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**Nature Mirrors Malay(si)a —  
Interpreting (post)colonial Malay(si)an landscapes,  
a discourse analysis of *The Garden of Evening Mists***



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**Title page:** The picture on the cover page is the cover of the researched novel:

*The Garden of Evening Mists* (<http://www.myrmidonbooks.com/>)

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction, Research Questions and Thesis Outline

One anecdote of this thesis is one sharp contrast between two perceptions of nature, one is constructed from my background as a Taiwanese, and the other from my Filipino friends', which is formulated by their life experience in a remote fishing village in Palawan of the Philippines. There was one afternoon with clear sky during the rainy season of 2012 at Narra, Palawan. When a day off between two interviews during the field work for my internship, my Filipino friends enthusiastically invited me to visit an island with them by boat.

Then I assumed they would take me to buy a ferry ticket, because the society I am from has a system of buying a ticket for island visits. But I suddenly realised how ridiculous my assumption was when we arrived at the end of a river, where we pushed a crummy and small boat haltingly above the mud of the river in order to reach the sea on our own. A short but exotic boat trip came after this experience; every one of us was so close to falling into the sea, but only I was scared of this. I was afraid and feeling helpless in this situation, because my society did not raise me to earn a living or enjoy myself in the sea. Contrary to me, my Filipino friends accommodate their lives in the sea very well, so they do not see the sea as a dangerous place.

After our arrivals to our destination, my friends immediately rushed to swim in the sea, but I hesitated to follow, because I did not know if there were some dangers in the sea which could harm me. But after three months, my relationship with the sea has dramatically changed due to my occasional swims and dives. Apparently my definition of nature has been altered during these three months, which might be caused by means of my interactions with the Filipino definition of nature thus I have managed to changed my own. This does not mean I don't fear the sea anymore, the advantage of this redefinition is that I feel much more comfortable with experiencing different things and discussing differences that I encounter in other cultures.

Thus the distinct views of nature which my Filipino friends and I have led me to believe one important concept from the theory of the socially constructed nature: "there is no single nature" (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998: 95). Which means the nature I assume is built up by my background, so that must be different from other people's concepts of nature. That is why Macnaghten and Urry state that natures "are not inherent in the physical world but discursively constructed through economic, political and social processes" in the society.

The transformation of my perception of nature triggered another question, how have different identities influenced me by the interactions I experienced between my sense of self and geographical localities? Are they negotiating, communicating and merging with each

other? Is my perception of nature constructed by a mixed identity of Taiwanese, Filipino, and Dutch notions of nature now? Those questions motivated me to explore the concept of socially constructed nature and its associated issue of hybridity. Since I have lived in more than one country, each of them grants me at least one identity, therefore, the identities of Taiwanese, Filipino and Dutch inevitably communicate inside of me, sometimes they disagree with each other, but always project a hybrid opinion of how I see things now.

Undoubtedly, the issue of identifying this man-human relationship has been explored by many scholars, such as Lease (1995) who has reminded us in the introduction of *Reinventing Nature*, that nature could be only nomadic and mobile geographically and culturally. By experiencing a process of identity hybridisation over my interactions with the nature in Palawan, I can claim that the relationship between humans and nature must connect with its belonging cultures, identities, or social notions. When we need to formulate a nature with multiple identities, the problematic challenge will be how to accept a hybrid discursive nature with culture/identity diversity.

Following the above thoughts, we decided to analysing Tan Twan Eng's second book in order to identify a socially constructed nature, *The Garden of Evening Mists* (TGOEM) (Tan, 2012). Since this book displays how Malay(si)an nature has been utilised by multi-ethnic populations during, and after, their colonial eras. A dynamic power among populations can be illustrated by their usages of landscapes in TGOEM. For instance, the British and Japanese colonisers in Malaya granted access, usage, and possession of nature by race; these racial distribution in the landscapes has directly shaped the landscapes themselves, and also grounded a power-stratification in Malay(si)a. Tan's book gives profound examples of how the controlling, or controlled populations, hybridise or create hybridised identities to achieve their aims by their interaction and treatment of nature. This also illustrates that the formation of nature in Malay(si)a is in a flux, since the identities which formulate this nature depends on its turbulent transition of colonial to postcolonial statues, and is even consistently changing by the dynamic in its hybrid culture.

As such, by analysing the landscapes in TGOEM we can extend our understanding of how the multiple identities influence, negotiate, and hybridise their connections with nature in Malay(si)a. In particular, I focus on studying the landscapes of forests, plantations, and gardens in TGOEM, since those three are commonly discussed and constructed by many social discourses as what I aim to explore. Studying those landscapes can also scrutinize the power play, and struggles in the relationships among the (colonial) authorities and Malay(si)an populations during and after colonial times. Since studying those landscapes can foreground the formulated elements of those landscapes, such as colonial and postcolonial discourses.



Furthermore, through a lens of constructivists, I aim to define a meeting point beyond the dualism<sup>1</sup> and the intimacy between culture and nature in this thesis. For the aims of probing the man-nature relationship, Tan's novel also raises the issue of how a postcolonial society is still not able to decolonise after six decades of their colonial history, since the process of cultural hybridisation influences the appearance and usages of nature tremendously. As such, I gaze on the ambivalent relationships and the cultural hybridity among the (colonial) authorities and the Malay(si)an populations, and I also examine how signs of colonial abuse and its impact still remain in the forests, plantations, and gardens in postcolonial Malaysia. I do this in order to identifying the hybrid identity of the Malay(si)an society, and in order to comprehend a socially constructed nature within which.

As a prologue of CHAPTER ONE, I begin with my own experience of how I encountered different perceptions of nature in the Philippines. With this, I explain my motivation for this thesis and how it links with the critiques of socially constructed nature and postcolonial hybridity. Also, the objectives, research questions and the structure of this thesis are incorporated in Chapter One. In CHAPTER TWO, I probe the theories of socially constructed nature and postcolonial with the aim of setting a foundation to prepare my knowledge and ability of analysing the discourses behind the quotes of TGOEM. To manifest a fact that nature still has been controlled by the central idea of colonialism in the postcolonial Malaysia today. By scrutinizing this postcolonial society, I foreground the present multi-ethnic problem in Malaysia, and assume this to be of imminent importance to understand my analysis of TGOEM. In CHAPTER THREE, I explain the reason for why I use discourse analysis, and how my interview with Tan Twan Eng, and my own positionality as a researcher in terms of how the places I have lived influence my viewpoints in this thesis, in order to improve the accountabilities of this qualitative research. In CHAPTER FOUR, the background of TGOEM and a brief history of Malay(si)a are introduced in order to help the readers comprehend the discourse analysis in CHAPTER FIVE, which contains the discourse analysis of forest, plantation and garden landscapes of TGOEM. Lastly, a discussion of the analysis and its finalised conclusion will be given in CHAPTER SIX, which also includes my suggestions for future research in relevance to this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> The dualism herein includes what Christian thinkers' thought: humanity has been separated from nature and the unity of God (Lease, 1995: 8); and what Marx and Grundrisse to dissociate culture and nature. Marx claims that culture as the ideological clothing on the body of capitalism while leaving nature to the biologists, physicists and chemists during the late of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Castree, 2003: 169-170).

Based on the six chapters of this thesis, one core research question and three sub-questions will be discussed and answered in detail:

How have colonial/postcolonial discourses influenced the Malays(ia)n landscapes?

- How have forests been constructed by dominant (post)colonial authorities and the local populations' resistance to it? And how has the survived colonialism in postcolonial eras in TGOEM affected forests?
- How have plantations been constructed by the dominant (post)colonial authorities and the local populations' resistance to it? And how has the survived colonialism in postcolonial eras in TGOEM affected plantations?
- How have gardens been constructed by the dominant figures, local resistance and other ambivalent relationships among all populations in a process of cultural hybridisation from colonial to postcolonial eras in TGOEM?

## CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Conceptualising Socially Constructed Nature

*Let everyone look at the space around them. What do they see? Do they see time?  
They live time, after all; they are in time. Yet all anyone sees is movements.  
In nature, time is apprehended within space... (Henri Lefebvre, 1991: 95).*

As we see from Lefebvre's quote above, the meaning of nature is rooted and concealed in space in a broad sense. As such, in order to investigate how a society or its culture are, in terms of "which the socioeconomic sphere operates, and that within which nature operates" (Gerber, 1997: 13), studying geographical localities as this thesis does help us to comprehend that nature is a product of society, and the relationship between society and nature is intimate. However, Marxists<sup>2</sup> argue that this relationship has become estranged by capitalism, and nature is considered a material resource for human beings.

Following the above thoughts, one can argue that exploring nature can illustrate the social notions and discourses which have operated in that particular culture; in other words, we can also explore our nature in order to understand a society. As Oakes and Price (2008: 205) state, "nature is absorbed into the human side of affairs as simply a product of human activities, rather than possessing an existence independent of the realm of the human." This is an example of a constructivists' viewpoint about the formulation of nature.

Even some constructivists agree that meanings of nature are assigned by human beings, and firmly believe that human beings can entirely control nature, or to shape it as we wish. Other researchers argue that there is a boundary between human societies and nature, and which is not sharp enough to distinguish their difference. Is it not easy to differentiate who or what is doing the constructing (Castree, 2001: 17). In other words, can human beings ensure we are not the ones to be constructed?

Considering the above critiques and questions from constructivists, I will explain the definition of nature in this thesis first, then I will conceptualise the theory of socially constructed nature in order to consolidate the stance of this thesis. Lastly I will link the concept of socially constructed nature with the process of cultural hybridisation with my observations of the usages of nature in the following discussion.

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<sup>2</sup> The dualism herein includes what Christian thinkers' thought: humanity has been separated from nature and the unity of God (Lease, 1995: 8); and what Marx and Grundrisse to dissociate culture and nature. Marx claims that culture as the ideological clothing on the body of capitalism while leaving nature to the biologists, physicists and chemists during the late of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Castree, 2003: 169-170).

### 2.1.1 Socially constructed nature

In general, social constructivists suggest that reality is constructed through human activities. Kim (2001) argues for this point with his three premises which underline social constructivism: reality, knowledge, and learning, which are all human products and socially and culturally constructed. Cronon (1994: 41), similar to Kim, also argues from an epistemological perspective to explain that “the reference and mimetic correspondence to some external reality as the epistemological criterion for truth”. Cronon’s argument stands for a truth that reality must be formulated through human experience and perception. Thus, one can say that the formation of nature has been attributed the culture within (Derry, 1999; McMahon, 1997). Derry’s and McMahon’s point resonates with Ginn’s and Demeritt’s description stating that “nature is a contested term”, and its meanings depend on its geographical space and the people in it (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008: 300).

As such, since constructivists often focus on the formation of nature within a society itself, scholars such as Elizabeth Bird, mentions that ecologists and environmentalists think of humans as a part of the earth ecological community, and recognize that we have altered the condition of the nature enormously (Bird, 1987: 2). Eileen Crist (2004: 7) also agrees with Anna Peterson’s quote (1999: 341): “we cannot experience nature except through the lens of meanings assigned to it by particular cultures”. This quote illustrates how constructivists’ beliefs in nature rely on its associated cultures and societies, and such “assigning meanings” to nature (Demeritt, 2002: 775) has been explained, supported, and argued by many constructivists, who consider nature as “anchored in social contexts” (Hinchliffe & Woodward, 2000; Escobar, 1999; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998).

However, some scholars also suggest that geographers should not see nature only as an autonomous actor in the concept of socially constructed nature, this does not lead to another theory but stand for the notion of “nature” rather than the notion of “social construction” in the theory of constructivism (Gerber, 1997: 2). In other words, nature is not only an object which is shaped by human beings, but rather, nature is equally important in shaping human minds and societies, since nature is formed in-between the interaction of humans and nature.

The Marxist geographer, Neil Smith, argues that modern industrial capitalism was literally “producing nature” (Smith, 1984; Castree, 2001). Smith also highlights how science and technology were deeply embedded into capitalist development. As Ian Hacking (1983) argues, science does not merely study the world but intervenes in it. As though, David Demeritt names an “artefactual natures”(1998), and Donna Haraway also right after Demeritt to similitude a “cyborg” mechanism, a hybrid system embraces organic and technological components, the human have to evolve for surviving, which also states her rejection of the human’s separation from animal and machine (Haraway, 1991: 2). In the same spirit of Castree’s argument, (2001: 17), Sarah Whatmore (2002) proposed the actor network theory to show that societies do not construct nature as they please entirely. Instead,

Castree sees social and natural elements as “indissolubly conjoined as hybrids in millions of actor-networks”. More specifically, societies are “in nature” (and vice versa). She argues that these two cannot be divided and should be discussed conjointly.

Thus, exploring a socially constructed nature can reflect the values and notions of that society, and it can provide a channel to let the people within this context speak out their voices. In the following section, some examples of the imposed meanings in the landscapes will be introduced and discussed.

## 2.1.2 The definitions of nature

As earlier stated in 2.1.1, nature is a contested term and its meanings depend on the people and the space in this nature (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008: 300). Therefore, nature can be changed and its strait is in a status of flux. Ginn and Demeritt (2008: 301) also argue there is a complex and interconnected relation between the three types of nature which are defined by Raymond William (1983: 219):

- Intrinsic nature: the essential characteristics of a thing (e.g.: the nature of social exclusion).
- External nature: the external, unmediated material world (e.g.: the natural environment).
- Universal nature: the all-encompassing force controlling things in the world (e.g.: ‘natural laws’ or ‘Mother nature’).

Since Ginn and Demeritt consider nature and its rules and human society as a *mélange*, in the example of the apple trees in their article *Orchard* (2008: 232-240). The apple trees are associated with the activities of people, such as pruning, painting, thinning and picking those trees. The intimate relationship between them is clearly seen, and it is very difficult to tear apart from one another since they have developed and evolved together. Intriguingly, human dwellings in the orchard represent a similarity between humans’ relationship with landscapes. As such, the definition of nature in this thesis is formulated through human activities and ideologies. In the following section, I will continue to explain what kinds of social discourses are hidden in the socially constructed nature.

### 2.1.3 Natural landscapes as reflecting social discourses

In Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels' *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988: 43), they point out that if a forest owns rich symbolic source, the profits from it can initiate a power-dynamic based on geographical and imperial unevenness between nations. Sioh (1998: 146) also shares this view and argues that the social hierarchy in Malay(sian) society is, at least in part, given by "the diversity of trees symbolized and reinforced the niches of different social groups in the hierarchy". As there was a policy of racial segregation in different landscapes in Malay(sia), nature is not only seen as an intrinsic space or simple concept where flora and fauna grow. Human intervention is also tightly knitted with nature itself as an entity in this society.

Kipling's poem *The Overland Mail* (2000: 57) provides an idea of how colonial powers controlled colonised populations over land. In his poem he describes how an Indian runner took imperial mail from the coast up to the foothill of Himalaya, where the Queen Victoria's administrators stayed during the rainy season in India. Although the background of *The Overland Mail* is India not Malay(sia), the uses and symbolic meanings of highlands in both countries can show how the dominating and privileged populations own stronger power and access to land than subordinated people.

Another two examples can illustrate the connection between gender discrimination and plantation uses. These are similar cases which prove the connection between the use of land and social discourses and problems. Jeyathurai (2012) argues that the suffering of the female Indian labourers in Malay(sian) tea plantations during and after colonial eras, and their desperate resistance to the power of imperialist authorities, led them to rebel against the power imposed on them. Therefore, Jeyathurai aims to uncover those workers' voices by ways of studying the occurrence which happened in tea plantations of Malay(sia).

In the same vein, there are ample examples that depict the power play between colonisers and colonised populations over land use in Sioh's research (1998; 2004). For instance, there are authors who choose the term "jungle"<sup>3</sup> instead of forest to show colonial people's perception of horror in the forests. Although most writers use these two terms interchangeably when they deal with the period of Japanese occupation in particular, since the impressions of forests during that period is filled with the violence and the tortures performed at Japanese concentration camps. As such, it is clear that the idea of nature, or an appearance of a landscape, has been constructed subjectively through human activity.

Furthermore, Macnaghten and Urry (1998: 105) also suggest "not only are our feelings and emotions about the environment embodied, they are also spatially embedded", because

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<sup>3</sup> The word "jungle", is derived from Hindi language: *jangal*, which means a significant difference for Indian immigrants, and the conflicts in the jungles also tended to use 'jungle' to show their frighten feeling (Sioh, 2004: 734).

space is produced and reproduced through human activity, thus it can represent a site of struggles and contestations (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998: 105; Lefebvre: 1991). As such, natural space must comprise some social discourses, for instance of how ownership of lands affect the daily lives of local people and their social structure. James Scott's *Everyday Forms of Resistance* (2008: 34-35) delicately sketches how subordinated groups aim to obtaining the ownerships of landscapes since their loss of land leads to their life struggles. Both squatters and land invaders hope to acquire land properties, however, peasants and subordinated groups usually have difficulty in owning their own properties, due to their lack of organizational skills and experience. In consequence, they start to disagree or resist this social structure by going on strikes at works, or not being in favour of cooperation with political authorities.

As the above examples show, the connections between a society and the access, uses, and ownership of landscapes are identifiable. Following a constructivist perspective, this thesis will scrutinize human activities over landscapes, as a way to understand certain aspects of the Malay(sia) society, such as life struggles for power and the dominance, resistance, and entangled relationships among populations within this society. Following this light, concepts and approaches are treated as entities pertaining to the above arguments; mainly the paradigm of socially constructed nature is employed in this thesis.



## 2.2 Conceptualising Postcolonial Theory

### 2.2.1 Defining postcolonialism

When examining the term “postcolonial moment” we see that the term “*post*” ascribes a moment “*after*” a shifting, which in particular refers to a transformation from a colonial control to a political independence. When we raise the issue of postcolonialism, the miserable colonised stories and its consequent impact in the present will be unpacked. Which leads us to understand how a colonial past can be still erupting the postcolonial present, in other words, the chaos in daily lives of people today in the postcolonial society is also where the “symbolic production of the post-colonial are located” (Yeoh, 2001: 459). Such chaos connects the economic linkages to their colonial past as well as the postcolonial effects of cultural hybridisation. Hence, no postcolonial issue can detach from its entangled connection with the colonial history of that nation.

As such, when we explore the term “postcolonial”, we have to “bear on the contested terrains, global flows and hybrid identities of a world which were being colonized or in the process of decolonizing” (Bruce, 1997: 3). Also, to explore a postcolonial issue not only criticized colonial phenomena and also asserted the equality of life for “all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being, especially for the minority, who sense the world that exists for others but not themselves” (Young, 2003: 1).

Since “post”-colonialism refers to a critique against colonialism, it is crucial to reckon the situations of colonisation in non-European countries first, the countries were colonised by Europeans. The discussion about and against colonialism has functioned postcolonialism as the ethical debate of unequal reality and division between European and non-European countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. So it is safe to claim that postcolonialism aims to “contest, protest, and resonates the disparity and colonial struggles of the past in the postcolonial present” (Young, 2003: 4).

More precisely, we need to define what are the colonial notions and impacts in former colonies at postcolonial present. For instance, some former colonized territories are still under their former colonial masters’ power, such as Afghanistan, Cuba, Iran, and Iraq. The governments of those countries have positioned themselves politically against western powers, and have been suffering military interventions from the imperial West. The colonial experience rationalises colonised nations’ resistance to their former masters at present, and even into the future as a way of neo-colonial dominance. Similar to but much influential than colonialism, neo-colonialism will be introduced and discussed in the following section.



### 2.2.2 Defining neo-colonialism

The concept of neo-colonialism invokes a possible synonym of colonialism in the postcolonial critiques. The word “neo” is derived from Greek origin: “*new*”, neo-colonialism has been a continuous critique to colonialism, but one masked with another form, function, and impact, extending the power of colonialism “after” colonisation.

Many researchers have reminded us that imperial colonialism has been dominating contemporary societies as they argue that “neo-colonial aftereffects and legacies may endure and continue long after the actual period of active colonialism has passed” (Muzaini, 2009: 41; Treacher, 2007; Sidaway, 2000, 2005; Jacob, 1996).

In the same vein with colonialism, the neo-colonialism invokes much more contestations among former colonisers and colonies and the anti-colonial struggles within. Young highlights, that neo-colonialism “donates a continuing economic hegemony in former colonizers, these former masters continue to act in a colonialist manner towards formerly colonized states” (Young, 2001: 45), such as in “trading, backing insurance, transportation, expatriate hands, but the country’s major source of foreign exchange, cocoa, was securely tied up in a maze of international financing, marketing and processing arrangements” (Bretton, 1967: 16; Young, 2001). Thus, the reality of formed neo-colonial practice is that ruling classes primarily enforce their needs of international capital for their own benefits. For instance, the Nigerian writer and activist Ken Saro-Wiwa even called this imposition a “monstrous domestic colonialism” (Saro-Wiwa, 2001: 73). It can be claimed that the independence of former colonies cannot distance the capital exercises and imperialist control of their former colonial masters and the consequent phenomena can be stated as a neo-colonial phenomenon.

As such, it is safe to infer that neo-colonialism encompasses colonialism’s success in the “half hidden narratives of colonialism’s success in its continuing operations” (Young, 1991: 2-4).

### 2.2.3 Cultural hybridity in nature

*Hybridity is almost a good idea, but not quite...* Nicolas Thomas (1996: 9).

Cultural hybridity is associated with the ruling of colonialism as an inevitable reality, in the forms of exclusions and inclusions between cultures, which causes some ambiguous identities among the cultures of (former) colonising and colonised populations. As such, it is inappropriate to suggest that there are only dominance-resistance relationships between colonisers and colonised populations, such as Loomba has described. Hybrid is a co-presence of both the colonial as well as the postcolonial (Loomba, 2000), hybrid culture have been formed during and after the colonial period; they usually contain more than one notion, culture, and appearance. Following this argument, postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha's arguments can help us understand the theory of hybridity as follows.

Hybridity is often misunderstood as a mixture of all the elements of a context, it should be stressed that not all hyphenated identities are necessarily cultural hybrids (Hoon, 2006: 162). In other words, a society like Malay(si)a which claims that is part-Malay, part-Chinese, part-Indian, part-Indonesian and indigenous ethnicity shall not be defined as locating in a cultural hybrid context, since hybridity is not a reference to the mixed racial composition of populations (Hall, 2000: 226). In particular, hybridity provides a space of negotiation between the contradictions within the interaction of identities, "such negotiation is neither assimilation nor collaboration. It makes possible the emergence of an *interstitial* agency that refuses the binary representation of social antagonism" (Bhabha, 1996: 58). As Bhabha has explained, we can take hybrid agencies to raise a dialectic communication by dissolving the boundaries between each identity and culture, thus hybridity "does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty".

As holding the same concern of the survival of cultural diversity with Bhabha (1994: 38), my argument will not be based on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. Ang (2001b) provides a similar point to Bhabha's which reminds us that some people are not yet ready to accept the concept of hybridity, since they are used to applying and believe in dominant essentialist ideology of identity, nationality, race and ethnicity. A mixture of identities can be conceived by them as "contamination, a breach of purity and infringement of identity" (Ang, 2001a: 200), which shows not only their nonconformity of other identities, but also their anxiety of losing their position in the long history of sovereignty or the attachment with their cultures. Since hybridity can be seen as a force to "undermine the sovereign national identity of the nation, which is usually constructed in terms of cultural purity and authenticity" (Hoon, 2006: 160). Therefore, it can be understood why a space of hybridity is called and perceived by the authorities or majority populations as "the site of anxiety" (Silva, 2002: i), as such Sioh's research(2010) focuses on the anxious postcolonial territorialisation in Malaysia.

A trope *Of Mimicry and Man* (Bhabha, 2004:122-131) has explained to the majority's anxiety during hybridisation as above discussion, especially in the instance of colonial authorities. Mimicry as a representation only exists in the biology sphere and not for human being (such as chameleon). However, occasionally mimicry is present in human societies since colonies and oppressed populations sometimes become the perpetrators of oppression as Fanon's example of black people who "*have learnt to become white*" (my own italics) shows. Bhabha points out clearly that hybridity can threaten the power of colonial authority, and can possibly shatter colonial imperialists (Bhabha, 2004: 123). Mimicry can be claimed as a tool to hybridize cultures and also to "problematize the signs of racial and cultural priority", so that the "national is no longer naturalizable" (Bhabha, 2004: 125) in terms of the power of one hegemonic culture, identity or ethnicity will decrease. As such, mimicry enables the connections between cultures, whether it proceeds voluntarily or reluctantly by the populations within, which indeed lessens the borders between cultures and restricts the notions of imperialism of its belonging identity, ethnicity or race. However, hybridity such as the process of mimicry does not aim to erase the boundaries of the settled identities or to assimilating the minority, but rather blurs the sharpness between the cultural identities and encourages the accommodation of others' difference, in order to maintain the space of negotiation between identities, but still, hybridity relies on the borders of its contained cultures in order to continue the possibility of negotiation among differences of identities and create a "culture in-between" (Bhabha, 1996: 53).

As such, the process of hybridisation is a continuous "cultural translation and negotiation" (Bhabha, 1994: 38). This can be illustrated from the example of a highly heterogeneous land: Malaysia. For instance, the Chinese, Indian and Indonesian migrants in Malaysia who have experienced the remained "local" cultures of colonial authorities and indigenous population, their consciousness of the transition and communication with theirs: *the others*. The process of hybridisation deconstructs "the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'" (Hoon, 2006: 161), and contributes to a hope of "harmonious merger and fusion" among differences of identities (Ang, 2001a: 17).

Corresponding to the relevance between culture hybridity and landscapes, Escobar (1999) argues that there is no nature without human's interfering, so to interrogate the geographical locality of hybridity can also foreground the complex notions of belonging to a society. That is also why some theorists in cultural studies refer to hybridity is a flux and performative subjectivity, which resists the rigidity of any fixed and static categories of identity such as gender, race, and nationality (Bhabha, 2004; R. Young, 1995; Mahtani, 2002). From the theoretical base of this thesis, constructivists also suggest that nature even changes with unfixed cultures, in particular with a hybrid one. Therefore, the discussion of cultural hybridity cannot be fulfilled without including its relevance of nature. This is the reason for why I examine a reconstructed hybridity in the colonial and postcolonial nature of Malay(si)a, and the process of the negotiation among the differences of identities can be highlighted over the usages of landscapes in the discourse analysis of Chapter Five.

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This thesis scrutinizes various relationships between nature and culture, dominance and resistance, and colonialism and postcolonialism in Malay(si)an society. Based on my analysis of the novel *The Garden of Evening Mists* (TGOEM), this thesis can be also seen as a literature analysis, but also as a thorough academic research of power plays and cultural hybridity over the uses of three landscapes: forests, plantations, and gardens. As such, I employ *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) as the method to interpret TGOEM, as a discourse analysis functions to reflect the relationships between “discourses, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships” (Van Dijk, 1993: 249). This allows me to comprehend the conceptions of the dynamic relationships among colonialism, nature, and hybridity among ethnic populations when comparing the Malay(si)an society in TGOEM and in reality.

Since the theoretical conceptualisation of this thesis is based on the socially constructed nature, the interconnection between Malay(si)an society and its nature has been woven as an entity. In other words, all the occurrences and all the notions of this society are embedded in its land. Hence, the method of CDA is an appropriate one to demonstrate discursive dimensions of power abuse, injustice, and inequality that result from it (see in Van Dijk, 1993; also in Mey, 1985; O’Barr, 1984; Steiner, 1985). For example, I scrutinize the discourses of (post)colonial dominance, resistance, and the cultural hybridity among all involved populations in the forests, plantations, and gardens of TGOEM.

As I investigate how colonial and postcolonial power hierarchies create social disparity by demarcating over nature in this thesis, and following Van Dijk’s viewpoint (1993: 250) of “the access of power results in social inequality”. So “power” and “power play” are part of the essential focus of this thesis, and therefore the definition of “power” deserves our attention: “Power involves control and usually is enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one’s own interests” (Van Dijk, 1993: 254). Specifically, power can be a synonym of hegemony, which applies all means to dominate other groups of people to achieve its aims. Regarding this thesis, landscapes become those means and agencies employed by the power group, and these have been filled with complex relationships among colonisers, colonised, contemporary authorities and people in Malay(si)a.

Due to the practices of CDA abundant knowledge of the colonial, postcolonial, constructed nature, and cultural hybridity discourses and how those discourses affect the construction of nature are required. Thus, I introduce and map out the social construct of nature and postcolonial theory in my theoretical framework, in order to understand the discourses of the texts in TGOEM. Sometimes these texts have particular keywords, such as forests,

plantations and gardens, and in those cases different characters show obvious notions and intentions by using these landscapes. However, most selected quotes are without relevant keywords, but are capable of reflecting the discourses I focus on.

Furthermore, I gather previous academic research to explore the geographical, historical, and cultural backgrounds of the Malay(si)an society, especially during the transition of colonial to the postcolonial period (1824-1990) in order to locate the story bits at the right timeframe. Thus, the background information of (post)colonial Malay(si)a develops my arguments and by which to breed the validity and sensibility of the discourse analysis of this thesis.

### 3.2 Accountability: Researcher's Positionality and Reflexivity

As Sam Scott and Deianira Ganga state (2006: abstract): "Positionality has to-date, been conceptualised by social scientists as a central component in the process of qualitative data collection". In my thesis, I explore discourses of the quotes in TGOEM as my "fieldwork". By doing a qualitative research, my own positionality as a researcher directly decides the way I explore this novel.

As an Asian female student researcher from Taiwan, I was not familiar with Malaysian history. I have neither relative lives in Malaysia, nor had I been to Malaysia before and during the process of this thesis. As such, I see myself as an "outsider" to this country and I dissect its postcolonial phenomenon and discourses by interpreting the nature described in TGOEM. However, there is a part of my background that can be counted as an "insider" for this thesis. Since Taiwan has also been occupied by The Netherlands and Japan, this part of my country's history is partially similar to the colonial times experienced in Malaya. To my knowledge, the colonial suffering and resistance during the Japanese occupation in Taiwan was enormous, and brutally bloody; many Taiwanese women were enforced to serve as military comfort women in the Japanese concentration camps during 1895-1945, which is the same colonial abuse on the sister of the main character in TGOEM. This darkens both of the histories in Taiwan and Malaya.

Due to the fifty years of Japanese colonisation in Taiwan, Japan left advanced infrastructures, which combined Japanese culture within also it has processed and remained a cultural hybridization with local Taiwanese cultures until the postcolonial present. Therefore, the history of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan has shaded my perception of Japan with both hatred and love, which might be problematic to my arguments regarding Japan in my analysis. My supervisors and I are all aware of this and we have intentionally tried to avoid the use of any improper and ungrounded words in my discussions of Japan.

Furthermore, since my ancestors migrated from the Fujian province of Mainland China to Taiwan before the Japanese Occupation. As a Taiwanese Chinese, I recognise the cultures that have shaped my background are hybridised of Chinese, Japanese, Fujian, Hakka and Taiwanese indigenous ethnicities. This improves my understanding of the main character in the TGOEM, Yun Ling, her narratives, and her culture. As being a "kind of" Chinese, the uncomfortable feeling always raises to me when Mainland Chinese argue the Chinese culture in Taiwan is not authentic, an experienced shared by Yun Ling's experience of being a Straits Chinese <sup>4</sup> woman. Yun Ling and I both have experienced and employed the updated

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<sup>4</sup> After Singapore, Penang and Malacca became the Straits Settlements in 1826 by the British, the China-born immigrants who came from various districts of South China and their descendants who have still lived in the Straits Settlements today are

Chinese culture, which mixes with the cultural elements of our localities into a specific Taiwanese one and Malay(si)an one. However, I was educated in traditional Mandarin and Fujian dialect, so my life still follows a Chinese custom at large, which is different from Yun Ling's background, a Straits Chinese but trained in English. As a Taiwanese Chinese I could imagine her complicated identity since she doesn't use Mandarin nor does lead her life in a typical Chinese customary manner. Moreover, my internship experience in the Philippines and my studying experience in The Netherlands both expanded my understanding of the relationships of natures in the European continent and in Southeast Asia. Those life experiences help me to explore the East-West issue, and the crucial reason to split these two worlds: the colonial history and its consequent postcolonial phenomena and critiques such as social disparity and cultural hybridity, and by those means to impact nature.

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also known as Straits Chinese. Some are still regarded themselves as *hua-ch'iao* (華僑) the overseas Chinese and remained Chinese citizen, they were either China-oriented in their political loyalty, or else were apolitical (Poh-Seng, 1969).



### 3.3 Accountability: Interview With The Author of TGOEM

In order to strengthen the reliability of this thesis, I set two goals for my interview with the author of TGOEM Mr. Tan Twan Eng on 27th May 2013 in the Hague, The Netherlands. (1) Gaining further knowledge about Tan's thoughts regarding hybrid culture; something I achieved in this interview. (2) Questioning him about his opinions regarding the socially constructed nature in TGOEM. Unfortunately I did not achieve this goal, but Tan's answer still helped me understand the intimate connection between humans and nature. Hence, this interview indeed increased the scope of my analysis of TGOEM.

Regarding a Malaysian's perception about hybrid cultures, Tan sees himself as a Malaysian Chinese who was educated in English, thus, he does not speak Mandarin. In my perception of this interview, Tan's occasional pauses and slightly uncomfortable responses to the cultural relevant questions can be clarified as a process of negotiation between all the different cultures he possess as a Malaysian Chinese. This was especially noticeable with his quick refusal when I attempted to speak a few words in Mandarin with him. His location in a hybrid identity might cause his intention of setting TGOEM at the most contiguous eras in Malay(s)i-an history, during and after the Japanese Occupation. Because through the process of exploring a hybrid identity and the controversial issue of multi-ethnicity in Malay(s)i-a, which might be heuristics to help in identifying his own identity. As he said, "every character in this book is me", so I claim that this book can be seen as a process of his own acceptance, or at least a processing negotiation, of the cultural differences in his own identity. Also, this book contributes another promotion of a continuing process of negotiation among all the identities which Tan mentions in TGOEM, in terms of the Malay(s)i-an society.

Furthermore, when I asked him about why he addresses the discussion of nature in TGOEM, he claimed that his first book *The Gift of Rain* (2009) actually emphasises more on the discussion of nature than TGOEM (2012). He stated that the connection between nature and local populations where he lives now (Cape Town) has aroused his interests of nature profoundly. This gave me the idea of exploring the connection between nature and humans and this can remind us of how influential nature is to humans, and vice versa. However, I did not ask him many research relevant questions or theories which are applied in my thesis, since some research relevant questions were very serious and formal for this interview. Some of these omitted questions were "do you think the nature you staged in your novel is socially constructed?", and "do you think your book represent the discourse of postcolonialism?".

Therefore, in order to proceed with this interview in a relaxed atmosphere, I exchanged research relevant questions with some general questions which are usually raised by journalists. On top of the two purposes of this interview, another useful insight for me was the realisation that one can interpret a literature work, since when a literature is done, the analysis on this work can grow organically by the analyst freely, without necessity to identify whether the arguments of the analysis match the author's intentions or not.



## CHAPTER FOUR: CONTEXTUALISING *The Garden of Evening Mists* (TGOEM)

This analysis aims to interpret the texts which relate to the occurrence in the forests, plantations and gardens in a novel: *The Garden of Evening Mists* (TGOEM) (Tan, 2012). Since TGOEM is based on the memory of its main character, a Straits Chinese woman in Malay(si)a - Yun Ling (1923-90)- the historical background of this book is also associated with Yun Ling's narratives of her life before the Japanese Occupation (before 1942), during the Japanese Occupation (1942-45), during the Emergency Status (1948-60), and during contemporary Malaysia (1957 onwards). The main thrust of her narratives is based on the Japanese Occupation and the Emergency Status eras. Since this thesis is historically based on the real history of Malay(si)a and Yun Ling's fictional life, a comparative timeframes of both requires to be introduced. Figure 1 aids in this introduction by comparing Yun Ling's life timeline, and a timeline of the history of Malay(si)an. Also, a synopsis and introduction of the characters of TGOEM are provided after the historical background of Malay(si)a. This is done in order to provide the reader with a basic knowledge which will enable the understanding of this analysis and thesis.

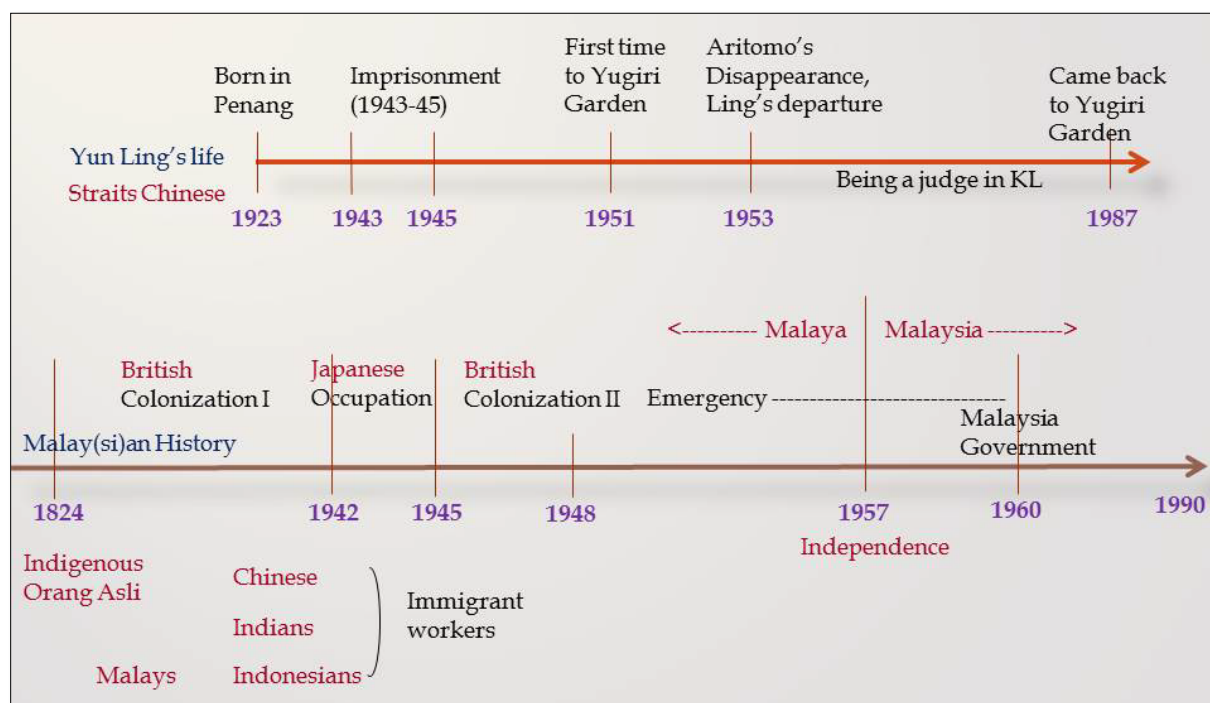


Figure 1. The timelines of TGOEM and the contemporary Malay(si)an history

### 4.1.1 Brief history of Malay(si)a: 1824-1990

#### First British Colonisation in Malaya (1824-1942)

Tajuddin's book (2012: 29) states that by virtue of the 1824 Anglo-Dutch treaty, the British secured its possessions of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore under the Straits Settlements government of India, which was also one of the British colonies. In order to expand commercial interests in the region, the officer Stamford Raffles intended to develop the island of Temasek (Singapore) into a geo-strategic economic centre along the east-west trade corridor, and as a convenient entry point into the Malay Peninsula.

British Malaya was transformed from a colonial backwater into the monetary hub in the empire (Hirschman, 2000: 1-2). After decades of trying one plantation crop after another without much success, in the late nineteenth century, British Malaya started to benefit from its rubber plantations, especially in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the demand from the automobile industry in industrial countries, and combined with the expansion of the tin mining industry, these two export products made Malaya one of the most prosperous economies in the colonial world.

Industrial development, the high demand of labourers in rubber plantations and in tin mines, attracted large number of migrants from southern China and India (Tajuddin, 2012: 55). The colonial government initially assumed that all Chinese and Indians would return to their homelands after the economic boom, however, they have settled since then and this leads to latent tensions of a "multi-ethnic society" in postcolonial Malaysia (Hirschman, 2000: 1).

Between two World Wars the British could not spare their attention to govern Malaya, so they established the Singapore Naval Base to guard against other nations' attempts to gain their independence during 1919-41 (Farrell, 2006: 3).

#### Japanese Occupation in Malaya (1942-1945)

In the late period of the Second World War, Britain had to forfeit its control over its empire in South Asia, including Malaya (Kratoska, 1997: 1-2). Other countries took advantage of this opportunity due to eyeing on Malaya's rich resources and invaded the country with the intent of occupying it; this led to the Japanese occupation (1942-45). Motivated by Malaya's natural resources for the war effort Japan started to attack British Malaya in 1941 and conquered it in 1942, the Japanese administration applied "a mixture of coercion and persuasion, incorporated some Malays and Indians into their administration, but were

extremely harsh in their treatment of the Chinese population because of the on-going war with China (Sioh, 1998: 153)."

Since Japan had the strongest army in East Asia after the westernised military reform during the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), they aimed to compete with the European powers in the conquest of nations in Southeast Asia, and were especially interested in the profitable trading in China. However, Japan used all kinds of inhumane ways to dominate China such as the Nanjing Massacre, which resulted 300,000 deaths in six weeks (Qiu, 2006: 29). Many Chinese families fled to Malayan forests, and also collaborated with some British officers to establish the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) guerrillas, and renamed themselves to the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA).

Due to limited supplies and the U.S.A. dropped the first atomic bomb to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan finally surrendered on 9 August 1945 and withdrew from Malaya; the authority of Malaya was transferred to the British Military Administration under the surrender agreement of Japan (Kratoska, 1997: 2).

### **Second British Colonisation: 1945-57 (The Emergency: 1948-60, National Independence: 1957)**

Since Britain was bankrupt at the end of Second World War (1939-45), the sales of Malaya's natural resources were of outmost importance for its economic restoration. After the Second World War, Malayan people experienced extreme poverty to a greater extent than ever before. People's political consciousness was high during the post-war era due to the way in which Britain was administering Malaysia and also because of their success in defeating the Japanese. This particular point in history brought a wave of fighters focused in attaining political independence and made the British loss control of Malaya. The threat of political instability subsided with the defeat of a communist guerrilla insurgency. Finally, local elections led to a shift of political bodies which was achieved in 1948, and the "Emergency" status was applied to the entire country. Unfortunately, the "Emergency Regulations" were proclaimed (French, 2012: 748) to limit the freedom of movement of people and goods, to impose curfews, they introduced compulsory identity cards, restricted the possession of food and other articles of possible use to insurgents, and censor the media. Government officials could also search premises and arrest suspects without a warrant, mount cordon and search operations, and impose collective punishments on people as they wished.

Close to the end of the Emergency Status, the British aided Malaya to establish national independence in 1957. However, after achieving its national independence, the Malaysia society appeared to be a typical postcolonial phenomena; a multi-ethnic society.

## Postcolonial Period (after 1957)

Embong (1996: 56) points out that “the current industrial development policy thrust in Malaysia actually follows the policy options which were already implemented under the British colonial regime”. For instance, Malaysia government has a political agenda which is influenced by their colonial history. Due to its’ colonial past, the consequences for the present Malaysian society include a multi-ethnic society, complex relations among different ethnicities such as the immigrants from China, Indian and Indonesia who had to be absorbed as an entity in Malay(si)a. After the shift of colonial to postcolonial eras, the Malaysia government practices a plural society (Malay-Chinese) as its attempts to simplify the problem of racial conflicts it faced in the present day (Shamsul, 2001: 363), and especially assimilate all other ethnicities into Malay instead of respect a cultural diversity in this society. This suggests that the current industrial development policy in Malaysia applies a similar ruling with their former colonial masters, grounding their government on which formed base during the colonial years.

### 4.1.2 Synopsis and Main Characters of TGOEM

#### Synopsis

The geographical setting of TGOEM is located in the Cameron Highlands of Malay(si)a. In general, the people who are authorised to stay in the highlands of Southeast Asia can be considered as privileged social class, since they have better access and more power over the highlands, and stay away from the heat of Southeast Asia.

For instance, Kipling’s postcolonial poem: *The Overland Mail* (2000: 57) provides an idea of how colonial powers controlled the colonised population with the use of land. This poem describes a story of an Indian runner was taking imperial mail from the coast up to the foothill of Himalaya, where the Queen Victoria’s administrators stayed during the rainy season. Although *The Overland Mail* is situated in India, not in Malay(si)a, the uses of highlands in both countries still reflect how the dominant or privileged groups had better land locations, greater power than subordinated people, and the socio-geographical hierarchy between colonisers and colonised population was demarcated over the localities of British Empire, such as two former British colonies Malaysia and India.

In TGOEM, the main character: Teoh Yun Ling is a Straits Chinese woman who was born in Penang at 1923 and educated in English. She is the only survivor of a Japanese concentration camp in Malaya at the end of the Japanese Occupation. In 1951, during the Emergency Status era, she seeks someone with whom to build a Japanese garden in order to fulfil her late

sister's dream. In order to ask a Japanese gardener's help, she came to a family friend's Magnus jungle-fringed tea estate, *Majuba*, in the Cameron Highlands to find this Japanese gardener, Aritomo, in the same neighbourhood with Majuba. Aritomo was the former gardener of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, and the owner of the only one Japanese garden "Yugiri" (meaning evening mists) in Malaya at that time.

Despite Yun Ling's hatred of the Japanese after the Second World War, she still asked Aritomo, reluctantly, to help her build a garden for her late sister, Yun Hong, who was forced to serve Japanese soldiers as a military comfort woman until her death in the camp. Aritomo refused Yun Ling's proposal at first due to a contradict guilt of what his countrymen did to Malayan people, but turned to apprentice her for creating a garden on her own.

During the garden apprenticeship, Yun Ling found herself attracted to Aritomo, Japanese arts and gardening, while the communist guerrilla war was unfolding around Yugiri and throughout Malaya. Besides the great danger of a *Communist Terrorists'* ambush (CTs) (Hack, 1999: 211), there was a further risk to stay nearby the forests. This was Aritomo's suspicion of the "Golden Lily operation". The Golden Lily was organised as a gold guards team by the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, which collected billions of dollars' worth of gold bars and other private and national treasures from Japan, in case that Japan would be colonised by other countries and lose everything they owned. These treasures were shipped to the mountains of the Philippines. However, it is believed that they might have been partially moved to Malaya. *Gold Warriors* (2003: 39) had stated that the "Japan's gold reserves had shrunk by half, paying for the military machine in 1937", but nobody really knows whether the Golden Lily exists in reality or not. The following quote about the Golden Lily from TGOEM illustrates this point:

Emily: Have you not heard the stories? They say that the Japs (Japanese) in Tanah Rata buried a pile of gold bars somewhere in these mountains before they surrendered. (TGOEM: 75)

The Golden Lily operation has drawn gold hunters' attention, and caused Magnus's death since the CTs also wanted the gold and suspected Magnus' involvement in a treasure hunt. CTs also suspected Aritomo was involved in the Golden Lily operation, but Aritomo's sudden disappearance in the jungle left only a myth to his friends, especially to Yun Ling. She left the Cameron Highlands and went back to Kuala Lumpur in order to become a judge. Before Aritomo's disappearance, he made a *horimono* tattoo on Yun Ling's back, which might contain a map of where the Golden Lily was hidden in Malaya. Yun Ling decides not to declare this secret until the end of her life, but she came back to the Cameron Highland after her retirement in the 1990s.

## **The Main Characters**

### **1. Teoh Yun Ling**

Yun Ling is a Straits Chinese woman who was educated in English in Penang. She was imprisoned in a Japanese concentration camp in the middle of the jungle with her sister Yun Hong for almost two years. Yun Ling was the only survivor from that camp, and she worked as a judge in The Supreme Court of Kuala Lumpur before her retirement and return to the Cameron Highland where she apprenticed the Japanese gardening art (with a Japanese gardener, Nakamura Aritomo) after the war. Most texts in TGOEM book are her narratives which she wrote in order to seize her memory which was decaying due to her aphasia, which might be caused by her suffering in the Japanese concentration camp.

### **2. Nakamura Aritomo**

Aritomo had once been the gardener of Emperor Hirohito, but the Emperor exiled Aritomo due to his disagreement with his desire to build a tennis court into a garden design. During his life in Malaya, he runs a private garden and collaborated with the Communist guerrillas to protect the workers in the garden and his neighbours in Majuba from attacks or ambushes. In his garden, Zen Buddhism, Japanese tea, and tattoo arts are also the main themes which can be found.

### **3. Magnus Pretorius**

Magnus was from South Africa, he worked as an assistant manager in one of the rubber estates in Ipoh and turned to manage his own tea estate in the Cameron Highlands before the Japanese Occupation; he married a local Chinese woman, Emily. Magnus treated his workers kindly but the British authorities suspected he had cooperation with CTs during the Emergency Period, because there had been no CTs' attacks in Majuba. After a CTs' attack, Magnus was killed at where the CTs were looking for gold in the Blue Valley, this was before the end of the Emergency Period.

### **4. Frederic Pretorius**

Frederic is from South Africa but his mother is British. As Magnus's nephew, he was also the co-owner of the Majuba tea estate. He had a short relationship with Yun Ling before her attention was drawn to Aritomo. Frederic dislikes Yigiri garden since he feels it is artificial and fake. However, his dislike might also due to his hatred of Japan, based on Japan's aggressive conquering of European colonies during the Second World War.



## 5. Yoshikawa Tatsuji

Tatsuji is a Japanese historian, he carried out his military service in Malaya. During the war, Tatsuji was supposed to die as a “Cherry Blossoming” suicide pilot fighter but he was saved by a commanding officer. After the war, he has researched what the Japanese did in the war and actively publishes these facts. As such, he interviewed Yun Ling in order to record the experience of colonial abuse of a former Malayan victim after the Emergency Period.

### **Yun Ling’s hybridity and the relations between characters**

As mentioned in 2.2.3, hybridity does not mean only a mixture of a population or context, but it is a concept which focuses on creating the possibilities of communication among the identities of populations. Yun Ling’s life can be claimed to be a typical example of hybridity. One which crosses through the colonial to postcolonial eras of Malay(si)a and contains enormous negotiations among her rooted Straits Chinese identity, the colonisers British and Japanese identities, and other imported or local cultures in Malay(si)a (including South African, Malay, Indian and the indigenous Orang Asli). Thus I claim the conversation between Yun Ling and other identities she encounters in TGOEM can be called a process of hybridisation, whether those negotiations are diverse in violent, appreciated, or smooth forms, they still have opened a mean of interaction.

Many ambiguous relations between characters deserve more attention. Yun Ling detests the Japanese due to the colonial abuse she suffered during the war, but she couldn’t project her hatred of Japan to Aritomo, because she was fascinated by Japanese culture during her garden apprenticeship, thus this hybridised her identity. Furthermore, not only the colonised populations suffered during the colonisation period, as an immigrant in Malaya, Aritomo also suffered much revenge from the British and attacks from CTs simultaneously during the Emergency Period.

Frederik was raised by British and South African parents but spent most his life in Malaya. He couldn’t appreciate Aritomo’s garden design, this might be due to a contested relation between the Europeans and the Japanese in South Asia. Because Japan conquered many European colonies and aimed to dismiss the European power in Asia. However, Frederik’s South African uncle, Magnus, has a good relation with Aritomo. They took care of each other as neighbours, and tried to avoid CTs’ attacks and plunder. There will be many more examples of similar complex relations between characters in the following analysis, since there is no single emotion or simple story that can be told during and after the shift of colonial to postcolonial society as Malay(si)a. This turbulent shifting forms an unclear cut among everything, of which can be claimed as a postcolonial phenomenon which is embedded in Malaysian society today.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS(DA) OF THE LANDSCAPES IN TGOEM

This discourse analysis (DA) is based on the constructivist theory of social construction of nature, based on the quotes from the novel: *The Garden of Evening Mists* (TGOEM). I see nature is not merely a neutral space as other scholars have argued (Hinchliffe & Woodward, 2000; Escobar, 1999; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998), but I rather consider the social discourse of nature to reflect many hidden colonial phenomena during the large scale transformation of the political shift from colonial to postcolonial eras in Malay(si)a.

By the analysis of the rich descriptions of the landscapes in TGOEM from colonised Malaya to independent Malaysia nowadays, this analysis is capable to demonstrate how forests, plantations and gardens had been utilised as colonisers' show of dominance, colonised' resistance or even coloniser and colonised agencies. However, this analysis does not suggest there is only one fixed racial hierarchy in Malay(si)a society, since the dynamics between every race are complex and problematic. Instead, I focus on the situation of how power and the struggles for power have demarcated these landscapes. Since "landscape is thus a fragmentation of space and a totalization of it" it can be predict that a "landscape is always in a state of becoming" as Mitchell has mentioned (1996: 163). Thus, landscapes are never entirely stable, because they change with human society as a whole nexus.

As long as the landscapes in TGOEM are shaped through the social struggles and contestations by colonisers and colonised peoples, then these landscapes can be claimed as social products and even become "naturalised" through their transformation in social struggles (Mitchell, 1996: 163). In other words, the social reality has been assigned upon the ways of people's treatment of landscapes. Thus, the current state of a society must be engraved in the fragmentations of landscapes, including the relationships and power struggles between ethnic groups.

Therefore, this analysis explores how colonial powers administer Malayan civilians, by exercising tactics of territorialization. Through Sioh's discussion (2004; 2010) of Michel Foucault's theory of exerting power over space we see how colonial Malaya has been controlled by their former masters, which were achieved by three means: First, the *disciplined space*, which requires enclosing bodies in space (Foucault, 1977: 141), and to enlarge the visibility of the space. For instance, colonial Malaya was opened by cutting down the forests during 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Sioh, 2004: 732), the rim of forests were flattened and transformed to plantations in large scale. Since the darkness and unpredictable congregation in the forests were decreasing by the practice of deforestation, and the visibility of forest



spaces increased to ease the colonial authorities' <sup>5</sup> anxiety of the resistance from Communist Terrorists. Second, the moral lessons: to locate people in a confined space and make them aware of and conformed to, the authorities' power. This confined space also reduces the dangerous congregation for rebellions among local population, such as Chinese refugees who were relocated to the New Villages, the British authorities aimed to disconnect any cooperation between villagers and the Chinese Communists. In the same vein, to educate people with some "moral lessons" (Foucault, 1995: 133), such as the New Villages during the Malayan Emergency, the punitive zones were not only distributed in the New Villages, but also across the whole country, people's activities had to follow the rules of curfew and were always under the authorities' suspicion. Third, the biopower <sup>6</sup>, to control the population through self-regulation by "partitioning, restricting, and prohibiting" the activities of labourers, in order to impairing their strength (Foucault, 1995: 200; 2007: 5, 10, 17, 56-57). As the case in Malaya, labouring local population can maximize productivity of plantations and also minimize antisocial behaviours and various political opinions among the population.

Also, the straits of the three landscapes in TGOEM can be distinguished from one to another: colonised people and colonisers perceived forest as a terrified space since these were filled with darkness, guerrilla warfare, and Communists Terrorists (CTs). Plantation landscapes are depicted as colonisers' greedy desires and labourers' colonial laments and reluctance. Garden landscapes reveal the entangled ideologies of Western and Asian relationships with nature <sup>7</sup>, and the interactions between and among colonisers and colonised people also expand our understanding of the ambivalent cultural hybridisation in colonial Malaya and postcolonial Malaysia.

In summary, I analyse the physical and discursive treatments of these three landscapes by examining colonisers' and colonised peoples' uses of landscapes. The main structure of this analysis is presented in the following sections: Section 1 examines the phenomena of how colonisers use landscapes to control colonised people; Section 2 identifies the colonised peoples' resistance and both sides' agency operation over their treatment of landscapes. Section 3 points out the intermingled relations between colonisers and colonised people, and among colonised populations by their treatment of landscapes. The eras of Malaysian history

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<sup>5</sup> The colonial authorities here mean the government of British Malaya. However, this term is also used to describe the government of Japanese Malaya when the circumstances of the quotes of TGOEM enter the era of the Japanese Occupation.

<sup>6</sup> Oels (2005) has explained Foucault's used term "biopower" as a way of governmentality, that seeks to foster and use the forces and capabilities of the living individuals that make up a population. Biopower uses a combination of labouring individuals for achieving an effective totalizing strategy at regulating population.

<sup>7</sup> The plural term "natures" here means the recognised natures for westerns and Asians are different, since they are not the same nature, but encountered and collided since the European colonial period in Asia. So I prefer to use the plural term instead of single one to represent "two different natures" in their ideologies.

are only to be discussed if TGOEM has mentioned relevant quotes to people's uses of these three particular landscapes.

## 5.1 The DA of Forest Landscapes in TGOEM

In analysing forest landscapes, I mainly follow two scholars' viewpoints to discuss the quotes of TGOEM: (1) Maureen Sioh (1998, 2004), who scrutinizes how the Japanese and British colonisers manipulated the uses of forests to control the local population in Malaya. Her research also contributes to our understanding of why and how the Chinese refugees fled into Malayan forests, and constituted a power of CTs to resist the colonial authorities. (2) Timothy Norman Harper (1997), who focuses on how the indigenous minorities - the *Orang Asli* of peninsular Malay(s)i-a - have been dominated and also resisted actively to the dominators' control. The structure of this section is as follows:

- 5.1.1 Forests as reflecting the dominance of colonisers.
- 5.1.2 Forests as reflecting the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations.
- 5.1.3 Forests as a reflection of the intermingled relations among all populations and the survived colonial abuse in postcolonial present.

### 5.1.1 Forests as reflecting the dominance of colonisers

#### 5.1.1.1 During the Japanese Occupation and the time before Emergency

##### *Usage of the timber industry for export*

Yun Ling: In the last weeks of 1941, Japanese troops landed on the north-east coast of Malaya, fifteen minutes after midnight and an hour before Pearl Harbour was attacked. People think that Japan entered the war through Pearl Harbour, but Malaya was the first door they smashed open (TGOEM: 260).

Colonial Malaya experienced “a physical development and opening up the country by cutting down the forests” (Sioh, 2004: 732) by its colonial masters. The forests were replaced with plantations since the first British colonization. When Japan occupied Malaya during the end of the Second World War, Japan’s limited natural resources and their requirement for the war effort drove their “indiscriminate tree cutting in Malaya and other colonies in Southeast Asia (Kratoska, 1997: 238)”.

As such, this political shift also continued the transformation of the forest landscapes in Malaya. Scholars have named this a “shadow ecology” as Dauvergne (1997: 10) explains “the ecological shadow of a country is the environmental resources it draws from other countries and the global commons.” Japan’s exploitation of Malayan forests as a “shadow” in its colonial control and a shadow to Malayan ecology (Reno, 1998: 2). The following quote can illustrate the colonial abuse that Japan exercised on Malayan people, who tunnelled the mountains and transported woods out from the mountains to satisfy Japan’s demand:

Yun Ling: Supervised by Japanese engineers, the male prisoners tunnelled deep into the mountain, shoring up the passageways with wooden beams and concrete pillars. The women carried away the broken stones in bamboo baskets, dumping the rubble into a ravine on the other side of the hill (TGOEM: 266).

##### *Usage for gold hiding*

Since the Japanese Occupation, Aritomo was suspected of being part of the Golden Lily program as the next quote shows. Furthermore, this quote depicts the radical resource contestation among the Japanese, the British and the CTs:

Tatsuji: I think he (Aritomo) played a role in Golden Lily. He had the necessary knowledge of landscaping and horticulture – remember the locations had to be camouflaged or concealed. And who better than a master of *shakkei* to do it? (TGOEM: 318).

None of them can escape from the greedy competition of treasure hunting, including the colonisers and the colonised people, such as Yun Ling. In order to achieve their goals of gold mining and hunting in the forests, such as the operation of the Golden Lily of 1930s, the Japanese concentration camps in Malaya made the Chinese, Indian and Europeans prisoners to work in gold mining:

Yun Ling: I'm sure that I was sent to one of Golden Lily's slave-camps. (TGOEM: 320)

### *Using as colonial abuse over concentration camps*

The most extreme example of using forests to dominate Malayan people is how Japan used forest cover to hide concentration camps, which can be claimed as the most notorious colonial mistreatment to the Malayan populations:

Yun Ling: Each day was unchanging, differentiated only from the one before by who had been injured, who had fallen ill, who had died...all of us suffered from a variety of illness; dysentery, beriberi, malaria, pellagra; very often a combination of them. (TGOEM: 268)

Also, Japanese soldiers enforced prisoners to respect and bow in the direction of Japan, which highlights their colonial abuse was not only through the means of physical torture, but that it also had psychological enforcement:

Yun Ling: a small, thin man introduced himself as Captain Fumio. 'I am in charge here...It's dawn in Tokyo. The Emperor is about to have breakfast in his palace. You will show your respect to him.' He made us bow in the direction of Japan. (TGOEM: 266).

The forest was also used as a punitive space, like a concentration camp, which was used to promote an easy "surveillance of their populations" (Sioh, 2004: 732). Moreover, concentration camps actually applied all three means to consolidating Japan's colonial authorities: disciplined space, moral lessons, and biopower, as Foucault's theory states. Forests were not only the punitive spaces to survey colonised populations, but also spaces where moral lessons were taught, like bowing to the Japanese Emperor. Corresponding to the excessive labouring in the mines and tree cuttings, Japan exhausted labouring bodies of local populations to prevent potential rebellions.

Up to the end of the Japanese Occupation, Japan's mistreatment of Malayan people in the camps illustrates its brutal colonial rule. In TGOEM, Yun Ling was the sole survivor of a concentration camp since she was lucky to have a Japanese soldier's aid for her escape. All prisoners except Yun Ling were taken to be killed in the mines, and all the camps were erased from the forests:

Tominaga: 'Forget everything you saw'. Yun Ling: 'Where are we? Tell me where the camp is'. He bowed low to me. 'The war is over. In a few days the Emperor will announce our surrender.'...the prisoners were gathered outside the mine's entrance, hemmed in by the guards... into the jungle, away from the direction of our camp... Then the hill above the mine sheared away, pulling everything down with it-trees, rocks, earth (TGOEM: 277-278).

We might also be able to claim that Japan's elimination of concentration camps, showed their awareness of colonial mistreatment and that their guilt and sin have been recognised on their own.

### 5.1.1.2 During the Emergency Period

#### *Usage for tin mining: racial segregation over land*

Malaya was exceptionally rich in natural resources in the world, tin, petroleum, gold, bauxite and coal, and the enormous export sales of these resources have always been the targets of other nations' desires. Due to the demand of manufacturing tin cans from the U.S., the sales of tin reached its highest peak during the First British Occupation. Following this labour demand, the British mainly located Chinese immigrants in tin mines of the forests, and even allowed Chinese to control part of the tin industry in Malaya. However, in Sioh's article: *Authorizing the Malaysian Rainforest* (1998), she introduces an agrarian law during British occupation in Malaya. Chinese agricultural settlements had no possession of lands, only Malay rulers and population who could pay rent on behalf of all the cultivators in the plantation such as rubbers in the margins of forests. As so, the rule of dealing with nature has been exerted a racial hierarchy, which results in a distinct social inequality.

Also, nature here reflects a top-down power in this society. Sioh successfully draws attention to illustrate how the colonial system has transformed people's imagination of forests to mean different things to "different groups of people in terms of their work and social lives" (Sioh, 1998: 146). She points out some evidences of colonizers exploited forests by loggings and replacement with rubber plantations for colonisers' interests. Therefore, she argues there is a "new socioeconomic hierarchy imposition" represented and embedded in its nature (Sioh, 1998: 147).

However, since the Japanese Occupation broke every adopted policy in the tin trading, the Orang Asli's right of tin washing in the forest reserves was rejected by the British, with an excuse of being "abhorrent and unnatural" to exploit natural resources by indigenous populations (Harper, 1997: 16). Interestingly, the British agreed with the exploitation by other communities, since most tin mining was done by Chinese workers. Gradually, other races in Malaya envied the privileges of the Chinese for their access to tin mining in the forests. For instance, this quote relating to the conflict between Malay and Chinese illustrates

this point:

Hamid (the Malay owner of the Lakeview Hotel): 'and all stolen from us Malays', 'who were too lazy to have done anything with it'. Emily cut in. 'You know very well, Hamid, that we Chinese built up the tin industry. We established towns, and we brought in commerce. Kuala Lumpur was founded by a Chinese! Don't pretend you didn't know' (TGOEM: 69).

The cause of this conflict can be understood when the next quote is taken into consideration and also when the racial segregation over land as has been conducted by the British since the first British colonisation in Malaya is also taken into consideration. The British manipulation of the distribution of jobs by race caused the conflict of material contestation among colonised races. It can also be claimed that the unequal right of using forests has been produced by the colonial authorities. The Malays even teased the Chinese toadies to the white people, as a way of losing their dignity:

Hamid (Malay): 'We were far too clever to want to spend our days slaving the *Mat Salleh* (white people) in the mines, unlike you *orang China* (Chinese people)' (TGOEM: 70).

### *Usage of the local population's refuge space, especially the Orang Asli*

The other cause of conflicts between the Chinese and other races were the territorial policies of British Malaya, such as land only belonging to the colonial government but not to the population who lived in the forests. Such dominance lacked a consideration of local custom; the British formed these conflicts by importing Chinese labourers to squat Orang Asli's home site. Orang Asli lost their dwellings and ran into deeper parts of the mountains, isolating from outside trouble. For instance, when Yun Ling escaped from the concentration camp, one Orang Asli boy saved her life after she escaped from the camp, but he guided Yun Ling out from the jungle by some wandering trails after she recovered from exhaustion and injury, which were meant to protect his village from being known to outsiders:

Yun Ling: When I recovered my strength, the headman got the same boy to lead me back into the jungle. He took me to Ipoh, the nearest town. I sensed that he had been instructed to take a long and confusing route, to prevent me from finding my way back to them again. They did not want me to return and bring trouble to their village, I supposed (TGOEM: 280).

Harper (1997) highlights how miserable the lives of the Orang Asli were under colonial rule: his vital argument was that the "Japanese occupation of Malaya finally ended the isolation of the Orang Asli from the mainstream of Malayan political life". However, the consistent displacement was caused by Chinese squatters coming into the area, and the forested-based war between colonisers and local populations. Harper also describes the Orang Asli's

situation in the forest as an “attempts to reassert its authority on the frontier provoked violent conflict from which the Orang Asli could not remain aloof.” (Harper, 1997: 13). The connection between aboriginal villages was even rare, when Yun Ling looked for the villager who saved her life, she was not able to find any clues leading to him:

I visited a number of Orang Asli kampongs (after the war), and each time I would describe the village where I had been rescued, but no one knew anything about the aborigines who had saved me (TGOEM: 283).

### *Usage as a counterinsurgency space*

A new strategy of counterinsurgency over land was performed by the British General, Sir Gerald Templer, who “associated with Britain’s apparently successful counter-insurgency campaign in Malaya” (Dixon, 2009: 353) to remove the CTs’ insurgency from their site in the forests.

Templer divided space into the “White and Black” regions, those colours depended on the degree of control exercised by the British authority. In areas marked black, the residents’ civil rights were withdrawn, and when black areas were turned to white, this meant the threat in the area had been “cleansed up” (Sioh, 2010: 475):

Templer’s measures seemed to be taking effect; the number of CT (CTs) attacks had more or less halved. There were now more areas designated ‘White’ than ‘Black’ and the curfew had been lifted in most places (TGOEM: 283).

As such, it is also safe to claim that territorial control of forests have been used to shape “a situation of power dripping” (Don, 1996: 244). It can be stated that a natural space, such as a forests, is deeply embedded with power struggles in colonial time rather than only existing as natural entities.

### *Usage as access of entry to mountains*

One example of exerting power over space is the usage of checkpoints to control local populations’ activities along the rims of mountains:

At a security checkpoint just before the road tipped upwards to the mountains, a Malay Special Constable lowered the metal barrier and ordered us out of the car...The constable who had stopped us asked to see your identity cards. I was not the typical Chinese peasant they were used to, and the presence of Magnus, a white man, was probably a deterrent. (TGOEM:



38).

This resonates with Sioh's argument of a discussion about Weber's theory (Sioh, 2004: 731; Weber, 1964: 154): "the colonial state launched a military offensive to control the forest as a physical space, it does not illuminate the tactics required to accomplish territorialization". The tactics of this territorialization seeped the colonial power into the mountain areas of Malaya, and also seeped into civil life, they had to accept every sudden identity checks during their travels. Besides, a clear spatial control by race can also be declared by the quote describing checkpoints, the access to mountains of Europeans were much better than that of Chinese, such as Magnus versus Yun Ling. Due to the population of communists in the forests being mostly Chinese, and the white people being privileged since they were from one of the colonisers' countries.

## 5.1.2 Forests as reflecting the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations

### 5.1.2.1 During the Japanese Occupation

#### *Usage as hiding spaces to resist the Japanese*

For the native population, the Orang Asli can be recognised as the most marginalised ethnic group in Malaya. They used the forests as a hiding space from colonial authorities; an example of this is the villagers who saved Yun Ling, when they hid in the middle of the Malayan forests in order to be isolated from the outside world. Since the Japanese Occupation created terror by carrying out inhumane massacres, rapes, murders and labouring the local populations, and even employed Malays and Indians as policemen and administrative clerks to control Orang Asli and Indians, the Orang Asli were forced to defend themselves and also attack the colonial authorities in return:

Yun Ling: on two or three occasions I caught glimpses of lithe, brown figures beyond the fence, sliding soundlessly between the trees. 'Orang Asli,' a prisoner told me. 'The Japs leave them alone. Some Jap was killed by their poisoned darts' (TGOEM: 268).

The Orang Asli's resistance is similar to Le Billion and Philippe's point (2007: 20): they were "adversely affected and progressively disempowered by large-scale of commercial logging that responded to Japan's demand during the war." Within immigrant populations, the Chinese were another ethnic group who used forests as a refuge site:



During the Japanese Occupation thousands of Chinese had gone to live at the fringes of the jungles, doing their best to avoid any contact with the Kempeitai (the Japanese military police), hoping not to be rounded up and massacred (TGOEM: 106).

Rather than fighting with Chinese squatters in the forests and not benefitting from this, the Orang Asli turned to use their knowledge of the forest to collaborate with them in order to establish the MPAJA (Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army) to fight their common enemy, the colonial authorities.

### *Usage as Communist's hiding space to resist Japan*

The MPAJA used the cover of forests as a strategy in guerrilla war to ambush and attack the Japanese in and around the Malayan forests:

Tastuji: 'I am reading Mr. Pretorius's book about the Emergency: *The Red Jungle*. Fascinating - I never knew that there were Japanese soldiers fighting with the CTs' (TGOME: 183).

The resistance and social conflict of the Malayan populations during the Japanese Occupation was as long as the occupation itself, and as such the "MPAJA included members of the three races (Malay, Chinese and Indians), although the Chinese usually dominated" (Cheah, 1995: 32). Following the historic details in Cheah's book (1995: 64-65) one can see this, especially from this quote "Initially, the MPAJA attempted to live near the Chinese squatter areas which had formed outside most towns near the jungle fringes." However, Japan's strategy of counterinsurgency was to burn down most of these villages, and "the MPAJA patrols were forced to retreat further to the slopes of the Main Range". Because of this, Chinese farmers joined CTs in their tiring displacements in guerrilla war, in order to farm for their own subsistence (Cheah, 1995: 64-65).

#### **5.1.2.2 During the Emergency Period**

##### *Using as an agency site between villagers and CTs*

Since CTs usually hid in the forests, their threat to the colonial authorities led to the rule of curfew to be applied in the villages close to forests, in order to prohibiting the potential cooperation between villagers and CTs. Many ethnic Chinese were relocated out of their villages at this time in order to avoid this cooperation. Also, the British planned to keep the local population away from the forests, where the rubber plantations were usually planted, the curfew in the villages restricted daily activities and working hours, and directly impacted people's food supply and the productivity of rubber plantations:

To stop the other villagers from helping the CTs, a curfew had been put in place. Most of the villagers worked as rubber tappers in an estate five miles away (TGOEM: 107).

### *Usage as a theatre of war between CTs, Chinese and Malays*

As mentioned before, the Orang Asli experienced the greatest colonial abuse in terms of being affected by a war between the British and the CTs at the forest frontier. Orang Asli even needed to choose sides in order to survive; they either had to submit to the British, or merged with the Malay Communist guerrilla to fight with them during the Emergency Period:

Tatsuji: According to what I read in *The Red Jungle*, there was much lawlessness and unrest immediately after the surrender-CTs guerrillas taking revenge on collaborators; Chinese and Malays killing each other. (TGOEM: 318)

Living in such a political turbulence, every dominated group wanted to control the forested areas with the aid of the Orang Asli's. The Communist guerrillas who stood against the British had drawn the Orang Asli to their guerrilla team, and recognised the Orang Asli as the "source of supplies and intelligence throughout the central range" (Harper, 1997: 16). Hence, forests became a contested space and the power struggles of every ethnic group delineated the forest landscapes. The power struggles even occurred within the same groups during the guerrilla war, as the quotes below highlights:

Ah Cheong (Yun Ling's house keeper): 'my elder brother is with the People Inside...but he wants to come out from the jungle'. (TGOME: 163). Kwai Hoon (Ah Cheong's brother): 'Our superiors eat three full meals a day, while the rest of us starve. They get money to spend...Three days ago the commander ordered me to meet up with another regiment in Tanjong Malim. It was just an excuse to get us away from the camp-take us to some spot in the jungle to kill us' (TGOME: 165).

### 5.1.3 Forests as a reflection of the intermingled relations among all populations and the survived colonial abuse in postcolonial present

#### 5.1.3.1 During the Emergency Period

##### *The colonial abuse has survived in postcolonial time*

Considering James Scott's (2008: 36-37) argument that "cases of resistance to colonial control lie in the minutiae of daily suffering", violence and conflicts in the colonial era can be argued to have remained after the Emergency period of Malaya. An example of this extended suffering of the Malayan people is that of the military comfort women, who feel their bodies and souls to have been stained in the Japanese concentration camps and could not recover to live normal lives, nor reintegrate into the main stream society. As the nuns in the Temple of Clouds in TGOEM, they live in the middle of forests after the war and have never been accepted by their society. Hence, for those who suffered colonial abuse, their colonial pain did not end after colonisation, but still impacts their lives at the current postcolonial present:

Chinese nun: We've met before, you know, in the Temple of Clouds: 'There were twelve of us, captured from all over the country. I was thirteen years old...The soldiers kept us in the convent in Tanah Rata...I was there for two months...then one day they let me go...I went home to Ipoh, but everyone knew what the Japanese had done to me. What man would want me to be his wife? My father was so ashamed of me, he sold me to a brothel, but I ran away...One day, I heard a woman talking about a temple in Cameron Highlands. The temple had taken in a few women like me. I went up there. I've never left. (TGOEM: 311)

#### 5.1.3.2 During the Postcolonial Period

##### *A deja vu ignorance of the local population in postcolonial eras*

More problematic examples regarding racism issues in Malay(si)an nature are discussed by Sioh (1998), she points out the use of forests as "beyond the control of the state" places in postcolonial status, the "forest-based conflicts" happened between all races: Malays, Chinese, Indians, Orang Asli and the British authorities consistently during, and after the colonial period.

After Malaysia was granted independence by Britain in 1957, the social structure and Malaysian governance continue its practices from the colonial period (Doolittle, 2004: 823). Doolittle's fieldwork over the Similiu Forest Reserve in the Sabah of East Malaysia shows the similarities of these two political bodies. In his study, Doolittle (2004) documented native guides' narratives, which are full of complaints about the disapproval of governmental funding to turn forest reserves into medical research uses. These opinions are said to be, the Malaysia government are not accompanied with any sense of conservation and/or commercialization and are thus disregarded. Moreover, the Malay administrators, only approve the access of forests to natives if they are willing forgo their traditional lifestyle and convert to Islam (Doolittle, 2004: 841). This shows that the Malaysia government does not respect the native custom and needs, and as such it is a *deja vu* from the colonial era.

From Yun Ling's perception of the Malayan forests in the postcolonial era one can also see that she recognises a forest/jungle as an unapproachable space, since its dense and traceless space still remains a dangerous place and also reminds her of her pain when Aritomo disappeared in the jungle. Therefore, similarly to Doolittle, I claim that there is evidence to show the Malaysia government is careless in regards to the development of forest landscapes, unless they see the possibility of commercialization or conservation, as was the case with the development of the palm oil industry after Cold War. The land use options considered with commercialisation have not changed, as such the problem of continuing deforestation has survived after colonial times in Malaysia. Once international attention is drawn, or potential profits appear, the government will change its attitude to deal with the issue of missing persons, in the forests, such as Aritomo, whose disappearance was ignored at first but gained attention when Japanese journalist published a story about it in TGOEM:

Yun Ling: Do you know how easy it is to lose your way in the jungle? Just one wrong turn and suddenly you wouldn't know where you were...(TGOEM, 182)...The local newspapers ignored Aritomo's disappearance at first; it was just another hiker who had got lost in the jungle, after all. But after a Japanese journalist writing about the CTs in the mountains filed a report with his newspaper in Tokyo, the reporters began to flock to Tanah Rata (TGOEM: 329)

### *Perception as reflecting colonial pain in postcolonial era*

As a person who experienced the Japanese Occupation in the Malayan forest, and lost her control of land, Yun Ling's suffering in the forest landscape could not be forgotten, and she could not recover from this suffering after a long period of colonisation. She still wants to find where her sister was buried (at the location of her concentration camp), guiding herself based on Aritomo's tattooed map on her back:

Yun Ling: If it's a map (the tattoo Aritomo made on Yun Ling's back), I can use it to find where Yun Hong was buried (TGOEM: 342)

Also, her present aphasia might be due to the colonial abuse she experienced at the Japanese concentration camp:

I would have been a more robust woman if my health had not been damaged in the camp. When my neurosurgeon firsts informed me of the diagnosis (aphasia), I asked him if it was caused by the deprivations I had suffered, a seed that had been sown forty years ago. (in the camp) (TGOEM: 322)

Thus, the colonial abuse in the forested camp has obviously given rise to an unbearable pain to the nuns of the Cloud Temple, and also to Yun Ling. The common postcolonial phenomena in their post-war lives show how influential the psychological colonial abuse was. As such, the victims of this abuse cannot recover from the war and reverse their lives back to normal.

Frederik: 'You've never recovered from being a prisoner.' Yun Ling: 'Do you know of anyone who has?' (TGOEM: 320-21).

Moreover, colonialism has also survived until the postcolonial era to control the thoughts of colonised people and their thoughts. Because of this, Yun Ling has come to dislike Europeans:

Yun Ling: 'I am not European and I had been so critical of our colonial masters, how they had sold us down the river' (TGOEM: 320-21).

Therefore, the colonial territorialization of forest spaces such as concentration camps has remains to have a physical impact on the landscape itself and also on the psyche of prisoners. From such examples as the ones provided above, I see the colonial abuse in which forests were used to as Sioh states in this quote: "the trauma of material dispossession of land and figurative dispossession of identity through colonization" (Sioh, 2010: 469).

### 5.1.4 Conclusion of the DA of forest landscapes in TGOEM

In this section, forests have been loomed with lots human intervention and their created discourses, such as organization, or a system which attributes natural feature of the environment and also a relevance to a “synthetic space, a man-made system of spaces” (Jackson, 1984: 243). By the manipulation of forests, these spaces give rise to a power to segregate races in order to consolidate the power of colonial authorities.

As Doolittle (2004) argues, the similarities between colonial and postcolonial authorities in Malay(s)i-a today are mainly found in their ways of controlling forests and the dwellers within them (Doolittle, 2004: 847). Some substantiation of colonial and postcolonial authorities such as the examples that follows can give a perspective from where one can identify the survived colonialism in postcolonial time:

1. The colonial and postcolonial authorities in Malay(s)i-a both benefit from the dominance of forests for the commercialization of resources and ignore the local's concerns. Such as the British colonisers' gave privileges to Chinese elites to control the tin industry in Malaya, but other races also wanted to gain benefits from the sales of tin. In turn, the Malaysia government gave most governmental jobs to Malay elites, restricting the same opportunities for Malaysian Chinese; and persuading Orang Asli to forgo their aboriginal lifestyle and convert to Islam in order to receive access to the forests.
2. The colonial and postcolonial authorities in Malay(s)i-a both apply certain agency tactics to obfuscate the realities of marginal people who dependent on natural resources, such as the Orang Asli. For instance, the British's strategy of importing labourers caused the Chinese to squat Orang Asli's home site in the forests, which also impaired Orang Asli's strength and prevented them from providing help to the CTs. The Malaysia government controls the access to forests by hiring native mountain guides to function as “checkpoints” which controlled the access to forests among populations.
3. Colonialism still intervenes in territorial policy today in Malaysia, an unclear cut can appeared from the following example: Appell (1995: 98-99) states that, after the British arrived in Malaya, a serious conflict occurred due to the collision of the Rungus'(aboriginals in Sabah) swidden farming and the use of commercial plantations by the British authorities. Hence, the British took the Rungus' property and only authorised nothing but the “individual title of land” to them (Appell, 1995: 43). After independence, the Malaysia government followed its former master's means to authorise the Chinese to deforest the area in Sabah and marginalised the Rungus. As such, tension and conflicts between the Rungus and the Chinese have lasted even after the

deforestation stopped, and this former reserve has been destroyed.

## 5.2 The DA of Plantation landscapes in TGOEM

Dealing with the topic of colonial plantations has always been an issue in the postcolonial discussion of Malaysia, the truth is that the bloom of commercial crops did not come to Malaya in the early stage of colonisation, as Grigg (1974, 233-234) mentions, but rather that the first production of crops for export was undertaken largely by immigrant Chinese who produced pepper, gambier, cloves, sugar-cane and coffee in a modified swidden system. The turning point was the immigrant English planters who brought in coffee seeds from Ceylon and England to Malaya.

With the development of rubber demands after 1905, British, French and American companies established plantations to grow rubber. As such, the British imported labourers to tap the trees and cultivate rubber plantations, first from their colony, India. Until 1919, Malaya had supplied half of the world's rubber exports. Accordingly, there was a large demand of labourers, and more workers were brought from China and Indonesia to Malaya.

However, the colonised people in British Malaya have practised a subsistence system of agriculture before the colonisers came. During the colonial period, the local populations had to grow both commercial crops for export and the subsistence crops for the food supplies for the colonisers and themselves. Since cultivating both commercial and subsistence crops lead to excessive farming work, decreased the standards of local and immigrant workers' lives, and lead to problems of low wages, the self-subsistence economy replaced the export economy (Meek, 1946: abstract). Hence, the fact is that the economical focus on the export of agricultural products led colonial authorities to indirectly abuse the local population by labouring them to an inhumane extent.

Another miserable case manifests a similarity of the colonial lament of local populations as the consequence of plantation control. Noel Castree (2001: 14) argues in Michael Watts' book (1983) *Silent Violence*, that the Hausa people in the northern part of Nigeria had adapted their agronomy to the semiarid environment into which they lived for centuries. After the British came, the disruption of land adaptation came with the commercial crops in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which led Nigerians to suffer serious famines for decades.



When humans loss their right to their land, their dignity is also being deprived, as Fanon has told us: “the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity” (Fanon, 1967, 44). Therefore, it is clear that the colonialists knew the most efficient way to control their people, which was to take away their ownership of plantations and their rights of production.

In colonial Malaya, the local population could not bear such excessive slavery and labouring by their masters; they rebelled, refused to submit to the unbearable labour imposed on them, and turned to collaborate with CTs. To overthrow their oppressors and to earn their dignity back, they operated many anticolonial movements.

By analysing the plantation landscapes in TGOEM, one can understand the extent of colonial and the postcolonial authorities’ power. They ruled, educated, and exploited Malayan/Malaysian civilians to consolidate the status of their own authorities.

The structure of the analysis of plantation landscapes is as follows:

5.2.1 Plantations as a reflection of the dominance of colonisers.

5.2.2 Plantations as a reflection of the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations.

5.2.3 Plantations as reflecting the intermingled relations among all populations and the survived colonial abuse in postcolonial present.

## 5.2.1 Plantations as a reflection of the dominance of colonisers.

### 5.2.1.1 During the Emergency Period

#### *Usage of plantations to practice racial segregation*

The reasons to practise racial segregation by employing plantations in British Malaya were complex. One of them was that there was a multiracial and large number of workers who came from China, India, and Indonesia in the early 1900. The plantation landscapes turned to a picture which was filled with the dynamic exclusion and inclusion between races <sup>8</sup>, with the colour of white skin (Europeans), brown (Malays, Indians, Indonesian and Orang Aslis) and yellow (Chinese). In general, the owners and managers were only Europeans, Indian coolies worked in the tea estates and rubber plantations, Malays owned small holders of rubber plantations but generally worked in the subsistence agriculture (Hirschman, 1986), and the Chinese worked in the tin industry:

Magnus: We have five European junior assistants watching over the *keranis* in the office....the coolies were already lined up outside (of the gate). (TGOEM: 76)

Another reason was to control the potential rebellions of the local populations against the colonial authorities. For instance, the contestation of wage jobs between Chinese and Malay has damaged the productivity of plantations (Hirschman, 1986, 348-51).

Because of the high demand of commercial agricultural products for export, the estates became “the premier symbols of capitalist exploitation and the sites of numerous strikes by the workers” (Sioh, 1998: 154). The capitalist exploitation of British Malaya lowered the living standards of plantation farmers and low waged workers:

Magnus: The war’s been over for, what, six years already? But we’re still short of materials. (TGOEM: 40).

Furthermore, due to the displacements of trading products, the price of natural rubber passed a protracted decline during the post-Cold War period (Rudner, 1981: 85). The Malayan rubber economy would have endured a grievous income deflation, with a lack of investment leading to an inevitable stagnation. This led to a doubling of output despite a price decline of over half of the rubber plantations in 1960s. As such, the price of rubber became unstable and the workers only worked in the rubber plantations when the price rose:

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<sup>8</sup> Sioh (2010: 469) has used the term “race” as opposed to “ethnicity” in accordance with the usage by Malaysia government at present to emphasize that in the Malaysian context, cultural differences are seen as biological and reinforced even in official government documents such as identity cards and passports, “nationality” and “race” are signified by the same term *bangsa* (the word “race” in Malay language). However, the term “ethnicity” is still adopted in Hirschman’s research (1986: 331), which demonstrates his belief of “the ethnic divisions are socially created, institutionalized, and modified.”

Magnus: 'Geoff checks it (the price of the rubber) on the radio every evening. If it goes up, we know some of our workers will leave to work in the rubber plantations. Most of those who left before the Occupation have returned, but we're always short-handed'. (TGOEM: 77)

Furthermore, the racial segregation transformed local population's traditional lifestyle, as a phenomenon of cultural hybridization among the colonizers, immigrants and natives alike. Such as the central idea of Franz Fanon's *The Wretched On The Earth* (Fanon, 1965): colonialism as a violence to deprive the colonised culture, and this colonial violence usually not only aims at keeping these enslaved men at a respectful distance, but also seeks to "dehumanize them" (Fanon, 1965: 15), in other words, to demolish their traditions, to replace their languages with colonisers', and to destroy their cultures in the colonial societies.

Fanon's argument illustrates a point of coloniser-colonised hierarchy. For the case of Malaya, after a large-scale of immigrants moving into Malaya, the imported workers also felt alien to the local cultures since racial segregation had separated them into different mines and plantations. Thus, the racial segregation enforced by the uses of plantations was a key sign of colonisers' domination. This situation has been referred by Sioh as a "citizenscape" (2010: 465), the term "citizenscape" is derived from Joseph's expression (1999: 13) to explain "socially and politically produced conceptions of participatory democracy that inform the performance of available and imagined vehicles of citizenship". Joseph uses citizenscape to describe the performance of national identity for the Tanzanian diaspora in America. Since the central idea of citizenscape can be illustrated by legitimacy of purchasing or owning land in Malay(si)a. For instance, the colonial authorities manipulated the citizens to relocate to different plantations and mines according to their races with the excuse that this was done in order to achieve their economic success. Thus, citizens have become a part of landscapes which have been utilised to establish a power hierarchy and the problem of multi-ethnic identities since colonial times. As such, I borrow this term to assert national identities for immigrant populations who were deemed by the (post)colonial administrations and native populations to a group of "inauthentic" Malay(si)ans.

#### *Usage of plantations to gain access to villages in order to discipline civilians and solidify colonial authorities*

Hack states (1999: 214) that after the threat of the communist powered the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA) visited *kampongs* (villages) to plunder food and materials, an atrocity perpetuated by dedicated members of the *Min Yuen* (an organization of Chinese communist party):

The CTs used the squatters as a source of food and medicine, information and subscription money; the squatters were the Min Yuen, the People's Movement...had recognised that they were the biggest problem of the Emergency (for the British state). (TGOEM: 106)

As depicted above, the British strengthened their power over the counterinsurgency, which resulted in one hundred Chinese deaths and the resettlement of the remaining Chinese squatters to the New Villages:

Across the country, half a million people-every child, every grandmother, every family, even their entire livestock-were in the process of being moved by the army into specially constructed 'New Villages'. (TGOEM: 106)

Borrowing Sioh's term: the forests had been "cleansed" (ioh, 2010: 469) of the threat of CTs, however, British Malaya still relocated colonised peoples in the New Villages, to confined them into this "disciplined space" (Foucault, 1977: 141) and enforced them to obey their curfews as a "moral lesson" (Foucault, 1995: 133). Thus, the villagers could only go to the plantations in order to work during the opening hours of the villages:

To stop the other villagers from helping the CTs, a curfew had been put in place. Most of the villagers worked as rubber tappers in an estate five miles away. They were only allowed outside the fences from eight in the morning until one in the afternoon. This had affected their means of earning a living; rubber trees have to be tapped at dawn, before the sap dries up. (TGOEM: 107)

### *Usage of plantations to map "Black and White" areas to eliminate CTs*

From the information of Hack's research (1999: 211) one can see that the British counterinsurgency intelligence did not succeed in 1948 but turned to have more surrendered enemy personnel of CTs (SEP) in 1952. The transformation of counterinsurgency depended on "the objective ethnic and social terrain of Malaya", "the relentless military activity, resettlement, detention without trial and food control" show the manipulations of plantations as the "disciplined application of coercive and persuasive power, including breaking up larger enemy formations" (Hack, 1999: 212).

The counterinsurgency strategy of mapping "Black and White" areas in Malaya led the colonial authorities to divide areas into black and white colours in order to eliminate CTs' moves. If the area was marked in black, the civilians' civil rights were removed, such as the food supply and the freedom of staying outside of villages were tightened. When the black areas were turned to white, this meant that the potential danger, in terms of CTs' attacks or plunder had been eliminated. The usage of this map can also be seen as a psychological control of people's perception of their land, and resonates with Foucault's "theatre of moral lessons" (1995: 133), for educating colonised populations about what and how to behave, one example of this is shown below:

(A British officer named) Templer had classified regions infested with CTs as 'Black Areas', tightening food rationing and imposing onerous curfews over them, intending to make life for the inhabitants so miserable they would withdraw their support for the CTs. (TGOME: 237)

In the quote below, Magnus talks about his colonial suffering during the shift from the Japanese to the British authorities. He complains about the shortage the materials, such as the gates of Majuba which were taken by the Japanese but were not replaced even after six years after the war:

Magnus: 'The war's been over for, what, six years already? But we're still short of materials.'  
(TGOEM: 40)

The innocent civilians who lived between the power of the colonial authorities and the CTs were caped under a power play. Since CTs also needed food from estates and villagers, their plunders tightened and even cut off the food supply from the British to estates and villages. As such, villagers and estate workers could only cooperate with CTs in order to survive and thus endured extreme colonial abuse.

## 5.2.2 Plantations as a reflection of the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations

### 5.2.2.1 During the Emergency Period

#### *Usage of plantations as agency sites to spy on CTs for the colonial authorities*

The colonial authorities persuaded estate workers and farmers to provide information regarding the CTs' movements, and they used plantations as agency sites to do this and providing protection in exchange. However, the CTs' revenge did not affect the colonial authorities, but rather the villagers and the estate workers:

Yun Ling: 'You want me to spy on him(Magnus)? Aldrich: 'No one would suspect you of working for us...we're quite curious as to what he's (Aritomo) doing up here.' (TGOME: 205-207).

It is clear that plantation sites were placed between the CTs' insurgency and the British's counterinsurgency. A brutal example of identifying plantations as a theatre of war between those two powers are the villages in and around plantations that became the sites of the colonial authorities' and CTs' vengeance (Sioh, 2010: 476). These sites "had to be visible in terms of the display of their power". CT's corpses were moved by the British from the forests to the towns and villages' nearby plantations. The most inhumane colonial practice by the colonial authorities was the practice of government soldiers taking back the heads of CTs killed in the forests to the villages' nearby plantations (Sioh, 2010: 476). This was performed by the British and the CTs took revenge by killing estate workers and villagers and left their

corps on the streets. For instance of Magnus' death, who was caught by the CTs to show where the hidden gold is, but Magnus was not sure where the gold is. This attack in Majuba was also caused by the CTs' hatred of European people and the Japanese, two coloniser groups in Malaya. This type of action can be pictured in the quote below where it is explained that Magnus was killed by the CTs and his corps was thrown on a street nearby a vegetable plantation, found by a Chinese vegetable farmer:

More troops were despatched into the jungle, guided by Iban trackers from Sarawak. Planters and friends of Magnus formed search parties, but their efforts were hampered by the rains...a Chinese vegetable farmer returning from Ipoh had seen something (Magnus) lying in the grass by the side of the road. (TGOEM: 305-307)

In the same vein, the background of the following quote corresponds to an occasion of CTs' attack to Yun Ling nearby the Majuba tea estate. Due to Yun Ling's previous job as a judge, she had to persuade some CTs to surrender; the last woman she persuaded, Chan Liu Foong was deported back to China from Malaya directly. In retune, Chan Liu Foong's sister looked for an opportunity to assassinate Yun Ling after her retirement. However, this operation of assassination did not succeed, but it shows that Yun Ling's previous job put all the people around her at the risk of CTs' revenge:

Magnus said to Yun Ling: 'You helped some CTs surrender?...You put all of us at great risk!' (TGOME: 240)

### *Usage of plantations as CTs' insurgency site*

Insurgency was the CTs' direct way to challenge the colonial authorities. During the time before the Emergency Period, according to White's research (1998: 156), CTs encouraged labourers' strikes to impair the productivity of plantations: "the Chinese Communists were already a considerable power and would do all they could because of their anti-British feeling to hamper the return of the estates into production".

CTs aimed to disrupt British plantations in order to resist their colonial oppression. This hit the hardest to the colonial authorities since the sales of plantations for export was their greatest concern. White (1998: 158) also points out that on 16 June 1948, three British estate managers were murdered in Perak, Malaya. This directly challenged the colonial governments' weakness in handling the challenge to law and order. Two days after, a state of emergency was declared until 1960:

Yun Ling: 'Any recent attacks in Cameron Highlands?' Three years had passed since the Malayan Communist Party had launched its guerrilla war against the government, forcing the High Commissioner to declare a State of Emergency. The war showed no signs of ending, with the communist-terrorists...keeping up regular attacks on rubber estates and tin mines. (TGOEM: 39)

The CT's violence towards the colonial authorities is also related to Fanon's point that colonialism can be seen as an organized act of violence (Fanon, 1965: 1-52), so the operation of decolonization has to constitute another united violence to challenge the colonial situation (Fanon, 1965: 2).

Thus, we can imagine that "the actual nexus of the violent struggle in the estate was almost for 12-years war" in Malaya (Sioh, 1998: 154), because the colonial abuse and the resistance to it was knitted with all the populations, no sole civilian was able to flee from it. Therefore, the victims between these two powers the Malayan people experienced a serious poverty than ever during the post-war period.

### **5.2.3 Plantations as reflecting the intermingled relations among all populations and the survived colonial abuse in postcolonial present**

#### **5.2.3.1 During the Emergency Period**

The power struggles over plantation landscapes in Malaya has been shown in the previous discussions. In this section, the produced pain by colonialism will be demonstrated. In particular, the inter-relationship between unequal labour by land practice and the problem of a multi-racial society in Malaya will be discussed. Furthermore the cultural hybridisation of the colonisers and the colonised populations has been identified through the colonial control of Malayan plantations.

#### *Reflecting the unequal labouring and colonised people's pain in the estates*

The issue of labouring imported workers has been probed by Sandhu (1969: 56), she mentions that "descendant of the community of Indians that first traversed the great oceans of the world when the British empire deemed them suitable to work the plantations of its imperial domain".

Because Malaya and India were both British colonies, it is logical to see that the phenomenon of intra-empire migration brought Malaya a large number of "settled labour force" (Arasaratnam, 1970: 32). The British used these Indian workers to stabilise their position in Malaya. Among the estate workers, many occasions can illustrate how they were abused by their masters. For instance, the quote below shows how the workers and farmers in rubber estates had to suffer from tropical diseases and even died in their rubber plantations:

Yun Ling: Outstation (a farming estate that is separate from the main estate) planters lived in isolation among the rubber, with the nearest European neighbour usually twenty miles or more away. Growing up in Penang, I had heard stories of planters drinking themselves to death, or dying from snakebites or malaria or a variety of other tropical diseases. Hemmed in



by the neat, unending lines of rubber trees, Magnus came to hate the life and began searching for better prospects (TGOEM: 63).

A similar life pain has also been mentioned by Jeyathurai's article: *Labouring Bodies, Labouring Histories* (2012). She researches three literary works of unequal gender practice in tea estates of Malay(si)a. The harshness of lives for female Indian workers has also been covered by their singing in the tea estate of TGOEM:

Voices and singing floated from the tea-pickers in the valley. Most of them were women, their heads shaded beneath tattered straw hats. The workers I was looking at in the valley below were paid badly for doing one of the most mindless, exhausting labours ever devised...I knew that Magnus was a decent enough employer...but I realised that much of the women's laughter and singing rising from the slopes was bitter with the harshness of their lives (TGOEM: 78-79)

The figures of the Malaysian-Indian estate girls in Jeyathurai's research (2012), and the female tea pickers in TGOEM both remind us that the plantation economy was built by imported workers, the Indians in particular. However, those workers' colonial suffering was caused by exploitative socio-economic and racial hierarchies. Living in such practice, working-class Indians were posited into a vicious cycle of impoverishment, this carried on to the postcolonial present. For instance, the living condition of Indian workers in rubber and palm oil estates in contemporary Malaysia are rarely developed. Low wage and addiction to toddy characterised Indian estate workers. Few other groups in Malay have experienced such a "total annihilation of human integrity and social dignity" (Muzaffar, 1998: 215). This can be claimed as a consequence of colonial impact in postcolonial times since it is "following independence from the British rule as Indian labour continued to be commodified by new masters: the Malaysia government" (Khattab, 1971: 164-5).

### 5.2.3.2 During the Postcolonial Period

#### *Representing as Postcolonial Nature*

After Malaya became independent, the first national target of the Malaysia government was to unite multiple identities into one entity through social restructuring. As such, the introduction of the *Federal Land Development Authority* (FELDA) of the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) aimed to position the icon of Malay by the term of *bumiputera* (son of the soil). This term encompasses the Malay ethnicity, but also the indigenous populations without their self-determination (Ma&Cartier, 2003: 70-72). The postcolonial Malay-dominated government has also established special policies to enhance the position of Malays for instance to receive a better education, job opportunities, and capital ownership. Especially during the post-independence period, the NEP ensured the political and economic position

of Malays. The Malaysian legitimacy has followed their colonial rules, the privileges of Malays have been found since colonial period, the British commerce the titles of lands to Malays particularly, even the Orang Asli were forced to work in the Malay plantations by the British administrators (Harper, 1997: 7-8).

Following the colonial rule, there has been a large amount of Malay settlers in the plantations to perform “a hybrid identity that cited both the archaic and the modern” (Sioh, 2010: 479). Upon the colonial era, although Malays were allowed to own the titles of some land, they still suffered colonial abuse, such as the deprivation of jobs by imported Chinese and Indians, since imported workers were much preferred to employ for European owners and authorities. As such, Malays have been dreaming of gaining their right of land control and possession instead of only being titled a land since colonial to postcolonial times. As Hamid addresses Malays’ suffering during the Emergency period in TGOEM:

Hamid (the Malay owner of the Lakeview Hotel at Tanah Rata): ‘We Malays, we are the true sons of the soil, the *bumiputera*. Not one of you here can be called that.’ (TGOEM: 70)

Since NEP were dependent on the export growth in particular (Government of Malaysia, 1971: 6), the Malaysia government manipulated a dynamic interplay of Malays’ citizenship by the rules of FELDA. These transformed the Malay peasantry into a “proto-proletariat through the relationships regarding land ownership, labour control, and the control of production and marketing of crops” (Sioh, 2010: 480). This means that Malays still labour in the plantations to bring an image of nationalism for Malaysia government. Although they are named land settlers but they do not possess any control of land.

A similar case in TGOEM can illustrate the above described situation. Frederik’s land ownership of the Majuba house and his right to purchase another bungalow after the Independence perfectly illustrates this situation. However, there is no case in TGOEM which mentions a non-European citizen who had purchased or controlled land:

Yun Ling: The new teahouse at Majuba is at the summit of a steep hill...It is a few minutes before lunchtime, but all the tables have already been taken by elderly tourist in water-repellent jackets and bulky hiking boots....Frederik: ‘I converted it from a bungalow a year ago. It used to be Geoff Harper’s (a former European assistant manager in Majuba).’ (TGOEM: 319).

Following Sioh’s statement, the FELDA still constructed plantation landscapes “through the racial divisions entrenched during the Emergency Period became the new nature of Malaysia in more than just the vegetation that replaced the old-growth forests (old nature); they literally stood for the new nation-state” (Sioh, 2010: 471). The estates labourers, and land settlers became the “agents of Malaysian nationalism”, and the Malaysia government settles their own state power by the way of positioning particular citizens in the landscapes, which follows the notion of citizenscape.

Therefore, it can be claimed that the FELDA schemes still inherited a racial division in postcolonial eras; this is much like the racial segregation of plantation distribution in British Malaya. As such, the plantations in postcolonial Malaysia can be seen as a “postcolonial nature” as Sioh argues (2010: 479).

### *Usage for heritage tourism*

Nowadays plantations in Malaysia are not only used for agricultural purposes but also for heritage tourism. Since using heritage sites like plantations to improve the development of tourism is a form of creating a cultural legacy for Malaysia government. Visiting heritage sites, like plantations, can directly aid visitors’ comprehension and understanding of the colonial times in Malaya, in other words, it helps visitors understand “who (Malaysians) they are and where they have come from” (Palmer, 1999: 314).

As such, heritage attractions can actually foster people’s notion of national and personal identity, especially in the case of Malaysia, which has a four hundred years of colonial history. For instance, the Malayan people would like to visit Aritomos’ Japanese garden, the purpose behind their visits might be their curiosity to see an “*authentic Japanese man and garden*” (my own italics), no matter how brutal abuse have been given by Japan during its occupation, Malayan people still could not remove their desire of visting or communicating with the Japanese culture, which can be said to be a process of hybridisation between the Japanese and visitors’ cultures. Rather, visiting Frederik’s tea house and Emily’s English garden in TGOEM also raise anther intention of heritage visiting, a nostalgic review and learning. The modern people in Malaysia desire to know what happened in the same land to their ancestors during the colonial times. Visiting Majuba tea estate after the independence can give a perspective into the past which may help in understanding the power struggle of colonisers and labourers. Visiting an English garden can provide a way to appreciate, accept, or disagree with the culture of their former master. For instance, domestic tourists came to Majuba tea house during postcolonial era:

Yun Ling: The new teahouse at Majuba is at the summit of a steep hill...It is a few minutes before lunchtime, but all the tables have already been taken by elderly tourist in water-repellent jackets and bulky hiking boots’ (TGOEM: 319).

Hence, promoting heritage tourism can solidify the identities of people in Malaysia since which can connect their past to present, and to offer a chance for communicating with the ambiguous identities which are attached to them. Those identities might have never been understood or investigated themselves since colonial eras.

### 5.2.4 Conclusion of the analysis of plantation landscapes

Once an idea or a structure is established by colonialism, these ideologies can grow their own organic lives to trespass and survive from colonial to postcolonial eras. Jeyathurai (2012: 304) argues that the newly independent Malaysia does not preferred a total break from the colonial regime and “Malaysia not only wanted to maintain a relationship with Britain but also sought counsel from its former colonial master in moulding this new country”. It is clear from the dissection of this section that colonialism has still survived in postcolonial Malaysia. Hence, the achievements of settling nationalism and the control of racial divisions with the practice of the FELDA both demonstrate how postcolonial Malaysia is still influenced by the central idea of colonialism.

### 5.3 The DA of Garden Landscapes in TGOEM

As the following quote in TGOEM shows, gardens are usually named according to their style, such as the Japanese, British, and the indigenous gardens in TGOEM. Thus, gardens are highly constructed with the social discourses which are granted by their gardeners or designers. One can say that different cultures can breed different gardens as Frederik's statement shows:

Frederik: When you talk about "indigenous gardening" or whatever it's called, you already have man involved. You dig out beds, you chop down trees, and you bring in seeds and cuttings. It all sounds very much planned to me. (TGOEM: 23)

Thus, gardens have their own qualities to represent the cultures of garden designers, and studying gardens can foreground those cultures. That is, if we want to explore the power struggles and cultural transformation in a society, a way to do this is by probing the use of the gardens in that culture. As such, studying the landscape of gardens can show us interwoven network of nature and culture, including the traces of political shifting in the culture such as the background of TGOEM under the shifts from colonial to postcolonial statues.

I mainly explore the discourses of the Japanese garden Yugiri of TGOEM in this analysis, in order to demonstrate the effects of cultural propaganda to the Malay(si)an people. The crucial theme of Aritomo's Japanese garden, the Zen Buddhism will be discussed. In order to keep my discussion on an unbiased track instead of "*promoting*" Japanese gardening art (my own italics) excessively, the details of Japanese garden design, and its history will be also considered in this analysis.

As Oakes and Price mention (2008: 150), landscapes are active players in human affairs, from their point of view one can assume that the authorities or privileged populations might use garden landscapes to achieve their aims of controlling people. For instance, the Japanese garden "Yugiri" in TGOEM can be seen as a propaganda site for Japanese culture. Another example of this is that Yun Ling's garden apprenticeship reformed her hatred of the Japanese to an appreciation of their culture. Therefore, the gardening of Yugiri can be seen as a gently power to persuade other ethnicities to accept the Japanese culture. In the same vein, Yugiri garden was established during the Japanese Occupation in Malaya, the time and space in which of this garden was built shall be suspected since it can be seen as Japan's attempt to hybridise other cultures in Malaya. This analysis follows the same structure of the analyses of forest and plantation landscapes:

- 5.3.1 Gardens as a reflection of the dominance of colonisers.
- 5.3.2 Gardens as a reflection of the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations.
- 5.3.3 Gardens as a reflection of the cultural hybridisation in postcolonial era.

### 5.3.1 Gardens as a reflection of the dominance of colonisers

#### 5.3.1.1 During the Japanese Occupation

While building the Japanese garden Yugiri located in Malaya, Aritomo borrowed scenes from the Malayan nature in order to maintain a coherent view with the environment. This can be appreciated from the following quote:

On a mountain above the clouds once lived a man (in his own garden Yugiri) who had been the gardener of the Emperor of Japan...He had left his home on the rim of the sunrise to come to the central highlands of Malaya...He did not apologise for what his countrymen had done to my sister and me...but he understood. Not many people did. (TGOEM: 1).

The artificial hills, rocks, lakes, torrent beds, and cascades of gardens are all borrowed and copied from the surrounding nearby the Yugiri garden, to integrate the scenes of garden with wild nature, such as Aritomo sets *Shakkei* in his garden:

Yun Ling: 'Shakkei?' Aritomo: 'Borrowed Scenery.' There were four ways of doing it, he explained: Enshaku-distant borrowing-took in the mountains and the hills; Rinshaku used the features from a neighbour's property; Fushaku took from the terrain; and Gyoshaku brought in the clouds, the wind and the rain. (TGOEM: 149).

Such borrowed scenes from the Malayan nature to stand in a Japanese garden can be claimed as a connection between Japanese gardening arts with other social discourses in the Malayan nature. The Japanese gardening art might cause colonised people to accept the Japanese culture, as they may be attracted to the beauty of Japanese gardens. As Nakagawara (2004: 91) mentions: "landscape architecture as a creative ground, situated at crossroads of syncretic religious belief and the human need to fantasize and play". Regarding the rich cultural discourses in Japanese gardens, Japan chooses a gently and intelligent way to communicate with other identities in its colony, Malaya.

For instance, Aritomo as a Japanese immigrant who built his home style garden in Malaya, it is believed that his gardens also contained a strong nostalgic emotion. Similarly, the British soldiers also built many British gardens in their former colonies such as New Zealand (Beattie, 2011). The intentions of these gardens might be innocent but if we investigate their associated function, we see that they are built in order to represent colonisers' hegemonic cultures and to persuade colonised populations to process a negotiation with the cultures of colonisers.

Furthermore, positioning gardens in the colonies can also be claimed to be an operation of "transculturation" (Tchibana, Daniels & Watkins, 2004: 364), in terms of manipulating the physical and invisible adaptation and hybridisation between native and non-native cultures. For instance, a Japanese theme has been rooted in Yugiri garden by Aritomo since the

Japanese Occupation. The survived theme of this garden has passed through the colonial to postcolonial era, to communicate with an indigenous identity of Vimalya, the indigenous gardener who helps Yun Ling of the garden restoration. Vimalya's acceptance of this job shows that she has accepted the Japanese identity, which is different from her own identity. As such, I consider that the exotic style of Japanese gardens has been incorporated and hybridised with a native culture in Malaya. The process of cultural hybridisation automatically induces one culture to appreciate and even turn to mimic another, and they negotiate between and produce a dynamic structure which represents them all. As Bhabha's claim (2004: 7), since the boundaries between those cultures are getting thinner, so a hybrid culture is formed "beyond boundary" above all the associated cultures.

### 5.3.1.2 During the Emergency Period

#### *Usage as British cultural propaganda*

As stated above, the existence of the Japanese garden Yugiri can be claimed to be a cultural dominance symbol in Malaya. Following the same approach and concept, the authorities of British Malaya, and British immigrants, also brought their garden landscapes to Malaya, in order to create the illusion of a home landscape in the foreign territory. Such as Yun Ling and other visitors who love Emily's British garden in Majuba estate, the British and other ethnic visitors came to visit Emily's garden during the Emergency period, they rushed to see this unusual British gardens in the tropics. British visitors who desired to stay at a home-like site like this, and for non-British visitors, they were curious of encountering an exotic cultural encounter by visiting Yugiri as the following quote shows:

Yun Ling: Almost sixty years, ever since Frederik's uncle Magnus established Majuba Tea Estate, its formal gardens have been admired and loved. Visitors have been coming from all over the country to enjoy an English garden in the tropics. (TGOEM: 22).

Also, Morris' article (1997) researches a similar theme, the dead British bodies in the warfare of the Europe and former British colonies were repositioned in British war garden cemeteries. In these gardens, the amount of transplanted plants from Britain are enormous, those native flowers polish these gardens as a "corner of a foreign field/ that is for ever England" (Morris, 1997: 411). Since these cemetery gardens not only stand as garden landscapes, but also for the symbol of the British Empire, such is similar to Stuart Hall's remark: "there is a strong tendency to 'landscape' cultural identities, to give them an imagined place or home" (Hall, 1995: 182). Hence, one can say that these gardens were built as propaganda for British's cultural identity and to sooth their own suffering of being a diasporic population in the colonies.



## 5.3.2 Gardens as reflecting the resistance and agency among colonisers and colonised populations.

### 5.3.2.1 During the Japanese Occupation

#### *Usage as an agency site to escape the colonial harshness*

Since Yun Ling and her sister Yun Hong visited the Japanese garden of Kyoto with their father before the war, Yun Hong fell in love with Japanese gardens and their art since then. It can be claimed that Japan has propagandized their culture successfully to other countries since the pre-war times, and they exerted their culture on the people outside of Japan such as the cases with Yun Ling and Yun Hong. It can also be seen as Japan's preparation for conquering other counties in Eastern Asia during the Second World War. As such, dreaming about a Japanese garden offered Yun Ling and Yun Hong a hope to carry on their imprisoned life as the quote below shows. The controversial and ironic of their two different perceptions of Japan can be found as follows:

Yun Ling: That was the moment we (Yun Ling and Yun Hong) started to create our own garden(in the camp), in here (their hearts)...day by day we added details to it. The garden became our refuge. Inside our minds, we are free. (TGOEM: 58)

Since the garden landscapes offer an escape through imaginary, it somehow helps to reduce the true colonial abuse and colonised people's mental perception of this abuse. Morris makes a similar claim (1997: 427): "an interface where spatial opposites of war and garden were held in uneasy tension". As such, Yun Ling and her sister can neglect the horror in the concentration camp for a short while, after doing so, they still needed to endure the abuse and the reality of war.

Following Morris' claim (1997: 427) one can argue that Yun Ling and her sister's dreaming can actually "mask the reality of war", it can provide hope for the future or "a mocking facade" to tease the Japanese colonialism. So, dreaming of a garden helped them to trespass from the present to the future, to release them from the brutal torture of colonialism for a short while.

### 5.3.2.2 During the Emergency Period

#### *Usage of Yugiri as an agency site of resilience between the CTs and the British*

During the Emergency period, the British owned the highest access to the entire Malayan land; even some private spaces like Yugiri garden could not decline the visiting requests of British officers. From the officials' regular visits one can see the anxiety of maintaining their authorities, so Yugiri garden has also become a space of displaying colonial anxiety, and a space with power struggles:

During the Emergency, some of the people who were given a private tour of Majuba Tea Estate would also ask to see Yugiri...Most of the visitors were senior government officials taking a holiday with their wives in Cameron Highlands before going back to waging war on the communist-terrorists hiding in the jungles...to boast to their friends that they had been one of the privileged few to have walked in it. (TGOEM: 34).

At the same time, Aritomo also paid CTs regularly to protect his workers in Yugiri and the neighbouring Magnus' Majuba tea estate. The workers who worked in Yugiri garden were mostly Tamil coolie who migrated from India to Malaya during the first British colonisation. Since the workers and neighbours of Aritomo were Tamil, Magnus from South Africa and his Straits Chinese wife, and another Straits Chinese Yun Ling. Thus the relationships between people in the Yugiri garden can highlight the communication between Japanese identity to others in Malay(si)a. This is also a blunt example of the negotiation between cultural identities, in terms of a fact of processing cultural hybridisation among those identities.

Aritomo's payment to CTs can also be regarded as cooperation with CTs, and also as a way of resistance to colonial authorities. However, even though he paid the CTs, Aritomo still suffered plunder and attacks from them. Thus, he faced a dilemma of choosing sides between the British authorities and the CTs. This illustrates the extent of turbulence during the Malayan Emergency period and one example in the following quote can describe an attack of CTs at Majuba estate after Aritomo's consistent payment:

Emily said to Aritomo: 'Magnus told me you've (Aritomo) been paying the CTs to stay away from Yugiri.' Aritomo: 'Majuba was included in the deal, they've changed the rules, Emily. The agreement is broken'. (TGOEM: 303)

### 5.3.3 Gardens as a reflection of cultural hybridisation in postcolonial era

#### 5.3.3.1 During the Emergency Period

The quotes which have been placed in the garden landscapes of TGOEM possess strong characteristics of cultural hybridisation in terms of a process of one identity communicating with another, and by which to form a representation of all the elements they own. As such, the discourses of garden landscapes are very different from the discourses behind the physical and tangible colonial abuse and resistance in the forest and plantation landscapes of TGOEM. In the following analysis, I will illustrate how identities can be found in the garden landscapes of TGOEM, and how they have contested, merged, and produced a consistent and endless process of cultural hybridity since the colonial times.

#### *Usage to reflect a conflict-ridden process of cultural hybridisation*

Yeoh (2001: 459) has reminded us that the postcolonial phenomenon of striving for “a new identity do not completely banish the colonial past but involve the selective retrieval and appropriation of indigenous and colonial cultures to produce appropriate forms to represent the postcolonial present”. Based on Yeoh’s argument, I want to discuss Yun Ling’s disgrace of Magnus’ proposal of inquiring a Japanese garden from Aritomo, since her hatred to the Japanese was still present six years after the war, and her concept of Japan has been covered a colonial shadow since the Japanese Occupation.

On the other hand, as Japanese who felt disgraced of what his countrymen did to their colonies, Aritomo’s feelings of guilt might be soothed by his approval of garden apprenticeship to Yun Ling. As such, the Japanese colonial abuse has invoked an ambiguous relationship which comprises hatred and disgrace at first, but after a couple of months, these two colonial “victims” fell in love during Yun Ling’s garden apprenticeship. The following two quotes illustrate a change in Yun Ling’s view of Aritomo. First, she refused to have any contact with the Japanese after the war but then turned to appreciate Aritomo’s identity for saying he was not the one who abused her people:

Magnus: ‘ask Aritomo to design a garden for your sister.’ Yun Ling: ‘He’s a Jap.’ Magnus: ‘Well, if you want a Japanese garden...’. Yun Ling: ‘They’d have to hand their emperor first before I’d ask for help from any of them’. (TGOEM: 50)

Aritomo: ‘It (Yun Ling’s proposal) makes me uncomfortable-the fact that you are asking me to do this because of what happened to your sister-and to you.’ Yun Ling: ‘It shouldn’t, if you weren’t involved in the Occupation.’ (TGOEM: 59)

Yun Ling learned about the Japanese culture gradually during her garden apprenticeship and this transformed her opinion of the Japanese. Moreover, Aritomo's garden apprenticeship includes the "beautiful and deep meaning" of Buddhism Zen, the associated philosophy of Buddhism has been also healing Yun Ling's distress after the war, such as her connection with Aritomo and the concealed identities in the garden have both reduced her thick hatred of the Japanese, and has also helped her to recover from the sorrow of the war.

Despite the circumstance of Yun Ling's intimate relationship with Aritomo, Yun Ling faced a dilemma of love and hatred about Japan, and an ironic experience of how a colonised person is trapped in choosing "not to" hate her colonisers, as she found her own incapacity of defining a clear cut of her relationship with Aritomo. Yun Ling's experience of facing her coloniser's culture can be further elaborated by Kusno's argument (1998: 550): "postcolonial identity is ironic, contradictory and anxious about inauthenticity, constituted by both a relatively unproblematic identification with the coloniser's culture, and a rejection of the coloniser's culture".

Another quote can reveal Yun Ling's firm belief in Zen gardening and this contradicts Frederik's perspective of gardening. The contradiction between those two gardening foregrounds a collision between two colonial cultures in Malaya: the contested identities between the British and the Japanese. Such phenomena has actively lasted until the postcolonial present, and attempted to impact Yun Ling's perception of garden restoration in my next discussion of the postcolonial temporarily:

Frederik: Majuba's gardens are too artificial...What is gardening but the controlling and perfecting of nature?...When you talk about "gardening" or whatever it's called, you already have man involved. You dig out beds, you chop down trees, and you bring in seeds and cuttings. It all sounds very much planned to me...if it were up to me, all of this would be taken out. (TGOEM: 23)

For Frederik, the concept of gardening seems vague and disfavoured, whether the part he dislikes is the gardening itself or the ethnic identities which are involved in those gardens stills remains a question. From the above quote, one can see that Frederik has shown abundant disagreement of the identities in the gardens of Majuba estate and Yugiri. As a South African, Frederik dislikes the ideologies of Britain and Japan, which could be interpreted as his decline to a cultural merge with those two colonial authorities. However, the fact of this cultural hybridisation has been triggered since the identities encountered, even this process is ridden with conflicts and disagreement, but undeniably, the communication among those identities has begun.

### 5.3.3.2 During the Postcolonial Period

*Usage as an agent to connect past and present, but also of rebellion against the colonial authorities*

The remaining gardens which were established in the past can be considered heritage sites at present. For instance of the Yugiri garden and Emily's British garden in TGOEM were established during the Japanese Occupation and the Emergency Period; these two gardens have remained until Malaysian postcolonial period and their value can be recognised as heritage sites. Teo and Yeoh's article (1997: 202) relates to the above argument. They point out the Tiger Balm Garden in Singapore serves as a memorial landscape for Singaporeans. Since the experience of visiting this garden has created a sense of value for the past in visitors' experiences it helps to link the past to the present, likewise of the valued of the Yugiri and Emily's gardens for visitors in TGOEM.

As such, the Tiger Balm Garden does not only provide a function of entertainment, as other gardens which were built in contemporary times do. It also acknowledges a value of visitors and their ancestors' lives, since they acknowledge the history of heritage site which can be derived to make this visiting experience unique.

Teo and Yeoh (1997: 202-4) also give a detailed explanation of the educational function of the Tiger Balm Garden. The founder, Aw Boon Haw, was a millionaire whose business empire in Asia included pharmaceutical companies, publishing firms, and a bank. Aw Boon Haw "had not intended the gardens to be only a place of relaxation but also one in which moral lessons could be learned" (Teo&Yeoh, 1997: 197). As such, the Tiger Balm Garden is greeted with its historical and educational functions by the central idea of this garden, which is similar to Yun Ling's intentions of the restoration of the Yugiri garden, and she also expects to open the Yugiri garden to the public as the following quote illustrates:

Yun Ling: My decision to restore the garden is the correct one, the only one I can make. I will ensure that Yugiri will remain. For my sister. When the garden is ready, I will put up a plaque by the Pavilion of Heaven, describing Yun Hong's life. The garden will also be a living memory of what Aritomo has made. (TGOEM: 347)

The above quote can be interpreted as an example of hybrid identity in the Yugiri garden, since Yun Ling wants to show the variety of the hybrid identities of this garden to the public, she wants to achieve a merger between the identities of her sister's, Aritomo's and her own, so she restores the garden as a way to represent and support a new hybrid culture by restoring and displaying this garden.

### *Usage as a recognition of a new identity*

As stated before, even though a strong tension appears in the process of cultural hybridisation, especially during the moments when people argue whose culture is authentic or not. This circumstance particularly occurs when people are not ready to accept cultural hybridity. Once they encounter a possibility to merge, their anxiety of losing their identities will appear. Nevertheless, the truth is that whether they accept the process of cultural hybridisation or not, their cultures will not disappear but remain in the hybrid culture for processing a consistent negotiation between its contained identities consistently.

A debate between Frederik and Yun Ling can explain the phenomena of this anxiety, which arises because they both worry about losing their own locations of cultures during the process of cultural hybridisation. The conflicted atmosphere reveals when they discuss what can be called “alien”. For instance, all the pine trees in Majuba are not tropical species but they have been transplanted from outside of Malay(si)a. The above argument can be supported by the following quote:

Yun Ling: ‘You’re removing all the pine trees in Majuba? And the firs, the eucalyptuses...the roses, the irises...the strelitzias?’ Frederik: ‘They’re all alien. All of them.’ Yun Ling: ‘So is every single tea bush here. So am I. And so are you. Mr Pretorius. *Especially* you.’ (TGOEM: 22)

Also, the above quote illustrates the process of the cultural encounter among “imported identities” in Malay(si)a (i.e.: Yun Ling’s Strait Chinese identity and Frederik’s South African one). The hybrid culture among identities is constituted through the definitions of “self and other” and “always subject to internal differentiations” (Matless, 1998: 17). As showed discourse in the above quote, a difficulty in the process of cultural hybridisation such as the argument between Yun Ling and Frederik also resonates with Bhabha’s point of (1991: 57) “inauthenticity”, which explains how colonialism has assembled the alien and local cultures as one entity, and started a discussion of whose culture is authentic.

Also, the anxiety in the process of cultural hybridisation can be described by the people who are not ready to accept hybridity as being “contaminated” (Ang, 2001a: 16) such as Frederik. The associated problem of accepting hybridity also shows a challenge of the capacity of cultural tolerance in Malaysia today.

Furthermore, Yun Ling’s identity is combated with a western element but she still declines to accept other western identification such as her disagreement of western colonisers’ cultures. This disagreement could be constituted by her disguise of the colonial abuse and the corresponding social disparity since colonial times:

Yun Ling said to Frederik: ‘I’m not European and I had been so critical of our colonial masters, how they had sold us down the river.’ (TGOEM: 320-21)

Another contradiction exists in between colonisers' cultures, the Japanese and the British, and example of this is Frederik's dislike of Aritomo's garden. This double contradictions of postcolonial identities has proved the case of the architectures in postcolonial Indonesia by Kusno, (1998: 550), and also as the postcolonial case in Malaysia. The last two quotes of this analysis below illustrate that the challenge of living with differences is present during the restoration of Yugiri garden. However, a successful merger between the Japanese, Chinese and indigenous identities have started since the restoration of Yugiri garden applies Aritomo's Japanese theme and was done by Yun Ling and Vimalya:

Yun Ling: I've hired a landscape gardener to help me, Vimalya(a Chinese-Indian in her early thirties) started her gardening service in Tanah Rata a year ago. She's very much a fan of indigenous gardens... (TGOEM: 22)...restoring a garden like Yugiri would go against all her principles. (TGOEM: 127).

Pleasantly, there are at least a few positive cases of accepting cultural hybridisation such as the one between Yun Ling and Vimalya. Contrary to Frederik's perception of Yugiri garden, Vimalya's acceptance of this garden restoration has illustrated her recognising the Japanese and Straits Chinese identities. One can claim that the restoration of Yugiri garden is a relatively smooth process of cultural hybridisation:

Vimalya (a Chinese-Indian gardener): 'Japanese gardens are supposed to have a theme, aren't they?'...The garden has to reach inside you. It should change your heart, sadden it, uplift it. (TGOME: 174-175)



### 5.3.4 Conclusion of the DA of garden landscapes in TGOEM

According to Yi-Fu Tuan's opinion (1991: 99), if we understand the values of landscapes, in terms of studying the faces and realities of the earth, the answers of where we are from will be given, and this helps us to navigate where we are heading to in the future. Through studying the gardens of TGOEM, I've identified the involvement of the colonised populations' in cultural hybridisation over gardens since colonial times. The reasons which cause the anxious fears of losing identities among Malay(si)an populations have been identified, their future challenges in this hybridizing process has been pointed out, and which even encouraged by some successful cases of cultural hybridizing in TGOEM.

In the analysis of garden landscapes in TGOEM, I focus on how gardens and people have experienced the transformation of political bodies, such as the Japanese Occupation, the Emergency period and the postcolonial present in Malay(si)a. In a deeper concern to scrutinize how colonialism's effects have been maintained until today. We see that the imported cultures (i.e.: the British, Japanese, Chinese, Indian), and the native ones (i.e.: the indigenous and Malay cultures) have processed enormous negotiations in the garden space of TGOEM. The question is, whether postcolonial Malaysia can or cannot mediate all the identities in this postcolonial society, and recognises all the challenges in this process. The answer can only be conceived and, and provided, by a wide hearted government in the future by this country.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUDING MARKS

In this thesis, I've demonstrated the differences, contradictions and similarities of the discourses which are involved in the uses of the forest, plantation and garden landscapes in TGOEM in order to answer my research questions. By studying the geographical localities of TGOEM, I realise that there are many more unclear aspects in the relationships among different identities than I expected to find. This is seen with the relationship between native and non-native/colonisers and colonised populations in (post)colonial Malay(si)an society. In particular, the way of dealing with nature is not practiced by only a singular identity in terms of (post)colonial authorities in Malay(si)a, but of a hybrid and dynamic context which comprises every identities in this nation. In other words, the identities of (post)colonial authorities might not be able to dominate the (post)colonial nature in order to control colonised/modern civilians with all their own hegemonic cultures. Since civilians' identities have also been granted a power by their cultural identity, to be able to influence, resist to and communicate with the authorities' identities, to merge with all identities as an entity for suggesting a concern of hybridity in their land policy and national identity.

The discourses which have been assigned in the landscape uses by different populations in TGOEM, an undisputable truth is that nature is not an isolated existence and it cannot be dissociated from its surrounding social discourses. Since nature in Malay(si)a has been highly utilised to achieve every populations' aims, in terms of dominating, resisting and hybridizing one another. Thus it is that colonialism has incited a process of continuous negotiation among its associated identities, which is constructed by the contradictions, ambivalences in-between every identities during and after the shifting of colonial to postcolonial Malay(si)a.

## 6.1 Reflection on the Findings

In the sphere of “dominance” of 5.1.1, 5.2.1 and 5.3.1, the analyses of forests and plantations resonate with Michel Foucault’s three tactics of effective control over territorialisation: disciplined space, moral lessons and biopower. Distinctively, gardens illustrate dominance by means of the disciplined space and moral lessons at large, the dominance by biopower indeed appears in the garden space such as Aritomo laboured Tamis coolies, however, this is a crucial utility contrary to cultural hybridisation.

In the sphere of “resistance” of 5.1.2, 5.2.2 and 5.3.2, the forms of resistance over the forest landscapes are either jointing the warfare, cooperating with CTs, or hiding in the forests, as such to rebel the colonial and postcolonial authorities in the daily lives of populations. Plantations are used to be the agency and warfare sites for resisting to colonial or postcolonial authorities. Distinctly, the cultural hybridisation in the gardens is recognised differently from plantations and forests in this sphere. Which has less violence but more advanced, metaphysical tactics of one hegemonic culture to persuade the other identities, and subordinate identities also strive to communicate with the hegemony as a way of resistance.

In the sphere of “survived colonialism and cultural hybridity in postcolonial eras” of 5.1.3, 5.2.3 and 5.3.3, the colonial abuse has survived by hiding in the forests, *deja vu* attitudes and land policies of postcolonial authorities. The Image of Malays working in the plantations has been manipulated to assimilate other identities in Malaysia. The practice of the citizenscape to Malays in the plantations can also consolidate a Malay-dominated national government. Rather, the identified postcolonial themes have been illustrated by the process of cultural hybridisation of the uses of garden landscapes in particular. From the success and difficulties in cultural hybridisation, the contradictions between identities layout the existence of colonial impact till postcolonial times.

## 6.2 Discussion and Future Research

When composing a thesis in the field of cultural geography relating to Malaysia, there are two points which should be discussed: First, colonialism has not been demolished in the land of Malaysia after sixty years of their national independence. For instance, the forest management in Malaysia still applies a similar idea with their colonial masters, such as the carelessness of indigenous people's dependence on forest space in Sabah (Doolittle, 2004). A racial segregation still demarcates over plantations, Malaysian authorities still facilitated the *Federal Land Development Authority* (FELDA) of the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) aimed to position the icon of Malay by the term of *bumiputera* (son of the soil), to assimilate other identities such as the indigenous populations without their self-determination (Ma & Cartier, 2003: 70-72).

Second, by foregrounding the above survived colonial abuse in the present Malaysia, one can see that the associated problems of social disparity and the challenging cultural hybridisation still wait to be dealt with in today's Malaysia. Thus, this thesis encourages a negotiation between the identities in Malay(si)a by studying geographical localities, in order to contribute to a systematic comprehension of the relationship between humans and nature.

Having the same opinion of Sioh (1998, 2004, 2010), I have enabled a possibility of "knowing past to accepting now" by studying the spaces in the nature of Malay(si)a. By doing so, this thesis has trained me to discuss unclear and controversial situation with respects, such as the topics about ethnicity, landscape, and the intermingled relationships in the between. By respecting these unclear situations and the differences between the identities, I've learnt something in addition but maybe the most worthy achievement of this thesis: to humble my research attitude including the way I consider the East-West issue and the man-nature relationship.

Since this thesis is constructed on the basis of literature analyses and reviews, it would be advisable to corroborate my findings with practical fieldworks from more disciplines. In order to solidifying the validity of this research one could compare the result of this thesis with some empirical researches in the future. Interviews with local populations to characterize their opinions about cultural hybridity and postcolonial phenomena would be the best manner in which to do this corroboration of my findings. Besides, a life experience in Malaysia and actual interaction with locals might improve a researcher's ability to interpret this multi-ethnic society. Lastly, I recognise that this type of critical research has the power to ease the reality of social disparity, since the difference among populations have been noticed and raised relevant discussion to exert a future acceptance of a hybrid societal identity.

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