



Migration Discourses In Viral Bhojpuri Songs: An Analysis Of Narratives During The COVID-19 Pandemic"

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Abstract:

During the COVID-19 lockdown, many viral Bhojpuri songs captured the pain and plight of migrants, gaining massive traction across social media platforms with millions of views. This trend highlights how powerful social media can be in bringing these voices of neglect to the fore. The mainstream Hindi media largely dealt with COVID fatalities and displacement narratives in a regulated manner, but. A few Bhojpuri songs vividly articulated the migrant experience. They highlighted the state's role in migration, examining migration dynamics, why migrants migrate, and the repercussions faced. These songs also vividly illustrated the plight of poor migrant labourers from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh who have been crucial to urbanisation but cannot survive for even a few months without work. The paper is based on digital ethnography during the COVID-19 and selected viral songs for analysis.

Keywords: Bhojpuri songs, Stranded migrant workers, COVID-19, narratives of reverse migration, labour migration.

Introduction:

The COVID-19 pandemic posed great challenges worldwide, and one of the most visible and distressing impacts was the migrant crisis in India. As strict lockdowns brought cities to a standstill, millions of migrant workers from Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere were rendered unemployed and displaced. Historically, these labourers contributed to urban development and often embarked on perilous journeys back to their rural homes, mostly on foot or bicycles, struggling to survive.

In this crisis, Bhojpuri songs provided a crucial medium for articulating the pain and resilience of migrant communities. Bhojpuri songs usually discuss joy and sorrow, weddings, festivals and love, but they discovered migration as a recurring theme. particularly those that deal with the predicament of women left behind, these songs provide invaluable insights into migration's socio-economic realities.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, viral Bhojpuri songs conveyed the collective grief and despair of migrant workers. Beyond entertainment, these songs functioned as vehicles of resistance and advocacy by questioning governance's systemic inequalities and failures. This study analyses narratives within these songs to understand how Bhojpuri songs document and shape public discourse around migration, displacement, and resilience.

This paper analyses the viral Bhojpuri songs to understand the intersection of culture and crisis, offering some insights into the migrant experience in one of the most difficult periods in recent history. By analysing viral Bhojpuri songs, this study aims to contribute to the larger discourse on migration and cultural expression amidst social upheaval.

Migration and Bhojpuri songs:

Migration has been a recurring theme in Bhojpuri folk tradition, focusing on the suffering endured by women left behind. Neha Singh's (2016) study examines Bhojpuri women's bidesiya songs, which articulate the pain and resilience of those left behind during male migration to a country like Mauritius. These songs become a medium for women to express their emotional and social struggles. Similarly, A. Singh (2015) explores how men, performing in the feminine voice, narrate the lamentations of women left behind. This indicates the societal perceptions of gender roles within the Bhojpuri-speaking community.

Ruchika Rai (2010) underscores the significance of these folk songs, emphasising their socio-historical value over their mere literary merit. Asha Singh (2017) highlights the deeply human perspective embedded within Bhojpuri folk songs, distinguishing them from other forms of literary creation. Bhojpuri folk songs offer a unique lens through which to understand migration's social and emotional impact on individuals and communities. These songs are often passed down through generations, capturing the experiences of those who left their homes searching for better opportunities, expressing themes of longing, separation, and the challenges of adapting to new environments. Sinha (2018) explores the idea of home and belonging within the context of migration as reflected in Bhojpuri folk songs.

Basu (2018) discusses how these songs serve as a repository of migrant identity, particularly for Indian migrants in Fiji. Peter Manuel's (2013) work also analyses the adaptation of Bhojpuri music within diasporic communities in the Caribbean, Fiji, and other locations. The study highlights how these songs, such as Birha and Chowtal, retain their cultural essence while adapting to new contexts, bridging the ancestral homeland and the diasporic identity. Jayganesh Dawosing's (2020) critical discourse on Bhojpuri songs in Mauritius, particularly melancholic expressions, reflects the emotional and cultural resilience of the diaspora.

Shrivastava, 2015 examines the presence and influence of Bhojpuri culture in Mumbai, highlighting the significant migrant population from Bhojpuri-speaking regions. These songs provide valuable insights into the human side of migration, offering a poignant and personal perspective on the challenges and triumphs of those who have left their homes in search of a different life.

The Bhojpuri region, comprising the western part of Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, is the cradle of this expressive cultural tradition (Badri Narayan, 2010). Although Bhojpuri is spoken in select districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh, its influence transcends linguistic boundaries, captivating non-Bhojpuri speakers, particularly during festivals and marriages. This region boasts a rich migration history from the colonial to the post-colonial period, contributing significantly to national and international migration flows.

Despite challenges in delineating the boundaries of the Bhojpuri region and language, migration has propelled Bhojpuri into the realm of international languages spoken in various countries across the globe (Narayan Badri, 2010). The colonial period witnessed a significant influx of migrants from the Bhojpuri region, known as Giritia Majdoors, who relocated to distant lands such as Guiana, Fiji, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Suriname. Notably, between February 26, 1873, and May 24, 1916, approximately 34,000 individuals from the Bhojpuri region migrated to Suriname (Rai Ruchika, Internet source).

Badri Narayan (2010) emphasises the pivotal role of emotions in indentured migration, elucidating how this prolonged movement severed familial and village ties, rendering communication with loved ones arduous. Cultural artefacts such as the iconic Bhojpuri film "Bidesiya" (1963) offer poignant insights into the emotional facets of migration, capturing the collective singing of migrants during their journey. Renowned artists like Sharda Sinha and Malti Singh have immortalised the pain of migration, particularly the plight of women left behind, through their evocative songs. One such renowned song in the region is:

"Railiya bairan more piya ke le jai

Jone sahariya mein piya more naukar Agiya lage sahar jari Jae re

Jaune sahibwa ke piya more naukar Naagin dase sahib"

Malti Singh's rendition of this song has garnered immense popularity in the region, resonating with audiences across demographics. Numerous prominent Bhojpuri singers have also embraced this poignant composition, further amplifying its reach and impact. The song vividly articulates the sentiments of women left behind, lamenting the departure of their husbands to distant cities and expressing a sincere wish for the destruction of the very places that draw them away. Symbolically, the reference to the "snake" alludes to the exploitative figures encountered in their husbands' workplaces, adding layers of complexity to their emotional narrative.

Sharda Sinha, a celebrated folk singer, has also contributed significantly to the repertoire of migration-themed songs. One of her notable compositions, "Lehle Ahiya Ho Piya Sendur Bengal Se," beckons the beloved to bring vermilion from Bengal, signifying the allure of job opportunities in cities like Kolkata, historically renowned for employment prospects. Such songs often harken back to Kolkata's association with railways, evoking a sense of nostalgia and longing.

Another iconic composition by Sharda Sinha, "Kalkatwa Se Aave Re Jhumukwa Ho," depicts the sentiment of women left behind, rejoicing at the gift of a "Jhumka" brought by their husbands from Kolkata. Migration emerges as a recurring motif in Bhojpuri music, reflecting the region's enduring history of mobility from colonial to post-colonial times and contemporary migrations to metropolises like Delhi, Mumbai, and other urban centres across India.

Contextualising the Study:

The COVID-19 pandemic unleashed a wave of unprecedented challenges worldwide, with one of the most poignant being the mass exodus of migrant labourers from major Indian cities back to their hometowns. Among the myriad ways this crisis was expressed and documented, Bhojpuri songs emerged as powerful conduits for conveying the emotions.

On March 24, 2020, the Prime Minister of India announced a 21-day lockdown to curb the spread of COVID-19 (Nistula Hebbar,2024) It triggered widespread panic among the populace, particularly among labourers facing job insecurity. The abrupt lockdown prompted a mass exodus of migrant workers from cities like Delhi and Mumbai, who embarked on arduous journeys back to their hometowns, often on foot and bicycles, due to the lack of transportation options.

The plight of these migrant labourers, epitomised by instances such as a girl cycling to Bihar with her elderly father, captured the attention of mainstream and social media alike, highlighting the harsh realities of India's labour conditions (Media coverage of migrant labourers during COVID-19 lockdown). The inability of these workers to sustain themselves without work during the lockdown underscored deep-rooted inequalities within Indian society, raising pertinent questions about social and economic disparities.

Uncontrolled migration from Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh to various cities and metropolitan areas results from India's unequal development. According to the NSSO (**National Sample Survey Organisation**) 2012, Delhi's population increased from 13.8 million in 2001 to 16.7 million in 2011, with migrants constituting nearly 42% of the population. Various studies, such as those by Keshri & Bhagat (2013) and Berman (1996), highlight the drivers of internal migration, notably livelihood insecurities and the scarcity of agricultural opportunities.

It is also a fact that migration among the poor and socially disadvantaged strata tends to be less permanent than among better-off migrants. This was evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, which saw a reversal of migration trends. Despite the lockdown being announced for 21 days, roads and railways were inundated with labourers. This phenomenon can be attributed to the moral and ethical considerations of the industrial and middle classes, along with the entrenched ideology of chronic capitalism, which prioritises the preservation of surplus values.

The debate also surrounds the Core and Periphery dynamics, with metropolitan cities emerging as cores while rural areas are relegated to the periphery. As individuals migrate for survival opportunities, migration patterns from regions like the Bhojpuri Belt mirror this trend. For example, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, where formal industry is scarce, agricultural-related work remains the primary employment sector, albeit diminishing in the age of globalisation. Traditional occupations in many districts have eroded post-liberalization.

India confronts escalating inequality, complicating efforts to alleviate poverty. Despite technological advancements and economic growth, poverty measurements remain inadequate, overlooking the true extent of deprivation. Oxfam's data underscores the vast wealth disparities, revealing that it takes 941 years for a minimum wage worker in rural India to earn what the top-paid executive at a leading Indian garment company makes in a year. This underscores the necessity for poverty measurements to be proportional to development, aligning with principles of equitable progress.

Against this backdrop, the proliferation of Bhojpuri songs on social media provided a platform for expressing the grievances and emotions of migrant workers (Reference: Social media platforms during the COVID-19 lockdown). These songs highlighted the pain of migration and questioned systemic injustices and the harsh realities of life in urban centres. Themes of longing for family and the emotional toll of being separated from loved ones resonated deeply with audiences, offering a poignant reflection of the human cost of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Methodology:

The study employs a digital ethnographic approach to analyse the expressions of pain and hopelessness among stranded labourers, as depicted in viral videos on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter (Now Known as X), and YouTube. Digital ethnography involves systematically observing, interpreting, and analysing online behaviours and interactions within digital spaces.

Through digital ethnography, the research aims to gain insights into stranded labourers' experiences and emotions during the COVID-19 pandemic, as portrayed in the content shared and circulated on social media platforms. Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. The criteria for selecting a Bhojpuri song is viral, has millions of views, and depicts the picture of forced reverse migration. By engaging with diverse digital media sources, including videos, comments, and discussions, the paper seeks to understand the nuanced narratives surrounding migration, displacement, and resilience in the face of adversity.

Bhojpuri songs on 19 Covid Migration:

During the lockdown, the below songs are floating on various social media platforms. These songs are available on YouTube, where several views can be seen.

Table 01

No	Name of Bhojpuri song	No of view	writer /Singer	Link
1	Kaisan more Qismat	13 Million + 7.2 million in other platforms	Jintdera Kumar/Devan and Dehati	https://youtu.be/ExcpmS13nzM

2	Dagariya Masan	2.2k in a single platform	Dr Sagar/	https://youtu.be/j4wBf62X23I
3	Bhaiya ho bhaiya mazdoor baiya	115k +9k +5.4k	Kalpna Patowary	https://youtu.be/0GaVEKQO5yA
4	Rista me aisal drar ho gayil	22	Jintdera Kumar/Devan and Dehati	https://youtu.be/a5Ob4dDSTH0
5	Insan Khilona ho gyil	34 million on a single platform	Ajit Hulchul/ khesari Lal Yadav	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CURE75GJ7eA&ab_channel=KhesariMusicWorld
6	Ham majdoor on ko gaon			https://youtu.be/v2NapTOs3Jc

Thematic analysis of the song:

The Suffering of the Labourer and Peasant:

Amidst the exodus of labourers embarking on arduous journeys to return home, a poignant Bhojpuri song emerged on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, resonating deeply with viewers and garnering widespread attention. The music, featuring a striking image of a mask made of bread, symbolising sustenance and survival, captured the profound suffering of the labouring class. Penned by Kalpna Patowary, an acclaimed Indian playback folk singer from Assam, the song reverberated with the pain and anguish of workers facing dire circumstances.

The song's lyrics poignantly depict the plight of labourers and peasants, evoking a sense of empathy and reflection among listeners. It speaks of farmers toiling in the fields, yet their children languish in hunger. Despite abundant harvests, grain-filled godowns, and bustling marketplaces, the basic necessity of food still needs to be discovered for the

labouring class. Similarly, the song laments the labourers' role in constructing towering buildings and magnificent structures, juxtaposed with the stark reality of their children sleeping under the open sky, devoid of shelter and warmth.

Moreover, the song highlights the irony of labourers producing cloth while their children lack adequate clothing. It underscores the stark disparity between the labourers' laborious efforts and the meagre rewards they reap. The song resonates with the struggles of daily wage earners, shedding light on the harsh realities of life in a society driven by chronic capitalism.

The song's powerful message prompts viewers to question India's prevailing social and governance structures. It exposes the glaring inequalities and injustices faced by the labouring class, challenging the notion of progress and development in the country. As migrant labourers traverse long distances to return home, the song serves as a poignant reminder of the enduring hardships faced by the marginalised segments of society.

Indeed, the song's relevance in contemporary Indian society cannot be overstated. It is a potent catalyst for introspection and dialogue on poverty, inequality, and social justice issues. As Mumbai, Delhi, Pune, and other metropolitan cities witness unprecedented development, the song forces us to confront the harsh reality that labourers struggle to meet their basic needs. The glaring disparity between the rich and the poor, as highlighted by Oxfam data on income inequality in India, further underscores the urgent need for systemic change and equitable development. The song is -

Bhiya o baiya mazdoor baiya jabse bahile Kishan

Hamar beta bhokhle sutele o Ram

Hal ham jotila, Ann upjaula anwa se bharal hai godam

Ke Hamer beta bhukhle sutela o Ram

Rui ham dunela kapda banayila, kapda se bharal hai dukan

Ki Hamer beta langte ghome o Ram

Eta ham parila, garhwa banyila

Mahla du-mahla Aasman

Mahla du mahla hindustan

Ki Hamer beta tukur tukur take aasman

Here is the translation of the song into English:

"Indian brothers, when we became farmers,

Since then, my child has been hungry and sleeping without food, oh Lord.

Our condition is dire; the granary is filled with grains from crops,

However, my child sleeps hungry, oh Lord.
We weave coarse cloth, filling the shop with fabric,
Nevertheless, my child roams barefoot, oh Lord.
We build houses, erect walls,
Under the open sky,
In this vast land of India,
But my child gazes at the stars,
Oh, Lord."

Shelterless in the City: A Journey of Loss and Survival:

During the lockdown, a mainstream Bhojpuri song garnered attention across various social media platforms. Penned by Dr. Sagar, an alumnus of Jawaharlal Nehru University, the song titled "Dagariya Masan Ho Gayil" ("The Shelter Becomes a Cremation Ground") delves into the multifaceted aspects of migration. It highlights that migration is not merely an individual's decision but often a collective family choice.

The song's lyrics are as follows:

"Kaise aayi feru e Nagriya ho
Dagariya Masan Ho gayil
Khunwa paseen e jinigiya ho
Kaudi ke dam ho gayil
Manwa ke kohbar me sapna chupayi ke
Bada agrayi sahariya me aake
Ruwa sabhai se ham purni saniya
Sage sage dahlgre pritiya ke pahiya
Kaise batyi ekra badle me
E kaisan inam ho gayil
Ek kayi digni ja dinwa aw ratiya
Tabhau na dekhi Pauli mayi ki suratiya
Ganwa ke choote te bahile durgatiya
Rhi rhi man pre Babu ji ki batiya

Ganga je jamunwa ke aage re samandar masan ho gayil."

The translation of the song lyrics into English:

"How did I come to this city?

The shelter has turned into a cremation ground

The blood and sweat of hard work

Have become worthless

Hiding dreams in the corner of the heart

Arriving in the bustling city

We thought we would fulfil all our desires

But instead, we found the wheels of love stuck

How did it all change so suddenly?

What kind of reward is this?

Days and nights pass by.

Yet I have not seen my mother's face

Leaving the village behind, facing misfortune

My heart laments the words of Babu Ji

In front of the Ganges and Yamuna,

The sea has turned into a cremation ground."

The song poignantly depicts the anguish of migrant labourers who ventured to the cities to pursue livelihood opportunities. Faced with the announcement of a 21-day lockdown, they hurried back to their homes, devoid of any prospects for sustenance. The lyrics lament how, once a sanctuary, their dwellings have turned into a grim reality of despair and hardship. It questions the callousness of urban life and reflects on the futility of their struggles in the city.

The song draws a metaphorical comparison between the vast seas and rivers like the Ganges and Yamuna, symbolising hope and rejuvenation, to the plight of migrant labourers. It underscores the irony of how the masters who benefit from their labour fail to protect them in times of crisis, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation and adversity.

Locked Out: Migrants' Struggles to Reintegrate into Villages During COVID-19:

Numerous media outlets have reported instances where villages sealed their borders, preventing the entry of returning migrant labourers to curb the spread of the

coronavirus. Reports indicate that over 50 villages barred entry during the lockdown, closing off access within their boundaries (refer to Times of India, Amarujala Hindi daily). Some families faced rejection upon attempting to return home, a situation vividly captured in Bhojpuri songs, garnering millions of views.

One such song, titled "Rishta mein aisal drar ho gayil" (The relationship has developed a crack.), poignantly depicts the breakdown of familial ties. It underscores the societal implications of such occurrences. This song, viewed 1.3 million times on a single platform, sheds light on the reluctance of family members to assist in crises, often fueled by misinformation surrounding the virus. Migrant labourers returning home find themselves ostracised by their own families and denied entry due to fears of COVID-19 transmission.

Another song narrates the tale of a man who embarked on a 16-day journey on foot to reach home, only to be met with silence upon arrival, as the spectre of COVID-19 instils fear in every interaction. This pandemic tragedy is depicted vividly, reflecting a reality where apprehension permeates every aspect of life, making even familial connections strained.

Analysing the newspapers during the initial lockdown reveals numerous incidents mirroring the narratives portrayed in Bhojpuri songs. One such song, "Kal chakkr e aisan sabke chadle kapare dolab ba," illustrates the rejection faced by individuals returning from cities, highlighting the pervasive fear of COVID-19 and its impact on familial bonds. "Kal chakkr e aisan sabke chadle kapare dolab ba

Ladkaa bhैया shahr se aayile keu nahi bolat ba

Aisan papi hawi corona rishta me wish gholai la.

The essence of the lines reflects suspicion and blame, highlighting how the fear of Corona (COVID-19) has poisoned relationships and created distance or mistrust, even within families.

Role of Government:

During the lockdown, as people took to the roads in search of a way to return home, the police were tasked with enforcing measures to control the spread of COVID-19. Amidst this situation, a Hindi song captured the sentiments of the labourers and went viral on platforms like YouTube, amassing over 11 million views. Titled "Mazdoor ka Dard" (the plight of the labourer), the song pleaded:

"Hum majdooron ko gaon, hamara bhejo sarkar,

Suna pada ghar dwar, kuch to karo sarkar."

This poignant song, sung by Praduman Yadav, appealed to the government to facilitate the return of labourers to their homes. Its appeal resonated deeply as it reflected the struggles of labourers desperately trying to reach their homes amidst the challenging circumstances of the lockdown.

Blaming Themselves: A Feeling of Guilt

One of the songs that resonated widely on a single platform was "Kismat ke Likelayi," which translates to "The Scribblings of Destiny." The song poignantly reflects on impoverished individuals who migrate to cities for livelihoods. It laments the harsh reality that their fate seems predetermined by their impoverished circumstances, leaving them with little control over their lives. The lyrics vividly depict the physical toll of their journey—walking with injured feet, enduring scorching heat, and suffering from thirst. The song nostalgically yearns for a time before the pandemic, when human desires were not stifled and life seemed less burdensome. Additionally, it portrays the adversarial relationship between labourers and the police, highlighting instances where the police resort to violence, leaving the labourers' backs marked with the red lashes of their lathis..

The media also covered clashes between migrant labourers and the police during the lockdown, with headlines across newspapers highlighting instances of police brutality and lathi charges. From Gujarat to Mumbai, reports surfaced of tear gas shell usage on distressed migrant labourers, underscoring the extent of the challenges faced by those attempting to return to their hometowns.

Amidst this turmoil, songs like "Kismat ke Likelayi" emerged as powerful reflections of the pain and suffering endured by migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. Such songs serve as poignant reminders of the human cost of systemic failures and societal injustices, capturing the raw emotions and struggles of those most affected. The song is

Kismat ke likelayi bade re mayi

Cahlno na jat hame paunwan pira la

Paunwa me padle ba bada bada chhala

Upar se gham poorā dehiya jarawe

Tau pe piyas ke chubhayi badi mayi

Korana pahile hayi bhookiya muwai

Kahe sarkar ke na deta dikhayi

Majoorwan ke Dushman bhayil bati prashashan

Pithiya pe lathi ke lalayi baade mayi.

The English translation:

Oh, Mother, this is what fate has written for us.

We cannot walk any more; our feet are in immense pain.

There are deep blisters on our feet,

Furthermore, the heat burns our entire bodies.

On top of that, the thirst pierces us, oh Mother.

Even before hunger strikes, death looms over us.

Why doesn't the government see our plight?

The administration has become the enemy of labourers.

Our backs are bruised from the lashes, oh Mother.

The song's popularity soared, garnering nearly 11 million views on a single platform, making it particularly resonant during the COVID-19 lockdown, mirroring the struggles faced by labourers. Tragically, the plight depicted in the song became all too real for many, exemplified by the heartbreaking story of a 12-year-old female migrant worker from Telangana, South India. She tragically lost her life on April 20 while attempting to trek 100 miles back home during the national lockdown, succumbing to starvation. Despite such poignant narratives, mainstream newspapers often overlooked these human tragedies, focusing on other topics. However, the song's themes echoed in the coverage of various newspapers, shedding light on the clashes between the police and labourers that occurred during this tumultuous period.

The headlines of many newspapers were dominated by reports of clashes between migrant labourers and the police, along with instances of police lathi charges. Since the sudden and unplanned implementation of the lockdown, India has witnessed alarming displays of police brutality across the country, as documented by prominent newspapers such as the Times of India. Cities like Gujarat, Surat, Odisha, Bengaluru, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, and Vijayawada have not only seen police resorting to lathi charges but also deploying tear gas shells against already distressed migrant labourers.

In this turmoil, a particularly poignant expression emerged as a song by Dr Rakesh Kabir, vividly capturing the pain and suffering experienced during the COVID-19-induced reverse migration. The lyrics, composed by Dr Rakesh Kabir, convey a heartfelt sentiment:

Door bahut hai Ghar

Kaise taiyar ho safar

Doop naraz hai chahnw padti hai kam.

"The home is far away

How do we prepare for the journey?

The sun is angry, the desire is diminishing."

These lines depict the daunting journey faced by migrant workers as they strive to return home, underscoring the harsh realities they endure amidst the pandemic.

Conclusion:

Bhojpuri culture has a rich history of expressing the emotional upheavals associated with migration, spanning from the era of indentured labourers to contemporary times. The

COVID-19-induced reverse migration from bustling metropolitan cities like Mumbai and Delhi back to the migrants' homes in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar was nothing short of heartbreaking. Labourers embarked on this journey without transportation, resorting to running and walking, driven by the fear of starvation in the absence of work.

Bhojpuri songs serve as poignant reflections of the challenges stranded labourers faced during the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, in the song "Kismat ke Likhayi" (Destiny), one stanza poignantly questions why the feeling of hunger could not have dissipated before the lockdown.

As India continues to see a rise in the number of millionaires each year, juxtaposed with a simultaneous increase in poverty rates, it raises pertinent questions about the efficacy of democracy. How can it be considered a triumph of democracy when over 70 per cent of the population relies on government-provided food grains for sustenance? These profound issues require reflection and action to address society's underlying inequalities.

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