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# **YEARNING TO BELONG**

## *Advance Praise for Yearning to Belong*

This book presents — for the first time in a single volume — fascinating historical and ethnographic details of five hybrid ethnic minorities in Peninsula Malaysia. Written with sensitivity and insight towards both minorities and the larger communities, this book is an outstanding contribution to inter-ethnic understanding, to ethnic studies in general, and minority studies in particular. For Malaysian Studies enthusiasts this is a must read.

***Professor Shamsul A.B.***

*Founding Director, Institute of Ethnic Studies,  
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, and  
Member, International Advisory Board,  
ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore*

Once I started reading this book I didn't want to stop! It's a lovely book. Pillai's skills of story-telling and clarity of expression make the book accessible to a broad popular audience, while the facts and insights from interviews and local documents are an original contribution to scholarship. The five case-studies also make this publication distinctive.

***Charles Hirschman***

*Boeing International Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, and  
Fulbright Visiting Professor, University of Malaya, 2012–13*

For decades — beginning long before Independence in 1957 — governments and academic analysts have tended to configure Malaya/Malaysia in terms of a simplistic race paradigm: Malay/Chinese/Indian. This very readable book reaches beyond that paradigm, demonstrating how it has distorted reality. In one perceptive and sensitive chapter after another Pillai discloses the ethnic complexity of Malaysia, and in doing so makes the country all the more interesting to the general reader as well as the professional sociologist.

***Anthony Milner***

*Tun Hussein Onn Chair, ISIS Malaysia (2014–15);  
Co-editor, *Transforming Malaysia: Dominant and  
Competing Paradigms* (ISEAS, 2014);  
Basham Professor of Asian History, The Australian National University*

This is a work that came from the heart and that is why it carries the colour and warmth of its birth place. Relying on history and narratives, Patrick Pillai paints a beautiful picture of the many cultural streams that contributed to Malaysia's dazzling diversity. But his work is not just a nostalgic yearning for a more harmonious society as in the past. There is a powerful message for greater understanding of our unacknowledged commonalities and more tolerance and acceptance of our differences.

*Professor Dr Shad Saleem Faruqi*  
*Emeritus Professor of Law, UiTM (Malaysia)*

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# YEARNING TO BELONG

Malaysia's Indian Muslims, Chitties,  
Portuguese Eurasians, Peranakan Chinese  
and Baweanese

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*For K K*





# CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	xii
<i>Foreword by Professor Shamsul A.B.</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxi
Introduction	1
About This Book	1
Discerning Diversity: What Their Stories Tell Us	4
1. “Mamak” and Malaysian: The Indian Muslim Quest for Identity	6
Introduction	6
Shared Histories: Factors Facilitating Acculturation and Assimilation	8
Culture and Identity: Indian Muslim Impact and Influence	13
State-Defined Categories: Divisions and Dilemmas	21
The Indian Muslim “Identity Crisis”	27
Overcoming the “Identity Crisis”: Ethnic, Political and Social Routes	30
Conclusion: The Indian Muslim Quest for Identity	33
Appendix 1.1: Mohideen, A Kadayanallur Trader	36
Appendix 1.2: Fazal Mohd Bros: Providing for the Pilgrim’s Passage	37
Appendix 1.3: Shops To Superstores: Barkath, Habib and Mydin	38
Appendix 1.4: List of Interviews/Field Visits	39
Notes	40

2. The Chitty of Malacca: An Epitome of Cross-Cultural Influences	42
Introduction: Kampung Chitty, Malacca	42
Shared Histories: Factors Facilitating Acculturation	43
Culture and Identity: Manifestations of Acculturation	49
Ethnic Space: People and Place	56
Seeking <i>Bumiputera</i> Status	64
Conclusion	65
Appendix 2.1: Chitty or Peranakan Indian?	68
Appendix 2.2: Parchu Ponggal: Chitty Ancestor Worship	69
Appendix 2.3: Interviews of Chitties	71
Notes	76
3. Bumiquest: Malacca's Portuguese Eurasians and the	
Search for Identity	78
Introduction: A Village by the Sea	78
Shared Histories: Factors Facilitating Acculturation	83
Shared Cultures and Identities: Manifestations of Acculturation	88
Securing Ethnic Space and Political Place: Portuguese and	
<i>Bumiputera</i> Routes	98
Conclusion	110
Appendix 3.1: The Portuguese Eurasian Catholic Heritage	112
Appendix 3.2: Key Portuguese Eurasian Religious Events	114
Notes	117
4. Between "Cina-Kampung" and "Cheng-Ho" Chinese:	
Terengganu's Peranakans	119
Introduction: Glimpses of a Fast-Disappearing Hybrid World	119
Shared Histories: Factors Influencing Chinese Acculturation	
and Identity in Terengganu	123
Shared Spaces: Factors Facilitating Acculturation in	
Kampung Tirok	130
Identities and Cultures: Manifestations of Acculturation in	
Terengganu	135
Harnessing Multiple Identities: Between "Cina-Kampung"	
and "Cheng Ho" Chinese	141
Conclusion	144
Appendix 4.1: Kuala Terengganu's Chinatown	146
Appendix 4.2: Terengganu Peranakan Chinese Food	148
Notes	149

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5. “Merdeka Sayang Kita”: The Malay Journey of the Baweanese	152
Introduction: Bawean and the Cultural Reproduction of Malay Ethnicity	152
Flow and Flux: Pre-colonial and Colonial Migration to the Peninsula	155
Sailors and Tappers: Colonial Baweanese Immigration, 1850–1957	156
Poverty and Piety: Factors Facilitating Baweanese Immigration	160
Helpful “Malay” Neighbours: Factors Facilitating Acculturation and Assimilation	166
From Baweanese to Malay: The Long Journey	173
Conclusion	178
Appendix 5.1: Sources of Indonesian Immigration, Colonial Period 1850–1957	181
Appendix 5.2: Baweanese Life-Histories	183
Notes	202
6. Conclusion	203
Hybrid Groups and Harmony: Lessons from the Past	203
Yearning to Belong: Harnessing Multiple Identities	204
Living Together, Apart: Ethnic Polarization Today	206
Embracing Diversity through More Inclusive Policies	208
Overcoming Fear, Building Trust: Inter-ethnic Dialogue	209
Appendix	
<i>“Towards a Shared Malaysian Destiny” by Professor Shad Saleem Faruqi</i>	211
<i>Bibliography</i>	223
<i>Glossary</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	245
<i>About the Author</i>	259

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 2.1	Location of Chitty Village and Its Temples and Shrines, Malacca	59
Figure 2.2	Layout of the Chitty Village	60
Figure 3.1	Location of Portuguese Settlement and Related Landmarks	81
Figure 3.2	Layout of the Portuguese Settlement, Malacca	82
Figure 4.1	Terengganu: Towns and Villages Where Peranakan-type Chinese Live	121
Figure 4.2	Kampung Tirok and Surrounding Villages on Terengganu River Banks	122
Table 2.1	Chitty Population, Malaysia, September 2009	57
Table 2.2	Chitty Population, Malaysia, 1976	57
Table 3.1	Some Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian Family Names	89
Table 3.2	Bahasa Malaysia Words Derived from Portuguese	94
Table 5.1	Malaya: Percentage of Indonesians in Total Malayan Population, 1911–57	157
Table 5.2	The Baweanese Population in Singapore, 1849–1957	159
Table 5.3	Indonesians by Ethnic Sub-Group, Malaya, 1911–47	159
Table 6.1	Multiple Identities of Ethnic Minorities	205

# FOREWORD

This book presents — for the first time in a single volume — fascinating historical and ethnographic details of five hybrid ethnic minorities in Peninsula Malaysia. They comprise Penang's Indian Muslims, Malacca's Chitties and Portuguese Eurasians, Trengganu's Peranakan Chinese, and the Baweanese, who are of Indonesian origin. The Baweanese chapter, in particular, stands out as a significant contribution to the literature on Peranakan-types in the Malay world.

Combining the acuity of a scholar with the skills of a journalist, Patrick Pillai leads us on an intriguing journey, tracing how migration histories, occupations and residential locations facilitated interaction and acculturation.

His aim is to highlight Malaysia's rich diversity, and to discover how the experiences of these Peranakan-type communities can provide useful lessons in cultural intermingling, sharing and ethnic harmony. He finds that working, living and schooling together are essential prerequisites, as is proficiency in Malay, which bridges and bonds diverse ethnic groups.

However his fieldwork indicates that acculturation is a necessary but insufficient prerequisite to fostering inter-ethnic harmony; a sense of belonging is equally vital. Such inclusiveness, he argues, is best achieved through multi-ethnic politics and policies consonant with affirmative action. He concludes with a plea for inter-cultural dialogue to cultivate greater understanding, empathy and trust between diverse ethnic and religious groups.

Written with sensitivity and insight towards both minorities and the larger communities, this book is an outstanding contribution to inter-ethnic understanding, to ethnic studies in general, and minority studies in particular. For Malaysian Studies enthusiasts this is a must read.

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# PREFACE

## WHY I WROTE THIS BOOK

This book is inspired by my childhood experiences in the diverse cultural milieu of old Malacca. I grew up in Bandar Hilir, near the seaside fronting the Straits which gave birth to its great cosmopolitan port. My neighbours and playmates included Peranakan Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch Eurasians. We spoke Malay, and our playground was the breezy seaside *padang* (field) near the town centre. A tourist would have had a hard time figuring us out; there were Malay-looking boys with *vibhuti* on their foreheads, Indians buying Malay-style cakes from a Chinese, and Portuguese Eurasian, Peranakan Chinese and Peranakan Indian mothers in Malay-style *kebaya* and *kerongsang*. Yet we were doing just what Malaccans had done for centuries in this multi-ethnic port-city — revelling in its rich hybrid culture which had seeped through porous ethnic borders.

I had multiple identities. I was Malayan, Malay-speaking, Malaccan, Ceylonese Tamil and Catholic. When firecrackers exploded non-stop one night in 1963 I realized I had also become Malaysian. But there were no contradictions between the many worlds I inhabited. My religious values were universal and perennial, but my cultural boundaries were permeable. For me this was so natural that I simply never thought about it.

However I soon came to realize that my Malacca childhood had insulated me from the harsh realities of my own country. During two careers spanning thirty years, first as a journalist and later as a migration researcher, I travelled to various parts of the country and met Malaysians of many ethnic backgrounds. While I was impressed by high economic growth, I was distressed by the way ethnic ideology and politics was engendering a hardening of cultural boundaries, particularly between Malays, Chinese and Indians. Worse, there was a lack of creative and concerted attempts to counter these divisive trends by highlighting our shared histories and cultures, common universal spiritual values and our interlinked future.

The gap between economic growth and ethnic harmony is particularly high in Malaysia. This is despite the fact that affirmative action via the New Economic Policy (NEP), the main thrust of Malaysian nation-building since 1970, has in many ways made Malaysia a model multi-ethnic developing society. Professor Donald Snodgrass, a development economist who helped formulate the NEP, once told me that “we (at Harvard) have not come across a single developing multi-ethnic society on the entire planet which has survived and thrived after independence as Malaysia has done” (Personal communication). Even today Malaysia remains the only post-colonial multi-ethnic country which has successfully transformed a wide swathe of its once poverty-stricken indigenous majority from rural-agricultural to urban-industrial and created a broad middle class within one generation.

However in multi-ethnic societies, growth and inter-ethnic wealth redistribution alone are no guarantees of ethnic harmony; people can still be driven apart by ethnic and religious-based politics. As a bulwark against such divisive forces, Malaysia needs to build strong bridges of understanding, appreciation and empathy between people of varied cultures and faiths. Knowledge of our shared histories, rich diversity and overlapping identities can imbue a sense of solidarity to counter the primal pull of ethnic politics. This book is a modest contribution to that goal.

My main motivation in writing this book was to trace the process through which long-settled ethnic minorities acculturated without being assimilated. I was curious about how and why the so-called “hard” cultural boundaries we see today were “soft” in the past, at least among the ethnic minorities of my Malacca childhood. I learnt that this was related to their heterogeneity, mixed ancestry, and cultural sharing — features shared by the three main ethnic groups — but also to their smaller numbers and longer periods of interaction and intermingling. In the process of researching this book however, I also discovered something unexpected — that some among these minorities are deeply anxious about their identity and their future, and pine for a State-recognized indigenous *bumiputera* identity. The implications of this trend for ethnic relations are also discussed in this book.

## METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

This work is based on both primary and secondary research. In addition to consulting academic publications and local history accounts, I conducted fieldwork over three years (2008–11), covering five communities selected on the basis of their long settlement, culturally hybrid character and



geographical spread. This encompassed Penang (Indian Muslims), Malacca (Chitties/Peranakan Indians and Portuguese Eurasians), Terengganu (Peranakan Chinese) and Selangor (Baweanese). For the Baweanese chapter, the historical background and life histories are based on my PhD (Pillai 2005), updated with fieldwork for this book in 2010 and 2011.

I talked directly to people on the ground. I met and spoke to community leaders, local historians and ordinary people using structured and unstructured interviews and informal conversations, some of which led to the writing of concise life histories. Pseudonyms were used in cases where informants and respondents requested privacy. I also drew from “participant observation” in major cultural and religious events and visits to homes.

No quantitative surveys were carried out. The views in this book represent those of the people I spoke to and are an indication of the experiences and perceptions of a cross-section in each community, often the less skilled and less mobile segments still living in traditional ethnic spaces. In any case conceptions of ethnicity and identity are fluid and flexible, and vary over time, place and situations, especially in a society where “race” is the dominating discourse.

There are other limitations. Each community is so rich and complex that it is impossible to fully cover all issues thoroughly in a single chapter; there are many PhD’s waiting to be written on each group. Chapter contents also vary according to information access. The Peranakan Chinese of Malacca and Penang were left out because there are several publications on them. The same applies to the Peninsular Malaysia’s Orang Asli. It must also be emphasized that this book covers five groups in Peninsular Malaysia only. Regretfully, Sabah and Sarawak, which have a large number of highly diverse ethnic minorities, have been excluded; the groups there are far more diverse and complex and demand specialist knowledge which is beyond the scope of this book.

## **SOME TERMS AND DEFINITIONS**

An “ethnic group” shares a collective history and identity, with their own culture, beliefs and language; membership is acquired through birth, marriage or other socially sanctioned routes. “Race” is a socially constructed category, a scientifically discredited term once used to describe biologically distinct groups with unchangeable natures. “Ethnic group” is thus not synonymous with “race”. (David and Julia Jary 1995, pp. 205, 540).

The term “Malay” is constitutionally defined as a person who is Muslim, speaks Malay, and practises Malay customs.<sup>1</sup> *Bumiputera*, a political term of Sanskrit origin meaning “sons of the soil”, was introduced after the formation of Malaysia in 1963 to encompass Malays and other indigenous communities in the Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak. Thus all Malay-Muslims are *bumiputera* but not all *bumiputera* are Malay-Muslims, especially in Sabah and Sarawak, where many are Christians. Three of the five ethnic minorities discussed in this book — Indian Muslims, Baweanese and Portuguese Eurasians — have acquired full or partial *bumiputera* status from the government. The Peranakan Indians have begun articulating requests for similar recognition, but not the Peranakan Chinese of Terengganu.

“Acculturation” and “assimilation” demand clarification since both terms are often poorly defined and used loosely and interchangeably. In fact they are specific terms with particular meanings. Acculturation refers to cultural change in the direction of another ethnic group, while assimilation is the adoption of the ethnic identity of another group, thus losing one’s original identity. Acculturation can be mutual while assimilation is a one way process (Tan 1984, p. 190). In acculturation contact may have distinct results such as the borrowing of certain traits by one culture from another, or the relative fusion of separate cultures (*The Columbia Electronic Encyclopaedia*, 6th ed. 2007).

Assimilation has also been defined as the process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. The process of assimilating involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such a degree that the assimilating group becomes socially indistinguishable from other members of the society. As such, assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2011).

The term “Peranakan” is a Malay word which means “local-born people” and often refers to an ethnic minority living in a Malay environment (Tan 2002, p. 148). The Peranakan Chinese for example, may be loosely defined as Malay-speaking Chinese who show a significantly high level of acculturation but no sign of eventual assimilation.<sup>2</sup> Fieldwork for this book indicates that the degree of acculturation also varies with the length of stay in Malaysia, occupation, residential location, education and class. Long stays, common occupations and shared residential locations and

schools tend to increase the degree of interethnic interaction and are a prerequisite — though not a cause — of acculturation.

Hybridity refers to “dynamic mixed cultures” (Cohen and Kennedy 2000, p. 377), a common feature of archipelagic Southeast Asia and the Caribbean, where maritime cultures have long fostered inter-ethnic interaction, and where mixed ancestry and heterogeneity is the norm rather than the exception. In contrast to colonial racial ideology, hybridity in Southeast Asia is not therefore seen in negative terms. In fact hybridity is also defined by some scholars as a form of liminal or in-between space which is an antidote to colonial essentialism; the hybrid has the ability to transverse several cultures and to “translate, negotiate and mediate affinity and difference” (Meredith 1998, p. 3, in discussing Bhabha 1994, 1996).

Discussion of the immigration history of various ethnic groups is done merely for purposes of analysis and understanding, and is not meant to demean them or question their background or loyalty. The forefathers of most minorities originated from immigrant groups, but their descendants were born and have lived in Malaysia; they are full-fledged Malaysians and Malaysia is their home.

Some pre-war names have been retained, especially historical and geographical place-names. To ensure simplicity no honorifics have been used; no disrespect is intended towards anyone.

## **MALAYSIA’S POPULATION AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION**

In 2013 Malaysia had 27 million citizens comprising Malays (55 per cent), Other *bumiputeras* (13 per cent), Chinese (24 per cent), Indians (7 per cent) and Others (1 per cent). In Peninsular Malaysia, Malays are predominant, comprising 66 per cent of citizens. Sabah and Sarawak, each with 2.5 million citizens, are far more diverse, with Kadazan-Dusun being the single largest group in Sabah, and Ibans being the single largest community in Sarawak. Malaysia employs 2.5 million documented non-citizens, a million of whom live in Sabah (Department of Statistics 2014). Islam is the most widely professed religion in Malaysia (61.3 per cent), followed by Buddhism (19.8 per cent), Christianity (9.2 per cent) and Hinduism (6.3 per cent) (Population and Housing Census, Department of Statistics 2010).

## Notes

1. A fourth but little-known prerequisite of being Malay is that the person must have local Malaysian/Singapore “roots” or patriality. According to Article 160(2) of the Malaysian Constitution, to be recognized as a Malay the person should also be — before Merdeka Day (31 August 1957) — born in the Federation or Singapore, or have a parent born in the Federation or Singapore, or is on that day domiciled in the Federation or Singapore, or is the issue of such a person. [I am grateful to Emeritus Professor Shad Saleem Faruqi of UiTm for pointing this out (Interview, Monday, 18 May 2015).]
2. According to Tan, the preconditions for the emergence of Peranakans include inter-ethnic interaction, Malay fluency and a “religious barrier” (Tan 1984, pp. 192, 195–99), since conversion to Islam is a legal prerequisite to marrying a Malay-Muslim in Malaysia, and eventually leads to assimilation.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I used to wonder why the acknowledgements sections of many books were so long. Now I know why. Researching and writing a book is both an individual and shared effort, involving debts to many people. In my case many wonderful souls helped and nourished me along the journey. During fieldwork for this book many ordinary people whom I met at community events and random home visits were very generous with their time. Community leaders, some of whom requested anonymity, also provided insights and introduced me to a range of useful contacts and informants. Virtually everyone was delighted to help, indicating perhaps how proud Malaysians are about their diversity. Below is a list of just some of the many people who assisted me.

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My knowledge of the Baweanese community deepened because many Indonesian immigrants willingly shared their life-histories. Accounts from five of them — Alim, Azmi, Baharuddin, Dzulfilki, Hamzah and Lokman — are used in this book. (Pseudonyms have been used for all Indonesian respondents.) Alim has not only been a rich source of information and insights for more than a decade, but also arranged for a group interview / discussion with a group of community leaders in Gombak in late 2011. I would also like to thank the Kampung Sungei Kayu Ara community leaders, survey participants, and other immigrants who were interviewed. My PhD supervisor Professor K.S. Jomo expertly guided me on a multi-disciplinary topic, while my co-supervisors Dr Chan Kok Eng and Richard Dorall provided crucial guidance and encouragement, especially in the early stages. The feedback from examiners Professor Lee Boon Thong, Professor Graeme Hugo and Dr Diana Wong are also gratefully acknowledged. I am also thankful to the University of Malaya for permission to publish parts of my thesis.

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This book is also inspired by the writings of the Malaysian academic Dr Farish Noor who has passionately argued about the need to highlight Malaysia’s diversity, and by the work of the prolific Professor Chandra

Muzaffar of 1Malaysia Foundation, who has for many years championed the need for inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue based on universal values, a clearer appreciation of Malaysia's history, and mutual empathy.

In addition, I owe a debt of gratitude to two towering Malaysians who are no longer with us. One is Dr Noordin Sopiee who was Chairman of Malaysia's Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS). He recruited me, first a journalist with the *New Straits Times* and later as a researcher at ISIS, where he facilitated the completion of my doctorate. Dr Noordin was a sincere and fervent advocate of "Bangsa Malaysia" (Malaysian nationality) outlined in Malaysia's "Vision 2020" ideal of a mature, developed society. The other is Professor Syed Hussein Alatas, a committed intellectual and deeply caring Malaysian whom I first met as a journalist in 1988. He constantly urged me to research, write and find my voice.

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While I have received inspiration and assistance from many people, I take full responsibility for the contents of this book. The views here do not reflect those of any persons or institutions mentioned above; rather it presents my own findings and views based on primary fieldwork, secondary research, and my three decades of experience as a Malaysian journalist and policy researcher.

# INTRODUCTION

## ABOUT THIS BOOK

Malaysia is among the most ethnically diverse and culturally rich nations on earth. Yet much of its cultural wealth lies buried beneath the rubric of its main Malay, Chinese and Indian “race” categories; the dazzling diversity within and outside these groups remains largely unexplored. In this book I uncover some of this fascinating diversity through the stories of five ethnic minorities: the Tamil Muslims of Penang, the Portuguese Eurasians and Chitty of Malacca, the Peranakan Chinese of Terengganu and the Baweanese of Selangor.

The book outlines their shared histories and overlapping identities by examining their migration patterns, occupations, locations, religious traditions and — where relevant — their built-heritage, language, cuisine, dress and music. To what extent have they maintained their identities, or been transformed by inter-ethnic interaction, acculturation and assimilation? How are they affected by social change, inter-marriage and out-migration? How do they harness their multiple identities? What of their futures? What lessons do these hybrid groups offer for inter-ethnic relations and nation-building today? These are some questions this book attempts to answer.

This publication will interest not only laymen, but also scholars, students and visitors interested in culture, ethnicity, heritage and migration in Malaysia and the region. There is little published, discussed and debated about these groups, which by virtue of their smaller numbers and relatively weaker political and economic power are overshadowed by larger communities. While there have been articles, chapters, and in recent years some books on individual groups, there are very few publications introducing a range of ethnic minorities in one volume, allowing for an analysis of common issues.



Most previous work comprises historical monographs or specialized cultural, anthropological and migration studies. There are also a few journal publications, seminar papers and magazine and newspaper articles on their language, music, culture, and performing arts. This book draws on these works to provide a historical and cultural backdrop, but relies on original fieldwork including interviews, personal profiles and local histories from community leaders and ordinary people to link broader historical and cultural trends to experiences and perceptions at group and individual level. In other words, it attempts to give voice to people, and to discuss their past and future as they understand and experience it.

The historical backdrop on Penang's Indian Muslims is drawn from monographs by the Penang-based historian and heritage expert Salmah Khoo (2001*a*, 2001*b*, 2009) and scholars Narayanan (2006), Fujimoto (1989), Shankar (2001) and Amrith (2009). The academic Ghulam-Sarwar's thoughtful paper (2001) reminds us of the cultural impact of South Asia on the Peninsula, while research by the once Penang-based anthropologist Judith Nagata (1974, 2006) throws light on their local history, composition and identity dilemmas. A coffee-table book on the Jawi Peranakan by Halimah and Zainab (2004) provides useful information on prominent Malays with Jawi Peranakan roots.

Not much has been published on Malacca's Peranakan Indians. Australian anthropologist David Mearns book (1995) — based on his doctoral thesis — analyses their religion and social identity, while Singaporean historian S. Dhoraingam's coffee-table publication (2006) and articles traces the community's origins, culture and religious rituals. K. Narinasamy's sociology undergraduate thesis, completed in the 1960s and published as a book chapter in 1983, is also informative.

There are relatively more publications on the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians. A lucid summary of their complex cultural origins is found in anthropologist Margaret Sarkissian's outstanding book (2000) on their performing tradition, while broader historical accounts are provided by Goh (2002), Muzzi (2002) and Thomaz (2000). Reflective insider accounts of the community's struggle to preserve their land and culture are found in booklets and seminar papers by cultural activists Gerard Fernandis (1995, 2000, 2003), Bernard Sta Maria (1979, 1982) (both now deceased) and his brother, community leader Joseph Sta Maria (1994, 1995, 2011). In addition there are journal articles and seminar papers on their culture, including family heritage, music, language and performing arts.

Unlike the Peranakan Chinese of Penang, Malacca and Singapore, very little is known and published on the Peranakan Chinese of Terengganu. American anthropologist Sharon Carstens has written about Chinese identities in Kelantan (1986, 2005), but the only available published work on Terengganu is a small ethnographic study of the Peranakan community in Kampung Tirok in Terengganu by Malaysian anthropologist Tan Chee Beng (2002). For this book, in addition to interviews, local histories have also been culled from publications of the Hokkein Association of Terengganu (2005), the Sam Poh Kong Temple Committee, and Wong and Liew (undated).

This book also recalls the story of the entry, settlement and assimilation of the Baweanese, a small, virtually unknown Indonesian ethnic group with a long history of immigration into Singapore and the Peninsula. There are no publications about them apart from some early work on their migration patterns by the Dutch scholar Vredenburg (1964), and two journal articles on their history and migration to Singapore and Malaysia by Baginda and Haji Fadzal (1967). A 1996 Harvard doctoral thesis by Singaporean anthropologist Mariam Ali provides a cultural interpretation of emigration from Bawean by explaining macro-level links between religious institutions, emigration networks and identity. In contrast this book examines the factors facilitating their immigration, acculturation and assimilation, based on the author's own PhD fieldwork (Pillai 2005) and follow-up research on the community in 2010 and 2011 in Malaysia.

This publication differs from previous specialized works in that it takes a multi-disciplinary approach, tracing how the cultural history of these groups — including their early migration, shared occupations, neighbourhoods, and interaction and inter-marriage — facilitated acculturation and assimilation. By relating their cultural history to conceptions of personal and group identity this work also contributes to a theoretical understanding of the complex dynamics of diversity and hybridity in a multi-ethnic society. Of particular interest is the process through which hybrid groups attempt to harness their multiple identities, including an indigenous *bumiputera* identity, to gain cultural recognition and economic opportunity. In addition to examining factors facilitating immigration, acculturation and — where relevant — assimilation, the book discusses the cultural manifestations of acculturation as expressed in religion, language, cuisine, dress, architecture and the performing arts. The book concludes by discussing why and how these groups seek alternative ethnic routes, and its implications for ethnic relations.

## **DISCERNING DIVERSITY: WHAT THEIR STORIES TELL US**

These communities have at least three important lessons for Malaysians: they remind us of our long history of diversity, shared histories and cultures, and the need to overcome our fear of acculturation. At the same time their struggles to assert their social identities and be part of the national narrative underline the urgency of replacing “race”-based politics and policies with new approaches prioritizing universal human values and social justice.

These hybrid communities remind us that diversity has been a constant throughout the country’s history. For centuries, long before colonialism sparked mass immigration, the Peninsula’s strategic location and trade and resource networks resulted in cosmopolitan ports which became nodes for small but influential numbers of merchants and missionaries, sojourners and settlers of Indian, Middle-Eastern, Indonesian, and Chinese descent. Long settlement and sustained inter-ethnic interaction fostered acculturation, creating many hybrid groups.

Even today Malaysia’s ethnic and cultural diversity continues to enrich, enliven and energize its spiritual, cultural and economic life, as it has for centuries. Embracing this diversity, divergence and difference demands a sympathetic understanding of the history, culture, anxieties and aspirations of its various groups. This book strives towards such understanding.

More importantly, the shared histories of these groups offer valuable lessons on how inter-ethnic harmony can be fostered today. Their past recalls a pre-colonial era when the colonial concept of “race” was non-existent and when trade, common occupations, shared spaces and schools led to organic and spontaneous intermingling between immigrant and indigenous groups. Most of these groups acculturated freely, absorbing elements of language, cuisine, dress, music, performing arts, architecture and even worship practices from each other, without being assimilated and without losing their own identities, particularly their religious values.

Today the hybrid heritage resulting from such cross-cultural fertilization remains, but the consciousness of its shared elements has been virtually forgotten. For example most Malaysians remain unaware of the Indian sub-continent’s immense impact on the daily lives of Malaysians through its influences on concepts of royalty, protocol and customs, literature and language, drama and music. Similarly the Malay language is much more than the language of the Malays and the national language of all

Malaysians. It is the lingua franca of the region, and as a language of trade it has through the centuries absorbed not only Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian but also Portuguese, Tamil and Hokkien words.

Instances of such cross-cultural influence are seen most clearly in the everyday lives of minorities covered in this book. In one village in Terengganu in the Peninsula's east coast, visitors will not easily recognize the Chinese, who live in Malay-style houses, speak the Terengganu Malay dialect, wear the *sarong* and eat Malay food with their fingers. In Malacca a deeply religious Hindu community of Peranakan Indians — many of Malay-Chinese-Indian ancestry — pray in Malay and adopt some Chinese ancestor-worship practices. Interestingly, Malacca's long-settled Peranakan Chinese were the cultural intermediaries in the acculturation of these Peranakan Indians. Equally fascinating is the fact that the thousands of Indian Muslim *Mamak* restaurants that dot the country are powerful cultural mediators, serving hybrid dishes such as *pasembur* and *mamak mee* to a multi-ethnic clientele.

The point being made is that there is far more cross-cultural mingling, sharing and co-dependence among us than we care to recognize, admit or celebrate. This book traces the process of these inter-cultural interactions, their manifestations, and their meanings. The stories of these long-established hybrid groups also raise many questions relevant to ethnic relations in Malaysia.

Is a similar process of spontaneous and harmonious acculturation possible between larger groups today? Is it possible to acculturate without being assimilated? What are the preconditions for such acculturation? Why do Malaysians fear acculturation? What can we do to create conditions which will foster such acculturation, and can this by itself contribute to ethnic harmony? These are some issues discussed in this book. My hope is that by showing how some groups adapted and adjusted to each other without losing their own core values, this book will help more Malaysians embrace one another without fear.