

Reading Diaspora: The Architectonic Spaces in Preeta Samarasan's *Evening is the Whole Day*

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Abstract

Many Malaysian writers have delved into the subjects of race, identity and nationhood, given the postcolonial and multicultural contexts of the country. One relatively new writer who has added her voice to the narrative of the Indian diasporic community in Malaysia is Preeta Samarasan. *Evening is the Whole Day* (2008) is a riveting text by a diasporic author writing about the diasporic Indians living in Malaysia. Naturally themes of home and homeland are dominant in the text. Indeed, the house occupied by the rich, middle-class family in the narrative, called the Big House, becomes a reflection of the many issues faced by Indians living in a country rife with racial politics. More than just reflecting this family's desire to belong, in *Evening is the Whole Day*, the house becomes a space wherein the personal and the public coincide. Within this space too, differing realities exist between the poor and the rich. It is this diverse economic standings which create varying realities for both groups of people.

This paper then will explore the architectonic spaces in *Evening is the Whole Day* with the aim of highlighting some of the pressing issues faced by the Indians in Malaysia. The motif of the house and, by extension, the notion of home, is evoked as a theoretical concept to image and analyse some of these issues.

Keywords

Malaysian Indian, architectonic, economy, diaspora, home, class

In much contemporary cultural and literary theory, diaspora has become the "exemplary condition of late modernity" (Mishra, "New Lamps for Old" 147). Growing interest in the diasporic condition is generated by an awareness that "our contemporary world has seen migrations of people on a scale as never before in human history" (Katrak 649). This mobility is rooted within colonial and postcolonial histories as well as continuing imperialist dominations. In

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postcolonial and postmodern discourses, diaspora comes to signal the liberating aspects of interrelationships and a resistance to the monologic thought and oppression that colonialism represents. Works by Homi Bhabha and Vijay Mishra, for instance, celebrate this social formation of displacement. Diasporic spaces are often likened to border zones or borderlines, indicating overlaps of histories and narratives. For Bhabha, the “interstitial passage” opposes hierarchy by opening up possibilities for negation and hybridity (4). Mishra highlights the “vibrant kinds of interaction” that take place within diasporic communities (“New Lamps for Old” 147). It could be said that the diasporic experience provides the new postcolonial subject.

Hence the word “diaspora” remains a useful term on which to anchor discussions on current issues and challenges faced by today’s societies. It has been, and still is, a dominant trend in world history. Today the expansion of diasporic communities is a social transformation of global significance. However, diasporas are complex sites and are not unproblematic. By their very nature, diasporic groups challenge notions of nationhood, racial purity and unity. In a multicultural site like Malaysia where various races co-exist, issues of differences persist and shape not only the perceptions of the community but also governmental policies.

Malaysia has three major ethnic groups: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. The Indians and the Chinese were brought in by the British to colonial Malaya in the 19th century to provide much-needed labour in the rubber estates and tin mines. These migrant communities subsequently played a pivotal role in the formation of modern-day Malaysia. Malaysian Indians, descendants of those who migrated from India during the time of the British, now form the third largest ethnic group in Malaysia after the Malays and the Chinese accounting for about eight percent of the total population of the country. Yet this community, after having lived in Malaysia for generations, still faces numerous challenges, the worst being, as stated by S. Nagarajan in *Multiethnic Malaysia*, marginalisation and economic deprivation resulting from ethnically-framed political and cultural processes. Apart from that, the Indian diaspora in Malaysia is notable for its class stratification and its caste system. It is stated that “by the time of independence in 1957, Indians formed one of the most heterogeneous communities in Malaya, divided by linguistic, religious and class affiliations” (Nagarajan 370).

Many Malaysian writers have delved into the subject of race, identity and nationhood and early diasporic writers like K.S. Maniam, for instance, capture the experience of living and being in newly independent Malaysia for the Indian diasporic community. Their writings mirror the early evolution of a new nation trying to define itself. New writers have been adding their voice to the narrative of Indians living in Malaysia. Notable among them are Preeta Samarasan and Rani Manicka; both have received major literary awards and, consequently, international recognition. This article looks at Preeta Samarasan’s *Evening is the*

Whole Day (2008), a book that has received high praise internationally. A reviewer from *The New York Times* describes *Evening is the Whole Day* as a “long slow banquet of a fine novel” (Goodman) and another reviewer for the *Taipei Times* praises it as “certainly the greatest work of fiction ever to come out of modern Malaysia” (Winterton). The book won the Hopwood Novel Award, was a finalist of the Commonwealth Writers’ Prize in the Best First Book category in 2009 and was on the longlist for the Orange Prize for Fiction. In a sustained and dramatic way, the novel brings to focus the issues and challenges still confronting Malaysian Indians as they try to locate themselves within surroundings which are rich in diversity. *Evening is the Whole Day* evokes the numerous complexities that reside in a nation of varying ethnic groups and calls for the need to confront the conflicts so that understanding can prevail. Samarasan’s novel tells the story of the Malaysian Indian diaspora, covering the period between the 1940s and the 1980s.

In *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora*, Vijay Mishra, an important theorist in diasporic studies, puts forward the idea that the Indian diaspora can be seen as “two relatively autonomous diasporas” defined as “old” and “new.” Though each conveys a different experience, the old has now become a part of the new (120). However, Mishra insists that the distinction of old and new must be held so that the “economic strength and global presence of the new diaspora, now commonly situated in the West,” does not obliterate the stories of the diasporic Indians who underwent the dramatic and shaping experience of indenture (120). I have found it useful to locate my analysis of *Evening is the Whole Day* within Mishra’s discussion because his ideas illuminate some of my own thoughts on the text.

In his works, K.S. Maniam, one of the first writers who gave a presence and voice to the Indian community residing in Malaysia, takes us into the lives of the estate workers especially. His first and perhaps most well-known book, *The Return* (1981), covers the time span between 1940 till 1962 and has as its backdrop pivotal historical happenings in Malaysia like the Japanese Occupation, the Emergency and Independence. Maniam’s text to a great extent recalls Mishra’s depiction of the old diaspora: the passage of indenture (*kalapani*), the dislocation caused by indenture, the alienness of the new homeland, the plantation or estate culture. An important metaphor in the works of Maniam is the house which, his texts seem to constantly assert, symbolises a site for self-definition for the diasporic individual/society.

Just like *The Return*, *Evening is the Whole Day* contains a strong sense of history, an awareness of the importance of the colonial past and chronicles major political events that have shaped the Malaysian historical narrative and that have impacted on the Indian diaspora in the country. *Evening is the Whole Day* also abounds with references to “home.” Owning a house becomes an important part of being accepted by the adopted country and, by extension, confers a sense of belonging and, ultimately, a sense of self on the house dweller. In important ways, *Evening*

is the Whole Day could be seen as a sequel to *The Return*, providing a continuing narrative to the saga of the Indian immigrant in Malaysia. In depicting the changing fortunes and circumstances of the Indian community, what emerges in *Evening is the Whole Day* is that though the community seems to have found itself, this is only at a superficial level and the community's struggle to feel a sense of belonging to their adopted country still prevails as do the challenges of assimilating into a multicultural society which, to an significant extent, still reverses the lines of difference. Taken together, *The Return* and *Evening is the Whole Day*, allow readers to imaginatively enter into a Malaysian experience and context which is "paradoxically... both highly specific and yet universally representative" (Watson xiii).

In an interview on her book *Evening is the Whole Day*, Samarasan states:

Malaysian history is so hybrid, so vexed, so different depending on whom you ask that to me the only way to reveal that history is through individual lives. A Malaysian Indian family will have experienced a different Malaysian history than a Malay family or a Malaysian Chinese family. Anyway, that's the whole purpose of fiction: to tell the big story through small stories. (Stameshkin)

The complexity of living in Malaysia is keenly felt by the diasporic communities who call it "home." Respected Malaysian writer-academic, the late Lloyd Fernando wrote: "Every Malaysian of immigrant stock must go through an exhausting process of unlearning, besides undertaking to learn with his instincts the native culture and the tradition of his new country.... Everything in the human personality... must be scrutinised, and replaced if need be, or re-adapted to a new life" (36).

In *Evening is the Whole Day*, the road to riches from the estate or coolie lines in *The Return* continues to produce lives lived on the precipice of uncertainty. These lives also find their metaphor in the endeavour of staking a claim on the land and building a home. In *Evening is the Whole Day* a larger canvas emerges with a striking presence of the different races which form the nation of Malaysia. This is the 1980s and the prosperous Rajasekharans are a troubled family living in a country facing myriad problems. Appa, the father and a rich lawyer, marries the girl next door, Vasanthi/Amma, and they produce three children. This is a bourgeoisie family, quite unlike the family or for that matter families, that people Maniam's narratives which centre around estate life. The story of the Rajasekharans begins with the arrival of Appa's grandfather, Tata, in Malaya: "In 1899, Appa's grandfather sailed across the Bay of Bengal to seek his fortune under familiar masters in a strange land, leaving behind an emerald of a village on the east coast of India" (17). Here there is a reference to the indentured past which is part of the history of this modern-day family.

Growing interest in cosmopolitanism and transculturation as global political theories, have given rise to the need for new conceptual maps to comprehend these dramatic human interconnections. Yet despite the deterritorialisation of identities, as Robin Cohen states in his book *Global Diasporas*, a foundational text in the research and teaching of the diasporic phenomenon, “in many cases, diasporic communities have shown a continuing or newly asserted attachment to places of origin” (xv). In *Evening is the Whole Day*, the themes of homeland and home are integral to the text. In this article, I use the notion of home as a theoretical concept to image and analyse some of the pressing issues still facing the Indians living in Malaysia.

In the very first paragraph of the novel, the reader is plunged into what could be called a poetic description of the Peninsula of Malaysia, the country now “home” to the Rajasekharan clan: “There is, stretching delicate as a bird’s head from the thin neck of the Kra Isthmus, a land that makes up half of the country called Malaysia. Where it dips its beak into the South China Sea, Singapore hovers like a bubble escaped from its throat” (1). In the next few paragraphs, however, Samarasan zeroes in on the Rajasekharan family and their abode which lies in Ipoh, a town in the north-west part of Malaysia. It is noteworthy that after a sweeping, elegant description of the Malayan Peninsula, Samarasan turns her focus to one house, the home owned by the Rajasekharans, a house which provides the backdrop for most of the important happenings in the narrative: “About halfway down the lane, shielded by its black gates and its robust greenery, is the Big House, number 79, whose bright blue bulk has dominated Kingfisher Lane since it was an unpaved track with nothing else along it but saga trees... the Big House stands proud. It has presided over the laying of all the others’ foundations” (2). It soon becomes apparent in the description of the house that this is a dynamic place. The Big House commands a formidable presence in the text and, together with the “place” of Malaysia, forms another location wherein fear, disclosure, secrecy, self-growth and self-doubt reside. Certainly, in *Evening is the Whole Day* the private space always, and necessarily, imbricates on the public space.

Thus the Rajasekharan story unfolds against the larger framework of a postcolonial Malaysia. The family’s search for identity lies within the search for national identity by a multicultural community, the various races still uncertain about their role and position in the formation of the nation. Appa, who is highly idealistic, is keen to be part of the work of nation building but in time becomes disillusioned and even hypocritical. This racial mix is prominent in a trial in which Appa acts as prosecutor of a poor Malay man, Shamsuddin, for the rape and murder of a Chinese girl. The crime was actually committed by the girl’s uncle who had been extorting money from her father on behalf of a gangland boss. Shamsuddin is set up and arrested. Appa feels that something is amiss and that the jury and judge are on someone’s secret payroll, but he continues with the case

and Shamsuddin is convicted and executed. As readers, we must take note of the details. Stereotypes and the simple racial divisions we commonly associate with the different races are interrogated. Ultimately, what we have in the novel is the diverse races trying to find their niche in this community. The various attempts by the different characters in the novel to belong, vividly recalls James Clifford's argument that diaspora signals "not simply... transnationality and movement but... political struggles to define the local" (252).

In their book called *Home*, geographers Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, provide what they call a "critical geography of home" (2), highlighting relations between place, space, scale, identity and power. Their argument demonstrates that "home" is a lived site as well as an idea and an imaginary that is imbued with feelings which range from belonging and desire to those of fear and alienation: "Home is hence a complex and multi-layered geographical concept. Put most simply, home is: a place/site, a set of feelings/cultural meanings, and the relations between the two" (2-3). The name of the home occupied by the Rajasekharans, the "Big House," suggests not only the size of the abode and the status of the family living in it, but also its importance in the midst of the other houses along the street. This dwelling is full of history; its description seems to insist on that. This house which was bought by Tata, once belonged to a colonial master: "Tata decided to buy himself a house that would declare his family's stake in the new country.... The house of Tata's dreams belonged to one Mr. McDougall, a dyspeptic Scotsman who owned two of the scores of mines that had sprouted up in and around Ipoh in the 1850s to tap the Kinta Valley's rich veins of tin" (18). The purchase of the house is seen as a slap in the face to the fleeing Britisher. For Tata, however, "this is the beginning of a new age. For [his family] and for Malaya" (23). But the past continues to form the foundations of this house. Mr. McDougall's dead daughter constantly "talks" to Asha, the youngest member of the Rajasekharan family. The Rajasekharans still feel left out, marginalised in their country. It is notable that the past and memory is given architectonic form in the novel and much of the story takes place in and is related to the Big House occupied by the family.

As Tata grows older, he fills the garden of the house with tropical plants and fruits and he would smile "at the rightness, the in-placeness of it all" (25). This need to belong extends to the house as well. Tata starts to renovate the house and his choice of designs mirror his aspirations to belong to this space and to make it uniquely his own. "Convinced that the Big House should grow and glow and celebrate sympathetically, Tata consulted a firm of architects about several extensions. An extra guest room. Two extra bathrooms (one with a clawfoot bathtub). An orchid conservatory.... An English kitchen equipped with a gleaming Aga range, in which the cook refused to set foot.... Paying no heed to Mr. McDougall's conservative taste, Tata had the new wings built in a proud local style.... Unnecessary corridors met each other at oblique angles" (25-26).

The Big House depicts a variety of architectural styles, infusions and confluences borne of the interstitial existence of its occupants. It is a mix or even a mismatch of cultures and becomes a transition space between the public and private domains. Here there appears a different approach to accommodation and adaptation. Finally, the renovations done to the Rajasekharan home create a house with “endless, haphazard corridors” (9), reflecting the ongoing, often chaotic journey of the Indian diasporic community in Malaysia. In V.S. Naipaul’s *A House for Mr. Biswas*, the protagonist desires to return to lost origins in the space of the home; his search for roots translates into an obsession to own a home. The Tulsi house, as Mishra puts it, “aspires to the lost ‘condition’ of India while at the same time replicating that space” (“New Lamps for Old” 156). Though it is said that Tata is happy to see the British leave, it is notable that the renovations to the house also allude to an English style. These material structures image his conflicting feelings. The house reflects what we could call a deterritorialized diaspora, in this context a self/family desperately trying to find identity in a new country. Indeed, this well illustrates Blunt and Dowling’s notion of home which is a physical, material dwelling which is also an affective space shaped by varied emotions.

The hulking, sprawling Big House is an unhomey space, which brings to the fore the sense of loss and uncertainty felt by the family. This dysfunctional family tries hard to situate itself within the larger context but cannot even find understanding within the walls of their own home and grow more estranged towards one another. The public space leaves them insecure and their private space is also fearful and alienating. In *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomey*, Anthony Vidler explores contemporary architecture within the context of the uncanny, linking it to Freud’s “unhomeliness.” Aspects of modern architecture are tropes for the uncanny which, Vidler asserts, image our “unhomey” modern situation and its reflections of alienation, estrangement and unbelonging. The unhomey faced by the Rajasekharan family in Malaysia is profoundly felt and dramatically displayed in the architecture of the home they so proudly built and which was to be a symbol of their success and their share in the country’s wealth.

In the midst of studying and later working in Malaysia, “India ceased to be home” for Tata (17). But Tata is also removed from the Indian community in Malaysia, many of whom were still labourers and were marginalised. Amma, Tata’s daughter-in-law, comes from a less educated and poorer background. This is the main reason why Pati, Appa’s mother, dislikes the younger woman. Amma’s economic status is imaged by her childhood home: it was “[n]ext door to the Big House... the squat bungalow... barely visible from the street, situated as it was at the bottom of a narrow dark garden thick with mango trees and hanging parasitic vines. Appa’s parents had never entered that house or any of the others in the neighborhood... they had never even discussed such social adventuring”

(45). Yet Amma's house is still better than the one Chellam, the servant at the Rajasekharan household, comes from: a "one-room hut in the red-earth village" (4). When she comes to work with the Rajasekharans, Chellam is confined to a pokey little storeroom. These other dwellings stand in stark contrast to the Big House and exemplify the different classes within the Indian community.

This is yet another significant theme in *Evening is the Whole Day*. Apart from the political, there is also the economic divide which creates more faultlines within the Malaysian community, in this context, the Malaysian Indian. Much goes on in *Evening is the Whole Day* but from the start, Samarasan, rather emphatically, draws together the stories of two young women only to show how different their lives are: a contrast created by the different economic classes they come from. Though Uma Rajasekharan has to suffer her troubled family, she is talented and rich, and is able to flee to New York to attend college. Meanwhile, Chellam, their servant girl who has come from the slums, is abused and treated shabbily by family members. She is forced to leave the Big House and her departure is attended by humiliation and shame. Thus, the dwellers in the "Big House" live out the realities faced by the diasporic community in Malaysia. *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora* states that in Malaysia: "There is also a distinction between the Indian middle class, which continues to do well, and the working class, which continues to underperform... there is little or no interaction between members of the Indian middle class and working classes, possibly because of caste distinctions" (156). This point is also alluded to in the book *The Malaysian Indians*: the Indians remain "divided, as it always has been, between a small relatively affluent middle class... and a proletariat that accounts for by far the greater number of Indians... who hover on the borders of poverty" (Tate 179). Within the space of the Big House in *Evening is the Whole Day*, this concern is highlighted and we witness how diverse economic standings create varying realities for both groups of people. In many ways then, the Big House could be seen as a three-dimensional manifestation of social positioning, rigid observations of class as well as the assimilation of a diasporic family into their new homeland. Just as Stuart Hall states that the ruptures and discontinuities engendered by history make identity not only a matter of "being" but also of "becoming," the "becoming" of this Indian diasporic family is reflected in the material structure of their home.

Chellam, the maid to the Rajasekaran family is, interestingly, the first person we are introduced to in the text. Almost immediately, a parallel is set between her and the eldest daughter in the family, Uma. "Chellam is eighteen years old, the same age as Uma, the oldest-eldest daughter of the house" (2-3). Within this parallel, there are glaring differences. While Uma is privileged, Chellam, like many estate girls working as maids, comes from a sad, deprived background shaped by poverty. "The aeroplane that carried Uma away was enormous and white... whereas Chellam is leaving on foot (and then by bus). She differs from Uma in

many other, equally obvious ways” (3). The author goes on to delineate various physical aspects of the servant girl, certain mannerisms and her clothing which, though Chellam is a voiceless person in the household, scream of her class and background. In an interesting article on *Evening is the Whole Day*, Jeyathurai comments that Chellam is a reminder to the Rajasekharan family, and by extension the reader, of the failure of “the Malaysian nation-state to dismantle the colonial plantation industry” and to include the Malaysian Indians into the nation’s fold (305). However, *Evening is the Whole Day* also seems to suggest that the Indian community itself must work towards closing the gap between the different classes. In the novel, Chellam is a detestable presence in the midst of the family members and the Malaysian Indian imaginary. Though a kind servant to the younger children in the house, we learn that they too are not open to the young girl as hatred for the other is an inherited legacy: “And yet, at times, they hate her, with the primitive hatred of children for creatures weaker than themselves” (252). Appa, who prides himself in being moral and kind, blames his woes on the poor who, he feels, deserve their shabby existence. “Appa shudders and steps into the shower to cleanse himself of his contact with the world’s filth, and unseen” (257). These differing circumstances and realities lived out by the upper class and the lower class have created a huge divide between them. Indeed, this divide is also dramatically imaged in *The Return*. As a point of interest to this study, Maniam also uses the architectural motif to represent the division. Even among the Indians living in the estate, there are lines of demarcation between “the more skilled, educated personnel” (76) and the others: “They lived, quite removed from us, on raised terrace houses. The walls, brushed over with better quality yellow paint.... The contacts between us were functional and brief” (76). Menon the hospital supervisor, called *Ayah* by the other Indians, assumes a superior stance over the rest. He is outraged when the protagonist Ravi, learns English and becomes good at it. He is equally angry when Ravi’s father decides to expand his laundry business. He frequently goes out of his way to humiliate father and son because for Menon the status quo must be maintained and the poorer group should not improve themselves as this would amount to “biting the hand that fed us,’ namely the benevolent Ayah” (74). Ravi’s troubled journey to escape his low self-esteem and to move towards self-acceptance and progress is aggravated by people like Menon.

Yet in *Evening is the Whole Day*, underlying the apparently insurmountable chasm which separates Uma and Chellam, is a shared experience of feeling like strangers in the house, unable to comprehend both the dynamics within the family and the external world. Often, their “ruinous silence fills the jumbled rooms and labyrinthine corridors of the Big House” (220). In moments of wistful longing, the youngest child Asha, always yearning for love, “sees Uma’s shadow and Chellam’s escape their bodies and together dance wistful waltzes on the walls” (221). This coming together of both women, transgressing the borders of

difference seems to create, in Asha's mind at least, a space of assurance and harmony, a space where love can prevail. The title of *Evening is the Whole Day* comes from a classical Tamil text, the *Kuruntokai* which means "evening is the whole day for those without their lovers." Certainly, a sense of lovelessness haunts the book: there is a lack, even an absence of love among the members of the Rajasekharan family, between the rich and the poor, between the different races in Malaysia. Amma, beside herself with anger at her husband's indifference asks whether she should resign herself "to being forever an outsider in her husband's house?" (105) This sense of not belonging, of being an outcast in what should be your haven, your home, is also brought up in a much wider context at the end of the book when Uma is set to leave her troubled family for what she hopes will be a calmer existence in the US. All the family members congregate at the airport to wish her goodbye. It is an extremely uncomfortable and emotionless farewell, a pageant that is put up for the benefit of the onlooker. This aspect of superficiality shares a resonance with the Visit Malaysia displays in the airport with their slogans meant to attract the tourist:

The life-size cardboard ladies advertising Visit Malaysia 1980. They are MalayChineseIndian, IbanKadazanDayak, sleek and beautiful ladies of every race, namaste-ing and salam-ing the wide world in toothy testimony to the country's legendary Racial Harmony. From the front these ladies seem perfect. Perfectly happy. Perfectly shapely. Perfectly poised. From the side, though Aasha sees that they are just perfectly flat. (330)

While there is the presence of a multicultural community in *Evening is the Whole Day* and the involvement of the diaspora in the affairs of the nation, there appears to be no culture of accommodation. This is reflected in the personal space as well. At the end of the novel, Amma feels displaced in her own home, Appa spends little time there and the youngest child Asha continues to be visited upon by the ghosts of the past. *Evening is the Whole Day* seems to say that the need for identity and belonging still haunts the Indian diasporic community in Malaysia. In the novel, we see the coming together of textual and architectonic spaces to address issues of identity and belonging. The Big House, with its odd hybrid style, narrates, recreates and represents the space occupied by an Indian family and, by extension, the Indian diasporic community in Malaysia. At the start, when Appa inherits the house, he also takes on the big dreams of his father: "The whole country is his for the taking, his generation's. What an inheritance! They would not squander it. They would make this country the envy of all Asia. Even of the bloody British themselves" (27). Yet the last pages in the novel portray his immense disillusionment with the space of Malaysia and he looks beyond; "In America, he says, his voice low with wonder (for this is the moral of his story, his grand conclusion), anything can happen" (339).

Therefore, a sense of exhaustion and futility is apparent in *Evening is the Whole Day*. The text seems to say that the need for identity and belonging still haunts the Indian diasporic community in Malaysia, a feeling echoed in books on the Indian diaspora in Malaysia. Though the early wish of the older generation to build a home is fulfilled by subsequent generations, that home, that private interior space, overlaps with the outer world, the public space, as it will or must do, and many of the conflicts and uncertainties still remain. For the Indian immigrant in Malaysia, there is still the need to work through the idea of the diaspora, to redefine self and community and to belong. In an interview about her book Samarasan says, “Everyone is disappointed and everyone is powerless in a key way, from Amma and Paati to Chellam and Aasha – to Appa. Disappointments that stem from race, gender, and class” (Stameshkin). All races should feel a sense of belonging and respect in a country which is or should be home to them. And, equally important, there is also the urgent need to see and to listen to all those marginalised by unequal distributions of wealth, whose fates are still determined by those who have and do not care.

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