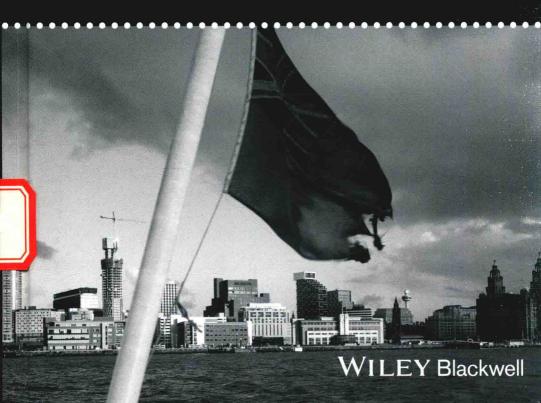
FROM WORLD CITY ORLD HE ORLD IN ONE CITY

Liverpool Through Malay Lives

Tim Bunnell



FROM WORLD CITY TO THE WORLD IN ONE CITY

LIVERPOOL THROUGH MALAY LIVES

Tim Bunnell

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2016 © 2016 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Tim Bunnell to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book.

Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty: While the publisher and author have used their best efforts in preparing this book, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this book and specifically disclaim any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services and neither the publisher nor the author shall be liable for damages arising herefrom. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bunnell, Tim, author.

Title: From world city to the world in one city: Liverpool through Malay lives / Tim Bunnell. Description: Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015035652 (print) | LCCN 2015044489 (ebook) | ISBN 9781118827741 (cloth) | ISBN 9781118827734 (pbk.) | ISBN 9781118827710 (ePub) | ISBN 9781118827727 (Adobe PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Malay Club (Liverpool)-History. | Merchant mariners-Malaysia. | Malays (Asian people)-England-Liverpool. | Liverpool (England)-History-20th century. Classification: LCC HD8039.S42 M438 2016 (print) LCC HD8039.S42 (ebook) DDC 305.899/28042753-dc23

LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015035652

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: 'Red Ensign on Mersey Ferry, 2007' @ Colin McPherson.

Set in 10.5/12pt New Baskerville by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

Printed and bound in Malaysia by Vivar Printing Sdn Bhd

Studies in Urban and Social Change

Published

From World City to the World in One City: Liverpool through Malay Lives

Tim Bunnell

Urban Land Rent: Singapore As A Property State Anne Haila

Globalised Minds, Roots in the City: Urban

Upper-middle Classes in Europe

Alberta Andreotti, Patrick Le Galès and

Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes

Confronting Suburbanization: Urban Decentralization in Post-Socialist Central and Eastern Europe

Kiril Stanilov and Luděk Sýkora (eds.)

Cities in Relations: Trajectories of Urban

Development in Hanoi and Ouagadougou Ola Söderström

Contesting the Indian City: Global Visions and the

Politics of the Local

Gavin Shatkin (ed.)

Iron Curtains: Gates, Suburbs and Privatization of

Space in the Post-socialist City

Sonia A. Hirt

Subprime Cities: The Political Economy of Mortgage Markets

Manuel B. Aalbers (ed.)

Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberalizing Spaces in Developmental States

Bae-Gyoon Park, Richard Child Hill and Asato

The Creative Capital of Cities: Interactive

Knowledge of Creation and the Urbanization

Economics of Innovation

Stefan Krätke

Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global

Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong (eds.)

Place, Exclusion and Mortgage Markets

Manuel B. Aalbers

Working Bodies: Interactive Service Employment and Workplace Identities

Linda McDowell

Networked Disease: Emerging Infections in the Global City

S. Harris Ali and Roger Keil (eds.)

Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe

Adrian Favell

Urban China in Transition

John R. Logan (ed.)

Getting Into Local Power: The Politics of Ethnic Minorities in British and French Cities

Romain Garbaye

Cities of Europe

Yuri Kazepov (ed.)

Cities, War, and Terrorism

Stephen Graham (ed.)

Cities and Visitors: Regulating Tourists, Markets, and City Space

Lily M. Hoffman, Susan S. Fainstein, and Dennis R. Judd (eds.)

Understanding the City: Contemporary and Future Perspectives

John Eade and Christopher Mele (eds.)

The New Chinese City: Globalization and Market

John R. Logan (ed.)

Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context

Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (eds.)

The Social Control of Cities? A Comparative Perspective

Sophie Body-Gendrot

Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?

Peter Marcuse and Ronald van

Kempen (eds.)

Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of

Consumption

John Clammer

Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City

Linda McDowell

Cities After Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies

Gregory Andrusz, Michael Harloe and Ivan Szelenyi (eds.)

The People's Home? Social Rented Housing in Europe and America

Michael Harloe

Post-Fordism

Ash Amin (ed.)

The Resources of Poverty: Women and Survival in a

Mexican City*

Mercedes Gonzal de la Rocha

Free Markets and Food Riots John Walton and David Seddon

Fragmented Societies*

Enzo Mingione

Urban Poverty and the Underclass: A Reader*

Enzo Mingione

Forthcoming

Cities and Ethno-National Conflict: Empires,

Nations and Urban Processes

James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd

Paradoxes of Segregation: Urban Migration in Europe

Sonia Arbaci

From Shack to House to Fortress

Mariana Cavalcanti

The Making of Urban Africa: Contesting and Negotiating the Colonial and Postcolonial State

Laurent Fourchard Urban Social Movements and the State

Margit Mayer

Cities and Social Movements: Immigrant Rights Struggles in Amsterdam, Paris, and Los Angeles Walter Nicholls and Justus Uitermark

Fighting Gentrification

Tom Slater

*Out of print

Series Editors' Preface

The Wiley Blackwell *Studies in Urban and Social Change* series is published in association with the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. It aims to advance theoretical debates and empirical analyses stimulated by changes in the fortunes of cities and regions across the world. Among topics taken up in past volumes and welcomed for future submissions are:

- connections between economic restructuring and urban change
- · urban divisions, difference, and diversity
- convergence and divergence among regions of east and west, north, and south
- urban and environmental movements
- international migration and capital flows
- trends in urban political economy
- · patterns of urban-based consumption

The series is explicitly interdisciplinary; the editors judge books by their contribution to intellectual solutions rather than according to disciplinary origin. Proposals may be submitted to members of the series Editorial Committee, and further information about the series can be found at www.suscbookseries.com.

Jenny Robinson Manuel Aalbers Dorothee Brantz Patrick Le Galès Chris Pickvance Ananya Roy Fulong Wu

List of Figures

Figures

0.1	Malay deck crew of the MV Charon, circa 1947	3
1.1	Liverpool and the two sites of the city's Malay Club	6
1.2	The section of Jermyn Street that includes the Malay Club	
	(at number 7), December 2003	8
2.1	The Malay peninsula and the wider Malay world region	
	(alam Melayu)	29
2.2	The Ocean Building, Singapore, in 1947	36
2.3	Crew of the MV Charon in Singapore, circa 1947	38
2.4	Blue Funnel Line advertisement, circa 1960	39
2.5	A Malay seaman and other lascars	40
3.1	Malay Liverpool, circa 1960	57
3.2	Mohamed Nor Hamid on board the MV Cingalese Prince	66
4.1	Hari Raya party at 7 Jermyn Street, circa 1970	89
5.1	Postcard sent by Carrim Haji Quigus Rahim, 1989	110
5.2	The grave of Osman bin Haji Alias, Anfield cemetery, 2003	113
5.3	Ex-seamen at the Malay Club in 1989	118
6.1	Fadzil Mohamed on the beach at Tanjung Keling in	
	February 2008	147
6.2	Fadzil Mohamed's visit to Singapore in 1973	156
8.1	Independence day at Pier Head	193
8.2	Street party on Jermyn Street	196

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARTIS Angkatan Revolusi Tentera Islam Singapura (Singapore

Islamic Revolutionary League)

BL The British Library

BT Board of Trade (archival sources held at The National

Archives of the UK, Kew, London)

CMIO Chinese-Malay-Indian-Others

CO Colonial Office (archival sources held at The National

Archives of the UK, Kew, London)

EEC European Economic Community

EU European Union

FMS Federated Malay States

GAPENA Gabungan Persatuan Penulis Nasional Malaysia (Malaysian

National Writers' Association)

GDP gross domestic product GPS global positioning system

ha hectare

IOR India Office Records (held at the British Library, London)

ISA Internal Security Act

km kilometre

MDC Merseyside Development Corporation

MSA Merseyside Malaysian and Singapore Community Association

MV Motor Vessel

NEP New Economic Policy (Malaysia) NUS National University of Singapore

OA Ocean Steamship Company archive (held at the Maritime

Archives and Library, Merseyside Maritime Museum,

Liverpool)

P&O Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company

PAP People's Action Party (Singapore, est. 1954)

PAS	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, est. 1951)
PMPMUK	Persatuan Masyarakat Pekerja Malaysia United Kingdom (Malaysian Workers' Association of the United Kingdom)
RM	Malaysian Ringgit
RTM	Radio Televisyen Malaysia
SMA	Sekretariat Melayu Antarabangsa (International Malay
	Secretariat)
SS	Steamship (single screw)
SSC	Straits Steamship Company
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation (Malaysia, est. 1946)

Glossary of Non-English Terms

Non-English terms are Malay except where noted as Arabic (Ar), Chinese (Ch), Hokkien (Hk), Persian (Per), Portuguese (Port) or Urdu (Urd)

adat

customary law

alam Melayu

Malay world region in Southeast Asia

anak raja

royalty father

ayah babi

pork Malay language

bahasa Melayu bahasa Melayu pasar

marketplace Malay language

baju Melayu

traditional Malay shirt return trip

balik kampung bandar sejarah

historic town

boleh maju

can prosper or succeed

Bumiputera lit. 'son of the soil'; used since 1970s by

the Malaysian government to implement racially based affirmative action policies for ethnic Malays and other, smaller 'indig-

enous' (bumiputera) groups

bunga ceramah

flower public talk

dakwah lit, 'to proclaim' (as in

lit. 'to proclaim' (as in the proselytizing and

preaching of Islam)

darah keturunan Arab

Arabic ancestral blood

dunia Melayu

Malay world (as in either regional realm in Southeast Asia or extended world of Malay

historical and diasporic connections)

Dunia Melayu movement

Malay World movement

Eid al-Fitr (Ar)

Religious holiday marking the end of the

Islamic fasting month of Ramadan

lepak makan

	7 7 8
Eropah	Europe
feng shui (Ch)	Chinese philosophical system of harmo-
	nizing human existence with the surround-
	ing environment
ghaut serang	land-based intermediary agent or broker
	who was an authorized crew supplier
halal (Ar)	lit. 'permissible' objects or courses of action for
	Muslims according to Islamic law; commonly
	but not exclusively in relation to consumption
satisfy with a second of	of food and drink
Haj(j)i (Ar)	honorific title given to Muslim person who
	completes Islamic pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca
Hari Raya	'Great day'; national holiday in Malaysia
	marking the day of breaking of fast (Eid al-Fitr
	or Aidilfitri) at the end of Ramadan
imam	person who leads prayers in a mosque
induk	mother (territorially meaning motherland)
jamban	traditional squat latrine
jurang budaya	cultural gap
kain kafan	burial clothes
kaki	friend
kampung/kampong	village or community
kawan	friend
Kelab Melayu	Malay Club (Liverpool)
Kelab UMNO Liverpool	Liverpool UMNO Club
kelasi	seafarer
kelasi kapal	sailor
kenduri	feast
kerbau	buffalo
kereta lembu	bullock cart
ketuanan Melayu	Malay lordship (political reference to
	ethnic Malay pre-eminence or supremacy in
L.L1 : / A ->	contemporary Malaysia)
khalasi (Ar)	seaman or dockyard worker
kopitiam (Hk)	traditional coffee shop
kris	dagger
kuno	antiquated Indian Ocean seafarer
lascar (Per)	
lashkar (Urd)	army or camp soldier
lashkari (Port) laskar	soldier
LUSKUI	SOIGIEI

hang out eat Melayu baru new Malay membandarkan urbanize

merajuk lit. sulk, implying having problems or being hurt

merantau circular migration

Merdeka independence (of Federation of Malaya, est.

31 August 1957)

nusantara Malay world region or archipelago in Southeast

Asia

orang kulit berwarna coloured people orang puteh white people

Pak Cikhonorific title for male elderpenghuluvillage head, orig. subdistrict chiefpeonservant boy or menial labourer

perantau migrant or sojourner raja hereditary ruler or king

Ramadan (Ar) ninth month of the Islamic calendar, observed by

Muslims as the month of fasting

rantau region

ronggeng Malay dance
rumpun Melayu Malay stock
selamat tinggal goodbye
sepak raga kick volleyball
songkok rimless cap
syurga dunia heaven on earth

tahlil dan doa arwah prayers for the deceased

tanah Melayu Malay homeland, referring to what is today peninsular

(West) Malaysia

tanah merah red earth tandas bathroom

teh tarik frothy, sweet, milky tea

tokoh-tokoh figures tudung headscarf

ustaz (Ar) male Muslim scholar and teacher of Islam (female,

ustazah)

zawiyah (Ar) Islamic religious school

Acknowledgements

It has taken me much longer than expected to complete this book, but that is certainly not because of any lack of assistance along the way. In part, it may be precisely because so many people have helped me – with often irresistible suggestions of additional sources and alternative possible directions – that research and writing have been such prolonged processes. This does not mean that I am blaming anyone (or everyone) else for my meanderings, and I alone, of course, am responsible for any shortcomings in the end product. But it does mean that I have many people in many places to thank – not only with regard to material that constitutes the book but also for positioning me in much wider worlds of knowledge and experience, only a small subset of which is captured in the chapters that follow.

I am grateful, first of all, to Zaharah Othman whose own writing about and concern for Malay ex-seafarers in Britain inspired my research. It was also through Zaharah that I met Sharidah Sharif and her family in Liverpool. Sharidah and Wahab were my main contact points in 'the field' between 2004 and 2008, and I thank them for their kindness in feeding me with lots of information and sustenance. (How wonderful that I came to eat *petai* more often in Liverpool than I do in Southeast Asia!) During field research in 2004 I received institutional support from the Department of Geography at the University of Liverpool – thanks to David Sadler and Dave Featherstone for arranging that. Dave also kindly furnished me with several important archival references from his own historical work on subaltern transnationalisms. My fieldwork from 2004 to 2006 was generously funded by a National University of Singapore (NUS) grant, 'Malay Routes: Life histories and geographies of Malayness in Liverpool' (R-109-000-058-112).

NUS has provided a very stable anchorage and supportive home base for my Malay Routes research over more than a decade. I am grateful to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences for staff research support scheme

funds to carry out additional fieldwork in Liverpool in 2009. I held a joint appointment in the Asia Research Institute from that year until 2014, and benefited from opportunities to present my work there, although the Department of Geography has always been my main home. Strands of my Liverpool research have been enriched through discussion in the department's Social and Cultural Geography research group, as well as by more direct contributions over the years from Elaine Ho, Lisa Law, Anant Maringanti, Chris McMorran, Sarah Moser, Hamzah Muzaini, Ong Chin Ee, Natalie Oswin, Noorashikin Abdul Rahman, Vani S., Pam Shurmer-Smith and James Sidaway. Aspects of my Malay Routes work have been inflicted upon several cohorts of geography honours students, and some of them (Faizal bin Abdul Aziz, Guo Hefang and Lo Dening) kindly carried out research assistance for me. Lee Li Kheng is to thank for the book's cartographic work. Beyond the Department of Geography, other NUS-ers past and present whom I wish to thank for varied contributions to my research are Daniel Goh, Phil Kelly, Lai Chee Kien, Hussin Mutalib, Alice Nah, Kris Olds, Dahlia Shamduddin and Eric Thompson. My thinking about the Malay world also benefited from comments and suggestions made by scholars and students who attended a seminar I gave in the Malay Studies programme in 2007.

While my home institution remains a great place to do research in human geography and urban studies as well as on the Malay world, I am also grateful for NUS support of sabbatical leave elsewhere. My sabbatical in 2008 started in Malaysia at the Institute of the Malay World and Civilization (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Thanks to Jim Collins for supporting my fellowship there and to both Zawawi Ibrahim and Shamsul A.B. for sharing their considerable insights. Other Malaysians and/or Malaysianists who have supported my work during and beyond that sabbatical period include Tan Sri Ismail Hussein, Joel Kahn, Sumit Mandal, Izham Omar, Meghann Ormond and Mansor Puteh. My sabbatical leave ended in Indonesia and there I have to thank Neogroho Andy H. for sharing memories of his late grandfather. For the main component of the sabbatical in the northwest of England, I was based institutionally at the University of Manchester's School of Environment and Development where the collegiality of Neil Coe and Martin Hess was much appreciated. In Liverpool during that same period I am grateful for help and support from Ronnie and Cathy Bujang, Farida Chapman, Dave Featherstone (again), Paul Fadzil, Erwina A. Ghafar, Teddy Lates, Rosita Mohamed, Wan Mohamed Rosidi Hussein, Sharidah Sharif (again) and Nick White.

Among assistance that I received at various archives and repositories in Malaysia and Singapore as well as in Britain (all of which are listed in the Archival and Documentary Sources section at the back of the book),

my particular thanks to helpful folks at the Maritime Archives and Library at Merseyside Maritime Museum and at the Liverpool Record Office. In addition, presentations at the following institutions during my sabbatical year all, in different ways, provided new ideas and suggestions for which I am grateful: the Contemporary Urban Centre in Liverpool, the London Urban Salon, the Seafarers' International Research Centre at the University of Cardiff, the 'International Conference on Diasporas' at Hong Kong University, and seminars in the geography programmes at the University of Plymouth and at Trinity College, Ireland.

Beyond the sabbatical year, my thinking has been shaped by various presenting and writing experiences. Papers that I presented at the conference on 'Geographies of Transnational Networks' held at the University of Liverpool in 2005, and at the symposium on 'Migration and Identities in Asia' held at Yonsei University in 2009 were revised and published in *Global Networks* and *Pacific Affairs* respectively. The only existing publication from my Malay Routes work that includes material in a form that is recognizable in this book (in Chapter 8) is a paper that appeared in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* in 2008 (vol. 33, pp. 251–67), and I am grateful to the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) for permitting this. Thanks to Zane Kripe and Peter Pels for the invitation to present at the 'Futurities' conference in Leiden in June 2014 as this helped me to rethink the framing of Chapter 6.

Overall framing of the book was strongly influenced by the (very) challenging comments I received from members of the editorial board of the Wiley Blackwell Studies in Urban and Social Change series. Thanks to Jenny Robinson for agreeing to proceed with the project. The reviews I received from Richard Phillips and Ananya Roy provided excellent, complementary sets of suggestions as to how to improve the manuscript. Jenny provided very clear editorial guidance as well as lots of helpful suggestions from her own careful reading. Two other people have kindly read and helped to nuance the entire text: Michelle Miller and Gareth Richards. An NUS Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences book grant funded excellent editing and formatting services from Impress Creative and Editorial Sdn Bhd. I thank Jacqueline Scott and Allison Kostka at Wiley for their efficiency and patience.

In the context of a process of research and writing which has seen a blurring of boundaries between informants, on the one hand, and friends and family, on the other, I have deliberately left two sets of thanks until last. The first go to the Malay 'elders' (the Pak Cik-Pak Cik) across whose lives the urban geographies of this book are mapped. I am privileged and very grateful to have had opportunities to converse with many ex-seafaring men and members of their families. Thanks to Pak

Cik Ali, Pak Cik Jaafar and especially to Pak Cik Mat Nor for sharing so much with me. In Pak Cik Mat Nor's case this extended over multiple interviews and conversations in three different countries. Perhaps the only ex-seaman with whom I conversed more was the late Pak Cik Fadzil who kindly welcomed me to Saturday morning breakfasts with his family.

Special thanks, second, to members of my family, the composition of which has changed significantly over the past decade. Zep, Xavi and Bea have all been born since 2011. While they have not sped up my writing, they are three wonderful excuses for all the delays. I have been 'finishing' this book for as long as the kids' mummy has known me. Michelle: I am so lucky to have a wife who is so encouraging, loving, patient ... and a meticulous editor! My parents, Megan and Craig, remain models of what supportive parenting means. Finally, during several stints of fieldwork in Liverpool I stayed with my grandmother, Doreen Owen, enjoying her company, cooking and memories of Liverpool's dance halls after the Second World War. She died in November 2014, and is now buried next to my granddad at the top of the cemetery in Hawarden, North Wales, from where it is possible to see over to Liverpool on a clear day.

Tim Bunnell Singapore

Contents

Ser	ries Editors' Preface	vii
Li	st of Figures	viii
Ab	breviations and Acronyms	ix
Gl	ossary of Non-English Terms	xi
Ac	knowledgements	xiv
Pr	ologue	1
1	Introduction: Locating Malay Liverpool Worlds of Connection, Worlds in Cities Sites and Routes of Fieldwork Organization of the Book	5 10 14 20
2	From the Malay World to the Malay Atlantic World City Liverpool in the <i>Alam Melayu</i> Malays in the 'New York of Europe' and in New York The Malay Atlantic	27 28 39 45
3	Home Port Liverpool and its Malay Places Somewhere Worth Staying? Remembering Cosmopolitanism and its Limits Home and Away Places to Be Malay	56 57 62 68 72
4	Merseyside Malaise and the Unmaking of British Malaya Transnationalization and Malaysianization Student Connections: From Kirkby to the Inner City Urban Malaise	83 84 90

5	Diasporic (Re)connections In Search of Lost Ancestors Diaspora Envy and Worldly Malay-ness Old Malays versus the Islamized New Malay	107 108 114 121
6	Relocating Expectations of Modernity Kuala Lumpur: Journeys to the New Centre of the Malay World Tandas-ization: Excremental Transition in Malacca	135 136 144
	Returning to Singapore: From Third World to First	150
7	Community in the Capital of Culture The Place of Community Glasgowing and Beyond: Towards Multicultural	165 166
	Regeneration Marking Malays(ia) on the Map of the World in One City	172 178
8	The Last Hurrah: From Independence Celebrations and Interculturalism to Club Closure Merdeka on the Mersey Performing Malay-ness on Jermyn Street Community Conflict and Urban Interculturalism Death in the Place of Community	188 189 194 198 202
9	Conclusion: Catching up with Kuala Lumpur? Comparative, Conceptual and Methodological Returns	211 216
Ke	Key Lifepaths	
Are	chival and Documentary Sources	231
References		233
Inc	dex	250