

The ‘Bitterness of Sugar’: Legacies of nineteenth-century indentured migration and the identities of Indians in Guyana

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Dedication

My dissertation choice has its preliminary stages on the day in London when my recently widowed maternal grandmother handed me, her 14-year-old granddaughter, an heirloom (see Appendix A), saying, “I want you to know and learn about this”. I did not know my other grandparents; we were separated by migration. My grandmother did not tell me about the history behind the old piece of paper, but its ragged, worn-out edges, tired look and faded print told their own story. The document represented worn-out, tired people with a faded background, spatially lost, long ago in time and history’s old stories. The difference I saw in my grandmother’s wise, yet sad, eyes contrasted with the unwise, curious, young eyes of a grandchild several generations down the line of indentured descendants. Re-imagined romantic images, conjured up in my young mind, mixed with misunderstanding and questions: why were we in Guyana if we were from India? Why, then, were we now in London? Conflicting thoughts of past families and nostalgic, faraway places summoned up a reminiscence of pleasure and pain for my grandmother.

We were not taught the full impacts of slavery at school, let alone historical happenings *after* slavery. My generation had many questions about our heritage, but answers were not often forthcoming. In those days, descendants who migrated again knew little, if anything, about the sacrifices and successes of our indentured forefathers. My grandmother and mother did not explain much about their ancestry; perhaps they did not know. Some older generations did not talk about their struggles and hardships. They merely accepted their place in society as their fate. In some cases, a sense of shame or hidden identities prevented the disclosure of complete information.

Nevertheless, handing me this important yet humble record opened up questions about its legacy and identified my ancestral lineage. All my grandmother did was pass on a message. The certificate’s importance and heritage illustrated a formal piece of British Colonial ownership. The proof of an onerous five-year labour contract from 1885-1890 for one young

Indian, my great grandfather. The old certificate represented the inheritance of yet another colonial experiment of subservience. The continuance of inequality. That of Indian indentured contracted labourers.

The intimate piece of history shared with me has been instrumental in my quest to discover answers to the loaded question ‘where are you from?’. It allowed me to delve deeper into discovering my identity. Additionally, it reinforced my already-founded thirst for sociological knowledge regarding colonialism, racial inequality, migration and cultural studies. Hence, this dissertation research has personal, reflective connections to my heritage. My qualitative research utilises, amongst other processes, autoethnographic methodologies, using personal stories and practices to critique experiences “about the self-told through the lens of culture” (Adams, Holman Jones and Ellis, 2015, p.14). The historical certificate led me to explore how and why social factors formed under British colonial rule created an inheritance of labour and servitude, shaping the lives of indentured Indians during the nineteenth century. Moreover, it provided a guide to discovering how the ramifications of colonial indentureship influenced identities of both past and present Indians in Guyana.

I hope that my grandmother would be proud of my acknowledgement of the certificate as evidence in the backdrop of researching details of its legacies and consequences. I was born in Demerara, British Guiana, the location where the sweetness of brown sugar comes from. However, the bitterness of producing sugar suffered by my ancestral heritage is difficult to savour. I hope I have achieved, in some part, what my grandmother wanted me to discover that day she handed me a record of the past. To pass on messages from unheard voices, stories of endurance, hope, determination, not giving up and providing better lives for their descendants. Most importantly, out of respect, appreciation and remembrance of my predecessors not to be forgotten, I, therefore, dedicate this work to my grandmother, Ajeegan Hussein, my parents and my ancestors.

Introduction

Migration is not a new phenomenon. Humankind's desire to explore new lands for better opportunities has happened for millennia. Globalisation incorporates migration of varying kinds in search of improved economic and social conditions. Individual migration is voluntary by choice; however, certain people become immigrants in foreign lands because of forced migration due to war or poverty. The Atlantic slave trade forced millions of Africans to work in colonial plantations. Officially, the abolition of the Slave Trade Act in March 1807 made slave trading illegal; however, slavery continued in parts of the British Empire's Caribbean colonies. After the Slave Emancipation Act was passed in August 1833, the primary interest of plantation owners was to seek new labour forces. Britain's colonial rule of India and connections with the East India Company enabled colonial sugar plantations to be replenished with Indian labourers. Thousands of Indians, many facing starvation, were shipped around the world, including to the Caribbean, under systems of indentured servitude. This study concentrates on indentured Indians taken to British Guiana. Post-emancipation, Indians indentured as contracted labour replaced enslaved 'free' labour. Plantocracies were obligated to distinguish differences between old and new workers by employing Indian recruits as 'unfree' labourers. Hence, Indians transported during the 19th and early 20th centuries were bound into three to five-year indentured contracts. Research revealed differentiation between enslaved and indentured labourers was slight. Indians were abused in a similar manner as the former enslaved Africans. Amongst bitter racial struggles and low placement in hierarchical structures, there were also challenges adapting to new environments. Relocation and colonial institutions imposed reshaped identities. Indians faced hardships and mistreatment; however, research also indicates that agency and resilience enabled enhanced lives for some Indians and their descendants.

Indians who initially crossed the oceans had their lives and identities transformed during migration and working on structured colonial plantations. This dissertation proposes to analyse the unexpected ramifications of leaving India's subcontinent behind and venturing to unknown lands. In doing so, it aims to indicate how the loss of belonging may have psychologically affected Indian labourers.

The British colonial "policy of divide and rule.....to play one ethnic section against another" (Moore, 1992 p.192) created instability and resentment amongst newly arrived Indians and formerly enslaved Guyanese residents. The need to find an adequate labour force for capitalist sugar production imprinted Indians and their descendants with a stereotypical

image. The portrayal of lowly, labouring coolies with limited mobility kept their identification restricted to the plantation environment. Many Indo-Guyanese remained marginalised, impoverished, socially and financially underprivileged for generations. The dissertation will evidence the hardships and bitterness behind the sugar plantations, which led to future economic migration by descendants searching for better lives. For the initially indentured, identity was a stronghold for a sense of self, dignity and belonging. Preserving Indian identities, however, proved a significant challenge.

The History of Indian Indentureship in Guyana

The dissertation will highlight the impact of British colonialism within the Caribbean plantocracy, with a particular focus on British Guiana, under Britain's rule since 1814 and declared a British colony in 1831 (Guyana Profile-Timeline, 2019). The research underlines that capitalist needs associated with the sugar industry compelled the replacement of slave labour with indentured Indian labour after the abolition of slavery. In 1838, British Guiana was the "first Caribbean territory to which the empire forced Indian workers to migrate" (Singh, 2022). On 5th May 1838, two vessels, the *Whitby* and the *Hesperus*, referred to as "coolie ships", arrived in British Guiana carrying indentured Indians from Calcutta (Persaud, 2009). After slavery emancipation, indentured Indian labourers were shipped to the country as another cheap source of hard labour to replace work done by enslaved African labourers. Between 1838 and 1917, around 239,000 "Indians came to British Guiana" (Bisnauth, 2000, p.11). This introduction gives historical and geographical background. The following chapters will outline the research framework, with chapter two covering the literature review and chapter three detailing the methodology, methods and findings regarding indentured migration.

This study will highlight how poor socio-economic conditions, hunger, and lack of employment in parts of India instigated mass migration to British colonial sugar plantations. The dissertation's emphasis concentrates on East Indians who were brought from British colonial India to British Guiana to live and work as indentured manual labourers and domestics. Indians were classified as Coolies, a word *not* seen as negative in India. However, in the Caribbean, planter classes used the term to imply Indian coolies as inferior, "stupid, backward, uncivilised, and resistant to change" (Roopnarine, 2018, p.33). Additionally, the British used the word 'coolie' as a racial slur (Kumar, 2017). The movement of Indians

travelling to British Guiana occurred after the Atlantic Slave Trade was no longer permitted to operate. The Indians were contracted into three to five-year indentured confinement into a system paradoxically called “the Coolie Trade” (Northrup, 2003, p.5). Thus, similar continued discourse in the system’s title by using ‘trade’ when regarding people expresses degradation. The dissertation acknowledges that Indian indentured labourers were also transported from mainland India to other colonised parts of the world, such as Mauritius, South Africa and Trinidad. However, the primary purpose of this research will concentrate on Indian labourers who travelled to British Guiana, which was colonised by the British and was, at the time, part of the British Empire.

In 1966, the country gained independence, renaming itself Guyana and to this day remains part of the British Commonwealth. British Guiana (now Guyana) is positioned on the northern coastline of the South American continent (see Image 1). While not physically a Caribbean island, Guyana is nevertheless associated with the Caribbean West Indies due to its proximity and past colonial connections with other nearby parts of the British West Indies.

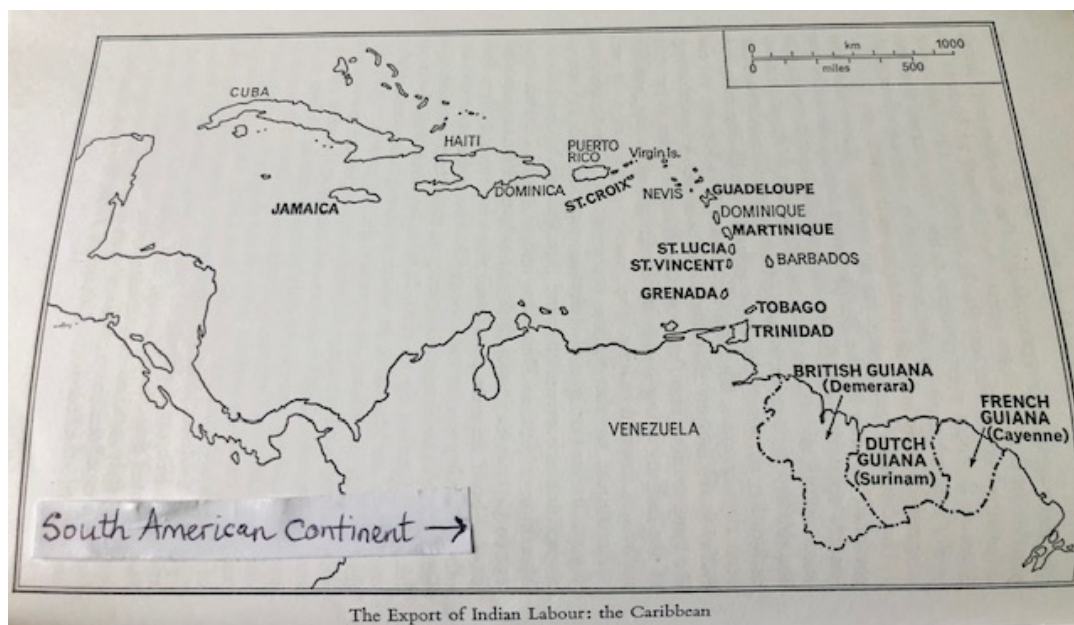


Image 1 – The Export of Indian Labour in the Caribbean (Tinker, 1993, p.114)

Before British colonial rule, Guiana was colonised by the Dutch (Rodney, 1982). Image 1 displays three Guianas: British Guiana, Dutch Guiana and French Guiana. British Guiana is the only English-speaking country in South America and was the only country on the continent colonised by the British. Historically, Guiana’s indigenous inhabitants were native Amerindians killed mainly by disease or force during invasion and colonisation (Rodney, 1982).

Guyana is often called the land of many rivers; the name originated from the indigenous Amerindian people, meaning the land of many waters (Spinner, 1984). As well as many rivers, Guyana is a country of many different people. Guyana's population consists of ethnicities from several diverse cultural backgrounds. The main six ethnic groups are Indigenous Amerindians, Portuguese, European, African, East Indian and Chinese mostly live, in Guyana's Atlantic coastal areas (Spinner, 1984). During the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, enslaved Africans were brought to Guiana for plantation labour (Abbott, 2010). The present-day majority population are descendants of enslaved Africans. The often forgotten inhabitants' history, consists of descendants of indentured East Indian labourers. Indentured Indians were taken to British Guiana post-emancipation and post-apprenticeship, 1832-1838, when planters were given a "further lease of slave labour" during the transition period from enslaved to freed workers (Rodney, 1981). The dissertation acknowledges that indentured Chinese and Portuguese workers also migrated to British Guiana in the nineteenth century. However, the limitations of this study do not allow for a deep exploration of other emigrants in British Guiana. The diverse groups of people lived and worked near each other. Close living quarters evidently lead to mixed relationships across cultures. Numerous arrivals from India after the first wave migration of indentured labourers settled, several re-indentured, and some returned to India. However, the path for some descendants would further migrate, forming Indian Guyanese, often called Indo-Guyanese, to resettle in global diasporas. Although the dissertation mentions different locations of indentureship, the research narrowly focuses on lives and experiences of Indian indentured labourers taken to British Guiana. The study examines how their descendants' lives and identities were impacted due to first and second migration.

Indentureship and Identity

Indentureship's Implications on Identity

Identity can manifest complexities within communities; juxtaposed with a simplistic determiner often requiring one word answers to questions such as, 'where are you from?', 'which region?', 'which religion?'. The answer can lead to conflicts of contrasting ideas, belief systems, language and customs of mixed social groups. Charles Taylor, recognition theorist, suggests that recognition of knowing who you are and from where, fundamentally defines and characterises you as a human being (Taylor 1992), cited in (Craig, Burchardt and Gordon, 2008). Furthermore, respect of oneself through identity is a "vital human need", "an ontological

identity: a person's unique sense of self' (ibid.p110). Varying social dynamics, disputed behaviours and uncertainties of what and who lies ahead are formulated. The responsibility to trust one's own gut instinct and make huge life changes moving from homelands, weighs a heavy burden on migration choice. Leaving behind one's embedded identity, associated communities and families, for many is a big risk. My argument here, from a psychosocial perspective, proposes that identity carries a multitude of intricacies bestowing critical elements in human existence for a sense of self, depth of belonging and risk of (re)placement in society. (Roopnarine, 2018, p.80) suggests moving from one's own environment to a new one, can lead to "stress and other psychological problems". Simple everyday basic needs and rights are often fought internally and externally around complications of 'fitting,' and 'not fitting' into new surroundings and designated social orders. The risk of social exclusion determines the need to assimilate and fit in. Indentured Indian staggered journeying to countries allocated for labour, encountered different phases of disruption to the self, status and many identity stages along the way, prior to arrival at plantation life.

Stages of Change

Erikson's work of 1968 on 'identity crisis' (cited in Bharati and Shroff, 2020) highlights different life stages of human identity development are imperative for learning how to progress, alongside interaction with other cultural identities. However, transition can be challenging for those unfamiliar to the disequilibrium of well-established rituals of everyday life (Bharati and Shroff, 2020). Leaving behind ancient Indian practices, whilst travelling towards indentured life, saw families uprooted from familiar domains of existence to undertake new, unfamiliar realities. Initially, indentured Indians were exclusively single men seeking work. Indian women and families carrying youngsters followed, lured to a better life. Adults and children would soon find their whole lifespan committed to indentured bonded labouring. Many illiterate coolies signed by fingerprint mark; a five-year contract based on trusting the indentured policy, which indicated free passage back home to India after five years servitude. However, in practice, this right was theoretical. Colonial tweaks and demands for re-indentureship or new instigated costs resulted in few returnees. Further cuts to ties with those left behind in India affected closeness to identity (Tharoor, 2017). Erikson theorised psychosocial personal and family life development is universal to forming relationships and learning who to trust versus who to mistrust. Erikson argued that the trusting stage in life is vital because "it shapes one's view of the world" (cited in Bharati and Shroff, 2020).

The impact of indentureship on family life was disharmonious to fulfilling personal development, peppered along its path with danger. Children were put to work on sugar plantations aged eight or nine (Rodney, 1981) their development limited to plantation life. The British 'master society' for example, slave owner, John Gladstone wanted a second labour force that could be easily controlled within hierarchical structures of sugar estates. Post-emancipation, Gladstone recruited 'Hill coolies' as indentured Indians in his "Gladstone experiment" which received severe criticism for severe ill-treatment, violence and abuse to Indians, so much so that Lord Brougham, British statesman, described "indentureship as an abominable traffic" (Bisnauth, 2000, p.15). My argument here implies that Indians were unaware their next life stage was to follow quite literally into the footsteps of former slaves. Consequently, and in addition to skin colour, regarded as inferior, Indians were exploited and carried an identity as powerless and inferior. Tinker, (1993) reveals Lord Stanley questioned in the House of Lords why floggings and a "system of slavery" was occurring under indentureship (Tinker, 1993, p.252). The underpinning of another slave like labour system was detrimental to healthy advancement of one's psyche which trickled down through Indian generations. Tinker was not the first to liken indenture to slavery. In 1871 Joseph Beaumont, Chief Justice of British Guiana, wrote a scathing report describing indenture "a monstrous, rotten system, rooted upon slavery, grown in its stale soil" (Beaumont, 1871, P.14). Beaumont highlighted immigration of coolies to Demerara was "a new slavery" (ibid.p.15) and demanded changes for oppressed subjects, insisting indentureship to be "in truth a new slavery under another guise" (ibid.p.6).

I further argue indentured suffered varieties of intimidation and abuse. Not only from planters but due to close timings of their arrival after slavery, former enslaved distrusted and resented Indians, calling them 'scab labour' and exercising levels of superiority referring to Indians as "Coolie Slaves" (Tinker, 1993, p.252). I am not implying or competing that indentured Indians suffered the exact same atrocities of African enslaved. I echo that scholars have drawn parallels to Eurocentric superiority of white owners who again controlled another people of colour through brutality. With reference to legacies of indentureship my arguments demonstrate foundations for shaping an identity as obeying, docile Indians fearing lies and abuse. The dishonesty of recruiters, mistrust of sailors and colonial masters who harassed females during sea voyages and on estates, maltreatment from overseers' whippings in cane fields, discrimination in poor home, work conditions, developed a workforce with low self-esteem and fragmented identity. Additionally, literature discoveries revealed identity displacement began via arduous journeys well before arrival onto the sugar estates.

Consequences of Journeys

Before the treacherous voyages, long detention periods for sifting Indians at colonial depots produced a “world of its own...various caste and religious backgrounds speaking different dialects displaying different behavioural traits” were shoved together (Roopnarine, 2018, p.13). Madhwi (2015), highlights the scrutinising examinations during recruitment selection. Demoralising bodily assessments were performed, prodding and poking Indians like chattel. Inspectors were ordered to check that “their hands should have horns on the palmer base of the finger, showing that the emigrants were accustomed to hard work”, (Madhwi, 2015). My point here highlights the chaotic enclosures and pressures of acceptance for work, placed Indians into a state of psychological turmoil even before embarkment. Hurried, inaccurate spellings of names by colonial administrators with little care for who they saw as uneducated coolies, disregarded one’s correct name indicating forms of disrespect for identity. The reformation of identity started at the outset. For some, it was an advantageous way of escaping the identity of caste. For many women, it was a means to evade patriarchal violence. Gaiutra Bahadur, in her seminal book, *Coolie woman* (2016), offering a feminist perspective of indentured women, reports George Grierson, colonial civil servant 1871-1903 wrote, recruit the “poor creatures... or they will only have two alternatives: suicide or prostitution” (Bahadur, 2016 p.36). Indeed, some women and men suffering extreme mental turmoil did commit suicide either before ship journeys or on plantations. Unfortunately, some tormented pregnant “coolie women occasionally jump overboard” choosing to exercise their only autonomy and abort all (Dabydeen, Kaladeen and Ramnarine, 2018 p.171). The disturbing history comes to mind of slave traders throwing pregnant women overboard deliberately to claim insurance money. However, slightly less troubling, recruiters were paid, per head, to land indentured alive (Dabydeen, et al., 2018). Returning to Indian birth names, the disadvantage of bureaucratic errors when incorrectly scribbling family surnames on colonial registers, was an unchosen immediate alteration to one’s identity. Promises of free return passage back to India where identities could be reformed, after the passage of time abroad, helped override and push decisions to travel.

Worries and fatigue from travelling towards depots, the exhausting sea voyage, and deaths onboard from epidemics, measles and cholera took a tremendous toll on the physical and mental wellbeing of those indented for indentureship. The psychological impacts, fear of the unknown, and anxieties around reshaped identities were too much to bear for some destined for indentured contracts. Incidents of “emigrants committing suicide by jumping overboard”

was commonplace (Bisnauth, 2000, p.52). The push and pull factors, the strain of holding onto familiarity, can cause mental distress when trying to forge ahead in identifying new ventures. Shashi Tharoor evocatively describes feelings, which I suggest resonated during interviews with indentured descendants on re-imagining their ancestors' histories. (Tharoor, 2017, p.165) epitomises the wrenching of Indians from their homes “amid scenes of desolation and despair was a crime that would haunt the history of British rule in India for generations to come”. An argument here questions if British colonisers were offering prospects to help vulnerable, distressed people, or taking advantage of their distress for exploitation of their own gains. On the other hand, the pull factors in the Caribbean, work, food, new prospects, pushed Indians with little choice, to migrate. However, the pulling influence was not only due to poverty but was instigated by a powerful capitalist expansion and the “program of imperialism and colonialism” (Roopnarine, 2018, p.17). Necessity was for most, the driving force to leave and adapt to other social ways of living, in some cases, adaptation of their religious modes. In later years parents who wanted their children educated, were influenced to convert to Christianity as schools were run by missionaries. Although different ethnic castes had resided in their collective groups of ‘own kind’ in some parts of India, it was not usual to cross combine, socialising, living, sleeping spaces, and eating alongside other castes. Close amalgamation of Indian identities occurred on ship journeys whilst sailing abroad towards indentureship.

On voyages to foreign lands, various castes shared mixed living quarters during journeys lasting three to five months (Bisnauth, 2000);(Roopnarine, 2018) therefore necessitating a blending of identities. People accustomed to village life, amongst their own caste and distinguished by religious practices, suddenly needed to acclimatise within a bundling of people in similar procedures as “slavery brought together Africans of different religions and linguistic affiliations” as argued by (Dabydeen and Samaroo, 1996 p.3). Highlighting that barriers and boundaries broke down, threatening identity and loyalties. Dabydeen and Samaroo (1996) use ‘mélange’ as an analogy to describe the mix of Tamils, Bhojpuris, South Dravidians rubbing shoulders amongst north Indian Aryans, thus demonstrating merging and collaboration of different peoples. The realisation of change saw low castes mingling with brahmans. Muslims and Hindus eating in close proximity and encountering practices such as meat-eating, which some found abhorrent.

Nonetheless, an intersection of shared identity was the commonality for all seeking the same bridge to better lives. People from numerous parts of India arrived in Calcutta by varying methods, some kidnapped, many coerced, and thousands seeking escape from deprivation and hunger, all to be shipped together. Before ship voyages, Indians formed “*Dipua Bhai*” (depot

brotherhood), Roopnarine (2018, p.14) explains how resilience to survive founded kinship and social bonds of “*Jahaja Bhai* and *Jahaja Bahin* (ship brothers and sisters) across caste and religion”. Constant fear of recruiters, colonisers, the perilous journey and insecurities accelerated the shift to form relationships, across castes, establishing comradeships to maintain sanity, protection and survival.

Strength and survival of the fittest appear predominant characteristics needed to cross the “*Kala Pani* (Hindi) for the dark waters between India and the New World” (Dabydeen, et al., 2018 p.172). Religious superstition and a sense of dread leaving India’s mother land, the birthplace, of their ancestors and crossing Kala Pani’s “*pagal smundar*” the mad seas, where caste was lost and turned them into polluted beings (ibid.) Heavy burdens affected many with disgrace and uncertainty. However, they held onto notions that they could pay a priest to cleanse them on their return to India as was the required procedure to return into native villages. Yet, the few who did return were rejected, outcasted by neighbours and families, “they had lost their moorings of caste” (ibid.) Negative forces on the awareness of lost identity for indentured, coupled with homesickness and sea sickness, caused psychological depression, physical deterioration and suicide as recorded by colonial observers (Kumar, 2017).

Creolisation

The next consequential shift to identity happened on arrival into plantation society within colonial life. Many Indians during this era, had not ever left their village, let alone crossed vast seas. The culture shock contrasting with the excitement of new lands were additional emotions to bear (Dabydeen 2015). Indentured Indians were quickly put to work and required to further mix with other ethnic groups already living in Guyana. Leaving a homogenous society to live in a heterogeneous community brought forth a different set of implications (Kumar, 2017). Cultural diversity within daily life was underpinned by colonialism’s “white minority dominance” (Moore, 1992, p.192). Indians needed to deal with the contrast of restrictions to freedom on plantations with confine. They left an old distressing life yet were constricted to a new one under white policies. The difference and combined peoples formed a multicultural environment of Africans, Indians, Chinese and Portuguese and Europeans. The fusion of multiculturalism created a hybridisation of identities. Resulting in advantages and disadvantages, confused tongues with growth of mixed creolised identities.

The intertwining of two or more civilisations locked together in diasporic populations can create a sense of double diaspora, giving rise to double consciousness of being and double identity (Fanon, 2008); (Gilroy, 2007). Reflecting on Fanon’s theories of wearing two masks

and holding two frames of self, I argue, no matter how creative, resilient and resistant black and brown identities became, they nevertheless remained ‘primitive’, ‘dark and inferior’ under the shadow of Empire’s superior colonial gaze (Fanon, 2008). Homi Bhabha analyses the “colonial identity” as one of internal struggle of split condition and consciousness (ibid, p. xxvii). Creolisation was a form of survival within a colonial situation. A term found in associated literature is “melting pot” (Dabydeen and Samaroo, 1996, p.4; Spinner, 1984, p.12) which can evoke an exotic and harmonious intermingling of contrasting cultures, exchanging and sharing food, music and friendship. However, conversely, the analogy of a melting pot can lead to spilling over of traditional correctness, social disagreements, and cultural conflict, resulting in a boiling point explosion of “racial disharmony” (ibid.)

Prior to 1964, the two distinctive ethnic groups, African former enslaved and Indian indentured lived relatively harmoniously. Guyana’s cultural diversity resulted in an embracement of each other’s culture, cuisine and religions. A creolisation of identities formed jumbled combinations of language, and mixed relationships. Édouard Glissant (2011), provides a deep and eloquent journal analysis of creolisation, arguing that the Creole language was born from expressions of more than one original root, aspects of different cultural places and spaces overlapping from the multiplicities of multiculturalism (Glissant, 2011). Creolised language and behaviours shaped by disjointed occurring in plantation enclosures between realities of people who were “both deported and identities imported” (ibid.p.12). Depending on location, ‘creole’ denotes different markers of identity. For example, in Mauritius, where thousands of Indian indentured laboured after slavery, the word ‘creole’ refers solely to black people of African descent. Mauritius’ British and French colonisation created a French ‘patois’ or broken French language.

In Guyana, layering various cultural identities also created bi-racial and multi-racial dialects spelt ‘patwa’ in the Caribbean. Creolisation incorporates broad terms of difference, cross-sectional liaisons of diverse ethnicities, specific integration of spaces and places with continual change, referred to as “geographies of encounter” (Cohen and Sheringham, 2016, p.53). Glissant (2011) envisaged creolisation as a way of unity and absorption to blend and re-think identities, hoping for harmonic cohesion amidst different races whose prerequisite was to live side by side. However, many in Guyana formed their own segregated communities with Indian villages and African villages each maintaining separate living spaces and religions. During the indentured era, colonial plantation politics stirred disagreements and divided people. In 1964 political divisions cut deep conflict between the “fragile inter-ethnic

harmony” between Afro and Indo-Guyanese, resulting in violence and deaths. Thousands of Indians were forced to flee abroad due to the racial tensions (Economist, 2017).

East Indians become West Indians

By early 20th century, most indentured Indians settled in British Guiana with distant connections to East India. Some Indians, after their indentured period, were offered small plots of land as incentives to remain labouring. Establishing family relations, some within mixed cultural marriages, the transformation of becoming West Indians occurred. Traditional fluent Indian languages were now a distant memory, with few remembered words from elders blended within creolised tongues. Indentured were now West Indians living with a hyphenated-identity of being from East India but residing in British West Indies and speaking creolised, broken English. The necessity was now to make and call this place home. However, working-class people continued to live in poor conditions with few prospects. The co-existence of black and Indian communities became strained, with few jobs causing friction. Therein, when post-war Britain called her British subjects to come to work, second-wave migration by Indentured descendants moved as further necessity for improvement like their forefathers had done. African-Guyanese and other Caribbean islanders also migrated because of socio-economic factors. From 1948 to 1963, 80,000 West Indians travelled to the UK (British Library, 2022). In the 1960s, the push factor for Indians to leave Guyana for Britain, America and Canada was due to the racist killings of Indians. The scattered people across global spaces created multicultural diasporic societies, further shaping their being and identity. Gilroy (1992) highlights Marx’s speech regarding the traditions of dead generations living like nightmares in their great-grandchildren's minds. Ironically, descendants of enslaved and indentured labourers “set up home in the land of those who had tormented their progenitors,” as emphasised by (Gilroy, 1992, p.285). West Indian migrants arriving in Britain in the 1940s to 1970s were collectively classified alien blacks, browns “all the same.....‘N’-word, ‘P’-word” (ibid. p.66). They equally faced racial abuse and injustices when trying to find work and homes, questioning their identities with negative psychological impacts. The pattern of ill-treatment, bad housing, menial lowly jobs were repeated again, likened to their enslaved and indentured ancestors’ struggles, as though the whole vicious cycle of oppression and racial hatred circulated its legacy.

West Indians become Othered

Negative tropes continued the existing racial ideology of Indians. Rhetoric from white leaders in the 20th century, namely Winston Churchill, proclaimed, “I hate Indians. They are a beastly people with a beastly religion” (Akala, 2018, p.123), added to destructive stereotypical representations. My argument suggests that it is difficult to maintain one’s true, clear and correct identity with burdens of harmful and incorrect identification. Alienation due to their difference in skin colour, referenced as ‘those others’, increases disadvantage, for example, to those migrating to Britain. The necessity again for work and survival forced people to bury painful feelings, however, as researched, the re-appearance of generational trauma affected descendants. Racist, derogatory remarks and violence appear to be another legacy for descendants to suffer. Often racial taunting came from ignorance of colonial history, showing some British provokers knew little or nothing of why people from ‘strange’ foreign lands were now arriving on British shores. Ambalavaner Sivanandan was the first to coin the phrase “we are here because you were there” (Sivanandan, 2008).

The bold and meaningful sentence rings true to my own and many colonised experiences of migration. In agreement with Sivanandan, I add to the argument that the ‘you’ British colonisers were ‘there’, first in India, then ‘there’ in Guyana, creating your own wealth, then calling their Indian Caribbean subjects to be ‘here’ to labour in Britain. In my phraseology, many others and I, ‘are here, because you were there, and there’, reshaping identities along cyclical journeys. Ian Patel (2021) further determines Sivanandan’s aphorism detailing “1,467,275 people born in British territories overseas” (Patel, 2021, p.25), would in time migrate to their colonial ‘motherland’ in the Empire, only to be greeted with a hostile environment.

The colonisers were ‘here’ in whichever location Western ideology decided needed governance. The “irrational, different” native colonised versus the colonisers’ “mature, normal” Western self-representation profited from and ruled their land (Said, 2003, p.41). The West’s self-elevation and creation of an ‘Us and Them’ image is theorised by Stuart Hall. Hall argues power relations formulated by discourses of superiority over racial inferiority created the European model of “the West and the Rest” (Hall, 2002), damaging in the past and remaining alive in modern times.

Obligated to assimilate and ‘fit in’, some West Indians adopted English names and British or American ways life depending which diaspora they migrated to. Yet, they remained the ‘other’. Many scholars have theorised the othering of people of colour by non-Westerners. Edward Said’s theory regarding the occident comparing its superiority over the orient

demonstrates how Empire's colonial rule identified itself as stronger. The Western dogmatic dialogues were created to justify their necessity to rule over the 'other' because the Eastern orient was weaker (Said, 2003). Despite concentrating on distortions of Oriental and Middle Eastern cultures, Said's work equally parallels with misrepresentations of Indians as 'childlike and weak' yet at the same time 'savage and beastly'. I argue that carrying two or double identities, beastly strength but fragile child, adds to a confused, limbo state of self-identity.

Having mentioned above the double consciousness faced by West Indians, I further argue and theorise that triple consciousness, a third identity, is thrown into identity's sphere. Joseph Berger, journalist, New York Times (2014) cited in (Roopnarine, 2018), discusses that twice migration overseas produced thoughts and identities of "twice removed, with triple consciousness of India, the Caribbean and Western developed countries" (Roopnarine, 2018, p.7). For my own identity, I retain associated feelings of triple identity; Indian, Guyanese Indian, British Caribbean Indian. Likewise, the extended double, treble diasporic identity of other places is voiced, "Once just a Guyanese of Indian origin, I am now an American of Indian origin born in Guyana" (Ramsaran, 2017).

Interviews

Methodology Overview

Methodology and methods outlined in this chapter were used to construct the dissertation. After developing a research proposal as groundwork, qualitative methodology was chosen as the best technique to gather "detailed, rich data, allowing for an in-depth understanding" (Giddens and Sutton, 2016, p.48). Qualitative methodology suited the sociological lens and social realities of particular social groups being explored. Justification for a qualitative approach applied to the research nature due to sensitive and personal issues raised. Qualitative methodology is "more concerned to understand individuals' perceptions of the world" (Bell, 2009, p.7). The procedure to obtain data was to design semi-structured interviews, explained further in the methods section. Consideration was given to the delicate human equation concerning interviewees' psychological state of mind and experiences of their grandparents lived experiences. Bell (2009, p.8) highlights qualitative methods are more suited to seeking the inner visions of the participants. Therefore, a qualitative methodology conducted the interviewing segment rather than a quantitative one which is more aimed at collecting facts and statistics.

Further rationale for this preferred strategy, implied by (Ahmed and Ahmed, 2014, p.299), explains, “Qualitative research in social science is an invaluable way to understand the social world”. Additionally, (Brown, 2006) suggests three strands in structuring methodology; what is real, what is knowledge, and which values underpin the research. These scholarly claims are supported in the research’s continuum, which intends to discover and understand the indentured beliefs and social world through various philosophical debates (Ahmed and Ahmed, 2014). Philosophical schools of thought applied to research processes are discussed in the following paragraph.

Philosophical Position

The research subject, from a philosophical stance, adopted an ontological approach. A vital element in preparing this dissertation was considering the best methodological structure. Brown (2006, p.12) explains, “methodology is the philosophical framework within which the research is conducted or the foundation upon which the research is based”. Having established an essence from which to launch the research work, Grix (2002, p.177) confirms that “ontology is the starting point of all research”. Ontological assumptions apply basis for gathering narratives of lived experiences from individuals. In this case questioning how colonial indentureship shaped the identities Indian labourers and their descendants.

Justification of using an ontological basis to discover ‘what is, what exists and what we can know’ was deemed necessary due to researching the nature of social entities and how to interpret particular groups of individuals in society (Al-Saadi, 2014). Additionally, Alan Bryman explains how and why social scientists conduct social research. Bryman describes the challenges researchers face when reflecting on what occurred in earlier social life. Moreover, with reference to this specific study searching for how modern societal behaviour is influenced by the past (Bryman, 2012). Hence, this motivates researchers to delve deeper and question the reasons why and how certain aspects of ‘being’ shape and affect human lives. The nature of human beings with a vastness of consciousness, agency and spirit come into play for social actors finding their way through their social world. Therefore, this study implemented an ontological approach due to the unique research focus and human cultural specificities considered concerning identity.

The dissertation’s title investigates if legacies of past generations have influenced changes in the present generation’s self-identity. From a philosophical lens (Bryman, 2012) suggests that social research is constantly evolving and can often encounter unresolved issues. Therefore, the research appropriately lends itself to an ontological study of being, existence and

social reality. The analysis reveals that social issues and societies often face changes and that shifts in one's reality can signify momentous adjustments to social life, such as movement via migration. Blaikie (2000, p.8) provides an insight into the ontological lens used in this research from a social inquiry perception of "what we believe constitutes social reality".

Having recognised ontology as a philosophical branch to consider what is and what we can know, the next step was to contemplate the concept of how we can know and make sense of the world. Epistemology is the theory of how we gain knowledge and how we, as human beings, make assumptions about the world and uncover ways to communicate with others, as argued by (Al-Saadi, 2014). The epistemological viewpoints "focus on theoretical approaches" and develop "social constructionism" (Ahmed and Ahmed, 2014, p.300). The philosophical positions helped to understand indentured social structures of Indian lives and the reality amongst the beliefs of their 'old' world when faced with different realities of their 'new world'. The research, therefore, used social constructionism to explore the reality of situations based on individuals' evidence of lived experiences and that of their descendants. A constructivist perspective observes that knowledge construction is gained from human experience. During the interview research, beliefs became evident when descendants expressed their suspicions about past colonial indentured systems.

The social reality where the dissertation's narrative begins was an era of considerable people movement. The study explored how Indians went to live in other parts of the world and how colonial procedures sculpted their identities. The colonial industrial structure initiated vast migrations of people to labour on colonised lands and plantations. The study using the assigned philosophical grounding, proceeded to provide theoretical viewpoints on how the first voyages of indentured ancestors, although providing a life away from famines, on the other hand, had restrictions on social mobility. Apart from a few older generations of Indians who opened shops in Guyana, social advancement was more noticeable in the third and fourth descended generations. Further agency and autonomy for Guyanese Indians were discussed in the interviews.

Method

The method applied was semi-structured interviews on a one-to-one basis within a qualitative approach. The usefulness of semi-structured interviews is due to openness and elasticity. The chosen interview style allowed interviewees to express their feelings more openly when compared to structured closed, question-type interviews. Although there are advantages to all methods, the benefits of open, semi-structured interviews are accepting "spontaneity in

respondents' answers" (Bryman, 2012, p.250). Indeed, this enabled communication flow and evidenced how they, as social actors view their social world and in which ways their culture, beliefs and values influence their behaviours (Bryman, 2012, pp.6,19). Further explained by Bryman (2012, p.473), the practicality of semi-structured interviews is "to glean the ways in which research participants view their social world and that there is flexibility in the conduct of the interviews". Qualitative research methods of studying, knowing and learning about the social world generate philosophical debates.

Participants are enabled to speak freely in their own words about their social world and experiences. The reason for choosing semi-structured discussions "known as 'in-depth' interview in qualitative research" obtains a fuller picture of individual experiences of the subject matter, as highlighted by Ahmed and Ahmed, (2014, p.303). The study's relevance required a narrow category of an exclusive group of people. Therefore, participants who are descendants of Indian indentured labourers were specifically sought for interviews to maintain the research emphasis.

Social constructivism explores the reality of situations based on the evidence of individuals' lived experiences. This research applied the constructivist approach to the beliefs and feelings gained from the interviewees. Qualitative research in social science is an invaluable way to understand the social world.

Sample size

The research aimed to interview six people to maintain a manageable volume of participants. However, a knowledgeable elder, who was an ideal candidate and had agreed to be interviewed, sadly passed away suddenly from Covid-19. As the researcher, I decided to terminate one interview due to a distressed participant. Subsequently, the study's number of interviewees was reduced. Nevertheless, persevering in my search, I managed to engage an alternative indentured descendant outside the family who willingly participated. Therefore, the research continued, unaffected in scope or outcome, with a sample size of four participants. Selection consisted of respondents from two generations to gain comparable interpretations across two different age groups. The objective compared responses from two people over 21 yet under 40 years old and contrasted with two people over 40 in order to ascertain if any recurring themes arose regardless of age or if specific issues re-emerged over the generational span. The goal of interviewing this sample size was to examine social realities via subjective individual experiences, opinions and attitudes via modern-day Indian-Guyanese descendants.

Ancestral indentured labourers, obviously, could not be interviewed as they have passed away. However, the interview style and question type allowed participants to draw on recollections from their grandparents' past experiences, narratives and ancestral storytelling. Although interviewing technique opened conversational exchange, the interviewer did not lead responses or lean toward any biases. Participants were asked if they knew about their history's connection with their forefathers. The intention was to decipher if participants felt their ancestors' lives had influenced and shaped their own identity as descendants. Interviewee responses provided primary data collection, allowing analysis of how identities had been reshaped over time. Each participant was asked twelve open-style questions with answers timed at five minutes. The interview lasted roughly one hour, with time requested for opening and closing comments.

Response Overviews

The evaluation table below summarises findings referencing interview questions (See Appendix B). My target audience was people from Guyana who are descendants of indentured Indians. The primary research collected data from two age groups, 21-40 and over 40. The anonymised quotations are actual spoken responses from interviewees.

Participant	Age	Gender & Profession	General Comments Regarding Subject History	Comments Regarding Identity
Interview 1	24	Female Post-Grad	<p>“I don’t know what the word indentureship means”</p> <p>“No, I don’t know when indenture was”</p> <p>“Why have you spelt Guyana with an i ? I didn’t know it was called British Guiana before I was born”</p> <p>“There’s been lost history”</p> <p>“No, I wasn’t taught this history at school”</p>	<p>“My Indian school friends asked me which Indian language I or my parents speak, when I said none, they were puzzled”</p> <p>“I said I am Indian-Caribbean”</p> <p>“When I said where I’m from, he said don’t you mean Ghana, like he was trying to correct me”</p> <p>“I have to explain myself and my identity cos they look down on us”</p>
Interview 2	37	Female Senior Business Analyst	<p>“I understand they came to work from India on contracts but were illiterate so unable to know what they had signed up to”</p> <p>“Was it early 20th century?” (When informed indentureship was 1838-1917) the person replied “I didn’t realise our ancestors had been there since 1838”</p>	<p>“My mum came to England from British Guiana as a child. Because she and her family didn’t have an Indian language, they don’t feel fully Indian”. “But she wasn’t really English either”</p>

			<p>“No, I was not taught at school about indentureship, nor from my family, I learnt some bits at university through being questioned by Indian friends. So, I looked up information myself”</p> <p>“We were taught in school somethings about slavery labour but not about indentured labour”</p> <p>“The history is overlooked, but we’re in Britain and the British did this so they don’t want to teach about this in schools”</p>	<p>“I’m aware there was racism, but I didn’t know to what extent”</p> <p>“I’m mixed-race, half Guyanese and my father is from another ex-colonised country. My parents met because they both came to London”</p> <p>“British Indians say I’m not Indian because I’m mixed, that I’m too light, they call me white in their language”</p> <p>“They say oh your mum is sort of Indian, but not you”</p>
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Participant	Age	Gender & Profession	General Comments Regarding Subject History	Comments Regarding Identity
Interview 3	67	Female Housewife	<p>“I know about it but the not exact years”</p> <p>“No, never, in Guianese schools, we were not taught about where our ancestors came from. No way in this country, slavery or indentureship was not taught here”</p>	<p>“When our parents migrated to London during Windrush, at school my teacher said where did you learn to do such good maths and long division? He couldn’t believe I was taught this at school in the foreign country from</p>

			<p>“I remember my grandparents telling us stories, folktales, I, we were happy playing in our massive garden in the hot sun with lots of fruit trees”</p> <p>“I know there were troubles later but as a small child in Guiana we all got on together”</p> <p>“Our parents talked about the ‘Motherland’ to go to for work”</p> <p>“I’m very proud of my ancestors, with no shame, they survived beatings and hard labour of cutting sugar cane. They instilled in my parents to forge ahead, and they too ventured abroad and worked hard, my father would take on any kind of job. They always had it in their head they were going to work to better us and they have done so”</p>	<p>which I had just come. I was 9 years old”</p> <p>“There was a big melting pot”</p> <p>“They were all our neighbours, and we celebrated each other’s religious festivals, very diverse”</p> <p>“We spoke English slang or patwa, our grandparents knew odd few Hindi Indian words”</p> <p>“We had British and American influence too but no contact with India”</p>
Interview 4	74	Male Representative Indian Diaspora	<p>“I was not aware of Indian Indentureship until I came to America and started researching my own ancestry”</p> <p>“I am now quite aware of Indian Indentureship to former</p>	<p>“I believe that identities of my great grandparents, grandparents, parents and myself were obviously changed due to</p>

			<p>British colonies, to such distant colonies as Mauritius, Fiji, South Africa and Guiana in the Caribbean region”</p> <p>“I consider it a business arrangement, using cheap readily available Indian labour optimising profitability in plantations for London-based owners who lost slave labour after the abolition of slavery in British colonies. Indian Indentureship was a commodity for profit”</p>	<p>adaptation of life in a multi-ethnic society in a British colony”</p> <p>“Then quest for my identity will always be there”</p> <p>“Loss of language, unlike neighbouring Suriname (under Dutch colonial rule until independence) where Hindi was taught in schools), only English was taught in Guiana’s schools”</p>
Participant	Age	Gender & Profession	General Comments Regarding Subject History	Comments Regarding Identity
Interview 4 Continued	74	Male Representative Indian Diaspora	<p>“I believe inherent hard working ethic and pioneering spirit of my ancestors instilled the goal of making life better for me and my family despite overwhelming odds. To contribute to the success of the country where I reside to make it a better place”</p> <p>“Certainly, migration experiences of my great grandparents and recent migration to UK, USA and</p>	<p>“The national language was English, language of colonial power. Everyone strived to learn English to exist, at expense of losing Hindi, Urdu & Madrasi which were spoken languages of original Indentureship labourers from India”</p> <p>“Indentureship experience of my family has made me a more</p>

			Canada have impacted my experience and how I consider myself “No. We were taught only British history which did not include Indian Indentureship”	resilient person who wants to succeed” “I agree this history needs to be taught in Guyana’s schools. After all, it is Guyanese history”
Interview 5	70	Male Retired	(Interview terminated due to distress) Before ceasing the interview, this person wanted it known how “troubled” he felt digging up this part of history, “I’m emotional about this and do not want to continue”	“You have touched on a nerve here, they tampered with our ancestors’ identity” Interview ended as person was upset
Interview 6	75	Male Historian	(Interview did not take place) Person passed away before interviewing	N/A

Summary and Findings

Gathering and writing up data after the interviews enabled views of how far legacies of indentureship had implicated present-day descendants. Findings fundamentally answered my sociological hypothesis at the dissertation’s central argument. Thus, summarising interviewee’s real life transcripts, supported research questions of how identities had and continue to be re-shaped and impacted transpiring from initial, during and after indentureship. Analysis, regarding colonial migration had transformed descendants’ lives and identities in numerous ways. For some with negative impacts, but others, inherited successful legacies enabled descendants to flourish. It appeared younger descendants now depict themselves as Indian(Indo)-Guyanese or Caribbean Indians as opposed to older descendants describing themselves and their parents as Indians who lived in Guiana/Guyana.

Comparison Between Generations	Impacts	Implications
<p>Older generation had mixed emotions Combined feelings Wanted either to tell of happy times with their parents or grandparents Or recounting sorrowful hardships</p>	<p>Anger at colonial errors and behaviours which caused physical and psychological pain to their ancestors Had unanswered problems</p>	<p>Feelings of past shame Withdraw from re-telling historical accounts Deep resentment Matter of fact feelings of necessity Regret at not asking elders sooner</p>
<p>Younger generation eager to learn about their often hidden heritage, glossed over in modernity's pressures of hectic work, home lifestyles</p>	<p>Felt the not knowing left them open to humiliation and having to defend their identity and heritage Had historical queries</p>	<p>Feelings of shame of past and present through inadequacies of maintaining mother tongue language and not knowing the full historical story to defend their identity Regret of not having a second language</p>
<p>Summary Results</p>		
<p>Generational trauma was an overarching, evident reaction displayed by participants. The implications of past indentured labours are felt in present societies of diasporic descendants. A recurring theme emerged from interviewees' responses, regardless of age of participant, is indentured legacies and colonialisation has left an imprint on their sense of identity. There was evidence of mixed emotions. Some were sad, upset and hurt at recollecting their parents and grandparents' hardships, displaying generational trauma. Some interviewees were optimistic, praising their forefathers, appreciative and admiring their determination, perseverance to</p>		

conquer hard times. They welcomed opportunities to better theirs and their children's lives. Future descendants attained possibilities as a result of hard sacrifices from their ancestors' bravery making initial journeys. Labourers enjoyed happy times, upholding where possible past traditions and religions which they passed down through generations. Folklore, storytelling and maintaining links with ancestral origins were important to advocating their identity. However, stories of sorrowful times were often withheld or not passed on. Wise moral-of-the-story type tales to teach good life skills were narrated. First and second waves of labourers to Guiana held onto their Indian ways to avoid complete deterioration and loss of original identity. Even when loss of languages formulated into creolised, broken-English, Indians nonetheless held onto some Indian phrases as a sense of self and understanding their background passed on by grandparents.

Conclusion

Know whence you came. If you know whence you came, there is really no limit to where you can go.

—James Baldwin, 1962

Broader horizons achieved through, and because of migration do not necessarily mean happier lives. Evidence presented in this research show some indentured Indians managed to better their lives and succeed to prosper, enabling more opportunities to their families. However, the price to pay for social mobility, was bound labour, often enduring severe hardships and punishment during plantation labouring. The close linkage and likeness to slavery proved to be a hurtful past for descendants. However, assumptions were made that had previous generations remained in India, many may have died due lack of employment or starvation from famines. Future generations and descendants of indentured Indian labourers are the beneficiaries of their forefather endurances and sufferings. Legacies of migration have imprinted core values on descendants in a number of ways related to identity, ability to blend culturally and grow through the intricacies of their history. Language through retold stories help understand past lives of those who suffered bitter times.

Some descendants see their identity positively uplifted with a sense pride. Indian indentured past legacies are testimony of tenacity towards growth for themselves and their descendants who commended the strength of human spirit, fortitude, and resilience of their ancestors. The research analysis found descendants thought indentured labour has been

hidden or forgotten in educational institutions due to British links. The predominant conclusion is that migration, colonialism and indentured lives have impacted identities, shaping their present through the various routes and roots of their combined, rich and culturally diverse past. Descendants concluded advantages and disadvantages had occurred along the migration paths for generations. They concluded knowledge of past origins from where they came, is an important part of their history and a platform for where their future can go.

I end by asking myself: Am I bitter from knowing the harsh legacy of my heritage? or am I to feel the sweetness of success benefited from my ancestors? My mixed answer, from both a sugared and soured migration experience is, 'Well yes and no, but mostly I would say I am somewhat blended'.

Appendix A

COLONIAL BRITISH GUIANA – IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT

Certificate of Exemption from 5-year Contract of Bonded Indentured Labour

My Great Grandfather's Term of Service under Indenture on Plantation - 1885-1890

No. 10.

1920
16
1025
104
107

BRITISH GUIANA
Immigration Department.

CERTIFICATE OF EXEMPTION.

I hereby certify that the undermentioned Indiano Immigrant
has completed 5 Term of Service under Indenture on Plantation.
Providence St.

Number of Certificate	1301
Date of Issue	20. 11. 90
Name of Immigrant	Luigi's Gaden
Father's Name	Luigi's Gaden
Sex	Male
Age on Arrival	20 years
Height	5 feet 1 inch
Number	27764
Ship and Year of Arrival	Boyan 1885
Date of Indenture	17 Nov 1885
Bodily Marks	

M. Man

Immigration Agent.

Appendix B

DISSERTATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1.** Are you aware of Indian Indentureship from India to parts of the world including British Guiana? Now called Guyana. Tell me your concept of Indentured labouring.
- 2.** Do you know why and when Indian Indentureship took place?
- 3.** Were you taught in Guyanese schools or British schools about the indentureship and the history of your Indian ancestors?
- 4.** How has that history or lack of it shaped the experiences of you and your family – past and present?
- 5.** How do you feel your identity and the identity of your parents and grandparents was altered from India? i.e., Did it affect their language, religion?
- 6.** Tell me a bit about the experiences of migration on you and your family including your parents?
- 7.** Do you feel the 2 passages of migration (ie. 1st from India to British Guiana, and then 2nd Guyana to Britain or other parts of the world) have shaped your Indian-Guyanese identity?
- 8.** How have the histories of the Indentured labourers been passed down through the generations? Of family or your community ie. Have your parents or grandparents talked about their ancestry?
- 9.** What do you feel the legacy of Indentured Indian labouring has left on you?

- 10.** What are your feelings about how your personal identity has been constructed over time, starting with your Indian ancestors and how you see yourself now?

- 11.** Do you think this part of history has been forgotten? If so, do you think it should be more widely remembered and taught to present day generations?

- 12.** Any other relevant information you would like to share on the subject matter of Indentured Indian Labourers AND Identity. Anything else relevant to these questions that you have not already shared?

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