



# Women in Quest of identity: Revisiting the Indian Indentured Migration

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## Abstract

Present study made an attempt to examine women native and destination identity in Indenture migration by analyzing the folk/ oral tradition. At the time of indentured migration British capitalist made specific demand of women labour with some special characteristics like 'right kind of women', and 'honorable women,' because they want productive laborers along with faithful wives . Thus, women were seen as stabilizing factor for male at the plantation field while women's aspiration and satisfaction were not considered at destination for which they migrated from homeland. They faced threat; murdered due to patriarchal frustration because many males approaching them at same time due to shortage of women. Indian women faced ill behavior towards their husband; they opted to walk out with another man. Indian men could not tolerate such attitudes of women as they were socialized in patriarchal structure. Capitalist prefer female labour but if women strive for any freedom, they stigmatized them as a criminal or characterless. It reflects migration has always been defined by the patriarchal forces, needs and desires.

**Key Words-** Folk –culture, Indentured, Patriarchy, Stereotype, Women, Violence

## Introduction

Indentured migration has various evidences that recruitment process of women was more difficult than men. In developing and managing recruitment system in India; Surinaam government, colonial offices and colonial state played significant role. These institutions designed the process of immigration and tried to develop good living condition of the indentured labour at plantation field. Male were present at every stage of recruitment of labour but to make men stable at plantation field, women were equally required. But husbands were not willing to carry their wives with them as they were not assuring of their safety in foreign land (Warners; 1866, Laurence 1994) and supposed that they would comeback after a period of five years. If we look at the percentage of married women it was less in the beginning but as the time passes it increased. In 1882 the total number of female emigrants was 662 among whom 133 were married. In 1890, out of 713 female immigrants 291 were married, whereas in 1892 out of 1091 female immigrants 470 were married and in 1898, 59 females were married out of 371 female immigrants. In 1900, 46 females were married out of 188 female immigrants but single women percentage was high than married (Niranjana, 2006:60). Due to the patriarchal culture in India; recruiters arrange women *Sardar*<sup>1</sup> for recruiting women labour in plantation. These *Sardars* women were familiar to limitation of movement of women. They tried to recruit women by the method of blackmailing, kidnapping, debt obligation, tempted with the dream of lavish life and many more lies about plantation life. The women, who were found alone in public places, were easily targeted by the Sardars. Recruiters prefer places to search for women like crowded places, *mela*, market, temple, and railway stations. At such places, it was easy to

<sup>1</sup> These women became sardarins not because of high caste status but due to their experiences and skill relating to plantation labour.

get hopeless and sad women who may be easily allured for a dream of the new world where they can start new life. For women it was a dream that they may live an independent life without any restrictions. Nature of recruiting of female labour itself shows how badly they were needed in colonies. The system becomes more dubious when we look at the payment rates. Sardars received approximately 7–8 rupee for female whereas 6 for male. Slowly the rate of recruiting female was increased day after day. British capitalist class made specific demand of women with some special characteristics like ‘*right kind of women*’, ‘*honorable women,*’ and ‘*moral type of women*’ because they do not want only productive laborers but also faithful wives for the male workers, to make their colonies peaceful. Even after spending 28 rupees on men and 33-40 rupees on women, it was difficult to find that kind of women due to Indian patriarchal system and social and cultural norms. Recruiters were forced to recruit low caste women who involved in prostitution and other work like this (Rahoda 1994, Hoefte1887). As ‘*good women*’ was not ready to move without their husband permission. Niranjana (2006) mentioned in her book some of the upper caste women that were abandoned, divorcee or widow sold by their in-laws, migrated to the foreign land. Another hurdle for upper caste women was that they were not good for plantation field. In India, labour class was composed of lower castes who were field workers, wage labourers thus they were appropriate for plantation work. The dominant femininity restricts upper caste women to be a good labour.

On the one hand planters wants physically strong and hard workers and women were risk for them due to their reproductive quality which make them less productive in plantation but on the other hand colonial authority feel need of women as a “stabilizing factor”. Finally, planters were convinced that they needed stable workforce that would not return to India and promoted the opportunity of reproduction of Indian families in colonies and family migration. In this paper an attempt has been made to study how previous literature misrepresents the women identity as criminal (Niranjana; 2006, Hassankhan; 2016:87). It created conflict at destination and tried to analyse women identity on the basis of their origin socio-cultural baggage because they migrated for the emancipation from patriarchy, independent identity and to spend happy life with their counterpart or alone.<sup>i</sup> But they were being murdered and chopped by their own counterpart or office manager and other colleagues. Their dreams had turned into a nightmare.

Some of the scholars did work on women in indentured migration and resistances (Hassankhan and Lal, V. 2014), matriarchal roles in the social sphere (Hosein 2011), social-cultural dimension of indentured women (Hoefte 1994, Redcock, 1987). Nirnjana (2006) in his works attempted to understand women lives through music. She discussed about the transformation of Indian music from native place to destination beginning from immigration period to the modern era. Some of the works narrated the pain and agony of left behind women and their description in the folk repertoire (Mazumder, 2010). Narayan (2012) work on *Bideshiya bhav* narrates how people have migrated with their cultural baggage to solace the hardships at the destination. Bahadur (2013) focused on the theme of the settlement of Indian women in Caribbean countries. Emmer (1984) discussed one of the positive aspects of migration for the women i.e. freedom. Increased wage labour for women acted as a mean to escape from the hunger and poverty. Hoefte (1987) made an argument that indentured migration worked as double oppression for women; they worked in plantation as well as performed household duties too. Although these works tried to describe the struggle of women but failed to capture their aspiration to establish and assert their own identity and also did not succeeded in documenting the reconstruction of their identity as criminal which was the result of contestation of their previous performativity at the destination.<sup>ii</sup> Male domination due to typical patriarchal set up (even at destination) remained unchanged as like homeland. Few gaps in indentured studies need to revisit the history of indentured migration to document the internal clashes of women in order to open up their life-worlds, which was different at the destination, opposite to their socialization at homeland. The present study is an attempt to capture the trouble which women faced not only due to state, space, gender and class but the contestation which an indentured women face who were socialized in a typical manner and even expected to carry that in Caribbean countries also. It has been tried to carefully examine and juxtapose archival records to provide a new perspective into gender relation during indenture system.

This article is divided into three parts; the first part will deal with women identity in the context of given space; how women native space construct their identity, how the notion of purity constructed their identity and their life revolving around husband only which give worth to their lives and consequently making them invisible. Second part describes struggle of indentured women at destination. Women migrated with all this socialization process and cultural baggage that constructed their life. It was difficult for them to allow anyone else in their life, which they were supposed to do at times under pressure at destination and new colonies. The third part will be the conclusion which discuss the

interaction and contestation of women's previous life world, habitus and reality of indentureship. The women, who migrated with the dreams of social, economic and cultural freedom, found that even after changing the space, their hardship and struggle remained same. Even their husbands were not ready to treat them with a different approach., Folk songs, archival resources and stories around it will be used as tool to understand the life, struggle and stereotyping of women.

### Construction of Women at Native Social Space-

Life of women at the colonial period was very tough that's why they want to migrate or they have much expectation from migration to live a life free from patriarchal clutches, social and cultural restrictions. At that time women were seen as completely inferior species, considered as voiceless, having no significance in social domain. Socially they were kept in subjection, denied all rights, oppressed and branded with the ethical fiber. The ethical fabrics construct their life and they were bound to perform as per the ethical and moral code which was created by male dominant society.

*Jahu tuhu piyawa bideshawa jayiba re na, Aapan chadhali jawaniyan kayise rakhab re na*

*Jhuki ke chaliha E dhaniyan, nayi ke chaliha re na, Jayise bnsawa navela tayise nayihe re na* (Upadhyay; 1999:109)

(Migrants wife: O my dear husband! When you go foreign, how will I keep the purity of my body?)

Husband: O dear! Just like a bamboo tree is tilted in the same way you should also lean without any deviations).

Our culture has a lot of unsaid and symbolic restrictions for women to which they have to adhere strictly in order to become a good and dutiful woman. The notion of purity makes them vulnerable because women were supposed to maintain the purity for maintaining an ethical sanctity of the society. The process of socialization for women is different and subjugating. They have to face numerous restrictions. In her book Seemanthani (2001) narrates the story as; *if a girl who has come to age is often seen visiting other houses, people will gossip and doubt her character*. This was used to control the girl's sexuality so that she remains virgin and pure. The time between puberty to marriage was seen as a critical period in the life of female. Moreover, they were not allowed to talk about the sexuality due to morality and were controlled by various norms. From the early childhood girls were taught, how to become a good woman, what kind of language they were supposed to use, behaviour, dress, and posture in particular space. These notions belong to the women's morality and etiquettes (Dube,1988). This process of socialization shapes women throughout their life. Married women were considered as property of their husband and it was assumed that only their husband can give worth to their life. Their space was understood only for domestic chores. In a folk genre like *purubi, kajari, jantsar* it has been that suggested how woman should stick to her husband for the fulfillment of all their desires and tolerate toughness of their everyday life. Most of the migrated women were from rural setup living a tough life, struggling for leisure time and even scarcity of quality time with their husband as described in the song...

*Sone ke thaari me jewana parosele re, jeyib kayise jewayib kayise re*

*Mori bharali janjiriya E raam kholab kayise re*

*Jadawa me magaji rajayiaa E raam odhab kayise re* (Upadhyaya; 1999:67-68.)

(wife is sharing her difficulties to her husband, how will I live if you go to the foreign land, how will I open that door of the room which is a symbol of your love, and how will I cover my body with the quilt in winter.)

For such women migration was a ray of hope that can change their lives. Reason of female migration was the aspiration being with husband and getting freedom. Dutch historian Emmer (1986) proposes that most East Indian women left India willingly, and the indenture system gave them the choice between fieldwork and staying home, however the reality was different. Many of the folksongs portray the life of female. These songs describe women's pitiful status without their husband, supposed loyalty in the absence of their husband, all sort of exploitation by in-laws etc.

*Kutat kutat moosar chadhali peduriya, , sasu vash chale , deshu patthal ke tukiya*

*kab sudhi leba paredeshiya, hai re dil kayise samujhayi* (Tiwari, R.; 2016: 32)

(Left behind women expresses pain to their husband, while working my hands are paining, even then mother-in-law wants me to work more, as breaking stone; why have you forgotten me, how will I give solace to my heart?). She had lot of complaint about her in-laws describing their torture.

*Sasu mora marali, nanad gariyavali se, gotini jamuna teer dekhawali re dayiaa* (Tiwari, R.; 2016: 55)  
(Left behind woman complains to her husband in your absence, mother-in-law used to beat me, sister-in-law abused me, and if things will remain like that, I will commit suicide by jumping into the river. Please take me away with you).

Many of these types of songs describe the native social structure of Indian women, how their socialization was, what was the role of a man in her life, the importance given by men to her life, how he redressed her sorrows and pain. All these types of miserable conditions forced female for migration. They want emancipation from the exploitation of family member that's why they used to insist their husband to take them with him to the foreign country.

*Runjhun khola na kevadiya ham videshwan jayibo na*  
*Jo more saiyan tuhu jayiba bideshwan t bideshawan jayibo na* (Upadhyay; 1999:162)  
(Husband - O beloved! Open the door I will go to the foreign country.  
Wife- O my husband! If you go to the foreign country, I will accompany you).

We may get an idea of patriarchal views prevalent in 19<sup>th</sup> century when we reflect the contemporary writings. Popular literature of that time portrays the woman life, at that time such as 'Grih-laakshmi', 'Saas-Bahu ka kissa', 'Stree-gadya', 'stree- prabodhini'. These were guides (Acharan-pustake) that used to suggest which kind of behavior a woman is supposed to do (Shrivastva; 2014.) Husbands were also socialized in the same patriarchal system; they very well know the roles of wives in their life and that how he could control their body, sexuality, life and each and everything. Female were also socialized in this manner that husband is the most important person in his life. We can see in this folk song how they were train to follow performativity;

*Ghodwa chadhal ek chelik, kaahe sunari neer dhari*  
*Kekar johelu baat , nayan duno neer dhari*  
*Tohare ayisan paatar piyava pardeshe gaye ,*  
*Unkare johela baat nayan duno neer dhari*  
*Lehu na sunari daal bhari sonwa, moti maang bhar ,*  
*Aag lagayibo tora daal bhar sona moti jar jahu ,*  
*lawatihe uhe bauraaah, lutayibo tori bardhi dhani* (Upadhyay;2011:313-14)

(A stranger riding on horse came and asked, o beautiful lady! why your eyes are full of tears, for whom you have tearful eyes?

**Women replied;** my husband has gone to foreign; he is slim and fit like you, I am waiting for him with tearful eyes.

**Stranger** – O beautiful lady take this gold, I will adorn you with pearl, leave that idiot and come with me

**Women;** I will put your gold and pearl into fire  
My idiot will come back and I will ask him to rob your wealth.)

Above song shows that woman who live without her husband, get proposal from stranger who offers her a pot of gold. But she rejects all the options and decides to wait for her husband. But in the case of indentured migrant women have no right to refuse the manager or workers sexual proposal. Still, we could not get any documentation of pain of women who lived with their husband but were deprived of the right to live as per their wish.

In Indian social system husbands were supposed to be breadwinner and women homemaker. Women have to do everything for the happiness of husband. But they did not know the reality of migrant life. They were migrated to Caribbean countries with all these social-cultural baggage. The people, who had migrated with the social-cultural baggage, came to know that this place was very different from their native people and culture. At this point, a contestation starts between their previous and present life which shape their lives in a new form. Husband were forced to make their wife free to move, sometimes go with plantation managers and sometimes to follow polyandry (Niranjana,2006; Laurence,1994 & Hassankhan 2016).To see the end of their power and position upon their wives, husbands get frustrate and sometimes such frustration turned them into murderer of their wives (Kumar, A., 2014). Such kind of patriarchal frustration was due to freedom of women in the colonies free from any patriarchal restrictions. Plantation system had emerged free society without gender and caste restrictions.

## Life of Indentured Women at Destination

Surinam employed large number of Indian indentured men and women as workers. If we look at indentured system from gender lens we get dialectical situation of women at destination, which emerged due to their typical native social structure. Although Indian women migrated from their native place to live happy and peaceful life and wanted to feel the freedom from social and cultural restrictions. In the previous life-world the indentured women were strictly under patriarchal practices, power-relations and typical feminine social identities constructed under the notion of purity, where all the pleasure is in being with husbands, whether he is good or bad, present or absent, at any cost. On that basis they were called moral type of women bearing all type of restrictions. This patriarchal politics get doubled at destination. On the one hand, at domestic space they have to follow all rituals and religious practices for well-being of their husband, such as worshiping *peepal*, growing *tulsi* shrub in front of their houses, offering flowers regularly and tying flags (*jhandis*) to fulfill their wishes (Majumder, 2010). On the other hand women remained at the bottom of the plantation hierarchy and under the control of male workers. In addition to this they have to perform the domestic chore/duties including looking after children, sick and elderly and provide sex service to the men (Shameem; 1998). Women workers of plantation faced different forms of gender discrimination which snatched their right as women, as worker of plantation and as a member of society. They were forced to the margins at every level of social structure. We can easily understand they are victim of structural violence which is built in structure and reflected in the social life as unequal distribution of power, life chances and social injustice (Galtung, 1969) and how it was imposed on people physically or culturally. Physical violence includes beating, rape, murder, whereas cultural violence is internalized in society and everyone has to accept it in their everyday life relations. People were following Hinduism, codes of *manusmriti* even in those Caribbean colonies where life of women is nothing without male; she need male at every single stage of life. Women have to be obedient to male members of their family like father, husband and son. They are the lowest in social hierarchy and social pyramids. If they disobey their husband then they could not get heaven after death or will again birth as female. If forcibly or willingly any woman breaks that moral and ethical code, result is murder and chopping of the wife. The plantation environment was ground for sexual abuse. Women worked in field, sometimes alone, and without any protection. Even their homes were not well secured. Women were generally powerless in the male-dominated indentures system. Due to this some women might have kept themselves in a poor state to appear unattractive to male predators, and consequently might have protected themselves from sexual advances and safeguarded themselves against any form of exploitation. I have put a case which expresses contestations in the life of women, where women were forced to break their cultural barriers; *On 23 August 1874 Luchmeenia 2330/B from plantation work was almost raped by the Creole worker John Huyck during the Indian dance party. He offered to sex with her but she refused and walked away. The man followed her into house, grabbed her bodily and threw her on ground to achieve his goal* (Sitaram, T.; 2016: 94).

Women have to suffer torture of their own men, as it was the trend in the colonies that indentured Indian men used to consume liquor to get off their frustration of not having full control over their wife. That resulted in abusing and beating women and children. They could not blame system for their stress, failures, hard work, and low wages; as J.S. mill said that, “for everyone who desires power, desires it most over those who are nearest to him, with whom his life is passed, with whom he has most concerns in common and in whom any independence of his authority is oftenest likely to interfere with his individual preferences (Mill, 1869:15). Women have to suffer all kind of torture where there previous life-world constructed in patriarchal set up and they were obliged to perform according to typical feminine identity, but at destination they don't have any scope to say no to their employers or any other powerful male. They know very well they have to negotiate with them for safety of their husband and family. Contrary to this, they were trained to wait for their husband in their absence and supposed not to allow any other male in their life.

At the destination women were victim of multiple patriarchies.<sup>iii</sup> They were suppressed as women, as indentured women and also on the basis of caste, class, religion, and ethnicity. Plantation system was maintained by hierarchal social structure which was based on race, and gender differences. The highest level of planting system was maintained by white staff, light skinned people look after the household job and dark skinned were to work in plantation field and women were used as a tool to satisfy all. All authorities of plantations reflect the male hegemonic place at every level (Kurian& Jayawardena, 2016: 28). Women are only the subject of violence. In the archive we can find many traces of polyandry during indentureship. As;

On 12 March 1912, where two British Indian Latun 186/ LI had killed their compatriot Kishun because all three men had relationship with same women Sanichari1393/ LI, whereas they already had a relationship with others women named Behari (Sitaram, T.2016: 97- 98)

Kunti is another story of indentured women from Gorakhpur, U.P. She was a daughter of Charan charmar. The news about a letter in which Kunti alleged to be raped by white overseer and sardar on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1913. To protect herself she ran away and plunged into a river but rescued by a boy who was on a boat nearby. Many English and vernacular newspaper reproduced the letter of Kunti. It was published in *Bharat Mitra* in 1913 titled, the cry of an Indian woman from Fiji". (Lal, V. 1985:55).

For an Indian wife, codes were like that she should stay with her husband in any circumstances, even if her husband ill-treats (Upadhyay, 1974). A good woman is not supposed to have extra marital affairs. But the situation in Suriname was different from India. The demand of women started increasing day by day. They have to negotiate with people through their body and sexuality. Their own male did not like it and could never tolerate any kind of deviation in their subject (women body). Only husband has the right to dictate it. This frustration and jealousy resulted in violence and they started killing their wife. It reflects how the cruel patriarchal system was at destination. Tikasingh cited 74.7 per cent wives were murdered between 1872 to 1900. There are number of cases where men have killed their wives because they had extra affairs with another man (Niranjana, T. 2006:69). According to Totaram (1914), women face more difficulties in plantation. They were doing household duties with the plantation work; "*Jab striya kaam se loutati hain tab unke chehre par murdani si chha jati hai. Us samay unake muh ki malinata ko dekh kar jo dukh hota hai wo avarnaniy hain. jo striyan bharatvarsh me apne gaon se bahar nahi gayin thin, jo striyan swabhavatah namra aur sukumar thin, jinhone ghar par kabhi kada kaam nahi kiya tha, we hi striyan aaj hazaron kos dur das- das ghante kathin parisharm karti hai*". (When women returned from work, their face is like corpse. One is so sad to see the dirtiness of their faces which is indescribable. Women who had never been out of their village in India, who didn't know that there was a country outside of their district, who are soft and tender by nature, who never did hard work at home, these women today, having gone thousands of miles away in Fiji, Jamaica Cuba, Honduras, Guyana and so forth have to do hard labour of ten hours a day).

## Finding and Conclusion

Identity is a process which is based on the physical and mental experiences of a human being. In the context of physical experience, indentured women set their identity on the basis of time and place and but their life-world also shaped with their mental experiences associated with the plantation field such as feeling, desires, dreams and nostalgia. Basically identity of indentured women was shaped by the 'idea of belonging'<sup>iv</sup>. Previous identity of the indentured women composed by the expectations that are associated with the roles he has adopted and these expectations get internalized through the process of socialization.<sup>v</sup> Those women who migrated with the aspiration to live happily with their own independent identity, away from the torture of mother and sister-in-law and other patriarchal clutches; faced a different world at destination where they become the puppet of plantation managers and their masters. They get new identity as criminals and stigmatized as unrest elements. A big shock for married women was that at destination, they were considered to be public property by the master and administration. They were physically and sexually abused in front of their husband and this sometimes resulted in suicide, murder, while they were not at fault. It was also important for women to meet the expectations of their husband, their own notion of purity and their own socialization. Indian women and men migrate with their social-cultural baggage and their own patriarchal structure. The Indian men were not ready to tolerate or see their wives with any other male member, even their own master start doubting and torturing her. Husband has no right to ask anything to his officers or co-worker. They get frustrated. In this way women were ill-treated at both sides and they had no choice but to face the punishment. The reality was quite different from their imagination. Despite working more than male their wage payments were less than men. They were doing weeding; manuring, supplying and cane cutting which were lowest paid work. Sometimes they had to do male work such as truck loading even after that their payment was less than men. Low wages make women dependent on the male partners. Female bodies at every step are spaced with the many layers of social-cultural practices, as per convenience of men. Social matrix determines moral codes regarding shame, honor, marriage, dress, speech, and posture and linked it with the culture, so women were obliged to perform feminine bodily practices. If they think beyond the given structure, they were stigmatized as loose character or categories. Indenture migration studies need much attention to these types of social practices that constructed women life-world. Such studies with gender perspective and

alternative resources will expose the trajectory which forcibly changed women and later stigmatized them. Then we may get answer of some questions like how female become more vulnerable in migration? Why they were forced to negotiate with their sexuality every time? There is still a need to search out role of space in construction of female body and their identity. Why is she recognized through her body? Does life world of women remain same either in homeland or destination? Is situation different anywhere for women, whether change of space make changes in their life or they have to go through ordeal everywhere to come true to expectation of purity for men? Is there any place for women rather than exploitation, which make women bad?

At the time of anti-indentured system movement, a committee constituted in which Andrew and William Pearson went to Fiji as joint honorary secretaries to abolish the indenture system.<sup>vi</sup> They reported that *'the majority of those found guilty of such crimes are otherwise quite law-abiding the murders for which they are condemned to death, is not due to any murderous instinct in them but really to sexual jealousy'*. Another statement of that report was as, *"Divorce were equally common. Women left their husband for the sake of jewellery went another man, they seemed to do just what they pleased and to live just as they liked"*.<sup>vii</sup>

In this way this report shows that women want to break all the stereotypes and social-cultural barriers through the Indentured system and emerge new kind of social system. Freedom of choice for female is the results of their honor killing and murders. The body of women played central role for the society and constructed their identity through their sexuality. To understand the social fabric of indentured migration and migrant's life in depth we should analyze history with gender sensitivity otherwise we would not be able to understand the hidden realities of migrant's women, quite neglected in migration discourse too. If we would be able portray the vulnerability of migrants women in their socio-culture fabric, only then we would be able to deal migration in real sense, much more than economic independence changing identity too.

## End Notes

<sup>i</sup> A novel, *it happens at Marienburg Surinam*, written in Dutch by Cynthia MacLeod and translated by Gerald R. Mettam based on archive sources showed how an Indian women migrated to Surinam that time to be live happy with her boyfriend because at origin her father did not want to marry her due to their different castes .

<sup>ii</sup> Indian men filed complain again women that they left their men/ husband to live with other men. When they left their home they took all the money, jewelry and also children (Hassan khan; 2016; 87).

<sup>iii</sup> This word is used by Kumkum sangari to analyze religion-based politics and its impact on women.

<sup>iv</sup> Benedict Anderson used the word the idea of belonging is emerge from the contact made with people, community and larger world which is distinguishable by the style in which they are imagined, not by their degree of authenticity.

<sup>v</sup> Ruth Hartley gave the theory of gender socialization involving four processes: manipulation, canalization, verbal appellation and activity exposure, in which society traditionally divided the work. Through these activities they identified the meaning of masculine and feminine and internalize them almost unconsciously.

<sup>vi</sup> Charles Freer Andrew (1871-1940) born in England, became a Priest in 1869, leaving the avocation in 1899 due to poor health and reached India in 1904 as a teacher at the saint Stephen college Delhi. William Winstanley Pearson (1881-1923), a Christian Missionary and an active supporter of Indians, for some time a teacher at Shantiniketan.

<sup>vii</sup> Andrew and Pearson report on Indentured labour in Fiji: An independent inquiry, Allahabad 1916

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