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dialog@um.edu.my http://dialogue.um.edu.my KATHA from which the Malaysian – Indonesian Malay word kata is derived, is Sanskrit in origin. It denotes dialogue, discussion and conversation [Mahdi M. & de Casparis J. G. (1997). Sanskrit loanwords in Indonesian: An annotated checklist of word from Sanskrit and Traditional Malay. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri Nusa, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.]

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PREFACE

This issue brings together five articles covering a wide spectrum from approaches in addressing extremism, the tourist heritage, stamps as visual representation to national identities, interpreting peace, and immigrant entrepreneurship in postcolonial cities.

Looi Theam Choy's article explains the limitation of western policy, the weakness of NATO military Power, and the failure of Pro-western policies in addressing the Ukraine conflict using the Neo-classical realism approach.

Shin Yan, Kay narrates the visualisation representation of animals in postage stamps, issued in North Borneo, Sarawak from the 19th and 20th century. The author further describes the different State narratives that contribute to the formation of colonial or national identities.

Faezy Adenan and Asmak Ab Rahman highlight the interpretation of peace based on *al-salām and al-amn terms*. The authors identify the phrases in the Quran relating to peace and present the views of Qur'anic commentaries of the phrases.

Nur Suhaili Ramli writes on the immigrant entrepreneurship phenomenon in two historical cities, Melaka and Venice. The author discovered the similarities and differences in approach taken by the migrant entrepreneurs to sustain their existence.

We hope this volume of KATHA will benefit a broad spectrum of readers interested in understanding the range of issues discussed by the four papers. Some readers may also want to explore further the topics and debates presented here.

Associate Professor Gs. Dr Rosilawati Zainol Chief Editor Director, Centre for Civilisational Dialogue DECEMBER 2020

THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF RUSSIA'S POLITIC AND THE LIMITATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE'S POLITIC

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Abstract

The purpose of this topic is to discuss the massive limitations of Pro-Western policies based on the impacts of Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation. The international orders that existed nowadays, such as the UN Charter, NATO Articles, and EU policies, are purposely set-up to promote global peace and harmony in our world order. However, the impact of the Ukraine crisis is contrary to the intention of international orders, as the reality in Europe. The scope of this study is restricted to the NATO policies, EU policies, and the introduction of the UN Charter. Content analysis is the methodology to identify three sections for this study. This study is divided into three sections, i.e. the limitation of the Western policy in the Ukraine conflict, the weakness of NATO military power, and the failure of Pro-Western policies in the case of Ukraine crisis. The sections were analysed by the Neoclassical realism approach to ascertain the irrelevance of the international orders within the parameters of the UN Charter, NATO Articles, and EU policies. Limitations of Pro-Western policies in the case of the Ukraine crisis is unprecedented for the application of Neoclassical realism; hence, reasonably understanding the situation of the Ukraine crisis is the primary application of this study.

Keywords: Pro-western Policy, Neo-classical Realism, NATO

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Introduction

The Weaknesses of Pro-Western Policy

In this topic, the Pro-Western policies could be observed through the UN Charter. Unfortunately, the UN Charter could not interfere in international security or help to avoid the conflicts between Eastern and Western Europe. Specific weaknesses of the UN Charter could be identified by monitoring the case of the Ukraine Crisis in 2014. Referring to the UN Charter on the title of the Security Council under chapter 5, article 23, section 1,

> the Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organisation, and also to equitable geographical distribution (Charter of the United Nations, 1945, p. 06).

The UN Charter could not fulfil the objective to maintain peace and global security based on the case of the Ukraine Crisis. Although the US, Russia, UK, and France are permanent members of the UN, each country has its interest in the international arena. The US, France, and the UK are tied to NATO memberships, causing Russia to be aware of NATO as a long-term threat in terms of NATO enlargement towards Eastern Europe. If we observe the UN Charter on chapter 12, the title of International Trusteeship System, article 76, the primary objectives of the trusteeship system on section A are "to further international peace and security and section" and section D, "to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives" (Charter of the United Nations, 1945, p. 15). The members of UN imposed economic sanction on Ukraine due to the crisis that includes military intervention from Russia because Ukraine still maintained the status of Russia in the UN. The UN's trusteeship system has no practical way to maintain peace in continental Europe. Chapter 8 of the UN Charter with the title "Regional Arrangements", article 52, section 2, indicates the statement,

> the Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council (Charter of the United Nations, 1945, p. 11).

Crimea was annexed to Russia without the permission of the UN, including the Security Council. Although Russia is one of the members of the UN, it did not abide by the charter in the case of the Ukraine crisis. This case has no realistic obligation to prove that the UN members fully obey the charter, and it does not realistically reflect the actions of the UN members to defy the aggressiveness of Russia invasion in Ukraine.

Referring to the UN General Assembly Declaration on October 24, 1970, the principles of international law were declared entitled "1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States under the Charter of the United Nations (GAR 2625)". These declared principles are;

> (1) the principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; (2) The principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in

such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; (3) The principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter; (4) The duty of states to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter; (5) The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (6) The principle of sovereign equality of states; and (7) the principle that states shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter (Centre For International Law, 1970, pp. 04-08).

Unfortunately, although the declaration on principles of the international law by the UN General Assembly Resolution is used as a former guideline to enlighten the myth of international order, it is not a realistic pathway for the international order, which could be observed and learned by the case of the Ukraine crisis and annexation of Crimea as political divisions between the Eastern and Western Europe. These two cases had indicated and demonstrated the weaknesses of the Pro-Western policy defined by the UN Charter.

The UN Charter could not bring peace and security in Ukraine by the UN members as well as the specific charters did not influence the EU and NATO members in the manners to maintain equal peace and security in continental Europe. Ironically, the UN, NATO, and the EU were not reliable to assist or neutralise the political and military conflicts between the Eastern and Western Europe concerning the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation in 2014. The UN, NATO, and the EU's principles are just specific visions to propose peaceful international communities. However, the missions cannot be realistically deployed and operated to fulfil the visions, which could be observed in the case of the Ukraine crisis and the Crimea annexation. This study discusses the weaknesses of the Pro-Western policies with the UN, EU, and NATO organisations by the reflections of the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation through three defined parts of the study. The first part includes the limitation of western policy in the Ukraine conflict, while the second part highlights the weaknesses of NATO

military power, and the final part is the failure of Pro-Western policies in the case of the Ukraine crisis. These three sections had been analysed by the technique of contents analysis, as well as linkage to the assumptions of the Neoclassical realism approach.

The Limitation of Western Policy in the Ukraine Conflict

The Euromaidan Evolution is the case to identify the limitation of western policy to influence Ukraine directly. In addition, the intervention of the Russian invasion in Ukraine is the demonstration to dispose of many weaknesses of the western policies. The western policies failed to neutralise the Ukrainian conflicts. The reason is the fact that defined by Freedman, "the West's response was generally cautious, too cautious for some. President Obama was accused of failing to appreciate the developing logic of President Putin's authoritarianism and his assertiveness both at home and in Russia's near abroad" (Freedman, 2019, p. 100). Freedman's statement depicts the Neoclassical realism assumption, whereby the decision-makers of Russia consider the US as an adversary, derived from foreign policy choice against the US administration. Additionally, western policies provide "economic sanctions faced opposition, especially in those European countries that had substantial trading relationships with Russia" (Freedman, 2019, p. 106) because the domestic actors in Western Europe could disturb the style or timing of economic sanctions based on trading policies with Russia, to respond to the Ukraine crisis as international challenge, referring to the Neoclassical realism approach. Meanwhile, Marples stated that

> the Euromaidan Evolution [is] divided [in] two directions. One of the directions [is to] demand the government [to] return to its Pro-Western direction whereas [the other] direction [is] focused on [the] removal of the president and his closet associates such Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, who has now stepped down (Marples, 2017, p. 30).

In accordance to the statement of Marples, Neoclassical realists identified the domestic actors in Ukraine as not only

affecting the style and timing of national policies, they also affect international challenges, herein, the case related to the existence of Ukrainian policies either to obey the western policies or Russian policies based on the case of the Ukraine crisis in 2014. The internal conflicts "such as the beatings, shooting, and the law of January 16, 2014, that have catalysed the anger and motivations of those at the barricades" (Marples, 2017, p. 30) could not be curbed by the western policy. Given the Neoclassical realism, the reason of protesting ideology to overthrow the existing government in Ukraine inhibits the EU leaders from extracting and mobilising their resources due to the publicly common ideas of the Ukrainians to overthrow the leadership of Yanukovych as the proper role for Ukraine and its economy. Similarly, Pleshakov also emphasized that

> Ukraine is a divided nation, but its divisions are more intricate than the Pro-European and the Pro-Russian. Every conflict on its territory involves numerous regional agents, conflated and fluid local identities make Ukraine's territorial integrity frail. In foreign policy, this makes it a swing state. Domestically, the power of regional actors undercuts the authority of the central government in the Kiev (Pleshakov, 2017, p. 19).

The statements of Pleshakov had certain ideas associated with the Neoclassical realism, the ideology of Pro-Western policy that had facilitated and inhibited the Ukraine leaders from extracting and mobilising national resources depending on the social requirements for a series of proper arrangement to benefit Ukraine and its economy. Again, the Pro-European policy and Pro-Russian policy as international challenges had influenced the national policies of Ukraine to respond to it by Ukraine's actors. Consequently, the Ukraine crisis and annexation of Crimea are the facts to illustrate the limitation of Pro-Western policy and its power politics. "From the other direction the west was criticized for failing to pay adequate attention to the full implications of what was going on in Kiev in February 2014 and supporting what was in the end, an anti-democratic seizure of power" (Freedman, 2019, p. 100). Given Neoclassical realism, Freedman's statement can be defined as the western leaders attempt to maximise their powers by differently deciding Ukraine beyond the goal of national survival. Further estimation of the limitation of western policy in the case of the Ukraine conflict can be observed in some oligarchs who utilised their powers within the protest issue purposely to protect their wealth, including the Rinat Akhmetov and Dmytro Firtash. For some protestors, the barricades are another issue related to the low paying job, but the key problem is the corruption and inequality of living standard after the independence of Ukraine in 1991 (Marples, 2017, p. 30). The corruption and inequality of the living standards in Ukraine are the obstacles that led the western power to have no direct solution to dissolve the problems. More attention on the limitation of western Europe's politics via the statement of Marples can be observed in the statement,

the protests were how less about the EU and more about the future of Ukraine. More attention was paid to the innate and grotesque corruption of the ruling regime, of the prevalence of oligarchs who had enriched themselves at the expense of the state, of the lack of legal reforms. These protests had two immediate results. One was the agreement of Yanukovych to sacrifice his Prime Minister, Mykola Azarov, who tried to make a compromise with opposition leaders (Marples, 2017, p. 43).

Referring to Marples's statements above, the conflict between the protesters and former politicians in Ukraine had changed the style of national policy (conflict policy) in divergently classified societies of Ukraine, and also changed the political relationship between the EU and Ukraine on the international level, defined by the Neoclassical realism approach. Overall speaking, the statement by Pleshakov, transition to sovereignty can be relatively smooth only when the birth of a nation-sate is preceded by the emergence of a nation. That was certainly not the case with Ukraine. A state but not yet a nation, Ukraine struggles like a forced bulb. In this condition, encouraging it to choose between Russia and Europe means exerting too much pressure on the fragile domestic balance. In 2013–2016, that pressure brought unendurable distress (Pleshakov, 2017, p. 19).

is similar to the assumptions of Neoclassical realism approach. It highlighted that the domestic actors in Ukraine had affected the nature of internal policy by responding to the external policies such as the Pro-Western policy and the Pro-Russia policy between 2013 and 2016, and the mixed ideologies (Pro-Western policy and the Pro-Russia policy) facilitated and influenced leaders in Ukraine based on the contents of ideologies and publicly common ideas to decide the proper role of Ukraine and its economy.

During the presidency of Yanukovych in Ukraine, he was considered as his party's favourite as well as the supporters in eastern Ukraine to retain his political career. Although the eastern region supported Yanukovych, the issue to sign the Association Agreement (AA) caused him to lose his party and supporters, especially those communists who preferably integrate with Russia to make him withdraw the AA agreement (Marples, 2017, pp. 23– 24; Walker, 2015, p. 144). Given the Neoclassical realism approach, the Ukraine policies were affected by Yanukovych's party to ignore or distort the real international circumstance, denying to sign the AA agreement with the Pro-Western policy.

A deal on pre-term elections agreed with the EU negotiation on 21 February 2014 would have allowed Yanukovych to stay in power in the interim, and Putin was furious at the perceived bad faith of the west in not upholding the deal (Sakwa, 2017, p. 155).

Hence, the ideology of signing AA agreement inhibited Yanukovych's efforts to extract and mobilise internal resources in Ukraine depending on the extents of Putin's power, EU engagement, and internal societies regarding the proper role and its economy for Ukraine as what Neoclassical realists believed. Additionally, although human rights are the western policy in Europe, it failed to control the situation in Ukraine. The resignation of Yanukovych and his cabinet of ministers should be punished by justice based on his cruel actions against his people upon the use of gunfire, kidnapping, and violence in the case of Ukraine conflict and more seriously to provide opportunities for the protestor's demand (Marples, 2017, p. 31). Unfortunately, Yanukovych's human rights policy is irrelevant to the EU policy. He ordered troops to use live ammunition against protestors until he lost his majority support in the parliament as well as letting oppositional parties overthrown his regime (Marples, 2017, p. 37). These are what the Neoclassical realists say as "[the] state leader [who seeks] to maximize his power is likely to make [different] decision than ... [to pursue] the more modest goal of national survival" (Fordham, 2009, p. 254) as well as the policies that affect both existing style and timing of national policies and the EU policies. Moreover, the AA agreement "was far more than an economic and technical agreement, but also covered military security issue and in the short-term offered little in the way of economic support" (Sakwa, 2017, p. 152). In the viewpoint of Neoclassical realism on Sakwa's statement, the innovative AA agreement was countered by leading western states to provide limited incentives for Ukraine due to the competitive nature of the international system in the world. The truth is that the existence of EU policy does not prove as the realistic policy for all nations in continental Europe, such as the case of Ukraine conflict. Due to the escalation of protests and the failure of the government against the protesters regarding the postponement of the AA signing issue, the public had the wrong perception on the authority of Mykola Azarov as the former prime minister who, despite being the first to lose his politics power in the Donetsk-based cabinet, in truth, was still in authority (Marples, 2017, p. 26). For the modest goal of state survival as the Neoclassical realism approach, Mr. Azarov, as the leader, made different decisions conversely to the former government to maximise his power purposely to retain his authority. However, the authority of Azarov did not reign long due to fewer delegates in the former parliament. Marples states that

> the [opposite] sides that they can effect change through parliament. They do not have sufficient delegates. It is uncertain whether a call for a general strike would meet

with approval, particularly in the eastern industrial regions, where there is much, justifiable fear over what a deep and comprehensive free trade agreement with the EU would bring in Ukraine (Marples, 2017, pp. 26–27).

Those domestic actors already affect the current style and timing of national policy to sign the AA agreement as well as affecting the nature of international response related to the policy of EU based on the assumption of Neoclassical realism approach. EU initiative policies that were launched in 2009 had no prospect of future membership; therefore, derided as enlargement-lite by certain western scholars (Kuzio, 2015, p. 111) considering the ability of domestic actors of EU members to affect foreign policies related to membership of Eastern Europe to respond to international challenges. Referring to Marples's statement on the issue of the eastern trend,

opinion polls that show the east and south opposed to the protests become irrelevant when a focused and determined minority decides to choose its own fate and not wait for the elected government or opposition. But now surely is the time for the latter to take the initiative to outline its demands and decide on a single leader to face Yanukovych or his Region Party successor in early presidential elections. If it does not manage to lead and control the result could be chaos and further bloodshed in the streets (Marples, 2017, p. 31)

due to the unwillingness of eastern society to accept the western policy, as well as the threat imposed by western policy concerning their interests in eastern Ukraine. The confrontations between the eastern and western society already affected various decisions in terms of styles and timings on national policies as explained by Neoclassical realism. As an aftermath of the brutal acts imposed by the government, the rise of local leaders against the government was observed, as in the case of Chechnya President Ramzan Kadyrov because the citizens of Ukraine believed their country was disintegrating due to territory integrity for over twenty-three years (Marples, 2017, p. 57). The disintegrated situation in eastern Ukraine could be viewed on the case of Donetsk-based regime as a removal of Ukraine legacy in 1991, defined by the scholar, Marples, as "no means clear that the interim government could offer unity and compromise. The financial crisis in mid-April is much worse than was the case in late November. Ukraine badly needs help today as it mourns its victims" (Marples, 2017, p. 45). In the case of Donetsk-based regime that matched the Neoclassical realism's explanation, domestic actors in eastern Ukraine has no will to obey the former Ukrainian government, which was transformed into a disintegrated country that affects the style of national policies irrelevantly with their existing policies. In terms of coal generation in eastern Ukraine, the failure to cooperate between Ukraine and EU had led the coal business to decline dramatically from January through April 2014, as statistically illustrated by "0.4% at 27.87 million tons, signifying a potential annual output of around 83 million tons" due to the confrontation between local government and those separatists (Marples, 2017, p. 54). Unfortunately, Pro-Western policy did not prove any efficiency in the case of Ukraine crisis based on the internal chaos, as well as the broken western style of human rights in Ukraine. Domestically, the Ukrainian government and those separatists had ignored or distorted the objectives of the international circumstance such as the Pro-Western policy and Pro-Russian policy that is directly affecting the Ukrainian policy as explained by the Neoclassical realism approach. Finally, the failure of the Minsk agreement to ensure stabilisation of eastern conflict in Ukraine could be referred to the Foerster's statement.

France and Germany were intent on finding an elusive diplomatic solution and were unwilling to send either arms or substantial economic assistance, and the UK and US were ambivalent about both including the military resistance to authorize the law of Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014 (Foerster, 2017, p. 56).

Leaders of France, Germany, the UK, and the US might consider their national securities to mobilise and maintain their strategies in the Ukrainian region to objectively foreclose alliance opportunities as the assumption of Neoclassical realism approach.

To view the situation in western Ukraine through the case of Ukraine conflict, we have no clear idea as how to measure the western policy either as a desire to be a part of Europe or a wish to remove the current government because the western policy has no real actions to decide the fate of Ukraine based on the cruel events such as shooting, kidnapping and others against local people as instructed by the Yanukovych leadership (Marples, 2017, p. 34). Referring to the Neoclassical realism approach, Yanukovych leadership had affected the internal policies in Ukraine with his brutal policy against civilians, as well as the international policy in terms of delaying to sign the AA agreement with Western Europe. Diversified protests in Kiev could not be settled by the Pro-Western policy, including official government during the Euromaidan revolution. The Neoclassical realist approach was assumed to define those domestic actors in Ukraine that affected both the styles and timings of national and international policies. It could be observed by Fomina's statement,

Ukrainian NGO's, as well as unaffiliated activities, organized protests in front of the Russian embassy as well as rallies and public events in support of the pro-democratic civic opposition in Ukraine. These events gathered rank and file Ukrainian workers, students, settled Ukrainian minority in Poland, as well as many Poles, including politicians and other well-known public figures. A civic committee for solidarity with Ukraine united outstanding Polish public figures, including some representatives of the Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian minority in Poland as well as settled Ukrainian (Fomina, 2017, p. 86).

In fact, from November 2013 to the end of February 2014, protestors gathered on the Kiev's central square, in a series of demonstrations known as the Euromaidan. This protest has involved several distinct stages, culminating in what some analysts have called a national revolution that

removed the government and presidency of Yanukovych (Marples, 2017, p. 41).

The leadership removal ideology in Kiev can impede the leader, as Yanukovych's efforts to extract and mobilise national resources (either approaching the Pro-Western policy or Pro-Russian policy) for the proper roles of Ukraine and the economy based on the publicly common ideas such as a series of demonstration in Kiev central square, which is similar to the Neoclassical realism approach. This Euromaidan protest was not only involved by students, but also protestors from the age range of 30-40 years old as they were not prepared to compromise with western Ukraine where the local regions no longer deal with the government of Yanukovych, but established their rules instead (Marples, 2017, p. 43). According to the Neoclassical realists, the act of the domestic actors had affected both local policy styles in Ukraine and international policy styles, especially the EU policies, despite their age differences. The younger generation prefers the EU policy, as opposed to the older generation (those over the age of 55) whose views represent over 28 per cent of Ukraine population in 2012 (Marples, 2017, p. 23). The domestic actors between younger and older generations affected the decision of the Ukraine government to sign the AA agreement, which directly affected the integration of continental Europe through the existing of EU policy. This is the point that capably explained by the Neoclassical realism assumption. As emphasized by Marples regarding the Neoclassical realism approach, the EU policy might not attract the older generation in Ukraine. The polarised situation happened because both sides exhibited different characters and personnel, whereby the government has a various gang of thugs that spread from the city of Kiev to the principals of Kharkiv and Donetsk. At the same time, several local militias were formed on the opposite sides, such as the Pravyi Sector, i.e. the rightist group and Batkivshchyna as a self-defence group (Marples, 2017, p. 43). The internal conflicts in Ukraine do not conform to the western policy, such as the EU and UN policies. It means that the Pro-Western policy is not effective in assisting Ukraine. Consequently, the

Ukrainian government that governed by Yanukovych and Interior Minister Vitalii Zakharenko bear the main responsibility, ordered troops to fire on protesters by using live ammunition, situating snipers on rooftops who picked off targets at will. The government had begun to slaughter its own people. It was the moment of no return. The numbers of dead approached 100, hundreds more were wounded, many severely. But the assault, remarkably, failed and the protesters remained in place (Marples, 2017, p. 44).

Again here, the statement of Marples could be explained by the Neoclassical realism approach where the leaders such as Yanukovych and Zakharenko brutally launched military forces against internal protesters as different decision to pave their ways to maximise their powers without considering the national survival. In addition, the mindsets of both leaders extracted and mobilised national resources based on their extents of ideologies to consider supportive governmental ideas as the proper roles for Ukraine. After the resignation of Yanukovych, finally, "negotiations in the Minsk, under the auspices of the OSCE, resulted in a shaky ceasefire on 26 August, but agreement on a permanent solution remained out of reach" (Rutland, 2015, p. 131) during Poroshenko presidency to prove certain limitations of Pro-Western policies to influence Eastern Europe. In terms of the Neoclassical realism approach, the ideology of Minsk agreement also inhibits leaders from mobilising and extracting resources depending on the contents of Minsk agreement and the leadership, which is irrelevant in Eastern Europe occupied by separatists for a proper role in Eastern Europe and its economy. Additionally, a western policy such as NATO's Article 4 does not carry the reality of collective security guarantees for the NATO partners in terms of Partnership for Peace (PfP; Moore, 2017, p. 168). Moore's statement is able to explain by the Neoclassical realism, the ideology of PfP inhibiting leaders of NATO to extract and mobilise resources depending on the ideology of PfP as a publicly common idea for proper role in the states, including Ukraine as well as a

selection of foreign policies is a choice for states within NATO members. The following part explains the limitations of NATO through the contents of the weakness of NATO military power.

The Weakness of NATO Military Power

The weakness of NATO expansion to influence the internal politics in Ukraine as well as the interest of Eastern Europe could be traced back to the statement of Herpen and the definition by Walker,

the weak reaction of most European government and politicians, which oscillate between appeasement and open support for the Russia. This appeasement did not start in August, but can be traced back to the Bucharest NATO summit of April in 2008, when the France and the Germany blocked the Membership Action Plan for the Georgia and the Ukraine, which was a signal to the Moscow to accelerate its aggressive policy towards both countries as proven statements to demonstrate the limitation of NATO policy to deter Eastern Europe (Herpen, 2014, p. 247; Walker, 2015, p. 141).

To understand the above statements contributed by Herpen and Walker through the Neoclassical realism assumption, the obstacle in mobilisation was high in Russia and the country had faced a low level of external vulnerability in 2008 but leaders like Putin still fear a new long-term threat in the future. Thus, a series of military employment in Ukraine is the fact to defy NATO enlargement in Eastern Europe. In addition, Russia's military employment also proved that the state leader, Putin, attempts to maximise his power using different ways to weaken the state of Ukraine, as well as military employment against NATO's power. However, he does not consider deeply for Russia's survival. It proved the assumption of Neoclassical realism. According to Kuzio (2015), "in April 2008, Putin told the NATO-Russia Council at the Bucharest NATO Summit that Ukraine was a fragile and artificial state, warning it would disintegrate if it joined NATO" (p. 110). Putin's decision is similar to the Neoclassical realist's viewpoint that state leaders attempt to maximise their power based on different decisions, but not necessarily as a goal of national survival for Ukraine. Additionally, the Membership Action Plan (MAP) created by the NATO members were also internally opposed by Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, due to "fear of a Russia backlash and lack of substantive reform in Ukraine" (Wolff, 2017, p. 74) because the domestic actors within NATO members could affect NATO policies, including styles, timings, and nature of responses to respond to the challenge of Russia backlash, referring to the Neoclassical realism approach. The deterrence between Russia and NATO makes it hard to achieve the goal due to the weaponry business relationship between France (one of the NATO members) and Russia, established since 2008. The weaponry business relationship involved one-billion Euro sales between the NATO countries and Russia but it was warned by the US on December 18, 2009, to prevent the military power of Russia against NATO in the future based on the failure of ceasefire commitments to retreat from Georgia and Moldovan (Herpen, 2014, p. 248). However, the business had been diplomatically established between NATO countries and Russia, making it difficult for NATO to launch military power against Russia through an economic interest in terms of military business. From the Neoclassical realist's viewpoint, the competitive nature of the international system provides incentives for Russia to emulate politic, military, and technological practice in France successfully. Referring to the 2010 Lisbon and 2012 Chicago Summit, NATO offered no initiative to promote military integration or political reform based on specific causes, such as the anti-enlargement Victor Yanukovych as the Ukrainian leader in 2010, hostility of Russia against the NATO enlargement, and the condemnation of western support for the Ukraine (Wolff, 2017, p. 74). NATO offered no military integration in Ukraine as stated by Fordham "state decision-makers consider both domestic and international friends and adversaries when making foreign policy choices" (Fordham, 2009, p. 253) as one of the Neoclassical realism assumptions.

NATO leader, the US, made a wrong political direction after the military withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan. Obama, the ex-president of the US, was more focused on internal affairs without concerning Europe policies, which downplayed the importance of NATO (Herpen, 2014, p. 251). The statement of Herpen indicated the weakness of US policies to avoid confrontation in Russia, especially regarding the Ukraine crisis. As indicated by the Neoclassical realism assumption, US distorted international circumstance in the Ukraine crisis due to the decision of shifted policy in the US. Herpen's statement also indicated the assumption of Neoclassical realism, as the ignorance of Europe policy from the US was based on certain political actors and policy-makers in the US. However, their final decision choices depended on bargaining among relevant politicians and institutions, including NATO. Unfortunately, they did not realise the aggressiveness of Russia's policy. Meanwhile, NATO military power has limited enlargement that could be referred to Wolff's statement, "NATO's current position is to delay any discussion of Ukrainian membership until Ukraine demonstrates tangible progress in its military and political reforms and solves its security problems in the Crimea and the Donbas region" (Wolff, 2017, p. 75). Because NATO considers the mobilisation and maintaining of broad strategies in Europe as national security, NATO leaders might rationally think Ukraine's ideologies that foreclose alliance opportunities as the fact of Neoclassical realism existence. Consequently,

> NATO allies have provided only non-lethal security assistance to the Ukraine, despite appeals for the lethal military aid from the Ukrainian president, Petro Poroshenko, as well as the NATO commander, Gen. Philip Breedlove and the former NATO commander Adm. James Stavridis, among others (Moore, 2017, p. 180).

Additionally, NATO's PfP plan is not compliant and expected through the Ukraine crisis due to its "limited security guarantees for states not included in the collective [defence] mechanism" (Ivanov, 2017, p. 136). Referring to the Neoclassical

realism assumption, the competitive nature of the international system provides restricted incentives for Ukraine due to individual leading states, including NATO members to counter political. military and technological practices in Ukraine through innovation by the NATO's plan or strategy. The facts concerning the Ukraine crisis and the Crimea annexation are reflected in Kalb's questions, "So what would the NATO do? What would the US do? If they did little to nothing, what would be the value of NATO? NATO, in fact, would be seen as toothless and irrelevant, and the US would be seen as a pitiful, helpless giant" (Kalb, 2015, p. 169). NATO, led by the US, feared Russia's political powers in terms of aggressive occupation of the Crimea territory, interference of the sovereignty of Ukraine, and illegal weaponry supplement in Ukraine. Kalb's questions Eastern also incorporate the Neoclassical realism approach, whereby both the US and NATO affected specific policies to either ignore or distort the objectives of international circumstances such as the deterrence between Western Europe and Eastern Europe. Neoclassical realism is a useful tool to explain foreign policy choices of states, which is suitable in explaining the decisive policies of the US and NATO.

The Failure of Pro-Western Policies in the Case of Ukraine Crisis

The Budapest Declaration in 1994 signed by Russia, the UK, and the US related to the UN Charter, OSCE, or NATO partnership contained no assurance for Ukraine after the annexation of Crimea with Russia (Foerster, 2017,p. 56; Freedman, 2019, p. 101) because Neo-realists consider the decision-makers among Russia, the UK, and the US might consider their national securities to mobilise and maintain supported strategies differently in Ukraine as the appearance of aggressiveness foreclose the alliance opportunities in the case of Ukraine crisis. The issue of Deep and Comprehensive free trade Agreement (DCFT) before the signing of AA on March 30, 2012, can be traced back, where the EU launched a serial policy for the improvement of the legal juridical system, prison confinement, election laws, and the releasing issue of former Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, due to the lapse on selective justice during her presidency in Ukraine as delaying causes to sign the AA agreement (Marples, 2017, p. 14; Herpen, 2014, p. 243). This statement proves that EU politics interfered with the sovereignty of Ukraine before the issue of signing AA in 2013. It seems that the above statements of Marples and Herpen are similar to the Neoclassical realism assumption, where the EU leaders might enhance their powers with alternative decisions such as improvement of legal juridical system, prison confinement, election laws and the releasing issue of the ex-former Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko that were not considered survival of entire continental Europe. "Russia and the Atlantic powers entered into an intense security competition in the Caucasus and the Ukraine" that hardly "to understand how what was in essence not much more than a technical agreement between the Ukraine and the EU escalated into crisis" (Sakwa, 2017, p. 152) because both sides of decision-makers between the Russia and Atlantic states consider international adversaries based on security policy choices for Ukraine as the Neoclassical realists believed. "After Yanukovych won election to the presidency in February 2010, he moved quickly to centralise political power and bring Ukraine back into Moscow's orbit" (Rutland, 2015, p. 128) as the planned intention to disobey Pro-Western policies offered by EU. Yanukovych, the Neoclassical realist who intends to enhance his power, might consider his or the Ukraine interest more than national survival. In the year of 2013, the signing AA issue had been postponed. This is another failure of the EU to attract Ukraine into joining the EU policies. The EU had no idea to provide realistic opinions for the internal political problems in Ukraine during the presidency of Yanukovych. In explaining the statement of Herpen by the Neoclassical realism assumption, a series of proposed juridical systems from the EU organisation were ignored, and the objectives of international circumstances were distorted, such as the existing Ukraine situation and its relationship with Russia.

Meanwhile, those domestic political actors and policymakers in the organisation of EU preferred to involve their initial policy-making process for Ukraine. Still, the final policy choice depended on the relevant political actors and institutions between EU and Ukraine, where EU did not realise that the policy choice had provoked Russia causing military intervention in the case of Ukraine crisis in 2014. "The political association agreement with the EU was signed on 21 March 2014, and the economic chapters on 21 June but [the] implementation of the economic dimension was postponed for a year as an incentive to Russia to help bring peace to East Ukraine" (Rutland, 2015, p. 131). To explain Rutland's indication by the Neoclassical realism, internal actors in the EU members can alter political and economic agreement to delay its implementation to respond to international challenges related to the Russian intervention in Ukraine. Yanukovych had lost his support in the regions of East and West because he was unable to resolve the economic difficulties and failed to fulfil the election promise.

Furthermore, his ideology was supported by the communist and the UDAR, which are not relevant to the policy of EU, leading to political division, violence on the streets of Kiev, the flight of Yanukovych, and chaos in Ukraine (Marples, 2017, p. 15; Walker, 2015, p. 144). The economic difficulties in Ukraine have been declining since its independence in 1991. It means that wherever the ways the EU is involved or engaged, the economic sphere in Ukraine might hardly improve. Referring to the statement of Marples,

> Ukraine's economic situation is very difficult. One can begin with the catastrophic decline in population since independence from 52.5 to the present 44.5 million, a drop of over 15% in 22 years. Its GDP fell by 1.3% in the second quarter of 2013, though over the entire year a modest growth of 0.5% is anticipated (Marples, 2017, p. 15).

Given the Neoclassical realism assumption to explain both statements of Marples, the belief of an economic declination is publicly held by the civilians who were inhibited by Yanukovych's efforts to extract and mobilise national resources because they believed that the current leader was unable to flourish the economic sphere in Ukraine. The EU agreement is not a long-term solution in continental Europe, including the internal affairs in Ukraine. Despite the world politics being realistic and self-protecting, it cannot be resolved by agreements. The failure of launching agreement can be observed through the case of the Ukraine conflict,

> the agreement with the EU is simply a business solution that will keep the Russian oligarchs out of their domain. In turn, the Ukrainian opposition perceives its task as supporting what it terms the criminal government in its path towards the Europe before defeating it in the elections. Implicitly, the EU is for the moment at least enhancing the re-election chances of the regional leader simply by dealing with him (Marples, 2017, p. 19).

Marples's statement is similar to the assumption of Neoclassical realism, where the Ukrainian opposition parties could affect the national policy and its relationship with the EU by the case of signing the AA agreement as an international response. Yanukovych's identity was linked with his Donetsk background to support and work with Russian demands and Crimean as well as giving "free rein to Russia's intelligence services in Crimea" (Kuzio, 2015, p. 111). The acts of Yanukovych to support Russia and Crimea are similar to the Neoclassical realism assumption, "opportunistic expansion has always been a core principle of the realist state due to anarchy and uncertainty about other state's intentions create an irreducible level of fear among states that leads to power maximizing [behaviour]" (Schweller, 2009, p. 231). Moreover, the NATO policy also has its weakness, especially weaponry trade involving the EU members in continental Europe, as according to Sloan "the intervening years since the end of Cold War did not prepare the Allies for this shock to the system as they had largely avoided talking about threats except to observe that the Cold War one had passed" (Sloan, 2017, p. 245) as the failed solution to treat the Ukraine crisis. Sloan's statement is similar to the Neoclassical realists who believe that the NATO interest and its institution affected specific policies internally are due to its imperfect delivering restriction by objectively ignoring or

distorting international circumstance as a threat after the Cold War period. It might be correctly stated by Marples, where the free trade interconnection between the EU and Ukraine might gain benefits through the construction of the AA policy, which will decline the dependence of oil and gas from Russia (Marples, 2017, p. 18). However, the fact was that the postponement to sign the AA during the Yanukovych presidency led to the aftermath of internal conflict and political division happening in Ukraine. The perception of Yanukovych already impeded his will to extract and mobilise national resources by neither signing the AA immediately nor joining Russia's policy based on his extents of opinion with national interest about the proper role of Ukraine and its economy, indicating the assumption of Neoclassical realism. In addition, the EU's ignorance and patience behaviour motivated the slow progress of internal decision without meaningful reform in the Ukrainian parliament and cabinet to deal with the AA policy (Marples, 2017, pp. 18–19). Regarding the Neoclassical realism approach, foreign policy choice influenced the EU's initial decision considering Ukraine as an acquaintance by the AA agreement. However, the case of AA postponement would initiate adversary effects on the friendship based on the internal conflict in Ukraine.

The reflection of the Ukraine crisis and its conflict had demonstrated specific weaknesses of the US policies. The hegemonic power is the question mark in the case of the Ukraine crisis. It seems that the US feared Russia aggression to defy NATO and the EU's policies in Eastern Europe. Regarding the trend of western leaders trend in the case of Ukraine crisis, narrowing down to the focusing of leadership in the US, Marples stated "Senator John McClain does not represent Barrack Obama. In fact, he is a loose cannon, known for his savage attacks on authoritarian governments but not for bringing about their removal" (Marples, 2017, p. 26). The US distorts the objective to remove the authoritarian government by affecting national policy in Ukraine as the reason to match with the Neoclassical realism assumption. Additionally, Pro-Western policy such as the "renewed NATO commitment to use partnership concept beyond the NATO's current status to keep open door for the Ukraine including Georgia and potential new members" as the negative impact to erupt the internal conflict in Ukraine and the deterrence of Russia intervention (Moore, 217, p. 185) because those decision-makers among the NATO members and Russia could consider both domestic and international friendship or adversaries when making foreign policy choices, as well as altering styles or timing of policies by domestic actors in Ukraine naturally to respond to NATO partnership concept, as assumed by the Neoclassical realism approach. A reasonable statement was declared by Herpen,

> Obama's oversized self-confidence in the field of foreign affairs. Improvisational was still a friendly characterization because the Obama administration took from the beginning the wrong approach toward the Russia. Instead of taking a tough stance after the Russian invasion and dismemberment of Georgia, Obama started a reset, which transmitted the implicit message that the US would not sanction further Russian aggression (Herpen, 2014, p. 252).

but he simply shifted the foreign policy from Europe to Asia called the 'Asian Pivot' (Herpen, 2014, p. 253), which had less military assistance in Europe (Herpen, 2014, p. 258). Herpen's statements can be explained by the Neoclassical realism, with Obama as the state decision-maker in the US who agreed on the friendship with Russia in terms of diplomatic relationship through foreign policy choice decided by Obama. Moreover, Obama's decision to shift the military, foreign policy from Europe to Asia as the Neoclassical realism's viewpoint defined Obama as a state leader who sought and maximised his power to make a different decision without considering the direct point for the US and Europe survivals. According to the Polish expert, Jadwiga Kiwerska,

> Obama's confidential conversation with Medvedev at the end of March 2012, in which the US president was reported to have said in an undertone that after winning re-election, he will have more room for [manoeuvre] as concerns the missile shield, was alarming for the Poles. The credibility of Obama, who purportedly hides his real intentions before

the allies and reveals them to the Russia was put into question. Obama was clearly more focused on establishing good relations with the Kremlin than with the new NATO members (Herpen, 2014, p. 253).

The fact to prove Obama's administration was more focused on the diplomatic relations between the US and Russia is communicated by Herpen,

> Poland annexed the solidarity of NATO membership, Obama provided weak response, he announced the imposition of unacceptable costs on the Russia if it continued its aggression, which seemed to imply that the west could eventually accept the occupation and annexation of the Crimea, if the Russia stopped there (Herpen, 2014, pp. 257–258).

No doubt, state decision-maker likes Obama considered the best option to choose a reasonable foreign policy to deal with Russia as international friendship more than NATO membership, demonstrating the point of Neoclassical realism assumption. Meanwhile, for the European leaders, they did not improve the terms of AA policy and firmly to commit with Ukraine's leaders as well as they did not explicitly discuss future movements (Marples, 2017, p. 26). The European state policy-makers preferably input into the process of policy-making and the final policy choices depending on how those political actors bargained among relevant political actors and institutions between the EU and Ukraine. However, they may not get positive impacts in the future, as the explanation of Neoclassical realism. Marples's statement above indicated the failure of western policy in luring Ukraine into the EU orbit. "The Western players underestimated the importance of Ukraine to Putin and his willingness to break the rules of the post-1991 international system in order to prevent what he saw as threats to Russia's national interests" (Rutland, 2015, p. 131). Rutland's description of Putin's intention to maximise his power through his varied decision to treat western players as a threat without concerning Russia's survival proved to be similar to the Neoclassical realism assumption. Moreover, the European's nonsense requirement to release the ex-Prime Minister, Tymoshenko, within the policy of AA had signalled Yanukovych to commit with the EU in the late November 2013 (Marples, 2017, p. 42), but the truth is not so smooth for the political relationship between the EU and Ukraine. The failure of the Ukrainian government to sign the AA agreement at the Vilnius summit on November 2013 subsequently erupted the Euromaidan Evolution in Ukraine (Marples, 2017, p. 33). To explain Marples's statements by the Neoclassical realism approach, the idea to release Tymoshenko from the EU policy had inhibited Yanukovych from extracting and mobilising national resources for the publicly common idea to sign the AA agreement as to the proper role for Ukraine and its economy. The failure of the Ukraine government in signing the AA agreement in the Vilnius summit affected its national policy by ignoring the objective of international circumstance with EU organisation. Consequently, an interim meeting among Poland, French, Germany, Ukrainian former government, and opposition leaders in Ukraine on February 21, 2014, was purposely meant to "reduce the powers of the presidency-returning to the situation" and an election would be established [at] the end of the year (Marples, 2017, p. 43). State policy-makers in Ukraine initially contribute to the policy-making process through assistance with Poland, French, and Germany to decide the final policy choice (reduce the powers of the presidency-returning) depending on the relevant political actors among the Poland, French, and Germany that govern the policy-making process as the assumption of Neoclassical realism. However, it is considered helpless assistance due to the Russian invasion in Eastern Europe to support those separatists to engage political division internally in Ukraine. Consequently, the

> Ukrainian government was overthrown based on the incident of Orange Revolution. The EU and US also failed to influence the course of events in the later stage. Some of the militants from the protests, for example, took over the Ministry of Internal Affairs threats from anti-Maidan elements to split the country initially proved futile. The

Right Sector, an integral part of the more violent aspects of the Euromaidan, has been removed from central Kyiv by the Ukrainian police (Marples, 2017, p. 44).

According to Neoclassical realism, domestic actors in Ukraine could affect the style and timing of national policy as well as affecting international responses in the EU and US.

After the Yanukovych presidency, a new president, Mr. Poroshenko, was elected. He immediately signed the AA agreement with the EU, but the negative impact is that it hardly provides a good return. It could be observed through the effect of the coal industry in Donbas, i.e. signing the EU agreement of economic integration has not assisted the enhancement of the economic benefits of the coal industry, especially in Donbas. It was due to the complete abandon of subsidies in the field of coal. Instead, the region was involved in the war (Marples, 2017, p. 55). Although the idea of signing the AA agreement was carried out by Mr. Poroshenko, the idea still inhibited him from extracting and mobilising Ukrainian resources to be integrated into Donbas economy due to the autonomy in Donbas that was assumed as the best solution. This is the assumption of Neoclassical realism approach. The AA agreement with EU is still regarded as a failure because many refugees and displaced persons had fled abroad, mostly to Russia, according to the UN data on August 2015 (Pleshakov, 2017, p. 133). Moreover, the current president, Mr. Poroshenko, did not intend to re-balance the political and diplomatic relations with Russia. Will Mr. Poroshenko regain Crimea under the sovereignty of Ukraine through the assistance of the UN or EU in the future? Does the Pro-Western policy capable to dissolve the aggressive policy of Russia? The signed AA failure agreement demonstrated the assumption of Neoclassical realism, domestic actors including the leader, Poroshenko in the Ukraine were affected various styles and timings of national policies as well as affecting international policies to respond among the Russia and EU.

> The EU's plan to open up the Ukrainian economy brought it into conflict with Putin's efforts to create a deeper

economic union in the post-Soviet space. This was a priority for Putin, who was determined to forestall the expansion of EU influence and the presumed [democratisation] that would accompany it (Rutland, 2015, p. 129).

Putin, as the Neoclassical realist offers specific incentives in terms of Economy for Ukraine as an emulation of the thriving economy compared to the EU's plan through his innovative strategies to counter the EU expansion to the east. In fact,

> 92 UN member states refused to judge Russia's action in the Crimea. The handful of countries that joined Russia in voting against the [US-sponsored] UN resolution to condemn the annexation were either perennially anti-America or eating from the Moscow's hand: Armenia, Belarus, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, North Korea, Sudan, Syria, Venezuela and Zimbabwe. [Nevertheless], among the countries that either abstained or did not vote were several third-world powerhouses and the US allies, including Afghanistan, Argentina, China, India, Iraq, Israel and Pakistan. All were involved in territorial disputes with other countries; none wanted the west as an arbiter (Pleshakov, 2017, p. 127).

as an obvious statement to remark as the failure of Pro-Western policies in the case of Ukraine Crisis.

Conclusion

The purpose of the UN Charter is mainly to maintain a peaceful community in the world after the WW2. Realistically, despite the existence of the UN Charter, chaos, conflict, and war are still emerging anywhere from time to time. In addition, the existing NATO and EU organisation did not function well to handle the causes of chaos, conflict, and war; thus, it reflects negatively on the statements of the UN Charter. The truth can be observed in the incidents of the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation. The

outcomes in the cases of Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation could reflect specific functional weaknesses in the organisations of NATO and EU, which could not achieve the vision of UN to maintain equal peace in continental Europe. This chapter is based on the result of content analysis technique to analyse and discuss the limitations of NATO and EU to reflect the unrealistic principles of UN through three sections, i.e. the limitation of western policy in the Ukraine conflict, the weakness of NATO military power, and the failure of Pro-Western policies in the case of Ukraine crisis. The first section, i.e. the limitation of western policy in the Ukraine conflict can be observed through the explanation by Freedman, whereby Obama's administration was too cautious besides underestimation of Putin authoritarianism. The situation where the Russian leader considers the US as an enemy based on foreign policy choices could be referred to by the Neoclassical realism approach. Freedman also stated that western styles of economic sanctions were not relevant to the plans of western countries that were contrarily offering trading trends in Russia to prove the Neoclassical realism, in the assumption that Western Europe could change the styles or timings of economic sanctions based on trading policies with Russia to respond to international challenge such as the Ukraine crisis. Another scholar, Marples, explained the Euromaidan Evolution as the incident to demonstrate the failure of EU policies to stop and control protestors and separatists from overthrowing the Ukrainian government as well as its failure to unify all civilians in the orbit of Pro-Western policies. This situation is correctly explained by the Neoclassical realism assumption, whereby the domestic actors in Ukraine not only affect the style and timing of national policies but also affect the international challenges, as seen in the infiltration of EU and Russia policies. Marples also emphasized the limitations with the functional western policies in the incident of barricades on January 16, 2014, to prove the protesting ideology that overthrew the existing government in Ukraine inhibited the EU leaders from extracting and mobilising their resources. This situation is due to the common public ideas of the Ukrainians that overthrew the leadership of Yanukovych as a proper role for Ukraine and its economy, as explained by Neoclassical realism. The Western policies failed to provide adequate supports in Kiev in February 2014, related to anti-democratic direction, referring to Freedman's statement. His statement can be defined by the Neoclassical realism approach where western leaders considered different decisions to enhance their powers but were not concerned regarding state survival in Ukraine. According to Pleshakov, the Ukraine conflict is regularly involved in various regional agents through foreign policies between the Pro-European and the Pro-Russian that is similar to the Neoclassical realism approach. The ideology of Pro-Western policy had facilitated and inhibited the Ukraine leaders from extracting and mobilising national resources depending on the social requirements for a series of proper arrangement to benefit Ukraine and its economy, while the Pro-European and Pro-Russian policies as international challenges had been influenced by the national policies of Ukraine leading to the response by the Ukraine actors. Marples also mentioned that many oligarchs, including Rinat Akhmetov and Dmytro Firtash, who were involved in the protest due to their powers are the cause of corruption and inequality of living standard in Ukraine; thus, abstaining the EU policies from resolving the internal problems in Ukraine. Limited Europe politics did not attract protesters to move into the EU. However, they would think about the future of Ukraine against the corrupted ruling regime led by internal oligarchs, including the case of Yanukovych who sacrificed his Prime Minister, Mykola Azarov, who was supported by opposition leaders. This complies with the statement of Marples, defined by the Neoclassical realism that the conflict among protesters and politicians have indeed transformed the national policies to conflict policies in the societies of Ukraine, as well as changing the international political relationship between the EU and Ukraine. Pleshakov stated that Ukraine had been struggling to be a nation through fragmentary domestic societies to encourage the internal population to choose between Russia and Europe. In the viewpoints of Neoclassical realism, domestic actors in Ukraine had affected the nature of internal policy by responding to the external policies such as the Pro-Western and the Pro-Russia policies. The ideologies that comprised of Pro-Western and Pro-Russia policies facilitated and inhabited Ukrainian leaders based on the contents of ideologies, and it is a frequent public idea to decide the proper role of Ukraine and its economy onwards. The unwillingness of Yanukovych's supporters in the eastern region to integrate with EU is defined by both Marples and Walker, where the concept of Neoclassical realist approach in Ukraine had been distorted by Yanukovych's party as well as distorting the international sphere of world order through his intention to sign the AA agreement. Sakwa also indicated that Yanukovych returned his power after pre-term elections, associated with the EU negotiation on February 21, 2014. However, his presidency was perceived as short period by Putin because the act of signing the AA agreement restricted Yanukovych's effort to utilise internal resources depending on three causes, i.e. Putin's power, EU engagement, and internal societies about the proper role and its economy for Ukraine, derived from the idea of Neoclassical realism. The causes of gunfire, kidnapping, and violence related to Yanukovych's administration and his members were opposed to the EU policies, especially the human rights issue. However, his acts enhanced the opportunity for protestors until he lost his political status, as defined by Marples. It referred to the Neoclassical realism approach defined by Fordham, in general term, Yanukovych's leadership as the state leader to seek and maximise his power is likely to make a different decision than to pursue the more modest goal of national survival. Neoclassical realism approach also related to Yanukovych aggressive acts against protestors that had affected both national and EU policies in the international order. The AA agreement also covered some military security issues with little and short-term solutions under the economic conditions based on Sakwa's statement. According to the Neoclassical realism approach to define Sakwa's statement, western states provide partial incentives in Ukraine through innovative agreement because the international system of the world is competitive. Marples also mentioned that the wrong public perception on the loss of political power of the prime minister, Mykola Azarov, in the region of Donetsk, is the assumption of Neoclassical realism. The leader, Mr. Azarov, had made different decisions conversely to the former government to maximise his power purposely to retain his authority. However, the failure to retain a more extended period of position for Mr. Azarov was due to fewer former delegations feared on the free-trade agreement of the EU policy to influence Ukrainian interests. Marples's statement is the real explanation regarding Neoclassical realism assumption, where both national policy and international level were affected by domestic actors such as Mr. Azarov. This Neoclassical realism assumption can explain the irrelevant societies in eastern Ukraine to deny the engagement of national policy to support the western policy as mentioned by Marples. Minor protestors in the eastern region disagree with supporting Ukrainian policy within the orbit of EU that led by Yanukovych's leadership. The disintegration of USSR is the cause for Ukrainians to have no intention to unify with the country, including the case of Donetsk-based regime, as emphasised by Marples, which can be defined similarly to the Neoclassical realism approach. Neo-classical realists believe that disintegrating perception among Ukrainian societies have been affecting the entire national policies as well as influencing international order, especially the EU policy. According to Kuzio's statement, many western scholars had interpreted the launched EU policies in 2009 to enlarge the policies in Eastern Europe as unreliable, and this is able to explain it by the Neoclassical realism approach, where EU internal actors can change EU policies to reflect international challenge such as the Ukraine crisis. It could be observed by Marples's statement, i.e. the case of declined coal generation in eastern Ukraine between January and April 2014 to indicate the denying of minority Ukrainians to obey to the rules of EU during the confrontation with the government. To further explain the Neoclassical realism approach, the confrontation between the government and separatists, in this case, is the problem to demonstrate the direct ignorance for both EU policy and Pro-Russia policy derived from the internal conflict. According to Marples's statement concerning the Neoclassical realism, Europe did not support Yanukovych's administration in handling cruel events in Ukraine, and the act affected external policy to delay the issue of signing AA agreement with Western Europe. There is no guarantee of stabilised Eastern Ukraine, based on the Minsk agreement as Foerster explained that western countries such as France, Germany, the US, and the UK did not support the Minsk agreement. In explaining Foerster's statement by the Neoclassical realism approach, the mentioned western countries might concern their security issues to deploy specific strategies in Ukraine to foreclose alliance opportunities. The assumption of domestic actors in Ukraine could affect both the styles and timings of national and international policies that are relevant to Fomina's statement. Neoclassical realists able to describe official or unofficial protesting activities in Ukraine or out of Ukraine to support pro-democratic public opposition but not supporting the current government. Marples's mentions that the Euromaidan protesting gathering purposely to remove the government and presidency of Yanukovych is able to define it by the assumption of Neoclassical realism. The assumption of Neoclassical realism defines that the removal of leadership ideology could impede Yanukovych's efforts to extract and mobilise natural resources, either by approaching the Pro-Western policy or Pro-Russian policy for the proper roles of Ukraine and the economy based on the demonstration in Kiev central square. Marples also mentioned that the classified age between the younger generations and older generations comprising of EU supporters and non-EU supporters as those Neoclassical realists believe their actions had affected both local style of policies in Ukraine, as well as international style of policies, especially the EU policies. The leaders' ways to maximise powers without considering national survival is one of the Neoclassical realism assumptions to answer Marples's statement, brutal actions led by Yanukovych and his interior minister, Vitalii Zakharenko against internal citizens as a governmentally liberal movement. In addition, Neoclassical realism approach also explained both Yanukovych and his interior minister, Vitalii Zakharenko's decisions to deploy brutal actions against citizens because both leaders were able to extract and mobilise national resources based on their extents of ideologies to consider supporting governmental ideas as preferred roles for Ukraine. Meanwhile, Rutland defined Minsk negotiations as having no long-term solution in Eastern Ukraine during Poroshenko's presidency. Rutland's explanation can be interpreted by the Neoclassical realism approach, whereby Minsk agreement is the ideology to inhibit leaders from utilising national resources

with the contents of Minsk agreement contradicted for a proper role and its economy in Eastern Ukraine occupied by separatists. Moreover, the limitations of western policies such as the PfP plan has no collective security guarantee under NATO policies as provided by Moore's statement. In terms of the Neoclassical realism approach, PfP inhibits NATO leaders from exhausting resources depending on the ideology of PfP as the proper role for both NATO members and Ukraine due to the Neoclassical realists who considered foreign policy as a choice for the states of NATO. The incident of the Ukraine Crisis had gone through a series of the revolution that revealed the failure of NATO military power expansion in Eastern Europe. This situation is referring to both Herpen and Walker's statement as they defined the same meaning regarding the Bucharest NATO summit of April in 2008, where the Russian invasions in the Georgia War and Ukraine Crisis cannot be avoided based on the Membership Action Plan. The vast mobilisation is still engaged in the country, as the Neoclassical realists assumed that Russia, under Putin's leadership, feared the long-term threats. However, the country has a low level of external vulnerability in 2008. Power maximisation using different decisions but not necessarily considering a state's survival is the assumption of Neoclassical realism that is suitable to define the current Russian's state leader. Kuzio also mentioned that the Bucharest NATO Summit in April 2008 was warned by Putin, indicating that Ukraine would disintegrate upon joining NATO. It proved Putin's decision to maximise his power without considering the goal of state survival for Ukraine as the Neoclassical realism assumption. Moreover, MAP was also opposed by individual NATO members who worry about the Russian backlash in the future that defined by Wolff. His statement can be explained by the Neoclassical realism approach as the NATO actors are capable of altering MAP policy to respond the challenge of Russian invasion in the future. Putin's history could be traced back to the weaponry business relationship involving one billion Euro between Russia and France, one of the NATO members in 2008. The weaponry business relationship between Russia and France as defined by Herpen, demonstrate the failures of NATO and US to block Russia's military power against Georgia and Moldovan, as was warned by the US on December 18, 2008. The economic interests, including military businesses between NATO and Russia through diplomatic relationships, are hardly able to deter Russian's military power as stated by the point of Neoclassical realism approach, where the successful causes of politic, military, and technological practice in France had been emulated by Russia in a competitive international system. Military integration or political reforms were two purposes mentioned in the 2010 Lisbon and 2012 Chicago Summit, but no promises were offered in these two Summits, as defined by Wolff. Wolff's statement could be interpreted by the Neoclassical scholar, Fordham, "state decision-makers consider both domestic and international friends and adversaries when making foreign policy choices" (Fordham, 2009, p. 253). Downplaying NATO's policy by Obama's administration appeared through the military withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan as a shifting policy to the US's internal affairs without or less concerning the problem in Ukraine. Herpen identified the truth of two Neoclassical realism assumptions by his statement where the US shifting policy from the Middle-east countries and Europe distorted international circumstance such as in the Ukraine crisis. Secondly, political actors and policy-makers in the US were the causes to ignore the European policy due to their final decision choices were dependent on bargaining among relevant politicians and institutions, including NATO. However, unfortunately, they were not prepared for the aggressiveness of the Russian policy in the case of the Ukraine crisis. Wolf also defined that the discussion of unreliable NATO membership with Ukraine could be associated with the incapability of Ukraine to handle the security problems in Crimea and the Donbas region. As Neoclassical realists say that NATO members consider their national securities to mobilise and maintain broad strategies in Europe, they might rationally consider the Ukraine crisis as objectively appearing irrelevant thoughts that foreclose alliance opportunities. In addition, Moore's statement also indicated that the NATO allies only provided non-lethal weapons for Ukraine as appealed by President Poroshenko. Ivanov stated that the PfP plan also has no security guarantee in the common defence mechanism. Both scholars, Moore and Ivanov, utilised the Neoclassical realism to explain that competitive international system provided limited incentives for Ukraine due to NATO members countering political, military, and technological practices in Ukraine through their innovative plans or strategies. Meanwhile, Kalb mentioned the dedication of the US and NATO during or after the incidents of Crimea annexation and the Ukraine crisis as the symbol of weakness to deter Russian hostility. Neoclassical realism is a useful tool to explain foreign policy choices from the US and NATO as decisive policies to either ignore or distort the theme of international's terms and conditions between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, especially the deterrence issues. The last section is mainly focused on the failures of EU policies to intervene with Ukraine's sovereignty. Both authors, Foerster and Freedman define that the Budapest Declaration was signed in 1994 that had no assurance for Ukraine based on the problem of Crimea annexation which could be interpreted by the Neoclassical realism approach. As the Neoclassical realists believe decision-makers among Russia, the UK, and the US considered their national securities to mobilise and maintain reliable strategies differently in Ukraine purposely appeared as an aggressiveness to foreclose alliance opportunities. Both scholars, Herpen and Marples also mention that the case of DCFT in 2012 during Yulia Tymoshenko's administration as the failed case to pave a way for EU to deploy its policy in the Ukraine, she was guilty due to her selective utilisation of justice policy as the issue to delay the signing AA agreement with EU. To link the statement with the Neoclassical realism, the element of power in the maximisation of the EU leaders as selective decisions to improve the national sphere in Ukraine, including to release Yulia Tymoshenko, did not consider survival in entire Europe. Sakwa addressed the AA agreement as a technical agreement offered by the EU to escalate more security competitions between Russia and Atlantic states in Ukraine. Sakwa's statement was explained by Neoclassical realism, where Russia and the Atlantic state's decision-makers could consider international opponents referring to the security policy choices. Additionally, Rutland also defined that Yanukovych still supported the Moscow policy and intended to bring back Ukraine to Russia's space during his presidency. To define Rutland's statement as the Neoclassical realist's viewpoint,

Yanukovych intends to enhance his power to include Ukraine's interest more than its survival. The delaying issue to sign the AA agreement in the hand of Yanukovych had been continued from Tymoshenko's administration. The delay in signing the AA agreement, which continued in the year of 2013, continues during the administration of Yanukovych as the failure to launch the EU's juridical policies in Ukraine. Herpen explained this situation as Neoclassical realists believed that the EU policies did not react the actual circumstance in international level relating to the relationship between Russia and Ukraine. The EU political agreement and economic chapters offered for Ukraine in 2014 had been postponed a year to give a chance for Russia to bring peace in eastern Ukraine, as explained by Rutland, which is defined by the statement of Neoclassical realism. EU actors could change both political policy and economic policy to delay implementations to respond to the Russian invasion in Ukraine. Marples and Walker defined that Yanukovych's background issues were not relevant to the EU policies. Yanukovych's failure to handle Ukrainian problems internally and the external Russia depression against his authority that could be defined by the Neoclassical realism assumption. Domestic political actors and policy-makers in the organisation of EU preferred to contribute to the initial policymaking process for Ukraine. However, the final policy choice depended among relevant political actors and institutions between the EU organisation and Ukraine. According to Marples, the economic recession since the independence of Ukraine in 1991 has not improved Ukraine's economic sphere based on both the falling population and GDP from 1991. From Neoclassical Realist's viewpoint, the cause of economic recession is the public perception on the incapability of the current leadership to flourish the economy of Ukraine and restrict Yanukovych's efforts in the management to extract and mobilise Ukraine's resources, as the assumed by Marples. The EU agreement is just a temporary solution for Ukraine, as observed by Marples, referring to the opposition parties against Yanukovych's decision to sign the AA agreement as the mandatory solution to prevent the continuing criminal government and also defying the removal of Russian oligarchs in the country. Ukrainian opposition parties affected the national policies and the EU relationship in the case of signing the AA agreement to reflect international response with Russia as the assumption of Neoclassical realism. The identity of Yanukovych was more associated with eastern Ukraine and his willingness to assist and work with Russian demands and Crimea, as mentioned by Kuzio, could be interpreted by the Neoclassical realism Neoclassical assumption. realism assumes that power maximisation requires the expansion of opportunities in a world of uncertainty and anarchy due to fear among other states, similar to the assumptions by Schweller as the Neoclassical realist. Sloan mentioned that the failed implementations of the Western policy, such as the NATO policy in Ukraine were due to weaponry businesses between Russia and the EU members. Sloan's statement has a precise meaning related to the Neoclassical realism approach, whereby the NATO organisation can affect specific policies derived from its imperfect transmitting limitation to ignore or distort the threat from Russia. Marples also mentioned that the free trade connection between the EU and Ukraine might gain mutual benefits if Yanukovych successfully joins the AA policies. In contrast, internal political conflict deterred Ukraine from joining Russia's policy as Yanukovych inhibited his intention to extract or mobilise national resources as well as restriction of signing the AA based on his extents of perception with national interest about the proper role for Ukraine and its economy, and this is the perception of Neoclassical realism. The insufficient patient attitude of EU prolonged the process to sign the AA agreement by the Ukrainian parliament and cabinet from as highlighted by Marples. Marple's statement could be indicated by the assumption of Neoclassical realism. Neoclassical realists assume that cause of foreign policy choice for the EU to consider the issue of delaying to sign the AA agreement by the Ukrainian government as the skeptical friendship in the case of Ukraine crisis. The failure to recognize the US's hegemonic power was mentioned by both scholars, Herpen and Marples, in the case of the Ukraine crisis, defining that the disagreement of Senator McClain to support Obama's plan as the Neoclassical realist perspective to define that the indication of US distorted particular objectives through the removal of authoritarian government affecting the Ukrainian's national policies. NATO, as the western policy, is committed to promoting the partnership concept for Ukraine and other potential countries without positive impacts based on the Ukraine crisis and Russia invasion, as stated by Moore. According to the approach of Neoclassical realism, the decision makers-among the NATO members and Russia could consider either friendship or adversaries when making foreign policy choices. Moore's statement could also be defined by the Neoclassical realism approach to understanding that state actors can alter styles or timing of policies in Ukraine to respond to the NATO partnership concept. Herpen also mentioned that Obama's personal decisions were over-confident to handle foreign affairs as wrongly directed towards Russia because he shifted the foreign policies from Europe to Asia. The choice of foreign policy was made by Obama to decide friendly diplomatic relation with Russia as the US decision-maker, and the Neoclassical realists assumed that Obama's leadership might maximise his power to ignore the survival of the US and Europe through different decision while shifting the foreign policies from Europe to Asia. Furthermore, as defined by Jadwiga Kiwerska, Obama made good relations with Russia more than the NATO's members, based on the confidential conversation between Obama and Medvedev in March 2012. The wellbeing relation between the US and Russia through diplomacy is referred to the weak response from Obama in the case of Poland annexation with NATO membership, as defined by Herpen. The reason can be explained by the Neoclassical realism assumption, where the state decision-maker, Mr. Obama preferred to choose a reasonable foreign policy with Russia as a true friendship more than the NATO membership. Marples defined that no specific plan was promoted from the AA policy for Ukraine as the European state-makers decide the final policy choices depending on how those political actors bargained among relevant political actors and institutions. Those political actors and instituutions in the EU unable to provide input processes for the Ukraine which may not get significant impacts in the future. Putin had broken certain international rules post-1991 when he perceived the western countries as a threat to Russia's interest, according to Rutland. Rutland's statement could be explained by the Neoclassical realism assumption, where Putin, as the state leader, attempted to enhance his power by deciding on the different matter to counter western player for Russia's interest. Yanukovych delayed the decision to sign the AA while Tymoshenko released issues as the cause to expose various riots in Ukraine, stated Marples to demonstrate the inefficiency of EU's administration. The Neoclassical realism approach assumed by Marples identified the EU policy as inhibiting Yanukovych's decisions to extract and mobilise national resources for the publicly common idea to sign the AA agreement as a proper role for Ukraine and its economy. In contrast, the Ukraine government also affected national policy related to the failure of signing the AA agreement as ignoring the international sphere within the EU organisation. Consequently, on February 21, 2014, four countries, i.e. Poland, French, Germany, and Ukraine decided on an election in the end of the year to avoid the returning of Yanukovych presidency by the explanation of Marples. His explanation logically states by the Neoclassical realism approach, state policy-makers in the Ukraine initially input into the policymaking process with the consensus from Poland, French, and Germany to decide the final policy choice to purposely reduce the returning powers of Yanukovych presidency, which depended on the relevant political actors among the three mentioned countries that governed the policy-making process. However, the Russian invasion in Eastern Europe failed to initiate the political division breakthrough of EU and the US in Ukraine that was observable by the Orange Revolution, defined by Marples as the consideration to explain it by the Neoclassical realism. The domestic actors in Ukraine could affect the style and timing of national policy as well as affecting international responses in the EU and US. The failure of signing the AA agreement by Mr. Poroshenko could be observed through the abandoned subsidies in the coal industry in Donbas without economic benefit. According to the Neoclassical realism perspective, signed AA agreement was the idea to inhibit Mr. Poroshenko from extracting and mobilising Ukrainian resources to be integrated into Donbas economy because the publicly common idea considered autonomy in Donbas as the best solution for it. Pleshakov mentioned the absence of a political balance and diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Russia concerning the forceful displacement of peoples over Russia after the signing of the AA agreement. The Neoclassical realism also assumes that Mr. Poroshenko and the domestic actors affected various styles and timings of national policies as well as the international policies to respond among Russia and EU as the logical assumption of Neoclassical realism. Putin, as the Neoclassical realist, offered his successful economic union as an incentive for Ukraine to forestall the expansion of the EU in Eastern Europe via his innovative strategy based on the statement of Rutland. Putin created a specific economic union to forestall the expansion of the EU to prevent the EU from democratising Ukraine. In addition, Pleshakov also emphasized that the unwillingness of some of the 92 UN countries to judge the actions of Russia in the case of Crimea annexation as the outcome to avoid western countries as arbiters to conclude the failure of Pro-Western policies in the case of Ukraine crisis. The contribution of this study is mainly to discover the failures of Pro-Western policies based on the outcomes of the Ukraine crisis as well as the failures of Pro-Western policies to deter Russia invasion in Ukraine. Additionally, the limitations of Pro-Western policies in the case of the Ukraine crisis consisted of assumptions of the possible Neoclassical realism approach. However, this study also has certain limitations because it solely utilises secondary sources without getting primary data for a qualitative approach. Secondly, this study was restricted to the realism approach without considering Neoclassical other international relations theories. For future studies, researchers or scholars may apply the liberal approach to explain the flow of Pro-Western policies in the case of the Ukraine crisis as well as broadening the scope that involves economic status to analyse and explain the issues of the Ukraine crisis.

The Aggressiveness of Russia's Politic and the Limitations of Western Europe's Politic

Lessons Learnt

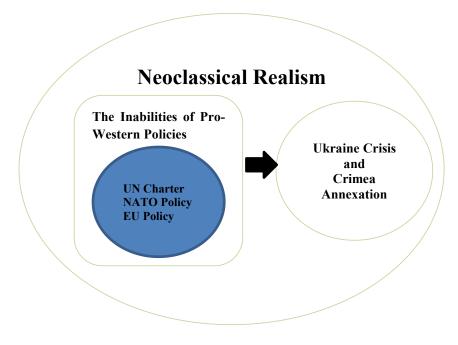


Figure 1. The Limitations of Pro-Western Policies [Source: owned by the author]

Consequently, both cases of the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation (Fig. 1) are the facts to prove various inabilities of western policies that comprised the UN Charter, NATO policy, and EU policy after the Russian invasion in Ukraine. No reliable implementations from the US, EU members, and NATO members are available to deter the aggressiveness of Russian intervention in Ukraine. The Neoclassical realism approach reasonably defines the flow of processes on the issues related to the inabilities of Pro-Western policies in the cases of the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation. The neoclassical realism perspective is the fact that explains the weaknesses of Pro-Western policies in both cases of the Ukraine crisis and Crimea annexation.

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THEMATIC ANIMAL POSTAGE STAMPS OF MALAYSIA: STUDY OF STATE NARRATIVES FROM THE COLONIALISM TO THE POST-COLONIALISM

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Abstract

This research explores the visual representation of animals in postage stamps issued in North Borneo, Sarawak, British Malaya and Malaysia from the 19th to the 20th century. Since postage stamps were an official product of the State, this research exemplifies the postage stamp as a part of the visual culture that facilitates different State narratives and reveals their contribution towards the formation of colonial or national identities. Furthermore, the study explores visual art from a sociocultural perspective, intending to augment its value as a piece of historical evidence. It shows the visual representations of postage stamps as a record of the civilising process by examining the changes in animal representation as it shifts from a kaleidoscope of exotic romanticism towards the righteous pride of animal protection in the postcolonial era. More than hundreds of thematic animal stamps that were issued in Malaysia were examined in order to identify the preferences influencing animal selection in both colonial and postcolonial era. Following that, background studies, theoretical analysis and visual methodologies form the main research approaches. This paper addresses the research gap that State narratives are disputable without any visual cultural element or ideological construct.

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Keywords: Malaysia, postage stamps of animals, state narratives, colonial stamps, postcolonial stamps.

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

In this paper, the researcher studies thematic animal stamps from the 19th century to 1991ⁱ to examine the visual narratives envisioned by the State. This research study explores visual art from a sociocultural perspective. Besides, it demonstrates how the colonial or national identities were shaped by the States via the facilitation of visual representations, a series of official and unofficial narratives. The term "State" used in this research refers to the federal or political regimes who governed the lands and issued postage stamps during that era.

In contrast, the "postcolonial era" implies the period that existed after the end of the colonial rule in Malaysia. A postage stamp is a product of Malaysia's governmental institution until December 31, 1991 (Vellu, 1993). Each piece consists of images that ought to represent the States, their territories or their nations. Despite serving as a pivotal means of delivery, the postage stamp is also a part of the ideological constructs of the State during the colonial to post-colonial eras.

Many scholars employed visual methodologies to study the national identities or State narratives via postage stamps. Kevane (2008) was one of the scholars who analysed the imageries on postage stamps in relation to the national narratives of Sudan and Burkina Faso. He evaluated the topics from different perspectives such as political, multi-ethnic, ideological and civil society aspects. On the other hand, Jack Child (2005) used the semiotic approach to explain the representation of collectively popular art in stamps in relation to the social identity constructs of Latin America. Raento and Brunn (2005) investigated more than thousand images of Finnish stamps issued between 1917 and 2000, in order to study the changes in the state's focus from war to peace in continental Finland. Although researchers from different countries attributed the postage stamps to the formation of national identities, there is still a lack of analytical studies on the postage stamps for the regions of British Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak as well as

Malaysia. Hence, this paper extended the topics of colonial and national representations in Malaysia's stamps by capturing the changes in thematic animal stamps that were published from the 19th century to 1991. Furthermore, despite being a favourite philatelic collection, there are very few analytical studies that focused on thematic animal stamps. Therefore, this paper attempts to contribute further understanding of the thematic animal stamps that were favoured by the States across eras.

Apart from that, there are scholars who attributed the stamps' design to the representations of colonial power or imperialism. Jeffery (2006) examined the production of Imperial Penny postage stamps as a working world system for consolidating the British Empire. He further exemplified his statement with the stamps of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Bahamas, and Jamaica. Lin (2017) studied and compared the affinities of definitive coconut stamps among different states of the world such as Zanzibar, Kenya, Cayman Island and Malay states. He discovered similar decorative patterns of definitive postage stamps during the British colonial era. In short, their arguments have mainly exemplified the influence of British imperial powers onto its territorial lands. Being one of the Commonwealth countries, Malaysia inevitably endures certain forms of colonial legacy in both colonial and postcolonial narratives. This paper also presents the postage stamps as a form of visual evidence that were used to propagate implicit colonial narratives.

Animal stamps are the study focus of this research. The presence of various animal species in postage stamps indicates that the State valued animals as the veritable natural representations across the eras. Moreover, animal metaphors are pervasive in the myths and legends of the local peoples since the early years. The nuances of animals' visual representation in postage stamps (official products) are culturally or socio-politically specific as they may reflect the clues of the civilising process of State Formation, through the ways of seeing or treating animals. Traïni (2016) used the representation of the animal world as the exemplary framework of the civilising process. He pointed out that animality is being denounced as the side contrary to civilized humanity. As the result, the representation of animals changed from allegorical connotations to a radical dualism between man and animals, eventually linking to feelings of pride yet sympathy towards animal protection. Similarly, in *Why We Look at Animals*, Berger (1980) examines our relationship to animals through an ethical lens as well. He explained that looking at animals in the zoos who were trapped (framed) cage-to-cage, could be similar to contemplating paintings displayed in a gallery. The zoo is the artificial space of "study centre" to observe those "distant and wild" animals closely, separated by a cage barrier indicating the different spaces between human and animals. On the other hand, animal illustrations reproduced in postage stamps are another form of "human construction", which virtually leads the viewer to see the animals as they ought to be.

Thematic Animal Stamps of Malaysia across the Eras

Since the postal system of Malaysia was brought in by the British governors during the colonial era, stamp designs in the early years were primarily controlled by the British administrators. The stamp production of Malaya, North Borneo, and Sarawak were dominated and supplied by Waterlow and Sons Ltd. as well as De La Rue & Co. Ltd, Blades, East and Blades, all London-based companies (Stanley Gibbons Publications Ltd., 1980). After the formation of Federated Malaya States, the postal institution was renamed to the Postal Services Department of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, and later become *Jabatan Perkhidmatan Pos* that was affiliated to the federal government of Malaysia.

Thematic animal stamps continued to be one of the more famous stamp issues, despite the reformation of a federal institution. Based on information collected in the 30th edition of *Standard Stamp Catalogue Book Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei* (Tan, 2016), there were more than 120 animal stamp designs issued in Malaysia, and approximately 80 species in total were presented and represented until the 1990s. Meanwhile, mammal species had the most significant number of varieties among the thematic animal stamps, where North Borneo (nowadays Sabah) States contributed the majority of the thematic animal stamps during the colonial era. Moreover, certain animal species such as Felidae (tiger was the most nominated Felidae), primates (orangutan had the most nominations), hornbills (rhinoceros hornbill was the most nominated hornbill), and cows (buffalo had the highest dominations among cows) appeared more frequently as compared to the others. These species groups had at least two issues printed by both colonial and postcolonial States. The researcher suggests that these 80 animal species that were represented in these postage stamps had undergone a selection process out of 10 thousand fauna species in Malaysia. They were selected by the State (government) intentionally based on their potential qualitative meanings. These selected species are significant in some ways to represent the regions or "express" the state narratives across eras.

Animal Thematic Stamps as a part of the Colonial Narratives

Felidae species

Amongst all the animal stamps of Federated Malaya States, stamps featuring the tiger were highly favoured and its popularity as a subject goes back to the 19th century. In Figure 1, Felidae themed stamps are arranged accordingly to the timeline starting from 1891: tigers and clouded leopards were issued or reselected in the colonial era. Apart from its frequent issues, tiger also became critical plate stamps as its duty platesⁱⁱ were printed in different colours accordingly to different Malay Federated States such as Sungai Ujong, Perak, Selangor and Pahang (examples shown in Figure 2).



Figure 1. Felidae species from the colonial era



Figure 2. Tiger stamps seen in the different Malay States

The tiger's predominant appearance in stamp issues in the British Malaya States might exemplify that the tiger suggested a particular affinity with the lands of Malay Peninsula or more broadly the Malay Archipelago. In most colonial stamps, only the Sultan Highnesses were entitled to be featured in their respective Malay States. The tiger, however, straddled the boundaries of different Malay Sultanate monarchs and became the shared definitive stamps of Federated Malaya States (examples in Figure 2). Although buffalos and elephants appeared in the stamps of Malay Sultanate States, they were more likely to be depicted in a supporting role of men's activities. In the stamps showcased in Figure 3 and 4, elephants are a part of transportation's mean of royal members while the domesticated cows are ploughing the field with the farmer. On the other hand, tigers are endowed the leading role in different stamp issues. They have been showcased in both side views and close-up "portrait" views (Figure 2). On the top of "tiger portrait" stamps of 1895-99, a reverse crescent and star symbolise Islamic art decoration.



Figure 3. *Elephant stamp in the different Malay States, 1895-1922.*



Figure 4. Cow stamp of Kedah States 1912.

The relationship between the Malay Sultanate and the tiger might begin with reverence towards an anthropomorphic and supernatural shaman's myth, *Pak Belang* or Mr. Stripe (Yong, 1998, p. 22). The myths of were-tiger or *harimau jadian* are rife in Malay and *Orang Asli*'s folklores. Malays would not call *harimau* (tiger) its name in the forest. Instead, they addressed the tiger as *Pak Belang, Tuhan utan* (Lord of the Woods) or other similar synonyms (Sabri Zain, 2010). The mythological stories that were passed from generation to generation may conjure faith and belief regarding mythical tigers among the local residents. According to the publication of Sir Richard Olaf Winstedt,ⁱⁱⁱ the were-tigers did exist and disguised themselves as the "Malay magicians" who guard the princess of Ophir Mountain; its name is more commonly addressed as Mountain Ledang by the locals (Winstedt, 1982). In other words, the tiger was most frequently selected in Peninsula's postage stamps, possibly because of its typical role or "signifier" among the different Malay Sultanate States that recalled and united the collective belief of were-tiger as the Malay guardian. In some senses, these "well-known" and circulated mythologies attributed the tiger with spiritual representations that safeguarded and empowered the States' government.

Apart from being an iconic species in the Malay world, the tiger was one of the representations of more significant Asiatic lands. According to the Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya in 1894, tiger (*Felis Tigris*) is defined as a "dangerous animal that frequents in the Peninsula and is occasionally found in Singapore, Malacca and Province Wellesley. The tiger of the Malayan nations is the same as that of India" (Dennys, 1894). The first sentence in this definition emphasizes the prominence of the tiger in Malay (Peninsula) lands. It is threatening but undisputedly the most robust species that ought to represent Malay lands on the stamps. Based on the second sentence, it is suggestive that tiger was perhaps, the most magnificent animal species in Malay lands which was once revered as the "Lord of the Woods" by the Malays.

Nevertheless, similar tiger species (regarded as the same species by the Colonial State) were roaming freely in India as well. As the definition of "tiger" in the Dictionary of British Malaya is revisited, it reflects a two-level dualism in its statement about the tiger. Firstly, it pinpoints the dualism between man and nature, where the tiger was the antagonist species that threatened humans but not vice versa. Secondly, it shows the duality on how we (humans) looked at animals. The Malayan tiger is the same as the Indian tiger because each tiger was the Tiger; they were here and there (Berger, 1980). Each tiger is the same dangerous Tiger, as they all belong to the Other's wild lands. In previous paragraphs, we learnt that the tiger was a prominent figure in the Malay culture and its many selections for the stamps is not merely a coincidence. The tiger was selected and reselected. Its presence was likely to have been favoured by the Malay royal or elites; these selections were "approved" by the colonial officers as well since they acted as the sultan's advisors during the colonial era. Therefore, a tiger might be selected due to its proximity to Malay culture and it was the most influential regional representation. However, from a broader colonial viewpoint, the Malay Peninsula or the Malay Archipelago was regarded as a part of Asia and the tiger is one of the great Asiatic or Oriental representations in the colonial lens.

During the colonial era, the illustrative tiger details in postage stamps reflected particular Oriental narratives, where tiger belongs to the species of Other lands. Further evaluating the depiction of tigers in the colonial stamps (Figure 1 and 2), the researcher identifies similarities in the way of delineations; the tiger is growling fiercely and he pounces out from bushes, indicating the action of a sneak attack. Unlike the lion's posture in the British stamps of the Postal Union (Figure 5), a strong physical appearance with a muscular body to imply solidity as it stands still and roars, as a sign to scares the intruders away from encroaching its family pride as well as warns its pride of the potential danger (National Geographic, 2015). Although both lions and tigers are considered as harmful predators in the Felidae family group, the first animal is imbued with a positive spirit of strong protector. At the same time, the latter is portrayed as a sneak attacker under the colonial lens. During the colonial era, certain official representations have suggested a distinction between East and West, where the East or Orient was stereotyped as wild and inferior lands. Comparing the depictions of the British lion and British Malayan tiger on postage stamps, the researcher observes an explicit dichotomy on the representations of these big felines, to which the tiger's wild, vicious facet was highlighted in official publications while the lion upheld an ideal imperial image.



Figure 5. Lion depiction in the British stamps of Postal Union Congress 1929.

In some sense, these tiger depictions matched the description in Western novels as the tiger is a notorious "stalk and ambush" predator (Boomgard, 2001, p.26). Mary Bradley, who joined the big game hunting, described the tiger, "nothing was ever so beautiful and glorious to me as that tiger walking out of his jungle. He was everything that was wild and savage, lordly and sinister" (Boomgard, 2001, p.1). From the Western point of view, the tiger is constructed to be a game killer, cattle-slayer, and the most threatening man-eater (Boomgard, 2001, p.61).

Regardless of the novel and literature depiction, the colonial administrators in 1880s did publish an annual statistic reporting the numbers of people killed by tigers and leopards in India, Sumatra and Java to showcase the danger of this representative species in the land of Asia (Boomgard, 2001, p.61). Trophies and rewards of around \$100 were awarded for each tiger hunted (*The Straits Times*, 1920). Hence, in combination with the tiger illustrations on stamps and other relative publications, one can observe that the representative animals of the Orient such as tigers were publicly denounced. It provided a rational reason for Western colonialism or intervention to "rescue" and "civilise" the peoples in the East (Said, 1978). Wild animals were directly connected to the repulsive bestiality, that existed in opposition to the perception of "civilised humanity" (Traïni, 2016). In other

words, tigers were being tagged or labelled as dangerous species in the colonial narratives, possibly to rationalise the massive numbers of tiger hunting or execution.

Thematic Animal Stamps of North Borneo

In early cartographic designs, intriguing animal or beast figures were often featured in navigation maps with the purpose of enhancing its attractiveness and marketability (Reinhartz, 2012). Similarly, the introduction of thematic animal stamps during the Western expansion might have served the purpose of attracting the buyers' attention too. Moreover, the postage stamp is a form of official dissemination. Compared to other themes, the State issued more authentic animal thematic stamps in North Borneo. In the following section, the researcher examines the representations of different animals in North Borneo postage stamps as they might implicitly affect the constructed images of Bornean land.

Firstly, the selection of species on North Borneo stamps consisted of mostly giant wildlife species. In the mammal category, selected species were the more significant mammal the representatives such as elephants, Malayan tapir, rhinoceros, cow, orangutan, proboscis, wild boar and clouded leopard (biggest Felidae in Borneo). Besides that, other intriguing big mammals included the sambar deer and bears, as well as the dangerous giant reptile representative, a crocodile, in postage stamps since 1894. Apart from that, more prominent bird species were featured on colonial stamps, such as "cassowary", Great Argus Pheasant, Rhinoceros Hornbill and most likely a Palm cockatoo. These selected animals are not only larger compared to other species in the same family; they were all wild animals as well. In some sense, these dangerous, vicious or species with more significance in size were selected and represented in postage stamps, thus visually constructing the stereotype for North Borneo as a land filled with wildness, where only the labelled gigantic and exotic species were presented in the official dissemination. Moreover, the background depiction in these animal stamps delineated an unexplored natural land with mountains, jungles and rivers in the distant view. The animals' size appeared further enlarged due to the background

setting of the broad wild lands that coincidently took place in different postage stamps.





Figure 6. Stamps of North Borneo (elephant) 1909-1931.

Figure 7. Stamp of North Borneo (crocodile) 1894-1902.

Figure 8. Stamp of North Borneo (rhinoceros) 1909.



Figure 9.Stamp of North Borneo (Orangutan / chimpanzee) 1897-1902.





Figure 10.Stamp of North Borneo (wild boar) 1909-1922.

Figure 11.Stamps of North Borneo (Sambar deer) 1909-1931.

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Figure 12. Stamp of North Borneo (tapir) 1909-1922.

Figure 13. Stamp of North Borneo (bear) 1897-1902.

Figure 14. Stamp of North Borneo (proboscis) 1939.

Apart from the selection of larger animal species, the animal representations in the early colonial postage stamps were exaggerated and deviated from reality. Nevertheless, shading depiction or chiaroscuro has inlaid life-like details in the subject matters and enhanced the value of naturalism in the composition of three-dimensional forms, even though these animal illustrations were distorted from the original species or merely an imagined mixed-breed existence.



Figure 15. Zoom in to Figure 8 (rhinoceros).



Figure 16.Zoom in to Figure 6 (elephant).

For example, based on the illustrations of the rhinoceros and elephant in the stamps of North Borneo, the way of representation reflects an exaggerated or enlarged species. The illustrated rhino species in North Borneo stamp 1909 (Figure 8 and Figure 15) has longer legs and protruding facial features especially its front horn than the true species, likewise the white or black rhinoceros in Africa. It was heightened as its two front legs stood at a higher level to make it look more gigantic from this perspective. The portrayal of a subject matter from a low angle can make seem it bigger than it really is. Meanwhile, an adult native standing right next to the elephant in the postage stamp of Figure 6 (zoom in at Figure 16) further juxtaposes their body sizes. The native's height approached only the elephant's leg, giving an impression of the massive size of this species. In real life, the Bornean rhinoceros (also known as the Sumatran rhinoceros), Borneo's pygmy elephant, and the Bornean sun bear are smaller in body size due to the rugged and mountainous terrain geographical feature of Borneo Island. Therefore, different angles of animal depictions may evoke different perceptions among audiences who see or judge these animal species. Hence, these official publication's depictions were not reflective of the mimesis truth of the other lands. Still, different representations of the subject matter discussed might construct a new meaning or shape particular facets regarding the other land and its species.



Figure 17. Stamps of North Borneo (Cassowary) 1909-1922.

Animal thematic postage stamps demonstrate animals as the observed subject as they are envisioned and represented from the colonial lens. Apart from large clouded leopards (Figure 1) and bizarre orangutans (Figure 9), similar exaggerated featuring was also applied to sun bears and "cassowary" birds to evoke the signals of wild and dangerous. Interestingly, the cassowary species presented in the stamps (Figure 17) does not exist in the jungles of Borneo or Malaya; instead, it is native to the tropical forests of New Guinea. Based on the Stamp & Coin Mart magazine, "The British North Borneo Company who administered the territory explained that a mix-up occurred with artwork belonging to the natural history set they issued that year ... ". They provided the wrong species of cassowary to the Waterlow & Sons printing company. It might be confused with the species of megapode, a smaller species bird (Stamp and Coin Mart Magazine, 2017). As the illustrator or engraver had seen neither cassowary nor megapode before, the so-called cassowary's head was erroneously matched with the ostrich. The resulting illustration represented an imagined mixed-breed of ostrich (the most prominent bird species) and cassowary (the fiercest bird species). Hence, this observation suggests that the North Borneo Chartered Company or British officers in London preferred wild animals or wildly exaggerated species to be represented in the stamps of 19th to early 20th century. depiction of animals Ironically, the on these official representations was relatively loose in terms of accuracy or precision. These animal illustrations might be naturalistic and have narrative realism in term of depictions, but they are not real. Hence, this indicates that animals in the colonial stamps were considered to be a part of orientalism.

In the stamps, the animals were wild and roamed freely; a crocodile with mouth open awaiting at the wet swamp, rhinoceros, elephants, wild boars and sambar deer at the lowlands while giant bears, clouded leopards, and orangutans swung from the jungle trees. The boar hopping out from a bush in the postage stamps (Figure 10) seemingly delineated the life and vitality of species in the jungles. The Other lands were full of danger and mystery, yet they were proliferated with natural resources that best represented

exotic romanticism (Said, 1978). Postage stamps that had vivid animal depictions had enhanced aesthetic value as well as increased attractiveness.

Moreover, the decorative art was an indispensable element of colonial animal stamps as they created the "picture frame" of scenography designs for Western spectators. Looking at the colonial animal thematic stamps, majority of the eclectic decorative art encompassed similar arch designs at their top. Examples of these designs can be seen in Figure 6 to 14. These arch designs resembled the representation of the proscenium arch in the ancient theatre space, which meant to provide a spectacular visual experience for the West. The proscenium metaphorically acted as the window that channelled Westerners to the distant lands of Oriental scene. Compared to the British royal portrait stamps in the colonial era, oval or other symmetrical cartouches were used instead of proscenium designs. The theatrical display is perhaps the ideal space for narrative of all kinds, in which the stage of European ritual performances or ceremonies of exercising power occurred simultaneously. In the previous examples of animal stamps, most of the central prosceniums were inscribed with the English title "State of North Borneo", correspondingly leading the audience to link the display subjects to the State of North Borneo. In other words, their presentations expanded viewer horizons and enticed their curiosity to catch a glimpse of life in the distant other lands.

Animal Thematic Stamps as a Part of Postcolonial Narratives

Before the formation of Malaysia, the Malayan Tiger was undoubtedly the first animal to represent the Federation of Malaya. After the establishment of Malaysia, the animal species used in thematic stamps was more diversified with increased variety. The Postal Department proposed different issues of postage stamps before obtaining approval from the relevant Postcolonial State's authorities (Sundararaj, 2016). In this section, the researcher studies the visual changes in the thematic animal stamps as one of the chosen symbolic products by the Malaya Federation or the Malaysia States. In most cases, the Postcolonial State introduced thematic animal stamps in a series including special issues entitled "Protected (Wildlife) Series" and "National Series" thematic stamps which intended to group various different or similar species in one issue.

National Animal/ Wildlife Series

There are three stamp series issued with the theme of "National (Animal) Series" until 1991. The first issue is the *National Birds Series* in 1965 (2 years after Malaysia's formation), followed by the *National Butterflies Series* in 1970 and *National Animals Series* in 1979.

Apart from reflecting the diversity of avifaunal species in Malaysia, the emergence of the National Birds Series in 1965 could be attributed to new postcolonial aspirations, namely harmony and inclusiveness regardless of geographical or racial differences. In the National Birds Series, the eight bird species shortlisted included Crested Wood Partridge, Blue-Backed Fairy Bluebird, Black-eyed Oriole, Zebra Dove, Great Argus Pheasant, Asiatic Paradise Flycatcher, Blue-tailed Pitta and Rhinoceros Hornbill (all shown in Figure 18). These eight bird species can be spotted in different regions of Malaysia and most of them are shared species between East and West Malaysia.^{iv} Although these eight bird species are categorized in different families, none of them are raptors (birds of prey). Most of them are wild but docile species that feed on fruits or small insects. Besides that, their Malay names were mentioned at the bottom part of the postage stamps, allowing the people of Malaysia to learn these different avifauna species. Since Malaysia was established based on its multiracial populations, the National Birds Series became the first representational national species after Malaysia's formation as they might reflect certain narratives of togetherness for new nationhood. They were also less provocative than expressions of any regional or ethnical sentiments.



Figure 18. National Birds Series in 1965.

Similar with the *National Birds Series*, the researcher suggests that the stamp series of butterflies were entitled *National Butterflies Series* partly due to their sensation of harmony and variety in depiction that contributed a positive connotation to national narratives. Butterflies in the stamp series reflected the richness of biodiversity and the spirit of interdependence between different living species (flora and fauna). The *National Butterflies Series* significantly utilised the provided spaces to delineate the details of different butterfly species and detailed knowledge of lepidopterology. For instance, a caterpillar of the Great Mormons in the stamps of 75 cents (Figure 19) rests on the pomelo tree. In contrast, the caterpillar of Common Nawab crawls on the tree of Red Saga (*Adenanthera pavonina*).^v

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Figure 19. National Butterflies Series in 1970.

Besides that, the National Animals Series introduced eight animals (Figure 20). These are Malayan Tiger (Panthera Tigris), cobego (Cynocephalus variegatus), mousedeer (Tragulus javanicus), pangolin (Manis javanicus), Leatherback Turtle (Dermochelys Coriacae), tapir (Tapirus mdicus), gaur (Bos gaurus), and orangutan (Pongo Pygmaeus). The National Animals Series featured 5 terrestrial mammals, 2 arboreal mammals and 1 marine reptile to create a picture of biodiversity showcasing the great variety of animal species in Malaysia. The list included predators and preys, big and small terrestrial mammals, as well as large and small arboreal species.

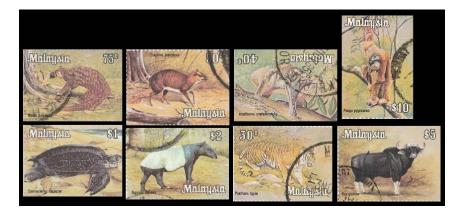


Figure 20. National Animal Series in 1979.

To summarize the thematic stamps entitled "National Series", the researcher suggests two possible national narratives. Firstly, the National Birds Series and National Butterflies Series that commonly share positive public connotations might imply certain communicative intents, which were to reconcile both intraand inter-national harmonies national by avoiding anv representation of confrontational or provocative subjects during the 1960s to early 1970s. Secondly, the selection of different animal species or subspecies in one issue (especially the National Animals Series) reflects the variety of biological diversity in Malaysia. According to Anderson (2003), a nation is an 'imagined' constituent that is constructed through a conceptual sense of belongingness to communities. The National Animals Series included a variety of animal species into the series instead of imposing solo sovereignty representation. Other than concocting positive connotations on the new nation forging within its peoples, the State was dedicated to presenting a global composure of diversity in the international platform via several channels of official disseminations.

Protected Animal/Wildlife Series

After the *National Animals Series*, the Postal Department of Malaysia started to introduce the *Protected Animals / Wildlife of Malaysia* series in 1985. There were four collections in this series issued from 1985 to 1991. Based on the overview of animal selection, this series shortlists less menacing or smaller species to represent the wildlife of Malaysia. The series of "Protected Wildlife" may reflect the vulnerable facet of wildlife in order to highlight the Nation-State's obligation to protect them.

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Figure 20. Protected Animals of Malaysia-Series I issued in 1985.



Figure 21. Protected Wildlife of Malaysia - Series IV issued in 1988.

In Series I, three small mammals were introduced, namely the banded linsang (*Prionodon linsang*) and flying squirrel (*Petaurista elegans*), as well as a lower primate, slow loris (*Nycticebus coucang*) in 1985. All of them are nocturnal and arboreal species that were depicted in the setting of natural daylight. Even though the background setting might not reflect the species' environment in a real scene, depiction with natural lighting did unveil these mysterious nocturnal species to the eyes of the public. Over the following years, four subspecies of pheasant (birds) were featured on the Series II. At the same time, Series III issued four smaller Felidae species, the Clouded Leopard, Leopard Cat, the Flat-Headed Cat, the Marbled Cat and the Golden Cat instead of the Malayan Tiger. It illuminated the different adaptations within the Felidae family as well as introduced them as fragile and endangered species to the point of extinction. Subsequently, Series IV featured four protected passerine birds. Apparently, in the context of new postcolonial identities and global environmental awareness, postage stamps from the *Protected Animal / Wildlife Series* emphasised the act of animal species protection, further rebranding the Nation-State's images by repudiating the association of hunting games which were significantly promoted in the previous colonial era.

Following that, Protected Animal / Wildlife Series may have adopted a narrative approach to raise awareness on the conservation of biodiversity. Even though the term "biodiversity" was coined from the concept of biological diversity around the late 1980s, the Malaysian government started to gazette national parks to reserve diversity of species and its habitats since 1965 (National Land Code, 1965). Apart from the Protection of Wildlife Act in 1972 and National Land Code 1965, the government also addressed the problems of the loss of natural habitats and environmental degradation as a result of massive economic development in the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980). Besides communicating with the public to raise awareness for endangered animal species, the series of Protected Animal / Wildlife of Malaysia and National Animal Series might confect an informal declaration of the State's authorial power towards the belongings of its lands. Moreover, displaying the animal species conservation efforts on the stamps revealed the State's overarching vision to construct itself as a new independent identity, who steadfastly opposed the previous colonial hunting games. Hence, the State laced the image of biodiversity to its national narratives.

This series of stamps reflects the narrative to emphasise the natural resources of Malaysia and animals as part of the most exceptional natural heritage and national patrimony. Even though several primary laws included the Protection of Wildlife Act (for Peninsular Malaysia), the Fauna Conservation Ordinance (Sabah), and the Wildlife Protection Ordinance (Sarawak) enforced to protect the wildlife, laws alone do not guarantee the survival of endangered species. Law enforcement should be engaged with educating the general public regarding the values of nature and the importance of natural conservation efforts.

Marine Life Series

Marine life species were not commonly featured in the colonial postage stamps of the past, especially for British Malaya. This situation might be because the marine life species had comparatively minimal representational value on colonial or imperial narratives. Due to the wide distribution of birds (in the sky) and marine life (in the sea), these species were unlikely to be portrayed in the belongings of other Lands. During the postcolonial era, the newly formed State extended its horizon to marine life through the *Fresh Water Fishes Series 1983* (Figure 26). Other than educating the public regarding marine or fish species, these series recorded the tertiary sector of the economy that was highly promoted by the State during the 1980s.

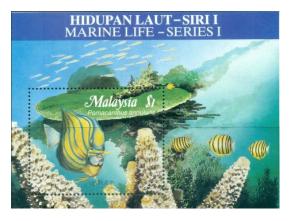


Figure 22. Marine Life Series I: Miniature sheet.



Figure 23. Marine Life Series I in 1988.



Figure 24. Marine Life Series II issued in 1989.



Figure 25. Fresh Water Fishes Series 1983.

The introduction of *Marine Life Series I* to *III* stamp series are mostly pertinent to the accentuation of the "Law of the Sea Convention 1982", in conjunction with the inauguration of "The Exclusive Economic Act 1984 (EEZ)". The implementation of EEZ sets out an exclusive economic zone as the area beyond and adjacent to the territorial sea extending to two hundred nautical miles measured from the baselines where Malaysia has sole exploitation rights over all its natural resources within the coverage (Sativale Mathew Arun Advocates & Solicitors, n.d.). In this EEZ area, Malaysia exercises sovereign rights for exploring as well as conserving and managing the natural resources of the seabed, the subsoil and the superjacent waters (Sativale Mathew Arun Advocates & Solicitors, n.d.).

Malaysia is mainly surrounded by the sea, making it a blessed nation with diverse underwater species within its coastal EEZ. The readers can catch a glimpse of the dynamic underwater world in the miniature sheet issued with the *Marine Life Series I* – 1988 (Figure 22). The whole miniature sheet depicted the magnificent platform reefs, pools of fishes, seaweeds and corals, all of which portray the ideal spot for snorkelling or scuba diving. At the same time, the \$1.00 postage stamp captured a Ringed Anglefish (Pomacanthus annularis). Apart from proclaiming the State's sovereignty over the coastline, the "Marine Life Series" also highlighted the variety of marine species, building up the image of a tourism-friendly nation.

Conclusion

In this study, the illustrated animals in the colonial animal stamps were scrutinised and several unusual visual representations accordingly identified. For instance, the thematic animal stamps of North Borneo were exaggeratedly depicted and deviated from the real scene. The researcher thus compared these depictions with other colonial visual elements and written literatures or novels and found them to adhere to the stereotype of the wild and oriental lands. This study reveals that visual elements play a crucial role in propagating colonial narratives. Colonial narratives generate a dichotomous view of the world where tropical lands (East) are stereotyped as wild and dangerous.

Conversely, in postcolonial animal stamps, the different preferences of presenting animals in a series revealed the concept of inclusiveness and harmony in the postcolonial or national narratives that are in contrast with previous colonial narratives. The visual representation in postcolonial animal stamps significantly demonstrates the biodiversity of Malaysia, reflects the pride of richness in natural resources and animal species ought to be a part of the national patrimony in terms of cultural lineage. With this, the National Animals Series and Protected Wildlife species overtly raised the awareness of wildlife protection or conservation. Other than reflecting on the diversity of avifaunal species in Malaysia, the emergence of different bird species in postcolonial stamps might be attributed to their symbolic meanings attached to new postcolonial aspirations, such as harmony and inclusiveness regardless of geographical or racial differences. In short, this research traces the civilising process along with the State narratives by examining the visual representation in thematic animal stamps across the eras.

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ⁱ After the corporatisation of Pos Malaysia at the end of 1991, the researcher found an increase in the number of animal stamps. There was a paradigm shift in animal selection as a wide range of exotic or domestic animals found in different

countries were featured in stamps in order to cover the philatelic interests of different buyers. However, as a result of very little restriction from the Federal State, certain controversies surrounding animal selection occurred in those years. The cases include the accusation of design plagiarism by a Filipino wildlife photographer and the protests again promoting exotic animals as food and pets by *Sahabat Alam Malaysia*. For more information, please refer to https://www.nst.com.my/opinion/letters/2019/03/466643/exotic-animal-stamps-will-doom-them and

https://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2013/11/07/designers-pos-malaysia-bird-stamps-are-only-drafts.

ⁱⁱ Key plate and duty plate stamps were made when the printing process splits into two. First, the key plate (or head plate) is used for the bulk of the design. This is followed by a separate duty plate for the name of the colony and the value. Hence, the tiger became the most frequent featuring species on stamps since each Federated Malay State shared similar designs.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sir Richard Olaf Winstedt (1878-1966) was a former British colonial administrator in several Federated Malay States. He used to be the district officer of Kuala Pilah and became the director of education in 1924. His scholarly works included Malay lexicography, folklore as well as history of Malaya. His biography can be retrieved from http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP 1629 2010-01-30.html.

^{iv} This is based on the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species official website. For more information, please refer to https://www.iucnredlist.org.

^v The information of butterflies and their host plants are provided by ButterflyCircle. For more information, please read the official ButterflyCircle website at

<u>http://www.butterflycircle.com/content.php?s=b5141f03eae702c6c0e328dd8bdf</u> <u>lcac</u> and their informative blog page at <u>http://butterflycircle.blogspot.com/</u>.

INTERPRETATION AND VIEWS OF QURANIC COMMENTARIES ON PEACE BASED ON *AL-SALĀM* AND *AL-AMN* TERMS

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Abstract

Peace is a very important topic for discussion in a world of war, chaos and insecurity. Islam is a religion that prioritises peace and rejects all forms of violence. The term "peace" is repeated often in the Qur'an, in phrases such as *al-salām* and *al-amn*, with meanings of peace, security and harmony. This study seeks to identify phrases in the Qur'an relating to peace and to present the views of quranic commentaries (*mufasirin*) regarding these phrases. The methodology applied in this study is based on data compiled from library research by using deductive and analysis methods. The study shows that among the terminologies used in reference to the meaning of peace are *al-salām* and *al-amn* which have been certified by the Quranic commentaries in their books. Indirectly, through Quranic verses it shows that element of peace is one of the messages brought by Islam.

Keywords: Peace, stability, Qur'an, *al-Salām, al-Amn, Quranic* Commentaries

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Introduction

Etymologically, Islam means surrender, submission or obedience to all of Allah's commands. Islam is a religion that benefits its believers both in this world and the next. The inevitability of Islam as the worldview to be believed is stated in Qur'an as follows:

'If anyone desires a religion other than Islam (submission to Allah, never will it be accepted of him; and in the hereafter He will be in the ranks of those who have lost (All spiritual good).' (Quran, 3: 85)

Islam comes as the world's saviour as *Rahmatan li al-*Alamin to bring mercy to the whole world. This is because the teachings of Islam have an indisputable truth to them. Islam seeks to create peace and stability on earth so that humanity and all of God's creation can live in harmony.

Islam explains that genuine peace can be realised when justice prevails on earth. The contemporary global arms race has led to injustices which make it possible for war to erupt at any time and place. The Western media frequently links Islam with terrorism. According to its reports, Islam is a religion based on violence and war which has been taken over by radical Muslims and does not give much freedom to its followers (Miller, 2015).

The question now is whether it is true that Islam promotes or is synonymous with violence, as is claimed by the mass media. Is all the violence in this world committed by Muslims? What about countries such as Myanmar, where mass murder of ethnic Rohingya Muslims are carried out by Buddhists? (BBC News, 2016; Al-Jazeera, 2017).

There are extremists in every religion, although no religion ever promotes violence and, in fact, every religion forbids any form of violence. This study intends to show that Islam is a religion that loves peace and forbids every form of violence. For example, in the case of war, Islam does not make it an obligation to go to war for the pleasure of it or for without real reason. Islam is a religion that does not condone war for the sake of conquest and mastery. Instead, war in Islam began as self-defence, Allah had said in the Qur'an: 'The prohibited month for the prohibited month, and so for all things prohibited, there is the law of equality. If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, Transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves'. (Qur'an, 2: 194).

Islam makes it a duty for all believers and Muslim nations to preserve peace, independence and unity as stated in the Qur'an:

'The believers are but a single brotherhood: So make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers, and fear Allah, that ye may receive mercy'. (Qur'an, 49: 10).

It urges Muslims to swiftly end conflict. If both disputing parties accept and respect each other than the dispute can be resolved, but if one party insists on remaining hostile, refusing to follow the general consensus refusing to submit to Allah's will, then is considered as contravening international Islamic laws.

According to Islamic rules, the nations which help formulate these rules have a duty to fight the errant country and compel it to revert to the truth. Once peace is achieved, we are encouraged not to mistreat the party or country that began the attack but rather treat it as fairly as possible.

Thus, Islam is indeed a religion that loves peace, this is a true concept of Islamic teaching, which hates violence and war but favours peace for individuals and the world. Muslims must find a way to introduce Islam to non-Muslims as a religion that aims for peace and stability, rather than the current focus on Muslim groups whose reactions are extreme and irresponsible. This is the reason for the deterioration of the image and perceptions of Muslims and Islam.

Peace is very important, not only for Muslims but for every human being. The Qur'an has a good message for all people and this paper reviews what the Qur'an says about peace.

Literature Review

Sayyid Qutb (1995) was among the earliest to discuss about the terminology of peace in Islam. He discussed about this core concept

of peace brought by Islam for all. According to him, peace starts from one's soul or self-calm. A peaceful person will produce a peaceful community. Meanwhile a peaceful community will definitely lead to a peaceful country and even to the global peace. Furthermore, according to Karim (2005) stated that there is an intimate connection between the term Islam with peacemaking and human security, confirmed by linguistic and Quranic evidence. The concept of peace is primarily associated with Arabic verbs which derived from the root words *salama, sulh, amn* and *sabr*. However, this research does not fully clarify the terminologies in details as mentioned by the Holy Quran.

In addition, according to Nazar et al., (2014) again, peace is the precious value in Islam as well as other religions. There is none of the religions that promote violence to its followers. Even though this research studies about the so called concept of peace according to Quran and Hadith, but it does not go deeper into the terminologies that refer to real meaning of peace. The featured writing only stresses on the concept of justice, cooperation and tolerance with other believers of religions which will bring the peace in accordance with Quran and Hadith, without justifying the related terminologies of peace beforehand.

Youssef Mezrigui (2015) hence conducted the research on the principles of peace in Islam mainly retrieved from Quran and Hadith. The research found out that among the principles of peace in Islam are sanctity of human life, the right of religious freedom, gentle address on people, and justice in treatment to maintain the world peace, Islam is a religion of moderation and getting acquainted with other nations. Even so, the research on the terminologies of peace is not discussed by the author because it only focuses on the principles of peace in Islam.

Therefore, the research found out that most of the researches on peace according to Islam are about the concept and principle of peace brought by Islam. Thus, this research is conducted to look into the terminologies that have something to do with peace through the words *salām* and *amn*. The research scope only concentrates on those two words that exist in the Holy Quran. Then, the research also looks into the interpretations of *mufasirin* on the definition of the words and sentences.

Definition of *al-Salām* and *al-Amn*

Peace in the Qur'an is referred to in two phrase: السلام) (al-salām) and الأمن (al-amn). According to Mu'jam al-Wasit, generally, al-salām has meanings of peace, harmony, safety, giving greetings and wishing another person well (Jumhūriyyah Misr al-'Arābiyyah, 2004, p. 446). Al-amn connotes safety, security, peace, harmony, guarantee and trust (Jumhūriyyah Misr al-'Arābiyyah, 2004, p. 28). The word "Islam" also originated from سلام (salām), or peace and security.

According to *Mu'jam Tahzīb al-Lughah*, the phrase *al-salām* originates from the word *sa-li-ma* said by Allah in the Qur'an (6:127) (Abu Mansūr, 2001, vol. 12, p. 309). Abu Ishāq added that, for believers, there is the paradise of *Dār al-Salām*. In another *surah* (al-Hashr: 23), *al-salām* refers to the name of Allah (Ibrahim Kalin, 2013). *Al-amn* is also a noun *amnun* which means harmony and peace (Abu Mansūr, 2001, vol. 15, p. 367). Some opinions say that a person's safety from enemies is because of his faith.

Furthermore, based on *Mu'jam Lisan al-'Arab*, the word *al-salām* is from al-salāmah that is *salima - yaslamu - salāman - wasalāmatan* (Ibn Manzūr, 1993, vol. 12, p. 291). According to some, it refers to paradise, *Dar al-Salām*, a place safe from any evil and destruction. Al-Farra' added that *silmun* and *salāmun* are similar, whereas *salima* refers to *al-salāmu* and *al-salāmatu* -that is, safety and harmony. In summary, *al-salām* is safety from evil and sin, as well as being a decree to be obeyed. The phrase *al-amn* refers to *al-amān* and al-amānah means peace and harmony (Ibn Manzūr, 1993, vol. 13, p. 21). The antonym of *al-amn* is *al-khawf* which means fear.

Therefore, the phrases al-salām and al-amn have the same meaning: safety, security, prosperity, harmony and peace, despite the difference in the usage of both phrases (Crow, 2013). This paper will analyse one or two highly significant verses to elaborate this interpretation.

The word al-Salām Phrase in the Qur'an

Allah had referred to the phrase of *al-salām* in many places in the Qur'an. The table below shows the list of *al-salām* derivatives found in the Qur'an (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, pp. 585-589).

Table 1: The	derivatives	of the	phrase	al-salām	in the Qur'an
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Derivatives in the Qur'an	Total	Surah/Verse
آ ^م آ س	5	Al-Baqarah:112, Ali-'Imrān:73, al- Nisā':125, al-An'ām:14, al-Jin:14
اً ° لَ-ا سم	1	Al-Sāffāt:103
^۴ ۵ ۵ سمت	3	Al-Baqarah:131, Ali-'Imrān:20, al- Naml:44
أًا ° يَ ^٥ ٩ سد متم	1	Ali-'Imrān:20
اً ° لَ ° لَ سمّ	1	Al-Hujrāt:14
اً [°] اً ^م وا سم	3	Ali-'Imrān:20, al-Hujrāt:17, al-Māidah:44
اً ^م ر سم	1	Ghafir:66
تُسلِمون	1	Al-Nahl:81
، م لنسلم	1	Al-An'ām:71
يسلم	1	Luqmān:22
يسلمون	1	Al-Fath:16

۽ • • • • سرم	1	Al-Baqarah:131
^{¶ °} اُ ^م وا سم	2	Al-Haj:34, al-Zumar:54
سئم	1	Al-Anfāl:43
سأمتم	1	Al-Baqarah:233
تُسلَّموا	1	Al-Nur:27
يسلّموا	1	Al-Nisā':65
سلّموا	2	Al-Nur:61, al-Ahzāb:56
الإ ° لام	6	Ali-'Imrān:19, 85, al-Māidah:3, al- An'ām:125, al-Zumar:22, al-Ṣaf:7
! • - بَحْم سلام	1	Al-Hujrāt:17
ا سر مهم	1	Al-Taubah:74
تسليماً	3	Al-Nisā':65, al-Ahzāb:22,56
سالمون	1	Al-Qalam:34
سلام	22	Al-An'ām:54, al-A'rāf:46, Yunus:10, Hud:69, al-Ra'd:24, Ibrāhīm:23, al- Nahl:32, Maryam:15, al-Naml:59, al- Ahzāb:44, 56, Yasin:58, al-Sāffāt:79, 109, 120, 130, 181, al-Zumar:73, al-Zāriyāt:25, al-Wāqiah:91, al-Qadr:5
_لام س	3	Hud:38, al-Hijr:46, Qaf:34
سَلام	3	Maryam:47, al-Qasas:55, al-Zukhruf:89

َلامرً	8	Hud:69, al-Hijr:56, Maryam:62, al-
	-	Furqān:63,75, al-Zāriyat:25, al-
		Wāqiah:25, al-Anbiya':69
		······································
السَّلام	7	Al-Hashr:23, al-Nisā':94, al-Maidah:16,
		Maryam:33, Taha:47, Al-An'ām:127,
		Yunus:25.
سلماً	1	Al-Zumar:29
ِ آ لَ [*] ا	4	Al-Nisā':90,91, al-Nahl:27,87
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~		
السلّاً ۲ سالسو ۲	3	Al-Baqarah:208, al-Anfal:61,
		Muhammad:35
سگم	1	Al-Tur:38
سألما	1	Al-An'am:35
سليم	2	Al-Shu'ara':89, al-Saffat:84
1		
مستسلمون	1	Al-Saffat:62
, ,		
مسئمة	2	Al-Baqarah:71, al-Nisa':92
	2	
\$ ° \$	2	Ali-'Imran:67, Yusuf:101
مسلما	2	
المسلمات	1	Al-Ahzab:35
المسلمات		
	1	Al December 127
مسلمة	1	Al-Baqarah:127
	1.7	
مسلمون	15	Al-Baqarah:132,133,136, Ali-'Imran:
		52,64,80, 84,102, al-Maidah:111, Hud:14,
		al-Anbiya':108, al-Naml:81, al-
		'Ankabut:46, al-Rum:53, al-Jin:14
	1	Al-Baqarah:127
مسلمين		

مسلمين	21	Al-A'raf:126, Yunus:83, al-Hijr:2, al- Qasas:53, al-Zukhruf:69, al- Naml:31,38,42,91, al-An'am:163, Yunus:72,90, al-Nahl:89,102, al-Haj:78, al-Ahzab:35, al-Zumar:12, Fussilat:33, al-
		Ahqaf:15, al-Zariyat:36, al-Qalam:35

# The word *al-Amn* in the Al-Qur'an

Allah had in many places mentioned the phrase of *al-amn* in the Qur'an. The table below illustrates the list of derivatives of the word *al-amn* found in the Qur'an (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, pp. 83-92).

<b>Table 2: Derivatives</b>	of the p	hrase <i>al-amn</i>	in the	e Our'an
	or ene p	III ase we where		~~~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~

Derivatives in the Qur'an	Total	Surah/Verse
أرِّن	4	Al-Baqarah: 283, al-A'rāf: 97, 98, al- Nahl: 45
أمنتكم	1	Yusuf:64
أمنتكم أصحو منتر	6	Al-Baqarah: 196, 239, al-Isrā': 68, 69, al- Mulk: 16, 17
أربوا	2	Al-A'rāf: 99, Yusuf: 107
آمنُكُم	1	Yusuf: 64
تأمنًا	1	Yusuf: 11
تأمنه	1	Ali-'Imrān: 75
م. م آمنت	3	Yunus: 90, Yasin: 25, al-Shura: 15

آمنتم	10	Al-Baqarah: 137, al-Nisā': 147, al- Māidah: 12, al-A'rāf: 76, 123, al-Anfāl: 41, Yunus: 51, 84, Taha: 71, al-Shu'arā': 49
آمنًا	33	Al-Baqarah: 8, 14, 76, 132, Ali-'Imran: 7, 16, 52, 53, 84, 119, 193, al- Māidah: 41, 59, 61, 83, 111, al-A'rāf: 121, 126, Taha: 70, 73, al-Mu'minun: 109, al-Nur: 47, al- Shu'arā': 47, al-Qasas: 53, al-'Ankabut: 2, 10, 46, Saba': 52, Ghafir: 84, al-Hujrat: 14, al-Mulk: 29, al-Jin: 2, 13.
آمنهم	1	Quraish: 4
ر ر یأمن	1	Al-A'rāf: 99
يأمنوا	1	Al-Nisā': 91
يأمنوكم	1	Al-Nisā': 91
آمَن	30	Al-Baqarah: 13, 62, 126, 177, 253, 285, Ali-Imrān: 99, 110, Al-Nisā': 55, al- Māidah: 69, al-An'ām: 48, al-A'rāf: 75, 86, al-Taubah: 18, 19, Yunus: 83, 99, Hud: 36, 40, al-Kahfi: 88, Maryam: 60, Taha: 82, al-Furqan: 70, al-Qasas: 67, 70, al-'Ankabut: 26, Sabā': 37, Ghāfir: 30, 38, al-Ahqāf: 10
آمنت	5	Al-An'ām: 158, Yunus: 90, 98, al- Anbiya': 6, al-Saf: 14.
آمنُوا	82	Al-Baqarah: 9, 14, 25, 26, 62, 76, 62, 103, 104, 137, 153, 165, 172, 178, 183, 207, 212, 213, 214, 218, 249, 254, 257, 264, 267, 277, 278, 282, Ali-Imrān: 57, 68, 72, 100, 102, 118, 130, 140, 141, 149, 156,

		200, Al-Nisā': 19, 29, 39, 43, 51, 57, 59, 60, 71, 76, 94, 122, 135, 136, 137, 144, 152, 173, 175, al-Māidah:1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 35, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 65, 69, 82, 90, 93, 94, 95, 101, 105, 106.
وه ° تۇمن	3	Al-Baqarah: 260, al-Māidah: 41, Yunus: 100
لتۇمننَّ	1	Ali-'Imrān: 81
تؤمنوا	5	Ali-'Imrān: 73, 179, al-Isrā': 107, Ghāfir: 12, al-Dukhān: 21, Muhammad: 36, al- Fath: 9, al-Hujrāt: 13, al-Hadid: 8, al- Mujādalah: 4, al-Mumtahanah: 1,4
تۇمنون	8	Al-Baqarah: 85, Ali-'Imran: 110, 119, al- Nisa': 59, al-Nur: 2, al-Hadid: 8, al-Sāf: 11, al-Haqqah: 41.
وه * نۇمن	13	Al-Baqarah: 13, 55, 91, Ali-'Imrān: 183, al-Nisā': 150, al-Māidah: 84, al-'An'ām: 124, al-Taubah: 94, al-Isrā': 90, 93, al- Mu'minun: 47, al-Syu'arā': 111, Sabā': 31.
لنؤمننَّ	1	Al-A'rāf: 134
ه ه , يۇ - ^ن	25	Al-Baqarah: 232, 256, 264, Ali-'Imrān: 199, al-A'rāf: 158, al-Taubah: 99, Yusuf: 40, Hud: 36, Yunus: 106, al-Kahfi: 29, Taha: 16, 127, al-Naml: 81, al-'Ankabut: 37, al-Rum: 54, al-Sajadah: 15, Saba': 21, Ghāfir: 27, al-Fath: 13, al-Taghabun: 9, 11, al-Talaq: 2, 11, al-Haqqah: 33, al-Jin: 13
د ^{ه م} يۇ ^ر	2	Al-Baqarah: 221, 227

لوه مر پ	1	
يؤنن	1	Al-Nisā'
لړه ^{مو} : يۇ ئىن	1	Al-An'ām:109
د ^{هم} يۇ	18	Al-Baqarah: 75, 186, 221, al-An'ām: 25, 110, 111, al-A'rāf: 87, 101, 146, Yunus: 13, 74, 88, al-Isrā': 94, al-Kahfi: 6, 55, al- Haj: 54, al-Ahzāb: 19, al-Buruj: 8.
يۇمنون	82	Al-Baqarah: 3, 4, 6, 88, 100, 121, Ali- 'Imrān: 114, al-Nisā': 38, 46, 51, 65, 155, 162, al-Māidah: 81, al-An'ām: 12, 20, 54, 92, 99, 109, 113, 125, 150, 154, al-A'rāf:: 27, 52, 156, 180, 188, 203, al-Anfāl: 55, al-Taubah: 29, 44, 45, Yunus: 33, 97, 101, Hud: 121, Yusuf: 37, 111, al-Ra'd:1, al- Hijr: 13, al-Nahl: 22, 60, 64, 72, 79, 104, 105, al-Isrā': 10, 45, Maryam: 39, al- Anbiya': 6, 30, al-Mu'minun: 44, 58, 74, al-Nur: 62, al-Shu'arā': 201, al-Qasas: 3, 52, al-Ankabut: 24, 47, 51, 67, al-Rum: 37, Saba': 8, Yasin: 7,10, al-Zumar: 45, 52, Ghāfir: 7, 59, Fussilat: 44, al-Shura: 18, al-Zukhruf: 88, al-Jathiah: 6, al-Tur: 33, al-Najm: 27, al-Mujadalah: 22, al- Mursalat: 50, al-Inshiqaq: 20
، آمن	1	Al-Ahqāf: 17
آمنوا	18	Al-Baqarah: 13, 41, 91, Ali-'Imrān: 72, 179, 193, al-Nisā': 47, 132, 170, 171, al- Māidah: 111, al-A'rāf: 158, al-Taubah: 86, al-Isrā': 107, al-Ahqāf: 31, al-Hadid: 7, 28, al-Taghabun: 8
اؤْتُمَن	1	Al-Baqarah: 283

آمناً 	6	Al-Baqarah: 126, Ali-'Imrān: 97, Ibrahim: 35, al-Qasas: 57, al-Ankabut: 67, Fussilat: 40
آمنة	1	Al-Nahl: 112
م آرِنون	2	Al-Naml: 89, Saba': 37
آ _{مر} ین	8	Yusuf: 99, al-Ḥijr: 46, 82, al-Syu'arā': 136, al-Qasas: 31, Saba': 18, al-Dukhān: 55, al-Fath:27.
الأمانات	1	Al-Nisā': 57
أماناتكم	1	Al-Anfāl: 27
أماناتهم	2	Al-Mu'minun: 8, al-Ma'arij: 32
الأمانة	1	Al-Ahzāb: 72
أمانته	1	Al-Baqarah: 283
أمناً	2	Al-Baqarah: 125, al-Nur: 55
الأ ^ث ن م	3	Al-Nisā': 83, al-Anʿām: 81,82
ة َ َ أَ مَ	2	Ali-'Imrān: 154, al-Anfāl: 11
أمين	12	Al-A'rāf: 68, Yusuf: 54, al-Shu'arā': 107, 125, 143, 162, 178, al-Naml: 39, al- Dukhan: 18, 51, al-Takathur: 21
الأَمين	3	Al-Shu'arā': 193, al-Qasas: 193, al-Tin: 3.
إيمان	1	Al-Thūr: 21
إيمانا	6	Ali-'Imrān: 173, al-Anfāl: 2, al-Taubah: 124, al-Ahzāb: 22, al-Fath: 4, al-Mudathir:

		31.
الإيمان	14	Al-Baqarah: 108, Ali-'Imrān: 167, 177, 193, al-Māidah: 5, al-Taubah: 23, al-Nahl: 106, al-Rum: 57, Ghāfir: 10, al-Shu'arā: 56, al-Hujrat: 17, al-Mujādalah: 22, al- Hashr: 2, 10
إيمانكم	7	Al-Baqarah: 93, 109, 143, Ali-'Imrān: 100, 106, al-Nisā': 25, al-Taubah: 66
إيمانه ~	2	Al-Nahl: 106, Ghāfir: 28
إيمانها	2	Al-An'ām: 158, Yunus: 98
إيمانحم	8	Ali-'Imrān: 86, 90, al-An'ām: 82, Yunus: 9, al-Sajadah: 29, Ghāfir :85, al-Fath:4
إيمانه رَّ	1	Al-Mumtahanah: 10
مؤمن	13	Al-Baqarah: 221, al-Nisā': 92, 124, al- Taubah: 10, Yusuf: 18, al-Nahl: 97, al- Isra': 19, Taha: 112, al-Anbiya': 94, al- Ahzab: 32, Ghāfir: 28, 40, al-Taghabun: 2
مۇمنا مۇمنا	6	Al-Nisā': 92, 93, 94, Taha: 75, al-Sajadah: 18
المؤمن	1	Al-Hashr: 23
مؤمنات	3	Al-Fath: 25, al-Mumtahanah 10, al- Tahrim: 5
ل المؤمنات	17	Al-Nisā': 25, al-Māidah: 5, al-Taubah: 71, 72, al-Nur: 12, 23, 31, al-Ahzab: 35, 39, 58, 73, Muhammad: 19, al-Fath:5, al- Hadid: 12, al-Mumtahanah: 12, Nuh: 28, al-Buruj: 10

مأمنة	1	Al-Taubah: 6
مؤمنة	3	Al-Baqarah: 221, al-Nisā': 96, al-Ahzāb: 50
مۇمنون مۇ	6	Al-Māidah: 88, al-A'rāf: 75, Sabā': 41, al- Dukhān: 12, al-Fath: 25, al-Mumtahanah: 11
المؤمنون	28	Al-Baqarah: 285, Ali-'Imrān: 27, 110, 122, 160, al-Nisā': 162, al-Māidah: 11, al- Anfal: 2, 4, 74, al-Taubah: 51, 71, 105, 122, Ibrahim: 11, al-Mu'minun: 1, al-Nur: 12, 31, 62, al-Rum: 4, al-Ahzāb: 11, 22, al-Fath: 12, al-Hujrāt: 10, 15, al- Mujādalah: 10, al-Taghabun: 13, al- Mudathir:31
مۇمنىن	1	Al-Kahfi: 80
مۇمنىن مۇمنىن	38	Al-Baqarah: 8, 91, 93, 248, 278, Ali- 'Imrān: 23, 57, 112, al-Māidah: 23, 57, 112, al-An'ām: 118, al-A'rāf: 72, 85, 132, al-Anfāl: 1, al-Taubah: 14, 62, Yunus: 78, 99, Hud: 53, 86, Yusuf: 103, al- Mu'minun: 38, al-Nur: 17, al-Shu'arā': 3, 8, 67, 103, 121, 139, 158, 174, 190, 199, Saba': 31, al-Saffāt: 29, al-Hadid: 8
المؤمنين بر	100	Al-Baqarah:97, 223, Ali-'Imrān: 28, 68, 121, 124, 152, 164, 166, 171, 179, al- Nisā': 83, 95, 110, 115, 139, 141, 144, 146, al-Māidah: 43, 54, al-Taubah: 27, al- A'rāf: 2, 143, al-Anfāl: 16, 26, 61, 72, 79, 107, 111, 112, 128, Yunus: 103, 104, Yunus: 57, 87, 103, 104, Hud: 120, Ibrahim: 41, al-Hijr: 77, 88, al-Isrā': 9, 82, al-Kahfi: 2, al-Anbiyā': 88, al-Nur: 2, 3,

		30, 47, 51, al-Shu'arā': 51, 102, 114, 118, 215, al-Naml: 2, 15, 77, al-Qasas: 10, 37, al-'Ankabut: 44, al-Rum: 37, al-Ahzab: 6, 23, 25, 35, 37, 43, 47, 50, 58, 59, 73, Sabā': 20, al-Saffāt: 81, 111, 122, 132, al- Jathiah: 3, Muhammad: 19, al-Fath: 3, 5, 18, 20, 26, al-Hujrāt: 9, al-Zāriyat: 35, 55, al-Hadid: 12, al-Hashr: 2, al-Saf: 13, al- Munafiqun: 8, al-Tahrim: 4, Nuh: 28, al- Buruj: 8, 10
مأمون	1	Al-Ma'ārij

#### Analysis of *al-Salām* in the Qur'an

Hence, this discussion indicates that the phrase al-salām refers to six interpretations as the following:

#### Al-Salām bearing Allah's names

Allah used the phrase *al-salām* in Qur'an:

'Allah is He, than whom there is no other god the Sovereign, the Holy One, the Source of Peace (and Perfection), the Guardian of Faith, the Preserver of Safety, the Exalted in Might, the Irresistible, the Supreme: Glory to Allah. (High is He) above the partners they attribute to Him'. (Qur'an, 59: 23).

According to Ibn Kathīr, al-Qurṭubī and al-Jalālayn, it means that Allah is free from any flaws and inadequacies in his essence, characteristics and deeds (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 13, p. 502; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, vol. 20, p. 390; Al-Jalālayn, 2001, p. 144). Ibn 'Arabi said that scholars unanimously agree that the meaning of *al-salām* in this verse is a ratio that contains safety (Allah). Furthermore, al-Ţabarī stated that *al-salām* means the one that saves His creation from tyranny, and is one of the names of Allah (Al-Ţabarī, 1999, vol. 21, p. 551).

## Al-Salām as the name of paradise

There are various verses containing the phrase *al-salām* where it means paradise, such as the chapter al-An'ām:127, Yūnus:10, al-Ahzāb:44, al-Wāqiah:25, 26, Yasin:58 and al-Ra'd:23, 24. The ultimate peace is the final entrance of all Muslims into paradise, which is called *Dar al-Salām* by Allah in Qur'an, as follows:

'For them will be a home of peace in the presence of their Lord: He will be their friend, because they practised (righteousness)'. (Qur'an, 6: 127).

According to Ibn Kathīr and al-Qurṭubī the phrase  $D\bar{a}r \ al-Sal\bar{a}m$  is paradise, which is the house of God (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 6, p. 186; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, vol. 9, p. 27). In addition, al-Ṭabarī wrote that  $D\bar{a}r \ al-Sal\bar{a}m$  is a house Allah prepared for his *wali* in the hereafter, meaning heaven (Al-Ṭabarī, 1999, vol. 9, p. 554).

Similarly, the inhabitants of paradise are always described as greeting each other and mutually wishing peace. This is mentioned when Allah said in the Qur'an:

"(This will be) their cry therein: "Glory to Thee, O Allah." And "Peace" will be their greeting therein! and the close of their cry will be: "Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds!"". (Qur'an, 10: 10).

This verse, according to Ibn Kathīr, reveals the circumstances of the inhabitants of paradise. There are other Qur'anic verses with the same meaning as this verse: surah al-Ahzāb:44, al-Wāqiah:25, 26, Yāsin:58 and al-Ra'd:23, 24 (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 7, p. 334). Al-Qurtubī also states that the meaning of "and their greeting therein will be Peace" is Allah wishing them peace and them wishing it upon each other (the inhabitants of heaven) (Al-Qurtubī, 2006, vol. 10, p. 459).

In addition, al-Țabarī wrote that the phrase *al-salām* means that the inhabitants of paradise feel safe and secure from following others into hellfire (Al-Țabarī, 1999, vol. 21, p. 126-128). Al-Shaukānī, in turn, stated that, when one uses this greeting to others,

Allah and angels utter the greeting to them (Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 2, p. 601-602).

Ibn al-Sa'di said that Allah is *al-salām* (peace and security) and it is His place in paradise. The majority of *mufasirin* agreed that the phrase *al-salām* in this verse is Allah and His place is in heaven. Thus, *al-salām*, meaning safety, prosperity and peace, is one of the many holy names of Allah, and His place is also called *al-salām*, it is one of the names of paradise that He has made available to His selected servants.

## Al-Salām means Islam

There are verses in the Qur'an which explain the meaning of Islam such as Ali-'Imrān:19, 85, al-Māidah:3, al-An'ām:125, al-Zumar:22, al-Ṣaf:7 (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, p. 586). Allah stated in Qur'an:

'The religion before Allah is Islam (submission to His will): nor did the people of the book dissent therefrom except through envy of each other, after knowledge had come to them. But if any deny the Signs of Allah, Allah is swift in calling to account'. (Qur'an, 3: 19).

According to Ibn Kathīr, that no religion is acceptable from any individual except for Islam. Islam follows all the messages conveyed by the Prophets of Allah until the last messenger, Muhammad (pbuh) (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 3, p. 36). Al-Qurṭubī wrote that the phrase religion in this verse means loyalty and obedience, and Islam means faith and submission (Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, vol. 5, p. 68).

In addition, al-Tabarī stated that Islam is obedience to Allah, declaring in the heart as well as verbally the submission to Allah, and obeying Allah's commands in what He allows and forbids (Al-Tabarī, 1999, vol. 5, p. 281). Al-Shaukānī further said that this verse means that the religion from Allah is truly Islam. The council of scholars have declared that the word Islam here means to believe in Allah (Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 1, p. 543). Besides that, Allah said in Qur'an:

'Is one whose heart Allah has opened to Islam, so that he has received enlightenment from Allah, (no better than one hard-hearted)? To those whose hearts are hardened against celebrating the praises of Allah. They are manifestly wandering (in error)!'. (Qur'an 39: 22)

According to Ibn Kathīr, this verse compares those whose hearts Allah has softened with those whose hearts have hardened and are far from the truth (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 12, p. 122).

In addition, al-Qurțubī said that *sha-ra-ha* means to open and to expand. Ibn Abbas said that his heart was opened wide to Islam and thus he remains a Muslim (Al-Qurțubī, 2006, vol. 18, p. 265). In the meantime, al-Țabarī explained that this verse refers to those whose hearts have been softened by Allah to know Him, swear on the oneness of Allah, worship Him faithfully, and submit wholly to Allah (Al-Țabarī, 1999, vol. 20, p. 189).

Al-Shaukānī said that this verse means widening or opening to receive truth and to provide guidance on the true path. Al-Saddi said that his heart was opened to Islam to bring happiness and serenity to him (Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 4, p. 201).

## Al-Salām: a wish for peace, a good greeting

There are 20 verses which are greetings of peace in the Qur'an such as al-An'ām: 54, al-A'rāf: 46, Yunus: 10, Hud:69, al-Ra'd: 24, Ibrāhīm: 23, al-Nahl: 32, Maryam: 15, al-Naml: 59, al-Ahzāb: 44, Yasin: 58, al-Sāffāt: 79, 109, 120, 130, 181, al-Zumar: 73, al-Zāriyāt: 25, al-Wāqiah: 91, 26, al-Qard:5, al-Ḥijr: 56, Maryam: 62, al-Furqān: 75, al-Nisā': 94 (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, p. 586-587).

Amongst the verses of the Qur'an are stated in al-An'am as follows:

'When those come to thee who believe in our signs, say: "Peace be on you: Your Lord hath inscribed for Himself (the rule of) mercy: verily, if any of you did evil in ignorance, and thereafter repented, and amend (his conduct), lo! He is Off- forgiving, Most Merciful'. (Qur'an, 6: 54). 'Ikrimah wrote this verse was sent down to those people whom Allah had forbidden his Prophet from chasing away. Our prophet Muhammad (pbuh), upon seeing them, would start by greeting them "*salām*". Ibn Kathīr stated that this verse honoured them by giving them a greeting of peace and spreading good news to them with Allah's wide and complete blessing (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 6, p. 47).

In addition, al-Qurtubī interpreted the phrases *al-salām* and *al-salāmah* as having the same meaning, of peace. Allah, saying *salām* and peace to the religion and to you, sent down the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) to those who been forbidden from turning away, seeing or meeting them with greetings of peace (Al-Qurtubī, 2006, vol. 18, p. 392-394). Al-Shaukānī wrote that, when you are approached by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), begin with the greeting of *salām* and peace (Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 2, p. 171).

Another verse mentioning  $sal\bar{a}m$  is Qur'an 24:61: But if ye enter houses, salute each other, a greeting of blessing and purity as from Allah. Thus does Allah make clear the signs to you, that ye may understand'. (Qur'an, 24: 61).

According to Ibn Kathīr, this verse tells us, when we enter our home, to say *salām* to family members and to ourselves (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 17, p. 348). Meanwhile, al-Qurṭubī and al-Shaukānī state that this verse means that when you enter your home you give *salām* to the inhabitants (Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, vol. 15, p. 354-355; Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 4, p. 73).

The house in this verse has several meanings, with the first being a mosque where, if empty, we should give  $sal\bar{a}m$  to Rasulullah (pbuh) and the angels. The second view is that "house" here means one which is occupied, where you give  $sal\bar{a}m$  to its inhabitants and, if unoccupied, you give  $sal\bar{a}m$  to yourself. Ibn 'Arabi stated that "house" in this instance means a house which is generally known to be inhabited. Allah also uttered in Qur'an: 'Peace and salutation to Abraham!'. (Qur'an, 37: 109).

Ibn Kathīr and al-Shaukānī explained that its *al-salām* greeting means a beautiful and good praise (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 12, p. 37-39; Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 4, p. 534).

## Al-Salām: peace and security

There are several verses in the Qur'an which explain that the *al-salām* greeting means safety, peace and security: surah Hud: 48, al-Hijr: 46, Qaf: 34, Maryam: 33, Țaha: 47, al-Anbiyā': 69, Al-Māidah: 16 (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, p. 586-587). Allah also uttered Qur'an:

'The word came: "O Noah! Come down (from the Ark) with peace from us, and blessing on thee and on some of the peoples (who will spring) from those with thee: but (there will be other) peoples to whom We shall grant their pleasures (for a time), but in the end will a grievous penalty reach them from us"". (Qur'an, 11: 48).

According to al-Qurtubī and al-Shaukānī, this verse means with safety and security (Al-Qurtubī, 2006, vol. 11, p. 138; Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 2, p. 701). It refers to Allah telling Noah (pbuh) to go to the land feeling safe and secure because the flood had receded. Al-Tabarī rendered it as, "Descend to earth from the ark, in safety from us to you and those with you, saved from destruction" (Al-Ţabarī, 1999, vol. 12, p. 437).

There are also other verses where the phrase *al-salām* means to make peace and to abandon war such as in al-Baqarah:208, al-Anfāl:61, Muhammad:35. Another verse is stated as follows: 'O who believe! Enter into Islam whole-heartedly, and follow not the footsteps of the evil one; for he is to you an avowed enemy'. (Qur'an 2: 208).

The word *al-silm* in this verse means peace which seems to be the opposite of war (*harb*). This makes the verse a call to believers to try and achieve peace and harmony together and not turn away from it. In addition, it explains that the word *al-silm* means Islam itself that cover into Islam completely and perfectly. This means to go into a true peace which encompasses peace for self, family, community and the entire human race.

*Al-Islam* if seen in its original meaning, means submission, surrender and abandonment of all conflict. Hence it encompasses two different interpretations. The first means peace, security and forsaking of war. The second means obedience and submission to

Allah, religion and the law of Islam. Ibn Abbas and scholars of interpretation from the *salaf* school recorded that both interpretations have the same meaning. There are no restrictions in using both meanings in the verse. The meaning of the phrase is wide ranging, as demanded by Islam. In addition, asking for peace by doing what is commanded by Allah and being sincere to Him in abandoning conflict, murders and war, are all indicators of those who have been guided. They hold firm the guidance of Allah about peace and treaties between men (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 1, p. 247-248).

#### The word al-salām: good

Allah said in Qur'an: 'And the servants of (Allah) Most Gracious are those who walk on the earth in humility, and when the ignorant address them, they say, 'Peace!'.' (Qur'an 25: 63).

Ibn Kathīr interpreted the words 'when the ignorant address them, they say, 'Peace!' as when one is greeted by infidels harshly, not to reply in the same manner, but instead forgive them and return a good greeting (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 10, p. 320).

Meanwhile according to al-Qurtubī and al-Shaukānī, the word *salāma* means to speak to infidels with favourable and soft greetings (Al-Qurtubī, 2006, vol. 15, p. 469; Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 4, p. 114-115). In addition, Al-Tabarī also stated that when those who are unbelievers in Allah greet you harshly, you respond with a good greeting (Al-Tabarī, 1999, vol. 17, p. 493).

#### Analysis of the word *al-Amn* in the Qur'an

An analysis of the phrase *al-Amn*, this phrase reveals four different interpretations as follows:

#### Al-Amn: peace and tranquillity

There are several verses in the Qur'an which means peace and tranquillity that refer in al-A'rāf:97, 98, 99 al-Nahl:45, Yusuf:99, al-Hijr:46, 82, al-Syu'arā':147, al-Qasas:31, Saba':18, 37 al-Dukhan:55, al-Fath:27, al-Baqarah:125, 196, 239, al-Isrā':68, 69, al-Mulk:16, 17, al-A'rāf:99, Yusuf:107, Quraish:4, Ali-'Imrān:97, 104, Fuşşilat:40, al-Naml:89, al-Anfāl:11, al-Nūr:55, al-Nisā':83, al-

An'ām:81, 82 (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arābiyyah, 1988, p. 83-91). An example is Allah's word in Qur'an as follows: 'Then when they entered the presence of Joseph, he provided a home for his parents with himself, and said: "Enter the Egypt (all) in safety if it please Allah'''. (Qur'an, 12: 99).

According to al-Jalālayn, when they entered upon the place of Yusuf, that is his Yusuf's camp, (he embraced), "he took his parents to himself (enter Egypt, Allah willing, safe and secure), then they entered into Egypt and Yusuf sat on the throne" (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 12, p. 247).

Meanwhile, Ibn Kathīr stated that when the prophet Ya'qub (pbuh) came to Yusuf (pbuh) in Egypt, Yusuf (pbuh) told his siblings to bring their families to Egypt. This verse "He took his parents to himself and said, 'Enter Egypt, Allah willing, safe and secure" means that Yusuf (pbuh) embraced both of his parents and raised them onto his throne. Ibn Jarir also said from the narration of al-Sidi that Yusuf (pbuh) embraced his parents when he met them and then, when reaching the gates of the nation, Yusuf (pbuh) said, "Enter Egypt, Allah willing, safe and secure" (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 8, p. 72-73).

Furthermore, according to al-Tabarī, from Abu Ja'far, when Ya'qub (pbuh), his children and relatives approached Yusuf (pbuh), Yusuf (pbuh) embraced both his parents and said "Enter Egypt! Allah willing, safe and secure" (Al-Ṭabarī, 1999, vol. 13, p. 349-350).

In addition, al-Qurtubī said that word *in syāa Allah* means to receive blessing from Allah, whereas *āminīn* means safe from flooding or from Pharaoh (Fir'aun). They did not enter Egypt without the permission of Yusuf (pbuh) (Al-Qurtubī, 2006, vol. 11, p. 454). Another word of Allah is Qur'an as mentioned: 'It is those who believe and confuse not their beliefs with wrong, that are (truly) in security, for they are on (right) guidance'. (Qur'an, 6: 82).

Al-Jalālayn stated that the phrase, "They who believe and do not mix their belief with injustice" means not mixing faith with tyranny; according to Sahih Bukhari, tyranny means polytheism. They will be safe from the punishment of Allah (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 7, p. 138). Al-Tabarī interpreted the verse "those will have security, and they are (rightly) guided" as those people who believe and do not taint their faith with *shirq* to Allah, they receive safety on the day of judgment from the punishment of Allah and will be guided on the straight path to success (Al-Tabarī, 1999, vol. 9, p. 378).

#### Al-Amn: to believe and to accept

There are many verses in the Qur'an that carry the meaning to believe and to accept Islam, which are found in al-Baqarah (9, 13, 14, 25, 26, 62, 76, 82, 103, 104, 108, 126, 137, 153, 165, 172, 178, 177, 183, 208, 212, 213, 214, 249, 253, 254, 257, 264, 267, 277, 278, 282, 285) Ali-'Imrān (57, 68, 72, 99, 100, 102, 110, 118, 130, 139, 140, 141, 156, 167, 173, 177, 193, 200), al-Nisā' (47, 55, 136, 170, 171) Al-Māidah (5, 69, 111), al-An'ām (38, 158), al-A'rāf (75, 86, 157), al-Taubah (18, 19, 23, 86, 124) Yunus (83, 90, 98, 99), Hud (36, 40), al-Kahfi:88, Maryam:60, Țaha:82, al-Furqān:70, al-Qasas (67, 80), al-'Ankabūt:26, Saba':37, Ghāfir (30, 38), al-Ahqāf (10, 17, 31) al-Anbiyā':6, al-Ṣaf:14, al-Isrā':107, al-Hadid (7, 28), al-Taghābun:8, al-Nahl:106, al-Rum:56, Ghāfir:10, al-Shurā:52, al-Hujrāt (7, 11, 14, 17), al-Mujādalah:22, al-Hashr (9, 10), al-Thūr:21, al-Anfāl:2, al-Ahzāb:22, al-Fath:4 and al-Mudathir:31.

One of the examples is: 'When they meet those who believe, they say: "We believe, but when they are alone with their evil ones, they say: "We are really with you: We (were) only jesting"'. (Qur'an, 2: 14).

According to al-Jalālayn, the phrase in this verse *āmanu* means those who are faithful (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, p. 3). Ibn Kathīr further interpreted this verse to mean that hypocrites say that they believed, *āminā* that is, and appeared externally faithful and obedient, but were making fools of the believers and were two-faced hypocrites (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 1, p. 290). Meanwhile, according to al-Ṭabarī, Allah had sent down this verse to remind the hypocrites that, while they pretend to believe, it is only a pretence (Al-Ṭabarī, 1999, vol. 1, p. 302-303).

Another verse in Qur'an 18:88, Allah said: 'But whoever believes, and works righteousness, he shall have a goodly reward, and easy will be his task as We order it by our Command'. (Qur'an, 18:88). According to Ibn Kathīr, the phrase *wa ammā man āmana* means whoever obeys what has been commanded and to worship Allah and not associate Him with any other (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 9, p. 188). Meanwhile, al-Shaukānī said this verse means to believe in Allah and accept His teaching (Al-Shaukānī, 1993, vol. 13, p. 426). In addition, al-Ṭabarī also said that this verse means that whoever accepts Allah, acknowledges His oneness and worships Him has an excellent reward, heaven (Al-Ṭabarī, 1999, vol. 15, p. 379).

### Al-Amn means a peaceful place

In the Qur'an there are verses which contained the phrase *al-Amn* with the meaning of a place that is peaceful: al-Baqarah:126, Ibrāhīm:35, al-Qaṣas:57, al-'Ankabūt:67 and al-Nahl:112. An example is Allah's word in Qur'an 3:97:

'In it are signs manifest, (for example), the Station of Abraham, whoever enters it attains security, pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, those who can afford the journey, but if any deny faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures'. (Qur'an, 3: 97).

Ibn Kathīr stated that the verse *fīhi āyātin bayyinātin* which means in it there are clear signs, whereby the clear signs means the building that Abraham (pbuh) built, and that Allah honours that place. "*Maqām Ibrāhīm*" the place where he set the foundation and walls, on which he would stand, and on top of which he put his son Ismail (pbuh). The phrase *wa man dakhalahu kāna āminā* refers to whoever entered to the holy city of Makkah in fear, they became very calm and at peace. Hasan al-Baṣrī, during the time of *jāhiliah*, committed murder and on him was placed a woollen fabric, and he entered the Masjid al-Harām and met the son of the person whom he killed. Thus, the murderer will not be disturbed until he leaves Masjid al-Harām (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 3, p. 116-117).

Meanwhile, according to al-Jalālayn, this verse refers to several clear signs found on certain locations such as the "maqam Ibrāhīm", which is the stone upon which the prophet Abraham (pbuh) stood when he was building the Baitullah. Both his footprints have left a mark that can be seen to this day. Those who pray within

the area will have double their rewards and birds cannot fly over the Kaabah. And whoever enters it will be safe, meaning safe from threats, killings, persecution and others (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 4, p. 62). Another verse mentioned in the Qur'an is:

'And remember Abraham said: "My Lord, make this a City of Peace, and feed its people with fruits,-such of them as believe in Allah and the Last Day." He said: "(Yea), and such as reject Faith, for a while will I grant them their pleasure, but will soon drive them to the torment of Fire, an evil destination (indeed)!"". (Qur'an, 2: 126).

Al-Jalālayn stated that the context in the verse *hādha baladan āminan* refers to the time when Ibrāhīm (pbuh) prayed for God to make the country safe. The prayer was granted by Allah until Makkah becomes a holy city, where blood cannot be spilled, no one can be persecuted, animals cannot be hunted, and grass cannot be pulled out. The phrase "provide its people with fruits" has become a reality with various types of fruits from Shams carried by those who were performing their *tawaf*, even though the land itself is barren without water or vegetation (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 1, p. 19).

In addition, Ibn Kathīr explained the meaning of the verse *rabb ij'al hādhā baladan āminan* which means 'O Lord make this city peace and free from fear' that this refers to safety from fear and to not cause fear among the residents (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 2, p. 80). Al-Qurṭubī explained that the verse *baladan āminan* (the safe city) refers to Makkah, where the Prophet Ibrāhīm (pbuh) had prayed, that his descendants and other people will find peace and harmony as well as comfort in life. It was related that Makkah and the surrounding areas, when Ibrāhīm (pbuh) first came, were barren. Allah blessed it and the surrounding areas and there grew many types of fruits (Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, vol. 2, p. 372).

### Al-Amn means trust, the opposite of betrayal

There are several verses in the Qur'an where *al-amn* means trust as in al-Ahzāb:72, al-Baqarah:283, al-Nisā':58, al-Anfāl:27, al-Mu'minūn:8, al-Ma'ārij:32 (Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, 1988, p. 83-91). Besides that, one such word of Allah is Qur'an: 'If ye are on a journey, and cannot find a scribe, a pledge with possession (may serve the purpose). And if one of you deposits a thing on trust with another, let the trustee (faithfully) discharge His trust, and let him fear his Lord. Conceal not evidence; for whoever conceals it, His heart is tainted with sin. And Allah know all that we do'. (Qur'an, 2: 283).

According to al-Jalālayn, the verse *fain amina ba'dukum ba'dan* refers to debt, those who cannot provide security as debtors must fulfil their duty for which they reentrusted, to pay their debts (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 3, p. 49).

Ibn Kathīr also stated that the verse *fain amina ba'dukum ba'dan falyuaddi alladhī 'tumina amānatah* is referring to the fact that when someone has been given a mandate, it does not have to be writing it down or be witnessed (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 2, p. 513). Al-Qurṭubī wrote that the meaning of the phrase *amānatahu* is trust, or something that is guaranteed (Al-Qurṭubī, vol. 4, p. 377).

Another example Allah mentions about trust in Qur'an as follows: 'Those who faithfully observe their trusts and their covenants'. (Quran, 23: 8). Al-Jalālayn stated that duties between people, or between people and Allah, such as prayers, must be observed carefully (Al-Jalālayn, 2001, vol. 18, p. 342).

Al-Țabarī interpreted the verse *walladhīna hum li amānātihim wa'ahdihim rā'un* to refer to whom those who have preserved the trust and promises (Al-Ṭabarī, 1999, vol. 17, p. 13). Al-Qurțubī and al-Shaukānī interpreted the phrase *liamānātihim* to mean trust and promise, to compile all of man's words and deeds in his religion and in this world (Al-Qurțubī, 2006, vol. 15, p. 15; Al-Shaukānī, vol. 3, p. 646).

Ibn Kathīr wrote that the meaning of this verse is when a person is entrusted with a trust or mandate and is not to breach it but to complete the promise and trust given. When they promise, they should fulfil it, unlike the hypocrite, as in the hadith of Rasulullah (pbuh) about the signs of a hypocrite. Trust is also more general than promise (Ibn Kathīr, 1997, vol. 10, p. 109-110).

# Conclusion

Islam teaches that peace and harmony are foundational for establishing relationships among people, and that war and dispute are the first sources of chaos that lead to the breakdown of society. This holy religion puts great emphasis on safety and harmony and calls on people to always live harmoniously and not follow their desires, urges, and temptation. The analysis of the phrases al-amn and *al-salām* in the Qur'an shows that they are frequently mentioned in the Qur'an. Amongst the conclusions we can draw based on the phrase al-salām is that it carries six different interpretations: the name of Allah, paradise, Islam, a greeting of peace, peace and security and meaning good. An analysis of the phrase of *al-amn* reveals four different interpretations there are peace and tranquillity, to believe and accept, a peaceful place, and trust as opposed to betrayal. Thus, the phrases *al-amn* and *al-salām* specifically refer to peace. Based on the conducted analysis, the research revealed that among the terminologies used in reference to the meaning of peace are *al-amn* and *al-salām* which have been certified by the Quranic commentaries in their books. Indirectly, through Quranic verses it shows that element of peace is one of the messages brought by Islam. Therefore, we can believe that Islam is a religion that embraces peace and serenity and not the wars as stated by the western orientalists such as Prideaux (1967), William (1831), Frederick (1847) and Stubbe (1911) whereby Islam propagates its religion through sword and by force. It is undeniable that there are extremists in religion where they are hiding behind the religion just to achieve their personal desire. It also happened to ISIS or Daesh that practiced the *jihad* concept in obscuring the public to join their groups but the Islamic scholars unanimously agreed and decided that these groups are derailed from Islam (JAKIM, 2016). On that account, this research provides a clear image and description on the concept of peace brought by the holy Qur'an through terminologies or words as discussed by this research. The research enables to provide a guide and handy information towards the other researchers in the form of thematic and terminologies research according to Quranic perspectives.

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# VENI, VIDI, VICI: IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP AT THE HISTORICAL TOWN OF MELAKA AND VENICE

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#### Abstract

This study aims to investigate the strategies and influences of immigrant entrepreneurship at the World Heritage Site of Melaka and Venice. It focuses only on immigrant entrepreneurs who are directly involved in the tourism industry in both cities. The study followed a qualitative theoretical approach. This paper gathered the data by conducting twelve semi-structured interviews at the historic sites of Venice and Melaka. Thematic analysis was adopted to analyze the transcript interview data stored in NVivo. In a comparative view, we presented both cases. The original contributions showed that immigrant entrepreneurs: (1) applied market segmentation and niche products, (2) applied pricing strategies, and (3) promoted their businesses through strong immigrant-network ties in the host country. There are some similarities and differences in their strategic approach to local entrepreneurs. This paper helps to better understand the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship in both Venice and Melaka. It discusses some limitations and recommendations for future research.

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### Introduction

The tourism industry is a vital source of income for many countries around the world. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2018), global tourism remains active in the first quarter of 2018 and shows that Asia-Pacific growth is 8 percent, followed by Europe 7 percent, Africa 6 percent, the Middle East 4 percent and the Americas 3 percent. However, the World Heritage Site is the most popular destination for international tourists. Ahmad (2006) summarizes that both the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and ICOMOS have agreed in principle that heritage should cover both cultural and natural heritage, including monuments and groups of buildings and sites. Following this definition, Venice and Melaka are most appropriate for further investigation. These historic cities are famous for their uniqueness in seaports, history, and historic buildings in their countries, creating value for their tourism products and gaining a competitive advantage. Both Melaka and Venice are also one of the major destinations visited by both domestic and foreign visitors in Malaysia and Italy. Besides, the tourism industry not only produces revenue for the nation but also provides jobs for the local population by creating job opportunities in a variety of industries, such as accommodation, food and drinks, transport services, tourism goods, and other services. However, the number of entrepreneurs has grown over the last few years, including both native and immigrant entrepreneurs.

The term 'immigrant' does not have a clear definition recognized by the International Organization for Migration (IOM); there is no legal recognition of the term and, as a result, there are several different definitions and interpretations (Ndubisi, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that the meanings used to differ and generate criticism, particularly because diaspora is a phenomenon studied in a variety of disciplines (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). It is, however, important to define the definitions of '*immigrant*' and

*'immigrant entrepreneur'* in this research context by referring to existing studies. For example, in many studies, immigrant entrepreneurs refer to a group of (1) first-generation migrants born in a foreign country and relocated either permanently or temporarily to the host country, and (2) those second-generation migrants who are children with at least one foreign-born parent, and conduct entrepreneurial activities in the host country (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013). In this paper, an immigrant entrepreneur refers to a person who moves (temporarily or permanently) from his home country to a new host country and begins ventures there (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013; Ramli, 2015; Saxenian, 1999). This definition is very practical and makes more sense for this study and fits its research objective. That is why this paper uses the term *'immigrant entrepreneur'* with this definition throughout the discussion.

This paper describes Melaka as the first case study for two important reasons. First of all, the beauty of the World Heritage City of Melaka is its heritage features such as ancient buildings and temples, indigenous settlements, architectural styles and arts, and people from various cultures like Malay, Chinese, Indians, Baba and Nyonya, Chettis, and Portuguese (Melaka Historic City Council, 2007). Second, the rise in the number of registered visitors reached 16.7 million in 2017. For the same purposes, this analysis selected Venice as a comparative example. Venice is a World Heritage City because of its beauty through its art and architecture, its buildings and monuments, its hub for human growth, its empires, the birthplace of well-known artists like Titian and Bellini, and helped develop merchant routes that expanded the world (Annuario del Turismo, 2016). Mass tourism in Venice has also drawn between 23 and 25 million registered tourists in 2017. These two World Heritage Cities have similarities, such as the close seaport and rich in history, but a different area and cultural background. Many studies focus on the economic contribution of these cities to the country's tourism industry (Kemeny, 2017; Paoli et al., 2017; Mulok et al., 2017; Montanari and Muscara, 1995). Several studies critically examine tourism marketing, such as tourism products and market research, using the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats (SWOT) analysis, which examined various improvements in the products and services that have been studied (Ismail et al., 2018; Kolb, 2017).

Apart from these crucial factors and issues, we must not ignore the phenomenon of entrepreneurship in Venice and Melaka such as social entrepreneurship, women entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurship in ethnic and immigrants. In these niches, however, a few studies are available, especially in the tourism industry (Peeters, and Ateljevic, 2017; Hillmann, 2016; Laeis and Lemke, 2016; Lardiés, 1999). This research is therefore intended to carry out the analysis and present the results on the positions and marketing strategies of immigrant entrepreneurs in the tourism industry. The importance of this study is because it offers evidence of the contribution of immigrant entrepreneurs to the local economy and job development. Herman et al. (2017) supported the fact that tourism's economic importance stems from its role in creating new jobs, in diversifying the economic structure of a region and in increasing living standards. Nevertheless, this work does not associate ethnicity and belief with the interpretation of the cultural context. It explains their marketing strategies, whose actions the immigrant entrepreneurs interpret as a business strategy. However, because of different perspectives, sources, languages, and understanding of demands, local entrepreneurs consider it a good strategy (Baklanov et al. 2014). This study, therefore, examines immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice who acquire and operate small tourism businesses with foreign nationality.

This study aims to examine the marketing strategies and influences of immigrant entrepreneurship at the Melaka and Venice World Heritage Sites. To the best of the author's knowledge, this study is the first case study comparing immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice on their marketing strategy. The following questions, therefore, guide the presentation of this study: First: What are the differences and similarities between immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice in their marketing strategies? Second: How do immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice understand these strategies for their businesses? This study uses the essential marketing mix (4Ps – Product, Price, Promotion, and Place) to explain the phenomenon and to answer the questions posed (McCarthy, 1964). 4Ps remain a central part of the marketing mix over time, although there are expanded elements of the marketing mix such as 7Ps-Product, Price, Promotion, Place, People, Physical Evidence and Process (Ivy, 2008; Rafiq and Ahmed, 1995) and criticized for the basic 4Ps in several studies (Goi, 2009; Popovic, 2006). As this is an exploratory study, it is, therefore, appropriate to apply the basic 4Ps theory to the understanding of the phenomenon using a comparative-case approach.

The paper is structured as follows. It provides first a historical picture and patterns of migration in Malaysia and Italy, the Melaka and Venice World Heritage, the driving force behind migration, the role of immigrant entrepreneurs, and the evaluation of marketing strategies in the tourism industry. Second, the theoretical framework of the study is established. Thirdly, the method used in this study is briefly described. Fourthly, the results are presented and the case studies are compared. This concludes with a conclusion, limitations, contribution, implication, and future recommendations.

### Literature Review

The pattern of immigrant business and related issues is complex and subtle (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). While studies on immigrant entrepreneurship focus on large immigrant communities, such as the United States of Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United States of America, the trend has reached other countries globally, including developing and emerging economies such as China, Russia, Brazil, and others. According to Rahmandoust, Ahmadian, and Shah (2011), Malaysia is also no exception to hosting many immigrants who have contributed to local economic development through tax contributions and job creation. While in Italy, an increasing number of immigrant entrepreneurship and a positive causal impact of immigrant entrepreneurship over the last 10 years has been beneficial to the strategy for internationalization and job creation, they have contributed to economic growth and supported local governments during the financial crisis (CENSIS and Roma Tre University, 2019). This evidence shows that immigrant entrepreneurship is becoming a new agenda for a national debate in these countries. The focus of this study is on a comparison of immigrant entrepreneurship marketing strategies in Melaka and Venice. Therefore, the following discussion discusses the history of immigrant entrepreneurship in both locations only.

# Historical overview and trends of migration movement in Melaka and Venice

Epistemologically, a long history of international trade in both Melaka and Venice has shown that both places are well-known for their seaport, strategically located, and have both tangible and intangible resources. It showed that Melaka and Venice attracted traders and entrepreneurs from all over the world to enterprising activities. The important role played by Melaka and Venice back in the period described by Tom Pires as ' Whoever is Lord of Melaka has his hand on the throat of Venice, ' a viewpoint on the interest of these places and their significance in the trading of valuable products such as spices and silk, translated by Cortesao (1944, p.287). It shows that the strategic location of both cities played a key socio-economic role during that time. At present, the two cities share similarities in geographical and physical characteristics, particularly in socio-economic development. Such seaport cities are popular for their commercial ports and tourist destinations. Another similarity shared by both cities is that UNESCO has recognized them as a World Heritage Site. The picture portrayed by both cities from time to time draws many people around the world, either for business, tourism, or educational purposes. Historical impressions may be a factor in this shift (Gunn, 1989), but innovation that relies on marketing activities could also cause it (Lopes, 2007). For this reason, an in-depth study needs to explain the change in the present.

The history of immigration over Malaysia came back in the 13th century when Arabs and Indian Muslim merchants arrived for the trade and propagation of Islam in Malaysia (formerly known as the Malay peninsula) (Bosworth, 2007). In the meantime, the Ming

Dynasty of China had sent fleets of ships to expand trade with Melaka at the time of its establishment by Parameswara in 1402 (Wade 1997). The historic evidence shows clearly that Melaka is geographically strategic and has a global socio-economic and entrepreneurial connection. Malaysia has seen the migration wave steadily increase in the last two decades. Since then self employment among immigrants has become a trend in Malaysia. However, the legal status, country of origin, ethnicity, and culture of these immigrants engaged in entrepreneurship in Malaysia depends on their distance from Malaysia and their home county (Mosbah, Debili, and Merazga, 2018). Taking into account a long history of migration in Malaysia, immigrant entrepreneurship is difficult to observe because of its ethnic or cultural background. Since this is just exploratory research using the case study method, it is sufficient for some cases to carry out an in-depth investigation of the general groundwork (Yin, 2013).

The European and Chinese have historically traveled the Silk Road for trading since Marco Polo, a Venetian trader, reached China (Li et al., 2015). Venice is the birthplace of capitalism and essential to a semi-Marxist scheme that has long been a global market leader in the 16th and 17th centuries (Lane, 1963). Although Italy and Europe have noted the strong presence of migration in recent years, the immigration situation has lagged in comparison to the US (CENSIS and Universita ' Roma Tre, 2019). Despite the economic and financial crisis, high unemployment, and market uncertainty, entrepreneurial activities undertaken by immigrants are steadily increasing during this period. Recently, there are around 35,521 legal immigrant entrepreneurs in the Veneto region (the main city is Venice) dominated by 15.6% of the Chinese followed by 12.7% of the Romanians and 10.5% of Moroccans (CENSIS and Universita ' Roma Tre 2019).

In summary, the historical overview of both Melaka and Venice shared some similarities, such as the socio-economic position of the nation, the place, rich in history, even though there were differences such as location size, culture, number of population and number of tourists. This study seeks to understand the trend of immigrant entrepreneurship in both cities in terms of their current tourism marketing strategies. It, therefore, focuses only on the tourism sector, although there are other commercials, industries, and roles played by these cities which have already been listed. The gradual shift and diversification of industries in these cities over time motivate this study to examine the tourism industry because it highlights the fastest-growing segment of the modern service economy while offering opportunities for both genders (Hall and Rath, 2006). Nonetheless, Lardiés (1999) noted that there is little research on tourism entrepreneurship that focuses on immigrant entrepreneurs working in the tourism sector. In the earlier study, it was identified that the social and cultural aspects of tourism, including social routes to tourism entrepreneurship, concentrate in Cornwall, for example, on immigrants from the United Kingdom (Williams, Shaw, and Greenwood, 1989). On the other hand, the case of Melaka and Venice may be otherwise, as Gunn (1989) points out, it could arise from conscious marketing activities such as product creation, pricing strategy, promotion and advertising, distribution, and advertising.

### World Heritage Site: Melaka and Venice

Melaka is situated on the southwest coast of the Peninsula of Malaysia, opposite Sumatra, and is separated by the Melaka Straits. It covers an area of 1,664 square kilometers and is one of the 14 states in Malaysia (Laporan Kiraan Permulaan, 2010). It is strategically located between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. It is popular for its historic city and tourist destination, both domestic and international. In this way, the tourism industry is booming in Melaka. Tourist arrivals increased from 2.57 million in 2001 to 16.79 million in 2017 (Tourism Malaysia Statistics, 2018). Although the statistics describe the total visitors to Melaka, this study focuses only on the historic center of Melaka as one of the World Heritage Sites (WHS) on 7 July 2008 (Teo, Khan and Rahim, 2014).

Venice is situated in the Veneto region of northeastern Italy. It is an ancient crossroads of cultures and a link between many civilizations and old traditions for a strategic commercial position (Rizzi and Dioli, 2010). In comparison to Melaka, the estimation of the total number of tourists in Venice is one of the most difficult studies. Many sources provided different statistics on the arrival of tourists. Venice received approximately 24 million tourists a year (Venice Commune, 2017, p. 15). Nevertheless, this study focuses only on the historic site of Venice, as suggested by Manente and Rizzi (1993) and Manente and Montaguti (2004) for better access to data. It does not however include the island of Venice. Venice and its lagoon were also listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987 (UNESCO, 2019).

This study compares two small geographic areas in the historic city of both Melaka and Venice. There are three important reasons for choosing such historic cities. First, there are similarities in heritage elements, like tangible sites, such as groups of buildings, monuments, and archaeological and historical sites, and intangible cultural values that these tourism products target clients (Harun, 2011; Ahmad, 2006). Second, visitors participating in heritage and cultural events in tourist destinations spend more time and stay longer, offering businesses the opportunity to reach their potential clients (McGeown, 2003). There is convincing evidence to further explore the trend of immigrant entrepreneurship in both countries. Third, both cities are strategically located to promote diversity in their cultures, which explains the need for companies to meet the needs of international tourists (Hillmann, 2016). Such reasons, therefore, are similar to the pull factors that give rise to immigrant entrepreneurship in both the historic cities of Venice and Melaka, other than economic reasons and policies.

The robust development of tourism in the historic sites of Venice and Melaka has also skyrocketed since the 1980s. According to Marzuki (2010), several strategies have been implemented in Malaysia, from the First Malaysian Plan (1966-1970) to the Ninth Malaysian Plan (2006 - 2010), such as the International Infrastructure and Tourism Programme. Other also been developed. practical strategies have such as diversification of tourism goods and services, the involvement of the private sector through investment in tourism products, and the development of communication networks for local and foreign tourist arrivals (Venice Commune, 2017; Melaka Historic City Council, 2007; Langkawi Municipal Council, 2005). Similar

strategies have been implemented by governments and policymakers to attract investors, private companies, business people, and foreign businessmen to their entrepreneurial activities in both Melaka and Venice. Rahmandoust, Ahmadian, and Shah (2011) pointed out that the Malaysian government has used appropriate incentive policies to attract foreign investors and entrepreneurs ' expertise and wealth. In the same way, the contribution of foreign investors and entrepreneurs has also revived Venice as a cosmopolitan cultural environment and increased economic activity (Zanon, 2004). Although these two historic cities have been recognized as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, they have different immigration histories and different structures for the development of tourism that is interesting to explore.

### Factors to migration

There are always push-and-pull factors that motivate immigrants to migrate to a better destination. Among them, those who have migrated to countries with a combination of economic, sociocultural and political stability, expansion of business activities (Everett, O'Kane, and Hamid, 2015) and recognition of entrepreneurial opportunities (Ardichvili, Cardozo, and Ray, 2003). Such observed spatial imbalances in the distribution of the production factor are likely to force them to leave their home country for a relatively high predicted socio-economic outcome in the host country (Abdullah et al. 2016). This study aims to narrow the studies available on immigrant entrepreneurship by comparing both the historical cities of Melaka and Venice. The overview of the push-and-pull migration factors among immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice is therefore helpful in the development of a conceptual framework.

According to Nifo and Vecchione (2014), the driving force behind migration in Italy is no longer strongly influenced by better job opportunities and the promise of a higher ' quality of life. ' It is based on a decision on a geographical area capable of confirming not only higher income and employment opportunities but also a positive socio-economic background, a sense of belonging to society and social capital. It supports the view of Ambrosini (2001) that the North - East region of Italy excels immigrants with measurable growth in employment, especially in Venice. On the other hand, the driving forces of immigration to Malaysia caused by economic, political, social and cultural and entrepreneurial problems in their home countries, such as Iran, Indonesia, Nepal and Bangladesh, and attracting factors in Malaysia, such as higher incomes, open access to the global market and independence, are the main reasons for this (Mosbah, Debili, and Merazga, 2018; Rahmandoust, Ahmadian, and Shah, 2011). Also, a certain cultural connection between the immigrant and the Malaysian created a business opportunity. For example, Ajuntha Textiles, an Indian immigrant business in Melaka from India, generated approximately RM2 million in 2012, which was targeted by the first immigrant generation of Indians and offered saris from India, and later non -Malaysian generations offered product diversification of a variety of Indian fabrics and saris, utensils and imitation jewelry to both Indians and non-Malaysians.

In sum, the driving force behind migration in Italy and Malaysia is based on many factors, depending on the motivation of immigrants. Nevertheless, the Melaka and Venice immigrant entrepreneurs shared a similar motivation to gain higher income and a sense of community. Fuad (2013) also stresses that immigrant entrepreneurs have higher social cohesion than in the broader community, which leads to the host country's main business success. Chinese entrepreneurship in Venice, for instance, was dominated over other immigrant entrepreneurs by a higher level of social stability.

### The role of immigrant entrepreneurs

The immigrant entrepreneurs in Malaysia stress that integration and assimilation in Malaysia are most important, especially on the Peninsular, as they share common cultural characteristics with some Malaysians who historically came to Malaysia during the colonial era (Butler, Khoo-Lattimore and Mura, 2014). It is a sharp contrast with Italy because the growing number of immigrant entrepreneurs in jobs privileges their families, family, and ethnic network, which are not typically residents, such as the Chinese and Philippines incorporated into their ethnic networks rather than local employment and business (Ambrosini 2001). Therefore, the distinction between immigrant entrepreneurs in Malaysia and Italy is based on the course of social and migration history. The concern for integration and assimilation highlighted by those two studies has shown that the immigrant entrepreneurs have received assistance from their coethnic history, whether or not they are residents in the host country.

The role of immigrant entrepreneurs in both Malaysia and Italy has been observed through market competition and business survival. However, it has become a key issue for locals that immigrant businesses increase competition, and some thought that ' steal jobs ' were available in the host country, which is not supported evidence (Niyimbanira and Madzivhandila, 2016). This study is therefore crucial to understand from an immigrant perspective their inspiration for entrepreneurship. It is also a struggle for immigrants to get a job or take a very long time to get one in those two countries that forced them into small businesses (Mustafa and Chen, 2010; Sultana and Brahmmanbaria, 2008; Ambrosini, 2001). They, therefore, engage in entrepreneurship activities not only to survive but also to create jobs for the community, particularly for their co-ethnic network (Schuch and Wang, 2015). Thus, this study provides some case studies to discuss both the positive and negative results of immigrant entrepreneurship on their position in the host country. It shows that the active co-ethnic network is very important, which helps them to thrive and adapt in a foreign environment when they have encountered financial difficulties in particular (Aliaga-Isla and contradicted another study Rialp. 2013), results which (Kushnirovich and Heilbrunn, 2008).

Vissak and Zhang (2014) pointed out that immigrant entrepreneurs are contributing to creative activities, economic development, job creation, and creating opportunities for the host country. It also shows that immigrant entrepreneurs started their small businesses and at the beginning used many co-ethnics but recruited more workers, regardless of background, to follow immigrant entrepreneurship policies in host countries (Mustafa and Chen, 2010; Sultana and Brahmmanbaria, 2008; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990).

Besides, immigrant entrepreneurship also plays a crucial role in the host country as a 'development agent', especially in the economies of scale in production, open system approach, market growth, growing demand for goods and services, and strengthening the transnational network of co-ethnics between the host country and the home country to reduce the problems that have arisen, in particular the barriers to business entry for both countries (Rasiah, 2019; Schumpeter, 1976). The position of immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice will demonstrate the attempt to integrate with other local businesses, exploit market niches and invest in business development than the indigenous counterparts proposed in this study (Liu and Cheung, 2016; Bosworth and Farrell, 2011).

### Evaluation of marketing strategies in the tourism industry

There is little understanding of Southern European migration, particularly in Italy and South East Asia, particularly in Malaysia, and its impact on the development of tourism, for two main reasons. First, from a migration point of view, mass migration to Italy is relatively recent, although it started in the late 1960s (Fasani, 2016), and Malaysia earned a sharp increase from 0.49% of the 13 million population in 1980 to 2.3 million in 2010 (Kassim, 2017). Second, from an entrepreneurial point of view, we know little about the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in the tourism industry, in this case, Melaka and Venice. It is due to several immigrant entrepreneurship studies focused on the industry in capital cities, global cities, and well-known commercial cities (Kemeny, 2017; Kloosterman and Rath, 2003).

Entrepreneurship tourism research related to heritage sites focused mainly on selected aspects of tourism, such as heritage products and marketing mix strategies (Ismail et al., 2018; Sadiki, 2012; Russo, 2002). These studies emphasize that there has been little research on business management, particularly in the marketing strategy aspects of foreign tourism entrepreneurship, or on its links to international migration between Italy and EU countries, and between Malaysia and ASEAN countries, while there is a strong reason to examine the marketing strategy of immigrant entrepreneurs. Ramli (2015) has revealed that immigrant entrepreneurs have survived the crisis to help the local economy government of the host country through new marketing strategies in their businesses. This is another recent example of not neglecting the role of immigrant entrepreneurship in a country.

Motivated by the results, this study aims to understand the marketing strategies implemented by immigrant entrepreneurs in a different geographical context through a comparative approach in the tourism industry, such as Venice and Melaka. In the same way, immigrant entrepreneurs who have become part of local society and have a strong sense of place that leads to an active role in promoting the development of tourism (Liu and Cheung, 2016). On the other hand, several government agencies, both private and local businesses, and entrepreneurs, including immigrant entrepreneurs, have applied only part of the marketing mix (4Ps) to the tourism industry, particularly in terms of promotion and little attention being paid to other components (Ryan, 1991). It is therefore important to carry out this study to further analyze it.

### **Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework**

This section briefly elaborates on the previous and similar theoretical framework and the proposed conceptual framework for this study. It is crucial to discuss the theoretical framework as it offers a philosophical, epistemological, methodological, and empirical structure for this research (Grant and Osanloo, 2014). It is also beneficial to contextualize related study hypotheses as a reference and to assist in the proposed conceptual framework (Ravitch and Carl, 2015).

Immigrant entrepreneurship is an emerging area of research at present. Several studies examine various aspects of immigrant entrepreneurship, including the theory of increasing the trend, the value of immigrant entrepreneurship in developing countries, socio-economic impact, and competitive advantage in international business (Brzozowski, Cucculelli and Surdej, 2019; Ramli, 2019; Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Immigrant entrepreneurship theories that relate migration to opportunities outside their home countries have clear evidence from previous studies (Ambrosini, 2001; Saxenian, 1999; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). A systematic review of the Immigrant Entrepreneurship Study revealed that the contribution of immigrant entrepreneurs in the host country is not only in particular to industries such as retail and grocery, food, ethnic businesses, and certain services, but also to more than these commonly related industries such as fashion, information technology. tourism. cosmetics. beverages. and telecommunications. All of these studies have shown that entrepreneurial theories about immigrant entrepreneurship, such as driving and pulling factors and motivations, have an impact on their venture performance and have chosen a different strategy for their businesses. This opens up an opportunity to further investigate the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship in some exciting areas such as marketing strategy, business philosophy, the ethnic supply chain, and many more. This paper aims to contribute new knowledge to immigrant entrepreneurship by looking at the tourism industry and observing the marketing strategy.

As this paper focuses on the marketing strategy, it is crucial to identify the research unit. It thus shows the marketing mix strategy as the unit of testing to be evaluated and replicates it in all situations. This research is based on the basic marketing mix theory (McCarthy, 1964) and the option of the tourism industry as its starting point. It examines the factors that influence the strategy implemented by immigrant entrepreneurs in these 4Ps - the product, price, promotion, and place within the tourism context in Melaka and Venice, which provide a comprehensive understanding (Cavusgil and Zou,1994). It is appropriate to use the hybrid coupling view on the marketing mix component and factors influenced to study the marketing strategy implemented by immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka. Tung and Chung (2010) show that considering these two theories will help to understand how immigrants can distinguish their goods and services from local competitors to gain a greater competitive advantage. Another best practice approach in the tourism industry is to analyze the basic marketing mix, together with other viewpoints such as advanced econometrics and marketing science (Wolfe Sr and Crotts, 2011).

On the other hand, the use of basic marketing mix components to clarify the connection between components is not very clear, as demonstrated in a study on the Egyptian tourism industry after the Arab Spring (Salman et al., 2017). Critics provided the basic marketing mix of 4Ps from several studies (Goi, 2009). For example, Möller (2006) discussed the use of marketing mix components in areas such as customer marketing, service marketing, retail and industrial marketing, relationship marketing, and emerging e-commerce marketing. Goi (2009) emphasized that the basic marketing mix components should pay attention to 'customer-focused management' and that there is no mention in the mix of relationship - building. The versatility of the marketing mix has made it easy to submit and to note that it has made a continuous debate for scholars (Constantinides, 2006).

In sum, this paper recognizes both the advantages and disadvantages of adopting the basic marketing mix before the study is carried out. Consequently, this paper disagrees with the arguments and criticisms on basic marketing for the study of tourism marketing, since each P may adopt industrial products and services derived from the original P, and the empirical research conducted found that some respondents thought that extra Ps could be incorporated into the existing 4Ps (Rafiq and Ahmed, 1995, p.13). This study proposes the following conceptual framework, which derives from the hybrid link between the basic marketing mix and the factor influenced by each component, to carry out this study based on the literature review discussed earlier on the subject and related theoretical arguments.

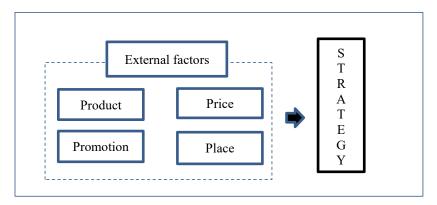


Figure 1. Conceptual framework as a guide to examine the phenomenon.

*Sources*: Figure developed by the author but the components derived from a combination of McCarthy's work (1964) and Cavusgil and Zou's work (1994).

Although the conceptual framework has been partly adapted from previous studies, the approach of using a mixture of views to study this topic is new to the field of analysis. Figure 1 shows the critical components to be examined in each case study. Each element in the marketing mix, such as product, price, promotion, and place, generates delicate strategy. For example, immigrant а entrepreneurs develop a new product that can be sold by competitors (including local entrepreneurs), lower prices to beat competitors, or use prestige rates to provide quality or use promotional pricing, distribute products to locations and networks for the target market segment, encourage ads or appropriate methods and media – or combine strategies of all sorts.

Also, these strategies for each marketing mix aspect are influenced by external factors such as the open system approach to sustainable development, local laws and policies, demand and supply, government intervention, market competition, labor market, perceived environment, social networks, economy, technology and innovation, and many other factors (Rasiah 2019; Mosbah, Debili, and Merazga, 2018). This study, therefore, uses this conceptual framework to understand the link between marketing mix strategies and immigrant entrepreneurs in both Melaka and Venice, which may offer a different approach than the native one. Nevertheless, the appropriate method and logic of replication required to continue with this research with the proposed conceptual framework. More information on this study process is provided in the following section.

### Methodology

This study uses two cases to present the findings and to present them in a comparative perspective. This adopts semi-structured interviews with selected immigrant entrepreneurs on specific criteria relating to their entrepreneurial experience in the host countries. The study also interviewed 12 selected interviewees between August 2018 and February 2019. Interviewees shared their personal views on the elements of their decision on entrepreneurship. It is acceptable to use the case study approach in tourism research, especially when a comparative approach is adopted (Yin, 2013). It also relies on the topic or themes, specificity concerns within the research stream, clear goals, objectives and questions, the scope of the study, and the generalization or argument in the context of literature (Xiao and Smith, 2006).

The case study, on the other hand, has two frequent critical critiques. First, poor generalizability, because only a few examples have been used for analysis (Yin, 2013; Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2009; Vershuren, 2003). Second, there is a critique of how knowledge gained through the case study is usually descriptive, provided that the data collected is descriptive (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2010). Nonetheless, this study aims to understand the marketing strategies implemented by immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka. It is therefore most fitting to conduct in-depth interviews and submit data using case studies, as it contributes to the perception of a specific phenomenon in both ways (Yin, 2013; Eisenhardt, 1989). However, case studies are sometimes criticized, especially in the field of tourism research-as area-specific, theoretical, historical, and methodological issues (Xiao and Smith, 2006). It is doubtful whether it is appropriate to adopt case studies

in this study because it is not only commonly used in this field of research, but a very useful and much-needed method in a comparative study like this. We would also suggest that future research further extend this paper to examine the relation between the interest of entrepreneurs in their chosen businesses and the resources or actions of their home countries that make them pursue the same strategy in their host countries. It's fascinating because some entrepreneurs have a particular industry that focuses on, for example, Chinese with grocery stores, Turkish with kebab stalls, Indian with computer shops, and some others. However, this paper excludes the investigation from this exciting area of study because it includes cultural studies and the aim is not compatible with this paper.

This study identifies specific criteria for the selection of appropriate immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Venice and Melaka. Collected data from registered immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka and Venice is obtained from the semi-structured face - to face interviews. It was performed in three languages, such as English, Malay, and Italian. The interviewees must understand the questions to get the data. There are 12 interviewees chosen. The interview session ended with 60 minutes for each interviewee. Subsequently, however, follow - up emails were sent when needed for clarification of a particular question. Both interviewees remained anonymous and decided to use their initials for this study only. The findings were presented using thematic analysis and applied to the identified cases. While semi-structured interviews, case studies, and thematic analysis have limitations and significance, we have recognized them before fieldwork. Therefore, the data collected was adequate, relevant, and appropriate for this study and consistent with the aim of this study.

### **Finding and Discussion**

This section presents the results of the interview sessions, followed by further discussion. We transcribed and stored the interview data collected from twelve interviewees in NVivo. First, we grouped the emerging words derived from the interviewees. Second, we classify these emerging words as themes. In NVivo, we used a simple Word Frequency query to define these emerging themes. The analysis in this study uses thematic analysis to explain this phenomenon. Finally, we identified four main themes that emerged from the data collected with many supporting points¹. Table 1 summarizes the keywords for each theme.

Interview ee details	Product	Price	Promotio n	Place/ Distributio n
AB, 40, Banglades hi in Venice, Since 2011	souvenirs only	between reasonable standard and cheap (negotiable )	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	shop (rent) at a small street
LNW, 36, Chinese in Venice, Since 2008	leather handbags only	above reasonable standard (not negotiable)	tourism brochures , posters, flyers, word-of- mouth, network ties	shop (rent) in front of Gran Canal
AR, 28, Banglades hi in Venice, Since 2014	souvenirs only	between reasonable standard and cheap (negotiable )	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	small stall (rent)
MS, 51,	Mediterrane	above	tourism	restaurant

¹ Referring to the interview privacy and confidentiality forms signed by the interviewees and researchers, all information regarding details of premises and personal data will not be disclosed. However, the specific date, time and place for all interviewees summarized as: between August 2018 and February 2019, circa~ 14:00pm and 15:30pm, strictly within Melaka Historical site like Bandar Hilir, Taman Kota Laksamana and Taman Melaka Raya; and within 'floating' Venice Historical site like San Marco, San Polo, and Dorsoduro, excluding Mestre.

Lebanese in Venice, Since 2010	an food only	reasonable standard (not negotiable)	brochures , tourism blogs & website, social media, word-of- mouth, network ties	(rent)
RT, 27, Indian in Venice, Since 2015	souvenirs only	between reasonable standard and cheap (negotiable )	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	small stall (rent)
LKY, 45, Chinese in Venice, Since 2006,	Asian food only	reasonable standard (not negotiable)	flyers, posters, social media, word-of- mouth, network ties	restaurant (rent)
AH, 45, Indonesian in Melaka, Since 2004	Minangkaba u food only	below than reasonable standard (not negotiable)	word-of- mouth, social media, network ties	restaurant (rent)
ST, 47, Thai in Melaka, Since 2011	massage service only	above reasonable standard (not negotiable)	poster, tourism brochures , social media, website, network	a premise within the city center

			ties	
NB, 48, Pakistani in Melaka, Since 2008	Pakistani food only	reasonable standard (not negotiable)	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, social media, network ties	restaurant (rent)
TR, 47, Indian (India) in Melaka, Since 2012	Indian food only	below than reasonable standard (not negotiable)	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	small shop (rent)
AD, 52, Indonesian in Melaka, Since 2005	Javanese food only	below than reasonable standard (not negotiable)	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	restaurant (rent)
WT, 49, Indonesian in Melaka, Since 2007	Range of Indonesian food and groceries	below than reasonable standard (not negotiable)	word-of- mouth, face-to- face, network ties	restaurant (rent)

Source: Table developed by the author from the interview data.

Note: Price is in comparison with the average selling in Melaka and Venice.

Table 1 presents twelve immigrant entrepreneurs living in Venice and Melaka. They started their businesses in the country-ofresidence between 2004 and 2015. These interviewees hold legal permits either through a renewable work visa, *permission di soggiorno* (long period and renewable every two years), or family visa. The themes that emerged from the interviews were the product, price, promotion, and place. Besides, other supportive points that sustenance the main issues are reason migrated, the reason for business, difficulties, and changes expected. The case study in Venice and Melaka shows that immigrant entrepreneurs shared a similar interest in doing business and motivation. The most visible motivation from the interviewees summarizes that better economic opportunity and self-belonging to the place are the top two factors. It aligns with the discussion in the literature review section. For example, one interviewee mentioned about integration and belonging to the local community:

"[...] my friend invited me to come here because there is a limited shop that offers authentic Indian food. [...] the local welcome me, and they support my business [...] also tourists like the taste [...] sometimes, I feel so attached with this place and the community [...] the feeling is different [...] although my English and Bahasa has a thick Indian accent, no problem [...] government also nice to me although I have to wait a long time to get my visa approved..."–TR, India

With Venice, it supported by the other interviewee that better opportunity is the motivation:

"I was unemployed for such a long time back in Bangladesh. It is impossible to get a job [...], so I joined my brother selling souvenirs in Venice while improving my Italian language. [...] this small business helps me a lot, mixing with people around the world and establishing a local network. [...] it is hard but not as hard as in Bangladesh. I am not interested in local politics, but the local economy here is very positive, many people come, good for my business."–AR, Bangladesh.

The case of Venice and Melaka thus shows clear evidence of motivation among the immigrants who run their business in these historic cities: (1) economic opportunity and (2) local integration. Most interviewees have argued that stable politics, positive economic growth, and diversity in the city have boosted their faith in entrepreneurship and influenced their strategy. To further understand their interest in entrepreneurship in both cities, looking at their business strategies is one of the ways to observe the effort. Therefore, using the basic marketing mix, Table 1 compares the themes that emerged from the cases of immigrant entrepreneurship in Venice and Melaka.

First, this study explores products offered by immigrant entrepreneurs in both cities. This reveals that most immigrant entrepreneurs are selling a particular product at their premises, except for one interviewee from Indonesia. The interviewee pointed out the reason:

"My business targets Indonesian workers at the beginning [...] after some years; many people come to my restaurant, including tourists and local, because I sell a range of Indonesia food and groceries. [...].. it brings Indonesia closer to Indonesian here through food and our special groceries,".–WT, Indonesia.

Many studies show that immigrant entrepreneurs run their businesses that link to their culture (Dheer and Lenartowicz, 2018; Aliaga-Isla, and Rialp, 2013; Piperopoulos, 2010). In the same way, most of their food industry businesses are run by the interviewees in the case study. After a critical investigation, the food they sell is all related to their country of origin. It, therefore, indicates that they are leveraging tourism offers in the host country to turn the original foreign origin liability into an advantage on which to develop their businesses (Pechlaner, Dal Bò, and Volgger, 2012). The interviewees believe that their unique offerings such as Asian cuisine in Venice, or culturally based food such as Pakistani food in Melaka, Mediterranean variety in Venice, Indonesian flavor and Indian original taste in Melaka, and Thai massages are the strength of their business. These immigrant entrepreneurs, provided by the minority, are likely to play a role. For example, they indirectly add their businesses as part of tourism products to their target customers in the core tourism industry in Venice and Melaka. It means that they are trying to integrate their culture or belief and

their presence into the local culture. One interviewee has shown that his business has a specific objective in the tourism sector in Venice:

"I sell only halal food-related to Mediterranean cuisine [...] this is including a range of pizza and pasta. Many Muslim tourists come to Venice to enjoy the scenery, and their holidays [...]... they have problems for eating. Few halal selections here in Venice, so I found this is a good opportunity [...] they can enjoy the halal Italian food here,".-MS, Lebanon.

Second, it compares the price proposition of the immigrant business in Venice and Melaka. Immigrant entrepreneurs are not directly in favor of pricing strategy in both historic cities. Table 1 shows a mix of pricing strategies among immigrant entrepreneurs. Some of them make it possible to negotiate the price of their products with customers, and some do not. Although not all immigrant entrepreneurs in Melaka are interested in negotiating prices, they give their prices below the average selling price, particularly those selling their culture-based food. Interviewees also clarified that they are adopting this strategy because there are rivals from local businesses and American fast-food chains such as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Kentucky Fried Chicken nearby.

On the other hand, immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice sell their products, especially souvenirs, at an average standard price and are negotiable when customers buy in bulk. However, immigrant entrepreneurs who engage in scarce businesses, such as selling leather handbags and massage services, usually increase their prices because of less competition. It, therefore, suggests that the pricing strategy is significant, but not straightforward, among immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka. We also observed and considered this as an important strategy for a particular industry, such as food and souvenirs.

Third, the immigrant entrepreneurs relied heavily on their network ties to promote their products. This is a sharp contrast to local entrepreneurs who are not immigrants (Ramli, 2016a). The data collected indicates that the network link is visible in all the records of the interviewees. The discussion stressed that groups of friends, relatives, and family members are important drivers to publicize their businesses through word-of-mouth, face-to-face, and social media platforms. Two of the interviewees supports this:

"... I came here few Indonesian people... [...] when many arrived here, we all like brothers, sisters, and family. [...] the connection is strong among Indonesian community here [...] some supply stocks, some find contact and introduce to me, some help me [...] we all help each other,"–AD, Indonesia.

".. for example, I have a shop here, then my friends who own a hawker stall come to ask a few stocks... [...] I help my fellow countrymen while he is waiting for his supplier. [...] also promote my shop to other tourists if the souvenirs not available at his stall"-AB, Bangladesh.

These two examples provide evidence of the importance of network links between immigrants. This means that immigrant entrepreneurship is collective in the tourism industry because it requires less capital and know-how and labor-intensive work, which can be helped by their network ties (Phizacklea and Ram, 1995). Many interviewees set up their websites, feature on travel blogs like TripAdvisor and invest in flyers. On the other hand, only those who sell their products above the average selling price use strong promotional strategies, such as the publication of their products in tourist brochures and pamphlets, some of which are available at the airport, in-flight, tourist information center and travel agencies. It also suggests that immigrant entrepreneurs use different promotional strategies than local entrepreneurs. As a result, we have ruled out generalizing their actions using similar strategies in this field. This is in contrast with local entrepreneurs, many of whom depend on tourist brochures and advertised with travel agencies and existing agents. The interview data justify the significance of the difference because of the local network link, access to advertising information, and the financial constraint

required to invest in this method. To investigate the difference in this strategy, whether it relies on competition within the industry or immigrants network, further study is recommended (Vinogradov and Jørgensen, 2017).

Fourthly, immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka have similar strategies in position/distribution. Both interviewees say that they sell their goods across premises, either in restaurants, shops, hawker stalls, or in the city center. This indicates that immigrant entrepreneurs are following a similar distribution strategy with other entrepreneurs in the study area. This evidence also excludes the possibility that immigrant entrepreneurs run their businesses illegally in both cases. It also claims that immigrant entrepreneurs in this study are legal and always comfortable and prominent in society. Also, they both dedicated themselves to paying their taxes and leases by looking at the year in which they started the business at both locations. The understanding of immigrant entrepreneurs in both Venice and Melaka will therefore be fair and transparent. One interviewee emphasized the fact that he belongs to the place that makes him stay longer for business:

"[...] because of my father like this place and ran our small family business back in time. [...] it was reasonable as far as I can recall, but taxes and rents increase annually. [...] tried to move, but we came back here [...] the feeling and self-attach to this place... [...] so, we don't mind paying a higher price..."–LKY, China.

Although the distribution strategy of immigrant entrepreneurs is likely to be similar to that of local entrepreneurs, other considerations, such as the sector in which they are most involved, are another exciting concern. For example, in various sectors such as information technology (Brzozowski, Cucculelli and Surdej, 2019), cosmetics (Ramli, 2015) and processed food (Koehn, 1999), these immigrant entrepreneurs have developed a strategy for their products, costs, promotion and distribution within the industry that differs from local entrepreneurs and continues to apply strategies to the present day. The discussion of four important themes also links to other supporting points that emerged from the interview data. It argues that destination brands such as Venice and Melaka have influenced the strategies put in place in these four main themes. For example, the similarity between all the interviewees for their opinions on both historical sites lies in their answers: do you think the historic site like (Venice / Melaka) is the right place for your business? Their response to this question is very optimistic with ' yes. ' They further expanded on the justification for doing business in their country of residence. The positive evidence from the transcripts of the interview are as follows:

"It is very famous and historical. [...] so many tourists here."-AB, Bangladesh.

"[...] because there are many tourists [...] they buy something meaningful as a gift."–LNW, China.

"[...] because here full of tourists. It is easy to get customers every day". - AR, Bangladesh.

"This is a well-known city in the world. Many Muslim tourists look for halal food [...]"–MS, Lebanon.

"[...] there are many tourists every day, and I don't have to worry,".-RT, India.

"[...] there is less restriction compared to our country — also, demand from tourists,".–LKY, China.

"[...] every day tourists come [...] currency also bigger than in my home country,".-AH, Indonesia.

"It is one of the most visited a city, and everyday tourists come [...] and tired walking,".–ST, Thailand.

"It is a Muslim country but very liberal and everyone free to express themselves. [...] the economic performance also good here. [...] tourists and locals also stop here."–NB, Pakistan.

"[...] because there is a high demand from tourists and support from local people,".-TR, India.

"I feel welcome here [...] not many problems [...] good demand from tourists and local,".–AD, Indonesia.

"[...] it is good to make money [...] access to tourists [...] it is a very famous place,".–WT, Indonesia.

From the chunks of each twelve transcripts, their decision to do business in both Venice and Melaka was linked to ' tourists.' According to the interviews, we referred to tourists as customers who link to demands in both positions. Also, the interviewees described both Venice and Melaka as ' famous, ' ' well-known, ' ' historical, ' and ' most visited city ' when they expressed their opinion on these two places. This demonstrates that the historic site has created a destination brand that connects feelings, beliefs, and perceptions of the public, including entrepreneurs (Kolb, 2017). It, therefore, suggests that immigrant entrepreneurs have come to historic places to do business based on high expectations and exploit destination brands to promote their products. Although they pay high taxes, council taxes, and expensive rents, they still keep their decision to run businesses in these two locations. Two of the interviewees from both places will explain the following:

> "I would say Malaysia is a multiracial country and very open. So, I don't have any fear. The country welcomes many visitors, especially investors and business people like me. Just follow the rules, regulations, and pay taxes though it is high... then everything is just fine... money comes easily,". - NB, Pakistan.

> "The rent at my shop is costly. We also pay high taxes here in Italy, especially Venice. So, considering this, the price of my products never be below average selling. We sell genuine leather, so we are not afraid of the price we set,".– LNW, China.

These two pieces of evidence show that it is difficult to run a business as an immigrant in both Venice and Melaka. Immigrant entrepreneurs pay high taxes and rents in both host countries. It also requires a lot of money and strict documentation to get the correct work permit (visa). Besides, when dealing with domestic visitors, they are struggling with the local language. Although most interviewees have difficulties with the local language, they can at least speak English on a satisfactory level. The challenges of doing business in both Venice and Melaka are set out in Table 2.

Interviewee details	Are there any difficulties in doing
	business here?
AB, 40, Bangladeshi in Venice, Since 2011	"A long wait for my visa. Language problem because I don't speak Italian much, but I speak limited English."
LNW, 36, Chinese in Venice, Since 2008	"Yes. Dealing with customers with various backgrounds. So, communication is a problem sometimes."
AR, 28, Bangladeshi in Venice, Since 2014	"I think so. The language problem is always common among us. However, I speak a broken foreign language that makes me survive like Italian, English, Spanish, and German. Also, bureaucracy is a nightmare here."
MS, 51, Lebanese in Venice, Since 2010	"Yes. I would say bureaucracy and the language barrier."
RT, 27, Indian in Venice, Since 2015	"My problems are to communicate well with my customers. However, I speak English well. I have to wait so long for my visa to get approved. The process was so long and complicated."
LKY, 45, Chinese in Venice, Since 2006,	"I think the problems are to understand the customers want, especially when they cannot speak in Italian or English. So, it's challenging, but they still buy my products here."
AH, 45, Indonesian in Melaka, Since 2004	"I think the problems here are to get the work permit. So much paperwork to do and expensive."
ST, 47, Thai in Melaka, Since 2011	"Yes. I struggle to communicate with some customers as they don't speak English. Also, I don't speak Malay. The work visa is also another

	problem."
NB, 48, Pakistani in	"I found that the only problem was
Melaka, Since 2008	bureaucracy when I applied for the
	visa. It's rigorous with the document
	needed."
TR, 47, Indian (India) in	"Yes. To get the work permit in
Melaka, Since 2012	Malaysia is very difficult. I have to
	prepare all the documents, and I
	provided them with supporting
	paperwork too."
AD, 52, Indonesian in	"There are problems. I can say some
Melaka, Since 2005	Malay words I can get either confuse or
	don't understand the meaning. The
	work permit also very fussy, and at one
	time, I almost give up applying."
WT, 49, Indonesian in	"I think the problems are to get the
Melaka, Since 2007	work visa quickly and to understand
	the rules and regulations of the
	country."

Source: Interview transcripts.

Note: Table developed by the author.

Table 2 shows the growing challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka. Their similarities are related to language barriers and bureaucracy problems. In addition to financial constraints, interviewees agreed that soft skills, such as interpersonal skills, language skills, and cultural knowledge of the host country, could be learned and developed as a prerequisite for tourism (Pechlaner, Dal Bò, and Volgger, 2012). They concluded that developing local language skills and being both creative and innovative in the four marketing elements (product, price, promotion, and place) are crucial and will help them succeed in the tourism business of the host country. Possibly, while immigrant entrepreneurs are struggling and faced with the common problems listed above, one of the most striking reasons for their business decisions is the prevalence of factors linked to the local environment, network ties, including family and friends, experience and prior knowledge of the region, such as Venice and

Melaka. Such factors are similar in many studies that investigate the trend of immigrant entrepreneurs; however, the variations are as significant as the effect on the subject of each of these factors (Lardiés, 1999).

In summary, the different approach to marketing strategies immigrant entrepreneurs shows among that immigrant entrepreneurs who are developing a new strategy in product, price, promotion, and distribution have a stronger capacity to enhance innovation capacity and entrepreneurial performance (Ramli, 2016b) and it evidenced the egalitarian balancing of society between immigrant and non-immigrant in a country (Rasiah, 2019). It also suggests that a similar strategy among immigrant entrepreneurs influenced by the destination's brand and its association with the perception that encourages inventive activity (Schumpeter, 1976).

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the case studies have helped to understand the reasons and decisions for the trend of immigrant entrepreneurship in Venice and Melaka. The interview approach with hybrid coupling fundamental understanding of marketing mix and factors influenced help to discover the findings. Overall, the point of view of selected immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka concluded that the business environment in both locations is friendly and is part of local culture and society. In terms of business strategies, there are similarities and differences between immigrant entrepreneurs and local entrepreneurs.

This paper outlines three key findings. First, immigrant entrepreneurs are very cautious about their products. Market segmentation is their product strategy, which allows their businesses to meet their target customers with specific needs and needs. Although some local entrepreneurs follow a similar strategy, immigrant entrepreneurs concentrate on their niche, for example, selling food related to their country of origin. This evidence is consistent with innovation entrepreneurship scholars who deliberately seek to focus on a specific business or industry and most likely on an inventive activity (Rasiah, 2019; Schumpeter, 1976). This shows confidence in their products, in particular in the taste of particular food, which is part of the services that tourists need while traveling (Kolb, 2017).

Second, the approach of immigrant entrepreneurs to the pricing strategy is slightly different. They 're not directly involved in lowering the price strategy, but they've exploited the strategy in their way. Some of them, for example, set the price of their products at an average selling price but negotiable when consumers buy in bulk, while some priced their prices slightly lower than their nearby competitors (which usually use the first strategy) and not negotiable. This indicates their concern about the pricing strategy, but it's not straightforward. It also shows that maintaining a high number of customers using a pricing strategy like this has consequences for direct business impacts (Garrod and Fyall, 2000).

Third, immigrant entrepreneurs point out that network ties are important to the operation and promotion of their companies in the host country. This means that their fellow citizens in Venice and Melaka support their companies as customers, suppliers, and colleagues. It is supported by several studies that have been extensively reviewed in a systematic review paper on immigrant entrepreneurship (Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Nevertheless, there is no distribution strategy between immigrant entrepreneurs in either case study. This is not important and it has an impact on their businesses. The patterns in immigrant entrepreneurship in both Venice and Melaka are similar and different in some respects.

The originality of this paper is based on two points of view. First, it contributes to a better understanding of the trend of immigrant entrepreneurship in Venice and Melaka, including the reasons why immigrant entrepreneurs have chosen these historic sites to run their businesses, and the strategy implemented within the destination brand to attract customers. Second, this paper adds to the previous literature by showing that tourism is not only attractive because of its destination brand but also because of its suggestive success factors in the role of immigrant entrepreneurs, who are always overlooked by scholars. There are two main limitations to this study. First, a qualitative study enriches the findings in the research area (Yin, 2013), but needs numerical evidence to support the claims. Therefore, the small number of interviews in this study is a problematic issue compared to what quantitative research can bring. Second, the study found immigrant entrepreneurs only at present, and not over a long period. The findings may be different when conducting longitudinal research that benefits and changes in factors over time discussed in the literature review section may influence the subject matter of the study in both historic cities.

There are three recommendations in this study. First, it recommends that quantitative research can be carried out using the variables that emerged from this study. It includes an exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis of variables, the association of variables and the impact of each variable on the tourism industry, and how it explains the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in the context. We hope that quantitative research will support this. Second, it encourages the use of the SWOT analysis framework to understand the strategy of each of the 4Ps discussed in this study. The most appropriate strategy is to recognize the approach of immigrant entrepreneurs to each product, price, promotion, and distribution to achieve the goal of attracting tourists (Kolb, 2017). It shows that the use of a marketing mix approach is fundamental and extends its relevance to other approaches. Third, a similar research setting is remarkable to be seen from a longitudinal study, as data collected from immigrant entrepreneurs in Venice and Melaka have repeatedly been collected over a while. It may add some points on their decision to a specific strategy, whether there are changes in their approach over a long period or otherwise, if so, why they change or remain so. In conclusion, further research is vital in this research setting, as it is a pioneer in the niche research field.

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