

KARTINI Abou Talib @ Khalid
SHAMSUL AMRI Baharuddin
Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA)
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN MALAYSIA AND THE RECONCILIATION FOR INTEGRATION

The clash between Hindu and Islam keeps them apart, but relatively Malaysia displays a moderate and tolerant model for both believers to live together and respect the mosque and the temple's existence. The embedded Islam and the influence of Hinduism in the past resulted in the fusion of cultural mosaic that knits society. However, a few social deficits are stable tensions that may turn into conflict if they are ill-managed. Thus, the need to create and recreate a platform of integration is essential. The idea of preserving the cultural heritage, including the mosques and temples, the freedom to practice, and other fundamental rights protected by the Constitution, nurture the self-attachment feelings. This article applies a qualitative analysis using secondary data for historical narratives to discuss the social cohesion and reconciliation concepts about the cultural mosaic between Hinduism and Islam. In sum, the Federal Constitution, religious festivals, foods, and places are reconciliation processes to bridge the social cohesion gaps in a multiethnic society, packaged in tourism industries yet politically contested.

Keyword: *multiethnic; contestation; cohesion; integration; religion*

Introduction

Europeans' arrival transformed the physical Malay-archipelago, and it had redefined the social, economic, and political reality of the Malay world.¹ Although the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 signed in London marked the division of control over countries between British in Malaya and Dutch in Indonesia, the British's official intervention in Malaya began with the signing of the Treaty of Pangkor in 1874. Starting from the 1920s British brought in massive laborers from South China (Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, Guangxi provinces) and mostly from Southern India to Malaya either by forced or indentured policy to work at British plantation and mining. Malaya turned into a plural society with ethnic categorization, and segregation was necessary for the British to control the country and the market.² This article introduces a reconciliation concept as an integration platform as a new analysis tool in explaining the relationship of a multiethnic society in Malaysia that relatively

has the least tendency towards ethnic violence.

The ethnic categorization and profiling had diminished the intra-ethnic differences, which created a contestation until today. The Indian communities were categorized according to linguistic groups such as Tamil, Malayalee, Telugu, Sikh, and Punjabi. The Indian community found in Malaya based on Singapore census 1957 was Tamil from Southern India, Singhalese from Ceylon, and Bengali, Gujerati, Pathan, and Pakistani from Northern India.³ These intra ethnic communities from India and Ceylon were labeled as Indian by the British. A similar issue appeared to the intra Chinese groups, including Cantonese, Hokkien, and Hakka. Low⁴ argued that the Opium war precipitated the commercial engagement between China and the British; hence the prospect of the tin mining industry and agriculture attracted Chinese laborers to come to Malaya. The British gave a single Chinese label to all Chinese migrants despite their origin and linguistic differences of Cantonese, Hokkien, and Hakka.⁵ As a result, the single label of Indian and Chinese became the British category in its census population in 1891.⁶ Mahmood argued that the implementation of define and rule categorization separated the natives from migrants and set the scope of rights, access to resources, and entitlement.⁷

Before the colonial period, Malaya was already a civilized nation through the chronicle of Malacca.⁸ Therefore, the British recognized the current system at that period, which held the Malayan community, and officially occupied Malaya ceded from the Dutch in 1824 after the Dutch-British Treaty. British intervention in the state administration was through a representative system called the British Resident, an advisor to the Sultan of the state.⁹ Based on this brief historical background, the host and the settler society concept is fundamental to review Malaya's transformation from pluralism to plural society. The communities in the metaphysical Malay world were pluralist due to trading activities, the absence of distinct boundaries, and the people were moving in and out of *nusantara*.¹⁰

The host society concept also applied that the indigenous Malay community consisted of complete social strata and hierarchy up to the King down to the slave. While the settlers were the Chinese and Indians brought to Malaya as laborers. Chinese laborers were absent of the nobles, Mandarin (Gentry), farmers (Nong), craftsman and artisan (Gong), merchant (Shang), and slave as defined within the Chinese social strata. Meanwhile, the Indian was absent of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya because of the British herded Indians' indentured system with little regard for their origin, caste, religion, or linguistic group.¹¹ Thus, the incomplete social strata led to the absence of ingenuity of social hierarchy and status, including knowledge and skills. The lack of social caste or social strata created opportunities for these communities to hybridize with the locals. Some converted, married, and carried new identities called the amalgam - '*Peranakan*.'¹²

Furthermore, The Malay Federation of 1948, as the necessary foundation for the Federal Constitution of Malaysia of 1957, outlined the definition of Malays, the Malay language, the Malays monarchy's power in Article 152, Article 153, and Article 40.¹³ It reflects the legal recognition of the Malays as the origin of the land.¹⁴ The other non-Malays' rights are preserved and protected through Article 5 to Article 10 of the Federal Constitution. In some parts of the world, the host and settler society concept witnessed the settlers becoming the landowner. They controlled the economy and resources, socio-political structure, dominated the host society, and later promoted multiculturalism to recognize their existence.¹⁵

The Indianization Process

Before the colony, the Malay Archipelago's trading activities had contributed significantly to the anthropological aspect of the culture, belief, and norms in this region. The Malay world or the Malay Archipelago consists of Malaya, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines.¹⁶ Hinduism came to the Malay world in the second and seventh centuries through trade activities, especially for the quest for silk, herb, and spices. The Indian traders brought the Brahman (Hindu clerics) on board as a missionary.¹⁷ The Hinduism influence found in the Javanese empire of Sriwijaya and Majapahit in Indonesia, the Lembah Bujang temple in Kedah, the literature of Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the *devaraja*¹⁸ term used to describe the King, and the Sanskrit symbol on material such as regalia, palaces, sculpture, inscriptions, statues, and tombstones.¹⁹

Krom,²⁰ Vlekke,²¹ and Van Leur²² emphasized that Hinduism's dominant influence was retained in the Malay Archipelago through a few aspects, including the monuments, Sanskrit inscriptions, and acculturation in languages, shrine, tombstones, fashion, and attires.²³ Denison and Nathan²⁴ argue that the Indian diaspora due to migration in the past and modern time are the reasons for a continuous association between India and Malaysia other than the earliest evidence of Hindu and Buddhist presence and influence in the forms of fragmentary inscriptions in the fourth and fifth centuries in Northern states of Kedah and Penang.

Before the colony, Malaya already exposed and inherited norms and cultural values of Hinduism. During the colonial era, three principles governed the colonial policy towards foreign laborers, including the acquisition of plentiful, diversified, and cheap supply of labor for colonial and capitalist enterprises with limited assurance for protection and freedom. The Southern Indians were the preferred workforce because they were malleable, diligent, obedient with less qualm, or religious susceptibilities that allowed low cost to maintain their foods.²⁵ Other Indian merchants' groups were from Bengal, Golconda, Coromandel, and Gujarat. They were the powerful Muslim

merchants responsible for the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia. These Indian Muslims were given land and space to build their mosque. The tracing of a classic example of the blending of the Malay and the Tamil Islamic traditions was the vital work of a writer named Munshi Abdullah, of mixed Arab, Tamil, and Malay descent.²⁶

Embedded Islam in the Malay world

Western scholars like Krom,²⁷ Vlekke,²⁸ and Van Leur²⁹ gave an overwhelming highlight to Hinduism's influence. On the contrary, Al-Attas³⁰ and Mohd Zariat³¹ argue that these scholars' arguments sidelined Islam's significant power and Islamization process in the eleventh century. The Islamic civilization successfully converted most communities in the Malay world from Animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism into Islam, and the importance of Islam prevailed. In the past, the reliable feudal system had rewarded Islam because once the Sultan converted to Islam, the entire Malay community followed as a symbol of loyalty and devotion to the Sultan. Another element that continued to prove that a majority accepted Islamization in the Malay world was the insertion term of Islam, Muslim and the Malay in the Federal Constitution stipulated in Article 3, Article 60, and Article 160.³²

Like Hinduism and Buddhism before, Islam found its home in the Malay world, while the local societies already had their belief systems and religions before the arrival of other religions. Thus, Islam is embedded like Hinduism and Buddhism in the ancient metaphysical Malay world that later molded civilization with indigenized norms and values.³³ The embedded Islam in the Malay society is different from how Islam is perceived and practiced in the middle-east or Punjab region. Furthermore, the embedded Islam allows Islam to accept local norms and values that fit the Islamic rule. Such tolerance motivated the locals to accept Islam in the Malay world without coercive force.

Moreover, the prevalence of Islam exhibits in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia in Article 3(1) provides that Islam is the Federation's religion, but the freedom of religion is protected. These features do not, however, convert Malaysia into a theocratic or Islamic state.³⁴ Malaysia has a written Constitution that under Article 4(1) is the supreme law of the Federation. The decision holds in *Che Omar Che Soh v. PP* (1988) that though Islam is the religion of the Federation, it is not the fundamental law of the land, and Article 153 of the Federal Constitution states the constitutional tolerance and moderation that safeguards the Malay privileges simultaneously protects the non-Malays' rights.³⁵

Reconciliation: a path to unity?

A few factors outlined as a result of Indianization, embedded Islam, and colonial heritage. First, the influx of immigrants from China and India with a significant population left the indigenous Malays with no choice but to accept the Chinese and Indians as part of the nation. Second, the consequence of the British's define and rule as well as divide and rule approached had further segregated the society into plural society with little interaction among them and a distinct demographic profiled along the employment line and spatial. The Malays were peasants and fishermen who lived in the village, the Chinese were urban dwellers working as traders and miners, and the Indians were laborers placed at the commercial plantations with barb-wired security.

Third, accommodation acknowledges the diversity that each ethnic possesses, and accommodation also means that the society is vernacular in socio-economic aspects, including ethnic division, educational system, spatial, employment, religion, languages, norms, and values.³⁶ Thus, pluralism and primordial sentiments are analyzed by Furnivall as the gist for conflict.³⁷ This assumption explains the constant ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka that caused more than 500,000 deaths and reconstruction from damages amounted to billions of US dollars from 1964 until 2012.³⁸

Malaysia was marked with ethnic conflict way back in 1969 due to the economic disparities of the indigenous Malays compared to the economic-dominant of minority Chinese.³⁹ Consequently, after the racial uprising of 1969, the Malaysian government established the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1971 with two-fold objectives as a pathway to national unity. The first objective was to eradicate poverty regardless of race, and the second objective was to restructure society to eliminate the identification of race with economic function.⁴⁰ Many criticized that NEP applied positive discrimination⁴¹ that allowed the indigenous Malays and Bumiputera to own 30 percent of share ownership.

Ironically, the question over the remaining 70 percent ownership revealed when Chua⁴² argued that the minority Chinese was economically dominant, controlling over 80 percent of the country's wealth. Government initiatives, namely NEP and the series of Malaysia Plan, contributed to rapid development growth in Malaysia. However, the UN expert's new finding revealed that Malaysia's poverty rate based on the household income was undercounted. The error was due to the standard set of household income at RM980 per month, which was inaccurate because the household income of RM2000 barely survived in urban and rural areas due to the high cost of living.⁴³

Due to economic disparity, unity is still an unachieved dream. Thus, Shamsul & Anis coined the word social cohesion to explain Malaysia's reason to maintain a relatively peaceful multiethnic society.⁴⁴ Malaysia is a nation

of intent that dreams of achieving unity because its identity is questionable due to its variety. In the assimilation model, namely Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippine, the national identity is built based on uniformity with one national language and identity. The assimilation process demands a mandatory removal of ethnic origin and forces the minority to assimilate with most indigenous social culture and structure.

On the contrary, the accommodation process requires a different means of recognition to accept ethnicities' identity. Malaysia is a state without a nation that intentionally promotes diversity as an identity. This narrative is also a support indicator to choose social cohesion as a term that defines Malaysian society. The multiethnic society can cohesively live and work together, although they are not united socially in terms of identity. Social cohesion leaves space for explaining ethnic interests and differences, which are fundamental in reviewing the 'stable tensions,' which refers to the condition where problems that lead to a possible ethnic conflict are on high-alert. However, the pressures are unlikely to be accumulated into violence. For instance, the *Reformasi* 1998 and the *Bersih* movement of 1.0 to 4.0 did not transform into a coup de tat in protesting the government. Such anticlimax conditions are due to the consistent economic growth, high social mobility, equal access to education, public services, reliable health care providers, and preservation of human rights.⁴⁵

Based on KITA's study, data collected from 5,530 respondents in the town hall dialogues held in fourteen states all over Malaysia outlined that nine identified indicators could turn this society from peace to conflict if the issues were ill-managed. These social deficits in stable tensions are ethnicity, religion, languages, education, spatial development, federalism, politics and governance, intergenerational gap, and gender.⁴⁶ The social cohesion concept allows such a negotiation mechanism applies as a reconciliation process to manage social deficits. This principle of bargaining, negotiation, and mediation (BNM) inherited from the British, established by Sir Malcolm MacDonald through Community Liaison Committee (CLC) in 1949, offered to resolve the grievances of minorities over the setting up of the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948.⁴⁷

Malaysian government continuously adopting the BNM formula through ethnic representations from political parties and non-governmental organizations. This reconciliation⁴⁸ mechanism builds a cohesive relationship to manage stable tensions. This social structure and history constructively motivate Malaysia to pursue integration to knit and tide the colorful cultural rubrics of diversity as the national unity identity. Thus, the reconciliation process is the feasible concept and practice explaining social cohesion and the need to continue creating an integration platform to manage the multiethnic society.

The cultural diversity

Hinduism's influences in the embedded Muslim society through *tepung tawar* ceremony, henna, mahendi, and acculturation of foods and languages exhibit that the social cohesion process is moving, and it motivates Malaysia to put more effort into interweaving this colorful heritage. At present, the influence of Islam and Hinduism mingled with the societal norms and culture made Malaysia unique. The Malay-Muslim features of the Constitution are the basis for balance. Other suitable provisions protect a multiethnic and multi-religious society. The safeguarding articles in the Constitution offset the Malay privileges to protect the interest of different communities.

In Malaysia, mosques, temples, churches, and *gurdwaras* mark the landscape. For example, in Selangor, Hindu temples' existence is a lot more than the mosques.⁴⁹ The nature of Hinduism, a polytheistic belief that consists of diverse demi-gods and goddesses, result in a variety of temples. The respect towards various religious beliefs encourages the government and society to allow the Hindu followers to build their different God and Goddess kovil or temples. There are 1459 Hindu Temples in Selangor and a few largest temples, such as Sri Nagara Thandayuthanapi, Sri Shakti Dhevasthan, and Sri Subhamaisya Swami. The Hindu Temple of Lord Murugan in Batu Caves Selangor is the biggest Hindu temple outside India that receives millions of tourists every year, particularly during Thaipusam.⁵⁰

Moreover, during Thaipusam, the Hindus break and smash thousands of whole coconuts on the street along two miles to the temple in every state in Malaysia. This celebration requires a lot of tolerance from other non-Hindu communities as the massive piling of coconut shells and the closed down of road or detour for such religious ritual. Here is the everyday-defined reality that Malaysians are displaying in accepting diversity. Such a religious ceremony becomes a cultural capital making through state tourism package for foreigners to experience the ritual. The same approach promotes appreciating the celebration of Kwan Ying Goddess for the Buddhists, along with Federal recognition for all religious festivals.

The reciprocal of religious tolerance between non-Muslim and Muslims is displaying through the accepting recital of prayers in an open event, bazaar Ramadhan, and Hari Raya. Furthermore, other than religious tolerance, the vernacular school systems allow the Chinese and Tamil schools to exist with government support. The Chinese and Tamil programs are broadcast on national TV and Radio to cater to each community's demand. On these occasions, there is a great deal of cross-cultural intermingling, and diversity in Malaysia was not a matter of choice, but it was forced upon the country by the colony as historical facts that defined the contemporary realities.⁵¹

The unique diversity also displays that cultural and religious pluralism are tolerated and celebrated. Legislation has been introduced to provide for

Muslim and non-Muslim religious institutions. A few entitlements, namely, financial allocations, land gifts, tax exemptions, work permits to foreign priests and missionaries, and national holidays recognized all religious festivals.⁵² Also, missionary hospitals, schools, bookshops, and hostels abound. Shad Faruqi⁵³ argues that the institutions promote tolerance, not from the absence of faith but its living presence. The right to worship is available not only to individuals but also to groups and associations. For example, Article 11(3) and 12(2) stipulated that every religious group has the right to manage its affairs, establish and maintain institutions for religious purposes, acquire and own property and administer it [Article 11(3)]; establish and maintain institutions for theological education [Article 12(2)].⁵⁴

The reconciliation mechanism within the social cohesion process consists of a top-down and bottom-up approach. The former manifested in government policy that vertically goes down to the people in managing wealth redistribution. For instance, the New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1971 was established after a race riot's tragedy in 1969. The first objective to eradicate poverty proves to be successful, referring to the World Bank's assessment report that states less than one percent of Malaysian households live in extreme poverty.⁵⁵ However, the absence of a more specific definition of poverty leaves the policy to be criticized.⁵⁶

The second objective of restructuring society by eliminating ethnic identification with economic function is still progressing. The pronounced objective to restructure the community leads to create, expand, and consolidate the Malay capitalists and middle classes by increasing the indigenous capital ownership and ethnic proportions in professional occupations.⁵⁷ Although government official statistics⁵⁸ exhibit that NEP has achieved the employment restructuring agenda, the indigenous Malays and Bumiputera are still slightly underrepresented in some lucrative professionals like medicine, accountancy, and architecture. The debate over the ethnic disparity in the economic context continues, but the idea of having the top-down authoritative approach as a reconciliation platform to bridge the socio-economic gap amongst ethnic is fundamental to foster unity.⁵⁹

The latter, which is the bottom-up approach, refers to the everyday-defined context. For instance, the Indian Muslim' *mamak* restaurants attract people from various ethnic demography to eat authentic foods like *roti canai*, chicken tandoori, *tosei*, *capati*, and *vadeh*, and the *mamak* restaurants become a famous place for soccer fans to gather and eat while enjoying the games on the big screen device which most *mamak* restaurants have. The twenty-four hours service a day and free wi-fi make the *mamak* restaurants favorable by Malaysians and tourists. Olmedo & Shamsul⁶⁰ argue that the *mamakization* is a socio-economic construct that combines sociability and economy that magnifies social cohesion where a moment of unity captures amongst multiethnic customers in sitting, eating, and talking in one place.⁶¹

Place attachment and self-belonging

Within the ‘third good place’ argument by Oldenberg,⁶² places like mosques, temples, shrines, community centers, and restaurants are the third good places where people interact with other people. Such description meets Bourdieu’s social capital argument, including both empirical and abstract elements.⁶³ The former form includes consumption practices, while the latter is the embodied form interpreted in a phenomenological sense, which requires an interpretation of how the people create meaning and expressions. The sacred places have become the integration platform to be respected and attended for many reasons, including meditation, congregation, bridal ceremony, ritual celebration, and a capital reason for tourism activity.

Furthermore, DiMaggio & Mohr,⁶⁴ Robinson & Garnier,⁶⁵ Jonsson,⁶⁶ and De Graaf et al.⁶⁷ argue that the embodied cultural capital displayed in individuals, namely values, ambition, and attitudes towards cultural variables non-numerical elements counted through practices, appearances, and expressions. Therefore, tolerance towards other religious rituals and values and celebrating different religious festivals and holidays are the indicators of place attachment and a sense of belonging that protect society. Consequently, the maintenance of mosques, temples, or kovil in Malaysia creates a resilience of longevity for the culture and belief system to perpetuate through tourism.⁶⁸

Based on the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), tourism is one of the world’s largest growing industries that create more than 200 million jobs in global employment.⁶⁹ Malaysia is promoting the cultural tourism package with the highlights of worship places. The tourism package attracts tourists to experience the idea of belief, life, and spiritual balance while appreciating the ethnoreligious observation. Furthermore, the cultural tour and holiday packages are trending in most countries, including Indonesia (Candi Borobudur), India (Rajasthan, Jaipur, and Agra), Thailand (Ayutthaya, and Kanchanaburi), and Cambodia (Angkor Wat).

Conclusion

The relatively harmonious relationship between Islam and Hinduism in Malaysia is constructively tolerated. The Federal Constitution, foods, and religious-tourism become the reconciliation tool for managing diversity, differences, and competing interests. Ethnic competition and tensions are managed using the mediation of bargaining and negotiation formula, and this reconciliation process reduces the likelihood of conflict. However, the social cohesion narrative has to diversify to meet the current demand of super-diversity – the super influx of migrant population of over 2.7 million.⁷⁰ The super-diversity communities of new immigrants, including refugees and asylum, may result in a new demand for worshipping places to cultivate self-

belonging.

Endnote

1. The Malay Archipelago, Islands, and Southeast Asia, Encyclopaedia Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malay-Archipelago> [20 February 2020].
2. Mahmood Mamdani. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
3. Arasaratnam, S. "Indian Society of Malaysia and Its Leaders: Trends in Leadership and Ideology Among Malaysian Indians, 1945-1960," 1982, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 13(2):236-251; Mohan Rathakrishnan. "Indian Labour Migration to Penang: a study on the patterns of migration and socio-economic impact before the year 1930," *JEBAT: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, 2017, Vol. 44(2): pp. 94-114.
4. Low Kelvin E.Y. "Chinese Migration and Entangled Histories: Broadening the Contour of Migratory Historiography," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 2014, Vol. 27(1): pp.75-102.
5. The clashed among different Chinese clans was severe in the year 1872 at the tin mining areas in the state of Perak between the Ghee Hin and Hai San, with each group was supported by competing Malays aristocrats, further reading Nazrin Shah. *Charting the Economy: Early 20th Century Contemporary Malaysian Contrasts*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2017.
6. Population census-taking in the Malay Peninsula began during the British administration, with censuses being conducted in the same years as in the UK and according to similar methods. Geographical coverage of Malayan censuses closely linked with the historical backgrounds of its different territories – the Federated Malay States, the Unfederated Malay States and the Straits Settlements. The first sequence of censuses in the Straits Settlements began in the mid-19th century and continued in 1901 and 1911. The first census for the Federated Malay States was held in 1891, and repeated in 1901 and 1911. The first census covering the Unfederated Malay States was in 1911. In 1921, the first unified census on a Pan- Malayan basis was conducted, involving the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States. Thereafter Malayan censuses were held decennially, except that the planned 1941 census was postponed due to the Japanese occupation and held later in 1947, see *Malaya's Early 20th century population change*, at <https://www.ehm.my/publications/articles/malayas-early-20th-century-population-change> [14 April 2020].

7. Ibid; Mahmood Mamdani. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012, pp.22-30 also the impact of economic expansion that redefines the political and cultural life, see J. H. Walker. "Political Science and the Politics of the Past: Towards and Integrated Typology of Power in Pre and Early – Modern Southeast Asia," *JEBAT: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies*, 2016, Vol. 43(2): pp.75-77.
8. Sangeetha Thanapal. 2016. *On the Question of Malay Indigeneity*. Medium.com, <https://medium.com/chinese-privilege/on-the-question-of-malay-indigeneity-481240c0eafc> [21 February 2020].
9. The British Empire, <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/malaya.htm> [14 April 2020].
10. Nusantara concept includes islands and the maritime space surrounding the areas although the concept came with different meanings throughout Southeast Asian History. At present, the concept refers to strengthening Malaysia and Indonesia claims over resources of the South China Sea which trigger the complexity of competing political claim, and economic resources [fisheries, oil and gas, and rights of passage], see Hans-Dieter Evers, *Nusantara: History of a Concept*, JMBRAS, 2016, Vol. 89,P.1 (310): pp.3-14.
11. Shepherd, Verene. "Prelude to Settlement: Indians as Indentured Labourers". In Tania Das Gupta, Carl E. James, Roger C.A. Maaka, Grace-Edward Galabuzi, Chris Andersen (eds.). *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings*, Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc, 2007, Chapter 20, pp. 155-160.
12. The concept of Peranakan is dissimilar to mulatto and mestizo concept that sees negative pejorative of amalgam community. Both origins are rooted in stratified ethnic categorizations during the colonial era. As a result, it creates contestation in the society between the majority versus minority or pure or obscure ethnic groups. Thus, the *Peranakan* concept is introduced to explain the amalgam community in the Malaysian context away from the adulterated label. *Peranakan* is a term in Malay, a significant branch of Austronesian language and lingua franca for societies in the Malay Archipelago. It derives from the word '*Anak*' means child or offspring, and in general, there is a subset part of a bigger word – the prefix of "-per" and suffix "-an" are attached to the word *Anak*, and it becomes *Peranakan* that refers to a female's womb of the reproductive organ. However, in the general meaning and shared understanding, *Peranakan* displays two purposes which are i) geographical region where a birth took place; ii) the single birth origin whether he or she is a local born progeny of a native with a foreigner or in another word a local born of non-indigenous descent, Pue Giok Hun and Shamsul AB. *Peranakan as*

- a Social Concept*. UKM Ethnic Studies Paper Series No. 20 (April). Bangi: KITA Press, 2012, pp. 38-40.
13. Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2015. Race Relations and the Federal Constitution: Reflecting on the Law at StarOnline, <http://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2015/09/03/race-relations-and-the-federal-constitution-despite-its-imperfections-the-document-was-a-significant/> [5 March 2020].
 14. The origin of the land means the native that occupied the land. In Australia the Aborigines are the natives that occupied the land which were denied by the settlers who came and claimed Australia as *terra nullis* or empty land. Similar argument can be made in viewing the fate of the host communities of Indians of Sioux, Navaro, Whampanoag, etc. in Northern America. The origin of Malays namely the natives of Semalai, Negrito, Kanaq, Senoi, Malay, etc. Among these natives, Malay had adapted well with the evolution and became the civilized nation compared to other competing natives. Before the colony, there was no categorization based on ethnic profile but when the British came, ethnics was categorized and profiled by the British to determine entitlement to land and access to resources. The census population of 1891 was evident for such ethnic profiling regardless of dialects and origins. Thus, the British labelled the Malays to differ them from the natives that decided to decline modernization and maintained their animism belief system. See Mahmood Mamdani (2012); Lorena Allam and Nick Evershed (2019), and Sangeetha Thanapal (2016).
 15. For instance, in Australia, the settlers depriving the Aboriginal community's rights to land and resources in the United States of America, the colonists were against the natives of Sioux, Navajo, Cherokee, and Comanche. The ethnic cleansing executed to install power and control over the land and resources, see Allam, Lorena, and Nick Evershed. 2019. The Killing Times: the massacres of Aboriginal people, Australia must confront, *The Guardian*, 3 March <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/04/the-killing-times-the-massacres-of-aboriginal-people-australia-must-confront> [7 January 2020]; Native American History Timeline: as Explorers Sought to Colonize their land, Native Americans responded in various stages from cooperation to indignation to revolt, <https://www.history.com/topics/native-american-history/native-american-timeline> [24 March 2020].
 16. Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malay-Archipelago>; [14 April 2020].
 17. Encyclopedia Brittanica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hinduism/The-spread-of-Hinduism-in-Southeast-Asia-and-the-Pacific> [14

- April 2020].
18. Devaraja concept was not originally from the Malay Archipelago. The term discovered by western scholars such as Aymonier (1904), Vella (1975), and Mabbett (1969) that investigated this concept and issued extensively in the 1960s. Later, the idea was institutionalized in the Malay Archipelago as found as in Sriwijaya and Majapahit empires in Java, Angkor civilization in Cambodia and the Malay Annals and pieces of literatures namely *Hikayat Sang Boma*, *Gul Bakawali*, *Hikayat Malim Deman*, *Hikayat Panji Semirang*, *Pandawa Lima*, *Puteri Gunung Ledang*, *Cik Siti Wan Kembang*, and *Puteri Santubong*, see Puteh Noraihan binti A. Rahman, and Zahir bin Ahmad. *The Divine Rights of Kings: A Comparative Study of Medieval European Kingship and Malay World "Devaraja."* *The Social Sciences*, 2016, Vol.11 (10): pp.2583-84.
 19. Mabbett, I. W. "Devaraja." *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1969, 10(2):202-23.
 20. Krom, N.J. *De Hindoe-Javaansche Tijd*. Jakarta: P.T. Pembangunan, 1950: pp.15-24.
 21. Vlekke, Bernard, H.M. 1959. *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1959: pp.35-48.
 22. Van Leur, J.C. 1955. *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1955: pp.24-36.
 23. Kershaw, Roger. *Monarchy in Southeast Asia: The Faces of Tradition in Transition*. London: Routledge, 2001: pp. 12-18; Kieven, Lydia. A New Fashion in Male Headdress During East Javanese Majapahit Time: the takes-cap in narrative reliefs of Candi Jago. In Elizabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover., and Peter D. Sharrock (eds). *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past Monument, Language and Text* (selected papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists) Vol. 2, Singapore: NUS Press, 2008: pp.193-207.
 24. Denison Jayasooria and KS. Nathan. *Contemporary Malaysian Indians: History, Issues, Challenges, and Prospects*. Bangi: KITA Press, UKM, 2016: pp.40-41.
 25. Ibid; Denison Jayasooria and KS. Nathan. *Contemporary Malaysian Indians: History, Issues, Challenges, and Prospects*. Bangi: KITA Press, UKM, 2016: pp.60.
 26. Hill, A.H. "Hikayat Abdullah," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1955, Vol. XXVIII, part 3): 34-58 <http://www.nlb.gov.sg/biblio/4184041> [4 March 2020].
 27. Ibid; Krom, N.J. *De Hindoe-Javaansche Tijd*. Jakarta: P.T. Pembangunan, 1950: pp.15-24.

28. Ibid; Vlekke, Bernard, H.M. 1959. *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1959: pp.35-48.
29. Ibid; Van Leur, J.C. 1955. *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve, 1955: pp.24-36.
30. Al-Attas, S.M.N. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, 1969: pp. 10-25.
31. Mohd Zariat Abdul Rani. Antara Islam dan Hinduisme di Alam Melayu: Beberapa Catatan Pengkaji Barat. *Sari*, 2005, 23:67-82 <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/1057/> [4 March 2020].
32. Laws of Malaysia, Federal Constitution at http://www.jac.gov.my/spk/images/stories/10_akta/perlembagaan_persekutuan/federal_constitution.pdf [15 April 2020].
33. Shamsul AB. Islam and Cultural Diversity in Malaysia as a Mirror of Southeast Asia, In. (eds.) Ikuya Tokoro & Hisao Tomizawa, *Islam and Cultural Diversity in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Phillippines, Thailand, and Cambodia*, Japan: Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), 2018, Vol. 2: 91-114.
34. Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2018. Towards A Shared Destiny at <https://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2018/03/01/towards-a-shared-destiny-under-tunku-and-the-pms-after-him-malaysia-has-successfully-used-the-econom/> [18 March 2020].
35. Ibid; Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2018. Towards A Shared Destiny at <https://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2018/03/01/towards-a-shared-destiny-under-tunku-and-the-pms-after-him-malaysia-has-successfully-used-the-econom/> [18 March 2020].
36. Shamsul AB. The Making of a “Plural” Malaysia: A Brief Survey. In. (eds.) David Y.H Wu, Humprey McQueen, Yamamoto Yasushi. *Emerging Pluralism in Asia and the Pacific*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 1997: pp. 67-83.
37. Furnivall, J.S. 1967. *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. London: Cambridge University Press [digital printed 2010].
38. Sirimal Abeyratne. “Economic Development and Political Conflict: Comparative Study of Sri Lanka and Malaysia,” *South Asia Economic Journal*, 2008, 9 (2): 393-417.
39. Gomez E.T., and Jomo K.S. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profit* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998: pp.21-45.
40. Jomo, K.S. *The New Economic Policy and Interethnic Relations in Malaysia, Identities, Conflict and Cohesion*, Programme Paper

- Number 7, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004: pp.12-15; Kartini et al. argue that economic disparities led to racial riot in “Ekstremisme, Maksud dan Konteks Keganasan,” *JEBAT*, 2019, Vol.46(2): pp.156.
41. Andrew Harding described that the socio-economic position among races exhibited a vast discrepancy particularly between the Malays and Chinese as well as pocket of poverty in urban and rural areas. Consequently, adopting positive discrimination was necessary to allow a competitive field for all races to live together, see Harding A. *Law, Government and the Constitution in Malaysia*. 1st Edn., Malaysian Law Journal Sdn. Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, 1996, pp: 315.
 42. Chua, Amy. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. Anchor Books: USA, 2004: pp.10-30.
 43. The Star Online. 2019. Poorer than we think – Malaysia’s official poverty figures vastly undercounted, Says UN Expert, (August 2019) <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2019/08/23/poorer-than-we-think-malaysias-official-poverty-figures-vastly-undercounted-says-un-expert> [20 March 2020].
 44. Social cohesion is a peace situation absence of violence but acknowledging social deficits in the multiethnic society that requires a frequent bargaining, negotiating, and mediation approaches to resolve ethnic grievances, see Shamsul AB, and Anis Yusal Yusof. *Unity, Cohesion, and Reconciliation*. Kuala Lumpur: ITBB & KITA Press, 2014: pp.13-15.
 45. Nidzam Sulaiman and Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid. “Will There Be Malaysia Spring? A Comparative Assessment on Social Movements,” *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 2017, Vol. 33(1): pp.43-58; Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid, Shamsul AB, and Suraiya Ishak. “Election in Malaysia and Indigenization of Democracy,” *Journal of Social Science*, 2018, Vol. 14: 181-191.
 46. Ibid; Shamsul AB. *Politics of Language and Language of Politics: Theory and Practice of the Nation of Intent as articulated in Malaysia*. UKM Ethnic Studies Paper Series. No. 35 (June), Bangi: KITA Press, 2015: pp.18; the qualitative data was retrieved from the Blueprint Perpaduan, Kesepaduan, Penyatupaduan Negara chaired by National Unity Consultative Council and JPNIN, JPM with Institute of Ethnic Studies as the consultant (unpublished, 2015).
 47. Fernando, Joseph M. “Elite Inter-communal Bargaining and Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Communities Liaison Committee in Malaya, 1949-1951.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 2012, 43 (2): pp.280-301.

48. Reconciliation is a tool to bridge the gap of interaction or relationship among multiethnic communities through a process of managing differences or disagreement using the principle bargaining, negotiation, and mediation (BNM) to avoid conflict. This flow of idea builds a concept that combines three core elements namely unity, social cohesion, reconciliation which registered as a new concept to explain the uniqueness of Malaysian multiethnic communities, Intellectual Property Registration, Core Framework for National Cohesion, UKM.IKB.800-4/1/2281.
49. The incident at Sri Maha Mariamman temple in USJ25 Putra Height, Subang Jaya on 26th November 2018 ended up with a tragedy, a fire fighter officer, Muhammad Adib (24-year-old) was in severe condition at the scene. He was pronounced dead on December 17th, 2018. This tragedy hit Malaysians deeply. The core of the issue was between the developers One City Development Sdn. Bhd., with Hindu congregators refused to move the temple to another location determined by the court order. The fought began at 3am with 18 vehicles were burnt down. Such social unrest demanded enforcement authorities to control the situation. From this event, it is too simplistic to resort this issue as the clash of religion between Hindu and Islam. This case needs the court to resolve the issues respectively. The effect of temple management integrity was profound in this tragedy. The temple management took the reparation from the developer, but disregarded the court order to relocate the temple, see BH Online. 2018. Kronologi Kes Kematian Muhammad Adib, 18 December, bharian.com.my [20 January 2020].
50. Thaipusam also comes with the sacred ceremony for balancing the spiritual debt for those who carry the *kavadi attam* and latter do the kavadi dance. The devotes who take the *kavadi* will have to walk carrying the kavadi on the set route while dancing. Their bodies are pierced with sharp vel skewers through the skin, tongue, and cheeks while taking the semi-circular pieces of wood or steel, which are bent and attached to a cross structure and can be balanced on the shoulders for the devotee. The kavadi decorates with flowers and peacock feathers and views as the Lord Murugan vehicle. Hindu temples in Malaysia <https://www.malaysia-traveller.com/hindu-temples-in-malaysia.html> [14 April 2020].
51. In Sabah and Sarawak, the level of acceptance and tolerance is a lot higher than in Peninsular with a family of diverse faiths, and ethnicities can live together as a family on the basis that love in all religions unites humanity to cherish and respect human being. A. Rahman Tang Abdullah & Saidah, "The process of Independence of Sabah and Sarawak (1961-1963): Revisiting the legal application

- on the formation of Malaysia,” *JEBAT*, 2017, Vol.44(1): pp.24-57.
52. Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2015. Race Relations and the Federal Constitution: Reflecting on the Law at StarOnline, <http://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2015/09/03/race-relations-and-the-federal-constitution-despite-its-imperfections-the-document-was-a-significant/> [5 March 2020].
53. Ibid; Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2015. Race Relations and the Federal Constitution: Reflecting on the Law [5 March 2020].
54. Ibid; Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2015. Race Relations and the Federal Constitution: Reflecting on the Law [5 March 2020].
55. The World Bank in Malaysia <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/malaysia/overview> [5 March 2020].
56. The approach to poverty has to be redefined using multidimensional methods other than household income and expenditure including access to the health care provider, fertility, food consumptions, mental wellbeing, social relations, political freedom and security, inequality, work condition, leisure condition, and empowerment (Ranis et al. 2006). While in the context of Malaysia Jomo (2004: 7-8) further criticizes that the policy to eradicate poverty has been focused on the Malay peasants, issues on expenditures for rural and agricultural development. The NEP Policy displays the lack of concern with other rural laborers such as estate workers, mine workers, public service workers, and land development contract laborers.
57. Ibid; Jomo, K.S. *The New Economic Policy and Interethnic Relations in Malaysia, Identities, Conflict and Cohesion*, Programme Paper Number 7, 2004: pp.9-10.
58. Labor force by Ethnic Groups https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/uploads/files/3_Time%20Series/LFS_1982-2017/10_TABLE%2010.pdf [19 February 2020].
59. At present, the concept of shared prosperity is officially announced by the government as a national commitment to achieve sustainable growth along with fair and equitable distribution across income groups, ethnicities, regions, and supply chains while celebrating diversity as the foundation of the nation-state, see Summary Shared Prosperity Vision 2030 <https://www.pmo.gov.my/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/SPV2030-summary-en.pdf> [14 April 2020].
60. Ibid; Olmedo, Eric Panal., and Shamsul AB. *Mamakization: Food and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic Malaysia*, 2015: pp.3-5.
61. Anti-black restaurant then and now in the USA, <https://manifold.umn.edu/read/untitled-6b2e0c15-9dd8-4cec-a2b3-81298b9e74ec/section/71a5306f-0c86-4894-9ce5-f517565e73ee> [19 May 2020].

62. Oldenberg, Ray. *The Great Good Places*. Cambridge, MA: Da Paco Press, 1997: pp.10-15.
63. Bourdieu, P. The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. London: Greenwood Press, 1986: pp.244-250.
64. DiMaggio, P, and Mohr, J. "Cultural Capital Educational Attainment and Marital Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1985, Vol. 90 (6): pp.1231-1261.
65. Robinson, R.V., and Garnier, M.A. "Class Reproduction Among Men and Women in France: Reproduction Theory on Its Home Ground." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1985, Vol. 91(2): pp.250-280.
66. Jonsson, J.O. "Class Origin, Cultural Origin, and Educational Attainment: The Case of Sweden." *European Sociological Review*, 1987, Vol. 3 (3): 229-242.
67. De Graaf, N.D., De Graaf, P.M., and Kraaykap, G. "Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective," *Sociology of Education*, 2000, Vol. 73 (2): pp.92-111.
68. Hunter, Colin. "Sustainable Tourism and the Touristic Ecological Footprint," *Environment, Development, Sustainability*, 2002, 4: pp.7-20.
69. The international tourist arrivals in Europe reached 671 million in 2017, Asia and the Pacific recorded 324 million foreign tourists' arrivals with South Asia grew 10%; South East Asia grew 8%, and in Oceania, 7% and North-East Asia increased by 3%. The current strong momentum is expected to continue with the growing rate of 4 percent to 5 percent in 2018, at <https://www.unwto.org/why-tourism> [14 April 2020].
70. Aina Nasa. 2017. More than 1.7 million foreign workers in Malaysia: Majority From Indonesia, *News Strait Times* at <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2017/07/261418/more-17-million-foreign-workers-malaysia-majority-indonesia> [15 February 2020].

References

- Al-Attas, S.M.N. 1969. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka.
- Arasaratnam, S. 1982. "Indian Society of Malaysia and Its Leaders: Trends in Leadership and Ideology Among Malaysian Indians, 1945-1960," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 13(2): 236-251 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463400008675>.

- Aina Nasa. 2017. *More than 1.7 million foreign workers in Malaysia: Majority From Indonesia*, News Strait Times at <https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2017/07/261418/more-17-million-foreign-workers-malaysia-majority-indonesia> [15 February 2020].
- Allam, Lorena, and Nick Evershed. 2019. The Killing Times: the massacres of Aboriginal people, Australia must confront, *The Guardian*, 3 March <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/04/the-killing-times-the-massacres-of-aboriginal-people-australia-must-confront> [7 January 2020].
- Aymonier, Etienne. 1904. *Le Cambodge*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- A. Rahman Tang Abdullah & Saidah Alih. 2017. "The process of Independence of Sabah and Sarawak (1961-1963): Revisiting the legal application on the formation of Malaysia," *JEBAT: The Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, Vol.44(1):24-57.
- Anti-Black restaurants then and now in the USA, <https://manifold.umn.edu/read/untitled-6b2e0c15-9dd8-4cec-a2b3-81298b9e74ec/section/71a5306f-0c86-4894-9ce5-f517565e73ee> [19 May 2020].
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–258). London: Greenwood Press.
- BH Online*. 2018. Kronologi Kes Kematian Muhammad Adib, 18 December, bharian.com.my [17 March 2020].
- Blueprint Perpaduan, Kesepaduan dan Penyatupaduan Negara. 2015. Jabatan Perpaduan Negara & Integrasi Nasional, Jabatan Perdana Menteri (unpublished).
- Chua, Amy. 2004. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. Anchor Books: USA, 2004.
- De Graaf, N.D., De Graaf, P.M., and Kraaykap, G. 2000. "Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 73 (2): 92-111 DOI: 10.2307/2673239.
- Denison Jayasooria and KS. Nathan. 2016. *Contemporary Malaysian Indians: History, Issues, Challenges, and Prospects*. Bangi: KITA Press, UKM.
- DiMaggio, P, and Mohr, J. 1985. "Cultural Capital Educational Attainment and Marital Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 90 (6):1231-1261 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/228209>.
- Department of Statistic Malaysia, *Labor Force by Ethnic Groups* (1982-2017) https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/uploads/files/3_Time%20Series/LFS_1982-2017/05_TABLE%205.pdf [19 January 2020].
- Encyclopaedia of Britannica, Malay Archipelago, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malay-Archipelago> [22 January 2020].

- Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Spread of Hinduism in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hinduism/The-spread-of-Hinduism-in-Southeast-Asia-and-the-Pacific> [22 January 2020].
- Fernando, Joseph M. 2012. "Elite Inter-communal Bargaining and Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Communities Liaison Committee in Malaya, 1949-1951," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 43 (2):280-301.
- Furnivall, J.S. 1967. *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. London: Cambridge University Press [digital printed 2010].
- Gomez E.T., and Jomo K.S. 1998. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profit* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, A.H. 1955. Hikayat Abdullah, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XXVIII, part 3): 34-58 <http://www.nlb.gov.sg/biblio/4184041> [4 March 2020].
- Hunter, Colin. 2002. Sustainable Tourism and the Touristic Ecological Footprint. *Environment, Development, Sustainability*, 4:7-20 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:101633612562> [4 March 2020].
- Hindu Temples in Malaysia <https://www.malaysia-traveller.com/hindu-temples-in-malaysia.html> [14 April 2020].
- Hans-Dieter Evers. 2016. Nusantara: History of a Concept, *JMBRAS*, Vol. 89, Part 1 (310): 3-14.
- Harding, A., 1996. *Law, Government and the Constitution in Malaysia*. 1st Edn., Malaysian Law Journal Sdn Bhd., Kuala Lumpur, ISBN-10: 9679620379.
- Intellectual Property Registration, *Core Framework for National Cohesion*, UKM.IKB.800-4/1/2281.
- Jomo, K.S. 2004. *The New Economic Policy and Interethnic Relations in Malaysia, Identities, Conflict and Cohesion*, Programme Paper Number 7, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Jenson, J. 1998. *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research*. Family Network, CPRN (pp.109-28).
- Jonsson, J.O. 1987. Class Origin, Cultural Origin, and Educational Attainment: The Case of Sweden. *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 3 (3): 229-242 <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.esr.a036451> [19 February 2020].
- J. H. Walker. 2016. "Political Science and the Politics of the Past: Towards and Integrated Typology of Power in Pre and Early – Modern Southeast Asia," *JEBAT: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies*, Vol. 43(2) :74-99.
- Kershaw, Roger. 2001. *Monarchy in Southeast Asia: The Faces of Tradition in Transition*. London: Routledge.

- Kieven, Lydia. 2008. A New Fashion in Male Headdress During East Javanese Majapahit Time: the takes-cap in narrative reliefs of Candi Jago. In Elizabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover., and Peter D. Sharrock (eds). *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past Monument, Language and Text* (selected papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists) Vol. 2, Singapore: NUS Press, 193-207.
- Krom, N.J. 1950. *De Hindoe-Javaansche Tijd*. Jakarta: P.T. Pembangunan.
- Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid, Muhammad Helmy Abd Gapar, & Ahmad Munawar Ismail. 2019. "Ekstremisme, Maksud dan Konteks Keganasan," *JEBAT: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, Vol.46(2):150-177.
- Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid, Shamsul AB, and Suraiya Ishak. 2018. "Election in Malaysia and Indigenization of Democracy," *Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 14: 181-191 DOI: 10.3844/jssp.2018.181.191.
- Laws of Malaysia, Federal Constitution at http://www.jac.gov.my/spk/images/stories/10_akta/perlembagaan_persekutuan/federal_constitution.pdf [15 April 2020].
- Low Kelvin E.Y. 2014. "Chinese Migration and Entangled Histories: Broadening the Contour of Migratory Historiography," *Journal of Historical Sociology* Vol. 27(1):75-102 DOI:10.1111/johs.12037.
- Lorena Allam, and Nick Evershed. 2019. The Killing Times: the massacres of aboriginal people, Australia must confront, *The Guardian*, 3 March <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/04/the-killing-times-the-massacres-of-aboriginal-people-australia-must-confront> [7 April 2020].
- Labor force by Ethnic Groups https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/uploads/files/3_Time%20Series/LFS_1982-2017/10_TABLE%2010.pdf [19 February 2020].
- Malaya's Early 20th century population change <https://www.ehm.my/publications/articles/malayas-early-20th-century-population-change> [14 April 2020].
- Mahmood Mamdani. 2012. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mohan Rathakrishnan. 2017. "Indian Labour Migration to Penang: a study on the patterns of migration and socio-economic impact before the year 1930," *JEBAT: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, Vol. 44(2):94-114.
- Mohd Zariat Abdul Rani. 2005. "Antara Islam dan Hinduisme di Alam Melayu: Beberapa Catatan Pengkaji Barat," *Sari*, 23:67-82 <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/1057/> [4 March 2020].
- Mabbett, I. W. 1969. "Devaraja," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 10(2):202-23, doi:10.1017/S0217781100004373.

- Nidzam Sulaiman and Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid (2017). "Will There Be Malaysia Spring? A Comparative Assessment on Social Movements," *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 33(1):43-58 at <http://ejournal.ukm.my/mjc/article/view/17168> [10 April 2020].
- Native American History Timeline: as Explorers Sought to Colonize their land, Native Americans responded in various stages from cooperation to indignation to revolt, <https://www.history.com/topics/native-american-history/native-american-timeline> [24 March 2020].
- Nazrin Shah. 2017. *Charting the Economy: Early 20th Century Contemporary Malaysian Contrasts*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Olmedo, Eric Panal., and Shamsul AB. 2015. *Mamakization: Food and Social Cohesion in Multiethnic Malaysia* at file:///C:/Users/SHAMSUL%20AMRI/Downloads/Chapter-FoodProjectEOSABFV.pdf [20 January 2020].
- Oldenberg, Ray. 1997. *The Great Good Places*. Cambridge, MA: Da Paco Press.
- Olmedo, Eric. 2014. *Mamakization Food and Social Cohesion in Malaysia: A Tentative Framework*. No. 34 (November), Ethnic Studies KITA Series. Bangi: KITA Press.
- Puteh Noraihan binti A. Rahman, and Zahir bin Ahmad. 2016. "The Divine Rights of Kings: A Comparative Study of Medieval European Kingship and Malay World "Devaraja," *The Social Sciences*, Vol.11 (10):2580-2589 DOI: 10.3923/sscience.2016.2580.2589.
- Pue Giok Hun and Shamsul AB. 2012. *Peranakan as a Social Concept*. UKM Ethnic Studies Paper Series No. 20 (April). Bangi: KITA Press.
- Robinson, R.V., and Garnier, M.A. 1985. "Class Reproduction Among Men and Women in France: Reproduction Theory on Its Home Ground," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 91(2):250-280 <https://doi.org/10.1086/228277> [2 April 2020].
- Ranis, G., Francis S., & Emma Samman. 2006. "Human Development: Beyond the Human Development Index," *Journal of Human Development*, 7(3):323-358 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600815917> [20 February 2020].
- Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2015. Race Relations and the Federal Constitution: Reflecting on the Law at StarOnline, <http://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2015/09/03/race-relations-and-the-federal-constitution-despite-its-imperfections-the-document-was-a-significant/> [5 March 2020].
- Shad Saleem Faruqi. 2018. Towards A Shared Destiny at <https://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/reflecting-on-the-law/2018/03/01/towards-a-shared-destiny-under-tunku-and-the-pms-after-him-malaysia-has-successfully-used-the-econom/> [18 March 2020].

- Shepherd, Verene. 2007. "Prelude to Settlement: Indians as Indentured Labourers." In *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings.*, Tania Das Gupta, Carl E. James, Roger C.A. Maaka, Grace-Edward Galabuzi, Chris Andersen (eds.). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc, Chapter 20, pp. 155-160.
- Sirimal Abeyratne. 2008. "Economic Development and Political Conflict: Comparative Study of Sri Lanka and Malaysia," *South Asia Economic Journal*, 9 (2): 393-417 <https://doi.org/10.1177/139156140800900207> [20 March 2020].
- Sangeetha Thanapal. 2016. *On the Question of Malay Indigeneity*. Medium.com at <https://medium.com/chinese-privilege/on-the-question-of-malay-indigeneity-481240c0eafc> [21 February 2020].
- Summary Shared Prosperity Vision 2030: Restructuring the Priorities of Malaysia's Development, <https://www.pmo.gov.my/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/SPV2030-summary-en.pdf> [20 March 2020].
- Shamsul AB. 1997. The Making of a "Plural" Malaysia: A Brief Survey. In. (eds.) David Y.H Wu, Humprey McQueen, Yamamoto Yasushi. *Emerging Pluralism in Asia and the Pacific*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. (67-83).
- Shamsul AB, and Anis Yusaf Yusof. 2014. *Unity, Cohesion, and Reconciliation*. Kuala Lumpur: ITBB & KITA Press.
- Shamsul AB. 2015. *Politics of Language and Language of Politics: Theory and Practice of the Nation of Intent as articulated in Malaysia*. UKM Ethnic Studies Paper Series. No. 35 (June), Bangi: KITA Press.
- Shamsul AB. 2018. Islam and Cultural Diversity in Malaysia as a Mirror of Southeast Asia, In. (eds.) Ikuya Tokoro & Hisao Tomizawa, *Islam and Cultural Diversity in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Phillippines, Thailand, and Cambodia*, Japan: Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Vol. 2: 91-114.
- The Malay Archipelago, Islands, and Southeast Asia, Encyclopaedia Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malay-Archipelago> [20 February 2020].
- The Star Online. 2019. Poorer than we think – Malaysia's official poverty figures vastly undercounted, Says UN Expert, (August 2019) <https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2019/08/23/poorer-than-we-think-malysias-official-poverty-figures-vastly-undercounted-says-un-expert> [20 March 2020].
- The British Empire, <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/malaya.htm> [14 April 2020].
- United Nation World Tourism. Why Tourism? Tourism – an economic and social phenomenon, <https://www.unwto.org/why-tourism> [14 April 2020].

The World Bank in Malaysia <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/malaysia/overview> [5 March 2020].

Van Leur, J.C. 1955. *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve.

Vlekke, B.H.M. 1959. *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*. The Hague: W. Van Hoeve.

Vella, Walter F. 1975. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by G. Coedes (ed.), translated by Susan Brown Cowing, Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Biography Note

Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid (k_khalid@ukm.edu.my) (Ph.D.) Senior Research Fellow at the National Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA) UKM. She is an expert in public policy and ethnicities. A core member that developed National Unity Index (IPNas) 2018 and actively promoting reconciliation concept as integration platforms towards unity in Malaysia.

Shamsul A.B. (abshamsul@gmail.com) (Ph.D.) A Founding Director of National Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA) UKM, a distinguished Professor in the field of Social Science, fellow of Academic Science Malaysia (FASc), Chair holder of UNESCO Chair (Communication and Social Cohesion at UKM), Chairman of National Council of Professor Malaysia, and recently appointed as an Advisor to the Ministry of National Unity Malaysia.

Acknowledgement

Author thanks the Arus Perdana research grant, AP-2017-001/1 *Platform Integrasi: Pendekatan Top-down dan bottom-up dalam proses penyatupaduan Malaysia* for making this research commendable.