Ethnoregional Social Dramas of Southeast Asian in Globalism:

Recasting Cultural Heritage for Ethnic Revivals

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Summary

This book offers an interpretative symbolic analysis of present global phenomenon that gives rise ethnic culture as regional identity. With a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995 and 1998), this book is a sort of comparative ethnographies which sought the collective identities of the Melayu Baru or Neo-Malay and Chinese Peranakan or Nanyang in two cities of Southeast Asia. The Neo-Malay with Islam solidarity (*Ummah*) is attached to ethnoregional community, in contrast, the Chinese Nanyang or Peranakan got their identity remaking with syncretic popular beliefs in the Straits of Melaka. Ethnicity data of Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang of Georgetown of Malaysia and Medan City of Indonesia are divided into four Social Drama phases (Turner, 1982), they are: *Breach, Liminal, Redress, and Reintegration*. Ethnography of ethnic formations and revivals comprises of: (1) Colonialism as Breach: Ethnic Categories of the Dutch Indies and British Malay (2) Nationalism as Liminal: Ethno-national symbolic disputes (3) Ethnoregionalism as Redress: regionalizing the cultural hybridity of Neo-Malay and of Chinese *Nanyang,* and (4) Globalism as Reintegration: galvanizing heritage *fiestas* for global culture. The reproduced hybrid heritage of Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang is annually performed in public spaces and social media by the ethnic groups in Georgetown-Malaysia and Medan North Sumatra. Restoration of ethnic rituals and festivals arises to uphold ethnic identities of social groups. Even the solitary rituals, which move into the public spaces, solidify the ethnic identity and create "communitas" in urban areas. Beliefs and traditions are the foundation of shared identities that must have any adjustments to external factors. The observed and analyzed ethnic revivals in Georgetown and Medan city are using various reconstruction strategies; recasting of cultural heritage reproductions in the religious sites and public spaces of urban areas, re-enacting annual rituals and festivals. The ethnoregional shared identities are recast as ethnic revival strategy in globalism.

Keywords: *Ethnic revivals, ethnoregional, global culture, multi-sited ethnography, social dramas*

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Glossary

ASEAN	:	Association of South East Asian Nations
Breach	:	a normal phase in the social drama theory
EIC	:	the East India Company of British
Ethnoregional	:	shared identity area which crossing national border by ethnic communities
Georgetown	:	the first British Settlement in Malay/port town
Liminal	:	a threshold phase in social drama theory
Medan	:	an ex- Dutch port town/ now capital of North Sumatra
NEP	:	New Economic Programme of PM Mahathir's Tenure
VOC	:	the Dutch Indies Company
Redress	:	a recovery phase of social drama theory
Reintegration	:	a new phase of post-recovery of social drama theory
Social Drama	:	a micro analysis system of social structure on the life cycles basis
Symbol	:	a socially convention of giving the meanings of actions/things

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"…the drama is, for Balinese, not merely a spectacle to be watched but a ritual to be enacted. There is no aesthetic distance here separating actors from audience and placing the depicted events in an unenterable world of illusion". (Clifford Geertz, 1973:116)

1.0. Background of the Research

The living experiences in the two socio-cultural environments, namely, the Straits of Melaka regionalization (Austronesia tradition in development) and the globalizing culture of the Anglo-American, have prompted my intellectual curiosity to conduct a regional community research based on a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995: 96-97; Marcus, 1998:86-89; Marcus and Fischer, 1999: 23; Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The rise of identity or regional ethnic identity of Southeast Asia in global turn makes the studies of ethnic revivals play an important role in this region. New constructed identities are increased due to the awareness of reclaiming the shared tradition and retelling "past experiences in present" (Giordano, 2015: 57) as regional and global identities. It is visible in urban areas of Southeast Asian region that the ethnic revival (Smith, 1981), regional ethnification process (Giordano, 2009 and 2015), regional community (Chheang, 2013), and ethno-symbolism (Smith, 2009) of Southeast Asian social groups appears in a global context. Understanding the ethnic revivals of this region needs a specific approach in ethnoregional and global contexts.

Setting ethnicity analysis of regional in a dynamic construction process from colonial to global eras, it is reasonable enough to argue that ethnoregionalism of Southeast Asia challenges me to pay attention to a new dimension. Region as a social construct, according to Klaus Roth and Ulf Brunnbauer, is both as mental construct of science and the result of human actions (2007: 20). Anthony Smith argues that "region has emerged as the natural unit" (1981:28) that "call for a different kind of approach" (Smith, 1981:5). Regional coorperation and integration in Southeast Asia that already noted by Chheang is "a sense of regional awareness or community (soft regionalism)" (2013:6) and this sense is consolidated through regional groups and networks of pan or sub-regional groups (Chheang, 2013). Therefore, "a common history or historical experience can form a region, and likewise so can social factors such as religion, language, dialect, ethnicity or folk culture be differentiating criteria that constitute a region"(Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007:21). Commence of ethnoregional which is integrated in globalization raises regionness (Hatte and Sőderbaum, 2000:459-460) and it has increased the identity of region of social groups in Southeast Asia. Within specific regions the ethnic communities (Smith, 1981:28) are elevated for economic, political, and cultural purposes. Chheang argues that "the Southeast Asian region is endowed with diverse historical memories, cultural values, ethnicity, and political and economic systems. It has been shaped by the five largest ethical systems, namely Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christian and Confucianism" (2013:1). Thus, Chheang adds that "the region has taken the path, with gradual steps, towards realizing a harmonious region and regional community" (2013:1).

Urban areas of the Straits of Melaka experience regionalization from the colonial to post-colonial eras, and current global wave also influences the ethnic revivals of this region. Ethnic identity has been reinvented and revived in different period of regimes, and in globalization the awareness of regional shared identity is increased. Not only local and regional identities viz -á -viz global culture, nevertheless I also observed the local and regional identities contribution to the rise of cultural identities in globalization. The Straits of Melaka region sees the ethnic revivals through

the ethnic heritage claims and re-authentications. Identity of region of social groups in the Strait of Melaka which creates the ethnoregional in global level intensifies "the ethnic revivals" (Smith, 1981). The feature of ethnoregional phases of Southeast Asia (from colonial to global eras) arguably could be best explored based on period of regimes. Freek Colombijn, for example, compares the urban culture forms of Sumatra in which the powers of pre-colonial Sultanates and Dutch shaping the urban settlements (2004: 257-259). The construction and reconstruction of Malay as identity- from pre-colonial (as noblemen and royal court identity), to colonial (Malay is a native community who follows Islam values), and Malay as *Bangsa* (race) in early ethno-national period, as noted by Lian K Fee (2001: 865-867), are the socio-cultural cycles of ethnic formations that could be explored and interpreted in the social drama approach (Tuner, 1982 and 1986). The location of ethnic formations and revivals in the Straits of Melaka Southeast Asian region (Figure 1.1 Map of Southeast Asian region) shows the accessibility of shared ethnic identities of Malay and Chinese via sea transportation in colonial and continued by flights in global era.

Figure: 1.1. Map of Southeast Asian Region

Source: Google Map

1.1. Setting the New Ethnic Revivals

It is very necessary to follow the phases of ethnic identity formations of urban areas of Southeast Asia region in terms of globalism. Some elements of ethnicity such as "identity construction and transformation" (Hitchcock, King and Parnwell, 2008:14), regional awareness or community (Chheang, 2013:6), global local dialogues (Kraidy and Murphy, 2008:340), and heritage and cultural reconstructions (Jenkins, 2008: xiii) are social realities in globalization. Giordano stresses that the "existing regionalisms are ethnoregionalisms based on the *social imaginary* deriving from the national State, moreover from its ethnic aspects"(2009:104). In global context, an ethnic revival in the urban areas of Southeast Asia is not only used for the ideology or political ends but it harnesses the ethnic awareness of festival enactments in public spaces as the identity reconstructions by social groups. Reconstructions of identities involve any social activities and social media (Yu, 2005:55-57), restoration of holidays and celebrations (Bokova, 2010:169), and symbolic and political dimensions (Yao, 1985:170-171) that link ethnic groups to past experiences and origins to represent shared identity in a new environment.

Ethnicity and regionalism, as the unfolding theme in Southeast Asian anthropology, attract me to follow, explore and interpret the dynamic condition of the ethnoregionalism (Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007:19-20) or ethnification (Giordano, 2009 and 2015)[1] in globalization. Taking notes from Giordano's ethnification (2009) and identity of region of Roth and Brunnbauer (2007), I use the concept of ethnoregionalism for understanding ethnicity of Southeast Asia. In short, ethnoregionalism is a dynamic formation process of ethnic groups whose strategies to solidify the shared past histories and memories in constructing the certain region as the space of their shared

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[1] My micro-analyses towards the growing cultural identity in the regional context of the globalism is not on the a formal regional bases such as ASEAN and the Growth Triangle Coorperation (Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand), but the shared culture as the identity of regions (Klaus Roth and Ulf Brunnbauer, 2007).

identities, like pan-Malay (*Serumpun* or *Serantau*) comprises Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia and Kalimantan, or the identity construction of Straits Chinese or Chinese of Nanyang (South Sea) in Medan, Penang, Melaka, Singapore. This kind of cultural phenomenon is enhanced by the unfolding information and communication flows of globalization and requires us to think of "the comparative dimension of anthropology's global vision" (Marcus and Fischer, 1999: 23). Global turn which already changed the ethnic identities in Southeast Asia region requires the anthropology fieldwork to trace ethno-history (Sturtevant, 1966) and ethnic formations (Andaya, 2008), the dynamic rites of passage (Van Gennep, 2004; Malinowski, 1948), social dramas (Turner, 1969) of ethnic groups. For ethnohistory, the colonial policy in Southeast Asia should be noted. Ethnic classification of census was introduced in colonial era (Hirschman, 1986 and 1987) and it documented the mosaic ethnic cultures of natives and migrants in port towns. Moreover, the phenomenon of the current global culture in which the *East goes to West* (Giordano, 2015; Appadurai, 1990) also reshapes the ethnicity (Yao, 1987:169-170: Yu, 2005:55-58) and ethnic revivals (Smith, 1981). Globalism not only reshapes ethnic culture, but it makes the ethnic groups unify their cultural identity through reconstruction (Jenkins, 2008) in a regional linkage. Global culture elevates the constant production and reproduction of identities (Yu, 2005: 57), and multiply constructed (Hall, 1996:4) identities in any formations.

Figure:1.2. The Maimoon Palace as a cultural center of the Malay

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

The new trend of ethnoregionalism in the Southeast Asia region is like a series of ethnic phases and could be observed in a framework of the social dramas. This ethnography adopted Victor Turner's social dramas (1982) for following the different phases of ethnoregional. Ethnicity is suitable to be interpreted in the social dramas (Turner, 1985)[2] and the symbolic interpretative anthropology (Geertz, 1973)[3]. My argument is that the ethnoregionalism and globalism are like any kind of Arnold Van Gennep's *rites of passage* of ethnic groups in the Southeast Asia region, and they are coming from the continuation of pre-colonial and colonial cultural identity formations (Salamone, 1982; Colombijn, 2013). For example, the art performances of Deli Malay use in Istana Maimoon of Medan as the center of identity reconstruction in ethnoregional and global contexts (See, Figure 1.2 above). According to Victor Turner (1982), social dramas "may escalate from the

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[2] The Social Drama Approach (Victor Tuner, 1969, 1982, and 1985) applied to the ethnic revivals through cultural reconstructions are here plotted into the dramaturgy's perspective, which was originally developed by Erving Goffman (1965) and extended by the Clifford Geertz (1973, 1980 and 1983) and Victor Turner (1969, 1974 and 1987).

[3] My fundamental theory is generated from the Manchester Anthropology School (Max Glukcman, 1962), Geertzian's Intepretative, and the social drama theory of Victor Turner (1967 and 1985) combined with Clifford Geertz' *Interpretation of cultures* (1973) and *Local Knowledge* (1983).

local level to national revolutions, or from the very beginning may take the form of war between nations" (1982:10). Additionally Turner divides the social drama in four phases:

> "1) *breach* of regular norm-governed social relations; 2) *crisis,* during which there is a tendency for the breach to widen. Each public crisis has what I now call liminal characteristics, since it is a thresh-old *(limen)* between more or less stable phrases of the social process,...; 3) *redressive action* ranging from personal advice and informal mediation or arbitration to formal juridical and legal machinery, and, to resolve certain kinds of crisis or legitimate other modes of resolutions, to the performance of public ritual. Redress, too, has its limina features, its being "betwixt and between," 4) the final phrases consist either of the *reintegration* of the disturbed social group, or of the social recognition and legitimation of *irreparable schism* between the contesting parties" (1982: 180).

Viewing the scales of ethnic identity reconstructions, this study applied Victor Tuner's conflict aspects in social dramas (1982) to the wider socio-cultural contexts. This idea could explore and analyze the ethnoregionalism fever of ethnic identity reconstructions in the current globalizing world. Make use of conflicting cycles in social dramas as the knowledge to capture the *identity of regions* (Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007:20), the ethnic formations and revivals in the colonial, national, regional and global periods were elicited in controversies and intervals (Giordano, 2015:66). In other word, the generic structures of Victor Turner's social dramas are framed to interpret the ethnic revivals of Southeast Asia regional, especially in Medan city of Indonesia and Georgetown, Penang of Malaysia.

The four phases of social dramas were designed to explore ethnicity of Southeast Asia region from colonial to global eras, such as; the *breach phas*e for the analysis of ethnicity in the colonial period, the *liminal for* a new nation-state policy on ethnic categories and disputes over cultural identities, the *redress phase* for the revivals of ethnic awareness in regional scape, and the *reintegration phase* for the cultural heritage reproductions in the global era. The enactments of rituals and festivals in the cities as the modes of identity revivals could be observed and analyzed based on the social dramas (Victor Turner, 1974 and 1986). The social dramas involve the performance actions of people such as *re-experience, re-live, re-create, re-tell* and *re-construct* (Turner, 1986:11). Moreover, the *State Theater* in Bali, according to Geertz, is "designed to express a view ultimately nature of reality...to shape existing condition of life to be in consonance with reality" (1980:104). Therefore, the ritual and festival enactments are to fulfill the ethnic cultural productions in Medan of North Sumatra of Indonesia and Georgetown Malaysia.

The growing attention of sociologists and anthropologists towards the revival of ethnic identity in the big cities and the rise of ethnic culture in the global space is highlighted by Manuel Castells (2010), Saskia Sassen (1998), Christian Giordano (2009 and 2015) and Freek Colombijn (2013). Giordano's anthropological works compare the ethnic relationships of the present Eastern Europe and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia, while Colombijn explores the awareness of the ethnic background and of other ethnic groups of indigenous and immigrants who settled in Indonesian cities (2013:273). It notes that the ethnic revivals through various identity reconstructions support ethnoregionalism in the global context. Smith argues that ethnic revivals at present are catalyzed actions of political and cultural trends which calling for a different kind of approach and explanation (1981:5), because Smith found the modern ethnic revival approach is based on economic perspective. In regional and global cultural contexts, ethnic revival of Southeast Asia is a challenging cultural subject of anthropology that needs more intensive study in urban areas. Yao finds that ethnic revivals in urban areas of Southeast Asia are in the process of cultural legitimation of Malayness, Chinese-ness and Siamese (1987:174-176).

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The complexity of cultural identities in regional and global contexts creates a new anthropological perspective in the study of ethnic revivals. The symbolic actions and power relation (Cohen, 1976:18; Gluckman, 1962) for the ethnicity revivals could be represented in the regional and global contexts (Appadurai, 1990; Giordano, 2009; Castells, 2010). Ethnic revivals through identity reconstructions in Georgetown-Penang and in Metropolitan Medan of North Sumatra as ex-colonial port towns shift into many cultural forms. Ethnic revivals contextualize the social meanings of the Neo-Malay hybrid rituals with Islamic values and the Chinese 'Nanyang'[4] with syncretic Buddhist-Confucian spirits. The observed rituals and festivals are interpreted in understanding the symbolic actions of the Malay and Chinese in the staging of cultural reproductions thoroughly. For observation and analyses, I take numerous theories of symbolic interpretation (Manchester School of Anthropology). Technically, the cross-nation border study was conducted to follow the shape and reshape of two aforementioned ethnic groups in different periods. Mental construct which attaches regionalization process in globalism such the reproductions of heritage was used as the subject of exploration and interpretation of this research. By and large, this study methodologically has a blended micro-analysis to trace the unified local, regional and global system (Lewellen, 2002).

1.2. Continuity and Change of Regional Ethnic Remaking

By framing the subject of the ethnic formations and revivals of Southeast Asia in the social dramas, I focus on the continuity and change of regional ethnic remaking; ethnoregional cycles as global cultural phenomenon. The processes of identity formation in the colonial period, and observed the reconstructions of ethnic identity in the regional and global interactions involve the continuity and change. Some studies on the ethnic remaking show the process of identities continuity and change. Following Evans-Pritchard's psycho-history model, Yao Souchou (1987), in seeking ethnic revival phenomenon in Kelantan –Malaysia and Singapore, used the changing drama of one's life time (1987:171) for his ethnography subjects. Besides Turner's social drama approach, then Cohen's symbolic community (1985), Smith's ethno-symbolism and nationalism (2009), Anderson's imagined community (1991), the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993), and Appadurai's global scapes (1990) are considered as the cultural strategies of *ethnoregionalism* (Giordano, 2015; Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007) in Southeast Asia region. The concept of social drama here was modified to reach and explore ethnic formation and revival of this region. It has been expanded into a wider social context such colonialism, nationalism, regionalism and globalism.

Victor Tuner was originally inspired by the rites of passage (Arnold van Gennep, 2004), the passage from birth, liminal phase (betwixt), marriage and death on the theatrical paths (van Gennep, 2004), however, Turner named this theory as social drama. It was used for observing the rituals and conflicts in Africa. For instance, rituals and cultural events are commonly enacted in the triad relationship of ethnic identity, solidarity and momentums (cycles). The extended model of rites of passage eventually made the national revolution and international wars as subjects of social dramas. For instance, in the Western tradition the four festivals are performed as the symbols of seasonal cycles each year. Every first week of the change of season, people celebrate the four important moments such as *Vintage, Lenaea* (Winepress), *Anthesteria*, and Great Festival *(Dionysian)*. Festivity as a form of social drama is traditionally used as a medium to pray for good

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[4] I am using the term 'Chinese Nanyang' to locate the fieldwork and the field of culture of Chinese community in the Straits of Melaka region only. Nanyang refers to the south sea for the Chinese. For the field of cultural tradition of this social drama research, I here focus on the Nanyang as an ethnic identity of the Chinese community in Medan North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia. The Chinese Nanyang have been evolutionarily labelled as *Singkeh, Baba, Peranakan, Straits Chinese* (in colonial period), and now they are reconstructed as the urban, modern and cosmopolitan Chinese. The Chinese community in Medan and Georgetown-Penang have experienced the dynamic changes of ethnic categories from the Dutch and British colonial era until present regional and global cultures.

crops, give thanks, and sacrifice a goat for a good harvest. In Chinese tradition, the Spring Celebration is rightly from the first day (*Imlek* in Hokkien) of the Lunar New Year of the Chinese until the fifteenth day (*Cap Go Meh*). In Malay tradition, the Muslims celebrate the *Hari Raya (Ed Mubarroq*-Arabic*)* after completing the *Ramadhan* fasting*,* the winning Day after one month of not eating and drinking from dawn to sunset (fasting in the *Ramadhan* month of the Islamic calendar). The Proto-Malay heritage such as *Ahoi* celebration for the paddy harvest in the East Coast Sumatra which is performed by the Malay farmers culturally has a long history in the Southeast Asia tradition.

In Sociology the dramaturgy approach is aimed at exploring the ways of people presenting their goals through performative actions in cultural interactions. The social dramas have studied the State's theaters in Bali (Geertz), Performance Studies (Richard Schechner), Feminism, and the Sociology of Politics in Robin Wagner-Pacifi's *The Moro Morality Play* in 1986. Others observe the street acrobats and interethnic conflicts. The social dramas demonstrate the rites of passage which show disharmony and harmony as well as the processes of healing of the afflictions (Turner).

The Manchester School of Anthropology (Gluckman, 1962 and 1964) in some ethnography reports, which focus on the ritual of social relations, already had the social drama paradigm to understand socio-cultural changes such as the rites of passage and conflicts. The classical conception of *rites of passage* of Arnold van Gennep (2004) has a strong influential intellectual foundation for the Social Drama Approach. Additionally, the social dramas have been observed as the socio-cultural core for studying the structure of the society (as we found in Victor Tuner's ethnography works). Eventually, Victor Witter Tuner as one of the anthropologists of the Manchester School sought the social structuring in the enacted rituals of the Ndembu community in Africa with the interpretation of the cultural symbols.

Symbols and social values are influential factors in the ethnic revivals. The social values of the cultural patrimony are enacted through rituals, symbolic actions and cultural performances in anthropology of ethnicity and tourism (Nash, 2005; Bendix, 2012; Hitchcock and King and Parnwell, 2010). It has also inspired me to focus on the local interaction to globalization, which forms the shape of the ethnoregional cultural process. Viewing the ethnicity is closely related to the regional and global cultural productions, a combination of the anthropology of ethnic identity and ethnography practices in urban areas of Medan and Georgetown is made. Cultural heritage reproductions from polyethnic towns (Nagata, 1979)[5] were collected to support the understanding of the ethnic revivals. The sister cities of Medan, North Sumatra of Indonesia and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia[6] in this research are framed into cultural processes in the regional and global scapes (Appadurai) and had been merged in the data collection.

In following the conception of Fredrik Barth's ethnicity (Barth, 1969), the observation and interpretation (Geertz, 1973) of the cultural heritage reproductions as ethnic identity reconstructions in the regional and global interactions were adjusted to fit within the social drama practices of Victor W Turner (1974 and 1985)[7]. It starts from the assumption that cultural identity,

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[5] I prefer to use the phrase *polyethnic* cities (Judith Nagata, 1979) to address the mosaic of ethnic groups, which have been living in Georgetown-Penang and Medan of North Sumatra for more than 200 years.

[6] The City Major of Medan, North Sumatra (Mr. A.S. Rangkuti) and the government of Penang, Malaysia, signed the Agreement of Sister City in 1984; the Sister Cities of Medan and Penang have a long historical connection in terms of education, culture, ethnicity, hospitality, tourism, trade and business. The sea transportation linked them in the colonial period (British Malaya and Netherland Indies/Dutch) and now their relation is strengthened by the Low Cost Carrier (LCC)/Flight. A number of flights connect these two cities only in 20 minutes.

[7] Victor W Turner's ethnographic work was in the Ndembu community of Rhodesia in Africa and he applies the concept of *the rites of passage* of Arnold van Gennep to interpret the rituals and celebrations enacted in Ndembu community. As a consequence, I need to get

in the casting of heritage as a past experience, must be recreated and reconstructed for expressing rituals and festivals in symbols (Turner, 1986). It results in a contextual meaning in the present. Ethnoregional perspective seeks the logical reasons of ethnically symbolic actions that represented in the heritage enactments such as the celebrations of the New Year and of the Gods and Goddess that the Chinese uphold. The Neo-Malay hybrid rituals—the *Ramadhan Fasting, Nusantara* and *Cultural Festivals*—as identity reconstructions in the regional ethnification are studied as 'the passage of events' in space and time (Radcliffe-Brown in Gluckman, 1964).

With the ethnoregionalism, the analysis of the identity reconstructions that manifested in the cultural events in the public spaces shows the regionalization process. Those cultural attractions may be designed for the legitimacy and tourism in the revolving regional and global industry by social groups in Georgetown and Medan city. Those strategic ways were observed for a micro-analysis of social actions in revealing the symbolic meanings and their social functions not in the small communities but in the cities.

The re-authentication of cultural heritage is a strategy for getting an ethnically reconstructed identity. The heritage reproductions have frequently been transformed into instruments for political, economic and tourism goals. Here I specifically sought the meanings of the cultural heritage reproductions in the public entertainments as structural forms of ethnic communities, like; the Penang Boria Fiest of Shiah *Taz'yiah* tradition, the Jade Emperor God's Birthday of *Hokkien* tradition, the Malay Cultural Night of the Maimoon Palace and the Georgetown-Penang Festival. The rituals, ceremonies, carnivals and festivals in ethnographical fieldwork are collected as primary data of various civilizations (Tuner, 1983). The Social Drama Approach in the symbolic interpretative anthropology not only addresses the phenomenon of social actions that are celebrated in rituals and in cultural performances seasonally or annually by the small ethnic groups to revitalize the past experiences but is right now also assigned to explore the symbolic meanings of invented festivals.

Rituals and festivals in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown are revived from the traditional ways of life (Hitchcock and King, 2003). This study observed rituals and festivals in the centers of religious sites (Vihara or Klenteng, Mosques), historical buildings, tourist attractions, and public spaces. In practice, the way of Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang in reconstructing ethnic identity and sustaining ethnoregionalism are studied through the extensive meanings of heritage in a globalizing world. Ethnohistory also helps in searching for the identity of social groups in the field. The present enactments of rituals and celebrations and the new directions of regionalization and globalization need the historical background of ethnic groups when the ethnography work is carried out (Giordano, 2015).

Cultural urban space formations of Georgetown of Malaysia and Medan of North Sumatra have an evolutionary process from colonial era to present globalization. Firstly, Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia and Medan of East Coast Sumatra were originally built by the British and Dutch colonials respectively. Historically, before these two locations became the port towns that connected the trading of the Strait of Melaka region to China, India and Europe, the Malay Kingdoms of Aceh and Kedah respectively claimed those as their territorial areas. Eventually after the coming of British to Peninsular Malaya and Dutch to North Sumatra, the two places were used as locations of stockades. Due to the colonial industrial development, many people from China and India dwelt in Georgetown and Medan that resulted in plural society. Secondly, the two colonial port towns were growing as the polyethnic towns (Nagata, 1979) where the local people and migrants practiced their cultural identities in rituals and festivals. Thirdly, the Metropolitan Medan

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the Social Drama Approach extended for comparing two ethnic groups in the polyethnic cities of Medan of Indonesia and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia.

and Georgetown-Penang at present moment have been growing as polyethnic cities in the current globalizing world. Those two polyethnic cities are rich in cultural heritage that has been reconstructed as ethnic identities for regional and global cultural productions. It notes that the formations of ethnic groups in the colonial era and the current interactions of ethnic groups with the regions in the globalizing world result in the complex cultural phenomena that needed to be observed and analyzed with a comprehensive anthropology fieldwork.

1.3. Ethnic Revivals in the Globalizing World

Identity in a globalizing world, according to Robertson (1995) and Castells (2010), is more visible and stronger than before. Smith contends that the elevation of ethnicity in the modern ethnic revival linking to social and political organizations (1981:24). Manuel Castells' (2010) power of identity, moreover, is a new crucial cultural phenomenon that should be addressed anthropologically. In conducting a specific and in-depth analysis on the current intensive interrelationship between the cultures of ethnic groups, regional and global (Lewellen, 2002; Hannerz, 2003), some ideas of ethnic power in globalization as what has been glorified by Manuel Castells (2010) are taken as basic knowledge. Other similar postulations and proposals considering Roland Robertson's (1995) *glocal*, Saskia Sassen's (1998) ethnic power in global cities, Christian Giordano's (2009) the *past in present*, and Friedman's (2000) local culture in a globalizing world give a multifaceted view of the phenomenon of ethnic identity in a globalizing world. Looking at the ethnographical reports that uncover the ethnic culture in globalization, this social drama research goes towards the symbolic social actions that are staged in the urban spaces of Metropolitan Medan, North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang.

Ethnic revivals show the interplayed cultural elements (religions, traditions/*adat*, local vernaculars and strategies) and lead to a micro-cross cultural analysis. Ethnic revivals also have made the heritage tourism as commercials and entertainments for regional and global (Matondang, 2016b). The growth of cultural reproductions in the communities supports the cross-border interaction in the region. It follows the staging of cultural heritages for the regionally and globally exploration and overview. Ethnic revivals enhance the ethnic culture heritage on the symbolic interpretation basis. For an ethnoregional understanding, the various social actions and enactments are observed thoroughly. For example, Sun Yat Sen Museum (figure, 1.3) in Georgetown inspires the Chinese Nanyang to solidify their constructed identity in Straits of Melaka and some visitors in my interview feel that it connects them to global Chinese hero and to Taiwan and China Mainland.

Figure: 1.3. Sun Yat Sen Museum—Georgetown Penang

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Seeking the types of ethnic reconstructions and reproductions of ethnic heritage in Medan and Georgetown-Penang, the concept of regionalism in global level here is framing a way of living

and local culture (*genre de vie* of Paul Vidal De La Blanche as quoted in Razak, 2007). Thus, the relationship of the social actions to regionalization through the *ethnification* process (Giordano, 2009) was observed as the heritage reproductions. In addition, for the analysis of symbolic actions (Cohen, 1976) in the fieldwork, I detect rituals and festivals as identity revivals in the regionalization and globalization process. Rituals or entertainments for Victor W Tuner and Richard Schechner (2008) are developed in the Processual way to experience the structuring of the social institutions of a community (Turner 1987). Ethnic groups interact culturally with others who have a shared identity in the cities of Southeast Asia, including Medan, North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia and perform identity reconstruction with tangible heritage products.

Globalization process arguably has been a trigger for the dramatically growing awareness of ethnicity and symbols. Ethnic groups re-invent and revive the meaning of the *past in present* (Giordano, 2005) such as the reproductions of heritage. Razak contends that the tourism sector is a competitive cultural promotion regionally which results in the recasting of the heritage. She calls it "the intense competition across the tourism and recreation industry" (Razak, 2007:1999). Despite the cultural heritage and colonial legacy, there are state policy and commercialized cultural events as interesting phenomena. In the research for seeking the ethnic revivals in Medan and Georgetown-Penang, thinking of Giordano's argument about the reality of globalism is an invaluable logic strategy. Thus, Giordano argues that "a wide range of collective discourse and social strategies in the globalized landscape thematize and put into practice the current manufacturing of cultural differences, which are devised in political and intellectual spheres as well as in everyday life" (Giordano, 2009:96). The phenomenon also embraces Robertson's Global-Local (*Glocalization)* and has swept to all former Western colonies in Asia. That is why the argument of conducting this comparative research on the ethnic identity reconstructions in the Straits of Melaka region is reasonable. In response to the regional ethnification and global culture, it is found that the ethnic groups having their cultural identities revival.

The polyethnic sister cities of Metropolitan Medan, North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia, are currently located in the areas of highly growing regionalization and globalization. The shared traditions and memories of predominant ethnic groups which have been supported by technology, media, and modern transportation system make the identity reconstructions in public spaces dramatically grow. For example, ethnic culture heritage is reproduced for political ends and business benefits, such as ethno-nationalism, national symbols, and cultural tourism attractions (Matondang, 2016a). In their process, we found the symbolic contestations, because the symbolic meanings that ethnic groups perform in public spaces may result in any conflicts (Hoffsteadter, 2009). Furthermore, social meanings within recast cultural identity in public events of social groups enact the cultural events. The symbolic actions of the ethnic identity reconstructions that are now facing the regional and global interactions are observed thoroughly. Additionally, Giordano (2009) already observed on the current phenomenon of ethnicity, regionalization and globalization, which brought in an idea that the "ethnicity is an extremely multiform phenomenon, which, according to circumstances, historical space of experience, and social needs, is both symbolic and material" (Giordano, 2009: 97). The symbolic meanings of heritage cultural productions in the contexts of regional and global cultural interactions may serve for the tourism industry in the Straits of Melaka.

The rise of shared ethnoregional identities faces national identity in globalism. Imaginative community reconstruction, like the Neo-Malay identity in Peninsular Malaysia and North Sumatra requires the recasting of the cultural heritage for "representing past experiences in the present situation" (Giordano, 2009), and it has the involvement of the re-authentications of cultural heritage with the regional and global realities. Additionally, the uniqueness of the rituals, festivals, carnivals and cultural performances in Metropolitan Medan and in Georgetown-Penang made the multi-sited ethnography fieldwork enlist the sites of rituals and heritage locations with reference to

the ethnohistory from the colonial era. Ethnic groups in the cities, like Medan and Georgetown-Penang, now culturally interact with regional and global networks. In line with Giordano's idea of ethnic power in a globalizing world, Saskia Sassen contends that "a proliferation of originally highly localized cultures now have become present in many large cities (1989: xxxi)", and the local cultures might have been enjoyed by the elites in global cities. In conducting anthropology of global culture, Jonathan Friedman (2000) even suggests that anthropologists observe the rise of indigenous movements, regional movements, and immigrant minority politics in terms of ethnification and re-identification (2000:650-652). Accordingly, a new research perspective in understanding a transition process from the traditional to the global one or from the national culture to the transnational one is needed. The study of Hoffsteadter (2009) reveals that the Malaysian cultural heritage in the form of arts performances is in a dilemma. This country with its 'Truly Asia' slogan shows her heritage for global tourism, but the cultural strategies of Malaysia, for Hoffsteadter, have two contradictive directions—"the state's desire to homogenize and essentialize ethnicity internally whilst displaying ideals externally (Hoffsteadter, 2009: 527)". It could be interpreted the local culture goes to the global and the national culture goes to the transnational (Friedman, 2000:640) the two cities. Observing the celebrations in the public spaces reveals the cultural representations, political ends and economic benefits.

Empowering ethnic symbols via the enactments of rituals and festivals imply the ethnic reconstructions of the regionalization process. The representation of ethnic heritage within global culture tourism is correspondent with symbolic social actions. The heritage reproductions, which have great implications for the living urban culture in Medan and in Georgetown-Penang, lead the commencements of festivals, celebrations and preservations. In practice, the ethnic sense of Neo-Malayness and the Chinese Nanyang in Medan, North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang are the cores of ethnic identity reconstructions.

The power of Neo-Malay and the Chinese Nanyang in ethnoregionalism was observed to trace the cultural meanings of past experiences in terms of the ethnic revivals in the regional and global interactions. In reality, the staging of ethnic identity reconstructions through rituals and events in public spaces harnesses the solidarity. Relying on the current development of the representation of past experiences for remaking social group identity in regional and global contexts, Christian Giordano's statement that highlights ethnic power in the form of ethnoregionalism for facing a globalizing world guides ethnographers in the fieldwork. Furthermore, Giordano argues that "ethnic power should not be regarded as a relic of the past, i.e., of the 19th and 20th centuries, but should also be seen as a phenomenon linked to the several territorial redefinitions, regionalizations, and reconfigurations of identities in times of globalized late modernity (2009: 97)". Moreover, the dramaturgical approach postulates that "all the world's a stage and is full of ritual acts" (Goffman, 1956), and the ethnification process, Giordano's idea and Goffman's dramaturgy in the fieldwork uphold the ethnicity and exploration of ceremonials thoroughly. In supporting the identity reconstructions as a major core, the cultural heritage is connected to the collection of ritualized acts and cultural performances gathered from fieldwork in the public spheres.

1.4. Research Questions

There are a number of research questions on the rise of ethnic revivals in Southeast Asia region and global. Identity reconstructions which have been settled within regional and global contexts and are mixed heritage reproductions are the dynamic strategic ways for ethnic groups. Those questions should be addressed anthropologically through empirical data collection—the exploration of the ethnic identity reconstructions through traditional ceremonies, cultural festivals, carnivals and celebrations for the regional and global cultural productions raises some questions to the data of ethnic revivals in Metropolitan Medan and in Georgetown. Questions include the sense

of community identities, the recasting of heritage and the retelling of the legend of the cities in the form of rituals and cultural festivals. All constructed regional and global ethnic identities are covering the following points;

1.3.1). Ethnic identity formations and revivals not only were affected by the state policy or shared cultures of the Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang but also regionally influential power. There has been a plethora of ethnic formations and ethnic revivals that need to be explored and interpreted. Therefore, it is important to know the life cycles of ethnic groups in form of controversies and intervals with the paradigm of social dramas due to government policies and within and outside ethnic group interactions.

1.3.2). Ethnic identities of the Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang that live in the East Coast Sumatra and Peninsular Malaysia possibility have been reinvented to be the ethnoregional identities. The Neo-Malays with Islam solidarity (Ummah) and the Chinese Nanyang with Buddhist-Confucian Spirits at present regionalize their ethnic identities in public celebrations and social media.

1.3.3). Ethnic celebrations basically represent the ethnic heritage in a society. The Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang in Medan and Georgetown-Penang practice any kind of strategies for identity reconstructions in the public spaces. It is necessary to trace the social, political and economic purposes of these two predominant groups from the colonial era to the current globalizing world.

1.3.4). Ethnic groups in their flexible social interactions would make adaptation to regional and global cultural situations. The Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang have adjusted and readjusted to the regional and global socio-cultural contexts. It is important to observe various types of heritage reproductions that they already recreated for the identity reconstructions within the regional and global revolving.

1.3.5). Global phenomenon leads to the *Glocalization* (Robertson) of cultures where the rituals and cultural festivals as celebrations have been in packages of the global culture tourism industry. The Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang in Medan and Georgetown-Penang engage the different strategies to reproduce their ethnic heritage in the forms of ceremonials and festivals for heritage tourism.

1.5. A Multi-sited Ethnography Fieldwork in Urban Areas

This multi-sited ethnography already collected the historical records of ethnic groups, and observed the rituals and living performances as empirical data of ethnography that enables me as an ethnographer to find the forms and styles of cultural productions as modes of identity reconstruction. A participant observation in "the open air of the Anthropology field" (Malinowski, 1948: vii) was conducted from January to December 2014 with a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995: 95-99, Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus, 1998: 86-87) in urban areas: Metropolitan Medan, North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang of Peninsula Malaysia. In the fieldwork, a shifted from the single unit ethnography to the multi-sited one (George Marcus, 1995) to reach the dynamic rites of ethnic reconstructions in the Southeast Asia region, especially in Medan of North Sumatra and in Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia was carried out. A move from Malinowski's ethnography to multi-sited ethnography fieldwork was carried out in urban areas of ex-colonial port towns. It was conducted to follow ethnic revivals that reflected in cultural heritage products from colonial to global eras.

The perspective of globalism (Hannerz, 2003) was applied in the fieldwork. Thinking of "ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system" (Marcus, 1998: 83), the fieldwork includes the ethnic formations and revivals in forms of enacted rituals and festivals, official documents,

brochures, leaflets, flyers, invitation cards, memoirs, depth-interviews and observations in many sites. The multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995 and 1998) was implemented to explore the process of ethnic formation and revival among the Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang. Furthermore, Marcus (1998) elaborates, "Thus, the multi-sited ethnography is content to stipulate some sort of total worlds system as long as the terms of any particular macro-construct of that system are not allowed to stand for the context of ethnographic work that becomes opportunistically constituted by the path or trajectory it takes in its design" (1998:83). In the field research, as an ethnographer, I followed the cultural actions which solidify the social groups for ethnic revivals, and highlighted the ethnic identities reconstructions of the predominant ethnic groups which live in Georgetown and Medan, namely, the Neo-Malays and Chinese Nanyang.

The observed rituals and festivals that took place in the public spaces in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown-Penang represent the identities of the region. I did observations in the field in many sites. I also considered that "the events could be in the long, transient and short duration "(Gluckman, 1964). Many observation activities were conducted to capture a series of acts that maximize the symbols for the social and political attentions. The Malays and Chinese Nanyang already conducted symbolic actions through direct performances and indirect ones. Observed cultural symbols such as rituals, carnivals and festivals made me thought of living meanings of events in the cultural contexts which maximized the multi-sited ethnography to understand the shared beliefs and myths which were constructed in many sites in urban areas of Medan and Georgetown.

Figure 1.4 Data Collection in Penang Heritage Trust with Khoo Salma

Photo by Febry Ichwan Butsi

The experiences of ethnic groups in Medan and Georgetown-Penang from the colonial period to the global cultural interactions were used as obtained data of the processes of ethnic formations and reconstructions in a–multi period. Following the processes of formation of cultural identity from the era of pre-colonial to colonial and the era of colonial to post-colonial and until the globalization era, many involvement factors of the dynamic social interaction of social groups were traced back with reference to ethno-history of ethnic categories. Moreover, the dynamics of heterogeneity of ethnic groups, like the stages of identity reconstructions during the colonial period, new nation state, regional and global took attention to the rapidly social changes in Roland Robertson's glocal contexts.

Principally this multi-sited ethnography compares the two historic cities in the Straits of Melaka, Medan and Georgetown-Penang in reviving ethnicity at the regional level (see Figure: 1.4 above). In his book "Ethnography through thick and thin", Marcus explains that "….in multi-sited ethnography, comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known before hand"(1998: 86). In concluding words, this social drama research has three purposes: (1) analyze the ethnic identity formations and revivals from the colonial era to the postcolonial situation, (2) explore the ethnoregionalism in the representations of the people who live in Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia and Medan of North

Sumatra, and (3) find new fundamental models that explain the cultural identity revivals in the forms of re-authentication and meta-cultural processes. Additionally, ethnic revivals were also found in the cultural heritage products in any public spaces or in tourism sites.

This multi-sited fieldwork has elicited the current cross-cultural exchanges within globalizing situations, and put them into a micro-analysis. It could argue that both Malay and Chinese groups make use their shared myths, narratives, past experiences, and cultural traditions and connectivity to reconstruct identities based on situational adjustment, and political and economic purposes. Cross cultural exchanges which empowered the ethnification regionally were detected and analyzed in reference to visited sites and collected documents of ethnicity. For instance, the revival of traditional ceremonies and festivals for global cultural heritage productions are visible in cultural sites and public spaces. Even in very recent decades, the important roles of the Penang Government, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), Georgetown-Penang World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) and Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) in Penang have been observed for a ground theory of the ethnic revivals studies. It is necessary to note that since 2008 the preservation of cultural heritage for the tourism industry has brought about community awareness of their "ethnic backgrounds" (Colombijn, 2013). Thinking about the cultural diversity of the two modern cities, namely, metropolitan Medan and Penang, it is right to use the multi-sited ethnography for ethnic revivals in the Southeast Asia region.

Chapter 2

Anthropology Theories of Social Dramas and Processual Method

"*All the great classical communities conceived of themselves as cosmically central, through the medium of a sacred language linked to a superterrestrial order of power*" *(*Imagined Communities, Benedict Anderson, 1991)

2.0 Anthropological Debates on Social Dramas

Some anthropological theories of social dramas and cultural performances have framed the philosophical views, cultural history, research procedures and symbolic interpretation of ethnography fieldwork. The anthropological debates on the dramaturgical approach are found in the ethnography works of Erving Goffman, Victor Tuner, Clifford Geertz and Milton Singer. Their works elaborate rituals and symbols that are living in the communities. Theoretical foundations already postulated by Victor Tuner and Erving Goffman open the discussions on the functions of ritualized actions. Moreover, Richard Schechner with a very insightful in performance studies finds a close relation between ritual and performance and the use of performance in rituals. Using the Dramaturgical Approach, Erving Goffman (1956) focuses on all social interactions that are based on a staged person who prepares backstage, front and confront in his presence in society. Goffman argues that "when an individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have" (1956:3). From the works of Goffman, Tuner and Geertz, which recommend the dramaturgical approach and create a symbolic interpretative anthropology, we have the body of knowledge of rituals and festivals. I use them as the main theoretical foundation of the research on social dramas in the ethnoregional process.

The exponent of the Manchester School of Anthroplogy, Victor Turner (1975), brings the ethnography of the Ndembu's rituals of Rhodesia as explanatory models of the micro-cosmos. In addition to the works of Goffman and Tuner, it is noted that Richard Schechner develops the *Performance Studies* where the ethnological perspective pays much attention to the rituals. How rituals are designed as media of communication has been put forward by Schechner (2006 and 2008). He recommends to "communicate between individuals, among groups, and across ontological lines: life/death, human/non-human (gods, demons, etc). Increasing the clarity of communication is very important when dealing with 'trouble', beings, within or across realms of (actual or believed in) existence" (Schechner, 2008:779). Since the emerging of all cultural performances turns the contours of social interaction either in everyday life or art as what Goffman, Turner, and Schechner postulate in the dramaturgical theories, this social drama approach studies the social actions of individuals and the ethnification of regions.

The theories of social actions in a cultural milieu such as Erving Goffman's *Dramaturgical Approach*, Milton Singer's *Cultural Performance*, Richard Schechner's *The Performance Studies* and Clifford Geertz' *Interpretation of Cultures* and *Theatrical State* of Balinese support Victor Tuner's social drama. Those theoretical foundations are adopted in this comparative cultural research. Those theoretical foundations direct the fieldwork in searching the enactments of rituals and cultural performances by the communities. The rituals, carnivals, and festivals are potential anthropological subjects in the symbolic interpretative perspective; consequently, the rituals and cultural performances for ethnic identity reconstructions together with ethnoregionalism and globalism are here studied thoroughly. As to Abner Cohen's argument that the symbolic action (behavior) and power relation reappear, I observed the human motives that are hidden by the symbolic actions in the form of ethnification reality of the Malay and Chinese that have crystalized in the ethnoregional (Christian Giordano, 2009) and the cultural revival in the currently globalizing world.

Individual and collective actions are dramatized in any social interaction. Studying the performance of individual actions, Erving Goffman finds that "the popular view is that an individual offers his performance and puts on his shows 'for the benefit of other people'" (1956:10). It indicates that the study of performance that emphasizes the individual's impression of reality and his actions must be considerably important. Thus, Goffman argues that the way of convincing that a performer does results in favor or disfavor of situations. A performer may be suitable for the given situation. In contrast, there is a cynical condition when a performer fails in convincing his audience. Goffman furthermore contends: "An individual may be taken in by his own act or be cynical about it. These extremes are something a little more than just the ends of a continuum. Each provides the individual with a position which has its own particular securities and defenses, so there will be a tendency for those who traveled close to one of these poles to complete the voyage" (1956:11). Goffman also observes the ritualization of actions in society.

The similarity of Victor Tuner's social drama perspective to Erving Goffman's dramaturgical approach is the individual action, which highlights the interlocking of social interaction to self-presentation in a social drama model. As a prolific anthropologist who combines performance play modes (in a series of plotted acts) and the cultural process, Victor Turner applies interdisciplinary work. Tuner's exploration on a complex sequence of symbolic acts in performance reveals the individual action in his society to reach his goal, like power. In Victor Turner's book, *Drama, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974), he defines social dramas as units of harmonic or disharmonic social process arising in conflict situations. Turner (1987) identifies four main phases of public action: (1) *Breach* of regular norms that govern social relations; (2) *Crisis* or a threshold-*liminal* in character where a person lives in the betwixt and between; (3) The *Redress* phase, which comes as soon as a conflict meets a resolution; and (4) The *Reintegration* phase, which builds a new structure. In his fieldwork, Victor Tuner found that a headman who dramatizes to others is effective in his sociocultural field.

In a later development, approaching cultural phenomena with the social drama model contributes to intercultural and interdisciplinary works. It is sort of giving an interpretation of something other than the researcher's culture. Tuner's social drama posits the way of passing the journey of life in a community challenging the social structure, which may result in disharmony (1987). Metatheater theorizes the dramatic community event to find a new structure at the end of the process. Metatheater deals with the symbolic community's theaters to resolve the leadership crisis and successions, initiations of maturity and seasonal cycles based on the observations and experiences of an ethnographer (Tuner, 1985). The depth of the ethnographic works would be reflected in the cultural interpretations as what Tuner shows in finding the syncretic rituals and hybrid cultural elements, which bounded colonial legacy in the performing of the *Carnival of Rio* (Tuner, 1983). In line with Victor Turner's social drama theory, there is then a new field that is called the Performance Studies by Richard Schechner. The Performance Studies deals with 'restored behaviors'; it is a field of research that analyzes the performing behaved behaviors of a stage. Thus, Schechner explains that "Performances—of art, rituals, or ordinary life—are "restored behaviors," "twice-behaved behaviors," and performed actions that people train and rehearse for, and rehearsals (Schechner, 2006:28) are social actions that are aesthetically ritualized on the stages. Through Performance Studies, Schechner argues that an ethnologist in fieldwork has an important role as a mediator of two distinguished cultures, and he finally represents the culture that he already experienced and observed.

A great variety of dramaturgical techniques in the fieldwork and ethnographies shows the different emphasis and perfectives. Although the works of Erving Goffman, Victor Tuner, and Richard Schechner are inclined towards the dramaturgical model, each of them has the specific technique in fieldwork. First, Goffman emphasizes the presentation of the self when a performer enters the presence of another. Information about a performer is needed to enable others to know in advance what he will expect. Second, Victor Tuner's ethnographic method embraces a Processual

technique to rituals and symbols. In a sequence model, Victor W Turner extensively uses symbols, rituals, and ontological values in analyzing human stages in the rites of passage. Third, Richard Schechner engages performativity and theatrical perspectives in studying rituals where restored behaviors play important roles. Emphasizing on the ritual of performance, Schechner theorizes that performance is such a way of communicating with the human and the non-human. In short, Performance Studies, for Schechner, involves a broad spectrum that connects to culture and complex orders of society.

The symbolic interpretative theories explain the use of symbols in rituals and social actions. The theory of social drama of the symbolic interpretative anthropology has been widely accepted after the ethnography works of Victor W Turner (Turner, 1974 and 1987) in Rhodesia in Africa and Clifford Geertz (1973) in Bali of Indonesia were published. This social drama paradigm observes the realizations of values of beliefs and myths in the forms of ritual and cultural expressions. Symbolic actions as core semiotic cultural texts are in line with the anthropological interpretation of *Cultural Performance* of Milton Singer (1980), which contributes much in Anthropology. Performing a social drama is not limited to universal social structure and functions of a society, but it contains the system of knowledge (Geertz, 1973). The culture is basically constructed socially in various symbolic ways. The performances actualize myths, beliefs, traditions and national narratives (Turner, 1986).

2.1 Theory and Practice of Social Dramas

This multi-sited ethnography applies the symbolic interpretative anthropology of the Manchester School to study the ethnoregionalism and global interactions of the Malay and Chinese who settle in Medan and in Georgetown-Penang. Theory and Practice of Social Dramas seek the social relations with symbology. In the *Social Drama* Approach that has been elaborated vividly by Victor W Tuner (1985 and 1986) and Clifford Geertz's *thick description*, we are offered the theoretical foundation and methodology for the fieldwork and data interpretation. Accordingly, the social drama is both as a theoretical foundation and as a *paradigm* (Tuner, 1985). The fieldwork practice, in the framework of the rites of passage from the *breach, liminal (betwixt),* and *redress to reintegration*, is adopted here. In the social drama paradigm, Turner has shown the Processual method in postulating a number of theories in symbolic interpretative anthropology. While making the social drama way in fieldwork and data interpretation (Turner, 1985: 172), Victor Tuner opens this paradigm with modifications. For doing the fieldwork, Tuner guides the observation on the symbolic actions (as we monitor the stages in which cycles of rituals and cultural enactments are performed by the community).

This Processual method (the passage of events in space and time) is targeting the manifestations of human beliefs and shared myths and experiences in the communities through *symbolic* analysis. The fieldwork and data interpretations should be following the procedures of symbolic analysis:

> *"Symbolic analysis here rests on data generated in the heat of action in ritual, legal, formal, informal, interpersonal, domestic, ludic, solemn, and so forth, processes to which the anthropologist has become party and privy. Such data are quite different from those obtained by a stance of detachment. This stance is best for the taking of measurements (gardens, hut sizes) or the counting of heads (village census-taking), but worse for coming to an understanding (itself a process) of how actors perceive, generate, and negotiate meaning, using words and symbols. The present author has suggested that there are natural units of sociocultural process, which tend to have, like raw rites de passage, a temporal structure, with successive phases cumulating to at least a temporary resolution"(Turner, 1985: 172).*

From the points that Tuner already offered, I observed the performing of or enacting of the rituals and celebrations as modes of the ethnic identity reconstructions. All the ethnic representation strategies encounter the regional and global interactions and are explored with the symbols conceived by the Malay and Chinese. There is also a discussion of symbols with 'the thick description' (Geertz, 1973 and 1983), and the rituals and festivals in the present situation are blown up for dwelling in the life cycles. Thus, the *Processual method* of Victor Turner's social drama for mapping out the data collection is implemented in the fieldwork. A series of theaters of the community instituted for initiations, inaugurations, weddings and funerals as well as calendared celebrations in the social drama paradigm is analyzed in a Processual method, following the calendrical systems of ethnic communities (the Lunar Calendar of the Malay and Chinese). This symbolic interpretative anthropology implements the theater plots to divide the periods of social evolutions in Medan and Georgetown-Penang (Colonial, National State, Regional and Global).

In accordance with the anthropology theories of ritual and festival enactments, the multi-sited fieldwork engages four techniques applied to collect data, namely: (1) Tracing the ethno-history of Malays and Chinese Nanyang; (2) Surveying events of rituals and festivals held in two cities; Georgetown of Malaysia and Medan City of Indonesia; (3) Observing the rituals, carnivals and festivals enacted by the Malays and Chinese Nanyang; and (4) Interviewing key persons who involve in the enactments of rituals and festivals. Those four techniques are carried out in the fieldwork for collecting the ethnological data of rituals, festivals, celebrations and heritage events as media of the ethnic identity reconstructions. The Malays and Chinese Nanyang in the polyethnic sister cities of Medan, North Sumatra of Indonesia, and Georgetown-Penang of the Malay Peninsula have the enactments of rituals and festivals for strengthening the ethnic revivals, like the *Hari Raya Ramadhan* (Idul Mubarrok), the Chinese New Year (Imlek), the dragon and lion dances in public spaces.

Those four data collection techniques are followed by the framing cycles of events in the Processual way. The social drama, as a lived experience (Dilthey's *Erlebnis*), as suggested by Victor W Turner and Edward Bruner (1986), normally resides in the matrix of cultural experiences and could be generated in the stages. In fieldwork practice, a diachronic study that engages a number of synchronic researches on the influential motives of the performance of festivals on the dynamic changes of human interactions in the currently globalized culture is very important.

With the growing awareness of the ethnic revivals or cultural identity in Medan and in Georgetown-Penang, there is a new wave of identity reconstruction through a recontextualized heritage. The ethnic groups have the cultural events chosen as subjects of the fieldwork. There is a dramatization of identity reconstructions via the representations of the potential cultural heritage of the two cities Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia and Medan of Indonesia, which are selected as observation targets. The growth of rituals and festivals in public spaces seems to be a very dynamic process in the forms of rituals and entertainments. The potential human experiences of the Malay and Chinese groups meet the regional and global interactions. The shared beliefs (popular) and myths that back up the enactments of the rituals and cultural performances of the Malay and Strait Chinese are instruments for regional ethnification.

2.2. Processual Technique in Ethnography

The processual method is mapping out the rites of passage that manifested in the rituals, festivals, and celebrations. Those are all living and revitalizing in cultural heritage events and I select them as a subject of the ethnic reconstructions. Focusing on the two ethnic groups in Georgetown-Penang and Medan City, this multi-sited ethnography traces the rituals and celebrations through the Processual method to trace the processes of the ethnic revivals and the ultimate goals of enactments of celebrations for the regional and global spheres. The rituals and celebrations enacted annually in the societies are the cycles; they are revived through symbols and their meanings are

interpreted with the social context of phases. The process of remaking ethnic identities is tied to the annual cycles of religions, customs, and heritage events at the national and regional levels. As they are all enacted as rituals and festivals, the exploration and comparison of obtained data would yield an ethnographic report. Viewing performance as a cultural system in the ethnography of social drama paradigm, I seek the webs of significations between the folk actions in rituals and in celebrations and the performance situations (involving the performers, art forms, ethnic community as audience, and atmosphere as well as tourists).

The transformations of the local traditions with innovative performances for linking the identity reconstructions to the regional and global situations are framed in the Processual way; the attention is paid to cycles, spaces, and momentums of the Malays and Chinese Nanyang rituals and cultural performances. So the data of rituals and cultural performances are collected from direct observation, interviews with organizers, the key persons in rituals, the officials of the tourism board, associations of travel agents and hotels, academicians and journalists. Especially for data collection in Georgetown-Penang, besides the observation, I also gathered 'extra data' from the archives, which depict the vital roles of government, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Georgetown-Penang World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), and Penang Heritage Trust in Penang since the 7th of July 2008. The state and GTWHI follow the UNESCO heritage safeguard regime in managing the cultural heritage and I found this regime more or less the moderator variable in this study. In the symbolic interpretative anthropology, Victor W Tuner theoretically proposes the Social Drama plots which operate the *Breach, Liminal/Betwixt, Redress /Recovery and Reintegration* as a series of 'Processual' ways to interpret the social-cultural phenomena in a community. I extended the social drama paradigm into a wider scope; I apply the social drama paradigm for analyzing the ethnic identity reconstructions to ethnoregional and global interactions.

Figure 2.1. An Extended Processual Method of Social Dramas

No	Process	Concept	Turner's Proposed Method	Re-Model in this Research
1.	**Breach Phase**	A normal situation in a community	A well-ordered social institution; a headman organizes the community; Human relation runs well	Colonial Formation of Ethnic Groups; colonial policy on the immigrants and natives; installed colonial administration
2.	**Liminal/Bet wixt Phase**	A transition from a normal to separation	Crisis-conflict, retaliation, competition, and illness; turbulence of the succession of a community headman	A Nation State Formed; ethno-symbolic, nationalism; contested identity; rejection to the colonial culture and the feudal Sultans
3.	**Redress Phase**	A recovery from conflict, illness, and negotiation	Negotiation, the losers follow the winner; the illness is recovered; a new headman is installed	Regionalization; reconstructions of ethnicity-ethnification to regional; cultural productions in collaborations crossing the nation border

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4.	**Reintegration Phase**	A combination of elements to reshape a new community	Reconstructions were syncretic and hybrid of the socio-cultural reintegrated into a new transformation	Globalization; identity reconstructions; global reproductions of heritage with world cultures; recontextualized local to embrace global

Additionally, I am inclined to work on the ethnoregional phenomenon that manifested in the symbolic cultural productions of the Malay and Chinese in Medan of North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia. It is not an analysis of the ethnoregionalism of political parties. Therefore, I reveal the sacred and profane symbols in rituals and ceremonials (Abner Cohen, 1976:33) in the study of the social dramas in a systemic cross-sectional traverse of the city of Medan, North Sumatra, and of Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia. I agree with Judith Nagata (1979); therefore, I take neither J S Furnivall's *Plural Society* (1956) as a concept for present ethnic studies nor the trend of *Multicultural* of the Anglo-American. My viewpoint is from the social dramas as symbolic cultural enactments of ethnic groups and not a social structure, let alone economic and political issues.

From folklorist Arnold van Gennep to Victor W Turner's social drama and now interdisciplinary science shows that rites cover the crisis of the individual, ethnic groups, nations, and regions. If we look at a new direction of how social drama covers the Performance Studies pioneered by Richard Schechner, we find that the conception of rites of passage has a number of opportunities to be remodeled and implemented to a wide variety of socio-cultural settings. The establishment Performance Studies under the design of Richard Schechner brings a new way of understanding the social function of aesthetic performance that basically meets the transformative actions and gives cognitive and emotional aspects of the human being (Harding and Rosenthal, 2011). Richard Schechner by and large adopts the conception of social drama in which the rites of passage as sacred or secular actions could explain the social function of the Performance Arts. Victor Tuner, who then developed van Gennep's statements on the nature of the r*ites of life-crisis*: birth, initiation, marriage, and health (rites de passage) in different situations (Gluckman, 1962), saw the ceremonials play an important role in the ordering, no ordering (communitas) and re-ordering (integration) of social relations. Turner's ethnography works are framed into the mechanism of rites de passage (1962). When Richard Schechner's Performance Studies needs a basic foundation that is related to the social function of aesthetic drama, he adopts Tuner's social drama. Furthermore, Harding and Rosenthal (2011) elaborate:

"This new emphasis on ritual and theatre anthropology, and especially the interconnections and distinctions between "social drama" and "aesthetic drama," evolved through Schechner's fruitful collaborations with his friend, the cultural anthropologist Victor Turner.... The impact that these two theorists had on one another and on the development of performance studies as a discipline" (Harding and Rosenthal, 2011: 5).

Elizabeth Bell (2006) has extended the social drama research to the political issue with the Feminism Studies. The social drama for the political issue has been remodeled by Elizabeth Bell. If Robin Wagner-Pacifi (1986) applies social drama in *The Moro Morality Play: Terrorism* as Social Drama, Elizabeth Bell uses the social drama to follow the political issue of President Bill Clinton. The scandal that involved President Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky is set in the plot of social drama. Elizabeth Bell uses the scandal issue as a subject of Feminism where she focuses on the phallocentric values that saved President Clinton in the public two years after the matter blew on social media. Thus Elizabeth Bell contends:"Victor Turner's social drama is exemplified in the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, a two-year saga that captivated the American media, government, and public from 1998-2000. The social drama, with its stages of breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration" (2006:1), and she argues that:

"The Clinton-Lewinsky saga is exemplary of the interplay between indicative social drama and subjunctive cultural performances. Richard Schechner (Performance Theory) describes this interplay as a mobius strip: the social drama's conflicts and characters fund the content of performances; and performances, in turn, color and inflect the social drama" (Bell, 2006:3).

"At every turn in the indicative social drama that was the Clinton-Lewinsky affair, a running metasocial commentary and critique occurred on the Internet. Hundreds of web sites, with names like "Official Guide To Zippergate," "Tasteless Clinton/Monica Lewinsky Jokes," "Starr Report—Just the Erotica," and *isleptwiththepresident.com*, held thousands upon thousands of jokes, parodies, one-liners, poems, book titles, graphics, and song lyrics" (Bell,2006:4).

Figure: 2.2. Social Drama in Different Cases

No	Turner's Ndembu	Bell's Feminist	Ethnoregionalism (in this Study)
1.	The Scope: In a Small Community of Ndembu	The Political Issue: US Presidency	Medan & Georgetown-Penang in 200 Years of Ethnic Pluralism
2.	Locus: Social Conflict: disharmony; headman succession	The Scandal of Bill Clinton-Lewinsky in the eye of Feminism	Formation of Ethnic Identity and Reconstructions
3.	Intervening Factors: Matriarchy-Patriarchy	Contestation for the US Presidency: Bill Clinton (Democrat) and others	Contestations of Ethnic Identity Representations at the Colonial, National, Regional, and Global Levels
4.	Redress/ Recovery Mode: A New Headman embraces the Members of a Community	Hillary and Media Negotiations	Ethnoregionalism: Heritage Reproductions
5.	Installment of a new shape of community	Hillary and Lewinsky hand in hand (President's Ladies) to save the US President	Galvanizing Fiestas for Global Culture/Cosmopolitan

Another thing in this social drama research is that I brought it to understand the metropolitan spaces. A shift from a small community to a cityscape that I already carried out in the fieldwork is basically to create a new model and method for capturing the ethnoregional dynamics in the urban areas. This shift moved the social setting from the community's actors (a headman, shaman, and ritual organizers) to the key persons and key institutions (agencies) that reconstruct ethnic identity in the urban areas. I consider the intervening factors such as duration, officials, interest groups, international organization representatives, multinational companies, locations and ethnic groups in this work. Elevated to the ethnification processes in the regional and global identities, this study

shifted from the exclusive ethnography of the exotic culture, remote communities, local ethnic conflicts and small-scale units to the cities dwellers. Ulf Hannerz says: "There may be an element of improvisation here, of seizing the moment; in multi-local studies, a central characteristic is thinking in terms of a network (2003:26). This social drama research examines the social patterns and practices of ethnification that cut accross the national boundaries and local ethnic cultures. With a special interest, I observed the way of people living in particular transitional situations. It reveals the creation-meaning modes.

2.3. A New Methodology Development of Ethnic Studies

There is now a great attention of anthropologists on ethnic revivals through the dynamic reconstructions of ethnic identity in the global culture. The relationships of cultural performances, ethnicity, and globalism contribute to the theory of cultural reproduction in urban areas. Building a model of ethnicity through the lenses of ethnicity and globalism is the main core of this social drama study. From this comparative research, it is expected to develop the fieldwork areas beyond the small communities. Victor Turner's *The Forest* of *Symbols* on the Ndembu of Rhodesia and Clifford Geertz' *State Theater* on Bali have been showing the dramaturgy models in relation to *rites of passage* and *state ceremonials*; I would, therefore, make an attempt to bring the Social Drama Approach to be far-reaching into the regional and global cityscapes.

This research contribution may embrace the cultural interaction of the local to the regional and global trends. Erving Goffman's Dramaturgical Approach (1956) in interpreting social actions currently needs the wider contexts of the regional and global. The limited scope of the self-presentation of Goffman in social interactions enforces a multi-sited fieldwork to get dramaturgy study brought into the regional and global scopes. In addition to the current cultural studies, the expected theory which elaborates the ethnic heritage reproductions for regionalization and globalization hopefully appears in this social drama research.

An attempt to extend the dramaturgical perspective basically links to the rituality and cultural expressions that I see to be more visible in global interactions. Instead of local and national scopes, I argue that the regional and global discourses on the scope of ethnicity need an extended social drama model. The towns and cities are now connected to ethnoregional and global identities. In addition, the stages of observed cities, which interact with the dynamic interactions of the regional and global cultures, take the ethnic identity reconstruction, which has inherited the social meanings. Doing an interpretation of the cultural heritage reproductions and tourism attractions in post-independent Indonesia and Malaysia, it is noted that ethnoregionalism's theoretical assumption offers the re-authentication and revitalization of the potential cultural heritage by ethnic groups.

This multi-sited ethnography explores the social actions, which harness the ethnoregional reconstructions in the forms of ritual ceremonies, celebrations and cultural festivals and carnivals. The multi-sited fieldwork for following the strategies of ethnic groups in urban spaces is conducted in those two polyethnic cities. It also assigns the fieldwork in the locations where the diverse rituals and cultural performances were enacted. In those two cities, a great variety of rituals and cultural performances are observed and interpreted as identity formations. Now the cultural meta-productions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004) are the manifestations of tangible and intangible heritages, and they are studied comprehensively in terms of ethnic revivals through identity reconstructions and tourism attractions in the urban spaces of Metropolitan Medan, North Sumatra of Indonesia, and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia.

Ethnography of the ethnic formations and ethnoregionalism are regarded as the core of a cultural phenomenon in regional communities. Georgetown-Penang as an ex-British Settlement and a World Heritage Site has the mosaic of heritage from diverse ethnic cultures. Thus, the way of life of

the people of Penang is very unique. In addition to the aforementioned, the neighborhoods in Georgetown-Penang, as the first British trading post in the Straits of Melaka, have a specific connection to the Deli Kingdom of the East Coast of Sumatra after the systems of colonial culture and economy were imposed. Georgetown-Penang and Medan town are rich with the social dramas of the Malays and Chinese rites of passage, which are currently reproduced as cultural heritage. The connections of values, meanings, and ends in the community (Turner, 1986) are the potent of ethnic revivals in the regional scape.

Part II: Construction of ethnicity from colonialism, nationalism, ethnoregionalism, and globalism

Chapter 3

Colonialism as Breach Phase: Ethnicity Formation

"With increased ethnic awareness, coupled with the desire to classify and thus control, the Europeans assiduously listed local individuals with whom they came into contact by their 'ethnic group.' This was particularly evident in the ports, where European officials wished to control the movement of certain rival or enemy groups. The results were predictable: individuals tended to claim the most useful ethnic identity ...." (Leonard Y Andaya, 2008:4).

3.0. Introduction to the Colonial Ethnic Category

This chapter explores the ethnicity construction of social groups after the coming of the Dutch Company (VOC) to the East Coast of Sumatra to open plantations, and in Peninsular Malaysia the East India Company (EIC) built a port town, which was thereafter renamed as Georgetown. The ethnicity and social interactions were performed based on the colonial rules and the affiliation of ethnic groups. The ethnic categories resulted in changes to the population demography.

The seed of dividing social groups and its process began in a colonial town, Medan of the East Coast of Sumatra when the Dutch and other foreign plantations needed the cheap labors of Javanese, Tamils of India, and Hokkians, Cantonese and Hakkas of South China. Those migrants brought their own cultures with them to Medan as the center of the Malay Kingdom of the East Coast of Sumatra. The British colonial authorities in Georgetown Penang Island, as a concession of the Malay Kingdom of Kedah in Peninsular Malaysia to the Company, imported the Chinese for economic growth. The first leader of the EIC in Penang, Captain Francis Light ever argued, when he began the construction of Georgetown, that the Chinese are giving benefits for Company, although they are crafty. Eventually, the South Indians were shipped to Penang to build a new port town.

There was the construction of port towns in Medan of the East Cost of Sumatra and Georgetown in the colonial era which resulted in a new form of urban cultures, ethnic diversity (Furnivall's plural society, 1956) and the continuous social interactions of various ethnic groups, and their attachment to traditional belief, local vernaculars, and customary norms sustained in new towns. The ethnic categories formally started to be constructed in the colonial era (Hirschman, 1986 and 1986). An adaptation to the colonial ideology in terms of social practices and ethnic categories formed the mosaic of urban society in the two port towns.

The colonial construction of ethnic category bore the new social institutions in the 1900's Medan town of the East Coast of Sumatra and Georgetown of Peninsular Malaya. The construction of ethnic identities during British and Dutch colonialism yielded the diverse cultures of the two urban societies in accordance with the ethno-history of social groups that settled in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia and Medan of the East Coast of Sumatra. In finding the ground of the social structure; the way of those two colonial governments, either the Dutch in the East Coast of Sumatra or the British in Peninsular Malaya were the form of the grand design of ethnicity construction by the imposing power. Ethnic Policies were made to control ethnic relations; relationship of the indigenous peoples and new migrants in a plural society. It is the core of ethnohistory in this region in colonial era.

I regard the ethnic construction in colonial era as breach phase in social dramas of Southeast Asian people. An anthropological conception of the breach in the social dramas maps the first phase of life cycles. It is such as the normal situation social life, no conflict, no transitional phase. It is the form of established social structure being acquired here is used to analyze the history of the ethnic

category. The Ethnohistory of Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown is traced to supply the records in an anthropology analysis of ethnicity. Moreover, this part focuses on the categorization of the population in the colonial censuses, which is officially administered based on the origins, local languages, religions and beliefs as well as phenotype. For this part, I argue that the colonial era is a sort of breach phase of social dramas (Victor Turner, 1974). Here, the social dramas performed by colonial officers, natives and new immigrants in Medan of the East Coast of Sumatra and in Georgetown Penang of Peninsular Malaya are followed to understand the colonial policy. The colonial ethnic category initiated and established the structure of society.

3.1. Colonial Construction of Ethnic Groups

The formation of ethnic groups could be seen as a social structure in the colonial era. The ethno-history analysis indicates that the newly shaped ethnic groups in Medan East Coast of Sumatra and in Georgetown Penang are based on colonial policy. The ethnic origins, vernacular languages, religions or beliefs in new urban settlements are regulated and categorized for the economic stability of the colonial powers. Although the ethnicity formation was as a result of the colonial policy, nonetheless the ethnic groups attached to cultural identities such as the natives, Asian immigrants, and Europeans were living under the colonial rule. It took the colonial attention to rule and had the categorization of ethnicity, and eventually the ethnic groups followed the division of occupations based on ethnic lines—the Malays as farmers and fishermen, the Chinese as petty traders, middlemen in business and trades and as compradors, while the Indians were assigned as guards, drivers, and tappers in the rubber plantations.

There was a political regulation which constructed ethnic identity in the Straits of Melaka during the heyday of the Dutch Indies and British colonials. The colonial category had three classifications of population demography (Native Malays, South, and East Asia migrants and Europeans). It was regarded as the norm for the ruling power to regulate the polyethnic society in these two colonial port towns (Medan on the East Cost of Sumatra and Georgetown, Penang). As a result, the features of a plural society structurally existed in the colonial era. There are ethnic categories such as natives (Malays and *Orang Asli*), East Asian (Chinese) and South Asia (Indians), and European migrants.

The micro-analysis digs up the process of construction of ethnic groups in a plural society as the ground of social structure or social institution in those two urban societies. The ethnic categorization showed the hierarchy of social layers of people who dwelt in Medan and Georgetown Penang. It was found that a colonial census which classified people differently not "ethnic self-definition" (Andaya, 2008), and the Manchester School anthropologist, Max Gluckman, argues that there was a structure of society being constructed and reconstructed through rebellions or conflicts in Africa (in Gluckman's *Essays on The ritual of Social Relations*).

It was John S Furnivall who proposed the conception of plural society during the colonial regime in South East Asia. The plural society came to colonial land. After John S Furnivall found a division of labor alongside racial lines and different sections of community living side by side, they were separated due to the economic policy of the colonial government (Furnivall, 1956:304), and he called that kind of social structure a plural society. The ethnic segmentation in the plural society of South East Asian port towns in which the Natives, Chinese, Indians and Europeans played different roles and occupations was coming from the colonial policy of divide and rule.

Theoretically, as Brubaker reveals, ethnic category, from an instrumental viewpoint, is a claim to nationality and social grouping. In practice, although the ethnic identity of each person who lived in the colonial era attached to the official ethnic category, the people often took it for granted and seldom questioned the way of classification enforced by the colonial power. In seeking the process

of ethnic categorization, Rogers Brubaker begins his research by questioning a national identity transcending ethnolinguistic, ethnoreligious or ethnoregional distinctions (Brubaker, 2004:117). The premise, Brubaker offers, is that nationhood is not an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact but ownership of the polity on behalf of a 'core' ethnocultural nation distinct from the citizenry. Thus, Brubaker finds national hood as a political claim. In his report, Brubaker contends that national hood is a claim on people's loyalty, on their attention, on their solidarity. Furthermore, Brubaker argues that ethnicity and nationhood are understood not as facts but as claims. Brubaker additionally suggests that "we can see that it exists independently of the language used to describe it. It is used, rather, to change the world, to change the way people see themselves, to mobilize loyalties, kindle energies, and articulate demands". (Brubaker, 2004: 116)

The British and Dutch colonials used a very administrative job to categorize the people who settled in Medan, East Coast of Sumatra and in Georgetown Penang. Classification of ethnic groups already created, and it had the lists of people, which were far from orderly managed. In British Colonial Census, the migrants from South Chinese belong to the Chinese without considering their local languages (Hokkien, Hakka, Teichu, and Cantonese) or whether their religions are Confucian, Buddhism, Tao, or polytheistic. They were categorized as Chinese by colonial policy. On the other hand, the migrants from India can be either from religions or vernacular languages such as Hindus, Malabaris, Cholias, Tamils, Punjabs, and Pakistani. It was not only the American sociologist Charles Hirschman (1986) and Canadian anthropologist Judith Nagata (1979) who criticized British policy that followed by Post-colonial Malaysian census takers but also Benedict Anderson (1991) challenged that technique. In another occasion, Joel Khan argues that the British Malayan census reflects the particular concerns of officialdom (2006:46). The government policy is more dominant than the self-claim identity of the people in deciding the classification of Malaysian ethnic groups.

The structure of a plural society in these two towns had been constructed based on 'races' and religions. The colonial category had three classifications of the population demography (foreigners of Europe and of Asia and natives). As a result, the feature of the plural society was such as natives (Malays and *Orang Asli*), East Asian (Chinese) and South Asia (Indians), and European migrants. They were thus reconstructing the cultural identities of social groups (Reid, 1979; Langenberg, 1982; Jenkins, 1997 and Samry, 2011). As a matter of fact, the Straits of Melaka region is not only the location of the former Western European colonies, the Portuguese, the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya; nonetheless, it also has a cultural complexity where the ethnic identities of urban communities kept evolving. There is a series of cultural transformations revolving continuously that need to be studied with social drama research with ethnoregional perspective.

3.2. Processual Analysis on the Constructing Ethnic Identity

A processual analysis is applied to understand the process of ethnic formation in Medan and Georgetown. The 1990's Medan town of the East Coast of Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang perhaps had a similar situation in the colonial era, but the ethno-history of natives and immigrant laborers (coolies) of South China and India that changed the population demography and professions might have some differences. Nonetheless, the features of ethnic categories of Medan town and Georgetown are not indicated in the same transformative model. The aristocrats of the Malay court in Medan town were of mixed Aceh and Karo descendants. On the other hand, the Mixed Malay Kedah-Tamil dominated Georgetown. The ethnic formations from the colonial era to a globalizing world are not scattered in the same patterns. In Medan, the Dutch with European planters shaped the ethnicity model and formed the urban enclaves that were different from those of Penang. On behalf of the British Crown, Captain Francis Light divided social groups into European, Eurasian, Arab, Chulia, Chinese, Indian, *Jawi Pekan* and the Pan Malay (Kedah, Aceh, Rawa, Minang, and Bugis) and Orang Asli (indigenous). On the other hand, the Dutch in the East Coast of Sumatra has three

categories; European, Asian immigrants (Arab and Chinese) and Natives (Malays, Karos, and Simalungun). The ethno-history analysis contributed much on pluralism in terms of ethnicity and rituals in the modern cities. Anthony Reid reports: "Prior to the devastating invasion of the foreign plantation East Sumatra had been the home of a primary agricultural population of coastal Malays, and Karo and Simalungun Bataks. It was (sic) the three Malay statelets of Deli, Langkat, and Serdang in the tobacco-growing area, which experienced first and most intensively the impact of this alien economic monster" (Reid, 1979:43-44). The internal and external forces lead the urban communities in these two port towns to have the process of ethnic identities reconstructions from the colonial to the currently globalizing world.

Figure: 3.1. Ethnic Profiles of East Coast Sumatra and Georgetown of North Malay

(After Colonialism in the 19th Century)

Medan Town of East Coast Sumatra	Georgetown North Malaya
Origins /Orang Asli: 1.The Deli Malays 2. Karos 3. Simalungun Batak	**Origins/Orang Asli:** 1.Negritos 2. Semang 3.The Kedah Malays
The Descent of Foreign Migrants: 1.Straits Chinese 2.Tamil Muslim 3.Arab/Persian 4.Hindus of India	**The Descent of Foreign Migrants:** 1.Straits Chinese 2.Tamil Muslim 3.Eurasian 4.Arab/Persian 5.Hindus of India

Sources (Reid, 1979; Nagata, 1979)

The demography changed based on the ethnic origins and 'races' started in Georgetown, Penang (See, figure 3.1 above), when the formation of ethnic groups in the colonial era of Georgetown, Penang Peninsular Malaysia occurred after the East India Company (EIC) signed an agreement with King Abdullah of the Malay Kedah Kingdom in 1786. Thus, in Sumatra, the arrival of Dutch and other European tobacco planters in the Malay Deli Kingdom of North Sumatra since 1865 also affected the growth of the ethnic web in this region (Reid, 1979). The coming of Europeans made a significant contribution to the forms of urban communities in Penang, Melaka, Singapore of Peninsular Malaysia and Medan of the Sumatra Island.

Eventually, the ethnic identities arose due to the movement of people around the Indo-Malay Archipelago and together with the colonial policy to recruit foreign migrants such as the Chinese and Indians. Historically, the colonial port towns of the Straits of Melaka on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra and in the Northern Peninsular Malay since the coming of European rulers have undergone a great variety of socio-cultural situations of internal and external forces. The huge plantation land in the 1860's that passed by the Sultan of Deli to the Dutch eventually attracted the international investors to grow tobacco. Besides the Dutch company, the international companies such as London Sumatra (Lonsum), Seintis of Germany and Helvetia of Switzerland and others were intervening factors which changed the ethnic groups in the East Coast of Sumatra.

The coming of the immigrants of Guangdong and Fujian of South China, South India and Javanese to the East Sumatra of the Netherlands Indies and to Penang of Malaysia Peninsula in the

colonial era had changed the composition of ethnic groups. The indigenous people (*orang asli*) such as Malays, Karos and Simalungun Bataks as the predominant ethnic groups in the pre-colonial era became the second rank in ethnic category and were finally outnumbered by the immigrants of Chinese and Javanese who settled in this area. The 1930 Dutch ruler census, according to what Anthony Reid reported (1979: 43), shows the Javanese were 35 % of total population and the Chinese around 11.4 %, while Malays were 19.9% in the East Sumatra. In Peninsular Malaysia, according to Karim (2009), "the original Malays of Penang or *Melayu Jati (pure Malay)* are basically Kedah Malays who pioneered fishing villages and rice farms all along the coastal areas of Island (2012: 15)"; however the British ruler found Chinese immigrants to be more than fifty percent (50 %) of the total population in the 1860 census (Nagata, 1979).

The cultural identities and colonial policies created the social groups and the ethnic solidarity links to their vernacular languages and homelands for protection and economic ends. Practically the colonial policy saw "the makers of ethnic identity such as language, kinship, territory, and religion as clearly separate" (Matondang, 2012:19) ethnic groups in "a poly-ethnic society" (Nagata, 1979). The ethnicities were used as instruments for political and economic ends. Additionally, the colonial administration of Netherland India and British Malaya regulated the urban communities to manage the conflicts of a plural society (Furnivall, 1956) for the sake of economic and defensive purposes. In fact, the construction of colonial port towns in Penang of Peninsular Malaysia by the Francis Light under the East India Company's flag and by the Dutch Ruler in Medan of the East Sumatra Regency attracted immigrants to settle in Medan and Penang. Thus, Medan as a new poly-ethnic town became the destination of the imported laborers from Java, China, and India. That colonial policy had massively flooded Medan with Javanese and Chinese immigrants (Reid, 1979; Langenberg, 1982).

Now the Medan town and Georgetown Penang are the centers of colonial modernity. They have urban enclaves where the shared cultures, cultural transformations, and adoption of the colonial policies began. The morphology of the urban town, such as colonial administration and foreign companies, were in downtown and ethnic enclaves more visible after the construction of the ethnic groups. The coming of the Dutch Company in the East Coast of Sumatra to open plantations showed the urban spaces were occupied by colonial and business buildings. Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that "Southeast Asia does, however, offer those with comparative historical interests special advantages, since it includes territories colonized by almost all the 'white' imperial powers – Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and the United States-(164)".

3.3. The Remnant of Historical Symbols

The historical background of the formation of ethnic identity of Malays and Chinese immigrants in the East Coast of Sumatra and in the Peninsular Malaya are traced back. Finding the created socio-cultural webs in the colonial era, the form of socio-cultural actions here are interpreted based on symbols and meanings in the community. Symbols and ethnic identities play an important role in the formation and sustainability of a nation state. The theories upheld by Anthony D Smith and Benedict Anderson historically explain that ethno-nationality needs the imaginative cultural formation that appears from the elite creation of the forms of national culture.

This analysis follows the construction of ethnic identity and the symbols that arose during the heyday of the Dutch and British colonial eras (around the nineteenth century). The symbols of ethnic communities found in the polyethnic city of Medan and Georgetown Penang appear in various forms and meanings. Ethno-history of the urban communities of these two urban communities reveals their shared memories that already shaped cultural identity during the colonial era and re-authentication of folk culture at currently globalizing heritages. The idea of Clifford Geertz highlights that people live in the socio-cultural webs of significance (1973) and also takes a position similar to

that of construction of the symbolic identity of Anthony Cohen; Cohen in his book *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985) discusses much of a symbolic community. Cohen argues that:

> "Symbols are effective because they are imprecise. Though obviously not contentless, part of meaning is 'subjective'. They are, therefore, ideal media through which people can speak a 'common' language, behave in apparently similar ways, participate in the same rituals, pray to the 'same god', wear similar clothes, and so forth, without subordinating themselves to a tyranny of orthodoxy. Individuality and commonality are thus reconcilable" (Cohen, 1985: 21).

In the fieldwork in Medan City and Georgetown, Penang, I observed the aggregations of the cultural expressions of ethnic communities that are reflected in heritage symbols. They are representing ethnic identities that are being explored. In order to present the past (colonial construction of ethnic identity), I enlist the representations of cultural heritage and symbols such as:

Figure: 3.2. Ethnic Symbols and Cultural Heritage Locations

No	Forms of Expression	Symbols	Heritage of	Location
1	Statue of Guru Patimpus	The founder of Medan Putri	Ethnic Karo	Medan
2	Statue of Francis Light	The Founder of Georgetown	British	Georgetown
3	City Hall & Esplanade (Lap Merdeka), Post Office and de Boer Hotel	Dutch colonial	Dutch	Medan
4	City Hall, Esplanade, Fort Cornwallis and Tower Clock	East India Company	British	Georgetown
5	Maimon Palace, Grand Mosque and Sri Deli Park	Deli Sultanate	Malay-Islam (Mixed Aceh-India)	Medan
6	Goddess of Mercy Temple	Buddhist	Chinese	Georgetown
7	Chinese Temples	Buddhist-Taoist	Chinese	Labuhan Deli & Jl . Irian
9.	Mosque of Kapitan Keling	Islam	Tamil Muslim	George town
10	Enclave of Kesawan, Tjong A Fie Mansion, and Shophouses	Chinese immigrants	Hokkiens and Hakkas	Medan
11	Enclave of Madras (Kampun Keling), Sri Maha Mariaman Temple	India	Hindhus	Medan
12	Enclave of Indians, Sri Maha Mariaman Temple	India	Hindhus	Geoge Town
13	Enclave of Kap. Kolam and Chulia	India	Tamil Muslim	Georgetown
15	Enclave of Acheh (Kamp.Melayu), Mosque Jamik Acheh, Syaid Idid Mansion	Islam	Acheh-Malay (Mixed India-Yemen)	Georgetown

16	Enclave of Clans Jetties Clans and Temples	Chinese	Ong, Lim, Chew and Koay	Georgetown

I observed the symbolic buildings above (Figure, 3. 2) to describe the relation of them to the ethnic identities construction and reconstruction. Symbols create various values and meanings that ethnic groups use in social interactions either within the group (internal) or out of the group (external). Anthony Smith's ethnic revival theory (1986: 16) elaborates that ethnicity involves myths and symbols that ethnic groups share as values and memories. Smith furthermore vividly asserts that:

"Ethnicity is largely 'mythic' and 'symbolic' in character, and because myths, symbols, memories and values are 'carried' in and by forms and genres of artifacts and activities which change only very slowly, so ethnic, once formed, tend to be exceptionally durable under 'normal' vicissitudes and to persist over many generation, even centuries, forming 'mould' within which all kinds of social and cultural processes can unfold and upon which all kinds of circumstances and pressures can exert an impact" (Anthony D Smith, 1986: 23).

Construction of ethnic groups is entailed by the traditions in the forms of behaviors and symbols. Social actions create specific cultural expressions, and symbols, and ethnic heritage. The foundation of the social structure that has been laid down in colonial classification directs the study on the ethnic construction of Medan and of Georgetown to trace the migration process and the practices of traditions. The Dutch, Chinese, Malay (Acheh), Indians, Tamil Muslims have been constructed in the ethnic categorization in the colonial period in different boxes and preferred occupations and professions. Those forms entail social interactions and the use of ethnic symbols. The breach phase shows the ethnic identities start to be continuously reconstructed by the next generation. Symbols give ethnic identity to social groups and form the ethnic community. The identity through solidarity symbols cements the community and protects its members. Manuel Castells in *The Power of Identity* contends that people construct collectivity through their identities. People are with ethnic identity or placing themselves outside of identity (2010:7).

3.4. Chinese '*Gōnsi*' (Association) and Brotherhoodness as Identity

The Chinese association which so is called as *Gōnsi* plays an important role in construction of identity. In Bahasa (Malay language) *Kongsi*, the original word might refer to *gōnsi*, a clan hall. In addition, the meaning of Gōnsi can be a benevolent organization of the Chinese communities. Shared identity of Chinese in Nanyang (South Sea region) was started to be constructed after the colonial admitted them as colonial subject. In Straits of Melaka, the sub-ethnic groups of South Chinese such as Hokkians, Hakkas, and Cantonese have their identities construction through association (Gōnsi) and "networks" (Giordano, 2015). The Chinese 'brotherhood' implies the connectivity of Georgetown Penang and Medan. It has a long historical record and it encompasses intermarriage, culture, religion, education and business as well as trading interests. For instance, in the colonial era, the connectivity and mobility of Chinese between ports were the factors that supported the Chinese Diaspora's migration to Southeast Asia. The brotherhood tradition keeps the Chinese tradition revolving and settling until today.

The ethnic identity making of Straits Chinese (Nanyang) brotherhood impacts the continual process of Chinese communities in Southeast Asia region. Making and remaking identity of Chinese were attached to their Gōnsi activities. The Chinese diaspora communities in the urban context use their Gōnsi for business and socio-cultural purposes. In Indonesia and Malaysia, in the daily conversations, the word *Gōnsi* also refers to company or business club. The modern system of *Gōnsi*

was utilized by the Chinese throughout Southeast Asia region to overcome economic difficulty, social ostracism, and oppression. In today's overseas Chinese communities throughout the world, this approach has been adapted to the modern environment, including political and legal factors. The Gōnsi is similar to modern business partnerships but also draws on a deeper spirit of cooperation and consideration of mutual welfare. The solidarity among the Chinese since colonial in Georgetown is kept until today. The observed Chinese associations in celebration of the 2014 Chinese New Year in Pangkalan Weld (Figure 3.3.) that I used as subject showing the continual remaking.

Figure: 3.3. The Big Chinese offerings Symbolize Solidarity

Photo in Georgetown by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Research on the *Gōnsi* reveals that in some developing and thriving Chinese communities worldwide, there are direct results of the Gōnsi concept. It shows that a vast number of the Chinese diaspora manage firms and businesses which were started from *Gōnsi*. The British and Dutch gave them opportunities to support the plantation and mining of Western companies. Many second- and third-generation Gōnsi founding fathers in this modern era have been transformed into multinational conglomerates. The Chinese spirit of brotherhoodness drove Gōnsi members or their descendants not to boast of their own success but to think of Gōnsi fortune. In downtown Georgetown, Penang, Khoo Gōnsi of Chinese community gave rise to the formation of clans. Khoo Gōnsi constructed a hall to serve the social, spiritual, and business needs of its members. Khoo Gōnsi was mainly the locus of its community. Khoo Gōnsi was even known as the opponent of the palace of China's emperor. In the heyday of the maritime trade and commerce in the nineteenth century, Penang had the big five Hokkien families (Wong , 2007). Thus, Wong's exploration of Penang traces the big five of Hokkien Gōnsi—the Tan, the Yeoh, the Lim, the Cheah, and the Ong. In the colonial era at the end of the nineteenth century, merchants of the Chinese diaspora in Penang traded and connected through the seas and accumulated wealth in Southeast Asia. The big five Hokkien families in Penang played important roles in colonial business interests. To highlight the role of big Gōnsi of Hokkien families in Penang, Wong's argument, which focuses on merchants and capitalists of Hokkien Gōnsi who had conducted business in this region, opened a slot to view interconnectedness.

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Wong's (2007) analysis also looks at the early eighteenth century of the big five Hokkien families' relation to South Thailand and Singapore. The maritime traders of the Chinese diaspora in Penang were also linked to the agricultural sector and miners. By the mid-nineteenth century, they had achieved a real regional economic ascendancy. The size of the five Hokkien families in this regional dominance placed them in the middle rank of the Chinese mercantile elite. Wong notes that they were ahead of better-known families like the Khaw of Ranong, the Choong in Kedah, or the Wu in Songkla, who operated more on a local basis.

By considering certain important commercial elements of the big five Hokkien families in Penang, the micro-analysis on the link of the Chinese diaspora with Western companies that operated tin mining and plantations lead us to see the flexibility of Gōnsi proponents in dealing with different races. To win the bid of the colonial power and to approach the Sultanates of Malay, there were two key factors: the ability to run the labor recruitment and to get revenue from farms. These also had a link to the economic connections. By analyzing the Chinese adaptation ability, Wong Yeentuan traces the social and cultural aspects of Gōnsi in Penang in relation to the regional framework in which they carried out their business. Yeentuan's (1978) statistical data found that the big five Hokkien families in this regional context played a dominant role in the tin industry, and more tin was imported into Georgetown-Penang than Singapore and the amount exported from Georgetown-Penang often competed closely with Singapore. Tin was exported from Georgetown-Penang to other countries in these years because of increasing production in the mines in Perak and Phuket from 1868 to the 1890s. Singapore even began importing tin from Penang in the 1860s (Chiang Hai Ding in Wong Yeentuan, 1978:1988).

Gōnsi system power among the Chinese in Malaya impacted various aspects. It shaped the business relation and changed in the middle of the nineteenth century socio-cultural strategy of Chinese communities. It drove the shift from the clan, kinship, and fraternal societies to trade and political domination. Some Chinese communities in Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia, had institutionalized the *Gōnsi* as sworn brotherhood, surname, and native place associations. Adam McKeown's study of the institutionalized networks of some Gōnsi and *hui* reveals multifunction of associations; he finds that recruitment and membership systems called upon a variety of symbols, such as ritual oaths and bonds of kinship based on distant, mythical ancestors to legitimize themselves and create lines of trust and control among their members. In turn, the very institutionalization of these symbols reinforced their significance as concrete concerns shaping the lives and culture of migrants (Mc Keown, 1999). Through the Gōnsi system, the Chinese maintained the links. "They might receive news from their villages, funneled money and influence back home, had their bones shipped back after they died, and met with fellow migrants who provided mutual aid and mutual pressure to maintain village morality and live up to village standards of success" (McKeown, 1999). The networks of the Chinese diaspora in Georgetown-Penang constantly shifted and reshaped themselves as part of their changing relationships with the Sultanate and the British government in Malay. Gōnsi made it possible for the Chinese diaspora to be embedded in larger Western colony trade and commercial systems. Gōnsi could dominate the organization of laborers to increase the power domination in urban areas like Georgetown-Penang, Phuket, and Medan.

Brotherhoodness effect within sub-group also was proved in regional business of Chinese. For instance, the success story of the prominent Hokkien merchants and capitalists of the big five families of Georgetown-Penang uncovered their connectivity in the most dynamic force of tin mining under the colonial power. At this time, they were well-connected for combining tin production, plantation, and trade with seaports. The regional connection of descent of the Chinese in South East Asia constructed the ethnic identity. For example, Chinese identity refers to urban trader and the practice of homage poly-god in the annual cycles. When the colonial policy assigned the Chinese as middlemen and the Chinese merchants of Sumatera, particularly from the east coast area the

identity of Chinese uphold as regional trader. The *Gōnsi* (Chinese associations) of Chinese in the Straits of Melaka such as Georgetown, Melaka, Singapore, Siam, Burma, and Java facilitated them to construct identity. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when Western trade was modernized, the Straits Chinese played an important role in Medan. The same years saw the emergence of the needed capital and expertise of Western values for the Straits Chinese and the Chinese often created a way of accessing the Western capital and were successful in capitalist ventures. The Straits Chinese were leading overseas traders and they were in the middle position of Chinese spiritual devotees and Western concepts. Godley's study which traces the rise of Chinese capitalism shows the strategic functions of Gōnsi and interconnectedness. Together with the emergence of Southeast Asian Chinese capitalists under that condition, they experienced the acculturation process (Godley 2002:12-25). Chinese diaspora also used Gōnsi for many purposes. In North Sumatera they built *hwe (Djolo-Djolo)* to collect money and pass it to a member who needed cash to open a new business. Cantor (1980) notes that *Hwe* were credit societies or slate clubs of Chinese composed of ten to thirty members, each of whom paid a set amount, with the sum contributed by all participants together being granted as a credit to one of the members for a fixed period (weekly or monthly).

Colonial era saw the brotherhood sustaining the Chinese connections in the Straits of Melaka. For example, Georgetown of Pulau Penang, as the first British colony in the West Malaysia, is uniquely connected to Medan in Northern Sumatera, Indonesia. Georgetown of Penang as a colonial port town is situated between Medan and Melaka. The results of building the port colonial towns, Medan of Sumatra by the Dutch and Georgetown Penang of Malaysia, not only opened the chance for migrants to live in and also associate their identity with one of the ethnic groups but it was a moment when each group from Penang and Medan built the connectivity based on cultural and business interests. At present international connection or with modern sea transportation, it takes around five hours to travel from Georgetown Penang to Medan and twenty minutes by flight.

The increased growth of the Chinese in British Malay territories and the Netherlands Indies was due to the need for Chinese merchants and coolies to support the Western economic expansion into Southeast Asia. The British East India Company decided to construct Penang as a port used for India-China trade connections in Southeast Asia. It then lured a polyglot mix of Chinese and Indians from Kedah, North Malaysia, to migrate to Georgetown.

The Chinese Brotherhood that connects Georgetown to Medan of Sumatra Chinese is attached to Straits of Melaka business connectivity. Scholars of the history of the region have claimed that the interconnection of the Chinese from Penang with their relatives and friends of the Straits of Melaka is an important aspect. It is a challenging topic to write about the Chinese Diaspora of Penang in terms of connectivity and mobility until recent time. It made the diaspora Chinese sustained. Chinese diaspora networks evolved since the colonial era; the Chinese traders or *hausang* (Tonoi Andrade, 2004*)* traveled overseas from the southern part of China to *Nanyang* (the South Seas) until they reached the Straits of Melaka and founded cooperative businesses with their own kin and with outsiders. The trade of Chinese diaspora and international networks of Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asian port cities are supported by the brotherhood links.

In colonial era, Chinese brotherhood in many associations increased fast in Georgetown and had a wide impact. In a further phase, the Chinese of Penang connection grew stronger in the Straits of Melaka, and port towns like Singapore, Melaka, Phuket and Medan were gradually getting bigger the Chinese communities as well.   The port towns were boosted in a regional trading system that needed by Chinese merchants. From the Southeast Asia to the Western Europe it is detected that the regional brotherhood tradition of Chinese Nanyang used as backbone of the colonial economic growth. Chinese brotherhood made the familial and regional networks and helped the plantations and mining companies in Southeast Asia, especially VOC of Netherlands Indies and EIC of British

Malaya. The Chinese brotherhood provided networks of immigrants in an international trading system. The networks made Chinese became middlemen between the Western colonial and the local people in trading and commercial system. Moreover, businessmen from Europe could not operate without Chinese networks. The Chinese networks were responsible for the operations of finance in the plantations and businesses in the colonially controlled region of Southeast Asia.

Brotherhood links made the Chinese settlements in Medan and Georgetown grew fast in colonial period. There was rapid emergence of the Chinese Diaspora community in the nineteenth century in the Straits of Melaka, especially those Chinese migrants identified as Hokkien or Cantonese. This encouraged Penang-based businessmen to tie solidarity and economic linkages. Under British endorsement, the associations between Penang capitalists enhanced the economic, educational, and cultural relations of Penang with Medan. The newcomers of South Chinese to Straits of Melaka were called as *Sinkhek.* The Hokkien predominantly organized their businesses and financial affairs in Penang and Medan. In connection with traders in Medan and Phuket, the Chinese associations of Penang lead the networks from the early nineteenth century until recent times.

Historically, the connectivity of Penang and Medan was already noted since the fifteenth century, but the brotherhood spirit in creating regional networks more attuned in the colonial era. The Chinese traders' connectivity with the region of Southeast Asia was predicated by the monsoon season, which controlled the schedules for sailing and trading. However, the traders of the ethnic Chinese diaspora (Loh Wei Leng, 2009:1) in the triangle of port cities of Penang, Phuket, and Medan increased dramatically when British colonial traders from the East India Company (EIC) and the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) imposed their control of the Southeast Asian seascapes.

The history of the Chinese diaspora brotherhood and the recent condition of second and third generation of Chinese Nanyang has become a growing topic in International Studies. Khoo Salma (2009:83) argues that the Penang connection, as a gateway for Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. It impacted on a strong historical link of Penang to port towns in this region. The importance of connections between Deli (now Medan) and Penang in the nineteenth century was due to colonial policy of plantation and industrial development in this region. Colonial policy made the lack of laborers and workers. It needed the cheap labor sources to support tobacco plantations in East Cost of Sumatra and the Captain Francis Light's project in the construction of Georgetown as defense post and port for East India Company which connected China to India.

It was Jacob Nienhuys as the first Dutchman who owned plantation companies and hired Chinese laborers or coolies from Penang (Dirk Buiskool, 2004), but with the growth of Chinese merchants coming to the region to support Dutch-owned plantations, recruitment was eventually executed directly from China by Chinese merchants in Medan and Penang. To support the Western economic interests in the Southeast Asian region in the 1850's in the colonial maritime trading system, British and Dutch powers recruited Chinese immigrants. A headman system was implemented together with the integration of Chinese merchants in colonial power. They were made middlemen for collecting taxes and recruiting cheap labor.

The harbor town of Penang as a colonial port town was functioned as a node of commodities from the hinterlands of the Peninsular Malaya and it was also a place for merchants, seamen, and coolies to encounter each other in international markets. In the harbor town of Georgetown-Penang, the Europeans, Arabs, Chinese, Indians, and Sumatrans, Bugis of Makassar, and Javanese interacted for trade, religion, and economic interests. Apart from trading and religious reasons, the Chinese migration to Malaysia and East Sumatra is due to recruitment of cheap laborer for tin mining and plantation. The tin as raw material was highly demanded in England when factories for tin fabrication were popular, thus the Chinese from Guangdong and Fujian were recruited. The

mining in Perak and plantations made the sea connection between China and Southeast Asia more intense. From the southern regions of China like the Fujian, Guangdong, and Hainan provinces, Chinese from different professions such as merchants, monks, middlemen, seamen and cheap labors (*coolies;* an Indian loan word used in Bahasa Malay) sailed to Malaya and Sumatra. The sea travel took a few weeks through the China Sea to Southeast Asia. Some Chinese immigrants were then placed by the Western colonizers as the middlemen. They worked for connecting the colonial commercial system with raw materials of the natives. The Chinese middlemen created networks in the Southeast Asian region and connected their links to international markets of the colonial system.

In Penang, according to the note of Mau Lau Fong, there were about 3,000 Chinese by the end of the I700s (Mau, 1989:262 quoted in Matondang, 2012). Demographically, there has been a great fluctuation in the growth of the Chinese population since the second half of the nineteenth century. Poston, Mao, and Yu report that in 1990, "the majority of Chinese diaspora lived in the Southeast Asia region" (1994:635). The report of Poston, Mao and Yu shows that the Chinese diaspora mostly lives in the economic zone of Southeast Asia. The Chinese diaspora found in three countries of Southeast Asia—Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia—in 1990 numbered approximately 19 million: 7.3 million in Indonesia (20 percent of the total overseas Chinese population), 6 million (16 percent) in Thailand, and 5.5 million in Malaysia.

The second and third generations of Chinese immigrants and those of mixed Chinese and local blood are known as the Straits-born Chinese or *Baba.* The Baba originally referred to the Chinese in Melaka in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The word *Peranakan* (descent) was used in the colonial and early nation-state. In the Southeast Asia region, people refer to the Baba as Peranakan. The Chinese diaspora is categorized as the Peranakan community and the Babas are found in the big port cities of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. But the Malaysians prefer to label the Baba as the Straits-born Chinese.

It was the *Babas* or Straits Chinese that had historical record on identity reconstruction. The Chinese settlements grew during the colonial period, and in the settlements Chinese tradition in the forms of rituals and aesthetic social dramas highlight the ethnicity of the Chinese in Georgetown-Penang and Medan, which were initiated and financed by the prominent Chinese merchants. In relation to the Chinese identity, Manuel Castells shows an example of the reconstruction of identity in China; we could link it to the reconstruction of the Chinese as an ethnic identity in the modern context. Castells is right when he says, "The Insurgency of Taiping Tao (Way of Great Peace) was aimed at creating communal" (Castells, 2010:6); thus, Castells' argument proves the revival of Chinese identity in South East Asia through rituals and performances that shape the cultural heritage in regional and global waves. The Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia had been recognized as *Tionghoa.* The term of Tionghoa was widely used to categorize the descent of Chinese among the ethnic groups in Malaya and the Netherland Indies. As the native-born Chinese of the second and or third generations have gradually lost their cultural characteristics, the Chinese diaspora of the Southeast Asia region made an acculturation and adaptation to the indigenous language of the Malay or Siam. They spoke a creolized local language. Anthropology reveals that the heritage of Chinese in the forms of customs and ceremonies has been syncretic as well as acquired indigenous ones.

The Chinese rituals and festivals have been hybridized in the enactment and behaviors after the second generation lived in Malaya and in Sumatra. The first generation, which was regarded as the unassimilated Chinese migrants (*the totok*), might be found in the nineteenth century; they behaved as their great-grandparents of Guangdong and Fujian but not today. The reshaping of the Chinese identity appeared for responding colonial policy. If the Straits Chinese reclaim the heritage of the Chinese, there must be a number of questions addressed now.

The regional Chinese brotherhood connectivity between Georgetown-Penang and Medan in the 1850's dealt with society and kinship associations of migrants from Guangdong and Fujian. From Penang Kho Chew Tiong, Oei Tiong Ham expanded and operated their business networks in Medan and vice versa; the Chang (Tjong) brothers connected the family trade with Chang Pi Shih (a Gōnsi of an opium monopoly) of Georgetown-Penang. Additionally, Tjia Tjoon Sen who was born in Acheh started his business in Medan and joined Chang Pi Shih of Penang in 1896. Fernando (1992) reports on the big 12 Gōnsi of the Chinese diaspora were living in Medan. The Gōnsi helped the Chinese diaspora to get a connection to the Western colony system and among the Chinese in the Straits of Melaka. The partnership among the Chinese made the rise of merchants in the nineteenth century faster. Fernando also finds that the Hokkien Chinese associations dominated the bids for a number of contracts or monopolies from the Netherlands Indies. This pattern was similar to the Penang connection with British Malay. Cator's report thus explains that large rice buyers on the east coast of Sumatera were Chinese contractors because they supplied rice for plantation companies in Deli and the Dutch government (Cator, 1936:66).

The regional Chinese brotherhood was used to established business communities. In a Captain System (Kapitan China) the brotherhood tradition helped the colonial in controlling Chinese communities in Georgetown and Medan. The colonial policy assigned the leader of Chinese enclaves by imposing Captain System. Fernando's (1992:12) report reveals that the Dutch Indies appointed Captain China in Medan as a headman to control the Chinese communities. It is noted that Chinese communities in Medan had Kapitan. Chinese figures such as Chang Yunan and Chang Hung Nan, or Tjong brothers were important Chinese businessmen in Sumatera after serving the Netherlands Indies business on the East Coast of Sumatra. They had a wide connection with the Dutch, the Deli Sultanate, and the Penang Connection. The growing plantations in the Northern part of Sumatera were rising quickly and Tjong A Fie was one of the famous Southeast Asia Chinese businessmen who had dedicated his life to supporting the economic interests of Western companies in the East Coast of Sumatera. There, he had made a good relationship with the Deli Sultanate and the Netherlands Indies in the 1890's. Born in Maizen-Guangdong, South China, in 1860 and deceased in Medan, North Sumatera, Indonesia, on February 4 1921 (*Global Newspaper*, 3 March 2010), Tjong A Fie might be a symbol of the sea interconnection between China and the Southeast Asia archipelago—North Malaya, Sumatera, Java, and the Philippines. Brotherhood played important role in the regional networks of Chinese communities, specifically in Georgetown and Medan.

Regional Brotherhood of Chinese made the business and socio-cultural relation of Chinese Penang to South Thailand closer. The connections of Straits Chinese of Georgetown-Penang to Medan and Siam created a new culture among them. Besides business connectivity, intermarriage among the Chinese diaspora between Georgetown-Penang and Medan occurred. The Chang (Tjong) brothers also commonly practiced. The Chang from Medan also helped the members of the Chinese Gōnsi to intermarry with the Chinese of Georgetown-Penang. In a study on the Penang connection to Medan in the nineteenth century, Buiskool (2009) explores the Tjong brothers' connections to business associations in Penang. Tjong A Fie in Medan had associated with Oei Soei Boe (Wee Swee Bee) from Georgetown-Penang. From their linkage in Medan, Oei Soei Boe established the Soei Tek Bie Company. Both merchants (Tjong and Oei) made a link to market salt and traditional alcohol (*arak* in Malay) with Tjong in Medan and Penang. A famous merchant of Georgetown-Penang who also connected with the Chinese in Medan was Khoo Sean Kwe (Khoo Sian Ewe). Khoo made the Tjong brothers his important partners in operating the gambling business in the plantations of North Sumatera. There were other figures that connected Georgetown-Penang to Medan, as Buiskool (2009) reports:

"Other contacts in Medan were Khoe Tjin Tek, who would later become the Major of the Chinese in Medan and Tan Tang Ho of Seng Hap Company. Chang Pu Ching, Chinese consul in Medan.....Tjong A Fie's trusted employee was the young Hiu Ngi Fen, who worked in his

pharmacy Tek Ho Seng. In later years, Hiu himself became a leading figure in Medan" (Buiskool, 2009: 113).

Before the Dutchmen such as Jacobs Neinhuys opened the Northern part of Sumatera as the Western plantation and center of Dutch economic area was in Java, however, in 1860, Chinese merchants from North Sumatera had a connection with the British colonialists in the Straits of Melaka. The sea connectivity made the relation between Medan and Georgetown-Penang so intense. The close relations between Georgetown-Penang and Medan were in a multi-faceted model such as religion, education, and intermarriage. Brotherhood links also highlighted a vital function of sea transportation. This seaborne was used to intensify the Chinese communities of Georgetown and Medan. Regional brotherhood used to communicate in the Hokkien and English. Those were the dominant languages among the urban elite of the two towns. The English education model of Georgetown-Penang was also introduced by the Chinese to Medan in enhancing the brotherhoodness. That model resulted in the higher interest of the Chinese communities in learning English in Medan. What I observed now that the Chinese communities in Georgetown-Penang and Medan as speakers of Hokkien-English provide a unique vernacular in these two cities.

Networks of regional brotherhood had the Chinese business attached to colonial policy. The British colonial policy in the Straits of Melaka, with its elitist principles, according to Godley, actually facilitated a blending of traditional Chinese morality into an emerging bourgeois ideal (Godley, 1981). The policy helped the rise of Chinese merchants. That tendency was to merge values and seemed to elevate the position of Chinese merchants. These economic benefits were even more pronounced in the British Malaya and Netherlands Indies under a headman system (Captain China). There was also a regional brotherhood important role of Chinese communities to dominate business of colonial system. The Chinese communities eventually adopted the Western colonial and local culture (hybrid). Making use of the hybrid composition of the port cities in Southeast Asia was to win the business in colonial period. Interestingly, capitalist Chinese enclaves in Nanyang gradually, although technically part of a separate administrative scheme, followed virtually the same pattern to integrate with the colonial system.

The functions of regional brotherhood in trade and commercial in penetrating the local markets and colonial industrial system could be seen in the interconnectedness of the hinterland and port facilities. The needs of wide-scale Western plantations and industry were handled by Chinese traders. The economic penetration of Western interests in the Southeast Asia region met Chinese traders' networks. The Georgetown-Penang connection as one of the British settlements in the Straits of Melaka joined the Western colony's economic links from the foreland. The sea connectivity was a highway of trade that connected Georgetown-Penang to the ports city between of India and China. There were some small ports in Malaya and East Coast of Sumatra that involved regional Chinese connections. The merchants to Georgetown-Penang and Medan were having benefits of the regional Chinese brotherhood in colonial era.

A note on the economic environment of Northern Sumatra shows that there was a radical change with complete spatial penetration of foreign capital in the nineteenth century. The British and their Chinese comprador—surrogated from Georgetown-Penang and Singapore—established commercial seaborne transportation along the coastal areas of the East Cost of Sumatra, particularly at Deli and the Asahan port of Tanjung Balai. When analyzing the Melaka Straits ports interlocking system, we might better take a look at the explanation of the Christopher Airriess (1995:68) about the use of technology in the maritime transport and trading networks. It argues that port development in colonial possessions was a transport response to a foreign-imposed and controlled economic structure attracting the Chinese. Logically, the branching structure of the network is as follows: all lower-order centers of East Cost of Sumatran ports are tied to a higher-level center of Straits Settlement entreports in a chain mostly operated by the Chinese. The entirely vertical port

interconnecting the system without horizontal links meant the Chinese, positioned as middlemen, contributed to the British and the Dutch companies.

3.5. 'Serumpun' the Pan-Malay from Indicized to the Neo- Malay

Malay identity construction in a 'Serumpun' (cognate Pan-Malay) concept is coming to plural society when the Malay used Islam as identity maker (Milner, 2008; Lian, 2001). The Malay is a cultural conception and not a 'race'-based category, so it does matter if Malay identity is reconstructed in adoption to Islam teaching. As the predominant ethnic group in the Straits of Melaka, the Serumpun Malay has a long history in Sumatra and Malaya. I use the word 'Serumpun' (cognate Pan-Malay) in this section to refer to the group of people who share Adat (custom) and speak Bahasa as their mother tongue or daily activities code and practice Islamic values.

In Southeast Asia region the Malay experienced the Indianization process (Indicized) in the terms of culture and religion (Hindus and Buddhist) before the rise of Archipelago Sultans' power in disseminating Islam values and controlling sea-trading. A mythical story narrates that the Malay are the descendant of *Iskandar Zulkarnain* (Alexander the Great) who came to Musi River of Palembang. From that story, in tracing the Malay, some historians refer to the Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in Palembang of South Sumatra around the sixth to twelfth centuries as the origin of the Malay. While others start their historical notes of the Malay from Islamization of the kingdoms of Sumatra and Melaka after the power of Hindus and Buddhists ended in Sumatra and in Peninsular Malaya.

The effect of the British colonial model on the classifications of ethnic groups in Georgetown contributed to the formation of ethnic identity, and the study of the British Settlement of Georgetown, although it used a divide and rule policy from the early 1800s, reveals the dynamic situation of ethnicity. The Malay experienced the colonial formation to be one ethnic category which magnified the Islamic element as a major characteristic such as using the titles *'Al Hajj/Hajj'* and *Sultans, Tengku, Datuk, Wan,* and *Orang Kaya*. The label stressing on attributes of Islam made the Malay ethnic characteristic or identity different from that of pagan aborigines (orang Asli) and the polytheistic Chinese.

Depth analysis of ethnic construction is needed to describe and interpret the characteristics of ethnic identities in Georgetown. Historically, it had a specific demographical profile. It has a little difference in ethnic formation, if we compare to Kuala Lumpur or Singapore. The British in classifying and controlling the ethnic groups in Georgetown should be studied thoroughly by an ethno-history technique. Georgetown city, according to Giordano (2015), "despite striking similarities, is not representative of all Malaysians, Singapore and still less of Indonesia" (2015:239). The taxonomies the British in this system more or less created still exist as ethnic divisions in today's society (Hirschman, 1987). The British rule identified the native Malays as peasants, and Malay royal families were given the roles of government servants. At this time the Chinese were active in trading and commerce and Indian immigrants could easily obtain administrative jobs.

Geographical and living environment were often used as the identity makers in Peninsular Malaya. Some characterize the Malay as an ethnic group that lives in the riverine areas as fishermen and peasants. Others may look at the cultural behavior of the Malay as an open-minded person, cheerful, loyal to the Sultan (Prince) and a good fellow. In Indonesia, the Malay is a small ethnic group that lives in the coastal areas of Sumatra and Kalimantan. However, in Malaysia, the Malay is the predominant ethnic group which regards Malay as *Bangsa* ('Race'). In the colonial era, all Europeans are in the highest position, and after 1957 Malays took the position of Europeans, followed by *Orang Asli* (aboriginal), as this group is also *Bumi Putra* (Son of the Soil) but they are no Muslims, Chinese, Indians or others.

Colonial construction of ethnic identity swept out the characteristics of Chinese migrants and descents. Georgetown saw the Chinese heterogeneity in grass root, but it was not found in colonial ethnic category. Among the Chinese descendants; the Chinese constitute of Hokkiens, Hakkas, Cantonese and Hainans with five creeds (Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Muslim and Christian (Küchler, 1968, as quoted in Giordano, 2015), nonetheless, the colonial only noted the Chinese in one ethnic group.

Bumiputera Malaysia also brings an unclear category; Orang Asli groups have specific traditions and do not follow Islam values. The Malay would include Aceh, Kedah, Deli, Rawa, Minang and Riau. Giordano rightly points out that:

"Despite religious unity under the banner of Islam, the Malay community itself was quite heterogeneous. On the other hand, there was a small minority of enterprising Arab-Malay merchants from Aceh (North Sumatra), who were culturally influenced by Yemenite Islam due to close economic relations with the better-known traders and skilled seaferers from the Arabian pensula (mainly from the Hadramaut coast). On the other hand, there was the greater number of so to say local Malay, natives of Melacca Peninsula, who professed a much less strict Islam, merging Hindu and animistic traditions predating their conversion" (2015:237).

In line with Giordano's explanation above, a study of the identity of Malay through the ethnic construction in Pulau Penang reveals that there a number of Indian Muslim and Arab people settled in Georgetown-Penang after the British developed this island, and they mixed with the Malays. If Judith Nagata (1979) finds that Arabs may shift their identity to be the Malay in Georgetown-Penang, the explanation of Edrus (1951) will show that the descent of Indian Muslims and Arabs have been rooted in the Malay culture in Georgetown-Penang. They brought *Wayang Parsi* (Persian Drama) and *Bangsawan* to Georgetown-Penang. For example, Mamat Mashhor (an Arab descendant) collaborated with the royal sons of Kedah and Perlis perform Wayang Parsi (Persian Drama), which combined Persian and Malay repertoires (1951:49). In addition, Edrus also states that a rich man of Persian descendant Mamak Pushi established a Wayang Bangsawan (Bangsawan Theater) in Pulau Penang in 1880. In a later development, Mamak Pushi Theater performed Bangsawan in the Sultan Deli Court in Medan and in Singapore and Batavia (now Jakarta Indonesia). The collaboration of Mamak Pushi Theater with Sultan Mahmud Al Rasyid in Deli of Sumatra increased the attention and appreciation of the urban elite towards Bangsawan Theater (Edrus, 1951: 50-51). The Bangsawan shaped the Malay culture in the colonial era. The Bangsawan crossed the Straits of Melaka and strengthened the collaboration of Arab descendants and the Malay Courts.

In the postcolonial era of Malaysia, a division of ethnic category is based on "*bangsa*" (race) and favors *Ketuanan Melayu* (Malay Superiority) and Bumiputera (Son of Soil). Post-independent Malaysia applies a census technique that prioritizes the Bumiputra and puts them on top. This census is basically generated from British Colonial Policy. When historians and anthropologists define Malay as an ethnic identity or *bangsa* ('race') in *Bahasa*, it brings about a very conflicting situation. Anthony C Milner argues that plurality of understandings on being Malay has already initiated the scholars to characterize the Malay as an ethnic identity in the colonial period. There are three cultural elements inherited on Malayness—being Malay means the practice of *Islamic Values*, *Bahasa* (Malay Language) and *Adat* (Custom) (Milner, 2008:5). Furthermore, a famous Malay figure of Serdang North Sumatra, Tengku Luckman Sinar, defines a Malay is one who is a Muslim, habitually speaks Malay, practices Malay Adat, and in certain residences fulfills certain local requirements (Sinar, 2012: 2). It could be categorized that Malays on a day-to-day basis practice Islamic values and Bahasa (Malay language), which embodies the Malay customs and meets specific local requirements.

In a wider context, Malay as an ethnic identity is found in other areas such as Siamese Malay in the South, West Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and East Malaysia as well as in Indonesia. The Malay territory is located on the bustling traffic lane of the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. It is no wonder if the Malay community often has trade contacts with other nationalities such as the Chinese, Thais, Arabs, South Indians, Persians, the Portuguese and people from neighboring tribes such as Batak, Java, and others.

The formation process of ethnic identity in Georgetown has a specific pattern. Unlike the common practices in the Malaysian Sociology and Political Science, which often generalize the ethnic relations in the whole towns of Malaysia, Georgetown experiences the colonial phase that creates its own characters. Shamsul A Baharuddin criticizes an approach to a multi-ethnic society from an 'imagined unity' point of view (1999), as is commonly done by some scholars, and offers us an interethnic relation theory that categorizes ethnic identity in a very strict taxonomy. A *break-down* perspective is a dead-end theoretical model Shamsul A B (1999 and 2011). It relies on the British colonial ethnic divisions in colonial Malaysia, which classified communities based on their race or occupations, and it underlies the public nature of current state administration. Therefore, using a *break-out* perspective leads one to examine community identity according to the situational context (Nagata, 1974). The situational context might help produce a scholarship that is not influenced by the current political climate. Ethnic phenomena in Georgetown are characterized by great fluidity, in which cultural variables including religion, social institutions, and identity, have different significances in different contexts (Nagata, 1974).

In spite of the colonial construction of ethnic identity, the Georgetown in specific case an ethnic group often gets an alliance to others by crossing the boundary that has been formed in the formal administration. The descendants of Arab and Jawi Pekan could use Islam to shift their identity to be Malay. In Kedah before Georgetown was established many people of mixed blood Arab/Indian Muslim and Malay tended to claim themselves to be Malays. This model posits that social integration amongst people in multiethnic societies attempts to avoid ethnic divisions with a variety of techniques to improve tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

Georgetown as a world heritage city (GTWHI's Brochure) is now divided into two perceptions of interreligious and interethnic relations. A half sees that interfaith dialogue is the best fit for Georgetown as it also promotes 'Street Harmony' (Khoo Salma, 2010); in contrast, a few people think that interfaith collaborations would make the young generation convert from one belief to another. The political goals make the latter more intense to rally anti-interfaith collaboration. Georgetown in terms of interreligious and interethnic relations may be shocked by the two different ideas of the faiths. The colonial construction of based 'race' and the religious categorization of ethnic groups until today have a tremendous effect on national unity, national identity, and national democracy. The future Malaysia needs a new way of managing the interethnic relations to provide a better relationship among the ethnic-groups.

Chapter 4

Nationalism as Liminal Phase: Disputes of Ethno-National Symbols

"…..earlier ethnic ties and sentiments have been revived and renewed, albeit in somewhat changed forms, and often through cultural wars, in order to meet the periodic challenges, materials and spiritual, to the community (Anthony D Smith, 2009:35)".

4.0. Introduction to the Ethno-National Symbols

This chapter deals with ethno-nationalism and its consequences. In the transitional situation, after national independence, the ethno-national symbolic conflicts are key features in this microanalysis. After Dutch and British colonialism ended in Southeast Asia, the post-colonial Indonesia and Malaysia encountered the crucial problems of cultural identity and found difficulty to create the best fit in managing the interethnic relations and ethno-nationality representation. In the academic sphere, Ethnicity Studies in a microanalysis scope at the present situation, like in the United States, mostly explores the minority groups and their relationship to a national state.

Ethno-national issue has resulted in an enormous of recorded documents that reflect disputes over the national identity. The studies of ethnic ties, such as what Anthony D Smith ever offers in Ethno-Symbolic, directly opens the chances to trace ethnic culture markers such as language, customs or religion as well as the myth of ancestry (Smith, 2009:27). By largely theorizing ethnicity concerned with myths and symbolic in character, Anthony D Smith goes beyond the sentimental and instrumental perspectives in exploring the ethnicity in a nation state. In a wider sense the ethnic community brings observers to the complexity of cultural and political claims. Giordano (2015) proposes the shift of paradigm from thinking of isolated culture to the complexity of culture. By showing Hutchinson's analysis, Anthony D Smith reminds us as social scientists to focus on the myths and memories of nations (2009:67) when we are in the fieldwork collecting the data of ethnic identity. Additionally, the important role of genealogical ties, which encompass the vernacular culture such as languages, customs, and cults (Smith, 2009: 67) should be observed comprehensively.

In the exploration of the ethno-nationalism and the formalized ethno-national symbols, the metaphorical concept of *Liminal (Betwixt)* of social dramas is implemented. The normal situation turns into a new tension; Victor Tuner calls it the Liminal (betwixt) phase[8]. A shift from J S Furnivall's colonial 'plural society' to a new nation faces the divided ethnic plurality (Giordano, 2015:240): the transition or threshold was happening at the beginning of national identity reconstruction as some reports of historical, political and sociological perspectives already highlighted. The formation of ethno-nationalism experiences the liminal (threshold) regional situation and the ethno-symbolic disputes. The ethno-symbolic disputes in the early national state are analyzed and interpreted within historical and social backgrounds for viewing the present of ethnic revivals.

The crisis of interethnic relations after the Dutch and British colonialisms ended, of course, in the liminal phase shows the dilemma of nationalism and might be key factors of interethnic and interreligious conflicts. Additionally, prior to the independence of Indonesia and Malaysia, the colonial controlled the expression of ethnic symbols in public spheres. In interpreting the functional meanings of symbolic actions in a new nation state, the shared symbols of the people of the East

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[8] The theory of social dramas labels 'liminal' as the second phase; a separation from the normal situation like a boy to have an initiation experience in a series of rituals or ceremonis to seclude him from his mother before he comes to maturity for standing as a responsible person in a community. Likewise in a Social Drama as the meta-theater of the Indo-Malay region, after colonialism ended, is regarded in a separation postion from colonial that goes to be an independent nation or a new nation state.

Coast of Sumatra and the North Peninsular Malaya are identified. The symbols are the repositories of living traditions. Symbols either in actions or expressions not only entail ethnic identity but also often lead to conflicts among ethnic groups.

The Malays as the leader replaced the British and the other ethnic groups. The *Babas* of Straits Chinese, Indians, and Eurasians or *Kristang* group (descendants of the Portuguese in Melaka and Penang) are in a very unstable position, let alone ethnic rituals and cultural performances that their great grandparents brought to Malaysia. Thus, the leadership of Javanese harmonic model in Indonesia is adapted to form a new republic of Indonesia. With the reconstruction of Bahasa Melayu as the national and official Indonesia language through remodeling the linguistic prescription of Dutch or standardized process, it not only was conflicting with cohesiveness elements in social interactions but also in building national character. The formation of national symbols like the abandoning of Jawi orthography (Malay Arabic alphabets) not in a Romanized version created a new tension. Besides, the Javanese speak with three different social strata-styles (noblemen, middlemen and folks); they adapted the *Kawi*'s orthography of India. In contrast, the styles of Bahasa Melayu appearance depend upon the geographical or regional dialects not similar to that of the Javanese.

The intensity of the emblem recreation for the nationalism movement was higher in the 1920's in the Indo-Malay region. Not only the wave of *Ummah*[9] (Muslim brotherness) from the struggle of students who were studying at Al-Azhar University Cairo of Egypt, which had an influential power to free the Indo-Malay from the colonizers but the adoption of the success stories of the ancient Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms of *Majapahit* of East Java and *Sri Vijaya* of South Sumatra (symbolizing two great maritime powers in the archipelago which attached to the Emperor of China and Raj of India). The awakening of the nationality of Indonesian students in The Netherlands is moderating in glorifying the archipelago's characters as heroic, and social potential power enhances the symbol-making process, language or Bahasa, past experience and others.

For the nation state in a dilemma, in the liminal phase, the symbolized rituals, celebrations, festivals and carnivals had been observed in a comprehensive way. The contestations of symbols appeared in the identity formation, which takes the political selection and reconstruction of symbolic meaning by the elite. The religious and local symbols are reshaped as national identity and the formations often result in conflicts (if the process of determining of symbols does not meet the justice for all ethnic groups living in a new nation). Consequently, in relation to the analyses of social actions of the elites of Malaysia and Medan of Indonesia, I observed the social function of dramatized symbols.

Glorifying the myths for unifying people of Indo-Malay on a religious basis is more dominant. The retelling of the great maritime powers of *Bangsa Melayu* bears cultural meaning in supporting the symbolic making of the national identity[10]. The symbols and social actions in national identity reconstruction after colonialism ended in Malaysia and Indonesia have been recast and reclaimed for national solidarity and unity. After independence from colonialism, besides a standardized language of local vernaculars, including flags, costumes, and narratives (folklores) and theaters are glorified as symbols. The tales like *Panji* or *Kancil* and *Rama* in Wayang performance in Indo-Malay

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[9] It is a Muslim community (Roff, 1967), but it has been extended to a wider scope which refers to the World Muslim solidarity in the colonial period for national struggles of freedom. It eventually now encompasses the global solidarity of Muslims.

[10] Malaysia upholds the golden time of the Kingdom of Melaka to glorify its national identity. It serves as a symbol of national history, which is very reasonable if Malaysia begins her narrative story of nationalism from Melaka. Other ethnic groups may feel that Islamization of Malaka's story would ignore the non-Malay Malaysians' cultural heritage.

culture signify the moral for character (*budi*)[11]. The myths of bravery, smartness and loyalty are reconstructed to glorify the symbols of morality and solidarity. For instances, performing a theatrical dance and song in the *Makyong* performance, which controls the space of stage in a circular mode and paying homage starting with the kneeling and squatting of dancers symbolizes the greatness of *Sang Hyang Shri* (the Goddess of the Harvest of Paddy) or placating of the evil spirits and now it symbolically welcomes the Sultans and audiences.

The government policy on cultural building may bring an extreme effect to a certain ethnic group which is religiously and originally different from the majority group. The Malaysia national identity in post-1969 refers to the reclaiming the Islam, *adat* (customs) and the Malay community not only brings the cultural issue but it does contain the political issue and problems of identity representation. Many reports of sociologists and political scientists blow what the non-Malay Malaysians felt and the perceptions of interethnic relations since 1970 to 1980. In Sumatra, people experienced the symbolic contestations between pro-monarchy and pro-democracy, which brought about a crisis in Medan town in 1946.

4.1. Contestations of Ethno-Symbols

The contestations of national symbols resulted in claims and some conflicts; the unmanaged ethnic symbols which already have been manifested in the social actions through ritual and aesthetic performances bear the disharmony among the ethnic groups. In March 1946, the East Coast of Sumatra saw a very blooded *"Social Revolution"*.[12] Within one day 140 people were dead, the Malay Kingdom palaces and residents of the Sultanates got burned, and some people wanted to destroy a system of Swapaja (*Zelbestuur*) as it symbolizes the Deli aristocrats and elite (Anthony Reid, 1979). Swapraja as Town Council is constituted of noblemen, Kapitan China, and the elite were not the representative of the ethnic and social groups. The 'Social Revolution' drama of the East Coast of Sumatra also showed the contestation of power in the provincial government. The dramas were displayed in the plantations of the Dutch, and the opulent royal families were illegally occupied by the uncontrolled mass. The land and plantations which were the economic sources of the sultans and aristocrats were destroyed. The 1946 Social Revolution of the East Coast of Sumatra erupted only seven months after Indonesia's Independence from the Dutch (1945). The contestation and symbolic actions and social relation were showing as conflicts among the diverse groups.

Historians, such as Smith (2009) and Andaya (2008), regard this *ethno-symbol-making* phase as not an easy step; instead, it often results in a conflicting situation for a new nation state. Christian Giordano argues that Southeast Asia's decolonization, especially in Malaysia and Singapore, increases a viable process of cultural identity crystallization and essentialization of ethnicity (2015:240). A new nation needs many of the newly created symbols to make it different from other nations; it might be from her colonizers and from neighbors. Thus Malaysia saw "a rapid ethno-nationalism process" (Giordano, 2015:239) in the 20th century. Khoo Salma describes that "the divisive ethnic empowerment became the dominant discourse in Malaysia's communal-based politics" (2010:286) after the 1969 riots erupted.

A nation state begins with symbols of unity such as a national language, a flag, a name (Republic, Kingdom, Federation) and a capital city. It requires numerous proposed cultural projects

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[11] The concept of Budi is very widely used in Indo-Malay culture. It is a good deed, conduct or behavior in a community. For example, one performs Budi when he obeys the instructions of parents or Islamic leaders and teachers of national leaders and respects neighbors and friends, including guests. Saving others' face in public is also important in performing Budi.

[12] See H. Mohammad Said, 1972. What Was the "Social Revolution of 1946" in East Sumatra? (Translated by Benedict Anderson and Toenggoel Siagian) *Djakarta Newspaper Merdeka* in February and March, 1972. The March 1946 Social Revolution in East Coast of Sumatra involves the symbolic conflicts. From historical books (Reid, 1979; Langenberg, 1982) this Social Revolution dramatizes the symbolic dispute of the East Coast Sumatra where the Sultanates of Deli, Langkat, Serdang and Asahan are being in a liminal position after 7 months of Indonesia Independece.

to glorify the symbols, which are extracted from the values of religions, customs, and local traditions. One new nation may have a shared past experience that a neighboring country has claimed[13], or the religious symbol may be adopted as a national identity like a crescent or green color that is commonly reconstructed by some nations of the Middle East and Turkey. This liminal situation is getting through a crisis to conflict and negotiation.

Despite the fact that the selection and recreation of symbols for the authentication of a new nation have taken the involvement of cultural historians and anthropologists, a controversial decision of the elite gives a tension arising due to interreligious and interethnic relationship. The Malays perceive of the tiger as a respected animal, *Raja Hutan* (the king of the forest); nonetheless, the Chinese have the dragon as the most important creature, besides a lion. The symbols (emblems), which are ethno-symbolic for communities, nations and business organizations, are reconstructed to attract the people and followers to maintain solidarity and unity. Symbols play an important role at the beginning of a nation state. The reconstructions of identity involve the symbolic actions and arts at the present situation and they are revolving for the continuation of social interactions.

Symbols are recreated for a firm national solidarity of a new country or nation by selection, standardization, and authentication. Rodgers Brubaker (2004) argues rightly when he explains that nationalism is a way of claiming a country (nation) politically, not a language or the origin and territory; although those cultural forms are then recreated to symbolize solidarity and unity. Nationalism had made the people of Sumatra claim differently in terms of citizenship from Malaysians after the independence.

Figure: 4. 1. Chart of Contestations in Public Spaces

No	Key Cultural Words	Cultural Values	Key Persons/Institutions	Results/Cultural Configurations
1	Aceh invaded Haru Kingdom in Medan	Imperial / Islamization/ Monopoly of commodities	Panglima Gocah Pahlawan (M. Dalikhan) in 1632	Islam, India, Aceh & Malay
2	Founded Military Base for British in Penang	Europe; trading and shipping for EIC	Captain Francis Light/EIC 1786	British & India
3.	Deli Sultanate of Medan	Free from Aceh	Panglima Perunggit son of Gocah in 1669	Adoption of Sultanate system
4.	The Dutch colonial	Tobacco plantation and modernization	Dutch Govt of Batavia & Resident of Sumatra 1870	Colonial system; Massive migration to Medan; Create social

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[13] Rituals and cultural festivals are mostly based on a cross-cultural spreading; the new national identity might appear from the same shared roots or origins with neighbors or from shared beliefs, such as what happened to Thailand and Cambodia in the heritage Angkor Temple claim (Giordano, 2015). Performing *Wayang* (puppetry show) should not be claimed as the cultural heritage of a country such as Indonesia versus Malaysia but the heritage of communities of the Javanese and Malay. A national symbol to create a new identity in the post-colonial and global contexts often harnesses the disputes between the two neighboring countries.

				gap; Chinese as middlemen
5.	British Settlements of Georgetown, Melaka & Singapore	Free trade harbor	British Govt of Madras, India in 1826	Open Economy
6.	Republic of Indonesia	Joint the nation	President Soekarno-Vice Hatta on 17/8/1945	Social conflicts, noblemen vs *rakyat*-People; Nationalism-Java Vs Islam & Communist Party
7.	Federated Malaya	Integration to nation state	Political Elites in 1957	Contestations of power & economy
8.	Gerakan holds power in Penang	Distinct from national power (UMNO)	Gerakan Party (1972-2008)	Contestations of Penang (More British Education) and Federal (more Ketuanan Melayu-Sultanate) + Infusing of Islam; ethno-nationalism

The Malaysian government in building the national culture of Malaysia, according to Tan Sooi Beng, based its research on *Asian Music* (1990) and had the following policies enforced.

a). The State has tried to centralize plan and intervene in the performing arts since 1969;

b). The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports (KKBS) formulated policy in 1973 for (a). research into indigenous culture, (b) promotion and training for competitions of folk dance, music, handicraft, traditional games, and theater, and (c).cultural productions based on the National Culture Complex;

c).Licenses are required to open theaters as well as for the sale of tickets;

d). In Penang, Chinese operas have to get permits from the Police, Fire Brigade, and the departments of health, buildings and engineering before they can perform during celebrations of Chinese deities;

e).Throughout the 1970's and 1980's, control of domestic and foreign music programming for radio and television has increased;

(Tan, Sooi Beng, winter 1990)

Contestation on national symbols appeared in the process of seeking the identity. Malaysia takes the golden age of Maritime Kingdom to be her national symbol, but Penang has its own way. For example, there are two symbolic statues constructed in Medan and Georgetown: Guru Patimpus of Medan North Sumatra and Francis Light in Georgetown (Figure, 4.1 above). In Medan, the statue of Guru Patimpus is standing on Jalan Guru Patimpus, where he founded the Medan Putri Town. It was regarded as the center of Medan. Guru Patimpus hailed down from Karo Mountain to the coastal area and he was converted to Islam after he was defeated by an Islamic saint (Ulama). If the Kingdom of Aru covered the coastal area of East Sumatra and is located on the border between Langkat and Tamiang (East Aceh), the Medan Putri Town established by Guru Patimpus is in the heart of Medan town.

In Georgetown at Fort Cornwallis, the statue of Captain Francis Light was built. The construction of this statue symbolizes the pioneer of the development of Penang from swampy shore to a modern town. The transformation of Penang from an empty island to a polyethnic town which constituted by the European, Eurasian, Jawi, Malay-Aceh, Chinese, Indian and others was very spectacular in the 19th century. Captain Francis Light's system that creates an open-door and tolerance towards all people without barring them from settling in Georgetown based on differences of ethnicity, vernacular, tradition and religion made the polyethnic Georgetown to grow bigger. His legacy now makes Georgetown one of the Heritage World Cities.

In discussing the symbolic meanings of the statues of Guru Patimpus and Captain Francis Light, it is better now to refer to the Process analysis of the social dramas of Victor Turner. The analysis offers three elements that should be considered, namely; *meaning, context* and *goal*. For understanding the symbolic object or action, we should start from context to goal and finally we get to the meaning. The action and object do not refer directly to meaning, instead they have a connotative meaning. If a Chinese lion dance in the configuration of fast movements and three symbolic colors is constructed by myths and beliefs of the Chinese society, the Chinese will know how to capture the figure of heroic actors. The mythical lions should be interpreted with war, struggle and braveness, thus matched with the current context of Chinese identity reconstructions.

The construction of the founding father of Kampung (village) of Medan reconstructs ethnic identity. Thus, if the construction of the statue of Guru Patimpus displays the founder of Medan Putri Town of North Sumatra, it would relate the past to the present condition. We look that his name starts with the word 'Guru', a Sanskrit word borrowed by Bahasa Melayu. Guru originally refers to a Hindu teacher. Now in Indonesia, guru formally refers to a schoolteacher; however, in an archaic word of Bahasa which addresses a spiritual teacher or a *sakti* man[14], it may point to somebody who has magic power. In the statue Guru Patimpus wears the ethnic Karos attires and a long stick. His appearance sends a signal that he is a hero. If the Kris (dagger) in Java, Bali, and Malay traditions symbolizes a magic of "Deva-Raj" weaponry, Guru Patimpus having a long stick (*Tungkok Aji)* in ethnic Karo and Toba heritage refers to a magic guard. Guru Patimpus in the Malay tale has

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[14] Clifford Geertz in Negara (1980) mentions the concept of *Sakti* which refers to a magic power that generated by the God Shiva to a person in earth.

opened the land to grow peppers in the surrounding Medan before he starts to lay down the ground for the town between two rivers in the center of Medan. The metropolitan Medan is the legacy of Guru Patimpus of ethnic Karo before the King of Aceh sent the Panglima Gocah in the 1600's to take over the King of Aru which eventually moved up to the east side of the hill (Deli Tua) from the coastal area. Before Panglima Gocah established the dynasty in Medan, Guru Patimpus has found the flat ground for a town in the 1500's.

The statue of Captain Francis Light of the East India Company who laid the foundation of Georgetown appears to show his legacy in Penang. His name begins with Captain (the commodore of a company ship). Captain Francis Light wears the British commodore attires. It shows that he has a lot of experience in crossing the Indian Ocean from Calcutta to Sumatra and North Malaya. Despite the fact he understands the Malay language and culture (a refined polite interaction), Francis Light challenges the pirates (orang Illanun, Celat, or Bajak Laut), but once in a while he approaches them. His connection with the Indian Ocean makes saw him get married to a Eurasian (someone of mixed Portuguese and Indian blood). Living and working many years in the Indian Ocean, Captain Francis Light knows how to operate the interests in the Indian Ocean. The British basically needs a base for military defense and for seafaring transportation. Captain was given a task to defend the British in the Indian Ocean and to connect India to China. Captain Francis Light was ceded the island in 1786 from King Abdullah of Kedah and finally he got the British flag hoisted up and named it as Georgetown.

A national flag is created to symbolize the national spirit and unity. Although the Netherland Indies has ceased to exist and this country has been proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia, a shadowy part of the colonial flag is visible when Indonesia uses a national flag *Sang Saka Merah Putih* [15] (red and white) without blue. This Indonesian flag symbolizes *braveness* and *purity* by the initiation of the founding fathers of Indonesia. This transition shows that selecting the national flag was not in a complete shift from the Netherland Indies but a partial embrace of it. On the other hand, after British Malaya ceased, Malaysia has a *Jalur Gemilang* flag (red, white, blue and yellow). Although the Malaysian Constitution declares it is an Islamic Kingdom, this Malaysian flag does not have the green color. Green symbolizes Islam and it is commonly found in the flags of many Islamic kingdoms of the Middle East, but it does not appear in *Jalur Gemilang*. It uses a crescent as Islamic icon, which replaces the British icon found on the upper-left corner in the flag of the East India Company (EIC) and Malaysia has a 14 point star representing the Sultanates and ex-Straits Settlements of Malaysia.

Sharing the same culture (*Bahasa* Language, Malay *adat* and adhering to Islamic values) and living around the Straits of Melaka, people of East Sumatra and North Malaya have been politically divided by the Netherland Indies and British Malaya. In terms of nationalism, Benedict Anderson contends:

> *"Some of the people on the eastern coast of Sumatra are not only physically close, across the narrow Straits of Malacca, to the populations of the western littoral of the Malay Peninsula, but they are ethnically related, understand each other's speech, have a common religion, and so forth. These same Sumatrans share neither mother-tongue, ethnicity nor religion with the Ambonese, located on islands thousands of miles away to the east. Yet during this century they have come to understand the Ambonese as fellow Indonesians, the Malays as foreigners" (Anderson, 1991:120).*

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[15] The heirloom of the Red-White Flag of Indonesia in one perspective is from the Kingdom of *Majapahit*, but others may see the legacy of the Netherland Indies.

In the transition situation, tthe new national elites have recreated symbols such as flags, national narratives, monuments and elicitations of folk dance-theaters and folklores for national identity as what Anderson elaborated. This threshold phase leads us to consider symbols which thrive on social actions. For instance, performing *Wayang* (Puppetry Show) and *Gamelan* Music Ensemble of Java is often enacted in a national and international forum to represent Indonesia, but the Malukus and Papuans in the Eastern part of Indonesia do not get in touch with a *Wayang* performance, let alone Gamelan as it was originally from the Classical Music of the Javanese.

From historical, political and sociological perspectives, the elite in Jakarta considered Wayang and Gamelan to be the best fit for national identity. Wayang and Gamelan were performed in the transitional phase and do not represent the whole ethnic groups such as Sulawesi and Maluku. In Peninsular Malaya, the elite glorify the symbolic meaning of the narrative story of *Hang Tuah* of Melaka as a national identity and a *Kris* (Malay dagger). Although Hang Tuah has been punished for his misbehavior towards an attendant girl of royalty, the loyalty of Hang Tuah to the Sultan of Melaka is good conduct. In contrast, the close friend of Hang Tuah, namely, *Hang Kasturi* revolted against this kingdom to react to the Sultan's punishment of Hang Tuah. Here the story shows that myth of *Derhaka* (rebellion/betrayal) is condemned and loyalty to the Sultan is glorified. Here it is revealed that Hang Tuah's action (murdered *Hang Kasturi* in a duel of the palace) symbolizes the loyalty to Sultan and country (*negara*). His action to stop his close friend (Hang Kasturi who ran amok) is regarded as best model for a Malaysian. In reviewing *Sejarah Melayu* or *Malay Annals*, Zakaria Ali contends that "it conveys the deeper message that no one should ever revolt against the sultan because that violates the Malay ethos" (1993: 382). The character of Hang Tuah symbolizes a knight of Melaka.

The cultural area of the Eastern Coast of Sumatra and Peninsular Malaya has been and is connected to the people's beliefs or religions, colonialism and maritime stories, either myths or facts. Some scholars referred to the cultural area of the East Coast of Sumatra and Peninsular Malaya as *Austronesia* culture or *Indo-Malay World*. In classical theory, after mentioning this region as Austronesia, a German ethnologist Adolf Bastian (Koentjaraningrat, 1987) characterizes the culture of this region affected by coastal areas where migration and exchanges are done by means of sea transportation (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001).

Furthermore, we can have a flashback memory to the Austrian-Switzerland priest, Wilhelm Schmidt with *Kultur Kreis* (Cultural Circle*),* who has a technique of analyzing and summarizing this region as an area of cultural circulation. He was concerned with the strand of cultural exchanges of Austronesia and Polynesia, and Schmidt also theorized about Asiatic involvement in the Austronesia rim (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001). Thus, the idea of the Indonesia-Malay World of British and Dutch scholars such as Richard Winstedt, N Ryans and J Van Eerde formulates the perennial connection of the Straits of Melaka to the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism and the influential values of Islam before the European colonialism. The symbolic power 'Deva Raj' of India was adopted by kingdoms in the Indo-Malay Word: the power of God is inherited by a king. In discussing the spiritual meaning of Austronesia and Polynesia, Winstedt (1950) argues that "there is the closest resemblance between the elaborate Malay belief in a soul substance (*semangat*), possessed by all things…., and the Melanesian belief in *mana*, an impersonal power attached to men, animals, fruits, stones, canoes and water…." (1950:7). The Malays and Javanese believe that the semangat could be manifested in *Kris* (a dagger), *puaka* (a sacred place), *wali* (an Islamic saint) and *daulat* (a charismatic king or leader).

The manifestation of social values in symbolic performances evolves the Austronesian perceptions of human relation to God and kings. According to Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof, the forms of theatrical performances are such as Proto-Theater, Puppet Theater, Dance Theater and Opera (Ramlan and Quayum, 2010:155-156) and those theaters staging the values of beliefs and traditions

in the forms of symbolic actions. It takes an unearthly process of symbols to glorify the meanings and to communicate them to communities or audiences. In observing the ritual and cultural performances of the Indo-Malay World, especially the three sources that Sarwar-Yousof already listed (the Proto, Puppet and Dance Theaters), we should analyze the symbols as a manifestation of "*Semangat*" (a substance soul) and an enactment of performances.

People of this region believe that *Semangat* possesses certain animism vitality and it represents a sort of basic energy or vitality (Winstedt, 1950 and Sarwar Yousof in Ramlan and Quayum, 2010). In contrast to those forms of theatrical enactments of Austronesia, the Opera performance which is called *Bangsawan*, *Stambul (Istanbul)* and *Tonil* in Indonesia and Malaysia were originally adapted from the Middle East and Turkey. This Opera embraces the Royal Family's wish to perform the stories of Warriors or Knights in the Royal Courts.

Edward D Sapir in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1924) examines the utilization of a spirit that is free to glorify, transform and to reject. Sapir's third conception of culture, after man and material culture, which emphasizes on the spiritual possessions, connects with the character and civilization. Galvanized Hellenic spirit in the Western Civilization, for Sapir, is comparable to the inspiration, the creative stimulus, of those men of the Renaissance. Additionally, rituals and myths as manifestations of religious beliefs and sentiments take any kind of figurative representations or symbols either identified with nature (plants, animals, or natural phenomenon) (Milton Singer, 1980). The natural and constructed signs permanently inherited elements of the social life that the elites of religion, culture and nation-state tend to elicit to get them reconstructed in this modern era.

Malaysian nationalism, in the liminal phase, saw the changes of national programs for the Malay Malaysians. Glorifying the symbolic meaning of *Bumi Putra* (Sons of the Soil) for the Malays, there are plenty of actions taken for Bumi Putra. Symbolic actions for Bumi Putra significantly correlates to the role of Malaysian' elites at any momentums; their roles have been spurious in Malaysian development. Together with the policy (read the New Economic Program or NEP) has been taken in running programs society. The fact that the state policy impacts on the national culture in liminality is obvious in Malaysia. For example, Mohd Gh Nasuruddin elaborates:

"*The year of 1969 was a historic year in preservation and conservation of traditional arts, namely court dances and theater. During that year, Malaysia hosted the first conference on Traditional Dance and Drama of Southeast Asia and it was here that joget gamelan court dance of Terengganu and mak yong Kelantan were performed after a lapse of many years. The man responsible for resurrecting these court dances and dance dramas is Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, the former Director-General of the museum*" (Mohd Gh Nasuruddin,1995: 5-6).

Concerning past experience as a source of heritage reproductions which results in any attempts to signify the symbolic meaning of traditions, Michael Hitchcock and Victor T King (2003) elaborate that in the contexts of national building and tourism development there would be the process of selection, construction and representation of traditions. Those cultural activities and policies have been taken by the state and international organization. However, now in global tourism, we observe that local communities involve actively for those kinds of steps. If the government attempts to signify that the symbols are to strengthen the elite's political position in public and give them legitimized authority, the involvement of local communities tend to reconstruct their cultural identity and they gain some benefits from the tourism industry (Hitchcock and King, 2003). Dennison Nash theorizes that tourism is the largest industry in the world and a large number of people get involved in it (Nash, 2007). Nash anticipates the global tourism industry phenomenon by observing the interrelation between the humanities and local heritage and Nash

inquiries to a comparative technique and a relativistic view of human cultures on cultural tourism embrace a cross-cultural range of tourism subjects (Nash, 2007).

Observing the symbols in Peninsular Malaya, socialization of beliefs and values is more visible at ceremonies related to the Malay's preservation of culture. Various customary ceremonies are conducted as reminders for the Malays of the past. Data obtained through the observation and reviews of customary ceremonies like wedding party indicates that Malays have grown traditions and involve the whole Malays. The ceremonies of the Malay tradition at this moment have been shifted by the character of religiosity. The Malay traditions in execution tend to embrace the elements of Islam, as the formal state religion of the Kingdom of Malaysia is more sounded by the policy and political behaviors of the elite.

4.2. Revival of Sacred and Profane Symbols

The British anthropologist Max Gluckman in the discussion of the ritual of social relation upholds the social functions of the sacred and profane symbols in rituals and ceremonials. The rituals and ceremonials in the Manchester School have their central functions in the community. Accordingly, this lliminal phase follows the symbols that are created as manifestations of meaning in any kind of social interaction. Symbols restore the human cultural interactions, and symbols mediate community to rituals and to social fabrication. Victor W Turner's ethnographic report already elaborated the *Symbols of Forest* in Ndembu, which imply the cultural regeneration and social conflict of matrilineal versus patrilineal as practiced in this village.

The British functionalist Bronislaw Malinowski shows us the correlation between the symbol (totem) and its meaningful function in the community (1948). The meanings of symbols appear in the trajectory among men, nature, and spirits of beliefs and traditions. For instance, before the Chinese lion dance begins, the two dancers inside the mythical lion need to take a few minutes to clear the space, placate the evils and pay homage and welcome the audiences. The dancers show the correlation of those things (nature/environment, gods, and deities as well as the audiences). The music instruments such as drums and cymbals are the means of communication in lion dance; the beating of drums commands the movements, and the rhythms of cymbals decide the gestures of the head, feet, and other body parts. Very precise and logical movements and gestures are found in the mythical lions of the Chinese lion dance. The lion dance is played in the symbols and the meanings that are socially understood by the Chinese community or others who are interested in this performance.

Abner Cohen argues that sacred and profane symbols in the forms of ritual and ceremonial revive to perform new culturally different combinations (Cohen, 1972:33). In elaborating the definition of culture, Anthony Cohen (1985) follows the three locations of cultural interactions offered by Clifford Geertz (1973). Obviously, Geertz formulates that culture is interpreted concerning webs of significance; culture is an unfolding process with the cultural manifestation of meaning. In regard to the interpretation of symbolic meanings of Geertz, Anthony Cohen argues that:

"There are three interrelated and powerful principles contained within Geertz's precise and eloquent formulation. The first is that culture ('webs of significance') is created and continually recreated by people through their social interaction, rather than imposed upon them as a Durkheimian body of social fact or as Marxist superstructure. Secondly, being continuously in process, culture has neither deterministic power nor objectively identifiable referents ('law'). Third, it is manifest, rather, in the capacity with which it endows people to perceive meaning in or to attach meaning to social behaviour. Behaviour does not 'contain' meaning intrinsically; rather, it is found to be meaningful by an act of interpretation: we 'make sense' of what we observe" (1985: 17).

The above argument shows the notion of Anthony P Cohen and Clifford Geertz is cultural subject; thus it is the main focus of the symbolic or interpretative approach in a society. With his rejection of both the Superstructure conception of Karl Marx and the social fact of Emile Durkheim, it is clear enough to demonstrate that the cultural webs in society do not depend on social relations for Anthony P Cohen. The cultural webs involve symbols such as icons, gestures, masks, colors, utensils, clothes, momentums, spaces and stages for rituals and cultural performances. Geertz (1980) shows many types of coffins in Balinese cremation, which symbolizes the social statuses. The coffins are assigned to the noblemen, Brahmin and farmers, in various motives to constitute the meanings.

The symbolic interpretative anthropology proposes the logic of social actions and performances of rituals and traditions (Geertz, 1988 and 1989). The attributes symbolize the socially constructed and inherently reside in a community. The *Kris* (dagger) of Malay and Java has different models and sizes. The Sultans as the *Deva-Raj* or representation of the gods in the world have a powerful and magnificent Kris. The yellow attires, in Malay traditions, are for sultans. The yellow refers to the affluence in terms of rice fields and ornaments made of gold. All the possessions of the sultans should be in the gold emblems and the folks are not allowed to wear the golden attires. Glorifying the symbols in Malay culture, the yellow symbolizes the higher status in Malay culture.

Here is a microanalysis of the symbols of Chinese rituals and festivals in Georgetown (based on the 2014 New Year Celebration data in the Jetty area). This town has the Clan Jetties where the historical temples enact the rituals and cultural attractions annually. The ornaments of temples and enactments symbolize the Chinese perceptions of human relationships with the gods, deities, and the environment. The Sun Moon Temple (*Ri Yue Than*) has a number of rituals and cultural events and the interpretation of symbolic meanings of the Sun Moon Temple should be in the holistic perspective in which the tradition and recreations of processions of the Lim community. In leaflet of the Clan Jetties of Georgetown of GTWHI, it says:

> *"The temple holds a special religious procession during the birthday of the Goddess of Seafarers Mazu on the 23rd day of the 3th lunar month. The devotees will parade the statue of Mazu and cross the sea channel from Butterworth to the temple in an entourage of many boats. On the land, the statue will be carried on a sedan chair for a street procession led by the giant walking puppets and dragon dance. The devotees believe that crawling under the table where Mazu's statue is placed will bring them good luck and blessings". (the Clan Jetties of Georgetown, GTWHI, p. 7).*

With interpretative anthropology, we start from the symbol of Mazu (the Goddes of Seafarers); it denotes the matron proctection for the people who live in the coastal areas, especially fishermen and their familes. This belief is common not only in the Lim community but in other coastal areas where the Chinese community is dwelling. The interesting procession in the Lim community has been reconstructed from ancient Chinese folklore to interpret the present situation of Clan Jetties of Georgetown.

The ritual is a way of solidifying the community and adapting to the new seasons and elevating the status (Malinowski, 1948; Turner, 1974). The Mazu birthday involved the parade and touring of the coastal village as well as paying homage to this matron seafarer. The parade is for the statue of Mazu to build the cognitive aspect in which the devotees get enlightened from Mazu and they cross the sea that symbolizes the protection of all the people who make their living from the sea. Thus, it shows that it is not only the devotees that configure the parade but there are two kinds of animals (giants and a dragon) which take part in the procession. Those animals symbolize as guards for the statue of Mazu and the devotees. The last glorifies the meaning of the Goddess of Mazu in the Lim

community, as it symbolizes the matron of seafarers. The devotees show their hope and honor by crawling under the statue of Mazu.

Human life in the anthropological report involves the creation of religious and cultural symbols. We create and live among various symbols. For some anthropologists, emblems or symbols are recreated. The creation of symbols occurs either in a small community or national and international society. In earlier studies of symbols, the anthropologists might be interested in a totemic species of tribes. Symbols stand for or represent other objects. The symbols could be ritual expressions in any sacred event. In understanding symbols, Milton Singer reviews the sociological theory of Emile Durkheim (1947) on totems together with the ethnography of symbols exposed in the works of Oppenheim (1964), Radcliffe–Brown (1953) and Levi-Strauss (1963). Comparing the ethnological report on symbols in ancient time, Milton Singer (1980) traces the sacred social meaning of the symbols presented by Oppenheim, Radcliffe-Brown, and Levis-Strauss.

In his explanation, Milton Singer argues that in ancient Mesopotamian the symbols corresponded to the major deities of the pantheon, like Durkheim's totems in Australia (Singer, 1980). The pair of birds (Eagle Hawk and Crow) in Levi-Strauss' structuralism proposition, as natural animals in totems, are related to the embodiment of ideas and perceptive reality (Levis-Strauss, 1963 cited in Singer, 1980:85). Milton Singer reviews Oppenheim's idea of "emblems or divine symbols such as the designs of the sun disc, chariot of the sun, the eight-pointed star of Ishtar, crescent, lion, snake, eagle and herald symbols"(1980:80). The recreating of any meaning of symbols includes performing rituals and arts include a way of relating human activities to the cosmology, morality, and social organization.

Through a liminal perspective, we can have the transitional responses to the state policy concerning the beliefs, ideology, and cultural practice. In response to the growing Islamic revival in Malaysia, Ahmad Yousif argues that "the dormant and even old customs and practices are being resurrected to emphasize the uniqueness and distinctiveness" (2004:34) in religious and cultural revivals. Reclaiming the symbols shapes the perceptions of religious and traditions, which create a national identity. For instance, in the year 2000 the city of Melaka as the earliest Kingdom of Peninsular Malaya before Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialism has been used as a symbolic combination of past experience and resurrection of Islam (Deniels, 2005), and Penang as 'City of Living Culture' symbolizes the legacy of British colonial and all ethnic groups in that Polyethnic Island. The city of Medan in North Sumatra from 1945 to 1950 was in a very terrible transition after the Netherland Indies power was over. Local history notes the Dutch in 1860 took the small town of Medan for the center of governmental administration of the East Coast of Sumatra and the investment area for plantation. The Dutch modernized the town and facilitated harbor, roads and railway for Western and Japanese investors. The Sultan Deli Dynasty lost its sovereign power in governing this area and the Dutch also took over the taxation and financial affairs. The Sultanate performed the cultural and Islamic values to control the natives. The Sultanate had no power to manage the city after the Dutch power ended and the central government appointed a governor for East Sumatra.

Symbols reside within living society. Symbols have social meanings when a person or a group of people interact in a community. Clifford Geertz emphasizes this relationship as a web of significance. For observing the social function of symbols, it is necessary to turn on the underlying elements of socio-cultural interaction. The symbols live in a surface structure of society and the symbolic meaning refers to the socio-cultural context of the represented object. In relation to symbolic meaning, Anthony Cohen in *Symbolic Community* offers a view needed in fieldwork practice. Cohen elaborates:

"The sense we make is 'ours', and may or may not coincide with that intended by those whose behaviour it was. Thus, in so far as we 'understand' the behaviour which goes on

around us and in which we participate, we make and act upon interpretation of it: we seek to attach meaning to it. Social interaction is contingent upon such interpretation; it is, essentially, the transaction of meanings". (Cohen, 1985:17)

This is a system of construable signs or symbols for Clifford Geertz (1973) and lives within the cultural and historical context; thus, the elite reimagined the symbols that represent the modern nation-state (Anderson, 1991). Anthony D Smith (2009) rightly points out that there is a process of reconstruction by claiming the past experiences and shared values. In turn, those new imaginative symbols (Anderson, 1991) are the foundation for national elites in the construction of a national identity. With a liminal situation, let see, for instance, the *Liberty Statue* (the Goddess Liberta) in New York. It then is the symbol of national identity of the United States of America. Lady Liberta with a golden flame symbolizes democracy and freedom. The architect Frederic Auguste Bartholdi of French decided on the statue constructed in the New York Harbour to glorify the breaking of chains and shackles by the Americans who were mostly European immigrants. The Liberty Statue firmly stands for the new land with its future dreams. The American dreams were reflected in that statue. That Liberty Statue symbolizes the torch as the American spirit moved on (progress), and a book of law on another hand is referring to the enforcement of rules to govern the nation. This Liberty Statue upholds the victory of the European immigrants but destroys the native symbols.

A symbol represents an object that originally does not corresponded to it, but this social construction symbol bears the meaning for a community and its members. Symbols as the media of communication and as an example of symbolic behavior are a set of case containing the offered *areca nut, lime leaves and species* in Austronesian tradition which is the best way of welcoming guests. It symbolically respects the visitors or audiences in ritual and performance. This symbol is culturally acquired by the Indo-Malay people and Formosa Islands (Taiwan). The Malay cultural performances usually begin with this welcoming expression. Though indirect communication of symbol is socially constructed in referring to the historical background of the people who share the experience of that representation, symbols speak more than words could express. Thus, symbolic reference generates the powerful cohesion in a society or new nation.

Another example of the liminality of ritual dance was then transformed into a state symbol and an icon of tourism. The *Hula Dance* of Hawai'i Polynesians was a spiritual action to pay homage in Hawai'i. The Hula dance symbolizing human relation with the gods and the waves of the sea and nature are manifested as media of communication. The Hula dance was a ritual action before Christian missionaries of Massachusetts brought the Bible there. The priests changed the local dance orientations and asked the dancers to follow Western customs and not a rudimentary style (from white priests' viewpoint). The changes according to the missionaries almost completely occurred. Then the Hula dance was transformed into different meanings by the State of Hawai'i when the United State of America made an annexation. The social meaning of the Hula Dance for promoting the 8 beautiful Islands that inherited the local cultural heritage is symbolically becoming a welcoming action towards guests. So here the Hula Dance has been symbolically extended to the Hawai'i state context; the Hula Dance which originally was a spiritual performance of native Hawaiians has been shifted, and now it symbolizes the friendliness of the people of Hawai'i in terms of the tourism industry. Currently, a famous five-star hotel reproduces the *exotic* Hula Dance for heritage and identity in a globalizing world.

In the Southeast Asia region, a study by Hitchcock and King (2003) reveals the attempts of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia "to create discourse with the past in order to legitimize and strengthen the position of the state and its dominant political communities" (2003:6). As a means of communication, the symbols have been undergone, repositioning from their origins in localism into the national and international signifiers. In a wider context, of course through a re-imaginative process, the national elites transformed the cultural symbols into modern signifiers for political

claims as what Brubaker argues (2004). In a detailed study of symbolic meaning, Milton Singer (1980) elaborates on constructed emblems or totems dealing with individual objects of iconic signs, which employ the indexical signs. Accordingly, this relation appears between humans and human objects which it symbolizes (Levi-Strauss, 1963 in Milton Singer, 1980:85).

In discussing the symbols, there is a need to review and apply the *collective ethnology* of Marcel Mauss (2007) in which he recommends tracing the elements of national character or national political psychology (2007:13). The collective ethnology is a kind of tool to understand symbols in the fieldwork or ethnography. As Marcel Mauss reminds in his collective ethnology (2007), the contributing factors helping in uncovering the underlying elements of symbols become vital in researching the social values of symbols. The contextual meanings of symbols are based on the supported living elements in society. Thus, Clifford Geertz' (1973) explanation of a symbolic action, like phonation in speech, pigment in painting, line in writing, or sonance in music, signifies the identity of community.

In practice, symbols refer to the social construction of meaning that people use indirectly in communication. Clifford Geertz contends that the meaning we encounter in socio-cultural interaction is stored in symbols: a cross, a crescent, a featured serpent, and Geertz that argues those "religious symbols are dramatized in rituals and related in myths" (1973:127). In *Performance Turn*, Richard Schechner argues that the theories of ethnology and neurology have contributed to the study of performance (Schechner, 1986:344), which could be elicited from local symbols and transformed for representing national identity. When we list the functions of symbols in human interaction, the elaboration of Anthony Cohen (1985) is summarized as follows:

a). Symbols are effective because they are imprecise. Though obviously not contentless, part of their meaning is 'subjective'.

b). Symbols are an ideal media through which people can speak a 'common' language and behave in apparently similar ways.

c). Symbols have people participate in the 'same' rituals, pray to the 'same' gods, wear similar clothes, and so forth, without subordinating themselves to a tyranny of orthodoxy.

d). Symbols aggregate the various meanings assigned to them, so the symbolic repertoire of a community aggregates the individualities and other differences found within the community.

e). Symbols provide the means for their expression, interpretation, and containment (Cohen, 1985:21).

4.3. Magnitude of Symbolic Actions

The symbolic actions have been studied in many fields or schools. In sociology, Alexander, Giesen, and Mast discuss political actions (2006). Concerning the symbolic actions of Captain Francis Light in the Indian Ocean and Captain James Cook in the Pacific Islands, there are some symbols that we could analyze. In contrast to a successful narrative story of Captain Francis Light, Captain James Cook failed and was and murdered by native Hawaiians. It is reasonable that the symbolic actions are interpreted by some sociological analyses. Anthropology tries to trace back the symbolic actions of the Captain James Cook and his crews in Big Island Hawai'i and their meanings in human relations.

Alexander, Giesen and Mast (2006) in *Social Performance Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual* compare James Cook's Shipwreck to Victor Turner's theories of dramatic symbol. Some regard Cook's death as due to British superior attitude to the natives. In contrast, an

ethnological view, another perspective, highlights the local belief in gods and deities, which symbolically have to be addressed by rituals in terms of the spatial-temporal. That ritual was not realized by Captain James Cook and his crews; they did not comprehend it when they were rerouting to the Big island of Hawai'i. It was in the way of interpreting location, momentum and the cycles of celebration, which triggers tension. Moreover, from cultural actions, Alexander, Giesen, and Mast (2006) propose an ethnological view and they see the Captain James Cook shipwreck and death as based on the weakness of Marshall Sahlins' perspective. The new view of looking at this cultural action that Alexander, Giesen, and Mast prompt to:

> "...... construct three ideal types of social performance by considering three classic accounts of culture-in-action from symbolic and structural anthropology: Victor Turner on the Henry II-Thomas Becket social drama, Marshall Sahlins on the arrival of Captain Cook to the Hawaiian Islands, and the empirical events themselves, the anthropologists' accounts of them, and performance theory in the form of "cultural pragmatics," I hope to accomplish two tasks: to specify the elements of performance theory into identifiable ideal-typical formations that will be useful for further research, and to relativize and systematize these famous anthropological accounts of culture-in-action (2006: 147).

The magnitude of symbols explores the correlation between actings and social interactions. William Beeman (1993) gives an illustration of social action by showing two cases of using a rock as a medium of action. If the rock falls down from the mountain and hits someone, it will not symbolize anything, but if someone throws a rock at a window, it will be a symbol. It symbolizes the anger or disappointment. Symbolic actions, according to Beeman, should be analyzed on the basis of the context and motivation that enforce human actions. The symbolic action in 'the Street Harmony' Georgetown of Penang Global Ethhic Project (2006) that Khoo Salma reports in her article shows the idea of interfaith harmony in the historical city of Georgetown. However, as Khoo Salma describes, the Global Ethic Project was disrupted by the BADAI (Anti-Interfaith Commission) (Khoo, 2010: 290-292). Two actions were signifying the symbolic meaning. The Penang Ethic Project proposes a strategy to open up a space for inter-religious learning and dialogue (Khoo, 2010:291). On the other hand, some of Muslims in Georgetown think that visiting churches and temples get the faith of Muslim children weakened.

Symbolic actions communicate the ideas or expressions of the actors to others as what Goffman theorizes in a back stage-front model of self-representation. The symbolic actions may be executed by a group of people, officials, leaders, and nations as well as international organizations. The inauguration of a new king in the Malay culture takes symbolic actions. The Deli and Kedah Kingdoms which have controlled the region respectively in the East Coast of Sumatra and North Peninsular Malaya perform a series of ceremonial events for the inaugurations, weddings, and funerals. The folks (*rakyat* in Malay) are not allowed to work if the kingdoms uphold those events. The highly refined musical instruments, dances, songs, the flag and banners, the sounds of trained guards in line, and other attributes symbolize the regalia of these two kingdoms before the independence of Indonesia and Malaysia from the colonial powers.

Symbolic actions may result in a harmonious or disharmonious relationship of two parties. The boat people (*Manusia Perahu* in Malay) such as *Illanun* and *orang Celat* in the Straits of Melaka had symbolic actions for kingdoms around this region when the VOC of Dutch and the East India Company (EIC) of British seized the Straits. The more the Illanun groups that a Sultanate had, the more the symbolic actions executed by them for the Sultan. The actions of Illanun in controlling and taking levies in the Straits for the Sultans show the symbolic power of the Sultanate. The sea transportation of the Straits of Melaka might be out of authority control like the navy when the boat people do actions for the official order of Royalty. They are pirates in the eyes of the VOC and the EIC. It is no wonder if Captain Francis Light approached Illanun to control the sea transportation of

Company and Georgetown. As a symbolic action, not only did Francis Light make the approach to Illanun, he even named his son as Illanun.

Claiming the historical right to use Malay privilege, expressions of Malayness, like *Tanah Melayu* (Malay homeland), *Bangsa Melayu* (Malay Race) and *Melayu Raya* (Great Malay) have influenced the development of state policies and might threaten the ideological unity of the nation. In contrast to the British colonial authorities who designated the Malays as peasants in the rural areas while the Chinese mostly enjoyed the economic benefits, Malaysia under Mahathir Mohammed boosted the economic power of the Bumiputra (*sons of the soil*) by providing education facilities and creating public corporates as well as promoting modern Islamic values.

Under Mahathir Mohammed's leadership, the Malay as a predominant ethnic group also led Malaysia to enter the new world by restructuring the social and economic features; the new generation of the Malay is moving from the rural areas to the urban areas and shifting from non-economic oriented to an economic one. This paradigm shift is a moderating factor within the New Economic Policy (NEP) and it highlighted the identity of the Malay. Additionally, here we could explore the NEP restructuring programs in which the change of Malaysian social class structure was seen, especially in the new Malay middle class by 1990. The work of Embong shows that the first generation of the new Malay middle class became more religious. He finds 84.5 per cent of the Malay middle class is moderately religious (Embong, 2006:143). After the 1969 clash, the Malaysian Government considered the entrenchment of the Malay language as the national language. It was decided as the sole medium of instruction in state schools, and it increased the figures of the Malays in tertiary education. At the same time, the Malay-Islamic culture was admitted as a national culture.

The dramatic change of the Malay identity could be observed in the focus of the NEP in restructuring the society. The Malay identity was to promote poverty eradication and get rid of the economic disparity between the Chinese and the Malays. In relation to the change of the Malaysian middle class after the NEP successfully shifted the Malays from agriculture to industry, this present situation shows the specific identity of the new Malay middle class in urban areas.

The identity of the Malay is used as an instrument for socio-cultural goals in this research. A new approach to the reconstruction of the identity of the Malay in urban areas is needed to explore the growing corpus of primary data from the plural society of Georgetown-Penang Island itself and social fact of Georgetown's identity. Through the terms of postcolonial and globalization theories, a post-colonial perspective reveals a new insight into the Georgetown identity. Ethnicity studies compare the Malay as the predominant ethnic identity in Malaysia; it pursues further study of ethnicity reconstruction by the Malay and the Chinese in Georgetown.

Malay as ethnic identity stands in contrast to the ideological unity. Addressing the theory of a post-colonial pluralism towards Malaysia and the *Bumiputra* (sons of the soil) involves Islam as a symbol. The construction of Malaysia's national culture is designed to support the policies of the Malaysian state about *Ketuanan Melayu* (Malay Superiority). According to Malaysian anthropologist, Shamsul A.B. (1999), very few competent scholars are interested in ethnic relations *per se*. Some Japanese students or scholars might gather their data in a week-long visit to the Malaysian Capital Kuala Lumpur. But this does not take into account the historical influences on contemporary relations in the region. Shamsul A.B. adds that many research projects regarding ethnic relations in Malaysia are based solely on British colonial scholarship. Those studies are the result of an exhaustive British colonial literature (Shamsul, 1999: 12).

There is a strong impetus to implement the recent approaches that take contemporary influences into account. Now, there is a need to explore the corpus of primary data drawn from the region's growing plural society and inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia through the theories that directly address the regional and global contexts. A new notion in negotiating diverse populations,

viewing inter-ethnic relations through the lens of the new ethnic-nationalism and practices of tolerance among Malaysians seems to be relevant to the postcolonial perspective.

The Malay as the predominant ethnic group in Malaysia recasts the Islamic values, *adat* (custom) and Bahasa as a potential identity. To grasp reconstructed Malayness in the postcolonial era (especially in the present situation), we have to look at the new Malay middle class. The Malay sees *Balik Kampung* (Back to Hometown) as one of the important moments to pay the filial obligations. Symbolic action in Balik Kampung is so important in Malay values. Balik Kampung for the Celebration of *Raya Idul Fitri* (after Fasting of Ramadhan) is generally understood as one of the real expressions of the filial obligations. "Balik kampung is a genuine expression of commitment to family ties and closeness of feelings towards family members" (Embong, 2006:139). The new middle class Malays think of special duties—specific kinds of actions, services, and attitudes—that the middle class from urban areas share with their siblings to care for their elderly parents. They send some money regularly to *kampung* (villages).

In cultural performance, the Malay identity is reflected in the hybrid. The cultural influences of the other nations on the Malay identity can be traced in musical instruments, songs, and dances, making it difficult to determine which really Malay and which is Western. Tengku Luckman Sinar argues that the Malay traditional music has been infused with others. There is a type of Malay art of East Sumatra which has experienced the acculturation, local tradition, and foreign elements. On the other word, there is a type of Malay art that can maintain the traditional music and it combines the intercultural enrichment (Sinar, 2012).

Jules-Rosette in reading Victor Turner's *Drums of Affliction* shows that symbols, ritual, liturgy, mythology, and cosmology (1994:165) are key components in ethnology of religion or beliefs. In addition to Jules-Rosette's argument, Anthony Gash contends: "The 'ritualization' of existing social roles and relationship through symbolic reversal attempts to show that 'harmony among people can be achieved despite conflict" (1993:87). As Clifford Geertz already posited, the cultural symbols are ideological and surface expressions, thus the symbolic system specifies the internal relationship among the elements and characterizes the whole system (Geertz, 1973:17); the manifestations of ideas in the fieldwork are observed.

The Straits Chinese in Medan and in Georgetown Penang celebrate the Chinese New Year (*Imlek* in Hokkien word) based on the cycle of the Lunar Month. They celebrate it with rituals paying homage to the Gods and respecting parents and the elderly. There are performances of lion and dragon dances with drums, gongs, and cymbals as well as the colorful firecrackers in midnight. On the 8th day of the Chinese New Year in Medan and Penang, there is sugarcane tied near the altar as a symbol of the birthday of *This Kong She* (Jade Emperor God). On the eve of 9th day of the Chinese New Year, there is a commemoration of Jade Emperor as "a symbol of freedom and prosperity ", according to one of my informants who accompanied me to see the celebration in Chew Jetty Clan in 2014.

The Chinese performances in public spaces not only show the identity of the Straits Chinese in Medan and Penang, but they also appear to strengthen solidarity that really endorses the power in Indonesia and Malaysia. In fieldwork, I find the power of Straits Chinese identity in Medan and Penang in public spaces and temples (Figure, 4.2). During the 2014 Chinese New Year Celebration in Medan and Penang, I conducted an intensive observation of the Strait Chinese symbolic ritual and art performances to find the manifestation of human relation to deities (Gods). The lion dance was performed at the shopping centers of Medan such as Yuki Plaza, Sogo Mall, Central Point and the Real Estate Complex of Cemara Asri. In Penang, I observed the 8th day of Chinese New Year when Chinese *Penangites* (people of Penang) from other regions of Malaysia and tourists flocked into the Chew Jetty to celebrate it to honor the *Thi Kong She* (Jade Emperor). I observed the offering of food such as roast pigs and a great variety of displayed Chinese cakes and fruits on a fifty meter sized

table that night in the Pangkalan Weld where the Chew Jetty clan lives. The 15th day of the Chinese New Year (Cap Go Meh) celebration in front of the Chinese Temple at *Kapitan Keling* Street of Penang in Malaysia with a number of performances made the tourists have experiences of Straits Chinese life.

Figure: 4.2. Location of Jade Emperor God Celebration

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

In the Malaysian context, the process of ethnic identity formation experiences a dynamic condition. The symbol of the City of Melaka as the first of Malaysian national identity infused with Islam, for example, made the descendants of the Straits Chinese and the Portuguese to object in early 1980's. The challenges toward nationality and Islam that the Malaysia Government proposed appeared in deciding national symbols and the way of representing ethnic groups. Mustafa bin Ishak argues that:

"In the academic sphere, as in the real world, the past several years have witnessed an explosion of interest among many scholars within the social sciences researching the salient phenomena of ethnicity and nationalism. By venturing into this medley of research, this study attempts to examine the problems of ethnicity and nationalism in the context of Malaysia's plural society. For Malaysia, nation-building has been the single most crucial national agenda since its inception as a sovereign state in 1957". (1999: 3-4)

Although these inequality problems do not directly affect the topic of this ethnological research, Malays privilege sooner or later culturally impacted the way of reproducing cultural heritage as an ethnic identity and as tourism subjects in the regional and global contexts. The government policy in Indonesia during the New Order Regime of General Soeharto after the Revolt of PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party) in 1965 closed diplomatic relations to the Peoples Republic of China and banned all of the Chinese rituals, carnivals, and festivals. These, as well as other attractions in Indonesia brought traumatic feeling for the Indonesian Chinese who were not involved in the rebellion or who were not communists.

The change of regime enabled the Indonesian Chinese to reconstruct their identity after more than 30 years of being under pressure. The government of Indonesia, under the 1999 Reformation Agenda, gives the same opportunity to all of the ethnic groups to observe their rituals and celebrate their traditions. The symbolic actions of governments have implications for the symbolic representations of the Chinese in Indonesia and Malaysia, and specifically in Medan and in Georgetown the living symbols are as the following.

a). The Malays in Medan currently have observances of rituals and ceremonies not in the isolated spaces, but those have been opened to the public and attracted to visitors by the publications in the mass media, television, the internet as well as the tourism board. The ritualization of fasting in Ramadhan in the left side of the Grand Mosque of Medan on Jalan Si Singamangaja is supported by the government agency and business clubs. It is known as

Ramadhan Fair, which presents local, national, and international culinary together with cultural performances from 04 PM until midnight.

b). The Chinese communities in Medan North Sumatra right now celebrate New Year (Imlek in Hokkien) and Cap Go Meh, not only in Temples (like *Gunung Timur* and *Maitreya Cemara Asri*) but those celebrations have been in public spaces. In the 2013 and 2014 of the Chinese New Year, I observed that the lion dance attraction was performed in the different locations—Sun Plaza, Yuki Plaza, Center Point Shopping Mall, and the Polonia Central Business District of Medan.

c). The Malays in Georgetown celebrate Hari Raya after a month fasting; this event symbolizes the cycle of Muslim life returns to the beginning because the Ramadhan. Month is the right time for burning all sins and mistakes by the Grace of Allah Almighty. As Muslims the Malays symbolically have been *Suci* (*Fitrah* in Arabic, like   a baby without sins). The visitors could feel the joyously live of Malays for a three-day celebration.

d). The Straits Chinese of Georgetown Penang have a series of celebrations—New Year, Cap Go Meh, Hungry Ghost, Nine Emperor Gods and Dragon Boat Race.

4.4. Magnifying Symbolic Performances

The Manchester School of Anthropology sees the domain of the fieldwork, which is surrounded by the symbolic circumstances in the society and is highlighted to avoid the naive understanding of an ethnographer (Gluckman, 1964:162). In accordance with the functional paradigm, this social drama paradigm traces the function of rituals and cultural performances in a wider spectrum, that is, the implication for the solidarity of the community. The enactments of rituals, carnivals, and festivals of communities' culture are involving the ethnic groups' strategies to represent their heritage in public either in local, regional, or global levels.

The values of beliefs and traditions in social performances are transformed in the communities in the forms of the symbolic carnivals and festivals. A candle-lit process, in the celebration of the birthday of *Siddhartha Gautama* or Buddha in *Wesak Day*, symbolizes the Benevolence. It is a symbolic performance for Buddhists that includes charitable acts. The main point in the symbolic performance is to unify and maintain communal solidarity through a collaborative carnival and festival. Thus, symbolic performances attract the community to follow the patrons being celebrated; the *Boria* of Penang and *Tabuik* of the coastal area in West Sumatra originally come from the same story but symbolically perform in different types of genres. The British Army of India brought those performances to Penang for the commemoration of the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. The Boria performance is a staged action in front of an audience, and it is now rooted in Georgetown tradition. But in contrast to the Tabuik procession of West Sumatra, this festival is following the coastal tradition, which takes adopts the natural environment as its natural stage. Anthony P Cohen elaborates that the creations which make the ritual forms are not fixed and uniform. One community experiences differently from that of her neighbor.

The modification and remodeling may occur based on the communal environment. Hybrid as a creative combination and syncretic as a natural adaptation to the local setting as the Georgetown Boria and the Pariaman Tabuik of West Sumatra are reconstructed to highlight ethnic identity. The Jawi in Georgetown and people of mixed Tamil and local Minangkabau blood reproduce the myths of Syih dramaturgy in Penang and West Sumatra. Those two communities applied the values of religion in the symbolic performances. Those two performances (Boria and Tabuik) were brought to Georgetown and Pariaman from India which was a Ta'ziyah Muslim tradition that focuses on the martyrdom of Imam Hussien (Beeman, 1993). That Shi'a passion drama is enacted to commemorate the 4th leader of the Shi'a Muslim, Imam Hussein (the grandson of Prophet Muhammad) (Beeman, 1993:375). Cohen (1985) rightly points out that variations of carnivals and festivals appear in the community.

"Though these ritual forms are more explicit, it does not follow that their meanings are necessarily fixed and uniform. Rather, the ritual occasions are themselves symbolic. They have an 'official' form and rationale, but their participants may well find in them quite different meaning and experience. Indeed, it is probably the very opportunity they afford to their participants to assimilate the symbolic forms to their individual and idiosyncratic experience and social and emotional needs that makes them so compelling and attractive" (Cohen,1985: 53).

In the Chinese New Year 2014, I observed the Chew community's celebration in Georgetown Penang; thus, I obtained two of the ethnological assumptions of the raw data relating to ritual celebration as a heritage and as a reconstruction of ethnic identity appear. Here are three forms of ethnic identity reconstructions through the New Year ritual and celebrations.

a). the first assumption is a hybrid process of ritual and public festival. The celebration of the Jade Emperor's birthday on the 8th day of the Chinese New Year in Chew   Jetty   Penang symbolizes the Chew Jetty community's social drama, both in ritual and in secular public festival not only for the Chew Jetty community, but it also covers the tourists; the celebration of Jade Emperors on the 8th day of the New Year of the Chinese brings good luck for the whole. On that night, a crowd, around 8 PM, began to form in the neighborhood of the Chew Jetty, Pangkalan Weld, Georgetown, Penang of Malaysia. The main road, Pangkalan Weld, and the streets that link to this road were shifted from shop houses to serve as celebration spaces for paying homage and for exorcism rituals. It is a night for *Gong Xi Fat Cai* (Wishes for Your Prosperity).

b). the second ethnological assumption is ethnic identity reconstruction via symbolic performance. The ethnographic fieldwork indicates that the symbolic meaning of the Chew Jetty community celebration of ritual and secular public festival takes a contextual issue to the Chew community, which usefully signifies that ritual. From what has been observed in the Chew community's celebration, it is possible to argue that what has been described above relates to the construction of ethnic identity. The religious impulses in public festival give sufficient attention to the fact   that the Chew Jetty celebration needs a multisite observation and analysis. The acts of reviving and the processes of *ethnification* of the Chew Jetty bring significant meanings for this community and visitors.

c). The movement of locus from temples to the public spaces: the Jade Emperor   celebration organized by the Chew Jetty community met this ethnological discussion of ethnic heritage; the revival of ethnic identity through the phenomena of carnivals and festivals make the beliefs, myths, folklores and traditions intermingle as heritage reproductions in public spaces not in temples. My observation in the fieldwork finds that a social fact of ritual embraces public spheres; there is a renewed attentiveness to the spiritual and secular dimensions.   The Chew Jetty community as a sub-ethnic group of the Straits Chinese in Georgetown has a relationship with others in which cultural identity bears the symbolic performance. In seeking symbols and meanings of the Jade Emperor celebration, we have to see this celebration as a path of the social drama that symbolically engages the cycles of community life. The Chew Jetty community's hybrid celebration of ritual and secular festival makes the ethnic identity tradition appear to the public as a heritage. The Chew Jetty community's hybrid celebration of ritual and secular festival signifies the social meaning. It is a site of struggle for ethnic revival in public spaces.

d). The new valuable meaning not only retaking the Jade Emperor celebration of the Chew Jetty community's vernacular belief and culture heritage of Chew Community Jetty tradition, but it has prompted the raw data to highlight a distinctive signifier of social drama practice. This celebration now revolves in regional and global contexts. Therefore, my analysis predicts that this celebration is both as a heritage struggle and tourism development. This is the

Chew's tradition to serve for the regional and global contexts. Additionally, the Chew community's hybrid celebration of ritual and secular festival, even only in a night's symbolic performance by the Chew, has brought the Chew identity to the public. The public spaces are used as arenas where communication with the divine is venerated. Thus, the Chew, in my observation, has access to spiritual and secular domains.

The raw data shows the Chew community's celebration of ritual and secular public festival as a contemporary heritage subject. This Chew celebration contributes to Malaysia. The global tourism context is significant to heritage as what Chew has. The Chew community's celebration of ritual and secular public festival shifts to have a transformational process that involves the reconstruction of ethnic identity. The two assumptions of ethnological data obtained from the hybrid celebration of the Chew Jetty community are better understood with Anthony P Cohen (1985: 53) arguments:

"The boundary-marking rituals are less esoteric and are frequently more explicit in expression. They may be large-scale and elaborate entertainments like Carnival, diffuse and festive occasion such as fairs and fiestas, or more focused local and parochial affairs, such as saint's days shrine-specific celebrations (for example, in England, the Derbyshire well-dressings). In rural societies, and before the spread of capital-intensive technology, the agricultural cycle generated a ritual calendar, both religious and secular. But more 'modern' industrialized and secular societies also reveal important calendrical rituals marking locality, ethnicity, occupation, or some other significant aspect of communal identity. It is worth noting that even in those societies which have officially disparaged religiously oriented ritual, the state has found it expedient to contrive occasions for ritual performance". (Cohen, 1985:53)

After observing the Chinese New Year Celebration, the data indicate that the Chinese rituals and festivals are rooted in the axis of human relation to the environment where the cycles are based on calendrical seasons and not on primitive notions of the soul that mostly have been overshot by the theories of religion and oriental's. The great sages have been those adopted by the monks and priests in celebrations. Thus conceptualized and formulated in a very philosophical thinking by the scholars in reporting rituals, the symbolic performances and their meanings are often comprehensively misunderstood. Malinowski has reminded anthropology to avoid the data analysis of ceremonies without knowing the context of the situation (Malinowski, 1948).

The field data indicates that the rudimentary notions and functions of symbolic performances that scholars have tended to blow up and made the rituals of Chinese Nanyang not to have a logical pattern as what Clifford Geertz often found when he began his fieldwork in Marocco and Bali. As soon as he acquires the symbolic meaning of culture, he obtains the cultural pattern that people enact in those locations. They have a logical path. The observation ended with a failure when an individual aspect brings to the Chinese popular beliefs ancestor worship, kinship, spirit mediums, individual deities, and cults.

The community lives in a web of symbolic enactments that take a series of processions to grasp their meanings. The social dramas which seek the meanings of rites of passage for shaping the *communitas* by understanding the interactions of rituals and symbols (Turner, 1985; Turner and Bruner, 1986) show the Neo-Malay made the reauthentication rituals with Islamic values. The ethnography shows the reconstructing and recalling the past experiences for cultural identities through the symbolic performances such as rituals and festivals in Medan and Penang of the Straits of Melaka. The observation for collecting symbols and their meanings in rituals and festivals with a holistic approach to the Chinese performances in Medan and Georgetown shows that:

a). in the Chinese calendar is the New Year celebration which holds for 15 days and a series of traditional rituals and feasts are observed during this period. This is a spring ceremony for

paying homage, ancestor worship, and filial piety. The streets are blanketed with lucky red paper debris and filled with the sounds of drums, gongs, cymbals;

b). the exploding sound of firecrackers or lighting candles symbolizes the placating of the bad spirits and the clearing of the ceremonial spaces. Those symbolic performances show the human relation to nature and the environment;

c). the mythical lions and dragons are respectively also associated with good fortune and Nirvana of the Buddhist. The dragons in the traditions of the Chinese emperors symbolize the power and high intelligence that we commonly see both in the right and left gates of temples. The lions protect Buddhists from bad luck and evil spirits;

d). the colors in Chinese tradition are interpreted symbolically. The red color symbolizes human blood. The red also signifies a brave, loyal and honest person (the character of Guan Yu). The yellow is the symbol of Chinese emperors, while the green symbolizes a warrior.

Chapter 5

Ethnoregionalism as Redress Phase: Cultural Heritage Reproductions

"This is understandable when it is seen that it applies relational thinking not only to symbolic systems, ….any set of symbolic objects, e.g. clothing, literary works, etc. (like all so-called 'structuralist' analyses), but also to the social relations of which these symbolic systems are a more or less transformed expression" (The Field of Cultural Production, Pierre Bourdieu, 1993:32).

5.0. Introduction to Ethno-regionalism

The awareness of the identity of regions (Klaus Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007:20) currently increases either among the natives of the Archipelago or Chinese Nanyang Southeast Asia. The ethnic groups in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown '*in the presenting of the past in the present*' (Giordano, 2009) lead to the cultural revivals. Although in a long process of identity reconstruction revolves, only in the present situation is the ethnification of the region more visible in public spaces. The ethnification of a region that has been shown by the Neo- Malay and Chinese Nanyang in many celebrations is interpreted. The ethnoregional process in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown is observed as a redress model. In terms of method, the **Redress**[16] as a model of analyses for tracing regionalization of ethnic identity is applied. It practically follows the process of cultural reproductions for highlight in urban areas in the Southeast Asia region.

In exploring the Ethnoregionalism with some case studies in North America, Lourdes Arizpe and C Amescua (2013) found that the cultural reproductions as an ethnic identity experienced the blended cultures and hybrid process. They recommend the involvement of a micro-regional analysis in cultural plurality due to a long contact between natives, immigrants, and Europeans in many of the cultural areas. The regional cultural interactions among the people who shared a cultural identity create new strategies for cultural reproductions.

In this multi-sited ethnography, the field of cultural productions[17] as the main core of ethnoregionalism is targeted. The micro-analyses of ethnic culture reproductions with symbolic elements which give clues for understanding rituals and cultural events show the cultural meanings of rituals and festivals. Thus, in this micro-analyses referring to the cultural productions in the public spaces is engaged the multi-sited fieldwork in Medan North Sumatra and Georgetown, Penang of Malaysia.

The ethnification of a shared culture in the regional cultural area is put into a micro-analysis. The use of micro-analysis of ethnic revivals here is to capture, by following the ethnic group's strategies in the creation of the cultural productions, the cultural recovery. The ethnification of cultural reproductions is the main core in this redress model. Principally the recovery after conflict or crisis is enlarged to encapsulate the regional cultural area.

The communication technology also enables the connectivity of ethnic groups in crossing the national borders and gives an impact on the anthropology of ethnicity. In addition to that, Roth and Brunnbauer (2007) argue that the regional elites promote unity in the regional area. The cultural

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[16]Redress is the third process in Victor Tuner's social drama theory. The members of a community in a redress situation find a new way of resolving the conflicts that occured in the second phase (Liminal /Crisis). Redress is a transition process in the social drama to meet the harmony.

[17] Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) the field of cultural production I use as the foundation in seeking the meanings of the cultural heritage productions as identity reconstruction strategies (symbolic rituals and ceremonies).

events in the global tourism may disassociate the regional histories from national identity and would also highlight the ethnoregional unity.

Despite the fact the regional conception has geographical and morphological senses, regionalization can appear based on the history and social construction (Roth and Brunnbauer:2007). He contends that "historical experience can form a region, and likewise so can *social* factors such as religion, language, dialect, ethnicity or folk culture be differentiating criteria that constitute a region" (2007:21). The regionalization of ethnic identity reconstructions is a sort of continuation of the past memory in which the ethnification process to regional with a new cultural taste.

Despite the ups and downs of the shaping and reshaping of ethnic identities from the pre-colonial era in the Straits of Melaka in which the seafarers connecting to the Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea as well as the Pacific Ocean, anyhow, the current type of transformation is manifested in the cultural heritage products.

The cultural productions of these two sister cities have rituals and festivals used as the field of cultural productions and as the modes of ethnic revivals. The redress model interprets the identity of regions enhanced by the information technology and flight carriers in the globalization connexion. Gluckman's methodology of '*closed system and open minds*' (1964) leads the understanding of redress event of the ethnoregional to find the connexion of this passage to an exegetic analysis. The methodology of 'closed system and open minds' (Glukman, 1964) is here applied to view the cultural revival of the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang in the regional level. The cultural products such as the strategy of getting the highlighted reconstructions of ethnic identity are observed by connecting any strategies to the regional scope.

The process of balancing socio-cultural elements after conflicts at the local and national levels is followed by the redress model to give a comprehensive understanding. For instance when I was in the fieldwork for the case study of cultural heritage reproductions, I was with a redress model exploring the identity revivals like the Chinese lion and dragon dances in many shopping malls in Metropolitan Medan that will embrace the regionalization of heritage products.

Regionalization of Buddhism in Southeast Asia at the global level is an interesting reality. Kemper (2005) argues that:

".... Buddhist monks constitute a globalizing force as important as any other ''moving group'. Sinhala bhikkhus are scattered across the globe, serving Buddhist communities that developed.....in Malaysia and Singapore..... Together they constitute the Sinhala Buddhist ethnoscape. Extending beyond this Sinhala ethnoscape, and sometimes interspersed with it, lies a broader Buddhist ethnoscape". (2005:23)

With the concepts of transfiguration and the hybrid Chinese religion of Malaysia and Singapore, Goh explains that the transfiguration of internal factors of the Chinese religion has not been changed since colonial era until now. However, the hybrid in practices of the Chinese religion has adopted much of the other beliefs ritualization, such as the local Malay's cult of the Datuk Kong and any ceremonials of Christians (Goh, 2009). The Chinese religion in Malaysia and Singapore, for Goh, is not relevant or matched in the discussions of monotheism and polytheism conceptions. Instead, Goh suggests to looking the Chinese religion in Malaysia and Singapore from the perspective of emic; not using the monotheism viewpoint, but looking at the Chinese religion from their own traditions. It is no wonder if many scholars, according to Goh, are misleading others with the polytheism idea. Furthermore, concerning with ethnoregionalism of Chinese religion, Goh (2009) elaborates that "in Malaysia and Singapore, Chinese religion has attracted anthropological attention

because of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, and then extant economic and cultural globalisation, accentuate the paradox" (Goh, 2009:108).

In relation to globalization that results in the 'block' (Roth and Brunnbauer, 2007) and unity of a region, the analyses of Goh on the Chinese religion in Malaysia and Singapore opens a new path. The ethnification processes to the regional scope that Giordano (2009) offers actually have guided this research in revealing the presented data of Chinese religion in the Southeast Asia region (Goh, 2009). Globalization results in permanent reconstruction of ethnic identity. In the Southeast Asia and Taiwan connection, the *Foguang Shan* (Chinese Buddha's Light Mountain), according to Stuart Chandler (2005) has many globalization programs to unify the region. The Chinese Buddha's Light Mountain is "to act as a bridge back to the Chinese cultural homeland. The organization's capacity to serve as a vehicle to preserve Chinese identity is directly undermined by any effort to localize the practice or to harmonize it with global pop culture" (Chandler, 2005:179). The Chinese Buddha program to organize the ethnification of belief and culture of China is a regionalization action. Giordano (2009) argues that "the idea of a permanent *regionalization of identities*, accompanied by the inevitable conflicts and contrasts that these changes entail, but without these tensions necessarily escalating into a devastating and widespread *clash of civilizations* or into a single collective animosity" (Giordano, 2009).

The cultural identity revival in the form of preserving of ethnoregional belief values is growing. Many cultural events are observed in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown as the Chinese rituals and festivals recast the ethnification. They take the chains of a number of religious processions, festivals and carnivals as instruments to reconstruct identity in urban areas. The event organizers held festivals in the incorporations with the local governments, universities, performers' groups, business joint-venture groups and local communities. The urban cultural phenomenon brings the ethnic heritage exposed to the public spaces. The potential power of ethnic identity in regional scope makes the hybrid cultural events as the identity displays in the public carnivals and festivals as well as the international entertainments.

5.1. Recasting the Cultural Heritage of Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang

Anthropologists, like Bronislaw Malinowski and Clifford Geertz, who work on the rituals and theaters regard all performances for rituals as manifestations of the shared beliefs and myths of human culture (Malinowski, 1948; Geertz, 1973). Elinor Shaffer of the University of East Anglia argues that the theory and the fieldwork of anthropology are mostly concerned with ritual in '*primitive*' and evolved society. Moreover, the early twentieth century of the Cambridge School of Anthropology took a vital role in exploring the ritual origins in the forms of dramas (Shaffer, 1993:136). Following the idea of the ritualized and modern societies of Victor Turner, the social dramas basically incorporate the traditional ritual cycles, but the staging of carnivals has been used as the leisure activities in modern society (Turner, 1982). The human symbolic actions which are performed in the forms of mini-dramas, festivals and carnivals become a part of the cultural heritage. The staging of the heritage of ethnic groups is a growing segment of the regional and global cultural productions.

The reproduction of heritage appears to be the representations of ethnic groups in the cities as a strategy to reconstruct identity in the regional context. Some cultural performances for identity reconstruction involve the tourism agents to promote heritage. Heritage needs the reconstructions of religious practices, folklores exposes, and customs presentations for showing the diversity of ethnic groups, which attract the visitors. The cultural reproductions represent identity and take festivity in the public spaces that tend to be an ethnoregional process in the globalizing world.

Even though the primordial concept of identity formation is tied to blood, origins, and language, the instrument perspective argues that the ethnic identity strategies in the shaping and reshaping process might be having economic and political ends. The ethnicity, according to Fredrik Barth (1969), tends to follow the situation. Thinking of Judith Nagata's shifting identity among the Jawi Pekan of Georgetown to be the Malay (1979) is interesting in ethnicity studies; the instrument perspective is more applicable. The urban communities in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown-Penang since the Dutch colonial and British period have been in the ethnoregional connection to international transportations. The global condition shows that the instrumental way of formatting the ethnic identities is strengthened by the massive transportation to cross-national borders.

The process of ethnoregional at the global level is tied to many goals—political economy and cultural heritage tourism. The perspective of instrument argues that the enactment of the religious and national festivals is an invented identity (Eric Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) to show the power of identity to the public. The ethnification in regionalization is a process that raises the revivals of ethnic groups via ceremonies, commemorations and celebrations. The ethnoregionalism is coming up in the process of solidifying the members. The sense of belonging to certain communities is upheld in any events that are centralized around the religious and cultural sites. The processions and symbols of numerous religiosity and cultural events have identity reconstructed. The different rituals and cultural events reshape the cognitive meanings that are owing to the heritage. The diverse social context traditions such as *Imlek* and *Raya Puasa* of Georgetown-Penang have the communities come to public spaces and claim the shared ethnic heritage for the political and economic goals.

5.1.1). 'Warisan' Hybrid Rituals of Malays

The 'Warisan Budaya' as a cultural heritage of the Malay has a huge potential social meaning for the Malays in social interactions. Nagata (2002) contends that warisan budaya (heritage) is the past history that has a social function to the ethnic identity in Georgetown-Penang. Heritage is the living source of the next generation to remark the identity reconstructions. Using life cycles model, this research is to search the cycles of rituals and ceremonies in the Malay culture. The ritual and art performances of the urban communities in Georgetown-Penang and Medan are the 'Warisan' of the Malay and 'Syncretic' and hybrid cultures of the Chinese.

There is a Processual way with liminal situation (that has been discussed in a previous chapter) which mediates by symbols for the transformation of an individual into a community. In Malay culture, the ritualized performances of *Purbawara, Mak Yong, Menora, Mendu, Bangsawan*, and *Wayang* (Puppetry show) not only reclaim the historical figures of the Malay royal elite but they also represent the traditions and values of blended Malay culture with the Hindu tradition. The *Wayang* performances take the adapted Sanskrit epics, *Mahabharata and Ramayana* as the main sources of the story.

The uniqueness of Malay culture through the ritual and festival enactments such as the reproductions of Malay heritage for the unity of the Archipelago reveals the increased attempts of the Neo-Malays in Medan and Georgetown. According to Victor Turner's theory of the transformations, there is a series of dramatic plots that must be experienced by a person or a community to achieve a new status through a ritual. Then in the historical record it was found that the elevation of local rulers in the Malay traditional epic is through a ritual. In Maimoon Palace of Sultan Deli in Medan the Malay traditions are reconstructed in the forms of art performances (Figure, 5.1). For example, in the past, an enactment of the spiritual dance for the cult of Shiva worship in the community was a living myth, but it has been transformed into the Islamization of inaugurations in the Neo-Malay cultural events. Thus, Nasuruddin (1995) elaborates that the ritual performance to the Shiva as a cosmic model is to elevate the *Deva-Raj* adoption from Brahmanism by the local rulers in the Malay culture.

Figure: 5. 1. The Inscription on the Maimoon Palace the 26th of August 1888

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

The present situation, according to Shamsul AB, Mustafa Ishak, and Luckman Sinar, Malaysia, sees the Malay as *Bangsa* (Nation) in Malaysia, but in Indonesia it is only as small ethnic group who live in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Ethno-nationalism regards the identity of the Malay referring to the values of Islamic, speak Malay and adat (customary law). These three elements are regarded as 'Malayness', and they are the national identity of Malaysia, but only the identity of a social group on the East Coast of Sumatra and Kalimantan of Indonesia. The process of upholding Islamic values in Melayu Baru (Neo-Malay) as a new identity is reshaped by the elite. Eventually, during the tenure of Dato' Dr. Mahathir Muhammad, the state policy strengthens these three elements in economic, socio-cultural practices. The Malay privileges increase the Islamic solidarity and this situation is also connected to the global revival of Islam. If for some Malays, ethnicity has been infused into the Islamic faith, it would not be surprising whenever a few Malays object to the traditional performances that contain animistic elements and non-Islamic values. The Malay is in transition to reconstruct the cultural elements that are suitable to Islamic values.

In the realm of the Malay culture, there is a need to interpret the rituals and cultural performances for revealing the symbolic meaning that the present ethnic identity reconstructions appear in the new adjustment for the regional and global cultural interactions. The epics of traditions of the Malay culture based on social dramas invoke many kinds of enactments of heritage values. In Penang, according to Karim, "a sense of value and pride over Malay culture and traditions requires money, for most of the ingredients of Malay social relations is based on food-giving activities or food exchanges based on *jamuan makan or kenduri*" (Karim, 2009:30-310). The rituals and cultural performances are the collections of traditions from pre-Islamic elements until the acculturation of global culture in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. An ethnomusicology report of North Sumatra indicates the rapid acculturation of cultural performance in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. One of the research reports is exploring the use of drums in Malay performances within transformative culture either from Hindu or Western influences.

Having creatively adapted and adopted the foreign culture for cultural productions, the Malay experienced cultural transformations due to the cross-cultural exchanges. Takari (2000: 63-68) contends that the cultural transformation of the Malays in the East Coast of Sumatra from pre-Islamic to Islamic performances, and from colonial to global cultures, innovated many types of acculturated rituals and cultural performances. Takari enlists the Malays in East Coast Sumatra rituals and cultural performances. In his report, Takari (2000) contends that Malays perform

Tamtambuku (a children play), *Si Dodoi* (Lullaby), *Ahoi* (a paddy harvest dance), *Sinandong nelayan* (the fishermen's dance for calling wind), *Dendang* (a solo song in the wedding ceremony), *Marhaban* or *Al-Barzanji (*a series of lyrical songs for Prophet Mohammad), *Takbir* (a glorified performance in *Id Fitr* day), *Gambus/Zapin* (an Islamic performance for moral teaching), *Ronggeng/jogget* (a social dance and song for social ends of Western influence) (Takari, 2000). The performing of rituals and festivals for the people of East Sumatra Malay is not merely an artistic creation, but it involves the religiosity and identity as well as entertainment or leisure. Performing traditional music now has been united with the various aspects such as political, economic and tourism.

The rituals and cultural performances interplay with any underlying factors in the social relations. There is a process of reshaping and reconstructing national identity that embraces ethnification of regional and global cultures. The past experiences for regionalization have the performing of rituals and festivals of the Malays coming up in the public space (Figure 5.2 below). It is a new phenomenon that should be addressed by the social drama research. The proximity of Medan and Georgetown-Penang makes this process more dynamic. Those performances or enactments link people to a regional social communication interconnection: the cultural performances play an important role in recasting identity reconstructions for a wider scope of the regional social interactions.

It is commonly found that the ideal is manifested in social interactions and cultural expressions. Basically performing such rituals and art festivals is a manifestation of the shared beliefs and myths. Furthermore, a British scholar Richard Winstedt (1950: 1) in *The Malays A Cultural History* explains that the Malay culture includes:

a.   A fear of nature spirits
b.   The Séance of the shaman
c.   The Hindu ritual of a royal installation
d.   The Celebration of the Muhammadan New Year
e.   The Sermon in the Mosques
f.   The Pilgrimage to Mecca
g.   Sufi mysticism
h.   The Hamlet of the Malay Opera
i.   The Cinema

The above list shows the traditional culture of the Malays. In Georgetown-Penang of Peninsular Malaysia, a Malaysian anthropologist Wazir Karim reports that the Malays have traditional rituals and ceremonies such as *Talil* (prayers for the deceased or other special occasions requiring blessing), *doa selamat* (thanksgiving), *suap gula* (feeding of sugar to ensure prosperity and productivity), the *Khatam Qur'an* (the completion of the reading of the Qu'ran by the bride), the *Mandi Bunga* (flower bath to remove evil influences, a rite of passage ritual frequently performed on young women), and the *Kenduri Nikah* (a small fiest after solemnization of the marriage) (Karim: 2009:31-32). All the forms of ceremonies that Karim mentioned are enacted to life cycles that the Malays have believed in for many years.

Figure: 5.2. The Persembahan Dance of Deli Malay

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Georgetown-Penang has many blended ritual enactments and entertainments. There is the *Boria*m which is known as a hybrid cultural performance of Georgetown-Penang. Even though it contains the *Takziyah* tradition of Iranian *Shiah* and South India, it has experienced development from the British Colonial to Post-Colonial Malaysia. The *Boria performance,* which was originally the commemoration of the death of Syaidina Hussein (Prophet Muhammad's grandson), brought to Georgetown-Penang by the Indian soldiers in the British Colonial era. It has been eventually mixed with the local culture. Presently the Georgetown-Penang Boria performance is a mix of Indian style and Malay stories. The performance of Boria has been blended with the local Malay culture. Uniquely, the *Boria* is now performed for various communication goals by the elite and companies (Aziz and Derak 2010).

5.1.2) The Syncretic Culture of Straits Chinese

The Chinese culture has experienced a very long interaction with the Malays and modernism in the polyethnic cities of Medan and Georgetown-Penang, Malaysia. It is found that the Straits Chinese have the syncretic beliefs of Buddhist, Confucian and local deities in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. De Bernadi in *Rites of Belonging Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (2004) mentions the Chinese ritual tradition as *Popular Beliefs*. The revival of the Chinese identity in the Medan and Georgetown-Penang is connected to the "notion of Chinese as a marker of common culture and identity in a rapidly postmodernizing world"(Ian Ang, 2001: 43). The shared memories of the Straits Chinese and connectivity and business network to Taiwan contribute much on the ethnic identity reconstruction in the currently global situation. Basically, the Straits-born Chinese since the colonial era have a hybrid identity in which they absorb local culture like 'speaking Malay' for social interaction, *Kebaya* Fashion *of Nyonya*, *Dondang Sayang* song, and perform *Bangsawan*.

The state policy affects the legal enactments in respect of rituals and festivals in public spaces. After the fall of New Order Regime in Indonesia, the descendants of the Chinese (Peranakan) could celebrate their rituals and cultural performances freely. The fourth President of Indonesia Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) in the year 2000 gave an opportunity to the Chinese group to get their ritual observances, and since 2003 the Chinese New Year (*Imle*k) has been an official holiday in Indonesia. After 2003 Indonesia saw the attractive cultural performances of the Chinese in public spaces. In my observation in 2014, I encountered the reshaping of the Chinese identity through festivals in Medan of North Sumatra and Penang of Malaysia such as the Dragon dance, Lion Dance (*Barongsai* in Bahasa*)* with the beating of gongs, cymbals, drums and the lighting of firecrackers and theatrical performance could be seen in public places now. The traditional ceremonies of the Chinese New Year in February, Goddess of Mercy, Goddess of the Earth, Tau Pek Kong and Mazu are not only used for preserving the Chinese identity in the region, but they are also attracting tourists (Figure, 5.3 below).

Figure: 5.3. The Chinese ritual in Vihara (Temple)

Photo by Ms. Henny Yilling of Vihara Maitreya

Heritage reproductions were revived for the cultural identity of ethnic groups. Identity reconstructions are followed by cultural performances in the public spaces, such as carnivals, festivals, and exhibitions. The dynamic adjustment of Chinese identity reconstructions in Indonesia and Malaysia result in the syncretic beliefs (popular) and a hybrid of the culture identity of Straits Chinese. Ethnification of Chinese identity in this region tends to reoccur but in the sense of transformations. With the Processual strategy of social drama (Turner, 1969) in the fieldwork, Straits Chinese cultural identity through symbolic analysis is highlighted. Ang (2001:31) aptly explains that there is a tremendously re-ethnicized Chinese in the last decade or so. In line with adaptation to colonial and independent governments, the Chinese took their identity to a new shape and transformed into reconstruction for regional experiences. The ethnoregionalism of the Chinese shows new forms in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown-Penang.

Social interactions motivate ethnic groups to show their cultural identity reconstructions. The life cycles of the Chinese community show that usage of local Chinese vernaculars tends to be replaced by Mandarin and English in Southeast Asia. The third and fourth generations were transformed to be more national (Mandarin) and international (English). Since 1980 many Straits Chinese associations and the Chinese clubs have enhanced regional identity. They learn Mandarin language and Chinese heritage in the forms of sports and entertainments. Their travel agents offer the various tourism packages for visiting Mainland China. It was then Chinese fraternities and films distributions started arising in Southeast Asia. In addition to that, Ang (2001) tells her own experience of how, as Chinese diaspora in Holland, she had watched Chinese "films about Yellow River, The Silk Route, on Taoism, Chinese village life, the Great Wall, the Chinese Red Army, the history of Chinese communism, Tiananmen Square Massacre" (Ang, 2001:31). Like the Malays, in my observation, the Straits Chinese are now remaking (reconstructing) identities through various media and the rituals as cycles are celebrated by enacted ceremonies with symbols.

5.2. Regional Cultural Heritage Production

There are regional cultural heritage reproductions[18] albeit loyalty to social values of beliefs, ethnic customs, myths and national ideologies. Considering the urban enclaves in Medan and Georgetown[19], it yields a transformative process that involves cultural heritage productions, and the ethnic groups in national culture are being reshaped for facing regionalization. In the fieldwork, the local traditions either as rituals or aesthetic cultural performances in a currently globalizing world create a new cultural phenomenon in a great variety of forms. The reproductions of heritage for the tourism industry which cover regional (ASEAN countries) are projected in a process of recovery from inter-ethnic and national conflicts.

The theory of the field of cultural production (Pierre Bourdieu, 1993) is adopted here to analyze the cultural productionns such as carnivals and festivals. I observe on them, based on the foundation of Bourdieu' idea, for digging up the meanings of actions: the field of cultural heritage reproductions is explored in the attachment of ethnic heritage to regional ends. In other words, the meaning of cultural events for ethnic identity reconstructions in this study is highlighted in a redress framework. For addressing this cultural phenomenon and for proposing theories of culture based on anthropological data, a series of rituals, carnivals and cultural festivals in Georgetown Penang and Medan North Sumatra Indonesia has been observed from the fourth week of December 2013 until

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[18] Following Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) field of cultural production, I have the series of events demarcated (Glukman, 1964): the data of heritage reproductions, in adopting the Bourdieu's cultural production, have been intesively explored.

[19] I observed the cultural productions in polyethnic sister cities-Medan and Georgetown. I interpreted the past experiences that revived in heritage products by the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang in the wave of regionalization.

December 2014. I collected the data to address the ethnification of the region and these two polyethnic cities are rich in local traditions.

The mosaic cultures of Medan and Georgetown were shaped after the various cultures had been brought by the immigrants from the surroundings of Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East, and South China. The syncretic rituals and cultural performances of Straits Chinese are staged annually in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia and Metropolitan Medan North Sumatra of Indonesia. The Straits Chinese lion and dragon dances are attractive media of religious values through the enactments of rituals and those are entertainments for visitors. While the Mak Yong and Mak Inang dances of the Malays that are performed in Maimoon Palace of Medan North Sumatra Indonesia are used as ethnic identity displays and contestations as well as a heritage for the regional and global cultural productions[20].

The Sultan Ma'mun Al Rasyid Foundation initiates the Malay Culture Night to preserve the heritage of the Deli Melayu (Malay in English) through a series of cultural performances. The foundation is now to uphold the cultural heritage of the Malay and to strengthen the public perception of the Maimoon Palace as the Icon of the City of Medan. Those heritage reproductions are expected to attract tourists to the Maimon Palace.

The attention paid by anthropologists (Dennison Nash, 2007; Regina F Bendix, 2012; Arizpe and Amescua, 2013; Hitchcock and King, 2003) to the reconstructions of ethnic identity lays a good foundation for carrying out this comparative cultural research. In regard to the heritage reproduction process, we need to read the idea of UNESCO in the selection of the heritage cities and list them in the safeguard regime. The listing of the Historical Cities of the Straits of Malacca on the 7th of July 2008 for the Outstanding Universal Values (OUVs) that Melaka and Georgetown have is executed by UNESCO. It says that Melaka and Georgetown[21] symbolize humanity's heritage, as what Khoo Salma Nasution remarks that "Melaka and Georgetown at crossroad of civilisation, imbued with layers of history, with tangible and intangible multicultural heritages set in historical townscape" (2010:293). For specific information, it is said in the brochure that:

> "Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated was established by the Penang State Government to safeguard both the tangible and intangible heritage assets of Georgetown. This includes traditional lifestyle, knowledge and skills, beliefs and practices, stories and memories that have been passed down from generation to generation. The GTWHI logo is a stlyised form of the **kaki lima,** a symbol of shared space and the various activities that can take place within it. We at GTWHI are here to revive this walkway, providing a link between old and new, private and public, and creating opportunities for stake holders to gather and for dialogue". (Source: Brochure of Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated)

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[20] In an interview with the Chair of Sultan Ma'moen Al Rasyid Foundation, Mr. Tengku Kamarul bin Tengku Syaifuddin Al-Haj of the Maimoon Palace on the 26th of December 2013 revealed that the Maimon Palace is the centre of the Malay heritage reproductions in the Province of North Sumatra.

[21] Melaka and Georgetown's Outstanding Universal Values (OUVs) were described by UNESCO as exceptional examples of multi-cultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia, forged from the mercantile and civilizational exchanges of the Malay, Chinese, Indian and European cultures; a living testimony to the multi-cultural heritage and tradition of Asia, where the greatest religions and cultures met and coexisted in harmony.

- A unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in the East and South East Asia, in particular, a range and exceptional architecture of shophouses and townhouses.

Khoo Salma (2010) emphasizes the dramatic awareness about the social meaning of heritage reproductions in the regional and global contexts; heritage has the potential values for identity reconstructions and for heritage tourism. The reproductions of ethnic heritage for cultural identity reconstructions and the tourism industry as well as its development here should be described from the multi-perspectives. The rituals, carnivals, and festivals are mixed in the historical cities as cultural heritage, which revives identities of ethnic groups and attracts the visitors to enjoy and experience it.

The cultural analysis of Giordano (2015) and the report of Jenkins (2008) confirm that there was a series of religious and cultural festivals taking place throughout the city of Georgetown, Penang Malaysia, when the advisory of World Heritage List Visit of Richard Engerlhardt was in Georgetown. From Jenkins' report we are informed that festivals were run by a state-organized-tourist event, community-organized and perpetuated, supported by regional tourism and pilgrimages (2008:151). Moreover, Jenkins describes the festivals thus: "The Chinese *Tua Pek Kong* procession, the Chinese *Chneah Hoay* fire-watching ceremony to predict the year's fortunes, the Straits-Chinese *Dondang Sayang* singers who toured the town during Chap Go Mei "(Jenkins, 2008:151).

Penang promotion of GHTHI has three implications; highlighting the diversity of ethnic culture reconstruction, reclaiming of living heritage, and attracting tourism (See Figure 5.4 above). In a brochure of Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), the intangible heritage of Georgetown is described not only as a vital contributing factor to the significance of the World Heritage Site, but also as what gives the city its richness and vitality. In daily basis operations, the government agency GTWHI[22] begins in 2012 for the safeguard of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and the inventory of ICH in Georgetown Penang;

> *"George Town World Heritage Incorporated's (GTWHI) Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is one of the first steps required to plan measures for the safeguarding of ICH and to ensure its continued sustainability for future generations. The Inventory project serves to identify and document what constitutes ICH in the particular context of the Historic City of Georgetown. Beginning in 2012 with a focus on traditional performing arts and artisan skills, and traditional crafts and trades, the project comprised of door-to-door surveys of over 5,000 premises in Georgetown".*
> (Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated)

Figure: 5.4. The Tourism Malaysia in Bayan Lepas Airport of Penang

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

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[22] Goergetown World Heritage Incoporated (GTWHI) is the State agency dedicated to protecting, promoting and preserving Georgetown as a sustainable city and works in cooperation with the Federal, State, and local governments as well as non-governmental organizations to manage, monitor, promote, and execute heritage-related activities. We identify the problems areas, build a strategy, and call on experts and stakeholders in our vast network to work with us towards a solution.

The significant ritual or symbolic functions take the shared myths, popular beliefs, and memories of a community or social group. The British ethnographer, Anthony D Smith suggests tracing "a given cultural unit of population" (1992:58) in which the perception and understanding of the communal past depend on each generation. In line with Anthony D Smith' ideas, the study of Hobsbawm in England finds some religious festivals as the locus of identity reconstructions. The intersection of religious and ethnic identities such as the unification of the Spanish under Catholic monarchs (Smith, 1992) and "the annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge on Christmas Eve" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983:1) show the reconstruction and official institutionalization of the identities of communities based on shared popular beliefs and ethnicity.

The reconstruction of ethnic identity through tangible and intangible heritages, as what Eric Hobsbawm identifies as "the invention tradition" (1983), thus glorifies the symbols, meanings and their social values (Eric Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983:5). If Anthony D Smith indicates that the ethnic allegiances have already and will be continuously be proliferated (Smith, 1992), the interaction of "a sense of shared continuity and a sense of shared memories" (1992), for Anthony D Smith, tends to lead from local communities to the regions, city-states and global. The beliefs and origins have been reconstructed to revive the cultural identity of social groups and nations. It is rightly pointed out whenever Anthony D Smith also argues that the "reconstruction of collective identities through religious and ethnic identities tend to be pervasive and persistent"(Smith, 1992:59).

In Georgetown Penang the cultural identity revival could be seen in a number of rituals and festivals. The Chinese Nanyang heritage of Georgetown in Penang symbolically refers to the adoption and assimilation of Chinese popular beliefs, local deities, the cults of *Datuks* (in Malay) and seasonal cycles. In *Heritage Traders of Georgetown* of GTWHI, there is the paper oblation craftsman which featuring Mr. Loh Ah Ban. This selection item says:

> *According to Chinese custom, miniature paper replicas of houses, servants and worldly possessions (cars, mobile phones, watches, etc) are burnt as offerings to the newly deceased to accompany them on their new life in the afterworld.*
>
> *Aside from paper houses, the shop also makes giant paper effigies of the Chinese gods used to commemorate deities' birthdays and religious festivals.*
>
> *(Heritage Traders of Georgetown of GTWHI, page: 7)*

The caption of *Heritage Traders of Georgetown* of GTWHI on page 7, of course, helps us to elaborate the meaning of symbols and ornaments that Straits Chinese use in communication with 'omniscient power'. However, the symbolic performance correlates the Chinese traditions to nature and human adaptation to nature. The heritage is also concerned with human protection in which the Chinese patron gods are traditionally paid by rituals and offerings. It is no wonder if the symbolic approach explores the meanings Chinese rituals and festivals would find in the logic and thinking of using symbolic performances and the elaboration and interpretation of those kinds of rituals and cultural performances. Performing rituals and festivals in symbolic approach is a sort of human expression that reflects human adaptation to nature. The cultural interactions with nature and spirituals (represented by deities and cults) reveal the structure of human relations to nature and gods. Those traditions in the form of symbolic actions and performances strengthen the solidarity and unity of the Chinese community in Medan and Georgetown.

The Chinese Nanyang who settled in Medan and Georgetown were mostly of the Hokkien descendants from the sub-district Zhangzhou of Fujian and Guangdong. The biggest ceremony that the Hokkien Chinese community annually observes in Medan and Georgetown is the Jade Emperor God's birthday (Thee Kong). The birthday of the Jade Emperor as the Heaven Ruler God is observed

by the Hokkien Chinese community in the great fiest and feast (food offerings), and it has been a regional cultural event that visitors see on the 8th day of the Chinese New Year. A pair of sugarcanes with Kim Chai hanging on top of those symbolizes the protection of the Jade Emperor to the Hokkien community. On the red altar the offerings of food: Huit Kuih (a rounded pink cake) which symbolizes expansion of life such as business; the Joss golden papers folded into the Lotus (Kim Chua) signifying the wishes, here Lotus as Buddhist tradition symbol, besides the light of candle displayed; the Ceremonial Tablet where the offerings and ornaments attached are surrounded by the dominant colors that the Hokkien Chinese community prepare are red as life (table cloth) and yellow as gold (orange). The Joss golden papers on the 9th day at 00 hours are burned accompanied by music and firecrackers signifying the approach of the community to the Jade Emperor who is living in the sky. The smokes, fragrant, and rhymes of music create the environment of the community to pay homage to the Jade Emperor.

5.3. A Metacultural Way to Heritage Reconstructions

The metacultural process, according to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in Museum International (2004), involves the knowledge of tangible cultural heritage and its interaction or intersections with intangible heritage such as indigenous knowledge, belief systems, techniques of the body and performances (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). Reproductions of cultural identity through metacultural technique have been upheld by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in her keynote speech at the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) Conference 2004 in Marseilles. The metacultural process proposed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is looking at the cultural heritage from a new paradigm. It offers the way of reconstructing heritage by combining material (physic) and spiritual (soul) of culture.

The metacultural process has already reminded ethnologists that there will be a future shift from ethnology to heritage as "a mode of cultural production" or "metacultural reproduction" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004) where living heritage would be the field of cultural reproductions. Miguel V Gōnzales (2008) suggests the research area should consider the heritage (ICH) and explore the authentic attractions of local ICH and the effects of globalization. The constructions of past experiences of ethnic groups' interaction with modernization and globalization must have been reshaping the heritage reproductions. Furthermore, Gonzales recommends the research in providing a theoretical foundation of ICH and global tourism.

> *"Further research is required in this area, especially an empirical analysis of the intangible heritage/identity interaction. It is expected that the framework proposed in this research note will provide a theoretical foundation for further research and practical guidance to develop managerial strategies. This note is exploratory and part of a trade-off between existential intangible heritage tourism and a modern destination image. It further investigates the appeal of authentic attractions for existential intangible heritage tourists (authentic attractions are determined by traditions still in existence at the destination). Uniformity fostered by globalization reinforces this appeal. Accordingly, a danger of inconsistency arises in the destination with images of modernity being incompatible with traditional heritage. On the other hand, intangible heritage leisure tourists are attracted by a reconstructed experience of the past, which is therefore compatible with a modern destination"* (Gonzales, 2008: 809).

The intensity of heritage reproductions for the regional depends on the safeguard and inventory actions executed by the communities, government agencies, art clubs, non-government organizations (NGO) and universities or schools. Khoo Salma of the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) describes the process of nominating Georgetown as a World Heritage Site. Khoo explains: "In the 1990's, the first heritage trails were introduced, sponsored by American Express. The Penang

tourism authorities slowly shifted the thrust of their promotions from beach tourism to mixed offering, which included some city-based cultural tourism" (Khoo Salma, 2010:286). The policy of UNTWO in 2013 obviously clarifies the meaning of safeguard conception of the UNESCO:

"UNESCO uses the term "safeguard" rather than the word "preserve" to describe how stakeholders should deal with ICH. Safeguarding entails ensuring that intangible heritage stays dynamic and remains an integral part of life for social groups, and one which they will be able to pass on to future generations. Safeguarding measures recommended by UNESCO consequently aim at ensuring the viability, the continuous recreation and the transmission of ICH. Initiatives might include identifying and documenting heritage, research, preservation, promotion, enhancement, transmission – particularly through formal and non-formal education – and revitalization" (UNWTO, 2013: 13).

Besides the designed programs of the government agency GTWHI of Penang, the attempts at heritage conservation already made by the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT), Think City, Art Clubs, Tourism Board, and Georgetown Festival since 2008 have brought the heritage of Georgetown to regional ASEAN and the global tourism industry. An interview that I conducted with Mrs. Khoo Salma Nasution exclusively highlights the broad spectrum of the conservation of historical sites and traditions of Georgetown since the Francis Light era until the listing of Georgetown together with Melaka as World Heritage Sites. Many of the cultural activities that the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) has organized and collaborated for demonstrate that Georgetown safeguards heritage to sustain the legend and staging of the living multicultural society. Moreover, the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) works very hard for the conservation of historical buildings, the seminars on cultural heritage, the publications and documentations of Georgetown heritage and the collaboration projects with government agencies and the tourism board to offer solutions to the challenges faced by Penang heritage[23].

Figure: 5.5. The Cultural Sites in Georgetown Penang

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Based on the data of community identities of the polyethnic sister cities of Medan and Georgetown Penang, the foreground of ethnic reconstructions is utilized to revive the self-category with the instrumentation of cultural identities (language, symbolic icons, and customs) and to respond to wider scopes both in the regionalization and globalization. The performing of social actions by the Neo-Malays and the Chinese Nanyang who were born in Sumatra and Peninsular Malay as the predominant ethnic groups in these two cities is keeping their identity reconstructed. The traditional ceremonies and cultural performances of the Malays and Straits Chinese have been taking the forms of various enactments and would be in uneven reconstructions in a globalizing world (see Figure 5.5 above). The ethnic groups use the selective social dramas for regionalization

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[23] I had an exclusive discussion with Mrs. Khoo Salma Nasution in her office at Georgetown about the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) activities on the 25th of May 2014. Mrs. Khoo Salma Nasution explained the programs that the PHT has in place and she showed me PHT's involvements in the preservation of Georgetown heritage and its collaborative projects with many of institutions.

identities. The social dramas which had been performed in the colonial era now got hybrid processes to magnify the social meanings of ethnic heritage in public spaces (see Figure. 5.6 below). The ethnic groups have changed the features of ethnic cultures to meet the regionalization contexts in ethnic identity constructions. The publicity of the events to regional is a shift from exclusiveness of ceremonials that the previous generation performed in the colonial era and the early period of the nation state. Internet facilities—websites, Face book, Twitter, and blogs—have been used to publish the cultural events which make it possible for other ethnic groups and foreign visitors to follow the agendas.

Figure: 5.6. Dragon Dance at Vihara Maitreya Cemara Asri, Medan Indonesia

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Concerning the heritage of the city of Medan, North Sumatra, I carried out some fieldwork in many important locations in Medan. The observation, interviews, and document traciing that I conducted in Medan to find the ways of the Malay and Chinese preserving and reproducing their heritage as ethnic revivals are listed as follows;

a). The Sultan Ma'moen Alrasyid Foundation of Istana Maimon (Maimon Palace)[24] of the Deli Kingdom in Medan presents the live music of the Malay with hybrid instruments twice a day (morning and afternoon). Each year this foundation collaborates with corporates and sponsors to hold the *Malay Culture Festival* and the *Malay Night Culture*[25] as well as the *National Film Festival*. The *Sanggar Sri Indra Ratu* (an Art Club) of Maimon Palace teaches Malay dances to the children in this palace and the talented dancers are promoted in provincial, national and international shows. Pre-observation and interviews in the Maimoon Palace were conducted many times from the 26th of December 2013 to March 2014 as the fieldwork was conducted to obtain the identity reconstructions and the cultural shows for visitors with the invaluable help of the management of Maimoon Palaces, tour guides, musicians, dancers, local visitors and sellers of souvenirs. I also observed the ways of the Maimoon Palace exposing the Malay heritage and promoting the tangible and intangible heritage to the visitors.

b) The Malay Cultural Night is a Royal Court tradition that gathers the royal family to watch the theaters, dances, songs, chants, and display of conducts. The Foundation of Sultan Ma'mun Alrasyid now has reconstructed this Malay heritage in a modern way. This recalling tradition spreads the Malay heritage from the royal families to community and foreign tourists. The Malay Cultural Night is an annual event in the Maimon Palace on December as a 'Janus'-like cultural event; bidding farewell to December and welcoming January with new hope.

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[24] The fieldwork of research was mostly carried out in the year 2014. Since the purposes of this research is to explore the local traditions of urban communities of the two polyethnic cities of Medan of North Sumatra and Penang of Malaysia, it was done in a specific fieldwork based on symbolic interpretative anthropology.

[25] The Malay Cultural Night is the past tradition of the Maimon Palace in the Dutch colonial period.

c) Presenting Malay heritage in the Maimon Palace of Medan is to sustain cultural the identity of the Malays of Deli and to attract local visitors and foreign tourists from Southeast Asian countries and other continents. The performances symbolically not only reconstruct the Malay of the Deli traditions but also contribute much to heritage productions. The Deli heritage productions which start from the Maimoon Palace spread to various cultural events in Medan. Many cultural productions in the forms of live shows and recorded CD/DV/ television programs follow the ethnic identity reconstructions that the Maimoon Palace is staging. The travel agents promote and take the tourists directly from the Airport to the Maimon Palace as a city tour package. The Maimon Palace of the Deli Kingdom transmits and promotes the following cultural performances:

a. *The Mak yong Dance* which symbolizes the spirit of Melayu in ancient time to Sang Hyang Shri (Goddess of Shri) is taught to the young generation and performed on Saturday and Sunday as well as holidays. Mak yong originally reflects the Malay tradition of paying homage in the paddy harvest season; after Islam took hold in the East Coast of Sumatra, this Mak yong dance visualizes that the Malays believe in Islam and their lives begin with God and return to Him; it means 'life is a series of cycles' enacted in the controlled space of a stage in Mak yong dance.

b. The *Inang Dance* symbolizes a matron of the Deli Kingdom; she cares about the children education and controls the Royal families.

c. The *Serampang XII Dance* symbolizes the adat (customary) system in regulating the social interaction between boys and girls. It is a model of social codes visualized in the twelve body movements of three or five couples of dancers. The movements of this dance symbolize that the male dancers are strong and smart like a cock, while the female dancers are symbolized by a hen character.

d. The female dancers swing softly and move their fingers like coconut leaves in the breeze. The Serampang XII Dance symbolizes the social relation of the Malay that may reflect the Straits of Melaka and Archipelago tradition. The event in the Serampang XII dance signifies the individual relation to others bounded by the social convention of the community. A person is bounded in a community and the community constructions of the Malay environments are related to communal life. All of the actions that he or she takes bring consequences for himself or herself, parents and members of the community. This circumscription is manifested in the Serampang XII dance.

e. The songs of the Malays are presented to maintain the Malays' regional connections such as *Tanjung Katung, Kuala Deli, Mak Inang Pulau Kampai, Cek Minah Sayang* and *Ya Salam.*

The celebrations of the Malay and the Chinese Nanyang traditions in the two polyethnic cities of Georgetown Penang in Malaysia and Medan in North Sumatra have changed the characters of these two cities as tourist destinations. The urban cultural attraction centers are surrounded by the blended rituals and aesthetic performances. Therefore, the uniqueness of the cities is promoted with a series of festivals, carnivals and the restoration of colonial buildings. There are touristic centers rebuilt and the regional and international exhibitions arranged annually such as Georgetown Festival, Pesta Pulau Penang, International Lion Competition, Medan Fair and Ramadhan Fair of Medan.

The Foundation of the Vihara Maitreya Temple[26] in Cemara Asri of Medan invites the Chinese theater and dance clubs as well as schools to present the attractive lion and dragon dances as well as other Chinese cultural attractions when the Chinese Nanyang in Southeast Asia do observances such as the Chinese New Year and *Cap Go Meh* and other rituals and celebrations. The Maitreya Temple (see Figure. 5.7) is the biggest modern building with a large parking lot often used as the location of Chinese cultural performances. This Maitreya Temple has been known by the tourist agents in South East Asia and has historical links with Taiwan. The tourists of Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, China mainland and Taiwan not only admire the religious symbols and building ornaments but also the cultural performances.

Figure: 5.7. The Tourists Flocked in the Vihara Maitreya Temple Cemara Asri Medan

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Regionalism inspires the government and art organizations in remaking city heritage to attracting the visitors. With the reconstruction of the cities mostly supported by the urban shopping malls, there is too great a variety of reconstructions that focus on the new images of polyethnic cities by re-contextualization of folkloric symbols (Penang as the Legacy of the British, Penang as polyethnic people, Penang is different from other Malaysian cities). As a polyethnic city, Medan at present sees the complex cultural interactions of *orang asli* or natives (Karo, Simalungun, and Malay) with local immigrants of Mandailing, Batak, and the foreign decent of the Chinese and the Tamil. If in the Dutch colonial period there was a buzzword for the city of Medan such as Medan is the richest town of the Dutch Indies, now it is a cosmopolitan city with multi-celebrations of ethnic groups.

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[26] The fieldwork activities in the Vihara Maitreya Temple were carried out to observe three different Chinese rituals such as the Chinese New Year, Cap Go Meh and Chinese Cultural Event. The observation and interviews were guided by Ms. Henny Yilling (the Public Relation Officer of the Vihara Maitreya Temple). I had an Exclusive Focus Discussion with Ms. Henny Yilling. I and Ms. Henny Yilling had the discussion on the Chinese Nanyang culture of Medan twice at her house at Jl. Aksara Medan. The Official Documents of rituals and cultural attractions that have been performed in the Vihara Maitreya Temple from 2012 until 2014 that she handed me are very important sources. The documents contain the information, videos and photos of rituals and cultural performances.

Chapter 6

Globalism as Reintegration Phase : Hybrid Ethnic 'Fiestas'

"In the context of globalization and international tourism, 'heritage' and 'tradition' become all the more intensely rethought, rearticulated, recreated and contested, both by insiders and outsider packagers, politicians and visitors" (Kathleen M. Adams 2010:35).

6.0. Introduction to Asian Global Culture

The recent phenomenon of identity revivals is the spread of the global *Ummah* solidarity in the Moslem communities and Tzu Chi (Ciji) Buddhism among the diaspora. Ethnic revivals globally adopt the resurrections of Ummah and Tzu Chi in Southeast Asia and show a counter-attack to the Anglo-American popular culture. Huang asserts that the "Buddha is shown as having an impact on the globe; the ritual of candlelight and lights on the world" (Huang, 2002:10). Appadurai thinks, "the production of temporality is equally relevant to how ethnography and locality have historically produced one another" (2005: 214). With ***Reintegration*** model in this chapter[27]*,* the analyses focus on the field of cultural reproduction of the ethnic heritage through festivals for the global society. The attempts of ethnic groups to initiate any strategies for the preservation, conservation or safeguard upholds the ethnic heritage to the international society. The interpretation of the ethnic cultural productions needs the observed data of the regional ethnic performances at the global level which involves the multidirectional pattern.

Finding the details of the manifested ethnic heritage in the waves of the revivals, a micro-analysis uses the reintegration model in understanding the system of globalism. Any cultural reproductions in supporting the ethnic identity reconstructions within the reintegration model are analyzed in reference to the cultural core areas and their present cultural connection to the global context. It should be noted that the ethnic culture reproduction of social groups is bounded in a worldwide integrated system. Moreover, Arjun Appadurai's spatiotemporal cosmology of space and time in globalization (2005) is related to the cultural production of the local which is bounded by many of contexts (context-generated). For analyzing the globalism, the cultural analyses of the spatial symbolism (Appadurai, 2005:179) in the global context, based on the observation of the cultural heritage productions in Medan City and Georgetown Penang, seeks the ethnic culture in the global ecumene.

Opposing Peter Berger's Globalization of American culture, Learman (2005), from the perspective of Buddhism, argues that globalization is currently involving the multidirectional flows, where the "Eastern religions, martial arts, and healing practices, have also spread around the world" (2005:1). The globalizing world now results in a new reality—the more visible cultural diversity and the greater awareness of cultural differences (Giordano, 2015:72). If globalization is an integration process, it is not a 'one way' passage but local intervention appears in globalization, according to Jonathan Friedman, so it would be a single unified system that covers global, regional and local and identifies the transnationals, diasporas, nations, and ethnicities (Lewellen, 2002:31-34). The ethnic groups in the reclaim of cultural heritage in the region are also realized in the global ecumene; the cultural productions in the regional system meet the globalized system.

The key agents in the enactment of life cycles in the form of cultural performances recast heritage and promote the events to international communities. The key persons through the media

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[27] The last plot of the social drama is Reintegration (Victor W Turner, 1969 & 1974). This phase gives a detailed process of resolution which builds a new form of social relations or structure that may become a schism.

have people from all over the world get access to the cultural events. The agents have the ethnic groups channeling many events for wide participation. The annual cultural events show the cultural identities and experiences to the diverse visitors, watchers and readers. Furthermore, the cultural events as the empirical changes of living in a world society involve the space and time of displaying the identity reconstructions in the cultural productions of the community.

The ethnic identity is currently adapted to a global system and also adopted of tremendous globalization impacts on any form of social interactions. Despite globalization, which originally came to the world from the expansions of the American political economy (Appadurai, 2005; Lewellen, 2002) and the commercialized cultural productions, it has a variety of cultural exchanges and adaptations with the locality. In the field of cultural productions, globalization implies two dimensions of the identity processes. Firstly, globalization provides a universal model for local communities; however, in the second process it results in a hybrid culture. For instance, the genealogies are now scattered in many sites not in a limited territorial perspective. The multistrand of identity reconstructions as a part of global history makes the ethnography fieldwork to trace the imaginaries of heritage and ancestry in the range of the long processes; from local, colonial, national, regional, to global.

6.1. Ethnic Heritage 'Fiestas' in a Globalizing World
Fiestas for ethnic heritage have been integrated with the global culture when the ethnic revivals of the certain social groups recast the resurrections of beliefs, adat, and ethnoregionalism in the information technology devices. Appadurai (2005) contends that: "Globalization has shrunk the distance between elites, shifted key relations between producers and consumers, broken many links between labor and family life, obscured the lines between temporary locales and imaginary national attachments"(2005:9-10). In line with the idea that the eastern culture moves globally, the micro-analysis of ethnic revivals understands the symbolic spatiotemporal state of Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown. Appadurai's habitual dimension gives the enrichment strategy in applying the reintegration model. This multi-sited ethnography also considers that: "the field is the symbolic centre of anthropology and it constitutes an important part of anthropology. The established picture of a field is that of a locality" (Hannerz, 2003: 19).

The attractive rituals and traditions of Asian culture, as well as the movements of the East cultural identity to the global world, are the continuation of the regionalization of the third rite (ethnoregional process). The reintegration model sees the detailed process of ethnic identity reconstruction in the globalizing world. The growing attention of communities to the power of ethnic identity through reproductions of cultural heritage raises the social meanings of ethnic identity globally.

The formal and informal institutions (social agents in the Manchester School) symbolically play the games of ethnicity: the State agencies and event organizers contribute to the annual rituals and celebrations. Tracing the shared ideas and shared projects that ethnic groups perform gives a deep understanding of the identity. The motivation of theatrical actions (Geertz) reveals social relation of the staged rituals and ceremonials for the ethnic identity reconstructions. Symbols signify the goals of ethnic groups in the staging of collective memories. The cultural events signify the social meaning of ethnic heritage in global interactions, and this study analyzes them based on the perspective of the ethnic community.

A shift from ecotourism to intangible cultural heritage: the *sun* and *beach tourism* to the masterpieces light up the spirit of ethnic revivals. Now the knowledge and skills that the dancers show in the lion and dragon dances of the Chinese, the Malay's Zapin, Joget, Mak Yong and Mak Inang are integrated into communities and global interactions. The actors and actresses in the theaters and street performances, like Boria in Penang, in showing the Martial Arts (*Pencak Silat* in Malay), contribute significantly to cultural heritage reproductions. The actors and agents of those

cultural events represent ethnic groups to sustain cultural identity in the international forums and festivals. For example, the art clubs of the young generation around Armenian and Masjid Kapitan Keling Streets with their creative genius have been recasting heritage to challenge the global world in Geoge Town Festival (GTF). At the GTF the art clubs are to 'rock the world' with the new performances in which they have the reconstructions identity for the global audience. The art club through local knowledge sustains the heritage of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia to the world.

Global recognition of ethnic culture preservation meets the global tourism objectives as the 2013 UNWTO proposal. The UNTWO describes that "this global wealth of traditions has become one of the principal motivations for travel, with tourists seeking to engage with new cultures and experience a global variety of performing arts, handicrafts, rituals, cuisines, and interpretation of nature and the universe" (unwto.org, 20013). In globalizing, a number of ideas in addressing the symbolic actions on the heritage appear as practices and discourses of heritage preservation and commodification. For Linsay Weiss (2007), the heritage currently has been in the trajectory of identity recognition and is tourism-oriented in the national level and global products. Furthermore, Weiss contends: "Heritage discourse enables one mode of conceiving of—and potentially celebrating—historical persons and events" (Wiess, 2007:413). The promotion of heritage not only deals with conservation and reconstructions of identity through celebrations but also takes the image-making strategy and heritage reproductions with the historical background of the people who live in the cities. Kathleen Adam argues: "Tourism does not simply impose disjunctions between the 'authentic past' and the 'invented past', ….but rather blurs these artificial lines, creating new politically-charged arenas in which competing ideas about heritage, ritual and tradition are symbolically enacted" (Kathleen M. Adams 2010:35).

Linsay Weiss (2007) reminds us that heritage in the globalizing world has multi-contradictive agenda; the state's cultural policy and the ethnic identity representations at the grassroots level often have dissenting ideas. Additionally, Weiss argues that "through the lens of the politics of recognition and through various tourism-oriented national and global programs of public recognition" (2007: 413), the state agencies dominate the selection of heritage conservation (Bendix, at all, 2012). Nonetheless, many cultural projects do not embrace the minority groups, mixed-blood people and Diasporas in metropolitan and cosmopolitan spaces. The leaders of the communities in the heritage conservation or safeguard may have the negotiations with the government agents to recast the ethnic cultures in the cityscape. Chinese Nanyang in Medan has a huge temple as the location of Chinese rituals and art performances that reshape cultural identity of Chinese communities in Medan at global level (see picture at Figure 6.1 below).

Figure: 6.1. The Buddhist Cultural Complex in Medan

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

6.2. An Emic Method and Locale in Globalism

Interpreting the Asian global culture takes an emic method in this section. Globalizing the diverse social representations in which the Neo-Malay characterized by the practices of *adat* with Islamic values and the Chinese Nanyang traditions with Buddhism meet the big challenges. For seeing the Asian global cultural experiences of the dwellers of cities in Medan and Georgetown, the annual staging of the heritage representations are used as subject of the fieldwork. Asian global culture upholds the outstanding rituals and festivals which are galvanized the ethnic groups of Medan and Georgetown to global society. The logical thinking of the cultural events reveals the webs of the shared identity of the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang: the cultural identity revives in the ethnic culture reproductions; the modes of identity reconstructions involve the Malay heritage and Chinese Nanyang urban culture in Medan.

Through an emic perspective, it notes that ethnic groups' motivation in the staging of symbolic performances includes the way of getting empathy among the members of the community (like Javanese feeling in the observation of Clifford Geertz, 1973). The re-creations of the festivals in reference to the shared symbols (polygods of the Chinese and local deities) in cultural events magnify the power of identity. In understanding ethnic heritage, the seasonal rituals and festivals in public spaces in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown, the information from the agents and actors are combined with the global cultural reproductions. Working on the multifaceted ethnographies, the Neo-Malay with Islamic values and the Chinese Nanyang with the Buddhist Spirit in global ecumene are made as the field of arenas. The processes in which the symbolic actions realized the shared experiences of the beliefs and traditions of ethnic groups with the emic viewpoint are followed in the fieldwork in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown.

The collective memory and shared experiences of the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang in the colonial era are the heritage repositories for the global ecumene presented in many of the ethnic ceremonials and festivals to display cultural identity. The legacies of the Sultan Deli Al Rasyid Perkasa Alamsyah of East Coast Sumatra, Jacob Neinhuys (the pioneer of Tobacco Plantation of the Dutch), Kapitan China (Tjong A Fie) in building the town of Medan with modern civilization by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth are the collective memory reconstructed by the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang in the urban areas of Medan for the global society.

In Peninsular Malay, the collective memory of the Georgetown legendary figures, namely; Captain Francis Light (the East India Company), Choong Cheng Kean, Cheah Eam (the Cheah Kongsi of Chinese), Tengku Syed Hussain bin Abdul Rahman Aideed (Malay Aceh), Sheik Omar Basheer and Kapitan Cuader Mohuddeen (Keling-Indian Muslims) has an influential power in the current globalization. The ethnic groups are now recasting their legacies for the ethnic identity reconstructions. Those frontiers for Georgetown contributed to the setting of townscapes in which multiethnicity and multireligiosity are displayed.

The practices and representations of ethnic heritage sustain the emergent ethnic identity reconstructions in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown Penang. Apart from the identity inclusion, the heritage in the wider context—to global ecumene, it should cover any kinds of linkages to global cultural reproductions. Therefore, Kuutma argues that "heritage indicates a mode of cultural production with reformative significance" (2012:21). If the "heritage-making intersects with the uncovering and utilizing of culture's resource potential" (Bendix, at all, 2012), the ethnic identity manifested will be represented in the cultural productions. Moreover, Rehbein (2007) contends that "there are various types and tendencies of contemporary globalization, from globalization to localization, from cultural to economic globalization, from Americanization to intensifying South-South relations" (2007:2). With the heritage-making, the ethnic identity reconstructions are now the results of interactive relations of the Neo-Malay and the Chinese Nanyang in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown Penang.

Framing the functions of festivals as ethnic identity manifestations, it is suitable to put the ethnic cultural productions into global creativity. The festivals display the uniqueness of ethnic heritage and cityscapes. Roland Niezen describes it as "the contest between two intellectual currents attempting to define a global identity, one sometimes referred to as cultural universalism and the other cultural particularism" (Niezen, 2004:1). Reading two different ideas of analysis global culture, I think the cultural universalism viewpoint is a kind of naivety in the thought of the Manchester School (Gluckman, 1964) and I follow the cultural particularism that leads to the exegetic description. In the currently globalizing world, the ethnic groups use the symbolic actions such as reproductions of heritage to show their characteristics to others. The analysis of this social drama research connects the cultural heritage to cultural events as the strategy in a social construction.

The interpretative technique requires, according to Geertz, "the oscillation between looking particularly at particular views and defining globally the attitude that permeates them" (Geertz, 1983:11). The interpretation of heritage data immensely involves historical, political and economic perspectives for cultural analysis. Thus, the process of creating symbols and the meanings in public take the thick description (Geertz) not detachment (Turner) by statistical data.

Other than two different perspectives of seeing globality, the heritage in the globalizing world faces two contradictive conditions; on one side, it is in endanger; however, in another position it is being conserved[28]. Firstly, heritage is in danger due to modernization through gentrification and neglect of the ethnic community to its past experiences, and the lack of government agency sources as well as destroyed those during the war and conflicts. Secondly, heritage is being reproduced in the preservation or safeguard regime by the state, organizations, artists, architects, and historians and anthropologists as ethnic identity reconstructions.

Cultural heritage is the source of identity formation and a study on heritage here is carried out, for it has great of socio-cultural values, economic benefits and political bargaining. Therefore, I contend that the position of heritage in Georgetown, Penang of Malaysia, and in Medan, North Sumatra of Indonesia, is more or less in the process of safeguard by stakeholders in the streaming of the globalizing world. The interpretations of heritage could be quite diverse, but I stand for the heritage reproductions as manifestations of identity reconstructions. Concerning the difficulty of confining the definitions of heritage, this interpretation does not work based on the UNESCO's two categories of tangibility, namely, intangible and natural heritage. I prefer not to make heritage into any categories; so I simply use heritage as the past experience of community that is still kept by and reproduced by the younger generation for sustaining their human interactions and adaptations to nature or the environment. Besides the difficulty of operating UNESCO's categories, the Western conception of heritage is not matched with a customary word commonly used in South East Asia semantically in the fieldwork.

6.3. Strategies in the Cultural Reproductions

In the discussion of cultural heritage, we find that the strategies of ethnic groups in the world safeguard systems meet many political strategies (Bendix et al., 2012). The conservation of historical cities now embraces the practices of the reproductions of heritage through rituals, carnivals and festivals. Thus, Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2010) argue the delicateness of the buzz word of

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[28] For heritage, although I am confined to my focus on the cultural heritage reproductions in the globalizing world, I relate the conservation of the built and natural heritage in the fieldwork or data collection and interpretation. The symbolic interpretations also need the sacred and historical buildings as well as environment. Victor Tuner (1985) shows that a hut, leaves, a forest, and a milk tree and drums, even other music instruments are signifiers in the community that should be interpreted through the lenses of social drama in the symbolic interpretative anthropology.

heritage thus: "The Indonesian term for heritage, *warisan*, is derived from *waris* meaning heir, an Arabic loanword, and which actually means 'inheritance'. 'World Heritage' is translated as *Warisan Dunia*, literally the 'inheritance of the world', and it remains unclear how populations understand such terms and the extent to which they convey the notion that locals may be excluded" (Hitchcock, King and Parnell, 2010:268). I am not in pros or contras to the UNESCO definition of heritage; instead, I work on the living ethnic heritage which has got observances by the Malays and Chinese in Medan of North Sumatra and Georgetown of Malaysia.

Many scholars discuss the UNESCO policy and divisions of indigenous heritage. In reading UNESCO's policies and strategies for indigenous heritage[29] since 1970 up to now, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 54-58) posits heritage in various forms. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) elaborates the UNESCO categories of heritage, namely: tangible, intangible and natural heritage. First, *Tangible heritage* covers a monument, historical buildings or site of historical, aesthetical, archeological, science, anthropological and ethnological values. Second, *Intangible heritage* refers to all forms of tradition and popular or folk culture; the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community. Third, *Natural heritage* includes outstanding physical, biological, and geological features; habits of threatened plants or animal species and areas of value on scientific and aesthetic grounds or from the point of view 'conservation' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004).

Community interactions with using symbols in public spaces have been observed carefully to find the context. For example, the use of red color in the Chinese New Year. The color as symbol signifies many meanings, for example, the red color is the metaphorical word from blood, and it symbolizes life and power for the Chinese. The celebrations of the New Year and Cap Go Meh and houses are decorated with predominantly red color. The Chinese perception of red color is connected to the human life and we depend on blood circulation, according to Chinese philosophy. The red, for the Chinese, is not only a color in a neutral way. The Chinese community uses the red color in many events and rituals. The red has been the main locus of human interactions. The use of the red color for *Ang Pau* (an envelope) shows the processual way of giving gifts or exchanging affection in social relations. The Ang Pau is a gift from grandparents or parents to their children, which brings a symbolic meaning in the New Year. Since Ang Pau has been socially constructed in the Chinese community, it is not only a gift *per se*, but signifies the wishes for having good luck in the New Year and is a solidarity maker.

Cultural events of the Neo-Malay culture have shown their identity in a globalizing world with the resurrection of adat. Many publications, the provincial and national newspapers, report that the ceremonial opening of the *Malay Culture Night* by the end of December 2013 in the Maimoon Palace was held by the Foundation of Sultan Ma'moen Alrasyid. It presented the cultural events as identity markers for the Neo-Malay in the archipelago. Now the foundation is also blowing the cultural events for showing identity with network and global tourism promotion. Thus, the motivation of the Foundation as a representative of the Malays at the regional level is touching the global world too.

The greatness of the shared cultural heritage of the Malay is expressed in theaters, dances and narratives in that *Malay Culture Night*. The key persons of the Foundation of Maimoon Place of Medan city were giving me an access to connect to local knowledge and the Malay heritage with present identity reconstructions. The Malay, one of the predominant ethnic groups in the city of Medan, have the Maimoon Place as the centre of the Malay heritage in Southeast Asia. The

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[29] The UNESCO (2002) states: *The heritage of indigenous peoples has a collective character and is comprised of all objects, sites and knowledge including languages, the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation, and which is regarded as pertaining to a particular people or its territory of traditional natural use. The heritage of indigenous peoples also includes objects, sites, knowledge and literary or artistic creation of that people which may be created or rediscovered in the future based upon their heritage.*

Maimoon Palace symbolically reconstructs the greatness of the Malay heritage in forms of physical buildings and rituals. The mixed architectural building combines the styles of the Malay, Moghul of India and the strong pillars of Cordoba: the ornaments, colors, attributes and the display of regalia are culturally blended. In supporting the historical buildings around the Maimoon Palace, the rituals and cultural performances revive the meanings of the theaters and dances in urban areas. The Mak Yong, Mak Inang and Serampang XII dances and songs as well as live music re-authenticate the historical buildings with cultural performances.

Many collaborative projects of the Maimoon Palace with governments (Central, Provincial and Municipal), and the private companies bring the fruitful gains for globalizing the Deli Malay heritage of Medan city. The Medan Office of Tourism remarks the Maimoon Palace as the city icon. Secretary of the Foundation of the Maimoon Palace reveals the dramatic increase of the local and international visitors to the Maimoon Palace during the years of 2012 to 2014. The Foundation of the Maimoon Palace has been working to reconstruct the Malay heritage to display to international tourism.

Political and economic ends in the conservation of historical buildings and preservation of folklores and traditions encounter the cultural will of the communities. Weiss (2007) contends: "It is arguably within the terrain of heritage that we witness perhaps one of the more explicit demonstrations of this sort of dynamics. Specifically, we come to see that the assertions of rights within the global polity of heritage—whether regarding intellectual cultural property or access to sites—have come very much to be about the politics of recognition" (2007:214). In the heritage operation words of UNESCO, it states:

> *"The heritage of indigenous peoples includes all moveable cultural property as defined by the relevant conventions of UNESCO; all kinds of literary and artistic creation such as music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs, narratives and poetry and all forms of documentation…. The owners of heritage must be determined in accordance with indigenous peoples' own customs, laws and practices" (UNESCO, 2002).*

Dealing with the Malay's cultural heritage, T Luckman Sinar (2012) makes the list of Malays' heritage that is commonly transmitted in the East Coast of Sumatra. The Malays' heritage includes shamanic chanting, songs and escorted music displays for *'Nobat Raja[30]'* Court Inauguration and Funeral, Calling for *'Semangat'* soul substance, *'Ahoi'* chopping paddy festival and ceremonies of fishermen (for calling off the wind, *'Lukah'* fishing trap) as well as *'Puaka'* healing ceremonies. Those traditions in folkloric performances are manifested in the forms of dance-theatres as what we can watch in the enactments of *Mak Yong, Menora, Mendu*, or Martial Arts *'Pencak Silat'*. The heritage of the Malay performance, particularly dancing, according to Sheppard (1972 as quoted in Takari, 1987) encompasses four elements of body movements' tradition. (a). *Tandak* is the dancer's steps. (b). *Igal* is the technique of posturing of body movement. (c). *Liok* is the way of bending and swaying of the body. (d) *Tari* is the graceful movement of arms, hands and fingers, which play an important part in the performance of Malay dance (Takari, 1987:354-355).

The attempts to preserve or safeguard the heritage could be carried out either by the state, or ethnic communities and organizations, but often meet with contradictive voices. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:55), those attempts need a very systematic technique in which the five integrated elements include:

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[30] According to T Luckman Sinar (2012), the etymology of 'Nobat' (Persian word) refers to nine musical instruments in the Royal Ensemble. Nau is nine (9); Bat is a music instrument. The Malay borrowed this word and it refers to King Inauguration and Funeral Processions.

a. cultural inventories;
b. cultural policy;
c. documentation;
d. archives;
e. research institutes and the like.

Globalizing the heritage through websites, newspapers, magazines, the internet—YouTube, Face book, Twitter—and leaflets, videos, CD/DVD recordings as well as workshop and city tour for journalists seems to bring a new interaction between the hosts and the tourists. I observed the 2014 Imlek celebration in Georgetown of Penang (Figure, 6.2) after reading information from social media. I was going to a number of sites that held many kinds of 2014 celebrations (fortunately, Prof Christian Giordano took a part this fieldwork). Penang has a number of agencies to promote the rituals, carnivals, and cultural festivals of Georgetown such as Penang State Tourism Development and Counter office in KOMTAR, Penang Global Tourism/State Tourism Bureau, Tourist Information Office Centre in Lebuh Pantai, Tourist Information Counter in Penang International Airport and Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI).

Revival of ethnic identities in Georgetown is supported by many institutions and social groups. As the state agency, the Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated (GWTHI) publishes the heritage of Georgetown in the following media:

a). website www.gtwhi.com.my
b). a Guide to Georgetown Penang of Malaysia's Historical Commercial and Civic Precincts;
c). the Historic City of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia World Heritage Site;
d). the Clan Jetties of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia;
e). Acheen Street and Armenian Street in the multicultural heart of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia;
f). the Heritage Traders of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia featuring 23 selected traditional trades.

Figure: 6.2. Cap Goh Meh in Georgetown in 2014

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Promoting the heritage of Georgetown through exhibition in other countries is organized by the Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) of Malaysia. Searching information about the Georgetown Penang of Malaysia heritage, the interview with Encik Usman[31] in the office of Georgetown World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI) was administered. In my interview and

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[31] Mr. (Encik in Malay) Usman is one of the officials in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI); he has joined the Medan Fair of North Sumatra of Indonesia to make an exhibition for promoting the heritage of Georgetown, Penang of Malaysia.

observation, I found that the GTWHI often invites all the performers, dancers, artists, and community leaders to discuss the cultural agenda with GTWHI. It also explained the characteristics of the living heritage of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia and the cultural performances (intangible heritage) that not only need a long project for getting preserved but also Georgetown Penang of Malaysia that needs some trainers from outside the city. Georgetown Penang of Malaysia, for some cultural performances, has seen a scarcity of talented artists, dancers and musicians of traditional culture.

The outstanding figures and frontiers of Georgetown give the important meanings for identity revivals. For the Chinese in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia, the appearance of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in town was very meaningful. An attempt to conserve the building of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Penang Base[32], where he lived in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia in 1910, should be noted. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Penang Base (now a museum directed by Khoo Salma) involves a long way of conserving and contextualizing the figure of Sun before the promotion to global tourism is executed. This conservation is also an attempt to gather Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's journey with the creative image making which meets the ideal of nationalism of a Chinese heroic figure[33] for the Straits Chinese and the Chinese community all over the world. It has attracted visitors to find the meaning of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Penang Base and the tourists are mostly from the Chinese community of different nations. It is now a Museum located in Armenian Street, number 120, Georgetown Penang.

This museum provides the meaning of the national ideal of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as he did in 1910 and this location narrates Dr. Sun's story. The Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Museum revives the spirit of nationalism, democracy and socialism of Dr. Sun. It recalls the way the Straits Chinese at that time of the Qing Dynasty stood in their place in China, and now the Museum is an interesting heritage that Georgetown Penang has. The visitors also could read, take photographs and buy the books as well as find the Chinese artifacts in this museum.

The heritage of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's nationalism now globalizes his heroic journey in South East Asia and the Pacific region as reconstructed by the management of the museum. Globalizing Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Penang Base has taken on a depth meaning of nationalism, which is supported by the conservation of the building. The marketing of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Penang Base to the global tourism industry has reconstructed the ideal of Straits Chinese in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia who supported Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's vision in 1910. The three principles (Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism) evoked by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen have been 'reinvented' and recontextualized in this museum for the global community, especially the Chinese diaspora all over the world.

6.4. Georgetown Heritage in the Global Cultural System
After the nomination of Georgetown as a World Heritage Site, the shift from eco-tourism (sun, beach and exotic environment) to *Warisan* (cultural heritage) in Georgetown Penang plays an important role in the cultural mentality. Analyzing the Georgetown heritage ethnic groups after 2008, this multi-sited ethnography focuses on the 'Go global' Projects. The British legacy in shaping the urban culture such as the historical buildings and settlements of immigrants in Georgetown also creates the Warisan. The contemporary rituals and celebrations organized by the state, religious communities and art clubs are as cultural heritage reproductions that have a British colonial background.

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[32] The building housed is the reading club Penang Philomatic Union. The club supported Sun's political party to overthrow the Qing Dynasty of Manchuria

[33] Sun Yat-Sen has **three principles** - Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism and he was a nationalist revolutionary.

The multi-sited fieldwork was conducted to seek the *Reintegration* model to discover the uniqueness of the living heritage of Georgetown. Looking at all rituals and festivals in Penang, the idea of interpreting any symbol in performances: "a blaze or landmark, something that connects the unknown with the known" (Turner, 1967: 48) gives a theoretical foundation in fieldwork in Georgetown of Penang. Eventually, it was found and read the leaflet and it describes that: *"Georgetown is a living legend…. Therefore, research, impact studies, sites usage, public awareness, branding, promotion, public transportation, tourism and security must be given equal attention"* (Source: GTWHI). The cultural heritage of Georgetown not only attracts tourists to visit 'Street Harmony' on Jalan Kapitan Keling to Acheen (Kampung Melayu) and the 'hundreds' of cultural events together with the idea that the historical town is being a 'global heritage' site, but the more important thing is seeking the new social reality of ethnicity and culture diversity.

Georgetown would be the best field of multidirection of globalizing cultures in which the legacies of the British and multiethnic figures of Georgetown are narrated globally. The cultural scope of Georgetown, after it is listed on the 7th of July 2008 by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, principally sought the changes of mindset in heritage-making. Any attempt in the heritage-making from the dramatic attention to the conservation and safeguard of the cultural heritage is to recast the Georgetown's Living Heritage.

It is seen obviously with the status of the World Heritage Site, nominated by UNESCO, of course, that Georgetown has a great variety of rituals and heritage tourism events in line with the creative reconstructions. In Georgetown Penang of Malaysia, the heritage refers to a unique blend of shared beliefs, customs and living cultures of East and West. Now they are transformed as an ethnic identity in the great variety of carnivals and festivals. In the leaflet of the *Historical City of Georgetown,* the story of Georgetown narrates as follows:

> "Once a British trading post and settlement, the city of Georgetown is located on the North East quarter of Penang Island. Named after Britain's King George III, Georgetown is a cultural melting pot that bears rich influences from both its former British ties and the influx of immigrants from around the region that flocked to Georgetown in search of wealth and fortune" (GTWH).

Interestingly Georgetown heritage tourism which presents *the past in present* (Giordano, 2009) includes the historical buildings of British legacy and the built heritage of Straits Chinese, Malays and *Jawi Pekan*[34] and Indians. They are all from the past artifacts that tell the experiences of people who lived in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia during the British colonial era. People of diverse ethnic groups had to dwell there with British regulation during the British settlement period (1786 to 1957). The British had City Hall, Esplanade and the buildings around the harbor. We found the Aceh (the British say 'Acheen') enclave as Kampong (Malay's Village) with a mosque, and the buildings on Masjid Kapitan Keling and Chulia Streets show Indian Muslims and people of Jawi Pekan heritage. The Straits Chinese temples and shophouses indicate the Chinese communities have been living in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia for many years. The Sri Mariaman Temple and shrines stand in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia, which show the diverse communities, including Indians.

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[34] A person of mixed blood of Indian Muslim father and Malay mother is called Jawi Pekan in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia Penang of Malaysia. In Judith Nagata's ethnographic report, she mentions the shifted identity of Jawi Pekan and people of Arabic descent. They could be Indian Muslim or Arabic; at another situation they might be the Malays. The Islamic values make this shift possible.

Figure 6.3 Chew Jetty UNESCO World Heritage Penang

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Georgetown Penang of Malaysia vibrates more and more after its nomination as a World Heritage Site on July 7th 2008; the communities are more confident to present their heritage in the forms of rituals and carnivals. Some cultural events in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia include the Chinese New Year, the Lantern Festival, lion and dragon dances, Jade Emperor's Birth Day Celebration in Chew Jetty Clan, and Georgetown Festival (GTF) with numerous attractions (Figure 6.3 is the location of observation). The rituals and celebrations (may) combine syncretic beliefs and secular festivals in Georgetown. With the Reintegration phase, I follow the way of Georgetown presenting the *past* in the current globalized world. Georgetown has a heritage in the forms of rituals and festivals that blended with the syncretic and hybrid elements of patrimony and local adaptation. In Georgetown, the creations of the knowledge of heritage reproductions are displayed as ethnic identity and promoted globally. The global interactions of the Straits Chinese and the Malay traditions yield cultural creations that are staged in public places.

Revealing the symbolic elements in the observances of the *Spring Festival (*the Chinese Lunar New Year, held around the last week of January or the first week of February), the Lantern Celebration and other cultural events in Georgetown during the celebrations, the fieldwork met the internal significations (meanings) of all celebrations and festivals. For the Chinese community, the celebrations for 'wishing luck and prosperity' are the central structure of social relations. For example, the *Wooden Horse* New Year in 2014 was overwhelmed by domestic and foreign tourists on the Chulia and Masjid Kapitan Keling Streets. Despite the ritual processes with key agents (the medium spirit, master, helpers) and devotees, I also found interactions among the devotees of the Chinese community and visitors (people who feel the celebration) from different states and nations. The *communitas* (Victor Turner) starts to form when the Chinese community and the visitors are transforming from individual activities to the mass. The rituality forms the mass (communitas). The People in the procession location (the Chinese devotees and visitors) are provoked by the processions of rituals and cultural celebrations. The communitas emerged in the rituals and celebrations, for all the people flocked from all directions to the epicenter of the celebrations. The syncretic beliefs and hybrid culture are transformed as rituals to enlighten the devotees and entertain tourists or visitors.

Exposing the heritage and collective memory that still have significant values for communities in Georgetown Penang to the global society encourages the identity revivals. Ethnic communities are now closely connected to global tourism websites and media. Each ethnic group, mostly Straits Chinese, is endowed with considerable solidarity power in the re-enactments of rituals in public spaces. The Straits Chinese in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia redefine certain symbols and practices to recast heritage. An observed event of *Cap Goh Meh* (the 15th day of the Chinese New

Year) in front of the *Goddess of Mercy (Kwan Yin)* Temple at Masjid Kapitan Keling Street showed the numerous kinds of hybrid dances and music instruments that were performed on a stage by a young generation of Straits Chinese descendants of Georgetown Penang of Malaysia. Around the Goddess of Mercy Temple, the smell of incense, candles, joss sticks and flowers was blowing with the streaming wind to the noses of the people noses that passed through this neighborhood. All the objects were used for the rituals of the Chinese and they are related to symbols and meanings needed in the processions (Tuner, 1967), and Geertz has guides to the fieldwork about "the machinery the individual and groups of individuals employ to orientate themselves in worlds otherwise opaque" (Geertz, 1973: 362). The events last from the first until the 15th day of the Chinese Lunar New Year or Spring Festival symbolizes many things.

Offering ritual on the Jade Emperor's birthday was commenced on the 9th day of the New Year celebration in the Wooded Horse 2014. It was showing the social functions of the Medium Spirit, Master, four helpers and devotees in paying homage. The colorful and big-sized object as a dragon was whirling around the stage with rhythmic musical beats. A long table for altar, urns, food offerings, two roasted pings, a pair of sugarcanes, (cakes-kuih), oranges, pineapples, gold papers on the lotus, incenses surrounded by firecrackers, lion dancers, dragon dances, drums, cymbals, and ornaments. Thus, a number of lion dances were performed after the dragon display. Recasting the Jade Emperor's Birth Day in public spaces is a new reality of identity reconstruction. The heritage is to be re-authenticated as the collective memory of the past to be presenting and imaging in the globalizing world.

The rituality of the Jade Emperor's Birth Day on the 9th day of the Chinese New Year is sustaining the meaning of cultural identity more visibly in the Chew Jetty Clan of Georgetown. That wishing ritual for the Jade Emperor was originally for a better life, but now there is a hybrid culture that combines the popular belief and secular festival for the global society. That rituality also reconstructs the Chinese cultural identity, both for the members of the Chinese communities in Peninsular Malaysia and for the visitors who came to Chew Jetty clan in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia. The Jade Emperor's birthday celebration lasts from the midnight and with a specific food offering on the long table. In his ethnography rapport, Bronislow Malinowski (1948) has contended that any kind of rituals is enacted according to spatial-temporal situations; some ceremonies involve the whole community, but others may only be for key persons.

Any ethnic celebration raises heritage values to the globalized world. In response to global tourism, we note the idea offered by the Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2010). They contend that the correlation between ethnic heritage and tourism is significantly high in Southeast Asia. In the fieldwork in Georgetown, for example, the *Chingay*[35] Chinese Association of Penang also demonstrated some acrobatic attractions on the road in front of the Goddess of Mercy (*Kuan Yin*) of Georgetown on the Chinese New Year 2014. There were the very skilled talented young teenagers who welcomed and celebrated the 2014 *Wooden House Year* from the first until the fifteenth day with joyful actions and happiness. Moreover, Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2010) stress the significant values of ethnic heritage and tourism development and then they give the elaboration of ethnic heritage of Southeast Asia, as follows:

> *"It is our view that the major heritage sites of Southeast Asia, particularly those designated by UNESCO, many of which have grown to become very significant tourist attractions…. These sites are not only objects, assets or resources, which are given a positive value as heritage by international and national conservation agencies and*

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[35] Chingay performance is enacted during deity processions, but what I saw this Chingay Chinese Penang Association demonstrated it in the public spaces. The Chingay was brought to Penang in 1919.

governments, but some of them have been and are used by political elites in nation-building projects as symbols or icons of the nation" (Hitchcock, at all, 2010:273).

The urban areas of Medan town and Georgetown in the colonial period have ethnic enclaves that amount to potent cultural heritage. Presenting ethnic background awareness (Colombijn, 2013) into the global society, mostly the ethnic Malay and Chinese reclaim traditions with innovations. The Malay community in Penang from the colonial 'plural society' to the ethnoregional and global society shaped and reshaped their identity to adapt to the environments of town and government. The ethno-history records that the Melayu Kedah, Melayu Aceh, Pan-Melayu (*Serumpun/Serantau*), Jawi Pekan-Melayu, Arab-Melayu are classified as ethnic Malay group. It has hybrid cultural festivals of locale, India and the Middle East, like Zapin, Boria, Stambul, and Bangsawan.

In this analysis, I use the Neo-Malay which refers to the coined word 'Melayu Baru' of the Prime Minister Dr. Dato Mahathir Muhammad. I would not be problematizing the Malay either as *Bangsa* ('race') or as an ethnic group. Problematizing the differences of the Malay is more attuned in political and economic perspectives. I consider as Malays those living in the coastal areas of Sumatra and Peninsular Malaya in this research. The Malay, like the Straits Chinese, had fostered the compiling of the heritage of the Malay identity. From animistic beliefs to the Hindu-Buddhist and Islam, the hybrid values for many years construct the self-identity of the Malay. We may encounter the Pan-Malay group—some people call Melayu '*Serumpun*' (Cognate Malay), [36]which may embrace Aceh, Deli, Siam, Kelantan, Kedah, Minang, Rawa, and Riau as well as Borneo.

For the Malays, they know that they are from a great variety of *puak puak* (sub-ethnic groups) of the Pan-Malay group who shared the same rituals, myths and tales as Warisan, which combined with Islamic values in the Kingdom of Melaka and the Deli Sultanate in the East Coast of Sumatra. For example, the *Zapin Dance*, which originally was from Yemen in the Middle East, has been practiced differently according to the *puak* or geographical styles. If the *Bangsawan Theater* has been adopted from the ethnic Turks brought to Penang by the Indians and was thus performed by Jafar Turkey in Palembang of South Sumatra for the first time, it finally became the elite's urban choice in Georgetown and Medan. It thus showed the shared experiences of urban communities in Medan and Georgetown during the colonial period. Cultural performances such as Zapin, Bangsawan, Mendu, and Tonil, for the Serumpun Pan-Malay in Medan and Georgetown have adapted local and Middle East traditions in the evolutionary process of Malay's cultural heritage.

It should be noted that the evolutionary process from the Serumpun Pan-Malay to the Neo-Malay shows the shift from colonialism to nationalism labeling. Using the transition from the Serumpun Pan-Malay to the Neo-Malay as the field, I find variation in the cultural practices. The field research on the Malay heritage in Medan of North Sumatra and Georgetown Penang traces back to the Kingdom of Aceh (British says *Acheen*). The Kingdom of Aceh has a strong connection to India, the Middle East and Turkey, and it played an important role in shaping the Malays in Medan and Georgetown. Leonard Andaya (2008) contends that the Kingdom of Aceh in the seventeenth century is the central culture of the Malay in the Straits of Melaka. The connections of the Kingdom of Aceh to India, Yemen, and Turks made the Aceh influences in Sumatra and Malay very obvious. The cultural formations of the Aceh-Malay in Lebuh Aceh were not only felt in the colonial era, but the legacy of immigrants from Aceh in Georgetown such as Kampung Melayu and some mansions are now having considerable meanings for the Malay heritage and the 'multicultural cityscape' of Georgetown.

Starting with the central position of the Kingdoms of Aceh, Deli and Melaka, we find the record that the Kingdom of Aceh was a pivotal and powerful sea 'connector' for trade, human

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[36] I contend that 'Serumpun', Cognate Malay, as a Pan Malay constitutes of coastal areas of Straits of Melaka and Borneo (Kalimantan).

transportation and pilgrim of Hajj. The King of Aceh sent his representative *Panglima Gocah Pahlawan* [37](the descendant of a Delhi nobleman of India) to invade the Kingdom of Aru. Panglima Gocah who was appointed by the Kingdom of Aceh to defeat a number of small kingdoms like Pahang in Malaya and Aru in the East Coast of Sumatra eventually took Aru in Deli Tua in the ethnic Karos' enclave and the harbor town (*Kota Cina in Labuhan Deli)* of Medan (Sinar, 2010). Aceh also contributed to the transformation of Melaka Kingdom into a Sultanate (an Islamic Kingdom). Panglima Gocah Pahlawan as the Aceh representative in the Deli land (now Medan) has developed this small harbor town and it had annexation of the traditional Chiefdoms in North Sumatra. Leonard Y Andaya (2008) rightly points out that:

> *"Aceh's reputation as a center for religious learning was strengthened by the steady output of Islamic tracts, written either in Malayu or translated into Malayu from the original Arabic or Persian. By the end of the seventeenth century, Aceh's conscious adoption of Islamic models in court and its leading role as the disseminator of Islamic ideas and Malayu Islamic literature established a new standard of Malayuness in the region" (2008:139).*

The sources of the Malay identity in Georgetown that we see in the heritage representations now are from Aceh, Tamil, Yemen and others. Looking at the ethno-history, the Penangites (People of Penang) have a different identity from those who live in Kuala Lumpur. The Aceh people (might be mixed blood with Arab and India) took the trading spices monopoly and sea port transportation that connect them with Georgetown and Labuhan Deli of Medan in the East Coast of Sumatra. It is reasonable if the identity of Penangites often set them apart from the Malaysian national identity. Georgetown's urban culture is formed by British education and multiethnic enclaves. Georgetown is not similar to Kuala Lumpur or Kedah Darul Aman. Georgetown as the first British colony has a number of historical buildings that show the British legacy; it also has the rituals and festivals of the Straits Chinese, the Malays, Tamils, and others. The heritage here is comprised of the virtues of the Penangites' ancestors and the next generation had reproduced and safeguarded it according to the social context.

It is reasonable to trace the Malay identity, which has been manifested in various symbols and meanings based on traditions and Islamic values in globalism. A great variety of geographical and sub-ethnic Malay practices innovate cultural productions. The ethnic Malay heritage of Georgetown is different from that of ethno-national Malayness as identity maker (see Giordano, 2015; Nagata, 1979; Khoo Salma, 2013). It is not only the Kampung Melayu enclave that has influential effects on the Malay ethnic heritage of Georgetown, but the *Warisan Melayu* Legacies of Tengku Syed Aidid, Syed Allatas and P Ramlee and others are contributing to the Malay identity in the polyethnic Georgetown Penang. Those variants must have been recorded as the Malay heritage.

Seeking the Georgetown heritage reproductions in this globalizing era, that is, finding the signifiers of heritage reproductions, helps in gaining the data of Penangites habit and cultural behaviors. This makes the fieldwork more keenly to the awareness of the rooted culture. Thus, understanding the wealth of cultural heritage and peoples in Georgetown fits into the strategies of keeping the Georgetown heritage revived. That understanding opens the network to globalilty.

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[37] In Malay Chronicle note, it says that the Malay Deli Kingdom/Dynasty starts from *Panglima Gocah* (Muhammad Dalhik the son of Sheikh Bataruddin Khan) of Shind India in 1612 to 1946. Panglima Gocah is the representative of King Aceh in the East Coast of Sumatra (see, T Luckman Sinar, 2010). This story confirms that the Malay Deli Dynasty was from the descent of India and Aceh. If the Kingdom of Aceh failed to invade the Aru Kingdom of East Sumatra through war, in contrast, the cultural and intermarriage approach to local rulers of ethnic Karos that was executed by Panglima Gocah would seem to have successfully established his dynasty in the East Coast of Sumatra until the Indonesian independence from the Dutch on 17th August 1945.

The social values of Georgetown cultural heritage such as a collective memory and identity of the third and fourth generations are the subjects of ethnohistory tracing; what the frontiers of Georgetown had in colonial harbor towns—the plurality in the forms of enclaves, mosques, temples, rituals, carnivals, festivals, cuisines and perceptions of living heritage—are the cultural products that have potential meanings in a globalizing world. Additionally, Georgetown heritage now, as has been shown by the Penangites and the State, has effectively safeguarded projects, the intense carnivals, festivals and celebrations as the forms of ethnic identity reconstruction in the global world. The strategies of ethnic identity for the global world are the results of the borderless interactions. Even though the Chinese in Georgetown annually re-enact the ceremonies of their great-grandparents, the ethnic identity reconstructions are more visible in public spaces at present. I analyze the global impacts on the casting of the following ceremonies:

a). the Chinese New Year (Imlek) in 2014 in King Street, Beach and Church Street;
b). the Hokkien New Year Jade Emperor God's Birth Day in Chew Jetty Clan;
c). the 15th Day of the New Year (Cap Go Meh);
d). the Lantern Festival, and;
e). the Hungry Ghost Festival.

Many strategies are executed for the cultural heritage safeguarded by the state, Georgetown Heritage World Incorporated (GTWHI) together with the religious and fraternal institutions, event organizers and the Tourism Board. Provoking the young generation to learn and practice dances, theaters, and manage carnivals and festivals for the Chinese rituals and the Malay celebrations has the sustainability of heritage. The creations of leaflets, brochures, videos and films bring together a true heritage to the global attentions. The range of carnivals and celebrations of cycles or rites of passages of the Chinese and the Malay in this city cultivate the heritage for the global market. Now Georgetown heritage reproductions recast the memories of Hokkien, Hakkas, Cantonese and Hainans as rituals and as public entertainment on the roads. The Pan-Malay identity is reconstructed by the Aceh enclave in *Kampung Melayu*. The Malays have diverse celebrations such as *Awal Muharram*, the procession of *Maulidur Rasul o*f Prophet Muhammad in Esplanade, *Ramadhan Bazar* and *Hari Raya*. Those celebrations include mosques as heritage sites and practices of rituals, the serving of foods and Holy Quran recital competitions.

The past experience has been reconstructed in the current heritage reclaiming through the presentation of Kampung Melayu at the Lebuh Aceh (Acheen Street) enclave of Georgetown. The greatest legacy of Aceh in Georgetown Penang is recast in annual cultural events for the world. Andaya (2008) contends that:

> *"Aceh's legacy to the Malay world builds upon the Islamic traditions established in Pasai and other northeastern Sumatran communities. Aceh became the pre-eminent Malayu kingdom in the region. It borrowed models of literature, court protocol, governance, and amusements from the great Islamic civilizations in India and central Asia" (2008:114).*

It is already mentioned that the Aceh legacy in Medan and Georgetown was to shape the Serumpun Pan-Malay heritage and it is countless. Basically, the Serumpun Pan-Malay heritage in Georgetown was mostly coming from the powerful Aceh in the Straits of Melaka region. Without considering the meaning of the re-authentication of the Aceh legacy for Georgetown heritage, the misinterpretation of the Malay heritage based on the political restriction to specific region and time will fail to capture the essence of Malayness. Additionally, the misinterpretation of Malayness, as what is often presented nationally, would make the meaning of the Malay heritage of Georgetown blurred. Therefore, by putting aside the role that had been taken by the Kampung Melayu of Lebuh Aceh, including the symbolic meaning of Masjid Jamik Aceh and the attached *Kampung* on this site would be meaningless.

6.5. Georgetown Festival: Local Heritage to Global Celebration

Georgetown Festival (GTF) is a phenomenal city cultural scape in the globalizing world. Georgetown Festival (GTF) has been enacted annually in Georgetown Penang of Malaysia since 2010. Originally, GTF was designed to celebrate the nomination of Georgetown as World Heritage Site together with Melaka on the 7th of July 2008 by the independent organization under the support of the State. Passing through the years for new challenges of the globalizing world, the Georgetown Festival (GTF) under the direction of Joe Shiddeck appears to be a new reintegration of Georgetown heritage and the global cultural event. In website of the Georgetown Festival (GTF), it describes that:

> *"Georgetown Festival is an annual, month-long celebration of arts, culture, heritage and community. Inaugurated in 2010 in honour of Georgetown's designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Festival transforms the city into a global stage, showcasing world-class performances, installations and collaborations from international and local artists alike. With over one hundred unique events each year, the Festival seeks to create new and vibrant connections between the traditional and the contemporary, the past and the future. Drawing thousands of visitors each year to Penang, Georgetown Festival is quickly becoming one of Asia's must-see events". (Source: goergetownfestival.com)*

Figure: 6.4. Boria Fiesta by Jawi House Production and ASERA

(Courtesy: the Penang Jawi Peranakan Heritage Society (JAWI) and the Academy of Socio-economic Research and Analysis (ASERA).Source:http://jawihouse.com/content/display/article/site:jawihouseparam:aug_9_2014_boria_jawi_peranakan-link:5789

Galvanizing heritage fiestas is now performed by GTF as the events tend to actualize the blended or mixed Georgetown heritage with the world entertainments and other external forces. Galvanizing yields a picture of the transformation process. With a reintegration phase of social drama paradigm, the transformation of Georgetown Festival (GTF) from celebrating the World Heritage Site into the world venue for local, national, regional and international cultural celebrations shows the rites of the ethnic heritage of Georgetown. GTF combines the modern and postmodern cultural performances to be displayed and exhibited. The Boria Performance of Jawi House of Penang, for instance, shows the reconstruction of ethnic heritage blended with global culture (Figure, 6.4 below) is an interesting product. In the Georgetown Festival (GTF) art performances are shown for the Georgetown heritage and global entertainments. The GTF inspires a young generation of Georgetown to create new styles of dancing, visualizing, filming, and entertaining. By and large, performing with the innovative exhibitions is staged in the GTF. All events embrace the Penang identity with the touch of the world entertainments.

Without problematizing the heritage perspective of people who are actively working for the heritage conservation of Georgetown, the Georgetown Festival (GTF) is more decontextualizing of the Georgetown heritage due to an open stage system given to all artists, dancers and filmmakers from all over the world. My interpretation from the social drama paradigm focuses on the processes of the Georgetown Festival (GTF) development through transformations since its establishment in 2010; it looks more at the decontextualizing of the Georgetown heritage. The decontextualized cultural event of GTF is involving social interaction that generates an emergent social reality of Georgetown in the globalizing world. The process of reconstructions of identity, such as a decontextualized event of Georgetown Festival (GTF), appears, and that is the spirit of conservation and safeguarding heritage in which the identity is galvanized through heritage.

A new situation of ethnoregionalim is inherent globalism, like a reintegration phase of social drama, which assigned the observation and interviews with the key persons. Informants are who produce cultural performances in various ways for transformation such as annual events of GTF transformative conditions. This reintegration phase of Georgetown's ethnic revivals gives us the GTF's idea of the blended enactment as identity reconstruction which adopting globalism. Through the processual analysis (like phenomenological anthropology in the conception of Victor Tuner), I interpret the collective representations of GFT programs in such global events, and they were showing the festivals contain the purposive and cross-purposive actions.

The frontiers of Georgetown brought their cultural traditions from where they migrated. The cultural performances such as Bangsawan and Boria have been reconstructed into various styles rooted in the socio-culture of Georgetown. Now, I would here show an example of *Boria Fiest* reproduced by the direction of Jawi House, Penang Jawi Peranakan Heritage Society and the Academy of Socio-Economic Research and Analysis (ASERA) in Georgetown Festival (GTF) on August 2014. The Boria Fiest was undergoing the process of hybrid before staging in Georgetown Festival (GTF). If the historical context of the original Boria is traced, we would find that Boria originally is a sacred commemoration of Shi'a tradition brought to Penang with different practices by *the 21st Regiment of Madras of India* (Rahman Bujang, 1987) in the Francis Light period. Although Boria originally was the Shi'a tradition brought to Penang by Indians, Boria of Pulau Penang has been transformed by the Indian community. It is originally a passion drama focusing on the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (Beeman, 1993:375) of Ta'ziyeh Muslim heritage that spread to India in the nineteenth century. The lenses of a reintegration phase of social drama paradigm, which traces that transformation, show the stylization process according to the identity context, and now Boria is a media for the state, ethnic communities and event organizers and corporations to create symbolic messages through Boria. The *Boria Fiest* in 2014 has combined local, regional and global elements in the Georgetown Festival (GTF). The theme of stories, fashions, music instruments and staging technique meet the blurred genres.

The *Boria Fiest* produced by the Penang Jawi Peranakan Heritage Society and the Academy of Socio-Economic Research and Analysis (ASERA) in Georgetown Festival (GTF) on August 2014 was promoted to the public as follows:

"The boria is Penang Malay-Jawi Peranakan parody theatre which originates from the ancient Persian ta'ziyeh, a Shia musical passion play depicting the tragedy of the Karbala during the 10th day of the month of Muharram or Asyurah".

"Over the last 150 years the boria has become more secular and popular; its choreography has evolved from the drumming military marches of the 19th Madras Calvary in Penang to popular 1950's rumba Latin beat with influences from Bollywood. The boria highlights the

morals of the day with messages of social awakening and reform, consistent with the ancient theme of Islamic unity and brotherhood and the end of sectarianism in history".

"This pictorial exhibition is a vivid illustration of the people and groups that contributed to the unique socio-political and cultural history in Penang". (Source: http://georgetownfestival.com/programmes/boria-fest/)

Analysing the events of the Georgetown Festival (GTF) from 2013 until 2014[38], I made the interpretations of the important features of the symbols which have been unified and interconnected to the global trend. I work based on the formation of symbols, the multiplicity meanings of symbols and the virtue of the cultural performances that associate with facts and imaginations of the processions in the celebrations (Turner, 1967). In the sense of globalizing, the Georgetown Festival (GTF) has been working on promoting the World Heritage Site to international tourists by combining local, regional and global contents. The Georgetown Festival (GTF) facilitates multifaceted events that contribute to heritage and city fiestas for the world. The Georgetown Festival (GTF) programs have the art attractions, tourism festivals, and the image of Georgetown as the center of heritage reproductions for global tourism. The Georgetown Festival (GTF) events make the heritage and festivals become a fantastic phenomenon throughout Georgetown Penang of Malaysia. Through the cultural events with blended local heritage with global entertainments, the Georgetown Festival (GTF) is now galvanizing the world heritage site to a global world.

6.6. Remaking City Heritage Image: Post Visit Medan Year 2012

This part explores the post-2012 Visit Medan Year (VMY) as a global strategy for remaking the city heritage image of Metropolitan Medan. Any attempt in remaking the image of the city of Metropolitan Medan through heritage reproductions is to galvanize the global society. With the recasting of the legacies of the colonial Dutch, the Deli Sultanate and the Chinese, the VMY program shows the heritage of Medan to the global culture tourism. It stresses that the Metropolitan Medan is culturally blended by the Deli Sultanate Heirloom, the modernization of Dutch colonial and Chinese Nanyang trade and business. Furthermore, historical notes narrate that the Metropolitan Medan is emerging from 6 (six) transformative processes:

a). the Kingdom of Aru of Ethnic Karos,
b). the Guru Patimpus Medan Putri Village (Ethnic of Karos),
c). the Kingdom of Aceh Protectorate/Representative,
d). the Sultanate of Deli or Panglima Gocah Dynasty,
e). residents of East Coast Sumatra of the Dutch Indies (1880's to 1945)
(f). the Governor of East Sumatra of the Republic of Indonesia.
  (See, T Luckman Sinar, 2010).

In the symbolical use of the actors' analysis in understanding the colonial town building, we meet the dominant figures in the East Coast of Sumatra. The roles of Sultan Al Rasyid Perkasa Alamsyah, Jacob Neinhuys (a Dutch planter) and Kapitan China *Tjong A Fie* have to be interpreted with cultural symbols. The Deli Sultanate's evolution generates the combination of the Malay (Aceh)-India and Moorish civilizations. The colonial Dutch left the historical buildings of colonial offices and modern infrastructure for transportation and communications. The Chinese community of Fujian and Guangdong with Buddhism-Taoism and Confucian Spirits created the trading and business connections or networks in the Southeast Asia region.

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[38] For this fieldwork I focus on the cultural events of the Georgetown Festival from 2013 to 2014.

The Metropolitan Medan as the biggest polyethnic city in Sumatra is now remaking the city heritage to galvanize its image for global tourism[39]. Remaking the image of the city indeed requires a brand and an advertising tagline which frames the living heritage of this city. I follow the process of remaking the image of Metropolitan Medan through heritage reproductions for global tourism. *This is Medan* (Ini Medan Bung!) as the tagline of Medan city is a way of reshaping the image of the city of Medan as the center of heritage reproductions. The City Hall and Esplanade (Merdeka Walk now) are the Dutch colonial icons; the Deli Sultan heritage is symbolized by the Maimoon Palace, Grand Mosque Al Manshun and Sri Deli Park. The Chinese heritage includes Kesawan Chinatown Square, Chinese Temple in Jl. Irian and Labuhan Deli as well as the Mansion of Tjong A Fie. The state policy was seen in launching the Visit Medan Year (VMY) since 2012. This program was under the auspices of the central government (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy) of the Cabinet of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and the Visit Medan Year (VMY) 2012 aimed at handling a series of attempts of enhancing the heritage tourism.

Remaking the city heritage image of Metropolitan Medan involves many integrated sectors, private companies and communities. The state of Medan city invites the entrepreneurs and communities to connect daily life to an excellent image of the city through various representations. The Visit Medan Year (VMY) since 2012 is characterized by heritage tourism in which the programs launched compiling with media in the forms of visuals, photos, videos, advertisements, and historical descriptions of religious sites, inscriptions of monuments and historical buildings of the colonial Dutch as well as the city map. The image of Metropolitan Medan as the center of heritage reproductions and the Medan Convention Center (MCC) for tourism the industry development is recreated. Taking the historical sites and socio-cultural values for tourism economic target, growing the attention to the reproductions of the heritage of ethnic groups is inevitable.

Creating a branding city and the tagline for advertising the historic city of Metropolitan Medan, since the Visit Medan Year (VMY) 2012 seemed to be facing a number of technical problems[40]. The reclaims of the social values as key factors to attract the international market challenges the narrow thoughts of some of the members of ethnic groups. Mr. Munthe (a travel agent) thinks the technical problems, including the remaking-image, branding and labeling products together with the awareness of communities on culture and tourism, are conflicting.

The state agency (Office of Culture and Tourism) in identifying, making inventories of and selecting the cultural heritage of Metropolitan Medan meet a number of obstacles. Cultural heritage data from ethnic groups who have been living in Medan for hundreds of years are not recorded properly. For example, the observances of rituals and festivals, which are enacted in the communities, have not been mapped out based on annual events. The data of rites of passage, which complied with celebrations in the forms of life cycle agenda from an anthropological and architectural research or applied anthropology, are rarely documented.

The state agency in remaking the city image of Medan as the center of heritage reproductions for tourism encounters more complexity of culture. The city image of Medan as a center of heritage reproductions for tourism evokes a gap between the cultural meanings of ethnic heritage and state

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[39] The etymology of the word 'Medan' is not so clear until today. I found three different ideas of the original meaning of Medan; namely, a). 'Maidan' (Hindhis India) refers to the ground or land; b). Medan (Arabic) is a city like Madinah; and c). Medan (ethnic Karos) is a large field. In *Bahasa* (Malay Language), Medan refers to a place of battle (Medan tempur) and of cock fighting or sport competition (Medan laga). If the connotation of the word 'Medan' is a place of battle, it might be possible because the war between the Kingdoms of Aceh and Aru in the 1600's could be a collective memory of the people in this area.

[40] My interview with the owner of Aurora Travel, Mr. Amri Munthe, revealed that the Office of Culture and Tourism in Metropolitan Medan still has a minimum strategy for the development of the tourism industry. The interview was held on the 16th of March 2015 in the Aurora Travel at Jalan Brigjen Katamso, Medan North Sumatra.

programs. Unlike Georgetown, which has been listed as a World Heritage Site since the 7th of July 2008, Metropolitan Medan in the growing global tourism industry is not guided by the international organizations intensively; instead, the community-based productive consciousness and creative imaginations grow greater than the state programs. The Secretary of Yayasan Istana Maimoon, Tengku Moharsyah, explains the efforts to reconstruct the Malay Deli identity in the Maimoon Palace through festivals and cultural events. The spokeswoman of Vihara Maitreya Temple, Ms Henny Yilling, showed the events in this complex from 2012 to 2014. The Chinese heritage in Medan successfully vibrates the urban life. It enhances the image of Metropolitan Medan as tourism sites in Southeast Asia.

Through Visit Medan Year 2012, the state agency (Office of Culture and Tourism) promoted the city by listing events such as Indonesia Mice Corporate Travel Mart, International Ecotourism Business Forum, the Malay Culture Festival, the Gathering of Nusantara Kings, the Chinese *Bak Cang* Festival, the Wesak Buddha Celebration, the *Jaka Dara* (pageant) Contest and the Ramadhan Fair. The promotion of the 2012 events in the three different locations such as city center Merdeka Walk, the Taman Sri Deli of the Maimon Palace and in the airport was an attempt by the government agency to attract local, regional and international visitors.

Another attempt at galvanizing the tourism of the state was the launching of what was captioned 'The Visit Medan Year 2012 Features Many Cultural Attractions' (the President Post on 29th September 2012). It was reported that the Medan Culture and Tourism Office invited five (5) countries to take part in the *Barong sai Festival* (Chinese Lion Dance), namely, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The Medan city administration organized many art and cultural performances, including the *Barong sai* (lion dance) Festival at Serba Guna stadium in Medan on June 23-24, reports The President Post (29/9/2012/). Besides the lion dance festival, the art and cultural attractions from eight ethnic groups in North Sumatra were showcased along with the traditional dances of the Malay, Batak, Mandailing, Simalungun, and Nias. The various art and cultural performances were staged to attract as many domestic and foreign tourists as possible to the capital of North Sumatra province. The President Post (29/9/2012/) opined that the State programs were to achieve the target of 365,000 foreign tourists. In the Visit Medan Year 2012, the state budget was more than Rp17 billion for the promotion of tourism through meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions (MICE).

Figure 6.5. The Chinese New Year Celebration in Yuki Plaza Medan

(Source: Newspaper *Waspada*, Saturday 1st February 2014)

The Central Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy programs led the values interpretation of city heritage, which started in Medan with the launching of the Visit Medan Year 2012. The heritage of Medan is reconstructed after the central government initiated the policy for appreciations of the past in the present. Chinese attraction in shopping centers (Figure, 6.5) clearly highlighted the acknowledgement of Chinese communities' identity in Medan city. Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2012) are right when they argue that the development of heritage tourism in South East Asia is mostly a state-led model, which has a powerful authority to design and implement policies such as conservation, safeguard and promotion

of heritage. Unless the central government agencies (Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Education and Culture) provoke the awareness of heritage tourism functions for education, recreation, the tourism industry and global recognition, the cities in Indonesia have a number of technical problems in conserving and safeguarding their cultural heritage[41].

In competing with neighboring cities, the state policy for attracting tourists until now has not met the local values and international market demand. By adopting the meanings of symbols in the World Heritage cities in the Middle East as what Luna Khirfan observed (2014) to the ethnographic work in Medan, it was found that the communication systems of the State agency to glorify the diversity of Medan was so weak. Meanwhile, the Dutch legacy, Malay adat, and the Chinese tradition enhance identity reconstructions in Medan and show the potent in terms of heritage. Celebrations that collectively shape the unique character of ethnic heritage assets had a very huge human aspect. Although the Municipal Medan has its own cultural heritage policy, it has not effectively fitted to the meaning and functions of heritage for the Malay and Chinese communities.

If the central government agency (Ministry of Tourism) provides funding, facilities and supervisions to conserve and safeguard the historical sites of Medan city, the local government would set the programs of cultural heritage safeguard and promote heritage tourism to the international market through exhibitions, the internet, leaflets, and transnational networks. Although the idea was a little bit slow coming to the state agency of Medan (Office of Tourism) in 2012, the effort of getting the Maimon Palace renovated together with the conservation of some of the Chinese cultural sites as well as the historical buildings of the Dutch colonial period not only led the city tour meaning to glorify, but also increased the cultural attractions of the Malays and Chinese in Medan North Sumatra.

The revival power of the ethnic Chinese is more visible after the Reformation of 1998. The government of Indonesia decided to recognize the observance of the Chinese New Year as an official national holiday. The Reformation of Indonesia legalizes the ethnic Chinese cultural projects in public spaces. The central government policies of Presidents Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati Soekarno Poetri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono encourage the cultural transformation process among the ethnic Chinese in the urban areas of Metropolitan Medan. Based on my observation on the cultural transformation, the identity of the Chinese in the three forms of ethnic revival in Metropolitan Medan are as follows.

a). Reconstruction of ethnic identity among the ethnic Chinese in Medan city is to erase the label as *non-pribumi* (not Indonesian). The Chinese who were born in Indonesia are known legally and publicly as Indonesians. The symbols and wishes to be Indonesians with the 2014 tagline '100 *persen Indonesia*' (one hundred percent Indonesian) by the ethnic Chinese were published in the national media based in Medan. Key persons among the ethnic Chinese in the city of Medan were very happy to make newspaper announcements of the ethnic Chinese rituals, celebrations and lion and dragon dances in the *2014 Wooden Horse* year. The chairs of the Chinese religious and cultural associations blew up the events in the national newspapers, which are owned and based in the city of Medan such as *Waspada, Sumut Pos* and *Tribune News.* Those symbolic actions have had the galvanizing heritage fiestas of reconstruction of the ethnic Chinese in the city of Medan to the global world.

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[41] In my interview with the Officials of Culture and Tourism of the Province of North Sumatra before the opening of Ecotourism Promotion of Lake Toba, I was informed that the local government has a very limited financial budget to safeguard the historical buildings, to facilitate the events and productions of the cultural heritage and to carry out promotions abroad. The heritage events in North Sumatra mostly depend on central government funding (Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Education and Culture) and sponsors who take part in the cultural events such as the *Medan Fair*. For *Medan Fair*, the private companies that were invited by local governments collaborate to support the event. The State of Penang takes part in the Medan Fair annually.

b). Reconstruction of the ethnic Chinese identity in the city of Medan is concerned with the penetration of Chinese heritage in many of the official and non-formal meetings[42]. The lion and dragon dances have been performed in a few events in the city of Medan. The other ethnic groups have accepted the heritage of the ethnic Chinese in the city of Medan in the public spaces. The 2014 Wooden Horse Year Celebration saw the heritage of the ethnic Chinese in forms of the lion dance and other attractions showing up in the shopping centers of the city of Medan, namely, *Sun Plaza* Jl. Zainal Arifin, *Central Point* in front of Railway Station, *Polonia* Central Business District (CBD), and *Yuki Plaza* Jl. SM. Radja Medan.

c). Reconstruction of the ethnic Chinese identity in Medan in the last format is the acceptance of other ethnic groups. The publications of rituals and cultural attractions by the event organizers attract the other ethnic groups to visit the religious and cultural sites of the ethnic Chinese in Medan. The visitors who came to Vihara Maitreya Temple of Cemara Asri in the events of rituals and cultural performances of the ethnic Chinese in Medan tend to increase. In 2014, the visitors and the ethnic Chinese became mixed in the space; every event in this year has formed the *communitas* (Tuner, 1985).

In interpreting the Visit Medan Year 2012, it is better to understand the objectives of the central government of Indonesia in tourism. The Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia, according to Vannarith Chheang (2013:12), focuses on national unity in developing the tourism sector, which refers to the cultural values of the plural society of Indonesia. In the promotion of the potential heritage tourism of Indonesia, local governments are required to create programs that combine the meaning of unity in cultural diversity. In relation to regional and international collaborations, Chheang (2013) argues that the Indonesian government emphasizes national identity, unity of the nation, a multicultural society, people's welfare and international cooperation as the vision for its tourism development strategy. Chheang (2013) cites the website of the Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia, which elaborates that:

> *"The tourism development strategy aims to carry out conservation and culture development based on cultural values, to develop (1) promotions and tourism destinations in order to obtain a competitive advantage, (2) culture and tourism resources and (3) a clean government and public accountability". (http://www.budpar.go.id/budpar/ in Chheang, 2013:12)*

Figure: 6.6. The Dutch legacy—City Hall in Medan

Courtesy: Saiful Anwar Matondang

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[42] One of the interesting things is when the City Major of Medan in the Opening Ceremony of Quran Recital Competition (Musabaqoh), the lion dance of ethnic Chinese of city of Medan was performed. I watched this event on the (TVRI) State Owned Television of Province of North Sumatra.

Following the United Nations World Tourism Organization's framework, Chheang (2013) contends that the Indonesian policy on sustainable tourism development is directed towards supporting the four pillars of the national development strategy, which are pro-poor, pro-growth, pro-job and pro-environment, as reflected in the Tourism Law of 2009. Thus, the National Tourism Development Master Plan 2010-2015, the National Master Plan of Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development 2011-2025, the National Long-term Development Plan 2004-2025 and the National Tourism Strategic Plan 2010-2014. In line with Chheang's (2013) idea, I analyze the 2012 Visit Medan Year with the ethnic heritage regime. With attachment to the social values of many of the religious and historical buildings in Medan (Figure.6 6 above), the state agency yields the awareness of diversity and uniqueness of the city of Medan. Promoting and involvement of communities to boost the city cultural heritage of Medan needs to emphasize on tourism through the reconstructions of the Malay identity in Medan. The heritage tourism raises the conceptual issues of globalization's effects on traditional cultural celebrations, which reflect the perceived values in ethnic groups and tourism development. The process of heritage tourism identification would involve the correlation between the cityscape conservation and globalization.

The geographical position of Medan, which is relatively close to Penang, Melaka, Singapore and Bangkok, must have a bone. The city's development with the increasing numbers of hotels, shopping centers, and apartments brings the opportunity for the Office of Culture and Tourism of City of Medan to boost the heritage tourism industry. The agenda of enhancing co-operation with local agencies and institutions, which creates a linkage to the tourism sector in the international forum that has been tried for application since 2012 for the heritage of the city of Medan, seemed less productive in terms of spectrum and period. Rethinking and brainstorming are needed to evaluate the seven items on the agenda of the Office of Culture and Tourism of Medan.

The attempt of the state agency (Office of Culture and Tourism) in Metropolitan Medan at promoting the historical buildings is connecting the history of modernization of Medan and revives them for the global context and heritage tourism. The core of the architectural legacy of the Dutch Indies as historical buildings in Medan includes:
a). the City Hall constructed in 1890;
b). Esplanade (now Merdeka Walk);
c). the Jawasche Bank (now Central Bank) built in 1907;
c). N.V. Mijn de Boer of Dutch Hotel (Now Inn Darma Deli) built in 1878;
e). the Post Office;
f). the Railway Station;
g). the facilities of N.V. Verenigde Deli Maatschappijn.

In remaking the city image of Medan, despite recasting the educational and cultural meanings of the historical buildings of the Dutch colonial era, the state agency of Medan is also now glorifying the cultural sites. In the leaflets of the Office of Tourism and in national and international newspapers as well as television advertisements, the following cultural sites are promoted to the global market.

a). Tjong A Fie Mansion on Jalan Ahmad Yani is the Captain Chinese house; he was the richest Chinese businessman in Medan in the 1900's. It is the legacy of the Chinese in Medan.

b). The Grand Mosque Al-Mashun, the legacy of Sultan Deli built in 1909; now this on the left side of this Grand Mosque where the State of Medan held the Ramadhan Fair annually.

c). The Maimon Palace of the Deli Sultanate built in 1888, the Dutch architect combined Malay, India, Cordoba (Spanish) and Middle Eastern styles in good quality art. Besides, as icon

of the City of Medan, now this Palace is the center of the Malay heritage with many of the cultural events;

d). The Merdeka Walk Square (on the west part of Esplanade) serves the blended local, national, transnational and global cuisines.

f). The Amaliun Food Court serves the national cuisines for the national and international tourists. It is located three hundred meters from the Grand Mosque. The state agency shows the cultural attractions once a month.

6.7. Ramadhan Fair: A Solitary Ritual to the Public

Generating the Islamic ritual into a public festival is a new global phenomenon. One of the government's cultural projects is the *Ramadhan Fair* of Medan city. The analysis on the present social functions of the Ramadhan Fair as the Metropolitan Medan project for global heritage reproduction connects to the Neo-Malay cultural revival. The Ramadhan Fair of the Medan city of North Sumatra in the social drama paradigm places a significant meaning on transforming ritual to the public space. A new reality of rituality shows in the Ramadhan Fair; it is a rite for the Muslims in all over the world, but now it has been re-authenticated to be the Malay tradition in Medan as a public celebration. The scripture reveals that fasting in the Ramadhan Month is an annual ritual of a Muslim in his privacy (sole creature) to Allah Almighty (God). The main function of the one-month fasting ritual is to purify the soul, mind and social relation that a Muslim conducted in a year.

This rite, in Ramadhan Fair, is transformed into secular and commercialized enactment in the public by the Ramadhan Fair of Medan. It even transforms this ritual into three new social meanings. Firstly, Ramadhan Fair transforms the solitary ritual to be a public faith in which the Neo-Malay as identity is shown up in the city. Secondly, it brings an individual to 'communitas' (Turner) in which Muslims in the observance of fasting ritual get into non-identified fellows. The third, it transforms the ritual of fasting into economic and tourism commodities; in which the Ramadhan Fair gets the Muslim community of Medan to consume the materialized and commoditized things. It serves foods and drinks, music, cultural performances, songs, utensils, clothes and attires. It is also a new social construction of fasting in the modern era.

The annual event of the Ramadhan Fair of Medan started in 2003 when the city Mayor Mr. Abdillah pioneered the transformation of this Islamic ritual into a secular public festival. This event is unique due to the Muslims' rites of passage[43]. The issue of the Malay identity in Medan through the Ramadhan Fair involves the social meanings of this event. It effectively relates the image of the Medan as the city of the Deli Sultanate. The Malay identity in the wider sense, not in a political game, through the Ramadhan Fair, has the community awareness of the meaning of Medan as a global city. Thus, the Ramadhan Fair also organizes the festivals and competitions that relate to education and entertainments. The Ramadhan Fair has been successful in attracting tourists and backing up the local and national food sellers.

If we relate the meaning of the Ramadhan Fair with heritage in global tourism, as in what Arizpe and Amescu (2013) stated that the "cultural heritage is 'social capital'" (26), we understand that the state agency of Medan holds this large celebration for many purposes. The Ramadhan Fair has been an educational venue for young men if they are participating in the celebration and having joy in the fasting month; it is a promotion of culinary and tourist site for the world. The Ramadhan

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[43] Ramadhan, the Arabic word, symbolically refers to the conception of purity; it is a month provided by Allah (God) to His creatures to burn their sins and mistakes by commencing a fasting for 29 to 30 days. In the ninth month of the Islamic Lunar Calendar, once a year the Muslims must observance this ritual.

Fair celebration holds annually to get the local, national and global communities to mingle in one event (it is communitas in Tuner's concept).

In terms of the ethnic identity of the Neo-Malay, we note that the Ramadhan Fair has a strong connection to the Deli Sultanate and Islamic Malay revival for global tourism. In addition, it is held in the location of the Sultan's legacy. The Ramadhan Fair addresses the community, tourists and investors to galvanize the city of Medan to international tourism. Therefore, the Ramadhan Fair blows the identity through the celebration, and it helps the transformation of the city (as a social drama) where symbols of the Malay Deli heritage are glorified together with the city's commercial targets in the global tourism industry.

The meaning of communitas could be enlarged to embrace the global sense because the study of Daniels (2005) in the city of Melaka, Malaysia, shows that a festival needs negotiations to accommodate the interests of the government, ethnic groups and visitors. Daniels argues that the "festival participants and organizers may use festivals to foster social solidarity and/or to change, resist or subvert power structures and social orders … entail reproductions and contestations of mental representations of the social order and are an integral part of the processes of cultural citizenship" (2005:120). For remaking a distinctive identity of Medan, the Ramadhan Fair represents the particular image of Medan, and it integrates the religious, communitas and the global tourism. In remaking the identity or the reconstructs of the identity of Medan, the study refers to the heritage-making initiative as fruitful. The history of Medan as a Kingdom of Islam (Deli) and the Dutch capital locations is reconstructed; thus the Ramadhan Fair shows that history and heritage are mixed in an annual event. It is a combined event of religious, communitas and commercial that was created to galvanize the global world. It reconstructs the Malay ethnic heritage by producing a combined event to stand for global tourism. The Ramadhan Fair stands in the Malay ethnic space—the Maimon Palace, the Grand Mosque and the Taman Seri Deli (park). The Ramadhan Fair reconstructs the Malay Dynasty lineage to sell the heritage with a new taste to global tourism. In the form of cultural configurations that clip Islamic values, the Malay ethnic heritage and business in a global tourism event, the Ramadhan Fair, appears stunning in public. It reconstructs the space of the Deli Sultanate (Maimon Palace) by remaking the image as the city transformed into the center of faiths, culture and business.

The global promotion of the Ramadhan Fair makes the fasting an Islamic ritual transformed into a global fiesta. It has been elevated to the cross region scope. The people have been 'communitas' (in the social drama concept) with the organized unit destroyed by the coming of the devotees, food sellers, event organizers, tourists and journalists. The Ramadhan Fair shows that the global connection causes the blurring of the Islamic community in this event: the drama of fasting has been recast in the global space, despite the location of the heritage being the Deli Sultanate (See Figure, 6.7 below).

Figure: 6.7. Medan Culinary Heritage blended with global taste

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

The Ramadhan Fair has blended two hybrid cultures (Islam-Malay cultural event, and commercialization). This blended cultural event recasts the heirloom of the Deli Sultanate and links it to the global exhibition. The State and organizers enhance the Ramadhan Fair to international tourists. It brings the transformative symbolic actions to strengthen the Malay heritage to regional and international cultural productions. The Ramadhan Fair is both as a ritual of social relation (Max Gluckman, 1962) and as the field of cultural production (Pierre Bourdieu) in the cosmopolitan imagination (Giordano, 2009). The reconstruction of the Malay ethnic identity in the Ramadhan Fair is related to the emotional feeling of the City Major of Medan, Mr. Abdillah, who was born as a descendant of mixed Arab-Malay. His background as a regional businessman before he became city major gives him a chance to construct an imaginary cultural event that is globally arranged. With his strategic vision he reconstructs the identity of Malay-Islam in a global event. This reconstruction sends a signal of the Neo-Malay as highlighting its cultural heritage in an international event.

Part III: Ethnic Revivals at the Ethnoregional and Global Level

Chapter 7

Ethnoregional Revivals at the Global City Scape

"In the cases of anthropology and history, given their idiographic, qualitative, and narrative orientations, place is not just a trivial contingency associated with data gathering, but a vital dimension of the subject matter of the disciplines" (Arjun Appadurai, 1986:360).

7.0. Ethnoregional Revivals

Anthony Reid encourages ethnicity studies to explore the survival and revival of ethnic identities not in a narrow nationalism level (1996). Any attempt to capture ethnicity in the regional scope, beyond the national borders is to interpret the survival and revival processes of the cultural identity of ethnic groups at the global cityscape. It so far still takes an attentive exploration in the fieldwork. The ethnography fieldwork for ethnic studies in the globalizing world through a multi-sited method now has a wider scope for the far reaching to global cities or cosmopolitan cultures, not in an isolated community as what functionalists (Radcliff-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski) already asserted. Even though Western colonization resulted in mass migration, the globalism has had the increasing of Diasporas who create a new lifestyle in the big cities where the hybrid culture is living according to spatial-temporal condition (Appadurai, 2005).

With a multi-sited ethnography of urban areas in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown, the big seasonal feasts, which already contributed much in developing theories of anthropology, thus, are extended to seek the ethnoregionalism. The shaping and reshaping processes of the reconstruction identity via the recasting of cultural heritage for the regional and global festivals create a new phenomenon in anthropology. The fieldwork reality shows that ethnic identity in social relations now involves the three theories of ethnicity (primordial, instrumental and constructive) all together in dealing with ethnoregional and global interactions.

The changes in the ethnification processes and cultural reproductions for the global scape are showing the new reality in the cosmopolitan spaces. A multi-sited ethnography that has been carried out in fieldwork shows that the re-enactments of myths, legends, ethnic origins, language, sacred and profane symbols are mixed into the political strategies and economic resources. Moreover, the ethnic identity reconstructions are still reviving the ethnohistory of colonial 'plurality' with different accentuation. The ethnic groups constantly relate the consciousness of the plurality to present the stories of ancestors of the region to the global cultural society. The stories are repositories of the dynamic changes of ethnic labels (categories) from the colonial era to the regionalization, which encounters the globalization.

7.1. Urban Anthropology in Regionalism

Urban anthropology seeks the multi-facet inter-ethnic relations. Whenever Eames and Goode aimed at exploring the ethnic studies in urban anthropology (Eames & Goode, 1977), the shared traditions have influential power on the configurations of ethnic communities. Ethnoregionalism in the global scope takes the diverse sources of ethnic formations: include the experiences of migrants (Chia, 2007), the colonial plural society (Furnivall), Kerajaan (Milner, 1982), diverse Chinese affiliations-associations (Hellgren, 1986) and Chinese origins (Skinner, 1983), revival of the *Ummah* ideal (Roff, 1967), the global Buddhism (Learman, 2005), Bangsa Malaysia (Mustafa, 1999), the over-infusion of Islamic values into political party and the public domain (Khoo Salma, 2010), ethno-nationalism (Giordano, 2015) and global cultural dimensions (Appadurai, 2005) that mixing in the cities. Data of the annual cultural events represent the identities of the metropolitan and

cosmopolitan of ethnic groups in which the hybrid cultural productions are recasting. Ethnic memories are revived for the identity reclaiming and representing the existence of ethnic groups to the global world, like the international lion dance in Metropolitan Medan 2012 and in Han Chiang Stadium Penang in 2014.

Daniel Goh (2009) still finds the British classifications in the port-colonial Malaysia and Singapore. Supremacy of the ethnic Malay (Ketuanan Melayu) dominates ethnicity discourse in Malaysia, and Singapore has Chinese tradition as the main figuration or the majority. Shared past experience now presents the reclaims of adat and tradition. It shows cultural identity in urban areas and meets the ethnoregional heritage reproductions. The multi-sited ethnography data from the fieldwork in the city of Medan North Sumatra and Georgetown-Penang of Malaysia show that many of the strategies of reconstructing identity appear not only among ethnic groups but crossing the national borders. In the internal process, the neo-Malay have the benefits of being the majority ethnic group in Malaysia, but the 'radicalism' of *Dakwah* movement often brings a negative effect on interethnic relation.

Using the Malay heritage basically strengthens the ethnic culture of the Malay. On the other hand, the Chinese in Georgetown-Penang and Medan optimize their business networks and shared cultural traditions in the Southeast Asia region. The power of identity displays in the annually cultural events of the Chinese and those rituals and ceremonials have substantive meanings to unify the regional fellows in imagined communities of the Chinese Nanyang. Adam Kuper (1983) contends: "….anthropology has little to do with grand theory…..Observational techniques a yield particular kind of data business of anthropology is with these data" (Adam Kuper, 1983: 204). The data of this multi-sited ethnography are in the very mixing conditions of the ethnification to regional and global cultural heritage productions.

The neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang creatively hybridize their cultural patrimonies in the forms of music, dance, celebrations, operas and other art festivals for annual rites. In the hybrid modes, they are all creatively performed to exhibit ethnic cultural heritage in regional and global cultural interactions. The reshaping of distinctive identities within ethnic groups in Metropolitan Medan and in Georgetown-Penang is more or less directly concerned with recent regional and global 're-Sino' process. Ethnicity now urgently made into the regionalism and globalism than the narrow nationalism (Anthony Reid, 1996).

The data reach the regional and global scopes in which the neo-Malay and the Chinese Nanyang are contextualizing their cultural heritage reproductions to embrace the global world. The data reveal that staging heritage is a vehicle to display the unfolded ethnification process of the Malay and Chinese in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. The ethnicity manifestations in the cultural reproductions to the regional and global are more visible when the annual ritual enactments and exhibitions are getting on the stage in public spaces (Mesjid Raya Al Mashun Medan and Yuki Plaza or Jl. Kapitan Keling Georgetown- Penang, now it is known as 'Street Harmony') as well as other sites. Considering the imaginative thought of Arjun Appadurai about the ethnographies of the metropolis, the study on ethnicity in urban areas takes the dynamic shapes of ethnic identity. Appadurai asserts that "anthropological contributions will be able to gain a place in metropolitan anthropological discourse" (1986:361).

The interpretations of the present Chinese New Year (Imlek), lion and dragon dances, *Cheng Beng, Parade of Mazu, Jade God Emperor's Birthday, Cap Go Meh* or the hybrid cultural events in the Georgetown-Penang Festival take the diverse symbols of ethnic groups. The *Boria Fiest, Ramadhan Fair, Malay Night Cultural with Mak Yong* and *Mak Inang dances* in the cultural dimensions of cityscape signify the social relations in the regional and global interactions. The cultural configurations of the cityscape are now getting closer to regional and global cultural interactions. Ethnic groups tend to create hybrid cultures in the diverse forms.

An attempt to catch the rites of passage that signify the solidarity and unity of ethnic groups in the city sphere encapsulates the ethnification of the cultural reproductions to the regional and global scapes. Shifting from Tuner's single unit ethnography to multisited ethnographies (Marcus, 2003), this is a multi-sited ethnography that analyzes the social meanings of ethnic identity configurations; for example, the Malay enacted the cultural events for the rituals of Ramadhan and *Maulid Rosul* (the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday) adapted to new situations. Turner's original ethnography of a multi-sited ethnography looks at the local ritual of the puberty of a girl in which the cup, latext and the bark of the ceremonial tree symbolize the union of the wife and husband. A ritual puberty for a girl is to show the domestic functions of a woman in the Ndembu community.

The ritual is for sustaining harmony in Turner's Ndembu community of Zambia. In contrast, ethnic rituals and ceremonials in Medan and Georgetown-Penang show the great variety of motivations. The fieldwork moved further into the plural society connection regionally and globally. It was inherited in the colonial ethnic categories of the plural society (See Goh, 2009). My micro-analysis on the cultural identity staging for the global context in which the new shapes of the annual secularization of popular beliefs and traditions are represented shows the influences of the colonial plurality and ethno-nationalism intervening in the cities. Ethnic groups represent heritage to reconstruct the identity in the forms of the regional and global fiestas. The ceremonies and festivals, in turn, are used as the field of cultural productions in the multi-sited ethnographies that have been carried out from January to December 2014.

7.2. The Metropolitan Ethnic Studies

The Manchester Anthropology School has a number of research models. The tradition of observing the ritual of social relations in the small communities (Max Gluckman, 1962 and 1964; Turner, 1974) makes this School to be seeking the agency's roles in social relations of the transitional events. Not to reveal the weaknesses of Gluckman, the modernization of Central Africa in the late colonial period with the emerging new towns is less exposed in the ethnographies of the Manchester School Anthropologists from 1950 to 1960. This multi-sited ethnography on metropolitan culture is the continuation of the Manchester School of Anthropology to analyze social relations in urban areas.

Building a multi-sited ethnography model to elicite the metropolitan, cosmopolitan[44] and global discourses[45] has driven this research to tread the multi-sited ethnography processes into ethnicity processes in the breach, liminal, redress, and reintegration phase. It was crossing beyond the local communities and far-reaching to regional and global spaces. The multi-sited ethnography that I have applied in Medan and Georgetown- Penang encompasses the nation's theatrical actions, ethnification to region, and public fiestas to galvanize the global world.

Uphold the multi-sited ethnography in seeking the processes of regional and global interactions with reference to Ethnohistory, the experiences of ethnic groups during the colonial period and early nation state's emergence were mapped out for interpretations. Rituals and cultural

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[44] Metropolitan here is a term in Geography which refers to a region consisting of a densely populated urban core. The word Cosmopolitan I take in concerning with the multicultural familiarity of the city dwellers of Medan and Georgetown-Penang to the blended ethnic cultures that are performed in the festivals and celebrations together with hybrid music performances, cuisines, dances and acrobatics in the passion fiestas of regional and global scapes. Giordano (2015:76) explains that: "Cosmopolitan regionalism is based on a social imagination which at least in intent endeavors to address the challanges of globalization."

[45] The phrase global scape, I take from Arjun Appadurai's (1990: 295-301) concept of global scapes (Ethnoscapes, Mediascapes, Technoscapes, Financescapes, and Ideoscapes) and I think of Adam Kuper's recommendation to building a model and methodology in anthropology, not using the fieldwork data for a theory (1970). Those ideas I applied as my foundation to enlarge the scope of Victor Tuner's multi-sited ethnography paradigm to reach the ethnification to regional and global cultural processes. It is a far-reaching processual way to capture the dynamic interaction between regional and global spheres.

events with the "traditional symbols" (Turner, 1962), I developed the construction of identities by the means of primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism. Because the space and time factors in ethnicity I observed. So the ritual of social relations in the ethnoregionalism and globalization I reached for the cases of ethnicity. Ethnic identities that reveal the cosmopolitan scape have been in unfolding process. If Hannerz (2003) argues that the field "has long been the symbolic center of anthropology. It is there that knowledge is collected and experience built up" (Hannerz, 2003:19), I observe the process of ethnic revivals in metropolitan and cosmopolitan environments.

A shift that occurs in this multi-sited ethnography from a small homogenous community to a wider scope. It has the ethnoregionalism and global cultural interactions as the field and makes the research procedures to observe constructions of the pan-Malay and Straits Chinese or the Babas and their reconstructions to be the present neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang. The Straits Chinese (the Babas) were the subjects of the colonial government. In contrast, the Serumpun pan-Malay belonged to the Sultanate (Kerajaan in Milner's sense). The ethno-nationalism introduces Ketuanan Melayu (Malay Superiority), which is embodied in the Ruling Party UMNO. After the riots in 1969, the Bumiputra (the son of the soil) conception was implemented into the New Economic Policy in which the Malay is being facilitated with Affirmative Action in the economic, social and educational sectors.

In a wider context, we encounter the effects of residue immigrant cultural revival, the colonial formation of ethnic categories (Reid, 1996), the State cultural policy, the ethno-nationalism of the political power, the universally global cultural disseminations or Arjun Appadurai's global scapes, and the cultural policies of ASEAN countries. Even though people are using rituals and festivals in public as cities' rites of passage, the rituals and cultural events are key sites of ethnic revivals in which the strategies of preserving and contesting cultural heritage conflict. The multi-sited ethnography exposes the ethnic solidarity and unity of the neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang in observances of their rituals and festivals.

The ethnification process (Giordano, 2009) through the cultural events to a global audience makes the ethnic cities of Medan and Georgetown-Penang experience the cultural heritage. It already promoted celebrations in a spectacular manner for the regional and global cultural exhibitions. The 2014 Lion Dance Competition in Han Chiang Stadium in Penang revealed the ethnification process of the Chinese in the ASEAN countries and non-Mainland China—Hong Kong and Taiwan. That Lion Dance Competition makes the shared identity of the Chinese Nanyang more visible in a new accentuation. The State projects in Medan also recast the Lion Dance performance in 2012 when the State launched the Visit Medan Year. That event took the Chinese identity to the public space. Medan widens the ethnification of the lion dance to the Asia Pacific region. The variations of the lion dance performances give rise to the creativities in the Chinese culture revival. One country may perform the yellow lion dance, the other in white or black signifies the revival of Chinese culture outside China Mainland more extensively.

The cultural events of the Malay and the Chinese in the cities are connecting the interrelationships between the symbolic actions and the institutional systems of colonial, nation state, regionalism and globalization. The staging of cultural events indicates the socio-cultural changes and the regional identity reconstruction in the global sphere. The continuation of ethnic configuration should be noted. Although colonial plurality saw the natives (Malays, Karos, Simalungun in East Coast Sumatra) undergo the social changes (Anthony Reid, 1979) and the Dutch colonial officers recruited Chinese laborers from Penang and Fujian as well as Guangdong (Skinner, 1983), the Dutch policy impacted the cultural heritage in Medan. The Dutch classified ethnic groups and divided them into occupational separations, and now the neo-Malay and Chinese descendants keep the ethnic traditions to sustain the living performances of zapin, joget, ronggeng, lion and dragon dances in public entertainments.

This multi-sited ethnography covers the presentations of ethnic identity in the regional and global events used as vehicles to reconstruct the meanings of ethnicity: the rituals and carnivals that I interpret within the range of the annual ceremonies in Street Harmony of Georgetown-Penang to the Clans Jetties. The Georgetown-Penang Festival, Lion Dance Competition and other festivals in the temples are giving the features of ethnic identity reconstructions in Georgetown-Penang.

In Metropolitan Medan, the neo-Malay and Chinese have the cultural events in the Maimoon Palace, Ramadhan Fair, Vihara Maitreya Temple and Sogo, Yuki Plaza Polonia Central Business District, and other cultural sites. The micro-analysis of this multi-sited ethnography uses the cultural events as surface cultural structure (s) in Medan and Georgetown-Penang followed by the interpretation of the deep cultural structure. Ethnic identity lives in the webs of significance (Clifford Geertz, 1973) and the three elements of symbolic actions, according to Turner (exegetic, operational, and relation of symbols), are the main cores of the interpretation. For Victor Tuner, the rituals in social relations are to proceed for the elevation and reintegration (1985). The symbolic interpretative anthropology perceives that "culture without reference to some broader social theory is a pointless endeavor" (Schneider 1976:198 as quoted by Patterson, 2001:139). This is the important foundation to search the deep structure of enactments of ritual and fiest.

Ethnic identity changes over time and the attributes of ethnic groups are more or less manipulated to create and adjust the regional and global situations. For instance, the staging of the lion dance has been moving to the public space from Vihara or Kelenteng; it was a ritual and now it is a secular entertainment; for example, playing lion and dragon dances is not in a restricted area or a temple. Although the lion dance performance is a shared culture of the Chinese, it has been transformed into a public entertainment in Medan and Georgetown-Penang.

It is interesting to observe the lion and dragon dances in urban areas. Even though the young Chinese dominate the team of lion dance, it now consists of multiethnic players. Observed players of the lion and dragon dances in Vihara Maitreya Temple Cemara Asri Medan show the multiethnic configurations; dances are now performed not all by ethnic Chinese teenagers, instead of configuration of multi-ethnic players. Furthermore, the State agency in Medan has promoted lion dance performance as regional and international events.

In the fieldwork, it was observed that Medan city presents the lion dance performance to the public as it is undergoing the decontextualized process from the *Spirit Buddhist* in original form to be a secular public entertainment. Lion dance performance in metropolitan and cosmopolitan settings has been transformed into a commercialized art of the shared Chinese identity. Adaptation of ethnic groups to the ethnoregionalism and globalism, the cosmopolitan situations—larger implications for the ethnic identity formations make the ethnoregional cultural reality to be more complex. Colonial 'plurality' still has influences on the ethnoregionalism, and the ethnicity based on the Ethnohistory technique (Andaya, 2008; Sturtevant, 1996) opens the linkages of colonial and post-colonial contexts. The ethnohistory file reveals that ethnoregionalism tends to grow due to the Hokkiens and Hakkas as the majority sub-ethnic groups in the Chinese communities in those two cities solidify the brotherhood through symbols.

Although the Chinese Nanyang speak of different vernaculars and have different religions (Buddhism, Catholic and popular beliefs), the meaning of the Chinese culture plays an important role. The rituals and ceremonials of the New Year, Jade Emperor, Cheng Beng, and Lantern festivals are substantive for increasing productivity and repelling bad luck. The purification and protection of annual rituals and ceremonies ensure the success of the Chinese community. The Chinese rituals and festivals accordingly are the ways of the Chinese community to secure the blessing from omniscient power, which enlightens the individual, community and environment. The rites of the Chinese

community show the central position of patrons, namely, the Goddess of Mercy, Jade Emperor and Mazu God. The profane symbols are enacted to honor those patrons in celebrations of the Chinese New Year (Imlek) and other seasonal rituals.

The dynamic situations, such as up and down, hiding and exposing of ethnic identities affect much on the ethnic reconstructions; for instance, the colonial experiences may come up in the ethnoregionalism, or the recasting of nostalgia on the eve of nation state's emergence suddenly appears in the global cultural reproductions. The formation of ethnic groups that the Dutch and British colonialists (Stockwell, 1998) implemented is the foundation of maintaining the brotherhood connection to unify the community in the city. Another case is an International Jazz Festival. It was held at the Aston Hotel located in the Dutch City Hall of Medan. This event recasts the elites' urban heritage in the Dutch colonial era. The International Jazz Festival recalled the Dutch colonial nostalgia with a new shape. It does hold a spectacular event, which was originally similar to that of the urban elites of the Dutch colonies, but it is a global entertainment. It has no relationship with the Dutch colonial habit, but its cosmopolitan nature has an imagined music performance that is connected to this International Jazz Festival.

7.3. Empowering Ethnic Culture in Cities

Collective memory as a shared heritage in a global context significantly highlights the trajectory of cultural revival. The identity reconstruction and tourism development embrace the ethnoregional strategies and link them to the global collaborations. The ethnic revivals through recasting traditions such as the Malay Night and the Ramadhan Fair in the Sultan of Deli complex in Medan and George Town Festival have been regarded as a new cultural phenomenon in the anthropological field. The traditional ways of life, according to Michael Hitchcock and Victor T King (2003), is the range of dance, drama, music, and the visual and plastic arts (Hitchcock and King, 2003:3). Through the "invention tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), the local governments could have tourism policies and promotion activities that bring the communities and artisans and business joint-venture groups to the small and grand celebrations of local cultures. The celebrations take the re-created and re-authenticated traditions as commodities.

Figure: 7.1. Regional Ethnification of the Chinese through Lion Dance

Photo by Febry Ichwan Butsi (2014)

Showing the interactions of people of the diverse religions, Chinese popular beliefs (DeBernadi, 2004 and 2006; Tong, 1996) and cultures are the compilation of the systems of knowledge that are still practiced by the Chinese, Malays, Jawi Pekan, Tamils, and Indians in Georgetown-Penang. They are playing the symbolic acrobats in the regional and global contexts. The Chinese in Penang creates the regional Chinese event as a way of reshaping identity in globalism (See Figure, 7.1). The data reveal that the factors of internal dynamics, the colonial policy and the

interethnic interactions in Georgetown have a close relationship to the ethnoregionalism. The continuation of Chinese brotherhood (feeling of *Kongsi*) and *Serumpun* Melayu have actually been rooted deeply in the colonial period, and now its elements revive. Many external factors challenge the solidarity and unity of the neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang, but the cultural policy maintains the ethnic classifications. All the forms of common threats for the group Chinese sustainability, such as radicalism of Islamization (Tong, 1996), strengthens the ethno-nationalism of the Chinese. Penetration of *Dakwah* in political practice and radicalism in the public make the awareness of ethnoregionalism of the Chinese to increase in Georgetown.

Revealing the past and present interactions, the potential elements in the reconstructions of identity for ethnoregional configuration of the Chinese community in Medan and Georgetown-Penang, the cultural productions are regarded as manifestations of ethnic identity reconstruction. In line with this idea, Giordano (2015) argues: "Ethnic regionalism is a social political movement striving to build an image collectivity whose belief in commonality is based on ethnic criteria regarded as qualities unique to one's own group such as origin, ancestry, traditions, culture, religion, language and not at least territory" (76). If we read Arjun Appadurai's (1986) elaboration of the anthropological and theoretical productions that engage the culture of India (mostly caste) as the locus of the study, it gives us a signal to shift the research subjects from the caste and rural areas to the re-interpretations of the cultural traditions of India in the modern cities. Appadurai contends that:

"By and large, anthropological studies of India have focused, both ethnographically and theoretically, on the institution of caste and on its ideological framework-hierarchy. There have been important minority voices, both empirical and theoretical, that have discussed tribes, cities, families, temples, ascetic groups….Yet when India is referred to in the central zones of anthropological theory, and it is rarely that caste and hierarchy are not the sole points of interest" (Appadurai, 1986: 360).

Playing symbolic attributes (Appadurai, 1986) by urban people is an underlying element of the ethnic identity. It has a subtle staging in interethnic interactions in regional and global cultural differences. By the continual representations of the fragmentary aspects of one heritage to others, this ethnic identity reconstruction obviously shows off the uniqueness. Ethnic cultural productions for the ethnoregional in the urban scapes are confronted with a number of different cultural productions and cosmopolitan settings. The Georgetown Festival is staging the entertainment of different ethnic groups or nationalities and in Medan Ramadhan Fair displays the hybrid Malay and Islamic cultural events from many ethnic groups. As aforementioned, originally the Georgetown-Penang Festival was to celebrate the nomination of Georgetown as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, but it then evolved into holding global performances.

Creating a hybrid event of the Ramadhan Fair in Medan is to maintain the function of the historical city. Georgetown Festival and Ramadhan Fair are held as annual events to keep the image of the living heritage. Now they have connected to regional and global scopes. Roy Rappaport (1999) already explained the functions of enactments of rituals in a community as he elaborates in *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* and in the fieldwork in Medan and Georgetown, the rituals and ceremonials have an interrelation of localism to the regionalization and globalization processes. This is a new cultural phenomenon that reveals the trajectory of integrated relations of the ethnic groups in the rituals and ceremonies with ethnoregionalism and of globalism.

In line with the idea of cosmopolitanism and globalization that motivate city reactions to keep their cultural heritage, the creative persons reproduce their cultural heritage products to challenge the globalism. Now their symbolic actions, with the advanced devices, have been part of global festivals. In the global cultural reproductions, the locale is integrated into one world with multiple faces. Thus, Giordano aptly contends:

"Cosmopolitan regionalism is based on a social imaginary which, at least in intent, endeavors to address the challenges of globalization and the nation states' consequent gradual loss of sovereignty by means of aggregation projects that try to move beyond the limited range of current political boundaries and/or of purported ethnocultural homogeneity". (2015:76:77)

Furthermore, Roth and Brunnbauer (2007) elaborate:
"For the individual or the group, the 'region' around them is their space of daily life and experience *(alltäglicher Erfahrungsraum),* a space of intensive social interaction, of networks and bonding. Such subjectively defined or constructed regions are spatial expressions of social or mental facts, offering the individual or the group not only a degree of familiarity and security". (22)

Having the meanings of regional space noted as ethnic daily life and experience where the shared symbols are recast in the social interactions for global contexts, an extension method of a multi-sited ethnography for the cosmopolitan and global discourses are maximized. Irving Goffman's interactionism could be extended to the interactions between cities dwellers and to the regional and global cultural productions. Hybrid forms of expressions increase in urban culture, and in the fieldwork, with Mrs. Khoo Salma of the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) and Dr. Sun Yat Sen Museum together with Alvin Wong, the historical contexts of Chinese cultural productions can be understood.

In Medan with the assistance of Yayasan Maimoon, Tengku Moharsyah, the Malay Deli cultural performances were interpreted in the systems of belief and adat of East Coast Sumatra. Moreover, two outstanding dancers or singers (Muhdi and Zulham) in the practices of Malay cultural performances show the realizations of systems of belief and adat in entertainments. In addition, Henny Yilling (Vihara Maitreya Temple) and other key persons have elaborated their own experiences in handling the Chinese rituals and festivals. The present cultural performances, which uphold ethnic revivals in urban areas are interpreted after the informants who know cultural patterns were interviewed.

It is fruitful because the informants have interacted with many of the institutions for conserving and recasting the heritage of the Malay and Chinese in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. Getting closer to the bearers of culture in my field research is a way of sharing their experiences articulated (Throop, 2003). The cultural experiences in the fieldwork connect the theories and practices in regional and global cultural interactions. A collaborative work with experienced informants helps in breaking the social distances with key actors. Fieldwork contributes much in uncovering the strategies of contestations, competitions, and reconstructions of ethnoregionalism in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. Erikson and Nielsen (2001) elaborate:

"As we have seen, the concept of culture had the same historical roots (in Herderian Romanticism) as political nationalism, and anthropologists who sought to deconstruct nationalist ideologies thus had many interests in common with postmodernist deconstructors of the culture concept. Though both empiricist and comparative in orientation, and thus potentially open to postmodernist attack, nationalism studies generally went unchallenged: they were neither essentialist (they deconstructed indigenous essentialisms), ahistorical (they located their object of study firmly in history) nor neo-colonial (many of the major studies of nationalism focused on Western societies)" (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001:154).

Characters of the Malay and Chinese as predominantly ethnic groups of the Straits of Melaka experience a wider developing beyond the national borders to join the regionalism in globalism. Through adaptation of festivals and carnivals to globalism, the essential symbols that refer to the transmissions of cultural identity are observed. Cultural events and their symbolism are concerned

with the Georgetown-Penang and Medan dwellers' experiences from the colonial period are a breach to be the emergence of ethnoregional communitas.

Cultural plurality in the observed cities deal with regionalism and globalization and it builds a new perspective in interpreting the cultural identity. An exegetic description (Gluckman, 1964) in the fieldwork creates a new method of framing cultural realities of ethnoregionalism and globalization. Different situations of regionalism and globalism that increase ceremonials in public spaces in representing the ethnic identities, for instance, the Boria Fiest and lion and dragon dance, are transformed from the fetish to global production (Appadurai, 1990). Technology for the public entertainments dramatically attracts ethnic groups to channel the creative cultural reproductions to the global level. Additionally, Patterson (2001) argues: "The fluorescence of symbolic anthropology in the mid-1970s depended on the adoption of a perspective that distinguished culture from society" (138). The meaning of ethnoregionalism with the playing symbols touches the revivals in adat and traditions. More or less the symbolic anthropology "viewed culture narrowly as a system of symbols and meanings, and that allowed culture to be studied as an autonomous domain" (Patterson, 2001:138) and worked on the symbols that entail the Boria Fiest in the Georgetown-Penang Festival. It should be a new strategy of the Malay (Jawi Pekan) to expose the ethnic identity for the global society. Boria since the colonial era has been re-styled in various forms in Georgetown-Penang. The Chinese dragon dance is also changed to meet public attention. This dance has also been reinterpreted and resulted in different practices.

Ethnoregionalism in terms of ethnic revival is reflected in another example, that is, the enactment Ramadhan Fair since 2005. The cultural reality of Ramadhan Fair held annually in the Deli Sultanate heirloom spectrum; if we thoroughly followed the event until 2014, the changes of meaning of observance fasting will be revealed. The Malay identity (Adat, Bahasa and Islam) revives in *Ramadhan Fair*. It is basically a solitary ritual and now becomes a public identity. It reconstructs the rites of Muslim belief, the commercialization of fasting symbols (cuisines, clothes, crafts, photos, and so on). It changes the functions of the fasting month from individual or family ritual to communitas, because the devotees, tourists and journalists are mixed without order. Erikson and Nielsen (2001) point out that the "culture was seen as experiential and organic, while civilization was cognitive and superficial" (13). Records of all the performances as the surface structure of Georgetown and Medan festivals for finding a deep structure such as cognitive aspects are used as the foundation of interpretations.

In the surface structure, I observed the identity reconstruction in art performances, like body movements in the Mak Yong dance and lion dance (Matondang, 2016a and 2016b), and I encountered the signals from the interactions between performers and audience. I have a crosschecking method with the Malay and Chinese traditions. Both dances begin from paying homage (following the traditional paying of homage to the gods and goddess) and welcome the audiences, which take a few minutes before the performances are enacted. The social values behind the opening symbolic actions are interpreted by matching those actions to the systems of beliefs and adat. The Mak yong and lion dances show the paying of homage (Sinar, 2010 and Matondang, 2016a), and this part is a vital channel in building the relationship between humans and Creators. The deep structure in which values are stored principally will reveal the meaning and the motives of dancing enactment.

7.4. Exhibitions of Ethnic Uniqueness

A hallmark of this multi-sited ethnography is the life cycles of ethnoregional in global culture. Concerning with similarities and differences of ethnification, the broad spectrums (Richard Schechner) in fieldwork encounter surface and deep structures. City dwellers have an intensively dynamic way of having their identities reconstructed to meet the social changes in regional and global interactions. A multi-sited ethnography is politically used to investigate the pragmatic goals of

the political parties and detriment of minority accesses (See Horowitz, 2009: Hefner, 2001). The political drama, besides contributing significantly to the future study on the ethnic solidarity (Roff, 1967), covers the minority political affiliations and minority rights after the implementation of NEP in Malaysia. The practical problems of presenting identity in the forms of expression encompass the deep structure from shared beliefs (Chia, 2007), Chinese Kongsi (Wang, 1994) customs and habits.

The representations of ethnic groups in urban areas of Medan and Georgetown have not been comprehensively interpreted with deep analysis. If Max Gluckman reveals that the weakness of van Gennep's conception of the crisis of life cycle is in the theoretical foundation, the social relations in Gluckman's elaboration will be showing the lack of ethnicity interpretations in urban areas. The foundation is that van Gennep is eventually strengthened by the fieldwork data in the ethnographies of Manchester School but not comprehensive enough to capture ethnic revivals in the cities. The ethnographical works of Victor Tuner from 1950 to 1970 contribute to the symbolic interpretative anthropology where the rites of passage, symbols and social relations are unified elements in the rituality of a community.

This multi-sited ethnography considers the reality of ethnic relations in Medan and Georgetown-Penang when the heritage contributes much on the social productions. Ulf Hannerz (2003: 26) contends:

"Multi-local field studies inevitably involve choices, as the real field is carved out from the potential field. This may be done in various ways. One may make a selection of localities at the outset and then stick with it, or it may be advantageous, if not always possible, to be able to modify one's plans as one goes on to take into account what one has learned during the course of the study, and include new opportunities". Hannerz (2003: 26)

A way of viewing the enactment of ceremonials appears as soon as this study extends the cores of observation to cultural sites in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. For example, if the Mak Yong was originally a local ritual to honor the Goddess of Shri (matron of the paddy crop) (Depdikbud, 1997), we would see this performance as a regional ethnification, for it has a wider social function at present. In the past the local community of the Malay paid homage with Mak yong or the Mak Yong dance began with honoring the Goddess of the Earth (*Jembalang Tanah* in Malay) (Sarwar Yousof, 2001; Sinar, 2012; Nasuruddin, 1995). The present ethnification of the Malay heritage (Sedyawati, 1998) in the regional scope and the reshaping of the identity of the neo-Malay could be seen in the Mak yong dance.

As the oldest ritual performance of Malay, it has now been transformed to be an urban entertainment in the Maimoon Place of Medan and in the international forum. The Mak yong was a shared ritual performance from Kelantan, Kedah, Deli, Riau and Kalimantan. On the other hand, at present the Malay transform the Mak yong performance as an urban art, as a secular dance theater. In some villages of Kelantan and Riau Indonesia, Mak yong is a ritual event of the community, in contrast, it is an urban elite performance for the regional ethnification of the Malay. It is performed in various ways for the cultural attraction of ethno-national icon and the tourists. It is not only UNESCO that registered Mak Yong as a Malay heritage that has influential power in the recreation of the global meaning of Mak Yong, but the State, cities dwellers, private companies and cultural conservation activists were also involved. The global cultural reproduction of Mak Yong was revived in the city festivals and commercial events, including tourism (Matondang, 2016a).

Figure: 7.2. Cultural Complex of Kampung Melayu in Georgetown

Photo by Saiful Anwar Matondang

Thus, based on the field reality, this discussion has gone further to explore the cultural sites for the global sphere. This chapter would extend a multi-sited ethnography to the spectacular phenomenon of the spiritual aspect in the revivals of Islam in the neo-Malay and Buddhist in Chinese Nanyang. Eriksen and Nielsen (2001) contend that there are no restrictions on studying "the hybridised, mixed cultures of, say, Latin America and the Caribbean. It is correct when Eriksen and Neilsen recommend the in-depth fieldwork with a wider systemic, ethnographers have historical micro-analysis are in perfectly viable of subjects (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001:120). The city heritage reproductions have a better future in the ethnic revivals in the urban areas of Medan and Georgetown. Thus, it implies that the democratic policy in handling ethnic revivals open a highway of tolerance among the ethnic groups. City heritage for cultural identity needs an extraordinary asset management for better interactions with the regional and the global.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1. Conclusions

The observed ethnoregional of Southeast which experiences the dynamic construction and reconstruction of identities in globalization presents the concluding cultural phenomenon. There are some conclusions from data analyses and interpretations of the phenomena of the revivals of the Neo-Malay and Chinese Nanyang that have been set into the ethnoregional social dramas at the global level. The conclusions cover the following elaborations:

8.1.1. Colonial period as Breach: Colonial 'race' and occupation ethnic category model opens a social drama of ethnicity; it was a breach situation. The colonial construction of ethnic categories made the ethnic groups who settled in the 20th century Medan town of East Coast Sumatra and Georgetown Penang shape their cultural identities in reference to labels, namely: natives, Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and Europeans. Furthermore, a basic form of social structure is rooted in the colonial 'race' and occupation model within a Breach-normal situation. The colonial social structure (Furnivall's plural society) strengthens ethnic divisions that entail ethnic cultural forms. As a consequence, the ethnical blocks were encouraged to narrate the grand design of ethnic cultures: pan-Malay embraced ancient tradition with Islamic values, Chinese refers to polygods and local deities, Indians live in Hindu rituals, and Eurasians have Christian celebrations. Colonial regional historical records had the local cultures (adat) and traditions of immigrants in the ethnicity model, a system of blocks. It was found that Ethnohistory keeps the social structure of people in Penang and Medan; during the colonialization of the British and the Dutch, it had prompted the construction of ethnic categorization in social interactions acted based on their ethnic identities.

Chinese migrants in Georgetown-Penang constantly shaped and reshaped themselves as part of colonial changing relationships with the Sultanate and the British government in Malay. The Kongsi system of the Chinese was not only a social vehicle, but it was also eventually embedded in larger Western colony trade and commercial systems. Georgetown saw many Chinese Kongsi and temples constructed according to the Chinese clans, local deities and business groups. On the other seaside, the Dutch Indies appointed Captain China in Medan as a headman to control the Chinese migrants. It is noted that the Tjong brothers were important Chinese businessmen as a backbone of the Dutch Indies business on the East Coast of Sumatra. Theses Chinese migrants had a wide connection with the Dutch, the Deli Sultanate and the Penang Chinese. Tjong A Fie was one of the famous Southeast Asia Chinese businessmen who had dedicated his life to supporting the economic interests of Western companies in the East Coast of Sumatera and to sustain Chinese culture of Kesawan downtown area in Medan.

8.1.2. Nationalism as Liminal/Threshold: Nationalism begins the second social drama after colonialism. It was when the Republic of Indonesia and Bangsa Melayu emerged with ethno-national spirit after colonial governments ended. Nationalism as a revolution process of ethnicity in Indonesia and Malay resulted in ethnic conflicts and disputes in Medan and Malaysia. We note some conflicts of the social dramas, the '1946 Social Revolution' in the East Coast of Sumatra, the 1969 riots in Malaysia, Islam resurrection of Dakwah movement in the 1970's and the 1980's re-Chinezation in Malaysia. The high construction of the Chinese Temple is over the Mosque that caused the ethnic conflicts in Penang. Over-representation of the Malaysian Constitution which defines the Malay, said to be someone who (in addition to fulfilling certain residential requirements) "professes the Muslim religion, habitually speaks the Malay language, (and) conforms to Malay custom" (Milner, 2008), favors the idea of Bangsa Melayu Supremacy (Ketuanan Melayu). In post-colonial Malaysia, the revival of the Malay culture and Islamic values as a national identity appealed to some of the new Malay middle class. The Muslim communities in urban areas spurted and many village *Suraus* were

established. The neo-Malay combined and reshaped the essence of Malayness with modernization; it is a hybrid culture in the urban areas of Malaysia. A strong Islamic revivalist movement that arose around 1970 until now reappears within the new Malay middle-class community. The Internet even reinforces the Dakwah movement from public to political practices, which provides a sense of neo-Malay identity.

The Chinese in Penang experienced the effect of Dakwah movement. Tan in *Asian Music* (1990) shows the State cultural policy has tried to centralize its plans and intervene in the performing arts since 1969, the Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports (KKBS) formulate policies in 1973. State enforces the indigenous culture, the training for competitions of folk dance, music, handicraft, traditional games, and theater, and the cultural productions based on a national culture complex. The authenticity of the *Chinesenes* (David Yen Ho, 1991:159) in the national state formation in 1960 until 1980 had the Chinese cultural heritage claimed by the Chinese diaspora in Medan and Georgetown. Yu Shi (2005) makes findings on the Chinese Diaspora of Taiwan and Hong Kong who live in California, and Ang reports on the Hakkas of Timor-Leste who celebrate the Chinese New Year in Sydney (Ang, 2004).

8.1.3. Ethnoregionalism as Recovery: The third social drama is in the current ethnoregionalism; it means the identity of regions replaying. It is a sort of recovery of post-ethno-national conflicts. Social reality shows that regionalism unifies ethnic groups crossing national borders. The cultural heritage of the two cities has been represented as one of the regional rich cultural treasures of the world. Remarking city heritage for regional identity is a new way of showing appreciation and giving rise to the global cultural understandings. Metropolitan Medan has a tagline for its tourism sector, '*This is Medan' (Ini Medan Bung!)* and has the Maimoon Palace and the Malay dancers featured as its background. Thus, Metropolitan Medan's counterpart, Georgetown-Penang, generates the image of 'the living cultures of East and West'. In line with Eriksen and Nielsen (2001), we recognize the characteristic hybrid or mixed urban culture that has been formed in recent anthropology, and ethno-nationalism is rooted in the mixed cultures that live in Medan and Georgetown-Penang. After the Sister City agreement, many of the cultural events and exhibitions have been participated in by officials, performers and traders from both cities. The ethnic cultural events in the regional context have been held in Penang and Medan such as the Georgetown-Penang Festival, Pulau Penang Festival, Lion Dance Competition of Penang, International lion dance of Medan, Trade and cultural exhibition of PRSU in Medan fair, Malay culture nights of Maimoon Palace, Ramadhan Fair and Chinese cultural events. Those events mentioned are held annually in Medan and Penang and strengthen the regional relationship between the two sister cities (Matondang, 2016b).

The neo-Malay recast the cultural heritage of the Sultan of Deli Palace in Medan of North Sumatra. It is known that Sultan Ma'mun Al Rasyid Perkasa Alam ruled the kingdom and played a vital role in establishing *Alam Melayu* (the Malay World) in the modern town. In terms of ethnic Melayu revival, the Maimoon Palace now became the center of cultural performances of Malay, not only covering North Sumatra but also the Malay world in regional and global spheres. The cultural heritage of the Malay in the forms of theater, dance and live music in the Maimoon Palace management is being re-authenticated as the regional cultural performances. Mak Yong and Mak Inang dances have the new creatively art styles. Visitors to the Maimoon Palace experience the Malay traditions with the help of technology. The myth of Mak Yong, as an ancient Malay dance-theatre form incorporating the elements of ritual, stylized dance and acting, vocal and instrumental music has been infused with spectacular art performance. In some parts of the region in Sumatra and Peninsular Malaya, there is a revival of the Malay culture with Mak Yong's enactment. The UNESCO notes the Mak Yong performance is a world heritage in Peninsular Malaysia and the East Coast of Sumatra. It has the neo-Malay image rising up and meeting the regional ethnicized process. Malay communities now show a shared identity with a new shape in the Mak yong performance.

Ethnic Malay social drama performs the ethnic revival in modern urban areas. It is reasonable if the performance of the Mak Yong in the Maimoon Palace comes up with innovative fashion styles, outstanding choreographer, digital devices and globalized promotion. The Mak yong and other cultural attractions are thus regarded as the symbolic celebrations for upholding the Malay in the regional and global world. Presenting cultural identity is a central issue. Edensor argues that identity is giving a sight of national culture (Edensor, 2001), and this study even sees the staging of ethnic culture as the global proliferation of tourist practices and attractions.

8.1.4. Globalism as Reintegration: The last observed social drama in Metropolitan Medan and Georgetown is global ethnicity. It reintegrates all ethnic groups into one world. Many cultural festivals belong to globalism. With globalization trend, reshaping ethnic traditions in the Medan city of North Sumatra and in Georgetown-Penang changes the urban forms and festivals. The characters of these two cities, as urban cultural attraction centers, are surrounded by the blended rituals and hybrid performances. Therefore, the uniqueness of the historic cities is promoted with a series of festivals, carnivals and the restoration of colonial buildings. Moreover, Medan and Georgetown promote the cultural heritage reproductions of many exhibitions. Observed revivals of ethnic cultural products such as ethnic representations in the cities are mostly supported by the urban shopping malls and multinational companies. There is a buzzword for colonial Medan town; it is Medan petrodollar, the richest region of the Dutch Indies in the 20th century. The multiethnic city Georgetown symbolizes its specific identity; it is different from the other Malaysian cities, Kuala Lumpur and Johor. The Georgetown-Penang Festival shows that the city's creative people are able to attract performers, visitors, tourists and journalists to be communitas in that annual event. A great variety of new shapes or new images of polyethnic cities has been re-contextualized within folkloric symbols; Georgetown-Penang upholds the legacy of the British, a city of living multiethnic cultures with a hundred temples. Playing the symbols in global festivals is the new characters of the cityscapes of Georgetown.

8.2 Recommendations

A multi-sited ethnography, in following the ethnoregional social dramas of globalism, is a new socio-cultural anthropological field in searching for the symbolic meanings of rituals and celebrations (Turner, 1985 and Geertz, 1988) in the urban areas of ex-colonial port towns. This report recommends three sub-fields for further ethnography fieldwork to interpret regional ethnicity in globalization.

8.2.1. The Influences of Belief Systems on Ethnic Identities: Systems of myths, beliefs and customary law (adat), as ethnic identity makers, still affect the ethnoregional social dramas in the Straits of Melaka. In reference to the symbolic interpretative anthropology, the ethnicity construction through belief systems in which the interpretations of Islamic values and the traditions of Austronesia in the evolutionary process of ethnic identity reconstructions—pan-Malay in the colonial era, Ethno-nationalism Malay and the neo-Malay of post-1969 in the Straits of Melaka— need to be explored. In addition to that are the influential powers of the local Chinese deities Kongsi, revival of Buddhism spirit (Tzu Chi) and Neo-Confucian as backbones of Chinese Nanyang cultural heritage reproductions.

8.2.2. The influences of Governmental Systems on Ethnic Formations: Colonial and national ethnic policies, we note, have a powerful role in reshaping the ethnoregional social dramas. The ethnic categorizations of British Malaya and Dutch Indies shaped the structure of the society (Furnivall's plural society), and the censuses of national governments still divide people on the basis of 'race', religion and occupation. In discussing ethnic revivals at the ethnoregional level, the official institutions of ethnicity should be explored and interpreted in the framework of governmental systems.

8.2.3. The influences of Global System on Urban Ethnicity: Globalization reintegrates the ethnic cultural identities with the help of information technology devices and transnational transportation. The local and the regional meet in global systems. Ethnic rituals and celebrations have merged in global culture cycles. Global connections enhance the revival of ethnic symbols and social groups should have many social dramas that should be immediately studied comprehensively in the anthropology of ethnicity in ethnoregional and global contexts.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Curriculum Vitae

<p align="center">Saiful Anwar Matondang</p>

Education   :

2013– 2016   :   **University of Fribourg in Switzerland**

-   Docteur ès lettres @ Social Anthropology, Faculté des Lettres

2010-2012   :   **University of Hawai'i Manoa- Honolulu, USA**

-   M.A. (with Thesis) in Asian Studies, Graduate Program

2004-2007   :   **University of Indonesia, Jakarta**

-   M.A. (with Thesis) in Humanities**,** Graduate Program

1987-1991   :   **IKIP Padang, Indonesia**

-   Drs. in English Language and Arts Education, Undergraduate

Work Experience   :

2014–now, Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia

1993 -2014, Ministry of National Education and Culture of Indonesia

1997 –now, Universitas of Muslim Nusantara –AW Medan Indonesia

Research   :
2013-2016- **Thése de Doctorate** "*Ethnoregional 'social dramas' of Southeast Asian in globalism : Recasting cultural heritage for ethnic revivals*" Directed by Prof Dr. Dr (HC) Christian Giordano and Prof Dr. F Colombijn

2016-2017- *Ritual, Carnival and Cultural Festival for Global Tourism Development* project funded by Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education of Rep of Indonesia.

2015: *The Potential Arts & Cultural Events of Medan for Global Tourism Development*, Fundamental Research Fund of Director of Research and Community Service of Higher Education

2014: *Developing Teaching Material of Based Character Building from the Classical Texts of North Sumatra*- Research Grant of Govt of Indonesia

2013 : *Identification and Inventory of Sociolinguistics Dialects of Ethnic Groups in Serdang Bedagai Regency,* Research Grant of University of Muslim Nusantara AW Medan

2012: *Interethnic Perceptions of Ethnic Boundaries in Penang Malaysia* (M.A Thesis) – Ford Foundation New York & EWC

Travel Experience:

2013, 2015, 2016: Turkey

2005, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016: Penang &KL. Malaysia

2010-2012: USA

 2010, 2013, Singapore:

2010, 2011 Philliphines

2010, 2012 Taiwan

1996 Australia

Conference:

2015 (Dec) WISS –Conference, Putrajaya Convention -Kuala Lumpur Malaysia,

2014 TEFLIN Conference, Solo Indonesia: *"The Contributions of Anthropological Theories to TEFL"*, 7-9 November, held by TEFLIN & Board of Educational Research of Indonesia

2013 Penang Hajj Conference: *The Strategic Position of Penang as the and the Shared Identity of Ummah"*, 17-18 August, held by PHT.

2012 ICCE Honolulu Hawaii USA, "*Grace of Diversity: A Plural Society of Post Independent Indonesia-Malaysia*", 7-8 April, held by Permias- Indonesia Consulate California & East West Center,

Publications:

2016, The Revival of Chineseness as a Cultural Identity in Malaysia, *Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19(4), 58-70 (indexed by WoS/ISI).

2016 The Potent Cultural Heritage Tourism of North Sumatra, *International Humanities Studies*, Vol. 3/3/September 2016 (ISSN 2311-7796) indexed by OAJI and EBSCOHOST

2016 Celebrating the Local Traditions for Global Heritage Tourism, *International Humanities Studies*, Vol. 1/March 2016 (ISSN 2311-7796) indexed by OAJI and EBSCOHOST

2016: A Book: *Micro theory of Culture*, PT Perdana Mitra Handalan:Medan Indonesia

2015: A Book: Teori Kebudayaan Interaksi Budaya Lokal dengan Regional –Global, PT Perdana Mitra Handalan: Medan

2013 *Remaking Shared Ethnic Identity of Indo-Malay World in Glocal Context*, Institute Pemikiran Mahathir Muhammad (IPM) - UUM Kedah Malaysia

2012 Ethnopoetics as Reflection of Society, *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Seni,* Vol 1/1 (Dec 2012)

Teaching Experiences:

1997 – 2009 Drama and Prose; E. Tourism; Discourse Analysis

2012-2014 Research Method, Psyco-linguistics,

Languages:

Mandailing (Mother Tongue)

Toba Excellent

Minang Excellent

Indonesia   (National language) Excellent

Malaysia   Excellent

English   Excellent

Personal Identity:

Nationality: Indonesia

Place and Date of Birth: Tapanuli Selatan – North Sumatra

Marital Status: Married – Two Sons

"Je dèclare sur mon honneur que ma thése east une oevre personnelle, composè san concours extèrieur non autorisè, et qu'elle n'a pas ètè prèsentèe devant une autre Facultè"

Signature

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UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

SOUTENANCE DE THESE

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