How places are made: a case study on foodways in Malaysia

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Abstract

Foodways is a concept that describes a broad spectrum of cultural heritage such as smells, sounds, eating practices, social meanings, and festivals. They are rooted deeply in the histories of societies and they are among their most valuable cultural assets and markers for individual and group identities. This research focuses on the concepts of foodways in Malaysia. Malaysia has a rich historical background. It has been colonized by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British and has seen a large influx of immigrants, mostly from India and China. The tourism board of Malaysia is currently promoting the country with the slogan *Malaysia, Truly Asia,* which reflects all these different influences.

The main research objective is to study the ways in which the foodways of Melaka have been shaped by different actors and from different directions. The research makes an effort to understand the different scales, directions and ways in which these culinary landscapes or foodscapes have been shaped, negotiated and changed. Furthermore, it uncovers how these foodways are appropriated for tourism by the different stakeholders.

The empirical field work rests on a theoretical framework that deals with concepts such as place and identity and foodways. A critical perspective, with special attention to the work of David Harvey, is taken in order to evaluate the power relations between the different actors. This seemed most appropriate in the case of a post-colonial nation, such as Malaysia, where discussions on whose ideologies should be represented and whose are left out.

This research has used several methods and instruments to generate data. First of all, observations were done by the researcher, which included taking pictures, joining cooking classes, and more generally writing down own experiences as tourist and outsider. Furthermore, 15 interviews were held with different stakeholders. A government official was interviewed, as well as several restaurant owners or chefs and people from various heritage groups.

The results showed different negotiations over foodways at three different levels: the national level, the local/state level and the grassroots level. It can be concluded that the focus of the national government and the Ministry of Tourism and Culture has shifted in the recent years from a specific focus on culinary tourism to a more general focus on cultural tourism in which food is part. Within the local level, it is evident that the cooperation between the local/ state government and the local business owners is practically non-existent. This is according to the business owners mainly caused by the differences between the government's predominant ethnicity, Malay, and the entrepreneurs, frequently Chinese. They feel ignored in the promotion efforts of the government for simple reasons such as that they serve pork, which is a non-halal food. On the grassroots level, different people from heritage groups called out that the UNESCO designation has not necessarily done good things for the local people. An example is the gentrification of the heritage zone. The old local businesses cannot afford the high rents anymore and are forced out of the old city centre in order to make place for new, sometimes even foreign, investors. All in all, it can be said that the heritage and foodways has become mainly for tourists, as all local 'authentic' places have been driven out of the World Heritage Site.

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List of abbreviations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

MOTAC – Ministry of Tourism and Culture

1. Introduction

"Food is a central activity of mankind and one of the single most significant trademarks of a culture".
- Mark Kurlansky (Wiens, 2010)

This quote denotes one of the main reasons why scholars in cultural geography have begun to study food. The literature makes a distinction between food and foodways. The former refers only to the physical, whereas the latter includes a broader spectrum of cultural heritage such as smells, sounds, eating practices, social meanings, and festivals (Timothy & Ron, 2013). Foodways are rooted deeply in the histories of societies and they are among their most valuable cultural assets and markers for individual and group identities (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014; Corigliano & Baggio, 2002). Foodways become heritage when the shared experience of preparing, tasting, eating and smelling food is linked to imaginations of one's ancestors having similar experiences. Heritage then is the sum of all tangible and intangible goods that a society takes away from the past, keeps it in the present and wants to pass it on to future generations (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). With regards to foodways, the tangible heritage would for example be the ingredients used, the finished products and the restaurants that serve the food. The intangible aspects of heritage include the meanings and stories attached to the food, as well as the practices of preparing food.

Nowadays, due to the rise of the experience economy since the 1990s, travelers are looking for authenticity when visiting another culture. They want to be "engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level" (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, p. 99). Images and themes became an important vehicle in this process that led to 'experience tourism'. Lived spaces are appropriated for, and marketed as, easy tourism consumption (Salazar, 2011). Culinary tourism is an emerging market that relies on the proposition of the experience economy. The term 'culinary tourism' first showed up in literature in 1998. The concept refers to the experiences tourists can have in other (local) cultures by consuming and preparing their foods and drinks (Long, as cited in Horng & Tsai, 2012b and Horng & Tsai, 2012c).

Malaysia has received 27.44 million tourists in 2014, which has generated 72.0 billion RM (14.65 billion EUR at time of writing) (Tourism Malaysia, Research: Facts and Figures, n.D.c). The tourism industry covered 6.7% of total employment in 2013, which consisted of 881,000 jobs (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Since 1996 tourism has replaced petroleum as the country's second sector of earning foreign exchange, behind manufacturing (Cartier, 1998). The federal as well as state governments and local public agencies all play a role in creating a sustainable heritage and tourism development in the country. In Malaysia, food is acknowledged to be an important aspect of the country's heritage. 400 different dishes and ingredients of Malaysian cuisine have been recognized, by the National Heritage Department of Malaysia, as Heritage Foods of Malaysia. One of the ways that Malaysia has been able to show its culture and history is through its foodways (Omar S. , Karim, Bakar, & Omar, 2015; Khoo & Badarulzaman, 2014). Foodways support a strong sense of identity for individuals belonging to different religions and ethnicities and have the possibility to develop local heritage tourism, festivals and other celebrations (Khoo & Badarulzaman, 2014). The country's cuisine shows strong influences from Malay, Chinese and Indian cuisines as well as smaller exotic and fusion cuisines (Tourism Malaysia, 2015). These influences are the result of Malaysia's rich and complex history. (Parts of) the country have been colonized several times by European nations[1] between the 16th and 20th century. Under British rule, immigration from India and China thrived as workers were needed for the plantations, mines and docks to stimulate economic growth (Cartier, 1998). When Malaysia became independent the 1957 Malaysia Federal Constitution mandated the Malaysia governmental administration into three tiers: federal, state and local. Malaysia consists of 13 federal states.

One of these states is Melaka. It is represented by Malaysia's tourist and heritage industries as the state ‘where it all began’ (Worden, 2001). During the colonial period Melaka was of great importance to the European rulers due to its location on the Straits of Melaka. The landscape and buildings in Melaka still show Dutch, British and Portuguese influences as well as Chinese and Indian impacts. The slogan ‘where it all began’ together with *´Melawat Melaka Bersejarah bererti melawat Malaysia’,* (´visiting Melaka is equivalent to visiting Malaysia´) has been used in various official tourist promotion campaigns (Lai & Ooi, 2015; Goh, 2014). These slogans show how much significance is put into showcasing Melaka as a tourism destination with a rich heritage background (Cartier, 1998).

The identity of place and place-making are known concepts in tourism studies; however, almost all academic literature focuses on theming built heritage. From the shop houses in Singapore’s Little India (Chang T. C., 2000a) to the hotels and casinos in Las Vegas (Hannigan, 1998; Sorkin, 1992) and everything in between. With regards to foodways and culinary tourism, current academic literature has so far mainly focused on marketing strategies (Ignatov & Smith, 2006; Horng & Tsai, 2012c), the economic advantages it can have (Horng & Tsai, 2012a), tourist perceptions (Kivela & Crotts, 2006) and more descriptive works on food (Karim, Chua, & Salleh, 2009; Omar, Karim, Bakar, & Omar, 2015). However, there seems to be a lack of research about place-making with regards to foodways and culinary tourism. These are some very prominent issues that need attention and in a multicultural nation such as Malaysia it is very interesting to study how places are being made and created. Next to that, as food is one of the most important features of ethnic identity and culture, it should be researched beyond the existing literature. Everett and Aitchison (2008, pp. 151-152) phrase this linkage very well: *“It is in the inter-relationships between food, place and identity that food tourism’s social and cultural impact can truly be explored”.*

The main research objective is to study the ways in which the foodways of Melaka have been shaped by different actors and from different directions from a critical perspective. The aim of this research is to improve understanding of the different scales, directions and ways in which these culinary landscapes or foodscapes have been shaped, negotiated and changed. Furthermore, it shows how these foodways are appropriated for tourism by the different stakeholders.

This thesis will contribute to the academic literature as it will increase the understanding of place-making and identities with regard to foodways and culinary tourism in a multi-ethnic country. This study adds value when issues such as the success of Melaka as a World Heritage Site are discussed, by other academics or by institutions such as UNESCO itself, as well as broader discussions on the ethnicity struggles in Malaysia.

[1] Portugal, Netherlands and Great Brittain

1.1 Structure

In the next chapter, different theories and concepts will be discussed that will be used as the framework by which the results are theoretically discussed. The concepts of place and identity will be elaborated upon, including the notion of how Harvey perceives places and the making of places. Then in order to operationalize these concepts for this particular thesis, a further look will be taken into heritage, foodways and culinary tourism. Chapter 3 describes the methodology that is used for this research. It discusses the research approach, the methods and analyses of this study. Chapter 4 will give the reader some more background insights in Malaysia and the case study site Melaka. The results will be uncovered and discussed in chapter 5. This chapter will describe in detail what results have come out of the fieldwork that was executed in Melaka. Finally, chapter 6 will provide the reader with an overall conclusion on this project. The conclusion will furthermore give some recommendations on future research that could be executed.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Place and Identity

2.1.1 Place, identity and globalization

Place is a much studied concept by geographers. According to Williams (2014), place research is often traced back to humanistic geography as a critique on the positivistic approach of place, which reduces place to being 'a location and container of human action'. Another critique on the positivistic perception of place came from critical and post-structural theorists, arguing that it is inattentive to structures of power that make and contest a place. Harvey is such a critical theorist and I will be mainly using his ideas and approach in discussing these concepts and their links to the field work in Malaysia. However, first I will give a more general introduction on place and identity and the role that is played by globalization. Then, I will go into more detail on Harvey's stance on place and one of the ways that places can be made. Finally, I will discuss some of the critiques that Harvey has received on his approach to see his perspective in a different light as well.

Place has been defined as space that people have created a certain attachment to and made meaningful (Cresswell, 2004). A sense of place is then the subjective attachment people have to a place. Tuan, an influential humanistic scholar, argued that we get to know and understand the world through human experiences and perception. Relph (1976), who can also be described as a humanistic scholar, further extended this by saying that these perceptions are most often unconscious but are at the core of humanity. Place can also be seen as something that is practiced or performed and, from that perspective, it is possible to argue that place creates the setting in which people can create their own identity, and not that place comes with an identity that is laid upon the people (Cresswell, 2004). Both views on place have been critiqued over the past years. Especially Relph's book on *Place and Placelessness*, which he calls a 'phenomenology on place', has received some major criticism. First of all, it is described as essentialist, particularly by scholars informed by Marxism and social constructivism. They argue that "Relph presupposes and claims an invariant and universal human condition that will be revealed only when all 'non-essentialists' including historical, cultural, and personal qualities, are stripped away, leaving behind some inescapable core of human experience" (Seamon & Sowers, 2008, p. 47). They feel that Relph, by focusing mainly on the human experience of place, leaves temporal, social and individual circumstances, which shape not only individual but also group experiences, out of the discussion. The second criticism *Place and Placelessness* received was that it is out of touch with what places really are today. Thirdly, it is seen to be "structured around simplistic dualisms that misrepresent and limit the range of place experience, particularly the possibility of a 'global sense of place'" (Seamon & Sowers, 2008, p. 47). With this, they mean Relph's differentiations between for example insideness vs. outsideness and place vs. placelessness. When people feel 'inside' a place, they feel a certain level of attachment to a place and an appreciation for that place. With outsideness, however, they can feel themselves separated or alienated from a place. 'Placelessness' means to Relph "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place" (Relph, 1976, p. Preface).

Places have connections with other places around the world. These connections are financial, cultural, environmental and so on. Due to this interconnectedness of places all over the world, it is argued by scholars that the world has become more homogeneous. Mass communication, the increase of mobility and, with that, tourism are seen as the biggest causes of this homogenization and MacDonaldization (see for example Relph, 1976 and Cresswell, 2004). Globalization led to the fact that our lives take place at sites that could be anywhere: sites seem disconnected from any local environment as they look, smell and sound similar to one another and, therefore, the locality[2] of place is lost (Cresswell, 2004). This is what Relph called the 'placelessness of place'. Relph mentions Disneyland as the epitome of placelessness as it is only created for outsiders[3] and which is now staged on three different continents (Cresswell, 2004). Besides Relph, other authors also use Disneyland and the term Disneyfication to describe images and representations created by the tourism and heritage industry for easy consumption (see for example Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). This homogenization and placelessness can threaten the uniqueness of places as not only multinational corporations like McDonalds, Burger King and Starbucks open new restaurants and cafes, but also because multiculturalism causes international products to pop up everywhere in urban areas (Paradis, 2008). There are however scholars who critique this view of homogenization, such as Chang et al. (1996). They argue that there is an increasing number of tourism scholars who draw attention to the equally important role that local forces play in dealing with global processes. They refer to a quote from Oakes (1993) in which he mentions that "the local does not exist as an oppositional reality to the global, but rather constitutes a dynamic cultural negotiation with the changing structures of political economy, a negotiation in which dominant structures are mediated by individual agency" (Oakes, 1993, p. 47).

This has been a brief introduction into the concepts of place, identity and globalization. The different perspectives and approaches on these concepts have led to an endless supply of articles and books. The focus for this thesis is however on the work of Harvey (and other critical theorists informed by Marxism), as I want to discuss how different forms of power, inequality, and (asymmetrical) relations of power play a role in shaping a place. In the upcoming subchapters a closer look will be taken into the position on place and identity developed in the work of David Harvey. First, I will discuss his stance on place, then I will describe how the concepts of thematization and imagineering are used as a way of place-making to counter homogenization, and lastly I will elaborate on some critiques on Harvey's work, in order to be better informed about the flaws and ignored views is his perspectives.

2.1.2 Harvey on place

David Harvey, together with other geographers informed by Marxism, feminism and post-structuralism, notes that place needs to be understood as a social construct and that this social construct is subject to power. As a result, he argues that: "The only interesting question that can then be asked is: by what social process(es) is place constructed" (1993, p.4). When something is socially constructed, it is within human power to create, dismantle or change it, it is not something that is natural and what humankind has to take as a given. The concept of place has become a much more relevant topic to discuss due to the increase of flexible accumulation, postmodernity and time-space compression. Critical geographers argue that place as a concept needs to be viewed through the lens of social and cultural conflict. Place is not just an outcome of social processes, but rather "a tool in

[2] The actual settlement of a place. When this is lost, communities could become detached from any form of space and place.
[3] According to Relph no one could feel like an insider in places like Disneyland (Cresswell, 2004).

the creation, maintenance and transformation of relation of domination, oppression and exploitation (Cresswell, 2004, p. 29). In line with the earlier mentioned critiques on Relph, if place is thought of as practiced and performed, it helps us think about this in open and non-essential[4] ways. Place can be seen as something that is constantly struggled over and reimagined in different ways. Place is the fundament for the creation and production of identities, instead of providing an a priori identity (Cresswell, 2004).

According to Harvey, place is created when a moment of permanence can be subtracted from the time-space continuum. However, even as these 'permanences' are constructed (by powerful institutions in society), they can never be eternal but will always be subject to change as time makes space perishable. Fundamental for Harvey is the tension between mobile capital and a fixed place. Capital, due to technology, can be anywhere in the world in seconds, places on the other hand are characterized by their fixity. Places, therefore, both set and have to adapt to particular boundaries within time and space, and these are conditioned by the forces of social power. Due to the increasing mobility of people and capital, but also marketing and merchanting, there is an increasing desire to differentiate places in order to compete for this mobile capital in the form of investments, workers, and of course tourists (Cresswell, 2004; Harvey, 1993)

Harvey does not agree with the idea that globalization causes homogenization; the meaning of place has changed in people's lives but has not become less important. Due to the globalization phenomenon, he argues, we become more aware of what places mean to us and what we value most in the places where we live and work. People start to think more about the security that their place offers and due to the reductions in costs of transportation and communications, people tend to think more about the quality of life they can have at one place over another. Furthermore, people, institutions and businesses try to differentiate places from one another and thus become more competitive. This process includes the selling of a place via advertising, marketing and image construction and can, next to competition, be used to show the pride for this place (Cresswell, 2004; Harvey, 1993). This differentiation might happen in the form of heritage (Cresswell, 2004), where a sense of authenticity and rootedness is structured for the consumption of tourists and also locals. The concept of authenticity will be further explored in subchapter 2.2.1 Heritage and Authenticity.

2.1.2.1 Theming and imagineering as a way to counter homogenization

Because globalization and time-space compression have led to the homogenization of places and their identities, cities are striving to differentiate themselves in order to be a competitive destination in this global marketplace (Harvey, 1993). One way to accomplish this differentiation is through the tourism industry. Heritage stakeholders, such as national governments and the tourism industry, have jumped into the 'creation' of local identities for tourism purposes. As a result the cultural and heritage tourism niches have been one of the fastest growing niches in the industry and can be seen as a major worldwide trend (Chang & Yeoh, 1999). Heritage and heritage tourism will be further discussed in subchapter 2.2 Heritage.

[4] Essentialism: "the practice of regarding something as having innate existence or universal validity rather than as being a social, ideological, or intellectual construct" (Merriam Webster, n.D.a)

Definitions of theming and imagineering

The thematization, or theming, of places is a widely discussed subject among academic scholars in the fields of urban, cultural, tourism and retail geography (Chang T. C., 2000b). Place themes display "images of vibrancy, excitement and innovation targeted at select audiences such as investors, residents, foreign talent, tourists, conventions, enterprises, or all of the above" (Chang T. C., 2000b, p. 35). They are usually created by governments and urban and tourism planners. In most tourism destinations, themes are integrated in various ways. One of these ways is through marketing themes, in which destinations are represented by slogans and specific images in brochures, guide books and on government websites (Chang T. C., 2000b). This theming can take place on various scales, from neighbourhoods to cities and even countries. Overall, thematic development creates an environment in which tourists, who are not familiar with the culture visited, can easily interpret the new culture (Richards, Increasing the attractiveness of places through cultural resources, 2010). Paradis (2008) argues that themed environments are mainly created to attract tourists and visitors as they are 'other-directed' places. In his writing he discusses Hannigan's book *Fantasy City*, which describes several characteristics which identify themed places. One of them is the 'theme-o-centric' qualities of place, with which he means that everything in the place or environment is set up according to a scripted theme. One of the explanations for this thematization would be that themes are created around ordinary products and places in order to be more competitive and therefore generate more profits. It becomes more and more important, according to Paradis, in these times of economically driven markets that themes help create perceived differences in products and places, which are actually quite similar. Theming is therefore "designed specifically to promote the virtual and experiential consumption of places" (Paradis, 2008, p. 200).

'Imagineering' is a term invented by the Disney Company. It is a combination of the words 'imagination' and 'engineering' and encompasses the practices for theming goods, services and places (Salazar, 2011). Salazar labels some of the key characteristics of the imagineering process as *"*easily consumable images, the presence of icons, spatial definition and coherence, and the management of traffic flows". All these elements are used to create attractive scenes for leisure activities among other purposes (Salazar, 2011).

Power-relations in thematization

The construction of imagined places is significant to Harvey, as it is here that people, institutions and businesses show resistance to the forces of globalization and the accumulation of capital. As an example, powerful institutions within nations (such as national or state governments) will place monuments, place plaques or inscriptions at places in order to create memories and meaning to places and in this way also secure their power and authority. The rootedness of the place will not be lost but stays visible as a public memory. This perspective on place-making, however, leads to discussions about which memories to include and which to exclude (Cresswell, 2004). Paradis (2008) adds that themes, just like places, are social constructions, which are applied to a place by certain individuals with their own perspective. This perspective may not be everyone's perspective and therefore other individuals can have strong feelings or contestations regarding these themed places as they feel not represented by these images. The issue on whose heritage will be told and who is left out, will be further discussed in the subchapter 2.2.2 Heritage and Selectivity.

2.1.2.2 Critiques on reactionary place-making strategies

Various authors (see for example Chang, 2000; Teo, 2003) have suggested that the thematization and imagineering of places is counterproductive. By putting boundaries around places and trying to look for a rootedness and authentic sense of place and preserve that for tourism, cultures stop evolving and places become static. Chang (2000b) calls this the 'taming of place': "By prescribing themes to places, planners inadvertently freeze their identities and stultify their potential to evolve organically, effacing their myriad histories on the one hand while confining their future to a pre-ordained narrative on the other" (p.35). In other words, places are far more diverse, fluid and dynamic than themes portray. Teo (2003) notes that imagineering causes a simplified environment in which tourists can have a safe escape from their everyday life, but yet is exciting enough to visit (Teo, 2003). However, this results in environments that do not necessarily represent the depth in heritage and cultures, because they need to be consumed easily. Places are being reduced to "a few simple recognizable and marketable characteristics" (Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990 in Teo, 2003, p.546). She discusses the case of Penang, Malaysia, where she sees that the stakeholders that are involved in the imagineering process do not have the best interest for the whole island, which results in discontent between the tourism stakeholders, such as the government and the local private businesses and the locals themselves. Teo argues that "imagineering runs the danger of removing the socio-spatial contexts of Penang and threatens to marginalize the community from the spaces they occupy" (Teo, 2003, p. 560).

The problem with looking at place through thematization is that it ignores relationships on the ground (local level). Thematic development can lead to two sorts of reactions: it can result in a reaffirmation of the social identity and a strengthening of the community (Chang T. C., 1997), but it can also result in strong reactions from the grass-roots level as they can have the feeling that 'non-place places' (Zukin, 1991, p. 20) are created when the theme is overruling the context and the identity of a city is being compromised (Chang T. C., 2000b). Additionally, as has just been mentioned, imagineering leads to debates about whose culture and heritage is represented and might threaten to marginalize certain communities in the process (Teo, 2003; Salazar, 2011).

2.1.3 Operationalizing identity, place and place-making strategies

In order to operationalize this theoretical concept of place and to form an empirical case to explore these ideas on place and place-making, this research will look into heritage and in particular into foodways as a marker of place and identity within heritage. The following subsections will provide the reader with the parameters for heritage and foodways and will be the starting point for the identification of key actors and institutions and the description of the positionalities of these actors and institutions.

2.2 Heritage

This subchapter will elaborate on heritage and the link between heritage and other concepts that are relevant for this research, such as authenticity, politics and tourism.

Much has been written by cultural geographers about heritage. Di Giovine and Brulotte (2014) describe heritage as "the accumulation of wealth or patrimony of tangible and intangible goods that a society inherits from the past, preserves in the present and passes on to the future" (p.1). A society's heritage is however made-up out of a collection of individual notions of personal inheritance and by sharing the inheritance with others in the same society it becomes a collective notion of heritage

(Johnson, 1999). Various authors have described heritage as a dynamic process. Chang (1997) mentions heritage as a constantly changing product which is subject to “economic development, tourism, and social-cultural forces” (p.46). Timothy and Prideaux (2004) refer to the same influences and add that politics are also involved in the creation and development of heritage. Salazar (2012) discusses that heritage is characterized by its ever-changing plural form which is a dynamic process caused by the fact that the society’s or group’s identity shifts in time and in space and will change by forces such as religion, class formation, and geographical changes (Johnson, 1999).

For this study I have chosen to focus on three characteristics of heritage: its selectivity, its adaptation for different audiences and the different functions that heritage can have. These three characteristics are relevant when looking at heritage from a critical perspective. First of all, heritage is seen to be selective. This means that people attach a certain personal value to heritage. They relate to a place differently than others and therefore they value the heritage of the place in a different way than others do, even though they are within the same society. “The way people relate to a place is not so much caused by the specific site attributes but by personal motivations and perceptions” (Salazar, 2013, p. 122). Johnson (1999), referring to the following quote from Lowenthal (1994) who argues that “heritage distils the past into icons of identity, bonding us with precursors and progenitors, with our own earlier selves, and with promised successors”(p.43), claims that due to this, heritage and the historical narratives that are communicated via heritage, are selective and partial. Secondly, due to its selectivity and being a constantly changing process, heritage can be adapted for diverse audiences. According to Chang (1997), heritage is not a relic, a fixed and stable entity. People attach meanings to it and by that, they can choose what story or component of heritage to focus on when passing it on to other audiences. This issue will be further discussed in the subchapter 2.2.2 Heritage and Selectivity. Thirdly, heritage has different functions. According to Salazar (2012), heritage has value because of these different functions. It has sociocultural values because society attaches meaning to it “due to its age, beauty, artistry, or association with a significant person or event or (otherwise) contributes to sociocultural affiliation and identification” (p.24). Besides sociocultural values, heritage has a certain economic value. This value is established by the level of desire. “The use or market value of cultural heritage is the goods and services that flow from it that are tradeable and priceable in existing markets” (Salazar, 2012, p. 24).

These three characteristics are all very important in this research on Melaka, Malaysia. Selectivity has to be kept in mind because of Malaysia’s multiculturalism. The shared heritage in Malaysia and the different ethnic heritages are existent within the same society, which leads to different stories to be told. This automatically links to the characteristic that heritage can be adapted to different audiences and will be shared and imposed in different ways. Finally, the different functions that heritage has play a huge role in Malaysia, and especially in World Heritage Sites, where the sociocultural value might get trumped by the economic value of heritage. Of these three characteristics, selectivity and the adaptation for different audiences will be discussed in more depth in the upcoming subchapters.

2.2.1 Heritage and Authenticity

Authenticity is a term that almost always shows up when heritage is discussed. Like heritage, authenticity is a widely discussed concept with different interpretations dependent on the different epistemologies of academics. Wang (1999) has written a very useful article discussing three different epistemological stances on authenticity: objectivism, constructivism and postmodernism.

From an objectivist perspective, authenticity is referred to as the original of something, which can either be the experience or the toured object, such as for example a statue in a museum that can be real or a replica. By following this line of logic, authenticity can be measured objectively. From a constructivist point of view, authenticity is less about whether the experience or toured object is original, but rather focuses on the feeling that the tourists attach to it: the symbolic authenticity. This authenticity is based on how an experience or object is socially constructed through beliefs, perspectives or power. Postmodernists take a step back from authenticity and do not consider it relevant to discuss whether or not something is 'real' or original, but rather are concerned with the deconstruction of boundaries between 'fake' and 'real' and between the original and the replica. This perspective leads to existential authenticity which "denotes a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself, and acts as a counter dose to the loss of the "true self" in public roles and public spheres in modern Western society" (Wang, 1999, p. 358).

Harvey also discusses authenticity in his often cited work *From space to place and back again*. He links authenticity to a sense of rootedness and argues that the concept has only emerged when modern industrialization separated processes of production and the environment as a finished commodity. He brings MacCannel and Relph into the discussion by putting forward that modernity has not necessarily resulted in the disappearance of the non-modern world, but the fact that this world is artificially preserved and reconstructed. The authenticity is then destroyed due to new technologies, mass production and rationalism. Relph, as earlier described, calls this placelessness, which is in his opinion is caused by "organizational power and the depth of penetration of the market" (Harvey, 1993, p. 11). Harvey argues that "the response is to construct a politics of place which is then held up as the political way forward to the promised land of an authentic existence" (Harvey, 1993, p. 11). He continues that this results in the concept of place becoming more important as "the authenticity of dwelling is being undermined by political-economic processes of spatial transformation and place construction" (Harvey, 1993, p. 12).

Authenticity, thus, closely links to political-economic processes and therefore power relations. Questions that Harvey and other critical theorists ask do not concern the concept of authenticity as such, but the underlying negotiations that determine what is considered to be authentic and what is not. Who has the power to call something authentic and who does not have that power.

2.2.2 Heritage and Selectivity

Heritage is selective in the fact that it has different meanings to different people and it is therefore an always contested phenomenon. Especially when societies consist of people from different ethnic groups, backgrounds, religions, cultures and so on, questions "arise regarding what heritage should be, or is, presently, conserved, promoted, and interpreted" (Timothy & Prideaux, 2004, p. 217). When power relations come into play, a discussion opens on whose ideologies are being told and for which reasons; who is being left out and why. Di Giovine and Brulotte (2014) argue that while heritage might be talked about in terms of a set of goods and practices that can be claimed or controlled, it is also a discourse which is used strategically for economic and political purposes by, for example, governments and cultural resource managers. Timothy and Prideaux (2004) agree with this notion and mention that "administrations in power have a tendency to support and portray the heritages and cultures that function best for their purposes" (p.217). Ashworth (1995, in Timothy and Prideaux, 2004) calls this 'disinheritence', with which he means that groups without power are written out of the national history and heritage due to ideological and/or political reasons. Both Chang and Yeoh (1999) and Salazar (2013) criticize top-down heritage planning, as they consider it affective for the local people. They claim that local groups might run the risk of being marginalized because national government think national and 'official' culture is more important. Chang and Yeoh argue that the bottom-up or so-called grassroots views often clash with the national perspectives on policies, which affects 'lived cultures and spaces' significantly (Chang & Yeoh, 1999). Salazar (2013) adds that the top-down approach might result in freezing these spaces and displacing those lived cultures, basically eliminating locals' own heritage.

On top of this discussion, Melaka is a city that has been recognized by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, which adds another player and perspective into the selectivity-mix. Quite some academics are rather critical about the effects of UNESCO and it's Western-centric perspective (Salazar, 2013; Harrison, 2009). The designation of a World Heritage Site goes more often than not hand in hand with increased visitor rates, which means that it does not only result in the safeguarding of the heritage sites, but also a higher economic value (Salazar, 2013). He continues by remarking that many countries, and in particular the poorer countries, see tourism as an industry that would help them develop and that those in control often prefer that development over the preservation of local and traditional cultural practices. This is made possible by UNESCO, who have taken an apolitical perspective towards conservation and therefore play right into the hand of the ones with the power. Furthermore, Harrison (2009) argues that the UNESCO's concept of world heritage is problematic because it assumes that universal value overshadows local value and interests. The preservation of this heritage has become a global concern suggested through the power of one organization. This results in the fact that their interpretation of the past overrules any local interpretations (Harrison, The Politics of Heritage, 2009).

2.2.3 Heritage and the adaptation for different audiences

Earlier on, the different functions of heritage have been discussed. One of those functions was the economic value that is attached to heritage. Then in the previous subchapter, I went into the economic benefits for destinations when they receive a UNESCO World Heritage Site designation. In this subchapter, the link between heritage and its adaptation for touristic audiences is further explored.

With the rise of the experience economy in the 1990s tourism took a turn. What was previously appropriated for tourism, such as museum and heritage-parks were not fitting to the consumers' needs anymore. Tourists started looking for authentic experiences in lived spaces and those were made ready for easy tourism consumption (Salazar, 2011). Richards (2012) discusses that one of the impacts of the experience economy is that tourists are now demanding different things from destinations. Where they used to want to go to 'must-visits' such as museums and monuments, preferences have changed to 'must-experiences' in which they are looking for more intangible aspects of cultures. Heritage tourism demands have therefore shifted from a more tangible and/or built heritage to intangible heritage. Richards mentions examples of this intangible heritage being atmosphere, lifestyle and creativity. Foodways are also very much intertwined with the intangible culture of a society. This aspect will be discussed in much further detail in the upcoming subchapters. On the tourism-supply side, destinations use their heritage in order to differentiate themselves from other destinations in the ongoing homogenization trends in tourism. In this way, they are able to compete with the other destinations. "After all, it is the local particularity of heritage that tourists are most interested in witnessing and experiencing" (Salazar, 2013, p. 276).

Heritage tourism can have multiple purposes and lead to varying outcomes, discussed by many academics. Timothy and Prideaux (2004) argue that heritage and culture can be used to "inform, preserve, entertain, profit, propagandize and educate" (p.213). For tourists it is necessary to be informed in one way or another because otherwise the tourism experience will leave them with little to no knowledge of the visited destination and the culture that they experienced (Timothy & Prideaux, 2004). Heritage tourism is however not only present for foreign tourists to experience and for economic purposes; it could also have political purposes. Salazar (2013) argues that on the domestic/ national level, heritage and heritage tourism can be used to increase the pride in national history. Paradis (2008) agrees with this statement by referring that heritage tourism and the imagineering that comes along with it are not only created for economic development, but also in order to boost the pride of community and the local history. Imagineering and heritage tourism thus helps to establish a sense of place and a community identity.

On the other hand, there are academics that think that by creating a tourism experience out of heritage, destinations risk losing meaning to its own societies and maybe even authenticity to tourists. As has been discussed before, this risk is especially present with poor communities see heritage tourism mainly as a cash cow and they are tempted to exchange their cultural expressions for the economic development that heritage tourism can induce (Timothy & Prideaux, 2004).

2.3 Foodways

Culinary heritage is an important aspect of societies and their cultures. It is unique in terms of ingredients, preparation, presentation and way of eating. It strongly relates to cultural identity and, in tourism, is a resource for heritage tourism, cultural tourism and festivals and other celebrations (Khoo & Badarulzaman, 2014). Food and foodways are intertwined with this culinary heritage. The distinction between the two is that food only refers to the physical products, whereas foodways include a broader spectrum of cultural heritage, such as smells, sounds, eating practices, social meanings, and festivals (Timothy & Ron, 2013). I use the term 'foodways' in this thesis because I want to include all different aspects and meanings of food. Willams-Forson (2014) mentions that "foodways practices – procurement and acquisition, preparation, serving, eating, and other traditions/habits – can illustrate not only how groups are sutured together and thus embody a common group identity but also reveal the separations within" (p. 95).

2.3.1 Food as a marker of identity: you are what you eat

Food as a marker of identity and ethnicity is a topic that is widely discussed among cultural geographers. Food is a recognized marker of ethnicity and is perceived as a major practice of traditional culture. It is powerful in the expression and negotiation of individual and group identities (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). Bessière further mentions that culinary heritage "is an indicator of a historical characteristic, a reference to time or a heritage whose transfer and reproduction are an expression of a close temporal relationship between the past and the present" (Bessière, 2013, p. 280).

2.3.2 Food(ways) as heritage

Individuals collect memories and experiences over food and, when linking this to memories of ancestors having the same experiences, food becomes part of cultural heritage (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). Foodways include both tangible and intangible heritage, the tangible being for example the products that are cooked with or restaurants in which people dine. The intangible related more to the taste and smell of foods, the recipes and any eating traditions of a society (Timothy & Ron, 2013). Food is eaten by different people, tourists and locals, and each one of them attaches his or her own set of meanings in different contexts to it. Therefore, food and foodways "are dynamic, responsive to social changes and involved with multi-directional processes of negotiation and interpretation" (Avieli, 2013, p. 131). Bessière (1998) adds that culinary heritage is "deeply rooted in a particular place as well as in a particular space and time" (p.28). This means that the traditions surrounding cooking and a society's cuisine uncover the character of that society and the mentality of its people (Bessière, 1998). This traditions could be the choice and production of particular ingredients, the distribution of food, and how to prepare and eat them (Ignatov & Smith, 2006).

As has been discussed previously, heritage could have both socio-cultural and economic functions and could benefit both the host community as well as be adapted for tourism. Within culinary heritage these two characteristics are also visible. On the one hand, ethnic groups could re-assert their identities through their cuisines. "This is particularly important for negotiating second- and third-generations 'hyphenated identities', both through cooking and, more importantly, through consuming" (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014, pp. 19-20). On the other hand, scholars accuse the heritage industry of exploiting culinary heritage for economic values. Part of the overall 'heritage industry', the designation of particular foods as heritage, by the heritage industry, is driven by a commercial goal, subject to commoditization and museumization (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). Avieli (2013) argues for conceptualizing culinary heritage as an artificial phenomenon performed for the sake of tourism.

2.3.3 Food(ways) and tourism

The academic study of food and tourism is not more than 20 years old. 'Culinary tourism' was conceptualised as food being a way for tourists to enjoy and experiences other cultures (Long, 2004 in Horng and Tsai, 2012). Nowadays, the terms that are used by scholars to express the link between food and tourism vary from food tourism, gastronomy tourism, cuisine tourism to culinary tourism. I use 'culinary tourism' in my thesis because the term has been used by multiple authors (Ignatov & Smith, 2006; Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014) to communicate the idea that the foodways of local cultures have certain stories which, when discovered, teach tourists something about that local culture (Horng & Tsai, 2012c). Furthermore, Ignatov and Smith (2006) argue that the adjective 'culinary' describes not only different styles of food preparation, but also the consumption and those foods and the social context surrounding how food is prepared and shared.

Culinary tourism is a form of cultural or heritage tourism, as food is an important aspect of collective and individual identity. Food connects people, both through time and space. Culinary tourism can be defined as "tourism trips during which the purchase or consumption of regional foods (including beverages), or the observation and study of food production represent a significant motivation or activity" (Ignatov & Smith, 2006, p. 238). According to research done by Getz et al (Richards, 2015b) 40% of international travellers take the foods and cuisines of a destination into account when choosing their holiday. Therefore the tourism industry, through for example guidebooks, travel magazines, websites and brochures, is starting to highlight their regional dishes and local specialities as a tourist attraction (Avieli, 2013), which could lead to extended stays of visitors as well as higher spending and visitor rates throughout the year (Ignatov & Smith, 2006).

As has been discussed previously, tourists have started to look for more authentic experiences when on holiday. They want to experience how locals live their lives and their demands have changed from a set of must-visits, to a must-experience. Bessière (1998) mentions that tourism allows for 'participation in the consumption and celebration' of local rites, which invites the tourist to absorb and reproduce cultural codes, such as cuisine. Tourists that are looking culinary experiences hope that via a society's cuisine they are able to discover the authentic culture (Scarpato & Daniele, 2003). Richards adds to this discussion that the fact that food need to be prepared, served and eaten at the same time creates a direct contact between the person creating and the person consuming the experience, which makes that foodways are strongly linked to the experience of place (Richards, 2015b).

3. Methodology

This chapter will elaborate on which methods are used during this research and why I have chosen for these methods. The chapter will start with the research approach as the approach is key to which methods are used. Then an overview will be given of the different data collection methods, sourcing procedures and how all data is analysed. Lastly, the limitations of this research will be described.

3.1 Research approach

This study is approached from a critical perspective. This research approach allows me to do qualitative research in order to investigate how relations of power are negotiated by the different 'stakeholders' in this study. The remainder of this chapter will elaborate on the methods that I thought most fit for the critical approach.

3.2 Research methods

For this thesis a case study was applied. According to Yin (2009) case studies are ideal when the researcher poses "how" and "why" questions. Case studies are conducted in situations in which the researcher has little to no control over the events, where the focus lies on a real-life situation and a current phenomenon (Yin, 2009). Schramm (1971) defines a case study as follows: "The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result" (p. 6). This is what this thesis tries to accomplish, see what decisions are made and how power is executed by different stakeholders (national government, local business and local heritage groups) in Malaysia regarding foodways and culinary tourism, how these decisions have been implemented and executed, and what results these had. One of the main characteristics of a case study is the importance of theory development as part of the research design stage. This helped guide me through the data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009). This theory development also assists in making analytic generalizations, which is where "a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (Yin, 2009, p. 38). As not much research has been done on foodways and identity construction/place-making, the case study was exploratory rather than explanatory. Recent studies on culinary tourism have shown using a case study method allows for a link between theory and practice (Everett & Aitchison, 2008).

Case Study: Melaka

Melaka has been chosen as the site for this case study. The reason why Melaka has been chosen is because it has been recommended by other authors as an interesting site with regards to heritage. Worden (2003) mentions that the heritage in Melaka is not only produced for international tourism purposes, but also in order to deal with domestic contestations regarding Malaysian identity. Next to that, it has received a lot of focus since it has become, together with Georgetown, Penang, a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008 and it has a great mix of all different cultures present in Malaysia. Up to this point, not many academics have written about foodways as a marker for identity and how this not only plays out for tourism purposes, but also in the building of a contemporary Malaysian identity.

3.3 Data generation and sources

One of the main criticisms that qualitative methods receives is that it does not consist of 'hard' data, but is to a large extent left to the interpretation of the researcher. One of the ways to increase the credibility of data is by using multiple types of sources or data triangulation. Therefore, I chose to use (when possible and appropriate) various methods such as document analysis, observations, and interviewing. Further limitations and solutions regarding validity and reliability will be discussed in the limitations section (See 3.5 Limitations, p20).

International level and national and state governmental level tourism?

I used document analysis and an interview with a state government official to discover more about the role of the national and state governmental level on the foodways in Melaka. I looked for data in policy documents, brochures and on websites. Documents were more easily accessible than arranging interviews with government officials who create tourism plans for the country and the state of Melaka.

One document that had high significance is the nomination dossier of the UNESCO listing of Melaka. One of the things that UNESCO focuses on when assessing applicants is how they narrate their past and use it in the present (UNESCO, n.D.a). This is very useful especially in a city like Melaka with such a rich and complex history. Furthermore, other policy documents, but also tourism brochures produced by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture (MOTAC) were considered.

The document analysis provides a background and context for my thesis. The main aim of the document analysis was to gather as much information as possible in order to understand to what extent imagineering plays an active role in Malaysian tourism and to find out how it is shaped. Furthermore, by establishing the context, the documents helped to sharpen the questions that were asked during the interviews and helped with noticing things while observing places. Lastly, the analysis also offered the basis for comparing how plans sometimes do not translate effectively onto space. These sources provided me with information regarding tourism developments, impacts of tourism (both positive and negative), and representations of food and the food sector.

When interviewing a government official (designated herein as 'GO1'), a semi-structured interview was used to guide the conversation. An interview guide was prepared before this interview to make sure all topics are covered (see 8.1 Interview guides), the interview was not taped as the government official did not want to be recorded. The questions included background questions about the structure of the Ministry of Tourism and the role that the government official played within the organization. Furthermore, questions were asked how all different level governments (state, national, local) worked together. These questions were asked in order to get an idea of who was exerting which kind of power on Melaka and to what extent. Then the questions steered towards heritage and foodways. How the government official would describe the role of the MOTAC in preserving food heritage and how they feel about the developments in food cultures. These questions were asked to find out more about how important foodways are for the government and what sort of measures they take and policies they make in order to deal with foodways as heritage. Thirdly, questions regarding (culinary) tourism is Melaka were discussed, such as what they should experience and if that is truthful or not. These questions were asked to get a better understanding of how tourism plays a role in the changes that Melaka went/is still going through. Finally, a more general question was asked about how the government official has seen Melaka change over the years, especially after the World Heritage Site designation by UNESCO. The answer to this question would give an insight in how certain things changed due to the development of tourism or the WHS status.

Local level (heritage movements and food businesses)

In order to research the 'decisions' made regarding foodways and culinary tourism at the local level I have executed both observations, as well as 14 semi-structured interviews with food businesses and people from local heritage movements.

The observations mainly focused on what I noticed regarding any representations and expressions of foodways, such as pictures in menus, food stalls and insides of restaurants. I have taken pictures of how these are displayed to the public. Furthermore, I have participated in several cooking classes. Both were organized by restaurants that served Baba Nyonya food. One of the restaurants was part of a luxury hotel, the other by a restaurant that is well known by tourists, both domestic and international. Questions that these observations answer are: how are foodways being produced and how are they visualized to the public?

Secondly, the interviews needed to be with different stakeholders in foodways and culinary tourism. Ignatov and Smith (2006) have created a typology of various culinary tourism resources.

Facilities	*Activities*	*Events*	*Organisations*
Buildings/Structures • Food processing facilities • Wineries • Breweries • Farmers' markets • Food stores • Food-related museums • Restaurants Land uses • Farms • Orchards • Vineyards • Urban restaurant districts Routes • Wine routes • Food routes • Gourmet trails	Consumption • Dining at restaurants • Picnics utilising locally-grown produce • Purchasing retail food and beverages • Pick-your own operations Touring • Wine regions • Agricultural regions • City food districts Education/Observation • Cooking schools • Wine tasting/education • Visiting wineries • Observing chef competitions • Reading food, beverage magazines and books	Consumer shows • Food and wine shows • Cooking equipment, kitchen shows • Product launches Festivals • Food festivals • Wine festivals • Harvest festivals	• Restaurant classification/ certification systems (e.g. Michelin, Taste of Nova Scotia) • Food/wine classification systems (e.g. VQA) • Associations (e.g. Cuisine Canada, Slow Food)

Figure 1: General typology of culinary tourism resources (Ignatov & Smith, 2006)

This table was used as a starting point for targeting interviewees. As has been mentioned before, "[t]he foods we eat, and the conventions by which we produce, cook, serve, and eat them are clues to our ethnic identity and social status" (Welch & Scarry, 1995, p. 397). For this research I have decided to focus on food that is ready to be eaten (e.g. restaurants and food hawkers) and food processes and events (e.g. cooking classes and festivals) and not on raw materials (farmers etc.). This made it possible to explore one aspect of culinary tourism and foodways in more depth than would have been possible if I included all. However, once in Melaka, I discovered that if I would only interview these stakeholders in foodways and culinary tourism, I would miss out on a very important group of stakeholders: the heritage groups/movements. Whereas for businesses the endgoal is always to make money, for heritage groups, the stance towards heritage, foodways, and tourism is different and leads to a broader more indepth account of the situation on the ground.

I have interviewed 14 people on the local level, 8 restaurant owners/chefs, 1 food festival organizer, and 5 people related to heritage movements or heritage museums in Melaka. I contacted all participants while already in Melaka as most of these people were hard to reach via email, therefore walking in and asking them to schedule an appointment was easier and more productive. Furthermore, I could make use of people's networks and asked for any contacts that I could interview. This research used a purposive sampling strategy. With this type of sampling the interviewees are selected purposely and give the researcher a deeper insight in the issues at hand. Next to that, the sample generally does not include many interviewees. One of the main reasons to choose for this sampling strategy was to the consideration that it was more important to get a full account on the different perceptions and experiences than to be able to increase the generalizability of the research (Boeije, 2010, p. 36). The main criterion for selecting interviewees was that they were either in the food business or had a more general opinion on heritage. I have interviewed stakeholder both in- and outside the Heritage Zone in order to get a better understanding of the difference in doing business and opinions on tourism and heritage. As will be further explained in the limitations of this research, I would have liked to interview stakeholders from (at least) the three largest ethnicities (Malaysian, Chinese and Indian); however, this was not possible. The interviews were based on a semi-structured interview guide. Semi-structured interviews allow participants to freely speak their opinions and talk about anything that came to mind related to the discussed topics.

Interviews were done with stakeholders in three main categories: the government, restaurants, and heritage groups. All three groups have been interviewed because the assumption was that they would have different standpoints on heritage, foodways, and tourism. First of all, a government official of Ministry of Tourism and Culture (MOTAC) has been interviewed, as has been discussed earlier. This person deals with events for tourism. This person works at the Melaka state division of the national government. Secondly, eight restaurant owners in Melaka town have been interviewed, all with different backgrounds and ethnicities, ranging from Baba Nyonya[5] to Chinese and from Western[6] to Malay. Some owners have moved to Melaka recently, others have been there for a couple of decades. Finally, five people from different heritage groups and one festival organizer have been interviewed. The interviewees from the heritage groups were very diverse: the founder of the Melaka History and Heritage Club, the curator of the Baba Nyonya museum, someone who works to preserve the heritage buildings in Melaka town, and two persons who work for a heritage council. The festival organizer was the curator of one of the PERZIM museums in Melaka and organizes the festival for the government each year.

Table of respondents

Who	Characteristics	When
Restaurant Owner 1 (RO1)	Baba Nyonya, outside heritage zone, famous restaurant	8 December 2015
Restaurant Owner 2 (RO2)	Chinese, outside heritage zone, in 'flashy shopping mall'	9 December 2015
Restaurant Owner 3 (RO3)	Malay (from outside Melaka), cooks Malay food with a twist	11 December 2015

[5] Baba Nyonya is the name for people that are descendants from Chinese and Malay intermarriages. Over the years their cuisine have evolved from Chinese/Malaysian to a distinctive cuisine.
[6] With Western cuisine I mean food that is generally associated with European or American meals, such as pasta and burgers

Restaurant Owner 4 (RO4)	Chinese, outside of heritage zone, no tourists	14 December 2015
Restaurant Owner 5 (RO5)	Baba Nyonya, within a 4/5-star hotel, outside heritage zone	15 December 2015
Restaurant Owner 6 (RO6)	Baba Nyonya and Western food, inside heritage zone	16 December 2015
Restaurant Owner 7 (RO7)	Café within a bed and breakfast, western food, inside heritage zone	11 January 2016
Restaurant Owner 8 (RO8)	Fusion of Italian pasta with Malay twists, inside heritage zone	11 January 2016
Festival Organizer 1 (FO1)	Malay, conservator of PERZIM museum	7 December 2015
Person from Heritage Group 1 (HG1)	Chinese descent, President of the Melaka History and Heritage Club	8 December 2015
Person from Heritage Group 2 (HG2)	Chinese descent, deals mainly with architectural heritage	14 December 2015
Person from Heritage Group 3 (HG3)	Chinese descent, owner of a jewelry store, starting a small heritage dedication in a building in the heritage zone	14 December 2015
Person from Heritage Group 4 (HG4)	Walking interview, Chinese descent (mainly), conservator of 8Heerenstreet an old Dutch shophouse	11 January 2016
Person from Heritage Group 5 (HG5)	Baba Nyonya, conservator of the Baba Nyonya museum	10 January 2016 (email)

Table 1: List of interviewees

I have created multiple interview guides which can be found in appendix 8.1 Interview guides. The different stakeholders could not be asked the same questions, as their background and 'role' was different. The curator of a museum requires different questions than the owner or chef of a restaurant. I tried to keep as much questions the same in order to still have an overlap which made it possible to analyse the differences between the stakeholders. For the restaurant owners and chefs the interview started off with some background questions to get a better understanding of when the restaurant was established, why it was established and types of customers and cuisine. The answers to these questions would provide me with a fundament for the analyses of the rest of the answers. Then, questions about the restaurant would be asked, such as the look and feel of the restaurant and what they would like to accomplish with that, and what they want customers to experience in their restaurants. Next to that, their way of promotion and how they were connected to other businesses and the (different levels of) government were discussed. The way they promote their business is showing how they want to represent themselves and to which type of customers. The connection to other stakeholders gives a better understanding of how all stakeholders are interconnected with each other or not. The last questions that were asked were if they would like to add something else, and if they knew another restaurant owner or chef that I could interview. For the interviewees that organized the food festival, the questions were quite consistent with the above questions, with the adjustment that the focus lay more on the festival and the foods and activities there. The heritage groups interviewees also had quite a few overlapping questions, especially on the connections with other stakeholders and the desired role of the government. Other questions that were asked also dealt with their background, in order to establish from what role/perspective they were discussing the issues at hand. Furthermore, questions dealt more generally with heritage, how they perceived food as part of heritage and how they had seen it change over the years. Some heritage groups interviewees were also asked about their role within preserving and executing food heritage, in order to establish the kind of power they exert on this topic.

I have recorded most interviews. One interview was a ‘walking’-interview, which made it difficult to record, therefore I have taken notes along the walk. The interviewee took me to different (food)spots within and outside the Heritage Zone and showed and explained how things has changed over the years. Another interview was executed via email, as the person was not in Melaka when I was there. All interviews were executed in English, all interviewees were (nearly) fluent in English and therefore there was no language barrier that prohibited me from having fruitful interviews. Most interviews were between 30 and 40 minutes. Some interviews were much longer, but these included information and stories that were not relevant for this research, but assisted in establishing a bond between myself and the interviewee.

3.3.1 Data collection procedure

The empirical phase took place over a course of 8 weeks. Two weeks consisted of doing preliminary research regarding the location of the field work and of document analysis. After that six weeks were spent in Melaka and in that period all interviews took place. After those six weeks one more week was used to finalize all transcriptions and to organize all data in order to make the analysis phase easier.

3.4 Data analysis procedure

In this study I aim to produce a conceptual/ thematic description of my findings, which means that the results “contain findings rendered in the form of one or more themes or concepts either developed from the data or imported from existing theories or literature” (Boeije, 2010, p. 153). Therefore, the transcribed data from all conversations and the used documents were coded, mostly according to the predetermined characteristics described by the theoretical framework, but also when interesting other items popped up which were related to the topic. This data was then ordered logically in the form of a matrix in which both the document analysis as well as the interview codes are included. This helped to organize and analyze the data without missing any relevant information. The coding scheme can be found in appendix 8.2 Coding scheme.

3.5 Limitations

There are certain limitations to this research and special attention needs to be given to making sure that this research and its results will be seen as credible. Therefore certain criteria need to be considered.

Validity

Validity is defined as “identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied” (Yin, 2009, p. 40). This can be achieved by having multiple sources of evidence and having my work checked by peers (other students) and experts (thesis supervisor). Risks of losing internal validity would surface when I could not find enough interviewees at all or not enough in one particular subset. As I was not able to speak to stakeholder with different ethnic backgrounds, such as Indian and Portuguese it might be that my internal validity has decreased. Furthermore, even though I have done 15 interviews and the study was meant to be exploratory, I feel that in order to describe the full account of what is happening in Melaka, I would need many more interviews. Next to that, internal validity might be in jeopardy if I have biased the interviews. This might have happened unintentionally during the interview but could also be caused by the cultural difference between me and the interviewees. I could unintentionally steered answers in a certain direction, for example by referring to an anecdote or example that they might agree with after I mention it, but did not come up with themselves.

The external validity or generalizability of this study is extremely limited. As has been described before case studies aim for analytic generalization and not for statistical generalization. This is impossible when only one case is studied. The outcomes will be very different in another setting, however the research might help reaffirm the used theories as well as extend them (Yin, 2009, p. 41).

Reliability

When a study is reliable it demonstrates “that the operations of a study – such as the data collection procedures - can be repeated with the same results” (Yin, 2009, p. 40). As has been mentioned throughout the methodology chapter the use of an interview guide and observation guide helps increase the reliability of the research. Furthermore, these documents also increase the repeatability of the study as these are tangible products that can be used in other data collection procedures. However, due to the nature of the interviews with the locals it will be hard to repeat the exact same operations.

Ethical considerations

Before any interview and during each conversation I told the interviewee about the nature of the case study and what the interviews will be used for. I kept all respondents anonymous and confidential so that they did not have to worry about talking freely about the topics that were discussed. Another consideration that I had to keep in mind is that I do not have the same cultural background as my interviewees. This sometimes caused a slight awkwardness and interviewees might have held back information because I was considered an outsider that wanted inside information. However, this is something that I could not overcome and this is also why my data generation procedure was set up the way it was.

4. Malaysia: a background

This chapter will further provide a background against which the results of the empirical study can be analyzed. A brief history, an elaboration on Malaysia's tourism industry and an introduction to Malaysia's food culture will be given. The last subchapter will deal with the introduction of Melaka as the site of the case study. This chapter will help develop a better understanding of the importance of Malaysia, and how historical events have played a role in shaping Malaysia, Melaka and the philosophy of the current government.

Malaysia has a rich history and a great mix of different cultures. The country is situated in South East Asia, and has almost 31 million inhabitants (est. July 2016). The country's capital is Kuala Lumpur which is situated on Peninsular Malaysia. Two of the thirteen states are Sabah and Sarawak, which are part of the island Borneo and separated from Peninsular Malaysia by sea (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.). Almost two-third of the country's inhabitants is Muslim, and the Islam is the official religion, followed by Buddhism and Christianity are the largest religions. The country includes various ethnicities: Malay, Chinese, indigenous, Indian and others. The country is a federal constitutional monarchy and is headed by the paramount ruler (who is referred to as the king). Furthermore, all Peninsular states have hereditary rulers (referred to as Sultans), except for Melaka and Penang which are ruled by governors that are appointed by the government. (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.)

4.1 A brief history

European colonizers recognized the importance of what is now Malaysia and therefore it has been colonized several times by European nations between the 16th and 20th century. First the Portuguese ruled for over 100 years until the Dutch took over after a war over the Melakan Straits in 1641. The Dutch ruled for 154 years until the British took over after an agreement had been made with the Dutch that divided the Malay archipelago between Britain and the Netherlands (Lai & Ooi, 2015). During the British ruling the economy was booming and therefore plantations, mines and docks needed more workers. The result was an influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants. Immigration from China and India thrived as they needed workers for the plantations, mines and docks to stimulate economic growth (Cartier, 1998). Most Chinese were able to climb up the economic ladder and rich Chinese communities in Peninsular Malaysia were the result. Many Indians and Malays could not keep up and stayed behind economically. However the British policy was that Malaya (former name of Malaysia) belonged to the Malays and the Chinese and Indians immigrants were thought of as 'aliens' and 'transients'. Therefore the government introduced special rights for the Malays (also referred to as Bumiputera[7]) as they were encouraged to keep living their traditional lives and should be protected from the disturbance brought by the 'alien' cultures. They were favored in many ways, including education possibilities and job opportunities. The government did not take responsibility to build any Chinese or Indian schools, but only provided Malay schools. Furthermore, positions at public service and in politics were only filled with people who were lawfully defined as Malays (Means, 1972; Butler, Khoo-Lattimore, & Mura, 2014).

[7] Bumiputera is a term that translates to "sons of the soil/earth" and is used to identify both ethnic Malays or indigenous people. Together these two groups make up about two-thirds of the total population in Malaysia. (Butler, Khoo-Lattimore, & Mura, 2014)

In 1952, while still under British protection, the Federation of Malaya introduced elections and the special rights regulations for the Malays were threatened. An alliance[8] was formed out of the three largest parties from each ethnicity: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. The goal of the alliance was to distribute economic and political power more fairly among all inhabitants. However, the Malay special rights were set up to accomplish both the economic position as well as further establish the dominant role Malays played in the political system (Means, 1972). When the Alliance Government's rule came to an end in 1969, they felt confident in the support of their followers. However, they received heavy criticism from people who thought they focused too much on Malay privilege, as well as from people believing the opposite. Directly following the results of the first election, massive race rioting broke out. Malays infuriated by the celebrations of the opposition feared that the elections could mean the end of their rule and a loss of their country to 'immigrants' or 'aliens'. After the riots it was established that these were caused by the economic imbalance between the different ethnic groups, especially the lack of economic resources among Malays compared to non-Malays. The result was the introduction of the New Economic Policy, which was part of the Second Malaysia Plan and covered 1971-1975. This policy had the objectives to eradicate poverty irrespective of race and to abolish the identification of ethnicity with commercial function. This resulted in high government interventions to reduce the influence and control of the strong Chinese community in the private market and to increase the share of the bumiputera (Means, 1972).

Almost 50 years later we see that Malaysia has undergone a change from a peripheral node in the world economy to one of the most developed countries in the South-East Asia region (Butler, Khoo-Lattimore, & Mura, 2014). In the past couple of decades the Malaysian government has tried to shake off the post-colonial 'Malay-centered' national identity and attempted to valorize the Chinese and Indian cultures into the national culture (Bunnell, 2002). In 1991, *Wawasan 2020* (*Vision 2020*) was drawn up. The *Wawasan* was based on pillars such as "democracy, religious tolerance, the richness of (...) cultural values, economic development, internationalism and multiculturalism" (Graezer Bideau & Kilani, 2012, p. 607). This official policy of Malaysia is based on the universal values that are promoted by UNESCO and include economic development, democratic governance and cultural diversity (Graezer Bideau & Kilani, 2012). Another strategy aiming to create a better balance between the different ethnicities and cultures is the development of the *1Malaysia* program that started in September 2010. The goal is to "preserve and enhance this [Malaysia's] unity in diversity" (1Malaysia, 2010, cited in Butler, Khoo-Lattimore, & Mura, 2014, p. 201).

4.2 Malaysian tourism industry

Malaysia is becoming one of the greatest tourist destinations in the world. Stable economic growth, combined with political stability in the past couple of decades has resulted in being one of the wealthiest countries in the South East Asia region (Karim, Chua, & Salleh, 2009). Malaysia has received 27.44 million tourists in 2014, which has generated 72.0 billion RM (14.65 billion EUR at time of writing) (Tourism Malaysia, n.D.c). The tourism industry covered 6.7% of total employment in 2013, which consisted of 881,000 jobs (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014). Since 1996 tourism has replaced petroleum as the country's second sector of earning foreign exchange, behind manufacturing (Cartier, 1998).

[8] The Alliance consisted of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Congress.

Tourism has shown to be an excellent vehicle to demonstrate the 'new' Malaysian identity, which is not just Malay-centered, but embraces all ethnicities. The promotional campaign that Tourism Malaysia started in the early 2000s is called *Malaysia, Truly Asia* and focuses on the multiculturalism of the country (Butler, Khoo-Lattimore, & Mura, 2014). The Malaysian government comments on this multiculturalism as: "all these cultures have influenced each other, creating a truly Malaysian culture" (Tourism Malaysia, n.D.b).

When Malaysia became independent the 1957 Malaysia Federal Constitution mandated the Malaysia governmental administration into three tiers: federal, state and local. They all play a role in creating a sustainable heritage and tourism development in the country. However, many acts and regulations (such as the National Council for Local Government (NCLG) and the Local Government Act (1976) limit the influence of local authorities in many areas due to a top-down distribution of power through national government. (Lai & Ooi, 2015).

4.3 Foodways and culinary tourism in Malaysia

All multicultural influences are visible in the Malaysian cuisine. There is a great variety of different foods and products in Malaysia, which are promoted by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture and organizations such as Tourism Malaysia.

The table below shows for the three largest ethnicities how foodways are established and created and what the traditions are (Omar S. R., Karim, Abu bakar, & Omar, 2015).

Criteria	Malay	Chinese	Indian
Basic principles of food intake	Influenced by Al-Quran Concept of Halal and Haram heat, cold and wind -Eat when hungry -Not eat (for a harmonious element in the body).	Influenced by Yinshih (food and beverages) -Fan-ts' ai Cereals - vegetables and meat -The concept of five elements.	Influenced by Ayurveda -Ushna (hot food) -Tampu (cold food) - sama (neutral food) -Eat two times a day -Tridosha-pitta, kappa, Vayu -The concept of five elements -taboo -Vegetarian (a harmonious element in the body).
Ingredients in food	Depending on the material in the food resources available in the environment. Fishermen, fish Peasant-agricultural products.	North-more oily South-Szechwan and Hunan, were used in chili powder Kiangsu and Chekiang-emphasize freshness. Cantonese-sweet.	North-milk South-rice West-sweet East-grain -Cooking by caste.
Cooking techniques	Using the pot soil, pan, natural materials like bamboo, leaves, wood, shell, Palas leaves, banana leaves.	Using a wok, pot soil, and natural materials like bamboo, leaves, and wood.	Using the pot soil, pan, banana leaf.
Meal	Festive meals, marriages, births, shaving the crown, *bertindik* ceremony, the baby down the land, circumcision, death, gratitude.	New Year's celebrations, lanterns, dragon boats month, the day the oldest, marriage, birth, commemorate the spirit, death.	Religious ceremonies, celebrations, births, pierce, death.
Food and culture	Glutinous rice with yellow-Thanks giving betel leaves-entertain guests Raw materials associated with men- Cooking food-associated with females.	Cake basket-increasing status shark fish- more income cake roll-prosperous life Fruit orange-gold Ball in the sup-consolidation in the family.	Milk or Ghee -light sources Candy-goodness

Figure 2: List of distinctive Malaysian dishes (Omar S. R., Karim, Abu bakar, & Omar, 2015)

The traditional Malaysian cuisine has historically been influenced by traders from the neighboring countries such as India, the Middle East, China, Indonesia and others (Zainal, Zali, & Kassim, 2010).

This subchapter is merely an introduction to the different foodways within the Malaysia culture. The chapter on findings will elaborate on the different promotional activities done by the Malaysian government and by people and organizations on the local levels.

4.4 Melaka: the case study site

Melaka is one of the thirteen federal states that comprise Malaysia. Being situated in the South-East of the peninsula bordering the Straits of Melaka, the city of Melaka (same name as the state in which it is located) was perfectly located to have a thriving port and trade position. The landscape and buildings in Melaka still show Dutch, British and Portuguese influences as well as Chinese and Indian impacts coming from the immigrant groups that moved to Melaka under British rule. The slogan 'where it all began' together with *´Melawat Melaka Bersejarah bererti melawat Malaysia', (*´visiting Melaka is equivalent to visiting Malaysia´*)* has been used in various official tourist promotion campaigns (Lai & Ooi, 2015; Goh, 2014). These slogans show how much significance is put into showcasing Melaka as a tourism attraction with a rich heritage background (Cartier, 1998)

Some academics argue that it has gone too far and that the state has become "a cultural theme park, with a particular past frozen and a city created largely for tourist consumption." (Lai & Ooi, 2015, p. 12). In the case of Melaka, the promotion of bumiputera in participation and ownership in the city center is clearly visible in the sectoral plan for 1987-2010 of Melaka town. Cartier (1998) argues that in this context, authenticity is not the main concern for creating and maintaining the historic landscape, but rather it is built "to suit the state's program of national culture building" (p. 160)

Out of the total 12.2 million international tourists who visited Melaka in 2015, 1.1 million or 31.27% were tourists from Singapore, followed by 711,800 from China, Indonesia (484,738), Taiwan (121,799) and 100,462 visitors from Japan (Murali, 2016).

5. Results

This research has the objective to study the ways in which the culinary landscape and the foodways of Melaka have been shaped by different actors and from different directions. The theoretical framework serves as a fundament on which the analysis of the empirical research can be done. When we look at the different stakeholders that are active in shaping the foodways in Melaka I differentiate four main actors: the international level (UNESCO), the national level (government), the local/state level (government and business owners) and the grassroots levels (heritage groups, museum, and locals). All these stakeholder shape place from different directions, some from the top-down, such as international and national governments, from the bottom-up, such as the grassroots level and local business owners, but also across the different layers.

This chapter will elaborate on all the findings of the empirical fieldwork that has been executed in December 2015 and January 2016. The chapter will be divided into different categories or issues that have come to light during the interviews. Firstly, a background will be set by discussing heritage more generally, elaborating on what stakeholders consider to be heritage, the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation in 2008 and its practical consequences, and how Melaka has had to deal with gentrification over the past decades. Then, my focus will steer towards foodways and describe what is considered to be authentic by the different stakeholders and how foodways have evolved in Melaka, the consumption of foodways with a distinction between locals and tourists. Thirdly, findings on how foodways are appropriated for tourism and opinions on how tourists should understand the foodways in Melaka according to the stakeholders are given. The findings on how other stakeholders are involved and should be involved, according to the different interviewees, make up the last subchapter. In order to increase the readability of this thesis, I have chosen to incorporate the discussion of the findings in this chapter as well.

5.1 Heritage

5.1.1 General

In order to set a stage on which foodways play a role in place-making and heritage building, I describe how different stakeholders define ‘heritage’ but also their opinions on heritage in Melaka specifically.

First, UNESCO distinguishes between two main types of heritage: cultural and natural heritage. Natural heritage will not be further discussed as this does not have any relation to the research. Cultural heritage is split into tangible and intangible cultural heritage. With tangible heritage UNESCO means sites, such as monuments, architecture, underwater sites, but also objects such as paintings, sculptures and manuscripts. Intangible cultural heritage refers to oral traditions, performing arts, rituals, social practices and festivals. It is passed on by communities from generation to generation (UNESCO, n.D.c; UNESCO, n.D.b; UNESCO, 2016).

A working definition for heritage that is used by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture (MOTAC) was not found. They do however mention heritage together with arts and culture in their mission and vision statement. The vision of the MOTAC is: “to develop Malaysia as a world class tourist and cultural destination as well as to build the national identity based on arts, culture and heritage.” (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, n.D.). When their vision is analyzed, it can be deducted that heritage plays an important role is the establishment of a national identity.

UNESCO takes, in my opinion, a very objectivistic approach to heritage by describing things that could be heritage, such as buildings, particular paintings etc. Even their description of intangible heritage refers to things that can be expressed in one way or another, such as dance or oral traditions. Therefore, they are able to put certain boundaries around heritage which makes it possible for them to judge what heritage is and is not. When we look at how the Malaysian national government deals with heritage, I would argue that they see heritage as a tool to accomplish certain things, such as the creation of a national identity and putting Malaysia on the map as a tourism destination. They use the power that the concept of heritage has in order to steer the country in a certain direction. This issue is also explored by other authors. Butler et al. (2014) argue that “the notion of a shared identity is frequently assumed to be an official goal of countries comprised of many different immigrant cultures” (p.204). Heritage and heritage tourism could be used as a vehicle and a catalyst to stimulate a society that shows cohesion and binds together the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. As I have earlier mentioned, when power relations come into play, a discussion opens on whose (heritage) ideologies are being told and for which reasons. After the initial post-colonial pro-bumiputera direction of the Malaysian government, they recently have tried to steer away from this and include the other ethnic communities in Malaysia as well. This is done through for example the *1Malaysia* program that launched in 2010 and its ‘peer’ the *Wawasan 2020* (Vision 2020). The first aimed to “preserve and enhance this [Malaysia’s] unity in diversity” (1Malaysia cited in Butler et al., 2014. P.201). The *Wawasan 2020* “promotes modernization with an emphasis on democracy, tolerance, culture and economic development, and asserts the multicultural character of Malaysian society while upholding the peaceful coexistence of its three largest communities” (Graezer Bideau & Kilani, 2012, p. 605). According to Butler et al. and Graezer Bideau and Kilani the programs are believed to be helpful in the creation of a more ethnically harmonic state. This is supported through tourism campaign’s such as *Malaysia, Truly Asia*, in which the cultural diversity of the country is celebrated and tense topics such as religion are shunned. Examples how the government tries to showcase this cohesive multi-ethnic state in Melaka, will be discussed later in this section.

When the different local stakeholders were asked what they consider to be heritage, or what they think about heritage, a wide variety of answers was given. This shows how diverse and elusive the term ‘heritage’ is.

One local stakeholder, who owns a café and jewelry store and is planning to start a heritage gallery, says the following about heritage:

> *What I discovered, is [that] in heritage, the buildings are important, but only as built heritage, more important is the soul inside the building. (HG3)*

This local is from Chinese descent and has lived his whole life in Melaka. He then continues with arguing that heritage should not be restricted to the past and that we all live and breathe heritage. With that he means that heritage is a living phenomenon. It is not something that lies in the past, but is currently present within all inhabitants and ready to be passed on to the future.

> *Heritage in a wider context, when you talk about heritage you talk about something that is old, but heritage is a value that is passed on to the next person and the next person will receive and take it and practice and then pass to the next person and that is all considered as heritage. We are all heritage. (HG3)*

This stakeholder acknowledges that heritage is something that belongs to everyone and is 'inside' every individual. His view matches what Johnson (1999) wrote that heritage is the collective of individual notions on inheritance and that all these personal notions together make up a community's or society's heritage. Furthermore, his view on heritage can be described as interpretivist as he mentions the soul of the building, which would have a different meaning to different people. The so-called 'soul', is something, that unlike what UNESCO tries to accomplish, is not a containerized notion of heritage, but has more to do with a certain feeling that people have towards a building or towards any other heritage.

The president of the Malaysia History and Heritage club adopts a quite critical perspective against the government's intentions of portraying Malaysia, and therefore Melaka, as a multi-cultural but unified society, by saying that heritage is something that has to be natural, in the sense that it cannot be imposed on someone or something, and that it does not need to be showcased.

> *I don't think you need to showcase it, just come and experience it, the diversity. It has to be natural. (…) just like the street with the temple, the mosque and another Chinese temple, they call it Harmony Street. But there is no need to call it Harmony Street. There is already harmony so why do you want to label it 'harmony'? (HG1)*

What he refers to has very much to do with the thematization of heritage. He criticizes the government, who were the ones that renamed this street 'Harmony Street'. The government has the power to change this in order to show the multiculturalism in Melaka and showcase to outsiders how well the different ethnicities live together within the same space. Like I mentioned before, in their tourism promotion strategies, the (national) government often stays clear of touchy subjects such as religion, and it could be very well in their best interest to gloss over any contestations over these subjects. The so-called harmony between the different religions was hard to find when in 2010 several churches in Malaysia were bombed during tensions between the country's Christians and Muslims (The Guardian, 2010), however I do not think this is something that many tourists will get to 'experience' if it is up to the government.

Finally, sometimes the heritage 'thing' is considered to be taken too far by people. They feel related to a certain ethnicity because of their ancestors, but one of the restaurant owners mentions:

> *They always say, 'Oh, , I am different from the Indian or the, or this Nyonya here, are different, or the Portuguese, I am Portuguese, I am different from the Malayan'. I say, 'Honey, it's just the one ancestor who is Portuguese and one ancestor who's Dutch and the rest (…) is the Malayan, Malayan-Chinese, Chinese-Malayan and you are still a Portuguese? Get out of here!'(RO2)*

He is from Chinese descent and manages a restaurant that serves different kinds of Chinese food. His comment on heritage and descent links to the discussion on politics on ethnicity and how the different inhabitants of Malaysia identify themselves. As previously discussed, from a historical point of view the identity and ethnicity of an inhabitant of Malaysia could have quite some impact on their lives and their access to certain rights. For example, even though the Portuguese left the country more than 500 years ago, they still identify themselves with particular aspects of this culture. Furthermore, they do not have an official bumiputera status, but do have special privileges over other ethnicities, such as the Chinese or Indian descendants (Fernandis, 2003). However, this stakeholder criticizes the fact that people still think it is important to mention their ancestry. This link to ancestry is again a case of creating (unintentionally) a certain position of power that people want to identify with. The reason for this might be that it helps to understand the place that they occupy within the history and the current-day Melaka.

5.1.2 UNESCO World Heritage Site designation

5.1.2.1 Nomination

Melaka (together with Georgetown, Penang) has tried for many years to get a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) designation. The process started in 1986 and had to go through many consultations and evaluations before the nomination was finally approved on July 7, 2008 (Lai & Ooi, 2015). The nomination file is prepared by numerous institutions in Malaysia, such as the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage, the Tourism Research Planning Group, University and Malaysia and other universities and faculties that are specialized in for example built environment and heritage. Next to that, institutions in both cities also assisted in preparing the nomination file such as the Municipal Council of Penang Island, the Penang Town and Country Planning Department, the Historical Melaka City Council, the Melaka Town and Country Planning Department, and the Melaka Museums Corporation (PERZIM). Furthermore, external advice was delivered by the University of Tokyo, among others. The main institution responsible was the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage. The document was written for the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which is the party within the United Nations that is responsible for advising on the approval of World Heritage Sites. In the analysis of the nomination file, some decisions and explanations stood out. This subchapter will focus on this.

The file mentions that both Melaka and Georgetown are situated between China on the East and India on the west, both two great civilizations. Furthermore, both cities were ruled by several European powers for various periods of time in history. This leads to both cities being “very rich in their living multi-cultural heritage, as depicted by various religious, and cultural practices of the society” (p. 9). The nomination file depicts a core and a buffer zone in Melaka. The core zone includes two areas, the St. Paul’s Hill Civic zone, which includes museums, churches, the Dutch Square from the Dutch period and the original fortress A Famosa of the Portuguese period, and the ‘Historic Residential and Commercial Zone’. This zone has over 600 shophouses and commercial, residential and religious buildings. They cover four streets: Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock (Heeren Street), Jalan Hang Jebat (Jonker Street), Jalan Tokongnukang Emasnukang Besi and Jalan Kampung Pantai as well as the connecting streets: Lorong Hang Jebat, Jalan Hang Kasturi, Jalan Hang Lekiu and Jalan Hang Lekir (p.6). The buffer zone is used a protection of the core zone and includes 134.03 hectares. According to UNESCO buffer zones “contribute to the protection, management, integrity, authenticity and sustainability of the outstanding universal value of the property” (Martin & Piatti, 2008, p. 181). The pictures below show the core and buffer zone as listed in the nomination file.

Figure 3: Melaka heritage zone (core and buffer zone) (Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Arts, 2008)

The committee that has drawn up the nomination files mentions that "[a]s living heritage towns, both Melaka and George Town are good examples of living heritage cities. The myriad of peoples: Malays, Chinese, Peranakan, Indian, Chitty, Portuguese, Dutch and other Eurasians who still live in the core and buffer zones, and still practice their unique traditions and customs, which normally are focused in their religious centers" (p.128). These cultural traditions are showcased in the buildings within the two zones. The architecture shows the various European and Asian influences that were present in the last millennium and are a "true testimony to the traditions and the multicultural heritage of Asia". They furthermore claim that due to the fact that these various ethnicities and peoples from multiple cultures have lived side by side, they have enriched each other's cultures, but are still "practicing their own individual traditions and customs" and therefore the integrity and authenticity of the places are retained.

The nomination is based on three criteria that are stated in the Operational Guidelines of 2005. These Guidelines state that the criteria support the justification for inscription (UNESCO, 2005).

The nomination of Melaka and Georgetown was based on the following three criteria:

Criterion (ii): "exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design."; criterion (iii): "bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared."; and, criterion (iv): "be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble, or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history."

The committee stated that Melaka and Georgetown met all three of the criteria as both towns have been multi-cultural trading towns and have had civilizations with links to the Malay, Indian, Chinese and European cultures. This has led to multi-cultural heritage and traditions. Furthermore, “[t]he coexistence of distinct faiths - both tangible and intangible - in particular the different religious buildings, is a testament to the religious pluralism of Asia” (p.112). Finally, this all comes together in the architecture and landscape in the two cities and are for example showcased through the shop- and townhouses.

One of the main examples that is mentioned in the nomination file, and will come back throughout the rest of this chapter, is Jonker Street. This street is located in the Core Zone and has many shophouses. The committee says about this street: “There is an intimate and homely atmosphere about the street due to its narrowness which gives a sense of enclosure and rich sensory experience from the smell of cooking that exudes from the kitchen and restaurants nearby” (p.576). On the weekends there is a night market on this street, called Jonker Walk. This program, which has been introduced in 2000 (Liu & Tee, 2003), was a tourism program in order to increase activities in the area and to add vibrancy. I will discuss the effects of Jonker Walk later in this chapter.

Later on in the file it is mentioned that there was an massive tourism influx between 2001 and 2006 with no stopping in sight. Domestic tourism grew in those years from 1.5 million to 3.7 million. These tourists flood the city center especially on weekends and during school or public holidays. Firstly, this leads to massive traffic congestion in the old town, and secondly, it leads to tourism related businesses taking up space in the old town/core zone as there is a lack of retail spaces in other parts of town. These shops are targeting the mass tourism (both domestic and international) market and are for example, selling souvenirs from Indonesia and start cafes. This leads to the displacement of longtime residents, but also the traditional traders. The committee mentions that on the positive side, this has led to an economic boost of the old quarter and a stabilization of property value, but on the negative side, it led to displacement and marginalization of the aforementioned residents and traders. In the case of Jonker Street and the Jonker Walk program, it has led to a monopoly of professional traders. More on this gentrification, including opinions of the locals, can be found in subchapter 5.1.3 Gentrification.

5.1.2.2 Practical consequences

What have been the consequences of the World Heritage Site designation in 2008? The main interest for the designation lay within the built heritage of Melaka. The living heritage (or intangible heritage) is, according to the committee, showcased through the architecture and therefore is not taken into much consideration regarding its conservation. This is also something that was confirmed by the government official of MOTAC:

> “*With the UNESCO designation there was a low interest level in food, there is more focus on buildings. Therefore, no food promotion.” (GO1)*
>
> *“For UNESCO, food is not the main attraction”(GO1)*

This is in contrast with George Town, where food is promoted as one of the main attractions of the city. This is also evident when reading the nomination file for the UNESCO listing. Whenever the local foods and cuisines are mentioned in this document it is linked to George Town and not to Melaka. One of the examples being: “As the ‘Pearl of the Orient’, Penang has always been famous for its beaches along Tanjung Bunga to Batu Feringghi, local cuisine and old world charm.” (Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage, 2008, p. 151). One of the reasons that foodways are more prominent in

George Town than they are in Melaka could be the involvement of NGOs. The nomination dossier mentions for example that the Penang Heritage Trust has set up several activities in order to promote Penang's foodways, whereas this is not present for Melaka.

Furthermore, when we look more specifically to the practical consequences it had for foodways and therefore stalls and restaurants, one of the local heritage group stakeholders mentioned that:

> *At the front (in picture) there used to be a food stall. When UNESCO came, they liked the alley and wanted work done on it. To sanitize it for tourists, the owner was forced to leave. It left him jobless as he was too old to set up a new place in town. (HG4)*

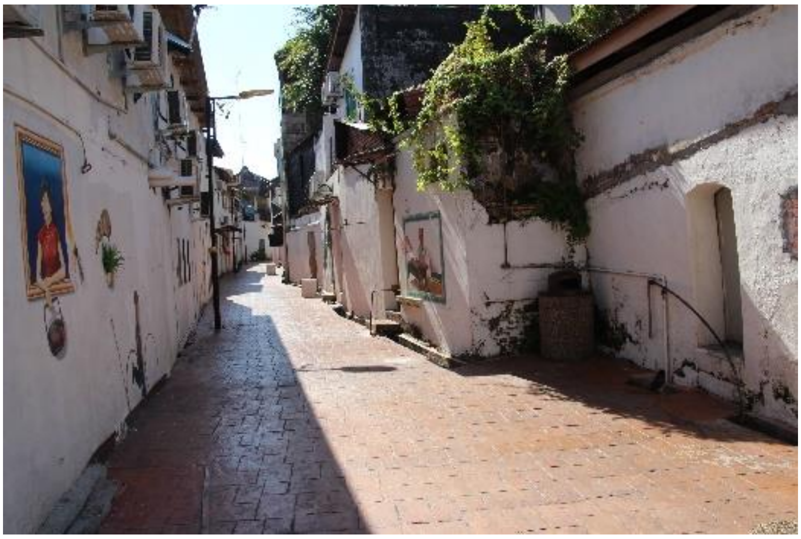


Figure 4: street in Melaka

More on how foodways have changed over the years, not only due to the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation, can be found in subchapter 5.2.2 How foodways have changed.

5.1.2.3 Comparison to Georgetown, Penang

Even though Georgetown, Penang and Melaka have become a World Heritage Site simultaneously, there are quite a few differences between the two cities. One of these differences is the level of entrepreneurship in town. Georgetown is, according to one of the interviewees led by a more Chinese government[9] than Melaka, whose government is mainly Malay. This leads to differences in involvement in tourism and events, such as food festivals:

> *Penang is totally different. The government in Penang is Malay-Chinese and in Georgetown it is mainly Chinese, so when they have something like a festival, everyone will be involved. And that is what I see is the main difference between Georgetown and Melaka. And in Penang and Georgetown, there are a lot of NGOs involved in those kinds of activities and programs, but in Melaka we don't see many NGOs involved (RO6)*

This difference was according to Graezer Bideau and Kilani (2012) also visible in the development of nomination file for the cities' UNESCO World Heritage Site listing. Where non-governmental organizations (NGOs) played an important role in the creation of the file in Penang, the Melakan part

[9] The Democratic Action Party (DAP)

was mainly taken care of by local political authorities. NGOs play in general a more important role in the development and promotion of heritage in Penang than in does in Melaka. They argue that Penang has a strong local civil society that are devoted to many aspects of life and society – such as women's rights, environment, education, arts and culture.

However, one of the local stakeholders thinks that Melaka has actually much more potential than Georgetown, due to its geographical location. But, the government does not take advantage of this as much as he would like to:

> *(on the government) they can do better. (…) When we compare Melaka and Georgetown. In terms of business point of view, Melaka can excel much better than Penang, why?, because of our proximity to Singapore and Singaporeans investing in Melaka. So for Melaka to develop, Singapore is so nearby. Penang, they have Thailand, do you think Thai will invest here? It's not likely, but for Singapore, it's so small and the currency is so big, so Melaka has the opportunity to excel. (…) so for people to invest in Melaka, it is no problem. (…) Only thing that has room for improvement, is certain management, certain thinking or certain political issues need to be solved. (HG3)*

When analyzing this statement it has to be taken into account that this local stakeholder is a very business-minded person, who owns a jewelry store, as well as a restaurant in the old town of Melaka, and is of Chinese descent. Furthermore, this is a very contested issue in Melaka, where they are dealing with gentrification for quite some time already.

5.1.3 Gentrification

One threat that Melaka's historic center (old town) has had to deal with was gentrification. Gentrification is "the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents" (Merriam-Webster, n.D.b). In Melaka this gentrification of the historic center let to the increase of rental prices and attracted new outside investment. One of the stakeholders confirms:

> *"Rental prices have gone up during the last couple of years, forcing local places out of the city centre." (HG4)*

This gentrification was already noticed before the UNESCO designation as the nomination file elaborates on the issues. However, the gentrification has not stopped since 2008 and during interviews it was mentioned several times. One of the stakeholders argues that tourism might be the main cause for this gentrification. The historic center becomes more and more popular every year and the government fails to preserve the sociocultural value of the entire place, rather they try to preserve bits and pieces from their colonial past, such as the street names:

> *"The prices of the places go up and what they (the government) fail to realize is that when you preserve that area as a special place, as a tourist attraction, what tourists are you attracting? If you are attracting the right tourists, then you have to preserve this place properly, so now they are just preserving the name Jonker Street, they are not preserving the place Jonker Street and that is the biggest mistake. And then they allow the rent to go up and there is no control on who takes over the buildings." (HG2)*

The fact that tourism is seen as the main cause of the gentrification process has led some stakeholders to comment that local places are forced out of the old town. This results in a heritage zone that is mainly for tourists' enjoyment:

> *Heritage has become mainly for tourists as all local 'authentic' places have been driven out of the World Heritage Site. (HG4)*
>
> *We have to give up the old town on the weekends for the foreigners for the outsiders. (…) (HG2)*
>
> *We had a very good coffee shop at the end of Jonker Street (…) and it is become a café to entice money from the tourists not from the locals, so our service to the local community has lessened.(HG2)*
>
> *the name [UNESCO WHS] brings in people and the numbers have increased for sure, but things have changed: some for the better, a lot for the worst. And that is why you see that half of the population on Jonker Street has moved out. And because of the UNESCO listing, the owners can fetch higher rents, so they fetch higher rents and then the old ones [shops] cannot stay and have to move out. (HG2)*

These comments link up very closely to debates by various academics regarding authenticity in heritage, the adaptation of heritage for different audiences and the different functions that heritage can have dependent on the ideologies of the ones that have the power and authority to steer decisions in their perspective. First of all, it is mentioned, by one of the stakeholders, that heritage has become strictly for tourists, and that 'authentic' places do not exist anymore in the old town, but that they have moved to the periphery. This stakeholder has a very clear view of what authenticity means: the original shops and restaurants that used to occupy these parts of town. This is a very positivistic perspective. As has been discussed in the theoretical framework, this perspective views the concept of authenticity in the light of original vs. fake, real vs. replica (Wang, 1999). From a critical perspective, it can be deduced that the power relations that play a role within the heritage zone of Melaka and therefore decide what tourists will experience as authentic and heritage are very strong. From these quotes it is clearly visible that according to the local stakeholders, Melaka has been changed in order to suit the tourist/outsider audience. This is very much a struggle that links to the different power relations in the old town and what the different authorities see as the most important function of heritage: the economic value or the sociocultural value. According to these quotes, business owners have as first interest the economic value that their built heritage can deliver. They charge renters more money than they did before the old town became a popular visitation site and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This causes changes in the type of renters that start up new businesses in the Heritage Zone. One example is being mentioned by one of the local stakeholders:

> *For example, a blacksmith, which is now a tea house and a tea house is not Melakan and not even Malaysian. The only tea house culture that we have is in the Dim Sum shops. (HG2)*

This is also something I have noticed myself. Of course I do not know what was in the buildings before I visited Melaka, but the number of so-called 'hipster bars' in this part of town surprised me. The pictures below show the differences between some of the restaurants in the main area of Melaka and ones that are more hidden or outside the heritage zone.

Figure 5: Restaurant and cafe within the heritage zone in Melaka

Figure 6: Restaurant outside of the heritage zone in Melaka

The issue of how foodways have changed over the past years and how they are appropriated for tourism will be discussed in the next subchapter. However, I think these images are quite representative for the gentrification that the heritage zone of Melaka went through. From more sanitized places within the main streets of the heritage zone, the first one being a restaurant on Jalan Han Kasturi, one of the side streets of Jonker Street and the second one on Jonker Street, to places that are still doing what they did 20 years ago (some might call it 'authentic'), and more often than not skipped by (especially foreign) tourists. The comments made by the local stakeholders and my own observations correspond well with a statement that has been made earlier on in this research. Lai and Ooi (2015) state that Melaka has become "a cultural theme park, with a particular past frozen and a city created largely for tourist consumption" (p.12). The old town has become a tourist bubble where no local dares to go anymore. When I talk about tourism here, I focus mainly on international tourism. As has been mentioned the theming of heritage or its appropriation for tourism could not only lead to a 'tourist bubble', but according to Chang (1997)could also have an appeal to the local market. "[T]hat which is popular with outsiders, also resonates with the insider crowd" (p. 46). This helps (especially post-colonial) nations with their national identity building. This is a subject that deserves more than a brief mentioning, and therefore I suggest that further research is done regarding these issues (see also 6.3 Recommendations for future studies).

5.2 Foodways

Now that the different perspectives on heritage have been explored, it is time to turn towards foodways in Melaka and Malaysia. First, I will start off with interpreting and analyzing what has been said about authenticity regarding foodways by the different stakeholders in Melaka. Then I will continue to describe how these foodways have changed over the past years according to the interviewees. Then, I will focus on the types of food being served at the various restaurants in Melaka and will analyze how this relates to the power that these restaurants have. Finally, before going into culinary tourism, I will describe the differences between locals and tourists in serving them, their demands and expectations. This will help to better understand how restaurants shape their foodways in order to comply to the wishes of their target group and how much power these groups might have.

5.2.1 Authenticity and development

Authenticity is a difficult term and can be just like heritage interpreted in many different ways. Therefore, this subchapter will give an overview of what local stakeholders find to be authentic, but also shines light on how foodways have changed over the years and what restaurants are currently serving their customers and why.

The perspectives on authentic food were very different among the stakeholders, ranging from 'what is traditional/ old is authentic' to 'it doesn't matter what you cook as long as you use the right ingredients, you can serve an authentic dish'. The quotes below show this diversity:

> *(interviewer: so in fifteen years or twenty years, would you still be able to serve the same food?) yeah (…) one is coming from our standard recipe (…) But when we cooking, we still using the same taste, the taste is the flavour is the way how we cook it, is the same thing, is coming even though from thirty years ago and now we still using it. It is the same. The way how we cook it, because that's our standard recipe. (RO5)*

This restaurant chef has a very positivistic perspective on what authentic foodways should be. The recipe has been the recipe since the start/invention of the dish and nothing would or could change that. When asking him whether he thought he would change his cooking at home in that thirty years he mentioned that he probably would, but as the restaurant that he was cooking in served authentic Nyonya food, he could not see anything change about the taste, smell or recipe of the food in the restaurant.

Three other local stakeholders, one restaurant owner and a two people from heritage groups mentioned that foodways and therefore recipes and ingredients of dishes, might change over time when it is passed on from generation to generation.

> *The food I think is still the same, but maybe in the generations, the father passes to the son, the son passes to his grandson, so the taste will be changing (RO7)*

> *(the recipes) will develop, they will evolve and adapt (HG2)*

> *Frankly, the food is just there. Hence, I can't tell you how it develops, but nevertheless, I think it is something that evolved throughout a period of time. Taking for instance, the Baba & Nyonya culture. It evolved from Chinese culture to a hybrid known as the Baba & Nyonya today. Chinese migrants that came centuries ago to Melaka, have along the way, adapted to the local lifestyle in the multiracial environment of old Melaka. This adaptation and adjustment were made to every aspects of their lifestyle which included the culinary aspect of the Baba & Nyonya.(HG5)*

Finally, one of the restaurant chefs admitted that some of the dishes he cooks might not be considered authentic or traditional, as the recipes for those dishes were not available to him. He, however, beliefs that authenticity links much more to using the right ingredients.

> *So, I focus on Asam Pedas[10], I am not from Melaka, I am from KL, I tried to get the original one but I can't, so it's not authentic, but (…) everybody claims 'This is authentic, this is authentic', but as long as you use local ingredients I think it's authentic. (RO3)*

This shows that what is considered to be authentic is different from person to person. I would like to argue that this is what makes it difficult for themes that are created for tourism to work. Themes are created by authorities with certain ideologies of what is considered to be authentic heritage and what is not. However, when there is so much variety in what the locals themselves consider to be authentic, then a theme will always be contested by multiple groups.

5.2.2 How foodways have changed

A discussion that is very relevant in this thesis is to find perspectives on how foodways have changed, why they have changed and who had the authority/power to change it. As mentioned before, there are a lot of forces that are playing a role in place-making and heritage building. Gentrification, for example, has led to local shops being forced out of the Core Zone or old town in order to make way for more commercialized shops and cafes. One of the interviewees discussed this issue during a walk around the town and showed places were there used to be coffee shops for locals, of which there are now only a few left:

> *There used to be a lot of coffee shops here (downtown Melaka). The owner serves coffee and rents out food stalls to other people, some during the morning, other during the afternoon. Many of them have left or were forced to leave the town. Now there are only a few still around.(HG4)*

The pictures below shows such a coffee shop, including food stalls, the coffee shop was located on the edge of the Core Zone.

This issue is very much related to the gentrification that has been happening in Melaka over the past years. As has been discussed in the previous subchapter, this started already before Melaka became a

[10] Asam Pedas: a stew that is sour and spicy and generally includes fish as its main ingredient

World Heritage Site. However, it does lead to locals not wanting to spend time in the historic center anymore, but diverting to the periphery where 'new' coffee shops open.

Another thing that has changed from a historic point of view is that in the old days, the Chinese Peranakan (Baba Nyonya) used to be the richest families in town. Therefore it was extremely uncommon to find restaurants that served this type of food. This has changed over the years, due to many reasons, including tourism:

> *The Chinese Peranakan, they were the elite group, they had servants, so they don't sell food, because they are super rich. [Tourists] don't have a lot of background on Peranakans and how they started out here (HG2)*

> *The food has also changed their flavor, just to suit the tourists. If you want to try the real Nyonya food, go to a house, that is the real Nyonya food, not in the restaurants. (…) they only cook at home, they don't sell food. The Nyonya's don't sell food. Traditionally they don't have restaurants (HG1)*

However, as the Baba Nyonya or Peranakan food is something that is very typical of Melaka and makes it therefore interesting to venture, stakeholders see a rise in Peranakan restaurants. However, with the introduction of these restaurants and the fact that the chefs in those kitchens are not always Babas or Nyonyas, the dishes and flavours that are put on the tables have changed according to one of the heritage group stakeholders.

> *One thing that is very important now is the upcoming of Peranakan restaurants. Everyone is claiming to sell Peranakan foods, only some of them are run by Peranakans themselves. Foods are created, when they want to have something very different from the other restaurants then they will create a Peranakan dish, which never existed in the past. (HG2)*

> *And over time the [Chinese Peranakan] food changed, it became spicier. Not only with chilies, but spicier with spices, because this is a spice region (HG2)*

These issues are related to a certain thematization that is going on in Melaka. In the theoretical framework I discussed the work of Paradis (2008) who argues that themes are created around products that might be considered common in order to be more competitive and generate more profits. Furthermore, theming helps to create differences between places and let them stand out from any other destinations. I would not argue that the Baba Nyonya cuisine is common or ordinary in any way; however, it is used in a way that helps different stakeholders show to outsiders how Melaka, but also Malaysia, are different from other places. By showcasing a theme around Baba Nyonya foodways, they are able to generate profits through different outlets of its culture. However, when the economic value of the heritage plays a more important role than the socio-economic value, it could lead to certain things being showcased because 'it looks good' for the public but might not be a true showcase of that culture. An example that is mentioned by a local stakeholder from one of the heritage groups is the misleading '*Nyonya cendol*[11]':

> *So if you are talking about traditional food, as what was cooked in the kitchens, you can hardly find them in any of the restaurants. So this is what's been happening. So for*

[11] Cendol: a snack that is made with coconut milk, shaved ice, palm sugar, and green jelly noodles

example, cendol is actually of Indian origin and then you will see them by the roadsides selling Nyonya cendol.(HG2)

5.2.3 Type of food being served in restaurants

There is a great variety of types of cuisine in Melaka. The restaurant owners and chefs were asked what kind of food they serve in the restaurant. The reasons why restaurant owners decide to serve those specific dishes plays a role in how they are 'making' Melaka through their foods. This will be further elaborated on in the next subchapter. I have made a distinction between the restaurants that lie inside the heritage zone and the ones outside the heritage zone, as it is valuable to see the differences in perceptions and choices that have been made.

The restaurant owners that I have spoken to in the heritage zone mostly served a combination of Asian food and Western food. With Asian food I mean the different varieties that are served within Malaysia, such as Malay, Indian, Chinese and Baba Nyonya/Peranakan food. Western food generally includes, but is not limited to, American food, such as burgers, steaks and fries, and Italian food, such as pastas and pizza. Below are some of the foods that the various restaurants in the heritage zone serve:

so in our food range we have actually from Western to Asian, Asian food. (RO8)

In our drinks and in our food we have Asian elements inside, because we want the local to accept it. If we focus too much on Westerners, the locals cannot accept it.(RO8)

For example, making Asam Pedas, they will always make with the same fish, so I use salmon, I use lamb, something like that. Still the basic one, the authentic one, I still serve, just in case. Like I use Australian beef, so it does have a different taste actually. (RO3)

The chef is a Baba (…) and therefore he has got some skills. It's not really about the skills because he is always having like some Baba foods in his family and from there he brought his recipe of Laksa. So, we started with laksa and some local dishes. (RO6)

We mainly serve breakfast. Only continental[12], but we might add traditional Malay breakfast in next time (RO7)

In relation to why the restaurant owners serve those particular dishes, the restaurants that focus on Western dishes or fusion food mentioned that they did not only serve to tourists, but that locals also enjoy this food from time to time:

If you come to Melaka, foreigners want to have foreign dishes, but some like to have western food, so I cater to both, yeah. And then the locals also, they would like to have a local dish and a Western dish. (RO3)

the local people always go for the western dishes (RO6)

Outside the heritage zone it seems that there is much less focus on Westernized cooking, but a stronger differentiation between the various ethnic cuisines that are enjoyed by the locals of Melaka.

[12] Continental breakfast normally consists of a range of toast, jams, eggs, thee/coffee, and fruit juice

We serve normal Chinese food, (my husband, the cook, is Haianese, so that is what we focus on) but sometimes we try and do something like fusion (RO4)

We serve Peranakan food. It includes a lot of ingredients…is not simple to make.. all manual labour (RO1)

Fusion food is considered to be food that combines two or more culinary traditions, so in this case it would be Chinese/ Hainese combined with another cultural tradition. Santich (2000; cited in Scarpato & Daniele, 2003) mentioned that the result of fusion might actually be confusion as the dishes that are created have to lose something of their respective cultures and identities in order to fuse into a new dish. Santich argues that this diminishes the impact of the dish that is being served. It does not do justice to either one of the cultures represented through that fusion dish.

5.2.4 Who 'consumes' foodways? Differences between tourists and locals

Foodways just as heritage can be adapted to different audiences, in this case either tourists or locals. According to Karim et al. (2009) "Malaysian food is expected to provide the identity and perhaps to reflect the culture of the nations, as a way to attract tourists and influence their subsequent evaluation and future intention" (p.65). For locals as well as domestic tourists, foodways can provide an affirmation of their heritage and identity.

From the interviews, one main characteristic came forward on why restaurants decide to target tourists over locals: their restaurant is located in the heritage zone area. As has been mentioned before in subchapter 5.1.3 Gentrification, the gentrification in the old town has led to local businesses moving to the periphery in order to make room for outside investors that serve a different kind of food and a different kind of people.

For here it is more for tourists, because they come here for the heritage area (RO7)

Most of the locals are afraid to come here because of the traffic, so maybe we are trying to aim maybe 6 to 9 time, because there will be more parking over here (RO7)

However, as tourism is seasonal business and the restaurants need customers year round and week round, some focus either on both tourists and locals and some just on locals, but tourists do come in from time to time.

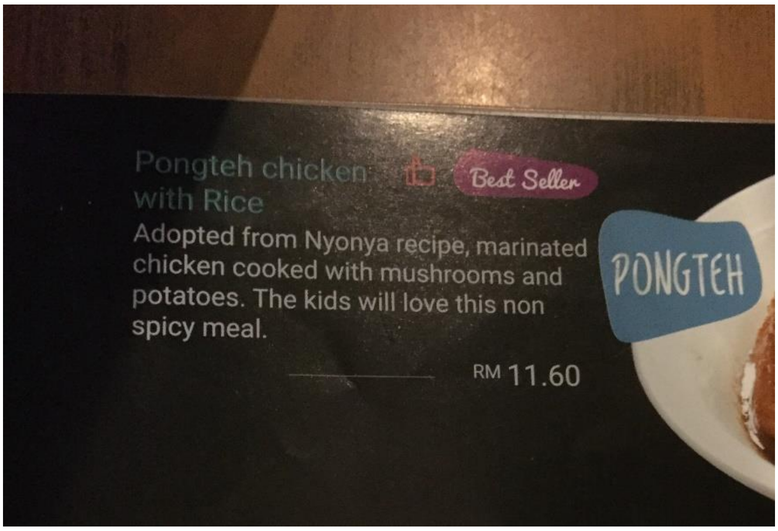
We kind of focus only on tourists, but you see, tourists will only in certain periods, let's say during summer. (RO8)

As you can see now it is low season, and it is better is we can go for locals as well, as there is not much tourists gathering around here.(RO7)

At first, in 2004, there were not many tourists in Melaka. Because for example Jonker Walk, was not really happening during that time and that is why we were depending on the local as well. And then in 2008, when we received the UNESCO with Georgetown, we see the tourists, but before that we were much more depending on the local people. And now during the weekdays we focus on locals and during the weekend we focus more on tourists. (RO6)

The role of seasonality is an interesting issue with regards to culinary tourism. It is however beyond the scope of this research to further explore this.

But, if the restaurants that are located in the heritage zone mainly cater to tourists, and the restaurants in the peripheral areas mainly cater to locals, as there are no tourists there: How do the restaurants then differ from each other? Here, we can refer back to the subchapter on the different cuisines that are cooked in the restaurants. What is noticed is that the restaurants inside the heritage zone are on the one hand serving the 'authentic' experience, sometimes adjusted for tourism, and on the other hand are serving westernized cuisines, such as Italian-Malaysian fusion. The picture below shows an example of this adopted 'authentic' experience.



One of the restaurant owners inside the heritage zone argued that:

> *We can't only focus on traditional heritage and general heritage. Tourists are not coming from here, sometimes our tourists come from Europe, Australia, they want some familiarity. (RO8)*

This is a very delicate balance that can easily tip in the direction of Melaka becoming a heritage site, that is just fit for tourists as not only all local businesses have been driven out of the centre, but also the food has changed beyond the taste of the local Melakan people. Because, as one of the respondents points out, and this quote I believe says it all, regarding how authenticity is consumed by tourists:

> *But for the foreigner they will eat what you serve, because they don't know the origin (RO3)*

An article that I like to bring forward in the discussion between serving food for tourists and serving food for locals is that of Avieli (2013). Among all the criticism that has been written about thematization and how Melaka (and other places) may have turned into a theme park, he has written an article that may provide a new inside into the discussion. He discusses that the tourism industry has started to highlight certain foods as a tourist attraction. However, it might be difficult for tourists to gain access to these authentic and local experiences of food. It might be that they have to cross too many socio-cultural barriers in order to feel as if they are experiencing an authentic meal. This has resulted in the creation of tourist-oriented restaurants, where these barriers are lowered and a safe 'environmental bubble' is created. Avieli continues that even though these establishments have diminished the constraints for tourists to eat in their tourism destination, other authors have argued that this has led to an erosion of the authenticity of the culinary experience. Avieli objects to this argument. In a case study executed in Hoi An, Vietnam, over the course of multiple years, he discovered that the 'local specialties' for tourism, became somehow symbolic for status and cosmopolitanism with the Vietnamese middle-class, who started to enjoy eating out in these tourism-oriented restaurants. Therefore, he argues that culinary heritage is not "a static set of dishes and foodways historically eaten by the dwellers of specific locations..." it is rather "a culturally constructed self-generating process, in which culinary artefacts are consumed by various clients, who attribute them with new meanings in different contexts". These results in the fact that these foodways are open to negotiation and interpretations and responsive to cultural changes (Avieli, 2013). In line with Avieli's argument I would like to argue that this means that what might be considered staged or adapted for tourism by the different restaurant chefs and owners could very well be contested by locals, in the sense that they attach a different meaning to these foods than what was expected. This again brings authenticity into the mix. Harvey's main concern is who has the power to say what is authentic and what is not authentic. When restaurants start selling so-called 'local specialties' that are adapted for tourism, they try and change the meaning of what needs to be considered authentic by tourism. However, if locals integrate these dishes and foodways into their own culture, than it opens up the discussion whether or not these adaptations could be considered the authentic.

5.2.4.1 Local youth

Another issue that plays a role in the heritage discussion in Melaka is the involvement of the youth in the traditions of the previous generation. As can be read in subchapter This research has the objective to study the ways in which the culinary landscape and the foodways of Melaka have been shaped by different actors and from different directions. The theoretical framework serves as a fundament on which the analysis of the empirical research can be done. When we look at the different stakeholders that are active in shaping the foodways in Melaka I differentiate four main actors: the international level (UNESCO), the national level (government), the local/state level (government and business owners) and the grassroots levels (heritage groups, museum, and locals). All these stakeholder shape place from different directions, some from the top-down, such as international and national governments, from the bottom-up, such as the grassroots level and local business owners, but also across the different layers.

This chapter will elaborate on all the findings of the empirical fieldwork that has been executed in December 2015 and January 2016. The chapter will be divided into different categories or issues that have come to light during the interviews. Firstly, a background will be set by discussing heritage more generally, elaborating on what stakeholders consider to be heritage, the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation in 2008 and its practical consequences, and how Melaka has had to deal with gentrification over the past decades. Then, my focus will steer towards foodways and describe what is considered to be authentic by the different stakeholders and how foodways have evolved in Melaka, the consumption of foodways with a distinction between locals and tourists. Thirdly, findings on how foodways are appropriated for tourism and opinions on how tourists should understand the foodways in Melaka according to the stakeholders are given. The findings on how other stakeholders are involved and should be involved, according to the different interviewees, make up the last subchapter. In order to increase the readability of this thesis, I have chosen to incorporate the discussion of the findings in this chapter as well.

5.1 Heritage, heritage is described as something that is passed on from generation to generation. However, several of the respondents mentioned that the local youth is not as involved in traditional foodways anymore. More and more children westernize and start eating western foods and start going to western cafes that are for example located in the heritage zone area. The festival organizer mentioned that the food festival was organized for both locals and tourists (both domestic and international):

> *(the event is) for the tourists and for the locals. We promote it to the youngsters who can't and don't know how the food is served. (FO1)*

Furthermore, one of the restaurant owners commented on local youngsters and the rise in visits to western cafes.

> *(on western food) When restaurants or cafes open, they try and target a new market. And slowly the roles are changing, because for example, two years ago, the youngsters didn't come to the cafes, but now when they step into the café they try to look for Western food and then when the age go up and the elders…. We are talking about the local people, the local people the elders, they don't go out for food, mostly they will cook at home. That is something that is changing with age, so when are young they go to the café, but when they grow up they will cook at home, but it changes, because the youngsters nowadays like the western meal, and that is why nowadays in Melaka a lot of new cafes open up and are targeting all the youngsters (RO6)*

Di Giovine and Brulotte (2014) argue that ethnic groups could re-assert their identities through their cuisines. "This is particularly important for negotiating second- and third-generations 'hyphenated identities', both through cooking and, more importantly, through consuming" (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). However, when these second- and third-generations start to adapt to new cuisines, it could be that the role that food plays within their cultures and identities are re-negotiated and take on different roles than they did in the past.

5.2.5 Culinary tourism

The third subchapter of this results chapter explores the culinary tourism is Melaka. As has been previously mentioned, Melaka's foodways are not the main focus with regards to heritage; however, there is still a market for culinary tourism and it is considered to be important by many of the stakeholders. This subchapter explores how foodways are appropriated for tourism and what the stakeholders think is important for tourists to experiences with regards to the foodways in Melaka. This analysis will help me better understand how the different stakeholders adapt the foodways for different audiences.

5.2.5.1 How are foodways appropriated for tourism?

As has been discussed above, the international (UNESCO) involvement on the foodways as intangible heritage does not play a major role in Melaka. However, on national and local levels the government is involved in the creation of an image with regards to food and culinary tourism.

Tourism Malaysia (2015) has created an English-language brochure for international tourists called 'culinary delights'. The brochure focuses on portraying the iconic dishes of the main ethnicities in Malaysia: Malay, Chinese, Indian, Nyonya, Portuguese fusion and 'Exotic Ethnic Fare', referring to dishes from Sabah and Sarawak. The brochure explains the importance of food as follows: "One interesting way to explore Malaysia is through its food. The culinary journey will give visitors an insight into the lifestyles, cultures and traditions of the people." (Tourism Malaysia, 2015, p. 4). Per ethnicity the brochure elaborates on several dishes, the time during the day when it is eaten, how it is eaten and where tourists can find these dishes. Furthermore, they provide the reader with recipes in order to cook the same dish at home.

Figure 7: picture of the Culinary Delights brochure (Tourism Malaysia, 2015)

Another document that was produced is the "Fabulous Food 1Malaysia Food Trail". This brochure features three dishes: Nasi Lemak, Laksa and Meat Bone Tea and gives, next to explanations of what the dishes entail, recommendations on places where to eat these dishes in all of Malaysia, including Melaka.

According to the government official that was interviewed after the elections of 2013 the policies of the MOTAC changed from a focus on food and culinary tourism, to a more general focus on cultural tourism in which culinary tourism plays a role. However, it is not one of the themes that is focused on anymore.

> *for the new government, there is no specific focus on food anymore, just cultural tourism in general, in which food is an aspect. (GO1)*

The different foods in Melaka are promoted as part of the 12-subsector plan, and is called 'Makan-Makan'. In the brochure of the 12-subsectorplan (Tourism Melaka, n.D.), among other tourism-enhancing efforts concerning shopping, conventions, healthcare, education and the international retirement migration program called Melaka My 2nd Home, Makan Makan (literally meaning "to eat") showcases the different cuisines that Melaka has to offer. According to the brochure "Melaka is a gourmet's paradise featuring cuisine from the rich and colorful diversity of the Malay, Chinese, Indian, Nyonya and Portuguese-Eurasians available in posh and exclusive restaurants, roadside shops and open-air cafes" (p.37). It then continues to describe local delicacies such as *Asam Pedas Melaka*, *cendol*, chicken rice balls and *satay celup*[13]. What is interesting is that these dishes are not explicitly

[13] A hotpot with satay sauce, where customers can dips all sorts of meats, fish, and vegetables in

linked to any of the ethnicities listed in their introduction, they are just mentioned as 'local dishes'. It finally gives the reader an overview of different restaurants serving food from individual ethnic cuisines, such as Malay, Chinese, Indian, Baba Nyonya, and Western.

As has been discussed in the theoretical framework, most tourism destinations have integrated themes in several ways. Chang (2000b) suggests that one of the ways to do is through marketing themes, and this is actually what is done by the various institutions in Malaysia and Melaka. They use images in their brochures and on their websites to 'sell' the different foods in their destination. The images and the recipes that come with them suggest some sort of containerized idea of these foods. They have become rooted and bound by certain ideologies in the sense that an institution or people within that institution have used their power to suggest that these recipes are leading to the 'authentic' Malaysian meals. Cresswell (2004) mentions that by thematization the rootedness of the place will not be lost but stays visible as a public memory. In this case, it is not so much the rootedness of the place, but of the foodways within that place. This leads still to the discussion on memories to include and which to exclude. Furthermore, using thematization as a place-making strategy has been criticized by several authors, including Chang (2000). He argues that thematization tames a place. The identity of a place becomes frozen and it becomes cut off from the everyday lives of locals in which cultures and identities have the ability to grow and evolve. By 'taming' dishes through recipes and brochures the institutions responsible for this "confin[e] their future (future of these dishes) to a pre-ordained narrative" (p.35).

5.2.5.2 How should tourists understand Melaka's foodways?

It is one thing to promote the different ethnic cuisines to tourists, however when the different stakeholders were asked how they think tourists should understand the foodways in Melaka, many different answers were given. Some of the restaurant owners only thought in business terms and started talking about handing out flyers to tourists in order to educate them more on the different cuisines in Melaka.

> *it could be a booklet, together all this information so that that guide would be a good thing to put in every cafe, (…). All these things could all go into the book to get placed at every outlet. It would be good, because that will help also to promote each other in what, let's say, our customers come here for. And then, let's say they are from Ireland, maybe they are from the UK, they will ask us where should they go.(RO8)*

Others went on to tell that they try to educate the tourists when they are coming to the restaurant.

> *We know that Laksa is one of the signature dishes in Melaka, and it represents Malaysia and what we would do is do some research about the Laksa and where does it come from and why is it named Laksa and things like that and then we would tell customers, tourists especially, when they come here I will explain to them like this is the food that you must try, but what is Laksa actually? Do you know the story behind it? Every dish has a story, so we will try to figure it out what it is all about and then share to the tourists to let them know about Laksa.(RO6)*

> *I explain to the guest. (…) I start, 'We serve like this because this is the way the normal Nyonyas serve their food' (RO5)*

The latter quote is from a chef at a hotel where also cooking workshops are organized for tourists. During the cooking workshop in which I participated, he briefly talked about the origins of *ayam pongteh*, mentioning that it was a dish first eaten/ belonging to one of the ancient kings in Malaysia.

Furthermore, many of the respondents were talking about the importance of heritage in food. How food represents their culture and how that is an experience that they would like to get across to their customer and to tourists in general.

> *Being a melting pot, the local Melaka food comprises food from different cultural backgrounds. Since food is the only thing that would touch people of all ages, and of all walks of life, hence it is important that we as Melakans provide a memorable and authentic feel of Melaka through the diverse food culture. There are good local food outlets in Melaka, nonetheless, I think many of these local favorites are still "hidden" from the tourists. (HG5)*

> *the food that you eat today leaves your body, but the heritage thing, with for example coffee, that is in your mind and you bring back home, so what do you think is more important, the food or the heritage value? (HG3)*

Also relevant is seeing food in a perspective of other types of heritage. One of the respondents talked about that, next to the food, its flavour and the way they serve their food, the fact that the waitresses are wearing traditional costumes is adding to the experience.

5.2.6 The involvement of other stakeholders

The last section of this chapter deals with the relations that the various stakeholders have with each other. By creating a better understanding of the roles that the stakeholders play and how this relates to the shaping of Melaka, I am able to analyze into more detail what effect power has on these relations and who actually has control on which issues.

All the interviewees were asked how they see the role of the other stakeholders that deal with heritage in general and with foodways and culinary tourism. One of the main conclusions that can be drawn from the answers that are given is that there seems to be no cooperation between stakeholders. The government official gives as a reason that:

> *Restaurants are always too busy to cooperate. Furthermore we have different minds, it is money versus promotion. We make an effort to include them and talk about what food to promote, but then they don't come.(GO1)*

However, when the restaurant owners are asked about the cooperation between them and the government in order to promote their foodways, they argue that the government (both national and state) is only in it for the money:

> *[The] government, if they want something it's all about the money. You must come with the money, with credit to them.(RO3)*

Furthermore, it was analysed that the government apparently does not promote all cuisines equally. Some of the Chinese restaurant owners felt left behind as they serve pork, a non-halal product.

> *Actually, it's quite hard for us, for the government to promote us because we are a Chinese restaurant and our government, our country is actually a Muslim country and*

our government most of them are Malay. (…) Normally, we Chinese restaurants, focus on our own strategy, we cannot depend on the government to promote for us.(RO4)

The government? No, no. (…) Because the government is Muslim, halal and we are serving pork, so they are quite difficult to come here and to help.(RO7)

It would definitely help in promoting the local food if the government works together with the local restaurants, but there are a lot of issues involved in working together. So one example, is the race problem, so our government is mainly Malay, so when they were promoting, they would mainly promote the Malay restaurants, and of course they also promote the Chinese restaurants, but there are certain things that cannot be published, are sensitive issues. For example, pork, so in the leaflets you won't see that food. (RO6)

In my opinion, if you want to promote, you have to promote it all. If you have certain issues and you are restricted then don't really promote it all, because then people will have misunderstanding: Melaka is only serving halal or things like that (RO6)

As the previous two quotes already highlight, the issue with halal food is part of a much bigger issue, which is that the locals do not always trust the government having the right intentions when ruling the country, state, and city.

As far as I am concerned, I don't see any efforts made by the state government in preserving the local food heritage. As food industry is a business entity, it would be good if the government would provide some kind of aid like promotion and publicity. And at the same time, they could also provide some workshops to train the younger generation in appreciating and involving in the local food trade before it is too late.(HG5)

It all boils down to management. When state management is not correct, a lot of things would go wrong. (…) (HG2)

the government should come in strongly to preserve, but the problem is that some are too lazy to be bothered about it. (…)The politicians are not interested in heritage, most are not, maybe one or two (HG2)

In terms of the government, some have the positions because they have been elected or selected or whatever, but they don't know about any of the issues, so maybe they see heritage as a big dollar sign only. (…) They can implement on a certain level, but it doesn't suit the local. (…) They need to understand what the local needs (HG3)

We don't really see the government doing that part of promoting our everyday life in the street to more tourists.(RO8)

(on what is necessary to bring changes to how heritage is preserved) first of all we need to have a state government that is properly informed, then we have to try to get them to enforce the rules. They have to rectify what went wrong. I heard we have been given a warning by UNESCO. We are still not very serious about this, because Malaysia got a seat in the UNESCO council for doing rubbish, for not preserving what they should. This is all catering to the rich.(HG2)

These quotes all speak to the issue of asymmetrical power relationships. The government should be responsible for dealing with heritage and its sociocultural values to the local population. However, the way that they are doing that is contested by many of the local business owners and people from the heritage groups. The national and state government have much more to say, because apparently unlike Georgetown, Melaka does not have an agency that plays the role of watchdog with regards to the World Heritage Site (Chin, 2016). As has been discussed in the theoretical framework, thematizations are social constructions, which are applied to a place by certain individuals with their own perspective (Paradis, 2008). However due to unequal power relations, one perspective (in this case the perspective of the government) could trump another perspective, which causes certain individuals or groups to have strong feelings or contestations regarding these themed places as they feel not represented by these images.

This chapter has provided an insight in the findings that were discovered during the field work in Melaka. The analysis shows that there are strong connections with arguments that have been made by other authors within the concepts of place, place-making, heritage and foodways. This study therefore only provides an extremely modest contribution to much wider and ongoing discussions in these respective fields.

6. Conclusions

The main objective of this research was to study the ways in which the foodways of Melaka have been shaped by different actors and from different directions. The research explored this based on the different scales and ways in which these foodways have been shaped, negotiated and changed. Furthermore, it showed how these foodways are appropriated for tourism by the different stakeholders.

This research focused on three main levels of actors. First, the national level. This included the promotions done through the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, but also the committee that has drawn up the nomination dossier for the evaluation of Melaka (and Georgetown) as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Secondly, on the state/local level, main actors were the state and local government and the local business owners, which in the case of this study were mainly restaurant business owners. Finally, grassroots movements were identified as important actors in this issue. The grassroots movements consisted of people from various heritage groups, museums and other locals.

When we look at the national level, we can conclude that the focus of the national government and the Ministry of Tourism and Culture has shifted in the recent years from a specific focus on culinary tourism to a more general focus on cultural tourism in which food is part. This goes hand in hand with the nomination of Melaka as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. In the nomination file the main focus is on built heritage; food is not considered to be the main attraction in Melaka. Clear evidence of that can be found from the empirical research where one of the food stalls in the heritage zone was ordered to leave so that the area looked more sanitized. What is furthermore evident is that they try to get an image across that Malaysia is a unified country with one national identity. Programs such as *1Malaysia* and *Wawasan2020* promote democracy, tolerance and economic development together with the reaffirmation of the multicultural character of Malaysia and the peaceful coexistence of its three main communities (Malay, Indian and Chinese). This is strengthened by tourism promotion campagnes such as *Malaysia, Truly Asia.* With regards to the promotion of foodways to tourism, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture has produces several brochures that includes dishes and recipes of all the major ethnicities in the country. It can be argued that this way of presenting is very reactionary, as the ministry decides what these dishes represent and how they need to be presented. With that they create a very containerized idea of the different foodways in Malaysia and thus in Melaka.

Within the local level, it is evident that the cooperation between the local/ state government and the local business owners is practically non-existent. The government goes one way and the entrepreneurs go the other. This is according to the business owners mainly caused by the differences between the government's predominant ethnicity, Malay, and the entrepreneurs, frequently Chinese. They feel ignored in the promotion efforts of the government for simple reasons such as that they serve pork, which is a non-halal food. Furthermore, it can be noticed that there is a difference between the local business owners within the heritage zone and outside the heritage zone. The heritage zone is filled with typical tourist spots where tourists can enjoy Westernized foods in hipster bars and café's. None of the older locals would go there, whereas the local youth starts to adapt to this lifestyle and is seen more and more in these cafes.

On the grassroots level, different people from heritage groups called out that the UNESCO designation has not only done good things for the local people. Yes, it has brought in more tourism and thus more economic benefits, but the heritage zone has become gentrified. The old local businesses cannot afford the high rents anymore and are forced out of the old city centre in order to make place for new, sometimes even foreign, investors.

All in all, I would like to argue that Melaka has lost itself in the process of becoming an important landmark for Malaysian heritage. There are too many actors that have chosen the economic value of heritage over the sociocultural value, with the results that the heritage zone has become mainly for tourists, as all local 'authentic' places have been driven out of the World Heritage Site.

6.1 Implications of the research

This research adds to the academic body on identities and place-making in multi-ethnic societies. It looks critically towards place-making with foodways as subject of interest in a way that has not been done before by many other scholars. Scholars tend to focus on place-making in relation to build heritage which can be more easily observed than intangible heritage, such as foodways.

One of the social implications of this research was that it shines some light on perceptions of Melaka as a World Heritage Site from different stakeholders' perspectives and how things have been perceived to have changed over the past couple of years. As has been mentioned above, local reality had to be sanitized or 'polished up' in order to be attractive as a World Heritage Site, and with that, overlooked some of the most intrinsic ideas of UNESCO's discourse. This research implicates that the heritage that is being preserved and passed on to other generations should not only focus on built heritage, which is currently the case, but should look further into how the development of tourism can lead to issues with regards to more intangible heritage. To name an example, the food gentrification that takes place in the heritage zone is directly opposed to the intentions of UNESCO. Furthermore, this research could add to the body of existing research on discussions with regards to ethnicity struggles in multi-ethnic countries, such as Malaysia.

6.2 Limitations to the research

One of the major limitations of this research is the difficulty I had with translating foodways in a way that was appropriate for the interviews. I think that the questions sometimes steered the interviewees too much in a certain direction. Furthermore, I started interviewing mainly restaurant owners and only later realized that they might not be the only stakeholders that have an opinion on foodways and heritage in Melaka. The restaurant owners have a very different, more business-like, perspective on certain things and unintentionally thematise Melaka's authentic foods in order to attract more customers. It would have been interesting to have a better understanding of the politics and structure in Melaka up front. For example, if I would have known at the start of the field research that gentrification was a very important issue within the heritage zone, I might have been able to find someone that started a business recently in the heritage zone and someone who was forced to leave because of the higher rents. This would have given this research more depth than it has now. Another limitation is that I was not able to talk to all the different ethnic groups. The main focus in this research is now on Malay and Chinese or Nyonya stakeholders, who from a historic point of view always have been the most powerful groups, one in politics and the other in the financial area. This makes them more vocal and maybe also therefore easier to find. However, I think that adding opinions from for example Indian restaurant owners or Indian heritage groups would again have given this research more depth than it has now.

6.3 Recommendations for future studies

This research has shown some initial light on the politics of place making within Melaka in relation to their foodways. One thing that I have not explored to a fuller extent in this research is how these foodways and the theming of Melaka is used for reaffirmation on Malaysian identities. In other words, how do these topics and concepts play a role for domestic tourism. As domestic tourists are (more) familiar with the ethnic struggles of the country they will look differently upon marketing themes such as *Malaysia truly Asia*, *1Malaysia*, etc. this could be explored further. Furthermore, there has not been written too much about the thematization of intangible heritage, such as foodways. A book that is edited by di Giovine and Brulotte was one of the few sources that I have found discussing several of the issues on these concepts. I think it would be a large contribution to the academic society is there is more research done on these topics as well.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Interview guides

Introduction

My name is Wieteke and I am a student from the Netherlands. I am currently working on my thesis for the Master program Leisure, Tourism and Environment. For this thesis I would like to study the different cuisines in Melaka and how different stakeholders perceive the way that they cook, eat, and practice food as heritage. Furthermore, I am interested in how this culinary heritage is portrayed to tourists. This interview will ask you questions regarding these topics, but also include more background questions so that I will understand your business/perspective a bit better. This interview will last approximately 30 minutes, and will be recorded with your consent.

Food festival organizer

- Why did you organize the food festival?
- What were the activities? Which ethnicities?
- Is this a reoccurring festival? Or was is especially for the "year of festivals"?
- What did you want people/ visitors to experience at the festival?
- How was the festival promoted to tourists versus to locals?
- Is the food festival related to other festivities, if yes, which ones?
- Why do you think food is so important in your culture/ in Malaysia?
- What did you as an organizer want to learn from this event?
- Is the state government involved in this festival? If yes, how? If not, what would you like to be different?
- Anything else you would like to add?
- Anyone who would be interesting to talk to?

Restaurant owners

- More insights in the background of the restaurant
    - How many years in operation?
    - Family business?
    - Etc.
- Type of cuisine cooked
    - Why these items?
- Type of customers (locals vs tourists)
- Particular attributes in the restaurant
    - Used to set a décor/ setting for customers
- What do you want customers to experience in your restaurant?
- How do you promote your business?
- How do you deal with competition?
- What do you think of websites such as tripadvisor or travel guides such as the Lonely Planet?
- Are you associated with any other restaurant or food providers? Does this exist? Is there a need?
- What do you see as the role of the government in promoting the restaurant/ food business?
    - Does the government show involvement?
    - Would you like to see things differently?
- Anything else you would like to add?

- Any other contacts?

Interview Bert Tan/ Heritage Clubs

- What is the purpose of your association?
- Who is your public?
- What do you think is the role of food in creating identities in Melaka?
- What do you think is important for tourists to understand about the multiple ethnicities in Melaka?
- How is the government involved in promoting the inter-ethnic relations?
  - Is it enough what they do?
- Anything else you would like to add?
- Any other contacts?

Interview Baba Nyonya museum

- In your opinion, what role does food play in the Baba/Nyonya community and its heritage?
- How do you see (or have you seen) the baba/nyonya food culture develop?
- What would you like tourists to experience/ understand about the different types of food and the different cuisines that Melaka has to offer? And, do you think that currently the restaurants in Melaka showcase authentic/ truthful food?
- How do you see the involvement of the (state) government in preserving all food heritage in Melaka? And, would you like to see any changes regarding that involvement?
- How is the Baba/ Nyonya museum involved in preserving the food heritage of Peranakan food?
- Why did you think it was important to get involved in the new/old Melaka project?
- Do you want me to know something important that I haven't asked in the previous 5 questions?
- Would you know other people that might be interesting to talk to regarding this subject? At the moment I am also looking very hard for different restaurant owners and their opinion on these matters.

Interview MOTAC

- Background/structure
  - National vs state government
  - Local government involvement
- Focus on strategies?
- What is in your opinion the importance of food?
- What is the role of the government in preserving the food heritage in Melaka?
  - Strategies (UNESCO?)
- How does the government deal with developing food cultures (f.e. incoming western foods?)
- What would you like tourists to experience when they come to Melaka and taste all the different cuisines/ foods?
  - Do you think they get a truthful/ authentic experience?
- How is the government connected to the restaurant/ food sector?
  - Any joint efforts to promote food?
- How has the identity of Melaka changed over the years?

End of interview

- Quick summary of what we have discussed
- If you are interested I could send you the report once it is finished, if yes, note down email address
- Thank you very much for your time.

8.2 Coding scheme

The following codes were the result of both inductive and deductive coding and has been used to analyze the various transcripts and resulted in a thorough understanding of the heritage, foodways and tourism aspects in Melaka.

1. Background
    a. General
    b. (restaurant) promotion
2. Heritage
    a. Definitions
    b. Change over the years
3. UNESCO
    a. Changes after WHS listing
4. Foodways
    a. Importance of food in culture
    b. Change over the years
    c. (restaurants) target group
    d. Difference between locals and tourists
    e. (restaurants) type of cuisine
5. Tourism
    a. Tourism experience
    b. Adjustment of restaurant
6. Other stakeholders
    a. Role of UNESCO
    b. Role of the government
        i. Now
        ii. Expectations
    c. Role of other local stakeholders
    d. Competition
7. Miscellaneous