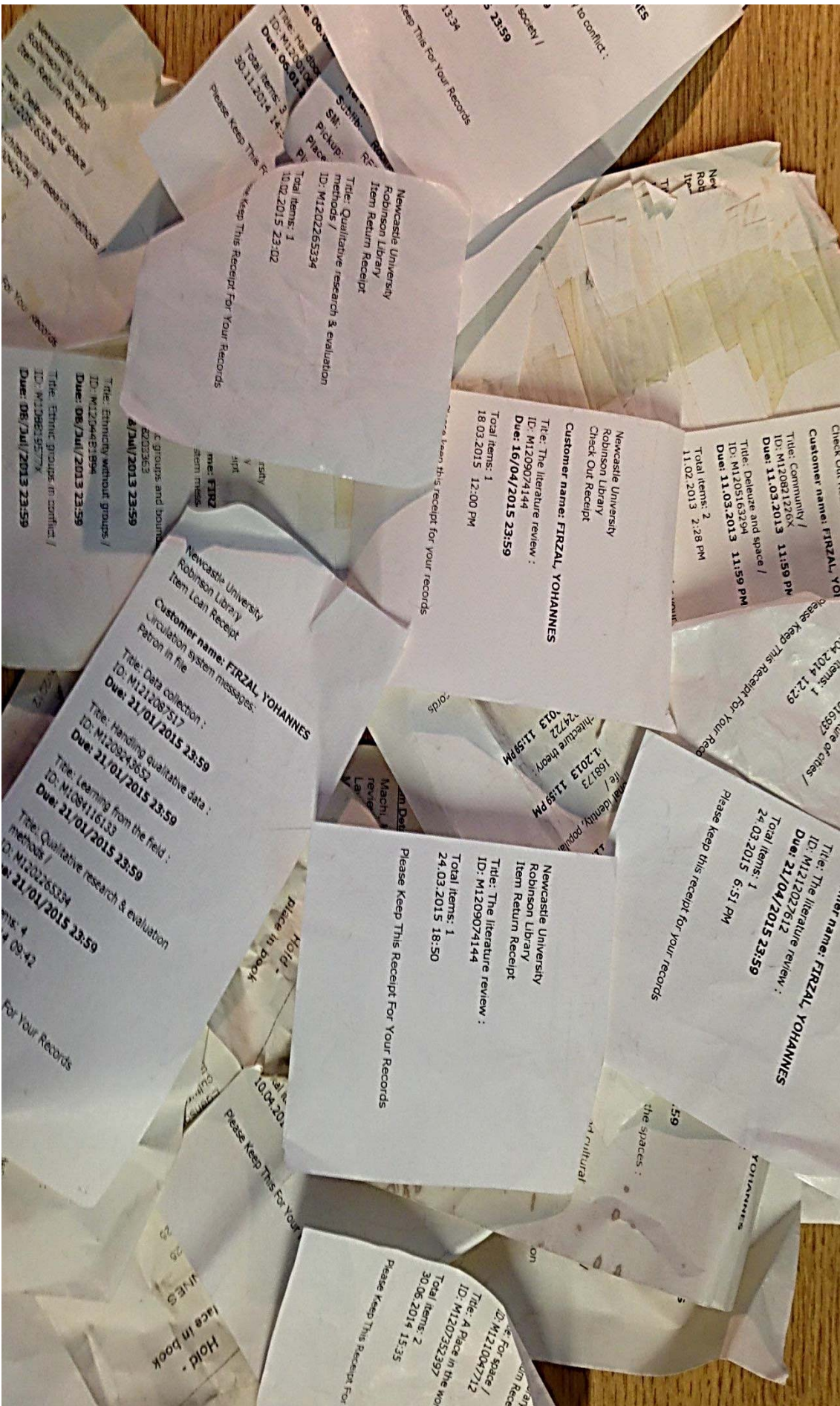
There are two research aspects which require further exploration in order to frame the changes and development of Malay culture in the future, and these are particularly related to architecture and socio-cultural change. The first is in-depth research into the transformation of Malay architecture. In this way, any transition, transmitting, and changing of the architecture can be traced and linked to, as well as become the basis of architectural development. Indeed, research on this theme will provide a significant contribution to the documentation of the complete journey of Malay architecture. The second research area concerns reconstructing a new collective identity, which is necessary to explore religious roles in order to understand the relationships between religion, culture, and identity within multiculturalism. For the Malay community, Islam forms the essence of its culture. However, on a wider scale, such as a whole city, region, or even nation, the role of religion is an important focus due to the continual changing process. Therefore, in-depth investigation into the role of religion is required as part of the affirmation of the future.

10.5 Conclusion: Contesting and Competing Allegiances in Malayness

Investigating Malay culture and gaining data from first hand resources has offered valuable lessons. The research revealed various voices that had not been openly expressed before. In the process of redefining of Malayness, today's reconstruction is seen merely as a starting point which still has room for manoeuvre to build a cultural society. The society is not merely populated by Malay people, but is multicultural, which means there is more demand for compromise in social relations. This is not a criticism to undermine local aspiration, but is aimed at stimulating attitudes in terms of accepting positive influences. Although this research has used contemporary theory, it does not mean disrespect local wisdom and knowledge; rather it shows a freethinking approach which is also valid from different perspectives in order to frame the same issues. Moreover, this aim of the research is in no way to weaken Malay as the core culture and main cultural preference in Pekanbaru, but rather to enhance understanding in order to build the society in a better way.

Finally, this research states that the future identity of Malay is not based on ethnicity, groups of people, or even blood ties, but a firm resolution to preserve a sense of belonging and Malayness. This is the most appropriate way to ensure the continuity of identity, the values, and the culture. As closing words, I would like to share a message which was given to me by a respected Malay scholar, Tenas Effendy (Resp 21): *'very few of us [Malay] can have the opportunity to gain a good education. This is why it is important not merely to be learned, but also to transmit 'adat' into various fields ... our ancestors laid the foundations of the culture, but never wrote it down. Now, it is your turn'*.

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Appendix 1: the Vision of City Development

The Vision of City Development

"Terwujudnya Kota Pekanbaru Sebagai Pusat Perdagangan Dan Jasa, Pendidikan serta Pusat Kebudayaan Melayu, Menuju Masyarakat Sejahtera yang Berlandaskan Iman dan Taqwa".

'To realise the city of Pekanbaru as the centre for trade and services, education, and Malay culture for a prosperous, faith-based Godly society'

Source: <http://www.riau.go.id/riau1/eng/index.php?/detail/4>

Appendix 2: the Mission of City Development

The Mission of City Development

1. *Pusat Perdagangan dan Jasa; Menggambarkan keadaan masyarakat Kota Pekanbaru yang diinginkan dalam 20 tahun kedepan. Pemerintah Kota Pekanbaru dengan dukungan masyarakatnya yang dinamis akan selalu berusaha semaksimal mungkin untuk dapat mewujudkan Kota Pekanbaru menjadi pusat perdagangan dan jasa di kawasan Sumatera.*

1. Trades and Services Centre; describes the desired state of the city of Pekanbaru in the next 20 years. The Government of the City of Pekanbaru, with the support of a dynamic society, will always make every effort to realise the city as the centre of trade and services in Sumatera.

2. *Pusat Pendidikan; Pemerintah Kota Pekanbaru kedepan akan selalu berusaha untuk memberdayakan masyarakatnya agar dapat berperan serta secara aktif meningkatkan kualitas sumber daya manusia dalam rangka menciptakan pembangunan manusia seutuhnya. Pemberdayaan sumber daya manusia lebih diarahkan kepada terwujudnya sarana dan prasarana pendidikan formal dan non-formal dibidang keahlian dan kejuruan yang terpadu diikuti dengan upaya penyiapan sarana dan prasarana pendidikan sampai perguruan tinggi. Dengan langkah tersebut sangat diharapkan dalam 20 tahun kedepan di Kota Pekanbaru akan dapat tersedia sarana pendidikan yang lengkap dan unggul.*

2. Education Centre; the Government of the City of Pekanbaru will always strive to empower society to participate actively to improve the quality of human resources. Empowerment of human resources is directed to the establishment of formal educational facilities and expertise in non-formal and vocational fields and is followed by efforts to prepare the facilities and infrastructure for higher education. By doing this, it is expected in the next 20 years that the city of Pekanbaru will be equipped with adequate educational facilities.

<p>3. <i>Pusat Kebudayaan Melayu merupakan refleksi dari peradaban tatanan nilai-nilai budaya luhur masyarakat Kota Pekanbaru yang mantap dalam mempertahankan, melestarikan, menghayati, mengamalkan serta menumbuhkembangkan budaya Melayu. Kehendak menjadikan Kota Pekanbaru sebagai pusat kebudayaan Melayu antara lain akan diarahkan kepada tampilnya identitas fisik bangunan yang mencerminkan kepribadian daerah, adanya kawasan beridentitas adat Melayu serta makin mantapnya kehidupan adat yang digali dari nilai-nilai luhur Melayu.</i></p> <p>4. <i>Masyarakat Sejahtera merupakan salah satu tujuan kehidupan masyarakat Kota Pekanbaru pada 20 tahun kedepan. Dalam kondisi ini dicita-citakan masyarakat akan dapat hidup dilingkungan yang relatif aman, bebas dari rasa takut dan serba kecukupan lahir batin secara seimbangan dan selaras baik material maupun spiritual yang didukung dengan terpenuhinya kualitas gizi, kesehatan, kebersihan dan lingkungan.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Berlandaskan iman dan taqwa merupakan landasan spiritual moral, norma dan etika dimana masyarakat pada kondisi tertentu mempunyai pikiran, akal sehat dan daya tangkal terhadap segala sesuatu yang merugikan dengan memperkuat sikap dan perilaku individu melalui pembinaan agama bersama-sama yang tercermin dalam kehidupan yang harmonis, seimbang dan selaras.</i></p>	<p>3. Malay Cultural Centre is a reflection of the cultural values of society established in the city of Pekanbaru by maintaining, preserving, appreciating, practicing, and developing the Malay culture. Making the preferences of Pekanbaru city central to Malay culture will be accomplished through the physical appearance of buildings that reflects identity, the cultural places, and the growing consolidation of customary life that was founded on the noble values of Malay.</p> <p>4. The welfare society is one of the goals of society life in Pekanbaru for the next 20 years. Under this condition, society will be living in a safe environment, free of fear and insufficiency both materially and spiritually, and supported with good quality nutrition, health, hygiene and environment.</p> <p>5. Faith-based and Godly is the spiritual foundation of morals, norms and ethics for society which, in certain circumstances, is possessed of mind, common sense and deterrent powers against everything that is detrimental by reinforcing attitudes and behaviours of individuals within a religious atmosphere in order to realise a life of harmony and balance.</p>
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Source: <http://www.riau.go.id/riau1/eng/index.php?/detail/4>

Appendix 3: List of Topics in Semi-Structured Interview

Architecture

1. Identification of Malay architecture
 - Indigeneity/originality, Local recognition, Traditional features
2. The importance of Malay architecture
 - Cultural and traditional values, Symbolic meanings, Sustainability / relevance for the future
3. Motivation and reason for design approach
 - Recognition, Pragmatically and practically needed, Local governance and regulation
4. Decision and application
 - Decision for design expression (neo-traditional, modern, functionalism), Cultural requirement elements applied to buildings, Alternative design expression
5. Recognition of Expression
 - Adjust to the surroundings, Advantages of applied cultural requirement, Disadvantages of applied cultural requirement

Socio-Cultural Change

1. Under single preference of representation
 - Hegemony, internal conflicts, single preference, other preferences
2. Acceptance and acknowledgment
 - Daily implementation, acceptance and rejection, temporary acknowledgement
3. Rejection and reason (sensitive topic)
 - Conflicts, acceptance, pride, particularism, ethnicity, rootedness
4. Actualisation of ethnicity (sensitive topic)
 - Coercion, willingness, understanding, cooperation, mutual agreement

Future Malay and Urban Society

1. Existence of Malay architecture
 - Cultural survival, local representation, maintaining cultural life
2. Recognition and expression of public buildings
 - Local recognition, Adaptability, Freedom of expression (form, style, design)
3. Ethnicity recognition and relationships
 - Interrelationships, multiculturalism, mutual respect
4. Source of local Identity
 - Rootedness, new interpretation, collectivism

Appendix 4: List of Interviews

No.	Recordings	Interviewee	Importance
Resp 1	120717_001.MP3	Firdaus Agus	Professional, Consultant, Engineer
Resp 2	120719_002.MP3	Ashaluddin Jalil	Academician, Urban Sociologist, Prof
Resp 3	120722_001.MP3	Rusdi	Professional, Wood Carver
Resp 4	120723_001.MP3	Yusmar Yusuf	Academician, Culture-Sociologist, Prof
Resp 5	120726_001.MP3	Syafri Gamal	Professional, Architect
Resp 6	120726_003.MP3	Vary	Professional, Operator
Resp 7	120729_001.MP3	Manalu	Professional, Worker, Security
Resp 8	120731_001.MP3	Amrun Salmon	Professional, Cultural Observer
Resp 9	120809_001.MP3	Alfiandri	Professional, Consultant, Architect,
Resp 10	120811_001.MP3	Zainal	Professional, Worker, Construction
Resp 11	120814_001.MP3	Sudar and Wiwin	Professional, Worker, Press
Resp 12	120815_001.MP3	Alazhar	Cultural Observer, Sociologist
Resp 13	120827_001.MP3	Yanto	Professional, Worker, Construction
Resp 14	120828_001.MP3	Firdaus	Officer, Urban Authority Office
Resp 15	120831_001.MP3	Suyatno	Professional, Worker, Traditional Carver
Resp 16	120901_001.MP3	Vary	Officer, Terminal
Resp 17	120904_001.MP3	Jacky	Officer, Urban Authority Office
Resp 18	120914_001.MP3	Edwin Supradana	Officer, Urban Authority Office
Resp 19	120916_001.MP3	Suryadi Khusaini	Cultural Observer, Politician, Sociologist
Resp 20	120917_001.MP3	Borkad	Professional, Worker, Religion House
Resp 21	120919_001.MP3	Tenas Effendy	Cultural Observer, Sociologist
Resp 22	120920_001.MP3	Ari	Professional, Worker, Musician
Resp 23	120920_002.MP3	Tengku	Professional, Worker, Musician
Resp 24	120924_001.MP3	Couple	Worker, Street Vendor
Resp 25	120925_001.MP3	Surmiati	Officer, Librarian
Resp 26	120927_001.MP3	Noni	Worker, Bandar Serai
Resp 27	120927_002.MP3	Azwan Razak	Worker, Bandar Serai
Resp 28	130916_001.MP3	Lily	Worker, Street Vendor
Resp 29	130918_001.MP3	Ayat Cayadi	The Vice-Mayor, Politician, Sociologist
Resp 30	130922_001.MP3	M. Thohiran	NGO,
Resp 31	130922_001.MP3	Unknown	Professional, Worker, Security
Resp 32	130921-001.MP3	Irham Temas	Academician, Researcher, Architect
Resp 33	130902_001.MP3	Hози Mubarak	Professional, Politician, Consultant
Resp 34	130927_002.MP3	Firdaus	The Mayor, Politician, Engineer

Appendix 5: A Sample of an Interview Transcription

Architecture	
<p>(Pertanyaan) Bagaimana implementasi arsitektur Melayu?</p> <p>(Jawaban) <i>Phenomena bangunan menerapkan arsitektur melayu saat ini masih dalam suasana euphoria reformasi sehingga konsekuensi logis dan sangat fatal. Ketika sesuatu ingin dinormatiskan, orang mengikut tapi itu karena standar lama, tidak ada tutur yang lain, tidak dapat yang hakikinya. Karena kalo mengikut konsep melayu tahun 80an, hingga sekarang konsep melayu pun masih dipakai bahwa melayu itu identic dengan Islam (Resp 02)</i></p> <p>(P) Bagaimana bangunan Melayu saat ini?</p> <p>(J) <i>Kalau sekarang sebetulnya yang mereka terapkan itu sebetulnya kulit-kulit itu. Dia menempel ikon-ikon itu sebetulnya ikon-ikon itu tidak mendatangkan suasana. Arsitektur melayu itu tidak semata-mata bentuk, ukuran, warna, tapi rasa. Bisa tak kita ciptakan rasa disitu. Silahkan segala macam kan sudah ada suasana itu ada dalam rumah orang melayu (Resp 08)</i></p> <p>(P) Bagaimana dengan adanya perda tentang penerapan arsitektur Melayu sebagai identitas?</p> <p>(J) <i>Kalau kita melihat perkembangan jaman, justru identitas arsitektur itu tidak bisa dipasung. Karena ada saatnya nanti perkembangan material yang tidak memungkinkan itu dibuat, atau sebaliknya perkembangan material sebenarnya itu bisa diciptakan. Jadi sebenarnya kalau bicara arsitektur, melihat apa adanya aja. Kenapa kita harus begana begini, karena akhirnya larinya kan masalah kenyamanan. Jika orang nyaman, ya silahkan. Pada akhirnya arsitektur itu menjadi sesuatu yang relatif. Meskipun pemerintah kota mencoba mengarahkan melalui perda untuk menghargai arsitektur local, seharusnya saran saja, bukan paksaan (Resp 09)</i></p> <p>(P) Bagaimana dengan element budaya tertentu yang banyak diaplikasikan saat ini?</p> <p>(J) <i>Saya sebenarnya gak setuju kalau Melayu ini dipersempit. Masak kalau melayu itu perkara selembayung dah melayu saya ndak setuju pendapat itu. Jangan kita sendiri yang mengkerdilkan kita sendiri. Akhirnya nanti orang luar, oh seperti itu ya arsitek melayu Pekanbaru riau itu? Gak. Kita punya nuansa, kreatifitas, inovasi yang luas. Makanya pilar dalam melayu itu adat, syara, al quran. Jadi kita harus wujudkan dalam segala aspek kehidupan, termasuk bangunan. Islam mengajarkan itu dinamis, ini kan ilmu, berkembang sesuai dengan jamannya. Lantas mestikah kita pasung dengan sebutan kemelayuan itu? Saya ndak setuju. Tetapi kalau kita Pekanbaru mau ambil salah satu dari yang kaya raya tadi dengan bentuk seperti ini, itu boleh. Tapi itu juga digunakan dengan yang baik. Jangan disalah artikan. Sehingga kreatifitas darri para arsitek dipasung. Kita gak setuju. Mestinya boleh begini-begini, bisa dikombinasikan antara modern. Jadi ilmu itu mesti dinamis dan berkembang menurut jamannya. Apalagi kita ada didunia teknologi yang sudah berkembang pesat (Resp 34)</i></p>	<p>(Question) How is the implementation of today's Malay architecture?</p> <p>(Answer) Today's phenomenon in Malay architecture is seen as a part of the euphoria from the reformation that has generated logical and fatal consequences. While it does redefine, it goes with the old sense, with no guidance or essence. If it is based on the concept of Malay in the 80s, it should be identical to Islam (Resp 02)</p> <p>(Q) Can you describe today's Malay buildings?</p> <p>(A) Mostly they are in superficial with certain elements and are meaningless. Malay architecture is not only about form, but also a sense of Malayness (Resp 08)</p> <p>(Q) Is local regulation having an effect on the identity of Malay architecture</p> <p>(A) It is not really visible, particularly within its limitations. Malay architecture should be developed naturally, and does not necessarily need to be regulated. The most important thing in architecture is to generate a sense of acceptance, with or without local regulation. The regulation should be just a suggestion, not a means of coercion (Resp 09)</p> <p>(Q) Is it necessary to implement particular encoded cultural elements on city buildings?</p> <p>(A) It should be not limited only to particular cultural elements. Because it is meant to self-make limitations and other people will think in that way. Malay architecture should be developed to align with time and need, dynamically and freely. As Islam teaches, we need to develop all knowledge, including architecture, with no boundaries. However, today's implementation on city buildings can be accepted, but not by preventing creativity in architecture, particularly in relation to technology matters (Resp 34)</p>

Socio-Cultural Change

(P) Bagaimana perkembangan keadaan social masyarakat saat ini?

(J) Ada kecenderungan untuk mengejar, mencari ciri tertentu sehingga muncullah identity baru, seperti minority mengatur majority. Ini bentuk sebuah ketakutan, takut identitas itu hilang. Kota semakin cepat berkembang, identitas yang muncul itu cuma satu; keragaman. Jadi satu itu bukan mono tapi keragaman. Single identity, tetapi yang sifatnya multi ... Kita memang dalam problema besar, begitu juga dengan masyarakatnya. Artinya, beramai-ramai secara komunitas mencari identitas tapi mereka tidak tau kemana mencari identitas itu. Yang penting ikut dalam komunitas itu, ikut kesana dan tidur dalam komunitas itu, pragmatis sekali dan sangat tidak peduli dg orang lain (Resp 02).

(P) Haruskah semua orang di Pekanbaru menerapkan nilai-nilai Melayu?

(J) Ada seperti suatu periode yang dibikin orang yang kadang-kadang mau tak mau kita terpaksa menerimanya. Tapi itu tidak segalanya. Masak orang Pekanbaru yang punya etnik sendiri, yang punya khasanah-khasanah sendiri, melupakan khasanahnya justru dia lebih menggalakkan kahasanah yang lain. Itu karena dia tak mengerti. Cuman jadilah yang sifatnya betul-betul ngemong lah (Resp 08)

(P) Bagaimana LAM mendefinisikan Melayu pada saat ini?

(J) Bagi lembaga adat melayu riau culturaly kita menggunakan yang mind stream sebenarnya adalah agama (Islam), bahasa dan adat. Lalu kalau dalam posisi ini dimanakah orang sakai kan selalu problematis, yang non-Islam. Dimana kah mereka, posisinya adalah sebagai orang asli. Di Malaysia kan sepakat juga, orang asli itu dayak di sabah itu orang asli. Tapi bahasa melayu itu sendiri itu juga bervariasi. Jadi ini selalu problematis. Maka terlihat keluar kita menggunakan definisi yang luas ini (Resp 12)

(P) Bagaimana kaitan pendatang dan budaya Melayu disini?

(J) Bagi pendatang, persoalan-persoalan kebudayaan itu bukan persoalan bagi mereka. Migrasi mereka kemari adalah migrasi ekonomi dan mereka tidak tertarik pada apakah identitas di kota ini, apakah di kota ini kita harus berbaju teluk belanga atau tidak itu ndak masalah kan, ndak masalah bagi mereka. Yang bisa bermasalah apabila yang 23% itu tidak melakukan apa-apa untuk memberikan apa yang disebut dengan tanda, identity dalam pengertian yang paling sederhana terhadap kota ini. Jadi disitu peluang sebenarnya, peluang seperti itu yang dimainkan oleh ini. Ini berkaitan lagi dengan persoalan sejarah, historis. Jadi ini bukan masalah minoritas menguasai mayoritas ini adalah persoalan ada suatu kelompok yang care pada kebudayaannya, ada yang menggunakan paradigm kebudayaan untuk pembangunan masa kininya ditengah-tengah, meskipun mereka minoritas, ditengah-tengah pengabaian kebudayaan yang dilakukan oleh kelompok lain, kita melihatnya begitu. Kalau ada nada-nada miring dari beberapa gelintir pendatang, itu hanya karena barangkali ada yang terlajak memaksa mereka untuk begini, tapi persoalannya tidak. Mereka enjoy aja kalau disuruh pakai baju melayu anak-anak sekolah mereka enjoy aja (Resp 12)

(Q) What is the real condition of urban society today?

(A) There is a tendency to seek a new identity, and this can be seen as a form of fear. In fact, identity in urban society is never homogenous, but multiple in forms. This tendency becomes a serious social problem due to lack of guidance in order to find identity.

(Q) Should everybody in Pekanbaru implement values of Malay culture?

(A) Sometimes we need to accept what has been provided, but it is also necessary to find other possibilities, such as Pekanbaru with its local distinction that compromises with incomers (Resp 08)

(Q) How does LAM define today's Malay culture?

(A) Basically, it is defined by Islam, local language, and *adat*. However this is also problematic when it is necessary to consider difference such as the native people with no religion or different language. This has happened in many Malay regions such as Malaysia (Resp 12)

(Q) What is the relationship between incomers and Malay culture?

(A) Those incomers have brought no agenda except economic drives. This is why it has become important for Malay people to define cultural life, even though only 23% of total population of the city is Malay. This is a huge chance for the Malay to show how much they care about culture. Otherwise, this city will have no cultural meaning at all. If anyone is against this, they should just see it as a part of the process and not worry about it. All people can find happiness with Malayness (Resp 12)

Future of Malay and Urban Society

(P) Akankah Melayu tetap bertahan di kota ini?

(J) Saat ini merupakan sesuatu yang sedang berkembang. Phenomena empiri akan memberikan pembuktian, bahwa kita sekarang berada dalam kondisi seperti ini, kita mau menyebut apa? Dan ketika melayu itu dikonsepskan, sudah tidak identic dengan Islam lagi kan jika dalam konsep budaya Melayu ... Implikasinya, perwujudan dari rezim berkuasa dan itu ngak akan bertahan, pasti akan berganti dia. Pasti segala sesuatu akan berubah. Kapan? Tinggal menunggu waktu (Resp 02)

(P) Bagaimana keberlanjutan kebijakan tentang Melayu ini?

(J) Sebenarnya tidak sepenuhnya pengaruh kebijakan, ini sudah alami. Gejala sosial tapi memang semestinya begitu. Contoh begini, tadinya melayu komunitasnya mungkin muslim dari jaman-jaman kerajaan muncullah bentuk arsitektur. Begitu melayu tu berkembang yang namanya arsitektur tadi diikuti. Kalau budayanya berubah cepat, arsitekturnya lama. Begitu berkembang melayu tadi sehingga masuk orang cina, kriten protestan dia bentuk-bentuknya mengikuti dan disesuaikan lagi dengan faham-faham agama tadi. Jadi bisa jadi bentuknya melayu tapi dengan modifikasi ornamen cina. Dia akan bersimbiosis, tetapi bentuk dasar tetap melayu (Resp 09)

(P) Bagaimana kelangsungan ke-Melayuan ini kedepan?

(J) Melayu itu adalah sesuatu yang harus kita beri pemahaman baru bagi konteks di kota ini. Kalau bagi orang-orang di kampung, tidak, itu dah selesai bagi mereka. Tapi kalau di perkotaan perlu ada formulasi ulang, dan juga pemaknaan. Dan selalu kekuatan melayu itu seharusnya pada pemberian makna yang berterusan terhadap sesuatu. Dan disitu titik lemah kita, kekurangan kita. Makna-mkna kemelayuan sekarang ini sangat bergantung kepada actor-aktor politik kita, sampai-sampai yang tidak benar pun mendapat membenaran kan. Jadi, perlu untuk memberikan plural tafsir kemelayuan itu, semakin hidup dia. Bukan mono-interpretasi, bukan rigid dan solid sedemikian rupa. Melayu itu harus dicairkan dari kebekuan, fluid itu, itulah survivalitas melayu di perkotaan. Kalau dasarnya genealogi, itu tidak. Dan juga bukan aukulturasi, tetapi lebih ke multicultural yang meniscayakan pemahaman seimbang antara saya dan anda. Ketika terjadi perbedaan dari kita, saya maklum karena itu adalah konsekuensi logis dari apa yang ada (Resp 12)

(P) Bagaimana keberadaan nilai-nilai Melayu in kedepan?

(J) Itu kan tergantung pada pemahaman nilai itu sendiri. Sebab kekal tidaknya suatu nilai itu tergantung pada rasa pendukungnya. Pertama rasa memiliki, kedua bangga dengan kebudayaannya itu, ketiga mampu menjabarkan dan menghayati, keempat mampu mengimplementasikan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Nah sekarang balik bertanya, orang melayu merasa memiliki tidak kebudayaannya lagi? Kalo dah merasa asing, kebudayaan ni kan habis. Jadi hidup berkembang Melayu tergantung pada itu (Resp 21)

(Q) Can Malay culture survive?

(A) It is a social phenomenon which is looking to prove something, such as reconceptualising the Malayness that is promoted by today's regime. However, this will change soon. When? Just wait for the time to come (Resp 02)

(Q) Is local policy on Malay culture still necessary?

(A) It helps, but is not necessarily an absolute result. Actually, the culture depends on how the society is developing, their daily life, to accept the influence of other cultural life and religious matters. However, they still can conform and have symbiosis with Malay's roots (Resp 09)

(Q) What is the future of Malay culture?

(A) Malay in urban society needs to be re-interpreted, reformulated, and redefined. This is the only means of survival for Malay culture. Plurality of interpretation will lead to livelier Malayness. It should be not rigid in form, but fluid and should also accept multiculturalism. Any difference is seen just as a logical consequence of the process (Resp 12)

(Q) How can we implement the values of Malay culture in the future?

(A) The values can survive in four ways: through a sense of belonging, pride, understanding, and implementation on a daily basis. So, these are the ways to develop the future of Malay (Resp 21)

Appendix 6: A Sample of Field-notes

Friday, 20th July 2012

It is not easy to start - I had been three weeks in the field before I made any field-notes. The main reason for that is that I did not have quite enough information to start. I realize that fieldwork is like this in the beginning. I have taken quite a lot of pictures of buildings: almost 200. But those pictures are of the south city area only. I need to look at the north side.

In third week, I started the interviews. It seems that the target interviewees were very busy right now. I understand it because people will have the fasting month soon. It is a local custom in preparing for and welcoming the holy Muslim month. I have to confess that a practical project is so tempting, but I have to always remember my main purpose for coming here at this time. I intended to get at least four to five interviews in this week. I already have two; Firdaus Agus, a chief of local professional consultant, and Ashaluddin Jalil, a professor and expert in urban sociology. I am disappointed by how slow I am. Hopefully, on Saturday, the first day of the fasting month, I will have the interview with the main elite interviewee - the former city mayor. I have already written to other target interviewees of the LAM to invite them for interview during this holy month. I hope to have four interviews by this Sunday.

Interview the interviewees - My first interview with a professional consultant was so nervous. Even though I know him, it's difficult because of my position as research student looking for fieldwork data, not as his associate professional architect as it was previously. I started in a friendly but formal way, but it didn't feel like work. He was acting like the person that I knew before I went to the UK. Then, I changed tack so that it was more like a conversation. We talked about his practical job, particularly projects that we had started together two years ago which were still continuing. In the interview, I focused more on his interpretation of the building phenomenon in Pekanbaru, particularly on how professional consultants face up to regulation and demand. Our meeting in his office, before lunchtime, was more like an informal conversation than an interview. I think because I have already known him for 5-6 years.

The second interview was with a professor in urban sociology. He is the Rector at the university where I work. Even though he accepted my interview request in his office, I soon realized that the interview would be interrupted by his staff and his work many times. Indeed, he signed so many papers, answered phone calls, staff and the vice rector during the interview. That was a signal for me to end this interview after more than an hour. But he asked me to see him again in two weeks before I return back to Newcastle to complete the interview. It is not finished yet.

What is *Petang Megang*? Friday, 20th July 2012. It is better to record in movie format; too crowded here.