

# **Touristic Impressions of Social Transformations in Melaka (1998)**

## **Contents**

### **Introduction**

#### **Melaka as a Historic City and a Cultural State: The Setting**

#### **Melaka Tourism: Constructing Touristic Stages**

- A Central Touristic Nodes in Old Melaka
  - i Ethno-historical Heritage
  - ii Waterfront Nodes
- B Suburban Linkages outside Old Melaka
- C Representation, Mediation and Drama of Ethnicity

#### **Dependency, Hegemony and Management**

- A Political/Economic Hegemony in Tourism
- B Touristic Dependency
- C Small-scale Entrepreneurial Activities

### **Conclusion**

### **Introduction**

This paper aims to depict the salient changes and development of tourism in Melaka and its effects on rural areas, especially in the 1980s and early 1990s. In the 1970s and 80s, Malaysia, together with other ASEAN countries, succeeded in developing its economy, and during that time, the tourism was promoted as an industry by each state (Wood 1980, 1984; Elliott 1997). Standards of living were generally up-graded and life-styles gradually changed. In order to depict the management of social transformations, i.e., how people coped with these changes, they will be examined through the lens of tourism, which in part created such transformations.

The research for this paper was carried out as a part of a research project on the cultural ecology of local cities in Malaysia launched by the late Professor Yoshimi Komoguchi of Komazawa University. With this framework, I was interested in aspects of social transformation in Melaka, where, as long ago as 1970, I had begun my anthropological research (Kuchiba et al 1979). Since that time I had made periodic visits to Melaka. In 1985, I returned to my original survey village to investigate the changes in household compositions (Maeda 1986).

I conducted fieldwork for this study on two occasions. In December 1996, spent three weeks collecting data from officials in the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism, Melaka State Economic Planning Unit, Melaka State Economic Development Corporation, and other sources. Between October and December 1997, I spent some five weeks engaging in participation-observation with a dramaturgical or theater-going approach in a wide range of local events and conducting informal interviews of participants at all levels. I also obtained data from the partial observation of a conducted study tour in 1997 organized by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies of Kyoto University. The group traveled from Vientian to Bangkok, Penang, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapore. I joined the tour in Kuala Lumpur and accompanied the group via Melaka to Singapore by bus. In Melaka all of them took a boat-ride on the Melaka River for an hour, and then each had three hours of free time. They wrote a short note on their impressions of Melaka, which helped me to figure out the expectations of the Japanese younger generation.

Anthropologists are after all a kind of tourist, however much they may hate be regarded as such (Crick 1995). The title of this essay intentionally uses the word 'touristic' to remind the reader that an anthropologist cannot avoid being a participant-tourist. The anthropologist is differentiated from the tourist only by possessing the ability to analyse objectively the touristic dramas that he/she observes the stage. Ideally, tourism should not be a special kind of activity completely separated from daily lives of tourees and tourists.

Touristic interactions can be seen as impromptu dramas on touristic stage-sites. Tourists, tourees and middlemen hold, to a certain point, mutual expectations of each others' roles (van den Berghe 1994). A tourist may have his/her own plot to be enacted following the touristic narratives of others. A middleman figures out a plot to attract tourists. A touree may be indifferent to the presence of tourists. Interactions, however, become impromptu on a real stage as there is no dominant plot to be shared with. A drama, whatever it is, cannot be realized by actors only. It also involves directors, stage assistants, providers of paraphernalia who are not visible on the stage. Tourism, like a drama, requires not only 'hosts' and 'guests' (Smith 1989) but also planners, architects, workers, deliverers, manufacturers, peasants, and so on (Chambers 1997).

The discussion of this paper is divided into three parts. In the first (Section 1), I briefly trace the recent development of tourism in Melaka. Second, Section 2 provides a profile of tourism in Melaka as a historic city in a cultural state. Third, in Section 3, I review Melaka tourism within the wider framework of political and economic hegemony and discuss some of the reactions of tourees. In conclusion, I argue that Melaka could survive as a city of post-industrial urban tourism.

## **Melaka, A Historic City, A Cultural State**

Melaka City was formed in the beginning of the 15th century by the Melaka Sultanate and became a prosperous entrepot city in the early part of the 16th century. The story of its founding says: "Iskandar, from Singapura, journeyed on and arrived at a coastal place. While he was resting in the shade of a tree he saw a dog being attacked by a kancil (mouse deer). The miniature deer gave the dog such a kick with its hoofs that the dog tumbled into the water. Iskandar thought, this is a good place. Here even the kancil has strength and courage. Here I will build a city. He called the place Melaka, because the tree under which he was resting was a melaka tree." (Spruit 1995: 15-16, following the story in the Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu or Sulalatus Salatin) The "city" mentioned in the translation is the a Sanskrit loan word negeri in Malay. The melaka tree and two mouse deer decorate the emblem of the present Melaka State, one of the eighteen states of Malaysia. It should be noted that the word Melaka (or Malacca, Malaca, Malaka) is used to designate either the state or the city. The straits between Sumatera and the Malay Peninsula is the Melaka Straits. In some languages the Malay Peninsula is also called the Melaka Peninsula.

In its early, glorious days, Melaka essentially played the role of an entrepot or a city that was made for merchandise, as described by Tome Pires. The Portuguese, who forced the sultan to retreat from Melaka in 1511, constructed a stone fort in 1512 around the present St Paul's Hill on the left bank of the Melaka River. The buildings and constructions during the Melaka Sultanate were destroyed or reused by the Portuguese. Only mausoleums, wells, and legendary sites have survived. Chinese remains of this period include Bukit Cina, the residential area of a Chinese princess, which later became a cemetery, the princess's well, and the temple dedicated to the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho who visited Melaka in the fifteenth century. Although a fort and many churches were constructed during the Portuguese period (1511-1640), these were incorporated into the later Dutch buildings. The town plan divided Hilir, the fortified area on the left bank of the Melaka River, from Upeh, the area of markets and merchants' houses on the right bank. Portuguese heritage per se can hardly be observed today, except for a part of the fort (the Porta de Santiago), the vestigial stone related to St. Francis Xavier, some Catholic churches, place names like Tranquera, and the Portuguese resettlement in Hilir.

After capturing Melaka in 1641, the Dutch strengthened the old Portuguese fort and used the town mainly as a fort and harbor. Thereafter, its status as a port gradually declined to near oblivion (Cho & Ward 1983:623). Under the Dutch administration (1641-1795), Roman Catholic churches were quickly destroyed or converted for secular use. The Dutch also eliminated virtually all dwellings other than the Residency from the higher slopes of St. Paul's Hill, adding a stadhuis (townhall), a clock tower, Christ Church and other structures. These buildings are preserved as Dutch colonial heritage, even though the British demolished the Dutch, or ex-Portuguese, fortifications. The British, who gained power in Melaka towards the end of the

nineteenth century, destroyed its fortifications in 1807. The only structure to have survived is the Dutch Land Gate, which replaced the Portuguese Porta de Santiago of A Famosa (The Famous)(Irwin 1983:799).The British built courts, banks, club houses, high schools, offices, and other modern facilities that have survived until now. Melaka during the British period, however, became known as 'a hollow city,' although it was a part of the Straits Settlement of the British Empire, paralleling Singapore and Penang. The Japanese military occupation, very short indeed, left no substantial Monuments except for a rehabilitated Japanese cemetery and deserted military structures. Instead the military stripped the rails connecting between the main line and Melaka. An anti-Japanese occupation cenotaph was constructed in Melaka town immediately after the War.

In contrast to the colonial heritage, other ethnic groups hold colorful festivals, concentrate in quarters with characteristic houses, and have built religious institutions, Buddhist temples, Hindu temples, and mosques. Famous among them are the town houses of wealthy Chinese entrepreneurs and merchants' guild buildings. Indian-style houses had unfortunately been demolished by the 1950s.

With this material heritage and its air of historical nostalgia, Melaka was left behind the main developmental centers of the country after independence, like Kuala Lumpur or Johor Bahru. It ranks low in economic growth, manufacturing and agriculture. In the 1970s, it was noted that "another sector of the economy in which Melaka has a clear potential is tourism. "The proviso was added, however, that" without an increase in the number of attractions in Melaka, which implies the restoration and opening of historic sites, little growth in tourism can be anticipated" (Currie 1983: 377-8).

I first visited Melaka in 1964 with Dr Mitsukuni Yoshida, a historian of science, and Dr Joji Tanase, an ethnologist of religion. We made a trip from Kuala Lumpur, taking more than three hours to reach Melaka by taxi. The only thing I remember is that we visited the well (Perigi Raja) next to the Sam Po Kong Temple. Legend says that those who drink the water from the well will one day visit Melaka again, or that, now, those who throw coins into it will return to Melaka time and again. So we drank the water. I am not sure whether we visited the small Melaka Museum located on Jalan Kota, housed in a Dutch building. It was opened in 1954 by the British Commissioner and later, in 1982, moved to the Stadhuys as the new Historical Museum. Statistics record the number of visitors to Melaka in 1963 as 27,000.

In 1970, when I started my fieldwork at Pernu, eight kilometers to the southeast, Melaka was still a sleepy, quiet town with no international-standard hotels and few attractions beside the historic remains and old streets. No systematic promotion of tourism has been launched at that time. The number of visitors was 76,000 in 1975, while it reached 1 million in Malaysia as a whole. Industrialization moved slowly in

spite of the image of a state stagnating economically (Kuchiba et al 1979:227). Not until 1977 were forts like A Formosa, St John, and Linggi gazetted as historical sites (Raiha 1981).

The Melaka State Development Corporation started to develop tourism in 1982. When I revisited the community in 1984 and 1985, I noted that "rice farming and rubber tapping are definitely declining, both in the area they occupy and in the number of persons engaged in these occupations. Some rice fields are not cultivated either for one season or even for several consecutive seasons because of shortage of water. ... Most of the younger generation seek job opportunities outside the village, ... Educated youths prefer white-collar jobs in teaching, government services and companies to blue-collar jobs, for which the market, they say, has been reduced by an inflow of cheap labor from Indonesia and the Philippines. ... A few find work as taxi drivers, dockers, prison guards, or factory workers, while still living in the village. But more migrate to other states seeking a permanent livelihood. ... Many females now get salaried jobs as teachers, government workers, secretaries, and work even as factory workers" (Maeda1986:157-9). However, noticing a kind of suburbanization, I concluded that it was difficult to confirm any definite change within the 13-year span (idem:165).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the economic development of Melaka remained apparently slow. But it accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s. When I was conducting the re-study in 1985, the effects of tourism and economic development were gradually being felt among peasants. The Association of Fishermen in Southern Melaka opened a grilled fish spot, one of its earliest of that kind, in Serkam in March 1983. Serkam, near Pernu, is located twelve kilometers southeast of Melaka town. As quoted above, the rice fields have been left idle or converted to housing or industrial sites. This phenomenon was also observed in other areas of Malaysia, like Negeri Sembilan, but not in the rice-bowl areas like Kedah or Kelantan. Many monuments and historic reconstructions were officially opened or reopened in the latter part of 1980s and the early 1990s. For example, the Historic Museum of Melaka was opened at the Stadhuys in December 1982 and, following renovation, reopened in April 1992, on both occasions by the prime minister. The Melaka Sultanate's palace was reconstructed, and opened by the prime minister in July 1986. The number of tourist arrivals rose from 660,121 in 1982 to 1,208,974 in 1992. The number of restaurants tripled during the same period.

On 15 August 1989, the Federal Government conferred on Melaka the status of historic city (*bandaraya bersejarah*). This was the culmination of modern touristic development in Melaka, which is said to have started at the seminar on tourism held in Melaka in 1982 (Ince Rahman Ahmad, personal communication). The growth of

tourism did not occur in isolation. Rather, tourism grew hand in hand with the rapid economic development of the country. An international hotel was opened in 1984. The endeavors of the chief minister who held office from 1982 to 1995, a longer term than any of his predecessors', contributed greatly to the socio-economic development of Melaka.

The drastic change of Melaka was keenly felt, for example, by a tourist from Kuala Lumpur who visited Melaka in 1997 after a lapse of more than 15 years: she found Melaka had changed completely from the place she knew; although the historical landmarks like Christ Church, Bukit Cina, the museum, etc, were still there and remained the major attractions of the state, Melaka had become sinisterly more like Kuala Lumpur in many respects; the bold red and green paint that was used on the walls seemed loud, repulsive and emptied of meaning; the streets were now one-way; traffic jams were a regular feature; new shops, shopping complexes, hotels and factories seemed to have sprung up like mushrooms after the rain. Her story bore the headline: 'Melaka charm not the same anymore' (The New Straits Times, 25 Oct., 1997).

The community I studied had lost all its rice fields. The land had been converted into an industrial estate. It is said that the government agent purchased one-foot lot for 1.40 cents along the road in Telok Mas in the 1980s. The people claim the market price was 3 ringgit. After leveling the ground, it was sold by 13 ringgit for one foot. According to the information Malaysia of 1997, a total area of 62.15 ha had been developed in this area and 7.08 ha out of the total saleable hectareage of 44.01 had been sold.

Melaka boasted of historic and cultural tourism with multi-ethnic flavor in the 1980s, but provided rather limited infrastructure. It has now changed from a pre-industrial city to an industrial city, developing recreational tourism and shopping attractions which were lacking before the 1960s. As domestic tourism also develops, the gap between 'rich' foreigners and 'poor' locals will be mediated by the rising Malaysian middle class in the near future.

Many tourism-related projects have been promoted and implemented in recent years. Their success depends on maintaining facilities in good condition and achieving sustainable development in order to win the trust of tourists in Melaka tourism.

## **Melaka Tourism**

This section gives a short profile of tourist sites in Melaka and an image of the direction in which the government plans to develop tourism. It is also noted that historic objects have meaning in constructing ethnic or national identities. Descriptions

of tourist sites are mainly taken from brochures provided by the Tourism Malaysia and other commercial guide books. Surveys on the spot were done during the fieldwork. The list is far from comprehensive. The mainstream tourist industry with big capitals, like resort hotels and golf links, is paid little attention in the following descriptions. Apart from the physical sites, the private and public sectors organize interesting programs throughout the year, such as the Dragon Boat Festival, the Seafare Festival, religious processions and so on. These events are not included here. Information on these events, however, is not always disseminated in good time to the local public, not to mention international tourists. For example in 1997, the exact date and place of the Kelebang Festival was announced just two weeks before the date. One major travel agent only learned of the event on the first day through a radio broadcast, although a newspaper had announced it much earlier.

## **A. Central Touristic Nodes in Old Melaka**

### **A.i. Ethno-historical Heritage**

#### **A.i.a Layered Convergence Node**

This node is concentrated around St Paul's Hill where the administrative history of Melaka was centered since the period of the Sultanate. The main scenic historic sites, though, are derived from the Dutch period. The History and Ethnography Museum at the former Dutch stadhuys (opened in 1982 by the prime minister; renovated and reopened in 1992), which was used as the state administrative headquarters until 1961, is the main touristic point, and it is surrounded by other monuments, i.e., Dutch Square (Town Square, Red Square), Christ Church (completed in 1753, but the records at the church date back to 1641), the ruins of St Paul's Church, Dutch Graveyard, and the so-called Land Gate (or Porta de Santiago). Dutch buildings are used as museums, a post office, and souvenir shops. In addition to the Historic Museum, there are also the Literature Museum (opened in 1995), the Malaysia's Youth Museum (opened in 1992 by the prime minister, Art Gallery (added in 1996), and the People's Museum (a special exhibition room being opened in 1992 by the prime minister). The Museums Department has plans to convert other buildings in this quarter into museums in the near future.

The Queen Victoria Fountain erected in 1904 and the Tan Beng Swee Clock Tower of 1886 are in the center of the Dutch Square facing the Melaka River and flanked by the wall at the foot of St Paul's Hill, where there are observed historical inlaid cenotaphs and plaques. One local guide book emotionally criticizes the replacement of the old English clock with a Japanese Seiko clock in 1982. The book protests: "It was in this Malacca Town Square that Japanese occupation troops once displayed chopped-off heads of local residents to frighten the locals" (Tan 1989: 48).

In order to revive the Malay identity as a national symbol, the palace of the Melaka Sultan Muzaffar Shah was reconstructed, based on the description of the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals). This wooden replica, opened in 1986 by the prime minister, is now a focal point for ethno-historic tourism. It functions as a cultural museum with a garden of ethnic harmony, where a turban-shaped monument was built as the Historic

City Memorial in commemoration of the declaration of Melaka as a historic city in 1989. Next to this building there is the Proclamation of Independence Memorial (opened in 1985 by Tunku A. Rahman, the first prime minister), which contains documents and photographs of the proclamation of Malayan Independence held here in 1956. The building is the former Melaka Club House built in 1912. In front of it are the Padang Pahlawan (Heroes' Field, which was once part of the sea), where melaka trees (*Phyllanthus emblica* or emblic myrobalan) are planted, a Light and Sound theater (opened in 1989 by the prime minister), the Independence Obelisk, a bullock cart ride, souvenir craft shops, the Transportation Museum, St Francis Xavier's Rock, and parks. No residential houses are permitted, and one old commercial bank was moved to another area in 1997. So this node is totally converted into touristic objects, museums and recreational parks.

Buildings and walls of this node are colored dark red or crimson as a symbolic color of Melaka. It may not be the original color which decorated the Dutch buildings. Some tourists dislike the color, like the one from Kuala Lumpur cited above, but tourists may nowadays recall the color as a symbol of Melaka.

Just outside of the red zone, there is St Francis Xavier's Church, which is yellowish in color. It was built in 1849 on the location of the former Portuguese Church by a French priest.

### **A.i.b. Bukit Cina Node**

Bukit Cina (or China) means Chinese Hill, but it is called Sam Po Hill (in Chinese.) It is located less than one kilometer away from St Paul's Hill, facing a main road Jalan Munshi Abdullah. According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, the name Bukit Cina derived from the fact that Princess Hang Liu, wife of Sultan Mansur Syah (1446-59), resided here with five hundred Chinese who accompanied her from China. They made the well at Bukit Cina (Brown 1970: 82). The well is called Perigi Raja (Sultan's Well) or Princess Hang Li Poh's Well or Sam Po's Well. Sam Po or San Pao is the title conferred on Cheng Ho (Sandhu 1983: 93). From the seventeenth century, Bukit Cina became a Chinese cemetery with some Bugis and Muslim graves on the west flank. Nowadays it is the largest cemetery outside China, with some 12,500 graves. The hill was bought from the Dutch by a Captain Cina (Chinese head), who donated the area to the Chinese community. With other donations of land, Bukit Cina has become "a sacred burial ground for upkeeping their traditional religious rights up to today" (Tan 1992:85). Next to Hang Li Poh's Well is San Poh Kong Temple dedicated to Admiral Cheng Ho. News scripts are displayed on the wall, reporting an incident that occurred several years ago. This had started with the local government's plan to demolish Bukit Cina for land development. While many hills in Melaka have been flattened in order to develop land for housing and ease the keenly felt land shortage there, the development of Bukit Cina was successfully contested by the Chinese community. The Melaka Warrior Monument for Chinese Victims of Anti-Japanese Occupation (Kuo Ming

Tang Cenotaph) stands near the temple. The cenotaph has a Kuo Ming Tang flag image with a citation from Jiang Jieshi. It originates from a memorial built in 1948. In as late as 1993, some parts were added and renewed.

Some distance from Bukit Cina stands St Peter's Church, located off Jalan Bendahara (jalan is a street in Malay; bendahara is a minister) near the winding Melaka River. The church was built in 1710, when the Dutch persecution of Catholics slackened, and it was rebuilt in 1818-1819 by the Portuguese Mission (Teixera 1986: 348). It claims to be the oldest functioning Catholic church in Malaysia.

### **A.i.c. Old Town Zone of Upeh**

This is the area developed by merchants and residents on the right bank of the Melaka. This old town can be divided into 14 zones from the point of view of architectural space (Kanemaru 1996). Three of these zones have specifically touristic attractions. The present Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock (Tun Tan Cheng Lock is the founder of the Malayan Chinese Association) was formerly Heeren Street (Gentlemen's Street) during the Dutch period and referred as Millionaires' Row during the British time. Each house has a uniquely Chinese-style facade of about 5 meters. This narrow facade was a tax-saving measure, as tax was levied according to frontage. At the same time, the interior stretched back sometimes more than 60 meters and included courtyards.

Apart from a number of antique shops, two small hotels, restaurants, and a dozen or so community buildings, Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock is mainly residential. There are 80 Baba-Nyonya-style shop-houses in this street out of the total of 97 in Old Town (Kanemaru 1996: 43). According to his count, 22 houses are not permanently occupied, of which 16 are holiday homes, mainly of Singaporeans. The Baba Nyonya (Straits-born Chinese) Heritage is a unique private museum on this street. One hotel at the end of the street was open in 1995. A Singaporean bought the godown of a printing press from a Chinese and turned it into a guest house with carefully selected colonial and peranakan (local) furniture. Another hotel is a Chinese-style guest house mid-way along the street.

Jalan Hang Jebat (Hang Jebat is a hero of the Melaka Sultanate) or Jonkers Street (Noblemen's Street) is famous for antique shops, though it is also a high-profile residential area of Straits Chinese families. It is said that an Indian Muslim from Kerala started the first Jonkers Street junk shop in 1936.

A Hokkien Merchants Guild House is also located on this street, as are the mausoleums of two Sulatanate warrior heroes: Hang Kasturi's at Jalan

Hang Jebat and Hang Jebat's at Jalan Kampung Kuli.

At Jalan Tokong (Temple Street) three old religious buildings stand side by side. Cheng Hoon Teng's Temple is the oldest Chinese temple in Malaysia, built in 1646 with materials brought from China. Its main deity is the Goddess of Mercy. Other altars are for the Queen of the Ocean (Ma Choe Poh), the God of War (Kwan Ti), and the God of Wealth (Tai Sui). Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism are blended together.

Kampung Kling (Southern Indian Village) Mosque is one of the oldest mosques, with a three-tiered Javanese-style roof (tangkup roof with a meru) and a pagoda-style minaret, a distinct mixture of Chinese and Indian Muslim elements. It was built in 1748. A Hindu temple, Sri Poyyamtha Vinayagar Moorthi Temple, is sacred to both the Chettiar (traditional Hindu money-lenders) and the Chitty (Peranakan Indians who claim to have been in Melaka for 500 years). The temple is dedicated to the deity Vinayagar, represented by an elephant's head made of black stone imported from India. It was built in 1781.

Another old mosque is situated on Jalan Kampung Hulu (hulu means upriver). It was the first mosque built during the Dutch colonial period, in 1728. The architectural style is unique to Melaka as is that of other traditional mosques.

Slightly removed from Old Town, but included in this section for convenience, are two interesting communities. One is a Malay kampung called Kampung Morten, which is the only Malay village in the heart of Melaka City. The village name was taken after a British Commissioner of Land and Revenue Collector, J.M. Morten, who initiated the settlement of this site in the 1920s. One house has been converted to a private museum, Villa Sentosa, at least since the 1960s. It was officially opened in 1991 by a town councilor in charge of tourism.

The Melaka Chitty Village is located in the ward of Gajah Berang (Furious Elephant), 1.3 kilometer from St Pau's Hill. Chetty or Chitty originally means a member of one of the trading jati of South India. In present-day Melaka, it is used to refer to a member of the Melaka-born Hindu community. Their mother tongue is Malay; they adhere to Saivitic Hinduism that was brought to Melaka in the fifteenth century; and their dress, methods of food preparation, and forms of entertainment exhibit distinctively local flavors (Narinasamy 1983:244). Like the Baba Chinese, they are quite different from the other Hindus, who

retain their native languages and know their places of origin in India. The village has three Hindu temples in Gajah Berang. The main temple is Sri Maha Mariamman Temple built in 1822. About 32 houses of Chitty families are located alongside Chinese houses there. These are distinguished by the pictures of deities displayed at the entrances. Outside the village, there are seven other temples and 18 families belonging to the Chitty community in Melaka.

New China Town and predominantly Indian streets are located outside Old Town.

#### **A.i.d. Kristang (Portuguese) Settlement and St John's Fort**

Eurasian communities are rather spread out (Chan 1983: 264). People of Portuguese descent formerly lived in Kampung Hilir, but in 1933, they moved to Ujung Pasir, a settlement near the Straits, two or three kilometers west-south-west of St Paul's Hill. The main tourist site there is Portuguese Square, opened in 1985 by the prime minister. It has restaurants, and local cultural shows are performed on weekends. The residents follow the Catholic faith, which is called cristao (Marbeck 1995). They are referred to as serani, which means Eurasians in Malay. About 900 people live in this former fishing village. There is no church in the settlement, so they attend services at St Peter's Church or St Xavier's Church.

Near Portuguese Square, at the end of Jalan Parameswara (Parameswara is the name of the founder of Melaka according to the Portuguese document Suma Oriental), is St John's Hill (Bukit Senjuang) or Dimple Hill (Bukit Pipi). The Dutch St John's Fort is situated on the top of hill. Originally, the Portuguese built a chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist, which was destroyed by the Achenees in 1629. The fort was constructed in the last half of the eighteenth century (1760-90).

#### **A.ii. Waterfront Nodes**

The waterfront of Melaka consists of the Melaka River and the coast facing the Melaka Straits. The coastal waterfront is advancing into the sea because of land reclamation, which started 50 years ago. More than 100 acres of reclaimed land is now available. After environmental impact assessments a total of 6,600 acres will be reclaimed. Formerly, the coast lay 100-200 meters south of St Paul's Hill, but today it is almost half a kilometer distant because of reclamation.

There are beaches along the east coast at Kelebang, Kundur, Tanjung Kling,

and so on, but are mainly for local recreationists and not so much developed for international tourists.

### **A.ii.a. Melaka River**

Singapore cruising ships anchor offshore and send passengers ashore by boat. After entering the river, the boat passes the Port Authority building, the customs house, sheds and warehouses. On the left bank, the back of the Maritime Museum is visible. The museum is housed in a replica of the Portuguese ship *Flor de la Mer*, which sank off the coast of Melaka. It was officially opened in 1994 by the prime minister. Although not visible from the river, a naval museum located near the Maritime Museum has an exhibition of a model of the remaining hull and porcelains that were taken from the recently salvaged British merchant vessel *Diana*, which sank in 1817.

On the right bank, ships and boats load their cargo of charcoal, mangrove poles, and a little rattan or damar mainly from Indonesian Sumatera (Chao and Ward 1983: 638). Also there is a quay for two regular passenger boats operating between Melaka and the Sumateran port of Demai. Before the economic recession, it was planned to build a 33-kilometer bridge between Melaka and Pulau Rupa on the Sumateran coast. The passengers of other boats land at a quay on the left bank near the bridge in the Dutch Square. Fishing boats, colored violet, prescribed color for fishing boats registered in Melaka State, go further upstream to moor.

In the past, the frontages of private houses were ranged along the river. Disused devices for unloading cargo from ships into houses can still be seen in places, but the river banks now function only as promenades at best, since the river is no longer used for communication. There are eight small and large bridges crossing the river, of which that at Dutch Square has remained in approximately the same position since the days of the Melaka Sultanate. The river has not been extensively developed for restaurants, promenades, or touristic purposes. One obstacle may be the river itself: it needs to be rejuvenated.

From the river can be seen such objects as the buildings around the Dutch Square, the backs of residential houses, Kampung Hulu's Mosque, Kampung Morten (Villa Sentosa), St Peter's Church, and the ruins of St Laurence's Church, as well as modern constructions and a bit of eco-tourism.

### **A.ii.b. Mahkota Area, Kota Melaka Raya and Kota Laksamana**

These are the recently reclaimed areas. Kota Laksamana covers an area of roughly 1-2 by 0.5 kilometers, and lies on the right of the river mouth, southwest of Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock and Jalan Tengkerah. Mahkota area and Kota Laksamana lie on the left of the river mouth, extending some 3-4 along the coast by 0.5 kilometers inland, up to the Portuguese settlement. Here there are already an international resort hotel, hotels, a private hospital, shopping malls, recreation centers, large and small local restaurants, banks, and other facilities for tourists.

These are both waterfront areas, but the main activities there do not involve the water.

### **A.ii.c. Islands**

Pulau Upeh lies offshore from Melaka town. It has beaches and chalets. More local people visit it for holidays than international tourists. Pulau Besar is farther from the rivermouth, situated near Pernu, 7 kilometers from town. The island has long been a site of pilgrimage, famous for its sacred Muslim tombs, which not only Malays and Indians but also Chinese believe have magical powers. Now it has been developed as a resort with an international-standard hotel and a golf course. One of the pilgrimage sites is located unobtrusively inside the golf course, unnoticed by the players. The island resort hotel was opened in 1991 by the prime minister. A public rest house, of which construction had been completed, was not yet open in 1997.

## **B. Sub-urban Linkages outside Old Melaka**

### **B.i. Tengkerah-Kelebang-Tanjung Kling-Kuala Linggi Belt**

This belt along the northern coast forms a line connecting Jalan Tengkerah and the border bridge of the Linggi River. Aside from beaches and resort hotels there are several historical sites.

One kilometer northwest of Melaka is the suburb of Tranquira (Tranquerah, Tengkerah), whose name derives from the presence of an earthen rampart (tranquira in Portuguese) in the area. Tranquerah Mosque is located on Jalan Tengkerah, about 2 kilometers from town. It has the Melaka-style roof and a pagoda-type minaret. In the compound of the mosque is the mausoleum of Sultan Hussain Shah, who died in exile in Melaka. He signed the treaty of

cession of Singapore to Stamford Raffles in 1819.

Fifteen kilometers from town, Hang Tuah's mausoleum is situated in Kampung Balik Bukit near the Melaka Islam College. Hang Tuah is one of the most popular warrior heroes of the Melaka Sultanate. Many legendary spots are related to him or his deeds. This brick mausoleum was built during the Dutch period and is referred to by local people as makam tua (old tomb). Keris (dagger) in Hang Tuah's right hand stand on two pedestals as a symbol of his valor.

Another Dutch fort is located on Bukit Supai (Sepoy's Hill) at the mouth of the Linggi River on the border with Negeri Sembilan. It was constructed in 1758 for tax collection on cargoes from inland. The fort was originally called Fort Filipina, named after the daughter of Jacob Mussel, Dutch Governor General at Batavia from 1750 to 1761 (Sheppard 1961: 31). It is now simply referred Dutch Fort, recorded in government gazettee in 1977. Further upriver, at the junction with the Rembau River, another fort, Kota Simpang was built in 1850- 60.

Cape Rachardo is a birdwatchers' paradise situated in a Melaka enclave in Negeri Sembilan, 57 kilometers from town.

### **B.ii. Duyung-Pulau Besar-Merlimau**

This belt on the southeast coast is along the main road to Muar, Pontian, and to Kukup, Johor, the southern tip of the peninsula. This side of Melaka was largely outside of Portuguese and Dutch influence. The boundary with Johor is marked by the Kesang River. Hang Tuah's Well is located in Kampung Duyung, 4 kilometers from town. A new construction to protect the well was Officially opened in 1985 by the chief minister of Melaka. The Silat (Malay self-defence martial art) Hall next to the well was opened in 1987 by the governor of Melaka. Another mausoleum, cleanly rehabilitaed in the middle of rice fields, is for Tun Teja, wife of Sultan Mahmud Shah. She died in Merlimau while retreating with the Sultan from the Portuguese attack in 1511. One traditional Melaka residence is listed as a tourist site in Merlimau. This is the 19th-century penghulu's or village headman's house. In 1997 it was not well managed to accept tourists, unlike Villa Sentosa.

Although this belt is less fascinating in terms of historical remains, several grilled fish spots are famous and popular with locals as they serve fresh fish from the sea cheaply, namely, in Muara Duyung, Alai, Pengkalan Pernu-Umbai, Anjung Batu, and Serkam Pantai. The atmosphere could be an

attraction to tourists in general if public transportation were improved.

### **B.iii. Ayer Keroh Zone**

Ayer Keroh, 11 kilometers from town, is situated on one of exit roads to Melaka town from the federal highway linking Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. A few minutes' drive from the exit is a concentration of tourist sites and recreational spots: Taman Mini Malaysia and Mini ASEAN, Orang Asli Tribal Museum, Butterfly Farm, Crocodile Farm, Melaka Fish World, Melaka Zoo, Recreational Forest, and Ayer Keroh Lake. Taman Mini Malaysia (Malaysia-in-Miniature Park) exhibits traditional houses from each state of Malaysia, like Taman Mini Indonesia in Jakarta. Houses from ASEAN countries are also shown. It was opened in 1986 by the prime minister. The Orang Asli Tribal Museum was opened to the public in October 1996. Orang Asli (original people) is a generic name for the indigenous people of peninsular Malaysia. The Temuan group of Orang Asli resides mainly in the Jasin district of Melaka.

In the vicinity of this touristic complex is a unique private enterprise called Auyin Resort Hill, where every element has been placed according to the principles of feng shui (geomancy). It was opened to the public in 1990. On the way from town to Ayer Keroh are two newly opened supermarkets. The State Mosque Al Azim stands at Pringgit, near to town. It was opened in 1990 by Yang di-Pertuan Agong, the Paramount Ruler of Malaysia. In Bukit Baru there is a rehabilitated Japanese cemetery with 32 tombstones. Eighteen of them are for females, mainly from Kyushu.

### **B.iv. Jasin and Alor Gajah**

East of Ayer Keroh, the district of Jasin extends from Batang Melaka to the coast of Merlimau. this district is promoting the opening of land for industrial zones. In the district capital, Jasin's Museum was opened in 1990 by the chief minister of Melaka State. The original building was variously used as a military post, customs-house, and post office, and it was repaired in 1986.

In the northwest of Melaka is Alor Gajah district. It extends from Linggi In the west to Machap in the east, lying north of the district of Central Melaka. In the district capital, a museum was opened in 1990 by the chief minister. Alor Gajah was the site of the Naning war in 1834. Dato Dol Said was a chieftain of Naning who bravely fought against the British. After his

defeat, he was given a pension and died in 1849. His mausoleum is behind Masjid Taboh Naning about 32 kilometers from town. The graves of British officers who were killed in the battle in 1832 are preserved in a school yard in Alor Gajah. Near Alor Gajah is Gadek Hot Spring. It is popular among local visitors, having a small park, a restaurant, and handicraft shops. Further north there is a big recreational complex called A Famosa Water World.

The 1989 edition of the Melaka Map and Guide prepared by TDC (Touristic Development Corporation) lists megalithic stones, Ayer Keroh Country Club, Durian Tunggal Recreational Lake, and Batu Berendam Air Port. The 1995 edition, however, does not mention these spots. One problem about these zones is that tourist attractions are not concentrated in a convenient area but scattered widely. Without chartering a taxi or driving a car, it is difficult to visit the sites, as public transportation is poorly developed, especially for tourists.

### **C. Representation, Mediation and Drama of Ethnicity**

Lacking the exotic and the erotic of Thai tourism (Cohen 1996), Melaka tourism has three major images. Melaka is the home of the Straits Chinese and reserves their architecture and life-styles. Generally speaking, most tourists from abroad expect to see historic remains that cannot be observed in other regions or they come to enjoy the historical atmosphere. This is the nostalgic image of Melaka. Secondly, capitalists and, to a certain way, bureaucrats who are bent upon development cherish an image of the modernity of Melaka. Modern hotels, shopping malls, and resorts represent this image. Thirdly, the common people, either tourees or middlemen, concerned with daily life, regard tourism as a symbol of affluence and are sometimes indifferent to it.

Although it may be difficult to find the parameters of the common good, there is a need for mediation between these images, which are based on different languages or jargons, cultures, life-styles, and the volume of money controlled. Mediation can take place in stages or touristic nodes among tourists, contact persons, supporting audiences, stage-directors, stage-hands, and so on.

Tourism is a kind of drama-making. On the one hand a tourist comes to visit a destination bringing his own image, however much it may have been moulded by advertisements. He would like to realize his dream, making his own drama on the touristic stage away from his own life world at home. On the other hand, residents make a living through cooperative endeavour to make a drama as a part of the life world. They could cooperate with the tourist to make a fiction, but they have to protect their privacy and their life plan. They have

to prepare attractions like fairs, festivals, and folk arts, amenities, services, and facilities in order to make a promptu drama with tourists without this impinging on their own privacy.

The museum could become such an interfacial stage for a promptu drama without affecting the tourees' life, if properly managed. Its active role in mediation between tourists and tourees should be more stressed.

## **Dependency, Hegemony and Management**

### **A. Political/Economic Hegemony in Tourism**

The Tourist Development Corporation of Malaysia (TDCM) was established in 1972 as a national organization to promote tourism. The Ministry of Tourism and Culture (later renamed as Culture and Tourism) was set up in 1987, and it became the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism (MOCAT) in 1990. In that year, Visit Malaysia Year, the Malaysia Tourism Policy Study was launched, and in 1991 it provided guideline for governmental tourism development. The Tourism Industry Act and the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board Act were enacted in 1992. TDCM was reorganized as Tourism Malaysia (Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board) under MOCAT, like National Archives, National Museum and Antiquity, and National Art Gallery (see Figure 1). MOCAT has responsibility for designing tourism policy, licensing and enforcement aspects. Tourism Malaysia concentrates its activities on marketing and promoting tourism to and within Malaysia.

The federal government controls funding, the state government determines land-use, and the local, district authorities can grant development approval. The budget for tourism has been increased since the 4th (1981-85) and the 5th (1986-90) five year plans. Although the tourism industry is coordinated by MOCAT, various other authorities and agencies are involved in actual implementation, having overlapping activities. These include the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the Wildlife and National Parks Department, the Fisheries Department, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment on the national level. At the state level, the industry is closely watched by the Melaka State Economic Development Corporation, the Customary Land Development Corporation, the Museum Corporation, the Melaka Foundation and so on.

In the private sector, there are a tourism association and various tourism-related trade associations.

Seen from the involvement in tourism of various authorities and associations at many levels, Kuala Lumpur occupies the apex of hierarchy of cities in Malaysia, controlling the budgetary allocation. Currently Tourism Malaysia is promoting eight destinations to international tourists, i.e., Taman Negara (National Park), Kuala Lumpur, Melaka, Kota Kinabalu, Penang, Sarawak, Pangkor, and Langkawi, with four new destinations, Tasik Berak (Pahang), Danau Valley (Sabah), Tasik Kenyir (Terengganu), and Johor (The New Straits Times, 18 January, 1997).

The hierarchy of cities and towns is reflected in their decision-making bodies: Kuala Lumpur is governed by a city hall; Johor Bahru by a city council; and Melaka by a municipal council. Within the state there is a hierarchy of towns: bandar (town), pekan (market-center town), and pekan kecil (small pekan).

## **B. Touristic Dependency**

Melaka is apparently dependent on Kuala Lumpur within the national administrative structure, and, in addition, it has to rely on tourists and visitors from other regions. In 1995 tourist arrivals into Melaka numbered 1,329,334, of which 56.7% stayed at hotels in Melaka (see Table 1). Average occupancy of hotel rooms was 65.5% and the average length of stay was 1.3 nights. About half of hotel guests were Malaysians. Singaporeans accounted for 16.81%, Taiwanese 7.19%, Chinese 5.48%, Japanese 5.43%, and Hong Kongnese 4.5% (see Table 2). Thus, the majority of international tourists are Chinese from Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong or of mainland China. Foreign guests at hotels have made up some 50% of total guests since 1988. They accounted for 22% to 26% from 1980 to 1982, 32% to 38% from 1983 through 1985, and 40% to 48% from 1986 to 1988(Figure 2).

Visitors from Singapore are significant in number and in their effects: 9,891,745 Singaporeans crossed the causeway to Johor in 1997, out of the total of people who crossed the causeway 11,377,858 (Berita Harian, 16 October, 1997). Singaporeans affect the economy and tourism not only as 'guests' but also as investors in industry: a foreign development corporation can set up a local company provided that 51% of ownership is local, of which bumiputera ("sons of the land") should own a minimum of 30%. In fact, Melaka is a transition point between Singapore and Kuala Lumpur in terms of tourism. Tourists moor at either of them and visit Melaka for a day trip or

stay one night before proceeding to the next destination.

Since it may be difficult for Melaka to become a sole destination for international tourists, Melaka could sell its tourism objects as part of a wider touristic node combined with other destinations, like the Kuala Lumpur-Melaka corridor as a primary tourism development zone envisioned by the government. Another linkage may be Melaka-Johor-Singapore-Penyengat or the Riau-Lingga Malay World. This can be sold as cross-border tourism. A connection with Sumatera is a possible route with ethno-eco-tourism. A comparison with Penang or Langkawi might be an interesting exercise to shed more light on Melaka tourism.

The tourist industry is often regarded as a status symbol both by tourists and by hosts. This might be more problematic in the latter case. Tourism policies often emphasize 'first-class,' 'quality' tourism, involving the construction of self-contained resorts and five-star hotels to enhance the status of the state, corporation, or entrepreneur. In practice, investment costs are returned so slowly that they only symbolize national prestige or political profit for elites, dissociating the rich and the poor and depressing local initiatives. It should be realized that increasing number of middle-class tourists tend to take cheap mass or group tour, which require facilities to accommodate them en masse.

In 1997, the Malaysian ringgit fell on the foreign exchange market, making it easier for foreigners to spend money in Malaysia. But the environmental problem of haze blown from Sumatera greatly affected the arrival of visitors in Melaka. The success of tourism is totally dependent on versatile but reasonable tourists.

### **C. Small-scale Entrepreneurial Activities**

Tourees' reactions to tourism may be to avoid touristic phenomena, to engage in producing and marketing 'tourist art', or to venture into the tourist business, becoming producers of tourist goods, traders of handicrafts for resale, or tour guides. They can be categorized as middlemen between tourists and tourees.

Since the 1970s, a noticeable number of small-scale entrepreneurial activities have emerged among farmers', and fishermen's families. This section of the paper examines cases of entrepreneurs who have little capital or just their labor to invest. Their activities, though, are more appreciated

by local visitors and tourists in terms of 'quality,' authenticity, or genuine country flavor they can provide.

### **C.i. Grilled Fish Spots**

Pulau Besar (Big Island), offshore of Pernu and Umbai, has long been a site of pilgrimage as well as a recreational sea beach for local people, as mentioned above in • .B.iii. Pengkalan Pernu (Landing-place of Pernu), 8 kilometers from town, was one of the nearest quays to Pulau Besar, about ten to fifteen minutes away by fishing boat. In the 1960s and 70s, a parking lot was built there by Haji S. of Pernu, who reclaimed a piece of marshy land. Local fishermen transported visitors to Pulau Besar on their fishing boats. In 1981, an ex-teacher H. of Pernu opened a coffee shop similar to those in the kampung (villages). In 1983, a grilled fish spot was opened at Serkam. This was one of the earliest restaurants to serve grilled fish, which has gradually become popular in Malaysia and Indonesia. Stalls and restaurants along Padang Pahlawan in Melaka town also started to serve grilled fish in the latter part of 1980s. The 1989 edition of TDC guide says "Savour this sizzling dish of fresh grilled fish with an assortment of local dishes at Serkam located about 10km from Melaka town. You'll not regret the distance you traveled to taste this exotic dish." The later editions do not carry this news.

It is said that one grilled fish spot had started as early as in 1980 at Pengkalan Pernu. After the success of Serkam, some grilled fish stalls were also added at Pengkalan Pernu. The government-provided facilities there were inaugurated in 1987 by the then governor. In 1994 the government rebuilt two blocks of concrete buildings and a pay toilet. A large car park was opened at the former site of shops. A bridge cum pier was built extending 150 meters out to sea. A simple wharf was built along the river. A surau (Muslim chapel) was erected nearby. Twelve stalls are rented out for 120 ringgit each per month. At present four shops using seven stalls sell grilled fish brought from Melaka town. Two of the store-holders are from Umbai, one from Telok Mas, and another is an immigrant from Perak. Other stalls serve light meals (drinks, nasi campur or fried rice, roti canai or Indian-type ground bread) or sell crafts. The number of fishermen around Pengkalan Pernu and Umbai has decreased to some 30 men, because of diminishing resources. Siakap, a kind sea perch, which is one of the most popular fish, is farmed in Muar. A tiger-shrimp farm was opened in Pengkalan Pernu by a local entrepreneur in 1994.

At one typical grilled fish spot, the owner has been paying monthly rent of 240 ringgit since 1994. He has tables, chairs, lights, and fans, but has to pay for electricity and water. According to the division of labor he needs some ten personnel: fish selling, fish grilling, sauce, rice, and drinks. Operating costs are roughly 400 ringgit per day. The restaurant opens from 5:00 p.m. to 12:00. A Chinese dealer supplies fish, usually of some 5,000 ringgit in value and, at the weekend, of 10,000 ringgit. Since the fish is good for three or four days, the risk of spoilage is borne by the Chinese, who estimates the number of guests. The price of fish is also rising: 7 ringgit's worth of siakap could be sold for 14 ringgit in 1994, but now the same fish costs 15 ringgit and sells for 20 ringgit, with reduced profit. Customers often complain of the price of fish and the noisiness of spots because of too many people, especially at weekends. As the fish is stocked in a large quantity, it sometimes becomes stale. Another problem is garbage disposal. The quantity of garbage has increased but the disposal service and facilities are not enough.

There are four coffee houses, frequented not only by waiting visitors but also by local elders, who meet to chat and exchange information in the morning and late in the afternoon, at dusk. The shops keep very limited opening hours.

As Pulau Besar has been developed with a resort hotel and a golf course, the need to transport visitors has increased and the schedule of boat has partly been regularized. In 1993, a school teacher A. R. A. of Bukit Pegoh started to operate a boat transportation office at the quay that had been built by the local government in Pengkalan Pernu. In the next year, K. and his brother A., sons of Haji H., a religious teacher, of Bukit Pegoh, took over the enterprise from him. K. was an owner-driver and also a renter of taxis. A., after emigration to Christmas Island, worked as a sailor and a taxi driver. Together, they had capital of some 800,000 ringgit to invest, although they have often got bank loans. Now the company has 16 crew and four big boats and seven smaller boats, and two cars. K. still rents taxis to local acquaintances. K. has a big family. Other brothers and in-laws joined the venture with a fixed salary. According to K. the local people prefer to work in factories.

In 1997 the owner of the Island Resort, a Terenggau businessman, opened a new jetty complex at Anjung Batu (stone seat), two kilometers south of Umbai. K.'s company has a contract with the resort company to transport visitors and workers regularly for it. The new wharf at Anjung Batu has a modern concourse with a ticket office, a snack bar and a spacious parking lot. So the

transportation service at Pengkalan Pernu likely goes downhill.

In Anjung Batu three grilled fish spots have been opened. A new one in Alai Is a branch of the restaurant in Pengkalan Pernu. Another has been opened in Semabok nearer town. Those in Kelebang, northwest of town, seem no longer to Operate. Generally, newer shops attract more local people. Since the availability of local fresh fish is limited, the competition to attract visitors is high.

## **B.ii. Melaka River**

If the river is successfully revived, the Melaka River nodes can be greatly utilized as touristic spots and the river banks can become a symbol and a central focal point of Melaka tourism. At present, some middlemen actively engage in river tourism.

J. of Pernu started operating a boat trip on the Melaka River in 1986, using his father's (Haji S.) fishing boat. Later, he incidentally married an ex-passenger of his boat from Japan. Once such boat trips were competitive, but now his boat is the only one operating regularly, three or four times a day depending on the tide. One trip takes one hour, going up as far as the boat can sail and then down to the mouth of the river. He has two guides of Portuguese-descent who speak English. In comparison with the boat-ride on the Singapore River, the Melaka cruise lacks dynamics but its calm and peace tinged with historical nostalgia and mini eco-observation impresses and satisfies passengers, showing, at the same time, the back side of Melaka town. The river front became a shooting place for a Japanese movie, which was a story of Singapore in the late 19th century. The tiny but fine quay that J. uses was built by him. He established a tour company which owns four boats and hires 10 crew. He engages in transporting visitors to islands or from cruisers anchored offshore.

Next to J.'s quay, a man from Kuala Linggi who is married to a French woman started to construct a floating restaurant in 1997. Riverside stall sand a riverside restaurant are operated by Chinese, but there has been no floating restaurant.

Only one riverside guest house has been operating since 1995, as mentioned above (• .A.i.c.). The owner is Singaporean, or more exactly, an English expatriate with a Chinese wife. It is managed by an Indian with an Eurasian wife, and workers are Eurasians. Apart from the distinctive furniture, the atmosphere is

more colonial than Malay or Chinese.

### **B.iii. Jalan Kota, Padang and Others**

In the layered convergence node there are scores of souvenir stalls. They sell locally made crafts and local foodstuff. Many vendors, not necessarily producers, are from kampung areas in Melaka. Their colorful and lively stalls are quite popular with visitors, although a souvenir complex in town has been closed down. One souvenir shop downtown is popular among Chinese tourists. There are private souvenir shops and a public one around St Paul's Hill. Some vendors sell paintings around the ruins of St Paul's Church. Bullock-cart operators are also from the surrounding villages. Trishaws in Melaka now are mostly for tourists, having colorfully painted fronts and sides, and playing loud music. Some are owner-operated, while many are rented trishaws on a daily basis. Chinese and Malays dominate the profession.

Taxi owner-drivers are mainly from kampung where they park their taxis at night.

There are tourist guides who work mainly in English, but also in German, French, and Japanese. Many of them are Chinese or Indian.

A few private museums are operating in Melaka as mentioned earlier. MEDC plans to develop a home-stay programme in rural areas.

Many young people from kampung get jobs in restaurants, hotels, resorts, golf courses, and so on. Some successfully become clerks, foremen, or managers.

### **Conclusion**

It may be reasonable to say that "tourism can have positive effects if local people are able to participate in tourism-related enterprises and if they receive an equitable share of the revenues" (Hitchcock 1997:95). During the last decade, it seems that Melaka has been developing international-standard hotels, golf-courses, and recreational facilities to attract international tourists. On the other hand, the Melaka tourism may be geared toward an alternative form of post-

industrial urban tourism (Sieber 1997).

Post-industrial or post-modern quality tourism avoids the evils of modernity and industrialization which the developed countries accumulated in order to develop. It is not necessary to have completed industrialization, as the term 'post' suggests. Urban tourism conveys the idea of a sophisticated tourism involving tourists, business travelers, conventioners, visitors as well as residents. Tourism is merged with daily life, and the life world of local people assumes the presence of 'tourists' in a more general sense.

Tourism cannot be the sole industry of any city. Sustainable development, with the participation of tourists, visitors, and residents, has to be promoted in infrastructural construction in general. Touristic development for the sake of tourism, prestige, or hegemony cannot be sustained as long-term development. Appropriate tourism development should be orchestrated with daily infrastructure, like the development of public transportation. Any tourism policy should take into consideration the basic needs of residents as well of tourists, and not be targeted solely to creating a self-contained touristic zone or area where everything meets international standards.

More emphasis could be put on education and information retrieval in a multicultural and multiethnic city. In terms of cosmopolitan, non-ethnic touristic development, Melaka cannot compete with other destinations with more strategic locations. For example, Melaka cannot be a sole destination for international tourists. It will always be a part of package tours together with Kuala Lumpur, Pinang, or Singapore. To attract more tourists the development of museums is one possibility. Museums could be an ideal site for information depository, if properly managed (see Table 4). It is not the number of museums that is important, but their quality to attract the people for enlightenment and interaction. If the layered convergence node can be turned into an area of meaningful museums and historic heritage, the museums can become an important interface for foreign and, even more, domestic tourists. More research and proper investment in museum displays should be promoted in the future. Perhaps the conservation of the Upeh populace zone or Old Melaka Town requires more difficult decisions. It is apparent that museumization should not be undertaken in residential quarters unless the residents wish to have their community preserved as it is. Only townscape conservation movements by residents allow a town to be preserved like a museum. If a conservation policy is adopted, governmental intervention maybe necessary in the form of financial support and consequent regulation of some buildings (see Kanemaru 1996). As a first step toward townscape conservation, the government should seriously consider that Melaka be nominated as a World Heritage site. Melaka has twin city agreements with: Lisbon (Portugal, 1984), Kuala Lumpur (1989), Horn (The Netherlands, 1989),

and Valparaiso (Chile, 1991). International recognition would bring positive impacts on domestic awakening toward townscape conservation.

Appropriately developed, Melaka has the potential to become a city of post-industrial urban tourism as a way of life, or a model of harmonious national unity in diversity. 'Melaka boleh (Melaka can).'

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