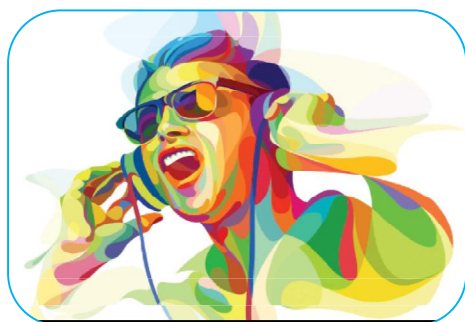




ISSN: 2249-894X
IMPACT FACTOR : 5.7631 (UIF)
UGC APPROVED JOURNAL NO. 48514
VOLUME - 8 | ISSUE - 8 | MAY - 2019



LISTENING TO VULGAR/NON-VULGAR GENRES: ANALYZING GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN POPULAR BHOJPURI MUSIC

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ABSTRACT:

A woman says that her husband is going out and she demands him to bring a Saree (female garment that wrapped around the waist to shoulder) for her otherwise she will have a bad quarrel with him in the evening. The woman says, 'husband brings suit-tie and everything for himself - **The Vulgar Song.**

The garden is incomplete without the Nightingale (cuckoo); the maternal home is incomplete without Brother and Brother's' children. The Aangan (courtyard) is incomplete without Devar (husband's younger brother). The Sasural

(groom's home) is incomplete without groom's father and mother. The bed is incomplete without husband/lover - **The Non-vulgar Song.**

KEYWORDS: sexual desire, Compact Disc (CDs).

INTRODUCTION: LOCATING THE BACKGROUND

As a researcher, studying Popular Bhojpuri Music (PBM) for long the above mentioned two songs of both the Vulgar and Non-vulgar genres have forced me to engage myself more into this area. It raises questions that how this Vulgar song is defined vulgar even though it is only talking about 'the everyday reality of a wife where she demands and that to an attire' whereas the other song where 'a wife clearly mentioning her sexual desire' is Non-vulgar? Are the genres defined through 'texts' or something else? So, I decided to understand these available genres in PBM and its

connections with gender and sexuality. Or in other words, I am trying to study gender, genre and sexuality in PBM for this paper. I have selected this topic because of my interest and also because relatively lesser research has been done in this area. I selected to read genres in PBM as both the genres play very important role in defining singer's status, seller's perception, buyer's decisions, producer's selection, the cover of Compact Disc (CDs) and so on. Thus, my thrust is to know that are genres draw any linkages in defining gender and sexuality in PBM? This paper also underlines the need to examine the broad categorization of the available genres: vulgar and non-vulgar found in PBM in Bihar after the advent of the CDs as these emerged only after the arrival of

CDs.

This paper discusses about how gender, genres and sexuality are defined, constructed and inter-connected. This research focuses on the two genres: vulgar and non-vulgar in PBM after the advent of the cassettes and emphasizes to study how it shapes and is shaped by many factors (the texts of the songs, singer's social locations, the CD covers, their production, consumption and so on). This research also highlights that how both genres further shapes the singer's positions as vulgar and non-vulgar. So, it focuses on how both the genres and singer's sexuality makes/ unmakes each other. This paper further argues that it could be better understood by methodologically integrating the lives of the singers, the text of the songs,

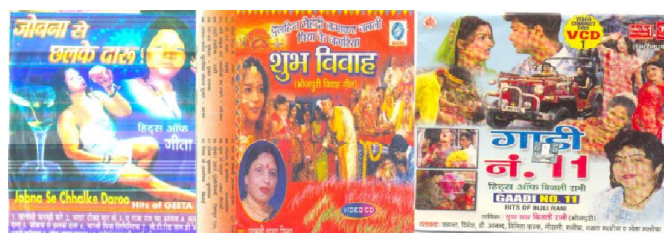
production and consumption together which this research had tried to incorporate.

The data used in this paper was collected during the course of my M.Phil. back in 2006-07. I had studied total 33 cassettes. Apart from these 33 cassettes, I analyzed 7 cassettes in details of those either sung by male singers or both male and female singers. In CDs the themes found plenty in number are like: the songs of *preet* (love), the miscellaneous and modernity songs. Vulgar cassettes were more in number and their prices were much lesser than that of non-vulgar cassettes. I found piracy in most of the vulgar cassettes. In non-vulgar cassettes piracy was found mostly in marriage cassettes. Each cassette has more than 12 songs, maximum being 60 (in vulgar genre) and 30 (in non-vulgar genre) songs are found in the cassettes. Throughout the vulgar genre there is one common thing - that it developed its own language, language of double meanings; that denotes a sense of vulgarity in itself.

Apart from analyzing CDs, I took interviews and life history to collect my data. So, I interviewed the lives of 7 women singers who were singing in the music industry. To conceal the identity of the respondents I've changed their names. These life narratives are from different categories. To note the generation-wise changes I talked with Laxmi, one of the eldest women singers in Bihar; Deepa who captured the market for 4-5 years, after the Bhojpuri boom; and Sangeeta who is an upcoming singer. To note the status-wise differences, I interviewed one chorus singer, Radha, and a vulgar singer, Meera Rani. To look into the transformations in performances, I interviewed Tara Devi who is a stage performer and a Dalit and finally, Nisha, who used to perform in public places and was also approached to sing in the electronic media, though she failed to do so. My study sought to integrate a production perspective into understanding PBM by studying one production company 'Sur Sangam' situated in Patna; which was one of the largest Bhojpuri songs production company in Bihar. The manager of that company, Prakash Kumar, used to record for T-Series in his studio for around 25 years. I had interviewed 10 retailers. I also interviewed buyers as part of my study. I had interviewed 27 male and 18 female buyers. One female I interviewed at the shop and the others I interviewed during the fieldwork while traveling in trains and buses, in the market and at home. I interviewed 7 uneducated women who listen to Bhojpuri music and the rest of the 11 had education ranging from the middle to the higher. Among the 27 males I interviewed, 13 were interviewed at the shops and the rest of them outside the shops, while traveling in rickshaws, trains, buses or at the auto-stand, near shops selling betel leaves. I interviewed 5 uneducated males, 10 educated males and 12 drivers ranging from rikshaw to auto driver to a drunkard.

This paper is divided into three sections. Section one talks about the two available genres in details by analysing the 'texts' of the songs and argues that only by studying the texts one cannot get the clear picture of PBM rather it has to link to several other factors. Section two discusses that one could understand PBM in a better way only by reconciling texts with lives, production and consumption. It also examines how these genres shapes lives, production, consumption and in turn also shaped by all these. Section three investigates at length that how the making and unmaking of genres constitute gender and sexuality in PBM and vice-versa. At last the paper is followed by reflections and concluding remarks of this research.

Listening To Vulgar/Non-vulgar Songs: Understanding Genres



I've categorized the songs of the electronic media into non-vulgar songs and vulgar songs as these were the two broad categories on which electronic songs were heard, purchased and sold. Before

elaborating the categories, one needs to explain what is vulgar and what is non-vulgar, how it is understood and what I mean by this term. This section starts with what is vulgar and what is non-vulgar; how they have been defined by different people like shopkeepers, customers; and how I will try to define it.

Shopkeepers define non-vulgar by saying 'good cassettes' or '*aachi* cassettes' and vulgar cassettes by 'bad cassettes' or '*gandi* cassettes'. They make these two broad categories on the basis of the Bhojpuri women singers especially the social locations of these singers. For example, each cassette of Laxmi was considered as 'good' because she represents the ideal Indian woman. In contrast to this, all cassettes of Meera Rani were considered as 'vulgar' because of her social location, as she belongs to the performing community.

Customers categorized cassettes on the basis of the social position of the women singers, the cover pictures of the cassettes, tones of the songs and cassettes based on a particular ritual. In their view, the non-vulgar or good cassettes are those whose cassette covers were not obscene or whose songs were based on rituals or whose tones of the songs must be feminine, light and soft or sung by the singer whose social position was considered as good. The vulgar cassette/songs were just opposite of this. The titles and cover pictures of the vulgar cassettes are obscene/bold or the social position of the singer is bad. Some of the buyers define vulgarity of any song based on whether it could be heard among family or not. I am not defining the vulgarity/non-vulgarity per se; rather my curiosity is to analyze the two major existing themes/types or cassettes/songs in the electronic media.

A wife goes to the bed where her husband is sleeping. She puts her hand over his wallet, opens it and finds two handkerchiefs and two fifty paisa coins and through that she just bought 'Bindi' (the sacred vermilion mark Indian women wear on their foreheads).

I have selected this song of non-vulgar genre where the love between husband and wife is expressed. And the love is shown in two ways. One, that it is controlled by 'money'. The control of women over money gives a special kind of pleasure and power to wife. And this also shows that wife is stealing husband's purse. That means the control over economy is with the husband and there is plight of women in the patriarchal society. The other thing why this song attracts is that the 'love' expressed is in this genre, which is achieved by saying that she bought '*Bindi*'. In the patriarchal society this symbol plays a significant role in women's life. There is another song of the same genre:

The girl is saying to her father that he should not be tense about her marriage. She forbids him to sell his property for her. She says that she will start an anti-dowry campaign and for that she is ready to spend her life as an unmarried woman.

Again the song is where a girl is voicing but to save her family or in other words in favor of patriarchy. The next vulgar song where:

A woman says that her husband/lover is expressing his love for her in English - she is asking for a 'Chumma' but he is giving her a kiss in return; he is kissing her whole body and not missing a single part of her body.

In the vulgar genre a woman openly states her sexual desire unlike in the non-vulgar genre where it is expressed in indirect ways. I found most of the songs in the vulgar genre were either based on illicit relations or something where 'body' becomes power as well pleasure to talk about. One song that I have selected is based on illicit sexual relations, where a group of women are talking about how there is something 'wrong' between *Bhabhi* (elder brother's wife) and *Devar* as he is massaging her body. He spends most of his time with her. In this song we notice that on the one hand it is talking about the reality found in patriarchal society but it is vulgar because it is breaking the ideal patriarchal image that there is a relation between *Bhabhi* and *Devar*. Also it is confirming the patriarchal laws by questioning the character of *Bhabhi*, who is a woman. All other women are questioning *Bhabhi*, asking her pointedly what happened to her that *Devar* is massaging her body. No one is blaming *Devar* for this.

The other women are asking Bhabhi that the Devar is massaging her body - something must be wrong. He runs after his Bhabhi throughout the day and shows his affection to her.

In the vulgar genre we too find a sub-genre has been into existence which is different in the sense that all the songs talk about sexuality in its own typical language. This specific language has

double meaning. The selection of words are very normal like conductor, train, bus, lemon, upper part, lower part and so on. But these words represent a sense of vulgarity and this makes the vulgar songs more vulgar. Ghosh too argues that new trends of double-meaning lyrics has emerged which put a lot of pressure to write 'sexy' songs for producers (Ghosh 2010). For example in one song a woman is enjoying '*gadi number 11*' and everyone has not the guts to sit on it. It has a double meaning. And it is showing women's bodily power that every woman doesn't have.

A woman says that she is having a great pleasure on bus no. 11 which is moving up and down and she keeps on saying that only merry-go-lucky ones get a chance to have a ride /travel on it.

Coming to the title of the cassettes, the title of the non-vulgar cassettes use common everyday terminology whereas the vulgar genres mostly use words which have double meanings and leaning towards sexuality. The titles of the non-vulgar cassettes are: *Balma* (lover), *Shub Vivah* (auspicious marriage), *Tohari Piritiya* (in your love), *Aaiel Mousam Pyar Ke* (seasons of love has come) and so forth. The title of the vulgar cassettes are clearly lewd, bawdy, and full of double meaning with the highest level of vulgarity like- *Jobana Se Chalke Daru* (liquor is splashing from youth), *Bhojpuri Chamiya* (a derogatory form of a girl), *Gadi Number Gayarah* (vehicle number 11), *Maal Khoje Boodhwa* (the old man seeks goods) and so on.

Thus, in this section we can clearly see that the vulgar and non-vulgar songs show that how texts are related to many other factors like -patriarchy, the social locations of the singers, the production, the consumers, CDs covers and so forth. If one wants to engage in understanding the meaning of both the available genres in PBM, one cannot get the clear picture only by studying the 'texts' of the songs, rather there are many factors which shapes their meaning; which next section will be dealing with.

Analyzing 'Texts': Reconciling Songs, Lives, Production And Consumption

This section tries to bring in larger questions, into the study of texts of the songs by seeking to integrate lives, production and consumption perspectives on PBM. The argument being that lives and texts are complexly related to how Bhojpuri music is produced and consumed. One cannot understand the genres in isolation or separate from lives, production and consumption. Rather one has to combine these four aspects, which most of the studies fail to do so. I further suggest that the texts of the songs, the live of the singers shapes the production and consumption and in turn shaped by these.

One can see that how songs shapes and in turn shaped by lives, production, consumption and so forth. Bringing out a cassette totally depends on the market and it depends on many things like theme of the songs, video, singer's status, CDs cover and so on. Laxmi shared in her narrative that when she started singing, prostitutes dominated the industry and they were singing 'bad' songs. But at her time, any woman singer can sing. And prostitutes too could sing good songs like *bhakti* (devotional) but they were not respected as other women singers who belong from upper caste and class. My data suggests that whatever kind of song one sings, if the singer belongs to a stage performer background or prostitute background, her songs can become popular but her position is always considered as that of a vulgar singer. For example, Meera Rani who sang both *bhakti* and vulgar songs; but is always considered as a 'vulgar singer' because she used to perform at public places with her group. Besides they were also paid lesser than others whereas Laxmi's songs were always acknowledged as high-quality as she belongs to high caste/class and good family. She was disqualified in the first round of selection in Radio but she went and talked with the manager. The manager was highly impressed with her caste, class, family status and that's why she got the second chance and that only made her famous.

Prakash Kumar (a producer) was of the view that there was a need to produce songs in the regional language. He further said that 'clean songs' were required more, as the whole family wants to listen to them together. Retailers shared that small retailers buy cassettes both audio and video from big retailers and they purchase them from Patna. Both audio and video cassettes were sold along with their pirated copies. In fact according to the retailers pirated copies were sold more as they were priced at Rs 10-15 while the original copies were Rs 50 onwards, which was too costly. They also said that women barely buy any cassettes and in case they do, they buy either *bhakti* cassettes or those of old

Bhojpuri family films or marriage cassettes. They were of the view that both men and women who don't stay in Bihar buy these cassettes in order to remain in touch with their tradition and keep it alive. These cassettes are on themes of marriage and a few other festivals, especially of *Chatt* (one of the festivals of Bihar in which the Sun God is worshipped).

Retailers further shared that in consuming cassettes caste is immaterial but class exists. They said that most of the upper-class purchase cassettes of 'good standard' and it is the lower-class people like truck drivers, shopkeepers and so on who buy vulgar cassettes. Some retailers were of the view that it was the rural people and poor people who consume vulgar cassettes more. All the retailers remarked that some of the upper class men, especially young men, buy the vulgar cassettes but in a clandestine fashion. Very few upper class men purchase vulgar cassettes and they look all around before buying it. When asked which cassettes, vulgar or good ones, sell more, they replied that both sell equally. Most of the people buy cassettes not because of who is singing rather on which theme the songs are based or how is the video made or sometimes people buy whatever is popular in the market.

I also interviewed buyers as part of my study. They shared that they buy those cassettes, which were more valued by market. I found that there were hardly any women who buy the cassettes and their percentage as customers was a mere 5% of the whole. When they do buy cassettes, they prefer *bhakti* and Bhojpuri family films, which were mostly old. I never came across a girl or a woman under or around thirty years of age while most of the male customers belonged to that age group. One woman I interviewed listened to the songs sung by the singer Deepa because she belonged to her region and to a good family. So, Deepa was an icon for her. Another woman did not like Deepa as she finds her voice very heavy, like a male voice and even her dressing-up style was very male. The woman commented thus on Deepa, '*woh mardana lagti hai*' (She looks masculine). Every woman likes listening to Laxmi and they respect her as an ideal woman who is keeping the tradition alive. Often women said that they came to know about their tradition from these cassettes as nobody remembers the songs of different rituals anymore. All educated men I interviewed like Laxmi. Most of the men enjoy Deepa as 'she is loud' and she has a very different voice that suits their ears. It is not necessary that customers can understand Bhojpuri but they hear it for the sake of hearing. A rickshaw-puller said that he kept a loud speaker on his rickshaw and it provides strength for driving. Most of the auto-drivers had earphones with which listen to Bhojpuri songs. They said that it keeps tensions away from them.

I detected that when young men and/or educated men buy the vulgar cassettes, they bought hesitantly but when truck drivers or auto drivers buy, they did not hesitate. They were often found to imitate the song or its visual; *paan-walas* (sellers of betel leaves) found romance in such songs. The male Bhojpuri singers were heroes for them. Most of the men are fond of Bhojpuri ring tones. When I asked them that which of the form they would like, audio or video, they said they did not prefer any one particular form in this. They can listen to the songs in both the mediums but certain songs they prefer to watch on the video. There were some women singers tagged as vulgar singers and some men do not listen to them at all even if they sing good songs. But some other men listen to all the songs of that singer as they found a kind of vulgarity in her voice. So even if she sings good songs, they found it vulgar and enjoy it.

This shows that there is a deep relationship between the texts of the songs, lives of the singers, production and consumption that needs further detailing; whether a text challenges patriarchy or decides that it is being - vulgar or non-vulgar. Once the broader category is decided then the singers, the tone of the song, the cover page, the title and so forth all are decided to be formulated. At times, the singers own social status decides the kind of songs to be sung. And, in turn, this would decide the terms and conditions, royalty and so on of singers. The production, consumption and circulation of women's songs depend on many aspects- the texts of the songs, the singer's social status, tone and so forth. I suggest that the texts and the lives are related in complex ways that make the 'identity' of the performer and this in turn influences and are influenced by the processes of production, consumption and circulation.

This section ends with making the understanding of the complex relationship of the text of the songs and the lives of the singers with production and consumption. It also examined how these genres

shapes lives, production, consumption and in turn also shaped by all these. But this section is limited in the sense it is not explaining how genres constitute and constituted by gender and sexuality which next section will be elaborating.

Making/Unmaking Genres: Reviewing Gender And Sexuality In PBM

Section three investigates at length how the making and unmaking of genres constitute gender and sexuality in PBM and vice-versa. Though the themes in each cassette are wide-ranging, there is a commonality in each of the cassettes - that is, the cassettes of non-vulgar supports patriarchy whereas vulgar songs questions patriarchy. The presentation of the songs, tone, music all are visibly vulgar in the vulgar genre and comparatively the non-vulgar songs maintain the ideal image of patriarchal society as along with the tone, music presentation and singers are all 'good'.

The woman says that her Mother-in-law is beating her with the bamboo stick and her Sister-in-law is throwing hot water on her.

This song is of the Daughter-in-law talking about her plight that how her Mother-in-law and Sister-in-law behave very cruelly with her. In the patriarchal order, cruelty, both in practice and theory, is done by the women on the other women to maintain it and this song is talking about that only. This song comes under the non-vulgar genre inspite of it uttering against the conjugal family. To understand how patriarchy and gender constitute and shapes meanings to the genres and sexuality we need to elaborate that how one song which challenges patriarchy becomes vulgar and the other non-vulgar. Below, in the vulgar song that I have selected is where the Daughter-in-law is saying that she'll do whatever she wants to and nobody can question her. She will have not any fear from her Mother-in-law and will not feel shy in front of her Father-in-law. This song is really challenging the patriarchal order because in this society if a Daughter-in-law does whatever she likes to do, is, in fact challenging the system (patriarchy). This song also talks about how the Daughter-in-law will have no more shyness in front of her Father-in-law. She will also live openly in front of him.

The Daughter-in-law sings that 'I'll not fear my Mother-in-law and I'll not feel shame in front of my Father-in-law. I'll go wherever my heart says. I'll live in whatever way it pleases me. I'll sleep as late as I want to and that too with my legs unfolded. I'll stay forever'.

Both the songs challenges patriarchy then what makes one of them vulgar? The non-vulgar song is raising voice but in the subtle manner and also it talks about the pain of a Daughter-in-law, which is acceptable but the vulgar song is challenging patriarchy openly and very sharply and no agony of Daughter-in-law is discussed so it becomes vulgar.

To understand more that how songs are shaped by gender, patriarchy and sexuality I have taken the songs on modernity sung by both the male and female singers and one can see that how differently they constitute the meanings of modernity in their songs and these differences not only talks about but also based upon the conceptualization of gender, patriarchy and sexuality. Like: women enjoy modernity and welcome it but male singers, confirming the patriarchal order by rejecting it and showing how bad it is for women. A song sung by Manoj Tiwari (the real name and a very famous Bhojpuri singer/actor) is about a girl who goes to town for studying where she becomes a city girl of bad character. This song further says that she marries a man and leaves him within a year. This song rejects modernity for woman.

In this song the male singer admonishes ironically sending a girl to the city for studies. By going to the city the girl has got a knack for city life because of which she will now fall in love, become 'characterless' and so it will be difficult to find a husband for such a girl.

The other song of Pawan Singh (the actual name of a famous Bhojpuri male singer) confirms that when a girl wears jeans, seeing her, a boy gets attracted and becomes excited. Another song sung by a male singer is about an advanced girl who always abuses men, who drinks beer and so forth. All these songs that are sung by male singers come under non-vulgar genres. These are very famous songs and are considered ideal and therefore the tone of the song, cover of the CDs, video all are non-vulgar whereas the songs which women singers sing on modernity, they welcome it which is barely

acceptable in the patriarchy or the given gender role to women. Thus, the singers, tone, video, CDs cover all are lewd, bawdy. Like in this song:

The girl is rubbing her cheeks with handkerchief. She has worn a nose pin and earrings too. She cuts her hair in bob cut style. She is going slowly to Patna and they are seeing her.

Gender distinctions exist not only in songs but also in their lives and these divisions not only work in selecting this profession but at many levels and in subtle ways. Male singers are paid more as they can bargain more by saying that if they are not paid their dues then they would go for another company. But, a female singer, being a female, cannot switch to another company as she is always with her male guardian who does not like it. The gender division operates in household as well as outside. My data, deals with how ones voice, performances become too 'streeamay' (feminine) and this is carried to the household as in Meera Rani's case where she asked her daughter not to dance though she herself is in this field. But her daughter did not stop and so Meera Rani broke ties with her daughter. If one does not behave like a woman, then patriarchy sometimes becomes quite violent as Laxmi was highly criticized when she sang a patriotic song in her village and Deepa was asked many a times as to who will marry such a girl who sings in public spaces? And this becomes too violent in the case of Meera Rani as there was a plan by the villagers to murder her in her childhood just because she sang on the public stage, being a girl.

Sexuality is also one of the important themes to discuss. The text of the songs express female desires so women's songs were considered to be in private realm as Laxmi talks about *Domkach* (a function sharing experiences in folk songs of women of the bridegroom's side, which is celebrated on the night the male members have left for the bride's place for the wedding ceremony) is the right place to express such feelings and when such feelings are expressed in public spaces they connote as 'bad'. In one song of non-vulgar genre, we find that how one's married-hood provides rather sanctions the space for expressing sexuality. Deepa was of view that most of the female singers were unaware of the nuances of the text and companies misused their singing. She further shared that female singers were blackmailed though lesser to film industry. Radha was attached with one Production Company only just because she feels security as being a girl and therefore the company pays her lesser. Nisha's experience suggests that how gender becomes a base for exploitation in the industry, and how one's sexuality becomes a way to get access to opportunities in cassette industry. When I asked her that though she was singing for such a long time, why was she not as acknowledged as others? She replied that it was because she was not ready to make adjustments like other women singers do: for example- singing vulgar songs or fulfilling sexual demands to get opportunities. Hearing her views I further asked that why she chose to sing the vulgar songs? Or was she ignorant about the vulgarity of those songs? She answered that no, she was not ignorant about songs, but that was the only way to enter in the industry at that time and also she liked the '*dhun*' (tune) of those two songs. So she thought that once she would be popular, after that she would not sing those kinds of songs.

The life of Meera Rani tells that she is not only always considered as vulgar singer but also, she becomes an icon for all vulgar singers as most of the vulgar singers put '*Rani*' as their surname only after her surname. But she herself was confirming patriarchal ideology by abusing prostitutes as they sang bad songs and they were bad from their occupation too. She was of view that women must be in the private realm then only they will be considered as good and her thinking forced her to ask her daughter not to opt for such profession as that was not good for women. She further was scared from the girls who were coming from outside as they were ready to be in any outfit which provoke male consumers and making the profession as bad. All these experiences suggest how female sexuality is constructed in the patriarchal discourse which is further celebrated as 'bad songs/performances'. To understand the complexities of how sexualities are made and unmade we need to know what Rege is saying. Rege is of the view that how Lavani; a popular cultural practice marked as respectable at times and at the same times some parts of it became vulgar and sexualized. The vulgar further gets re-sexualized and dirty where women performers were seen merely as sex-workers rather than as artists (Rege 2002). Morcom is of the view that dancing in public or for the entertainment of men is incompatible with marriage and 'respectability'. A woman performs in front of men tends to mean that

she will be seen erotically and is sexually available whether her performance is erotic or not. She further is of the view that Bollywood dance and music make any performance 'respectable' (Morcom 2014). This research tried to draw the deeper and complex relations of gender, genres and sexuality and how they constitute and in turn constituted by all these in PBM.

Reflections: Studying Genres, Gender And Sexuality In PBM

A woman says that UP is in her 'Choli' (bodice) and Bihar is in her 'Chunri' (a piece of cloth to cover the face and upper part of women's body). She says to her driver husband/lover that be seated this night and have some pleasure.

This confirms that a woman has such bodily power that she can control both UP and Bihar. The significance of saying both UP and Bihar shows that these are the two among the bigger states in India and this gives more power to the woman. The other reason why she is talking about these two states is that most of the Bhojpuri speaking people reside in these two states and she has the power to control all men of this region. And the last reason is that these two states are considered as the worst '*bigda hua*' (spoiled) states in India and she has that much power that she can control all types of men, however strong they are, however spoilt they are. The woman is explaining her bodily power to her lover and asking him if he would wait that night so that he can get more pleasure as she has so much power.

This study has tried to argue that the complexities of the subject PBM can be better grasped by methodologically integrating the study of the lives, text of the songs, production and consumption perspectives. It discusses how the lives of those who sing and 'their' songs constitute the 'popular' and are constituted by it and how this circuit helps us to see the process not just as commercialization or exploitation.

Genres and their recasting constitute/constituted by patriarchal ideology. The texts of the songs often express female desires and are therefore considered fit for the private realm/space. Laxmi talks about *Domkach* which is the right place to express vulgar feelings where they have obtained social sanction. But when the same vulgar feelings come to be expressed in public spaces, they are connoted as vulgar songs.

The study has through the texts and lives, tried to move beyond the blanket statements about these forms of music emerging from exploitation of women for the consumption of male members. No doubt performances are made by keeping in mind the male audience and that these dominant patriarchal institutions seek to reinforce patriarchal ideology through these. But if singers and consumers are not 'cultural dopes' then how do we understand the tensions between them, say for instance, the singers insistence that they sing for themselves. Tara Devi for instance, who sings songs for politicians in their praise and are also used for political propaganda. But these women singers are barely paid for they have not enough money even to release their own single cassette.

Due to time constraints, I am aware that several limitations remain in this study; both technical and methodological. This study being exploratory has sought to straddle many issues in the field and therefore is limited on details. The allotted word frame too restricted the detailing. I am planning to carry this work in future by engaging more into reviewing how sexualities shape/shaped by performances, political economy and the state in PBM. And at last, also trying to know how public/private spaces make/unmake gender and sexuality in PBM.

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