

Representation of Women's 'self' in *Bidesia* Folk Culture: A Case Study of Indian Diaspora in Mauritius

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Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter aim is to provide a summary and the conclusion of the study. In this work, I have tried to explore the women's experiences and their contribution in developing Indian Diaspora across seven seas. Indian emigration to different colonies during the 19th century was a creation of Britishers. Indenture labour migration was very prominent and started in the nineteenth century. These Britishers began this system of labour migration, and they called it 'Great Experiment'. After the abolition of slavery, they started recruiting labours from different parts of India. It was first initiated in Mauritius, but after its success in Mauritius, they adopted this system in other colonies too. The economy of Mauritius was based on sugar production. Therefore, they recruited labourers from India who could work on plantation site as people of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar are highly skilled in a sugar plantation. Research on the migration of Indian Women in Mauritius cannot be conducted in isolation because the social structure of rural society in India is constructed and nourished with certain prejudices and nomenclatures which affected the choices and responses of women behind migration.

The focus of this study was to examine the reasons behind this mass migration to Mauritius closely. As per theoretical and empirical fact there were various socio-cultural and economic factors which were responsible for defining the destinies of these Indian communities and shaped their diasporic experiences. Related to these core elements of enquiry, this study has kept Indian woman a central point of investigation about migration. I have tried to analyse how left behind women in India expressed the pain of separation, how these Indian women who migrated to Mauritius developed a new culture with components of Indian cultural tradition which was very much similar to India. This developed culture was later known as Bidesia folk culture. Lastly, what are the continuities and changes the Indian community witnessed in Mauritius in terms of practising Indian Cultural tradition?

Under the umbrella concept of '**Representation of Women's Self in Bidesia Folk Culture: A Case Study of Indian Diaspora in Mauritius**' the following issues have been discussed extensively:

1. Reasons behind migration and formation of Bhojpuri Diaspora.
2. The pattern of Migration from Eastern Uttar Pradesh since Colonial to recent.
3. Women migration and their experiences.
4. Development of distinct Bidesia folk culture in India and Mauritius with different components.
5. Examining the changing contours of Bidesia folk culture in India and what are the continuities and changes in Bidesia folk culture in Mauritius the Indian community has gone through.

The present study has been divided into six chapters in which separate conclusions have been framed at the end of each chapter, but the last chapter of this study has been designed to discuss the major findings drawn of the questions which have been raised above.

Summary of Chapters:

The first chapter begins with the **Introduction** which is related to the start of 19th-century migration of Indian labourers. This study has done an extensive review of the literature on themes such as migration and pain, migration, diaspora and culture, folk culture in India and the last women in Bidesia folk culture. On the basis of existing literature review research gap has been formulated which reflected that presence and experiences of Indian women and their contribution to cultural production have been less examined or ignored. Earlier studies that have been carried out indicated a gap in terms of the contribution of women as one of the primary elements in the migration pattern. Women have always played the role of a centripetal asset that not only helped in cultural reproduction but also has given major contribution in the pattern of migration. On the basis of the research gap, six research questions were postulated in the first chapter. The first chapter also discusses the related data-based methodologies which comprises both secondary and primary, whereas in secondary the data was collected from various museums and institutes in India as well as in Mauritius. But this was not sufficient to answer all the proposed research question, therefore, primary data was collected through semi-structured interview schedule where the study tried to

investigate the role of women in articulation about out-male migration and in cultural preservation in Mauritius. This chapter talks about conceptual framework with a broader theme like reason behind migration, gender biases in migration, emotional impact of migration on left behind women, importance of oral tradition and role of women in reproducing and preserving culture and it also discussed relevance of the study, research design and Chapterization scheme.

The second chapter entitled “**Migration and Gender: History of Indian Diaspora in Mauritius and Experiences of Women**” is based on the secondary data which highlights the historical and social context of Indian migration. In this chapter, I have focused on indenture labour migration from the feminist lens and also examined various social and economic factors responsible for labour migration to Mauritius. Here this study has described the impact of British colonialism and the evolution of Indian labour migration. The pattern of Indian migration in the British rule was classified into three categories, i.e. Indenture labour Migration, Kangani/ Maistry labour migration and Free or Passage migration. Further, this study has dealt with how labourers started their journey to Mauritius after crossing seven seas and have highlighted the presence of Indian women. I have also talked about the dilution of caste structure during the passage of migration, and the concept of ‘Jahaji Bhai and Jahaji Behan’ emerged. The experiences of women in the recruitment process have been examined through the available literature. Women have given an extensive contribution to cultural production which has been described through narratives of the life history of women.

The third chapter entitled “**Unheard Voices of Women’s ‘Self’ in *Bidesia* Folk Songs: Issues and Concerns**” is primary in nature and is based on the empirical source of data which are songs collected from selected villages (Khanjahapur, Semra, Basni, Khkhundu, Barahara, Ahiraula, Babhani, Babatpur and Sewaith) of eastern Uttar Pradesh/ Bhojpuri region. These songs are sung by rural women and have been recorded and transcribed in English. Migration process affected not only those who were leaving for foreign shores but also those who stayed back. It was rather a painful experience which has been reflected in the songs of separation and pain known as *Bidesia* folk songs. Why *Bidesia* Folk songs, because songs have always served the medium of emotional outburst for the women and these songs were sung in the memory of those who were leaving. These migrants were addressed as *Bidesia* in songs by left behind

women. Importance of folk songs and how folk songs have been an integral part of rural society has been discussed in this chapter. Critical analysis of songs has been done from the perspective of exile literature but with a digression that though they never went through the process of migration, these women were living in exile in home country itself. These twenty folk songs which have been collected from Eastern Region of Uttar Pradesh are in Bhojpuri dialect, these songs have been paraphrased and explained under various categories thematically such as narratives of separation, longing and belonging, socio-cultural life of left behind women, women in exile and suppressed sexuality. These songs represent the unheard voices which preserved the feeling, pain and trauma and various shades of emotions. This chapter talks about the life experiences of women and reflects the authoritative rule of a male who imposed exile on them.

The fourth chapter is “**Changing Contours of Bidesia Folk Culture in India**”. This chapter has discussed how migration has been plural experience and how the push and pull effects have been dominant in the selected districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. The chapter has been framed on the basis of the primary survey and interview schedules to determine several aspects of out-migration. Keeping in mind the research questions I have framed the structure of this chapter by discussing the route of migration in India from historical context. After moving to the next subsection of this study, i.e. the pattern of current migration and factors responsible for out-migration has been analysed. These aspects have been supported by theoretical approaches. As the title traces down the changing contours of Bidesia folk culture in India especially in the selected villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh which has been the focal point of my study, the researcher has extensively highlighted the study area, distribution of labour and pattern of labour migration from selected villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. There are various type of migrants, and they have been classified under different categories. Our approach has been around the representation of women, so we have discussed the Bidesia folk culture evolved from these areas keeping women at the centre. To find out the changes and continuities in the pattern of out-migration on the basis of our interview schedules we have analysed the experiences of women, the impact of technology on changing culture and experiences of left behind women through case studies and expert interviews. Various characteristics of rural out-migrants have been discussed in detail with relation to gender, age, education, family structure and social status. Migration from these specific areas has always been male-dominated and with the period what kind of

changes have been evolved and how the status and thought process of women from these areas have changed has been described. Male used to migrate by leaving their wives behind; this was the common practice. Migration at present has become the way of life, and a status symbol for the present generation from these areas and the earlier taboos have been disillusioned.

In the fourth chapter total, for primary survey total ten villages were selected in five districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. These specific rural areas as per the census are Bhojpuri speaking areas, and the number of out-migrants is in dominant number. Two villages from each district were selected for the in-depth study. Data were collected from a total of 150 respondents with the distribution of fifteen respondent from each village of the selected districts. Also keeping in mind, expert interviews have been carried out from the institutions like Banaras Hindu University (BHU), Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, G B Pant Institute of Social Sciences, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh where we talked to them on different aspects of Bidesia folk culture.

The fifth chapter entitled “**Relocating the Legacy of Bidesia Folk Culture in Mauritius: A Cultural Narrative of its Continuities and Changes**” is the last major chapter of this study which is primary too. The empirical data for this study was collected from five selected districts of Mauritius. This chapter has been framed on the basis of household and institutional survey. Observation and findings have been drawn and discussed in this chapter with the support of focused group discussions, case studies and eminent resource person interviews. A separate interview schedule was framed to trace down the continuities and changes in Bidesia folk culture in Mauritius. Like the previous chapter here also in Mauritius 150 respondents were selected for the study from five districts of Mauritius. It has been noticed that in the process of emigration from India particularly eastern Uttar Pradesh, the push and pull factors played an intervening role. The push factors such as extreme poverty, high taxes on land, landless labourers, shutting down of handicraft industries, famine, virtual slavery in Bengal known as *Kamintee*, political unrest, Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 and certain pull factors such as better economic opportunity and good wages which gave impetus to mass migration during 19th century. These factors have been examined with the support of various theories such as Everett Lee Theory of Push and Pull Factor and Kalervo Oberg Theory of Culture Shock. Moving ahead in this chapter we have discussed the brief

history of Mauritius where this island has witnessed the different phases of invasion such as Arabs, Portuguese, French and British. Thus, as a result of varied invasions, people belonging to different ethnic groups are in abundance in this island of Indian Ocean. Talking about the presence of Indian diaspora in Mauritius, we had started by digging the starting phase of migration from the mid-19th century when Indians arrived on this island as indentured labourers. This period marked the presence of these labourers who not only worked for the Britishers but also developed or reconstructed the socio-cultural elements of distinct Indian culture.

When we read the Da Vinci Code by Dan Brown, it says 'By its very nature, history is always one-sided account'. The very essence of this phrase is quite visible in the accounting of many historians, sociologists, anthropologists who have documented the history of migration and survival of these Indenture labourers by keeping them at the core of the analysis. The presence of women is almost at the negligible level or hasn't been considered at all. The contribution of women in developing Indian diaspora beyond seven seas has always been overlooked. Therefore, this chapter has discussed the development of Bidesia folk culture with various components such as family structure, religion, language, food habits, dressing, rituals and customs, festivals etc. Considering the dominance of Bhojpuri Diaspora in Mauritius as major population and the major force in creating Mauritius as Mini India, we have analysed how women played an important role in preservation and transmission of Indian cultural values and traditions.

Bhojpuri Diaspora is very much uprooted with their ancestral home. Not only the components of Bidesia folk culture are helping in the preservation of Indian culture but also various institutions working simultaneously in sustaining Indian culture and traditions for example during the interview we came across Sarita Budhoo's 'Geet Gawai School', 'Bhojpuri Speaking Union' and 'Arya Samaj, Mauritius'. Culture changes its form with time, in Mauritius itself, we can find that women have been practising culture with some modifications. We in this chapter have discussed how Bhojpuri Diaspora are able to develop Mini India while practising festivals, rituals, customs and traditions which their ancestors brought from India but with some modifications and how women have played a pivotal role in this process.

Findings:

These five chapters together try to answer six research questions formulated in the first chapter of this thesis. Through the discussions delineated in earlier chapters, conclusion and main findings have been drawn. But I would instead suggest the researchers to go through individual chapters for a complete understanding of the findings rather than to rely on the concluding remarks. The findings of my research related to Bidesia folk culture and Bhojpuri diaspora have been discussed at the end of each chapter.

There is more than 31.2 million Indian Diaspora residing across the globe. This substantial strength of Indian Diaspora comprises of various regional diasporas from India. In this context, Bhojpuri speaking diaspora is also flourishing at a steady rate. Bhojpuri speaking diaspora is a group of people from the *Bhojpur* region of India who is dispersed and settled in various parts of the world. We find the presence of large number of Bhojpuri speaking diaspora in Mauritius. Mauritius is the best example of Mini India where Bhojpuri speaking diaspora plays an essential role in strengthening mutual ties between both countries. The major findings on the Representation of Women's Self in Bidesia folk culture have been discussed below:

- Earlier Indenture labour migration was male-dominated, and Britishers preferred male over female labour force, but Indian women were introduced only when Mauritian State law made it mandatory. The mindset behind introducing women was more social rather than economic. Therefore, they sanctioned the defined quota of women to stabilise the Indian male population. Women were a cheap source of labour as they not only assisted the men in plantation fields but also worked as grannies and caretakers and performed household works efficiently, which men considered themselves inappropriate. Women were provided minimal wages or even were left unpaid if they offered their labour force as a domestic servant.
- In India, the social system and religion played a significant role in restraining labourers to cross seven seas. During the 19th century, it was considered that crossing black water or *Kala Pani* was a social taboo. For any Hindu, the cremation process is a very sacred task it is believed that a dead body should be buried under all the five elements, i.e., water, fire, earth, air, wood and metal. But unfortunately, when these indentured labourers died in-between their

journey onboard, they started believing that as they have tried to cross the Kala Pani or break the taboo, gods have become angry and consequently they were devoid of sacred funeral rites and their bodies were as a result thrown into the water.

- In the 19th century India, emigrants were recruited from various castes. Caste in Indian society has always been associated with occupation. During the 19th century, two categories were prominent, i.e. high caste and low caste. In a society, while determining the occupational structure, caste played an important role in it. People are believed to follow these traditional occupations right from the birth such as Dhobis (Washerman), Nau (Barber), Mochi (Cobbler) etc. But in Mauritius along with caste structure, this traditional occupation structure was diluted too. In Mauritius, people of Indian origin performed whatever task was assigned to them irrespective of their caste and class. Hence, the *Jajmani System* never got a chance to stem up.
- The proportion of women migrants comprised of beggars, deserted wives, prostitutes, kidnapped women and widows. There were two categories of women that migrated one is those who migrated along with male partners and second those who were fallen, women. Few women considered this migration as an opportunity to escape from patriarchal oppression and evils of Indian society.
- Early Historians considered the migration of women as a parody in colonial discourse, but literature shows that the migration, in reality, was a great escape from illiberal society, for example, widow remarriage was considered as taboo in India and these widows were forced to choose self-immolation but in Mauritius, these widows got married again and settled down there with new partner.
- The male out-migration is an imposed exile on the left behind women of migrants. This imposed exile gave them space where they can measure their existence in the world of solitude. This exile helped them to realise their true self. In India, left behind women of migrants expressed their hidden and suppressed desires through songs. These songs served as a coping mechanism to reflect happiness, grief, trauma, nostalgia etc.
- Bidesia folk songs were in question-answer form in which women imagined as if they are interacting with their husbands. While singing these songs, they

addressed their problems within the family and society, their dreams, aspirations and fear. Incidents included very minute details for example water droplets dripping from the roof or jewellery stolen by in-laws. They themselves asked the question and the answer to these questions came directly from their heart, which used to depict the anticipated answer of their absent husbands.

- In the process of migration, during the indenture period as well as in current scenario semi-skilled or unskilled labourers migrated. Indian men were not ready to travel along with family because the migrants were not sure if they could bear the livelihood cost of their family members and, they were not sure about the condition of the host country. They expected from their partners that they would take care of household chores and knowingly and unknowingly imposed exile on their wives. They believed that women were supposed to stay back and look after their families. Women on another hand considered this exile as an authoritative rule of men and the decision of the patriarchal structure of society.
- In the current scenario, two peculiar types of migration forms can be witnessed, i.e. external and internal migration. Eastern Uttar Pradesh consists group of the semi-skilled or unskilled labour force. In the context of external migration these labour groups prefer to migrate to Gulf countries rather than countries like Mauritius, Fiji, Surinam, Guyana etc. They find a better economic prospect in Gulf countries as they can send good amount of remittances to their families back home and within the sphere of internal migration, nowadays people are migrating to neighbouring states such as Delhi, Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat etc. in search of better economic opportunities.
- With changing time and advent of Information communication technology and rapid means of the transportation system, the feeling of separation which was present in the hearts of left behind women of migrants in India has started diminishing gradually. Earlier when there were no communication women used to express their emotions through Bidesia folk songs but in present scenario there is no such boundation, today with the help of mobile and internet they can interact as many times they desire, not only that they can avail swift transportation facility and can even meet their husband and family members. So, in the present the relevance of Bidesia songs does not hold that much importance, and it is sung on rare occasions. These Bidesia songs are now on

the verge of extinction and songs are no longer considered the best way to express hidden emotions and suppressed desires.

- Earlier the concept of Bidesia was treated as negative connotation, but nowadays migration to various locations is considered as a proud moment for the families, as it brings prosperity in the families in terms of economic benefits. Today the new concept has raised that larger the number of Bidesia from a family the family will be wealthier. Earlier being Bidesia was considered taboo, whosoever migrated from the family was treated with shame and was even banished, and their departure was even considered a betrayal of the country. Today, migrants can easily send remittances which were not possible earlier, and the process of chain migration has also boosted.
- It was a general perception that when a husband migrates to distant land leaving his wife behind, left behind woman was bound to spend rest of her life in isolation, she will feel remorse in the absence of her husband, and her whole life will be blurred. The only support she had was in the form of her husband. Women tried to convince their husbands to stay behind and work nearby their homes or fields. But today the thought process has changed, women now themselves push their husbands to migrate in search of a good economic source, and even in their absence they take over the command to look after their field and household. Women today not only successfully manage to rear a child but also have emerged as an important contributor in crop production. Eastern Uttar Pradesh has a larger agriculture-based population, and before this, the role of women in crop production was neglected.
- It was found that women from upper caste from the villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh whose husbands or family members have migrated can utilise more leisure time in their absence, but the same was not in the case of lower caste women. The lower caste women hardly find time for leisure, they have to work rigorously in the field or looking back after their animals, and even after full day work, they are hardly able to find proper wages. There is wage difference also women who work at the construction sites are paid less than men pursuing the same task.
- Hindus in villages worship many Gods. There is a specific deity of every village. We can find small temples of these local deities scattered in the villages especially in amidst the agricultural fields. *Kaali Mai ka Chaura, Baram Baba,*

Peer Baba, Shitla Mai are to be some of the important deities of the villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. These deities are worshipped as their blessings can yield good rainfall and produce grains and they also protect farmers from robbers and forces of nature. But the establishment of the temple of local deities is not observed in Mauritius. As a matter of superstitious belief *Najarbattu* (black earthen pot and lemon and chilly woven in a thread) were placed on the entrance of houses of Indo-Mauritians to prevent bad powers.

- In the villages of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, it was a mandatory practice by women to make tattoo (*Godna*) of husbands' name on their hands. In Mauritius, the women of Indian origin did not make tattoos of the name of their husbands. Hinduism is the oldest religion existing on the earth consists of a large number of symbols. Each symbol has its connotation and significance. The major Hindu symbols are *Om, Swastika, Tilak, Lingam, Trishul, Bindi, Kalash, Yantra, The saffron flag, Rudraksha Bead, Lotus, Sankh, Dharmachakra, Lamp, Banyan Tree, Nandi, Shri, Veena, Peacock Feather, Sun, Snake, Damru etc.* In Mauritius, there is a predominance of these symbols, and even in the younger generation they have made a fashion of using these symbols as body tattoos and are also using in their attires in printed form.
- Mauritius has been acknowledged as mini India. In the process of formation of mini India, the role of women has been highly acclaimed. Indo-Mauritians believe that their prosperity is a result of the massive support from a woman. These women have successfully managed to imbibe the traits of Indian culture into their children. These women have heard the struggles of previous generations. Thus, they are more conscious in inculcating and preserving Indian culture and tradition, for example, Geet Gawai School.
- There are various institutions and organisations which are working in promotion of Indian art and culture. Arya Sabha is one of the important organisations in Mauritius which has been playing a substantial role in sustaining ancestral language and culture among the Indo-Mauritians. Arya Sabha Mauritius runs majority of temples, schools based on Indian languages. They not only organise the marriages based on Indian system but also help in the eradication of social dilemmas. Mauritius is free from caste structure. People in Mauritius prefer to stick with the values of India which their forefathers used to talk. They feel privilege in speaking Bhojpuri dialect; there is unity in diversity in the larger

population of Mauritius. Arya Sabha Mauritius also have constructed old age homes for taking care of old people whose children have left them as the main objective of "Arya Samaj" is to promote social progress, physical and spiritual upliftment of all human beings of the whole world.

- It has been noticed that women in Mauritius are more concerned in maintaining the essence of Bhojpuri language. They have still managed to keep the Bhojpuri language free from cultural pollution. Cultural pollution happens when traditional and pure cultural traditions are replaced by pop culture. If we compare Mauritius with India, Bhojpuri language hasn't been influenced by popular media. Their television and radio programs still play traditional Bhojpuri songs. While in India Bhojpuri songs are so polluted that the current generation is getting aloof from the Bhojpuri dialect. In India, it has been noticed that parents don't insist their children to speak the Bhojpuri language. But in Mauritius interaction in Bhojpuri is common practice and they feel privileged about it. They believe that it's the language that has helped them in preserving Indian culture away from India.
- Speaking in terms of continuities and changes it was noticed that *Ramayana* was enacted by the early indentured labourers but with changing time, this tradition of enactment of *Ramayana* vanished. It is noticeable as the people who considered Lord Rama as their ideal, with changing the time they stopped practising the traditional dramas depicting the history of Lord Rama. Now they prefer to watch Indian epics on Television.
- It has been noticed that in Mauritius old age women are hardworking. They also believe that they can be a role model for the younger generation. That's why they keep on working meticulously on the agricultural fields and prefer to eat self-grown vegetables. Mauritian Government has also given major support to uplift and empower women in their country. They provide old women monthly pension and even keep on organising vocational training programmes.
- In Mauritius, it was quite evident that Indian origin women were involved not only in household chores but were also seen selling food items. People other than Indian origin are fond of traditional Indian delicacies. The most liked item is *Dhol Puri* and *Samosa*.
- In India, with increasing population and urbanisation the nuclear family system is gaining popularity, but in comparison to India, women of Mauritius have a

staunch belief that living together under one roof will strengthen their bonds. These values they have inherited from their grandparents and parents and the same they have always tried to teach to their next generation. The concept of the joint family in the majority is still existing.

- In India as well as Mauritius women play an active role in performing rituals such as singing wedding songs, rites of passage, and celebrating festivals but men in Mauritius during funeral rites of a dead person are involved in reciting couplets of Kabir (*Kabir ke dohe*) which is popularly known as *Sabad* singing. In this, they talk about reality and ultimate truth of life.
- As people of Indian origin carried religious text like *Ramayana & Bhagavad Gita* with them and they considered Lord Rama as their ideal. They tried to follow the intrinsic qualities of Lord Rama among themselves. It is evident that Rama during his exile survived on fruits and roots and was *Ahimsik* (non-violent) in character. Following his footsteps, Indo-Mauritians also refused to the practice of *Bali Pratha* (animal slaughter) which was offered to important deities to fulfil their wishes. The women of Indian origin in Mauritius made the sacrifice of rice, wheat or other crops but never promoted animal sacrifice.
- The sense of longing to visit the native place of their ancestors is still prevalent in the hearts of people of Mauritius. They feel that once in a lifetime they would like to get back to the place from where the story of separation begun.
- Marriages in India are usually expensive venture. Marriages with more pomp and show are considered to be a status symbol. A huge amount of money is spent from the bride side, but in Mauritius, marriage is a close-knit affair where families and relatives of both sides come together and give blessings. No Dowry or exchange of monetary assets is done in the name of gifts.
- In the case of Indian women, it was evident that they were restricted to enter the kitchen or take part in any religious activities if they were undergoing the menstrual cycle. This is still a common practice in India, but in Mauritius, during our study, we observed that with proper education this orthodox belief system was maligned, though women continued this traditional practice with some changes like they can enter into the kitchen, eat along with the family member etc.
- Condemnation of *Purdah* System took place in Mauritius. Arya Sabha eradicated this social evil from the Indian community. Women of Indian origin

in Mauritius do not believe in the *purdah* system at present. Another striking element which was observed among the women of the Muslim community in Mauritius is that they wear *Hijab* as a mandatory practice. *Hijab* is also similar to *purdah* in which their Muslim women cover their head.

Suggestions:

- 1) It has been observed that reasons like extreme poverty, lack of industrial infrastructure and backwardness in the agriculture sector that led to male out-migration during 19th & the early 20th century are still existing. This male out-migration made left behind women to suffer social cost (emotionally, physically, mentally, socially etc.). To prevent this problem of male selective out-migration there should be strict implementation of proper policies in rural areas so that the social cost of migration can be minimised. We should try to generate new prospects for a male in their villages and promote the intervention of modern-day technology in agriculture sector so that they won't go in neighbouring states leaving behind their families.
- 2) It has been believed that folklore is a part of oral tradition which is transferred from one generation to another. It is a culture which has been continued for centuries. Bidesia folk songs are part of folk culture and they are on the verge of extinction as the rural women don't sing in the memory of husbands due to introduction of communication tools. Therefore, measures should be taken to preserve these songs as these songs reflect the history of migration.
- 3) Both the countries should promote and enhance cultural values through different kind of educational programmes so that the formation of cultural identity can be strengthened. There is a need to promote Bhojpuri Diaspora in Mauritius to make them aware of their roots. Governments should promote more cultural exchange programmes to make the younger generation of Indo-Mauritians aware of the cultural heritage of India as they are getting aloof due to pomp and show of the Western countries. For safeguarding the Bhojpuri language, educational programmes should be given primary importance in the schooling and institutions like Arya Sabha should be promoted with all resources so that they can help in the preservation of language and culture in Mauritius.