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Coliva in the Republic of Moldova

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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## Cultural and Technological Retrospectives of the Coliva in the Republic of Moldova

By Rodica Siminiuc, Dinu Țurcanu, Daniela Pojar, Rodica Cujba, Viorica Cazac,  
Olga Gutium & Carolina Grosu

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**Abstract-** Food traditions were created and shaped by the contacts between cultures that met, overlapped and mixed in a history made up of habits, knowledge, specificities, shared experiences that build the personal and collective identity of each people and from which it nourishes the feeling of "pride of belonging". Thus, traditional foods play an important role in local identity, consumer behavior, the transfer of cultural heritage for future generations and the interaction of this heritage with the rest of the world. Coliva is a traditional dish based on boiled wheat that is used liturgically in the Eastern Orthodox Church for commemorations of the dead.

The purpose of this paper is to capitalize on and promote the coliva as a traditional culinary product of the Republic of Moldova and as a tool for communicating the identity values of a people. Over time, the coliva has become the expression of culture, the object and subject of cultural change, a condensate of social, environmental, historical and religious values.

**Keywords:** *coliva, food traditions, culture, gastronomy, technological aspects, religion.*

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# Cultural and Technological Retrospectives of the Coliva in the Republic of Moldova

Rodica Siminiuc <sup>α</sup>, Dinu Țurcanu <sup>σ</sup>, Daniela Pojar <sup>ρ</sup>, Rodica Cujba <sup>ω</sup>, Viorica Cazac <sup>¥</sup>, Olga Gutium <sup>§</sup>  
& Carolina Grosu <sup>x</sup>

**Abstract-** Food traditions were created and shaped by the contacts between cultures that met, overlapped and mixed in a history made up of habits, knowledge, specificities, shared experiences that build the personal and collective identity of each people and from which it nourishes the feeling of "pride of belonging". Thus, traditional foods play an important role in local identity, consumer behavior, the transfer of cultural heritage for future generations and the interaction of this heritage with the rest of the world. Coliva is a traditional dish based on boiled wheat that is used liturgically in the Eastern Orthodox Church for commemorations of the dead.

The purpose of this paper is to capitalize on and promote the coliva as a traditional culinary product of the Republic of Moldova and as a tool for communicating the identity values of a people. Over time, the coliva has become the expression of culture, the object and subject of cultural change, a condensate of social, environmental, historical and religious values. He is a formidable driver of well-being and health. Over time, the coliva has symbolically served several areas and meanings of culture, magically providing for the spiritual and material needs of the Moldovan people.

**Keywords:** coliva, food traditions, culture, gastronomy, technological aspects, religion.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The archetypal binomial, of great charm and meaning, condensing in itself two spheres of existence, which sanction man's belonging to the kingdom of nature on the one hand and, by virtue of his reasoning capacity, to that of culture on the other, is indispensable. The kitchen always keeps nature and culture close. If food is synonymous with subsistence and continuity, a practice necessary for the continuation of life, culture is the result of intellectual and imaginary

activity that places man above other species in the animal kingdom.

Each food culture has its own identity that communicates its origins, transformation processes, economic role played in the past and present and the social composition of the population, the result of conditions, processes, functions, cultural meanings, symbolic values and attributions of values. Therefore, it is obvious the centrality that food, as a crossroads of different cultural realities, assumes in each civilization, not only as a material value, but also for the magnitude of determinations and correlations, as well as for the symbolism it assumes, "Subject" with which the community characterizes the territory and has its roots in it.

It is easy to demonstrate the connection between the different ways of feeding people and the natural environment in which they live and have lived over the centuries. It is just as easy to point out the presence of food from cultural exchanges in their kitchen. In fact, nutrition by reaffirming the unitary status of the human condition, affirms its sacredness by ritualizing its practices. Food philosophy proposes the reading of each dish as a mixture of the history, culture and traditions of a territory and its people (Grimaldi, 2012), (Fieldhouse, 1998).

Food, in its many aspects, is central to national culture, conveying our identity as our mother tongue does. It contains the story of a country, a reference firmly rooted in its lexical and dialectal roots. Through its way of eating, the human being transmits messages, creates identity, establishes such differences, that gastronomy can certainly be considered what distinguishes different civilizations.

Food traditions, like all traditions, related to material culture that maintain a dense network of relationships between them, were in fact created and shaped by the contacts between cultures that met, overlapped and intermingled a history made up of habits, knowledge, specificities, shared experiences that build the personal and collective identity of each people and from which the feeling of "pride of belonging" is nourished. The messages transmitted by a food culture can be of different natures, but, in any case, they always communicate identity values: economic, social, philosophical, ethnic and or religious (Barilaro, Caterina., 2005).

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Gastronomy contains the knowledge of a civilization, from the scientific to the medical field, through art and religion: the spirit of an era is contained in food, important symbols are related to food, as well as metaphors of life. Our territories are real fields of food specialties and culinary traditions that must be rediscovered, known and capitalized on. Traditional food plays an important role in local identity, consumer behavior, the transfer of cultural heritage for future generations and the interaction of this heritage with the rest of the world. Today, traditional foods attract considerable attention as a country's potential resources for product identity (Mevhibe Albayrak\* and Erdo an Gunes, 2010). And the loss of food traditions is an impoverishment of humanity and a warning that the only real challenge for man to die is to preserve his own cultural memory (Grimaldi, 2012).

The purpose of this paper is to capitalize on and promote the coliva as a traditional culinary product of the Republic of Moldova and as a tool for communicating the identity values of a people.

## II. COLIVA - FROM PAGAN RITUAL TO CHRISTIAN TRADITION

*Coliva* for Romanians and Moldovans, *kutia* or *kutea*, *socivo*, *kolivo* for Russians and Ukrainians, *Κόλλυβα* - for Greeks, *кољиво* - for Serbs, *kolivo* for Bulgarians, this traditional food is considered reminiscent of the old agape or fraternal meals of early Christians, accepting at the same time, the fact that it is an extension of the old funerary feasts from the Greco-Roman cults (Lefter, Lucian-Valeriu, 2010). The word "coliva" comes from the ancient Greek word *kolyvos*, which was a grain of cereal (and in this sense passed into *kolyvas*). *Kolyvos* was also a very small coin (Speck Maria, 2007).

Even though it is part of the Orthodox Christian religious cult, it has its origins in antiquity, when the ancient Greeks offered boiled wheat with honey to the gods as an offering.

Thus, this secular custom began to be attributed a strong religious character, and wheat acquired a new meaning, which refers to the fact that after being cleaned and boiled it symbolizes the body of the one who leaves the world, after all life was fed with bread (wheat).

On the other hand, honey symbolizes eternal life, which is supposed to be sweet and soothing.

*Coliva* - as a culinary tradition of the Orthodox communities in the Balkans and Russia dates back to the early days of Christianity (Speck Maria, 2007). The miracle of Saint Theodore Tiron is the event that includes the coliva in the practice of the Church. This took place about 50 years after the saint's death, in the time of Emperor Julian the Apostate (361-363). For Orthodox Christians, the coliva is the material

expression of faith in Jesus Christ and in the Resurrection. Christ the Savior was the first to use wheat as a metaphor for His Resurrection from the dead: The coliva is a food with a special symbolism and a strong spiritual charge. It symbolizes the Church, that is, all Christians, united by the same faith in God. Even during his sanctification, an extensive ritual process takes place. When the priest sings "Eternal Remembrance", the faithful hold the coliva with the priest and swing it from top to bottom. This means the connecting line between heaven and earth, the coliva being here the connecting element between the two worlds. Those who cannot directly reach the coliva plateau, touch with their hands those in front of them (Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, 2019), (Lefter, Lucian-Valeriu, 2010), (Bobică, Radu., n.d.).

## III. COLIVA TO ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES

Whole grains have a special place in the Greek tradition. Boiled whole grain - coliva, sweetened and flavored, beautifies/crowns the table. In Greek, the coliva is mixed with almonds, raisins, nuts, pomegranate seeds and spices. Arrange on large silver trays and cover with a thick layer of powdered sugar. It was distributed in the 40 days after the funeral of the loved one, symbolizing the resurrection (Speck Maria, 2007), (Dalby, 2017).

In Russia and Ukraina the coliva is also called *kutia* or *socivo* (Table 1). The first mentions of *kutia* date back to the 12th century in the chronicle "Tale of Bygone Years" (Повесть временных лет). Initially it was cooked only from cereals and honey. Later in it was added poppy milk, raisins and chopped walnuts (Ribalco, A. (Рыбалко, А.), 2020). It is believed that the word "kutia" means "boiled cereals" or simply porridge. But, according to one version, this ritual dish could have its origin in the Ukrainian word "kut" - corner, because a pot of *kutya*, on holidays had to sit on a "pokutie" - in the honorable corner of the house, which was located diagonally to the oven. In this way the master of the house tried to improve the spirit of the hernia, of the frost. In the Breansk region of Russia, on the eve of Epiphany coliva (*socivo*) it was prepared from wheat grains with hemp and placed in the corner / red corner. Initially the *kutia* was prepared from wheat grains, later from barley, rice. Later, honey, chopped walnuts, poppy seed milk, dried fruit were added to it. Sometimes the coliva (*kutia*) was called "sochivo", due to the juice from the seeds (milk from poppy seeds, almonds or hemp, which was sweetened with honey) used as spices for these traditional dishes. There is also a variant of coliva, called black, which was cooked at memorial ceremonies and more often was called *colivo* and which differs from the other 2 in that it is less sweet, more reserved is the sensory profile. It is prepared more frequently from rice

to which raisins are added (Corneva., V., lu. (Корнева В. Ю.), 2010).

It is considered that through the coliva our ancestors kept in touch with the deceased relatives. Therefore, in some peoples it was left on the table, with spoons for all family members. The purpose of this custom was for the spirits of the deceased to "taste" the coliva and share "information" with the living. For example, if someone's spoon was turned upside down, then it was considered that this person would leave the ranks of the living within a year.

For Bulgarians, the coliva, in addition to the classic ingredients, in some variants, also includes parsley (Table 1). It is remarkable that after being placed on plates or plates the coliva is decorated with the faces of the saints. The images of the saints are produced in a particularly impressive and remarkable way. With a fine brush, determine the outline of the icon on the coliva sprinkled with sugar. In some monasteries they use a matrix, which defines the boundaries of the icon (a system created in the post-Byzantine era). After marking the edges of the icon, the clothing and other pieces in the image are painted in different colors. Candied almonds are added (Chervenkov et al., 2013), ("How the monks of St. Forest make a coliva (Как монасите от Св. Гореправятколиво)," 2018) (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Painted coliva (in Bulgaria)

Source: Coliva: definiție și minunea Sfântului Teodor Tiron – fotoreportaj de la decorareacolivei, n.d.

#### a) Coliva in the Republic of Moldova

Food has always been a significant identity landmark both at the individual level and at the group or national level. Many of the traditional dishes are perpetuated from one generation to another, such as: ritual bread, coliva, dumplings, cake, pies, wine, etc. (National cultural heritage as a resource for a

sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova (Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2019), (R. Siminiuc and Țurcanu, 2020). The traditional food of the Republic of Moldova includes a very rich fund of knowledge, passed down from generation to generation, enriched with new gastronomic acquisitions as a result of cultural exchanges, adaptation to development, but also with new interpretations of old culinary practices. The traditional food system was formed in close connection with the main and secondary occupations, the natural environment and climatic conditions, religion and socio-historical conditions.

Coliva, among Romanians and Moldovans, has been used since Thracian times to celebrate ancestors, although it was also used as a profane food. The basic concept was related to the belief that the earth is a carrier of life and implicitly of seeds. As wheat was then the main seed, it was related to divinity. Currently, the coliva is an offering brought by the faithful to the church for sanctification, for Christmas, in honor of the holy day, on someone's name day or for the relief of the souls of the dead and their removal from eternal punishment. It was indispensable in the customs of burial and remembrance of the dead in the days of the Blessed Ones. It is the essential symbolic element, which is not missing from any commemorative event in honor of the dead.

In many parts of Bucovina there is a tradition to bring not only boiled wheat, i.e. a coliva, to the church on the feast day of "SânToader", but also a glass of honey, above which is a stick of yellow beeswax, a jug of wine. or a loaf of bread (Roman, 1998). On the outskirts of Sibiu, on the day of the holy martyr "Haralambie", a coliva was prepared, which was given to the birds when they were touched by plagues or to scatter in the meadows, against insects and hail (Bobică, Radu., n.d.).

Although there are a lot of coliva recipes, and currently they are made from shelled, marketed wheat, ready to be cooked, however, the traditional artisanal recipe includes only whole grains of wheat, honey and later and crushed walnut kernels.

Table 1: The peculiarities of the coliva in certain Orthodox communities

Country of origin		The name	Raw materials used	Cooking period	Source
Republic of Moldova Romania	/	Colivă	Whole grains; Honey; Crushed nuts.	Christmas, Liturgies; Funeral feast; Saints' Days; Days of remembrance; Easter of the Blessed.	(Bobică, Radu., n.d.); (Roman, 1998); (Lefter, Lucian-Valeriu, 2010); (Grădinaru Natalia, 2019)
Russia Ukraine	/	Kutia/kutea	Wheat. Later rice, barley; Honey.	Christmas; Easter; Liturgies;	(Corneva., V., lu. (Корнева В. Ю.), 2010);
		Сочиво (socivo)	Wheat or barley grains, later rice; Poppy milk, hemp or almond milk etc.	Радуница (Radunitsa) Funeral feast etc.	(Ribalco, A. (Рыбалко, А.), 2020)
		Коливо (colivo)	Wheat grains; Sometimes a little honey		
Greece		Κόλλυβα	Whole grains; Almonds; Raisins; Pomegranates (according to some sources); Nuts; Honey.	Liturgies; Funeral feast etc.	(Speck Maria, 2007);
Bulgaria		kolivo	Cereal grains; Raisins, nuts, almonds, sesame seeds, parsley (only in some recipes), breadcrumbs, cinnamon	Liturgies; Funeral feast; Days of remembrance etc	("How the monks of St. Forest make a coliva (Как монасите от Св. Гора правят коливо)," 2018)

#### IV. TECHNOLOGICAL RETROSPECTIVES

In the Republic of Moldova, but also in Romania, the preparation of the coliva was considered a very important event, followed by rituals observed with holiness. The housewife washed, dressed in clean clothes and prayed to God with pure thoughts and only after that did she start choosing wheat. Look for wheat with a large, clean grain, without the smell of ranced or mold.

Then, when the wheat was ready, it was washed in nine cold waters, symbolizing the nine angelic hosts. In some regions of the Republic of Moldova, cold water alternates with two more warm waters. According to tradition, this process symbolizes the nine angelic hosts. It "swelled" a little, then it was put in a huge wooden "piuă" and with a huge "chisoï" it was beaten delicately but for a long time to break a little (Figure 2). Older or younger children were often involved in this process: the younger ones to feel important, and the older ones to



help, given the long time needed to grind the grains. The grains did not have to be crushed hard, just to be able

to remove the higher states and slightly change the texture of the grain.



*Figure 2:* Examples of an old wooden „piuă” used to "beat" grain

*Used to reproduce the artisanal recipe of the coliva in cooking workshops with students. Culinary laboratory of the Food and Nutrition Department. Technical University of Moldova.*

After light crushing, the wheat grains were removed from the bark and blown to escape the coating, as a result of partial husking. Then it was boiled in a pot with thick walls, over low heat, without chewing, so that the grains remained intact. The best option was to put it in the wood oven and leave it until the next day. The next day the housewives took the pot out of the oven (which was often still slightly warm), sweetened the wheat with honey and crushed walnuts. Mix well, patiently, then arrange on plates or plates, give a shape, most often cake.

They could be decorated with crushed walnuts. The artisanal technological process of preparing the coliva is represented in Figure 3. Currently the coliva is decorated with chocolate, dragees, cocoa cinnamon, etc (Figure 4).



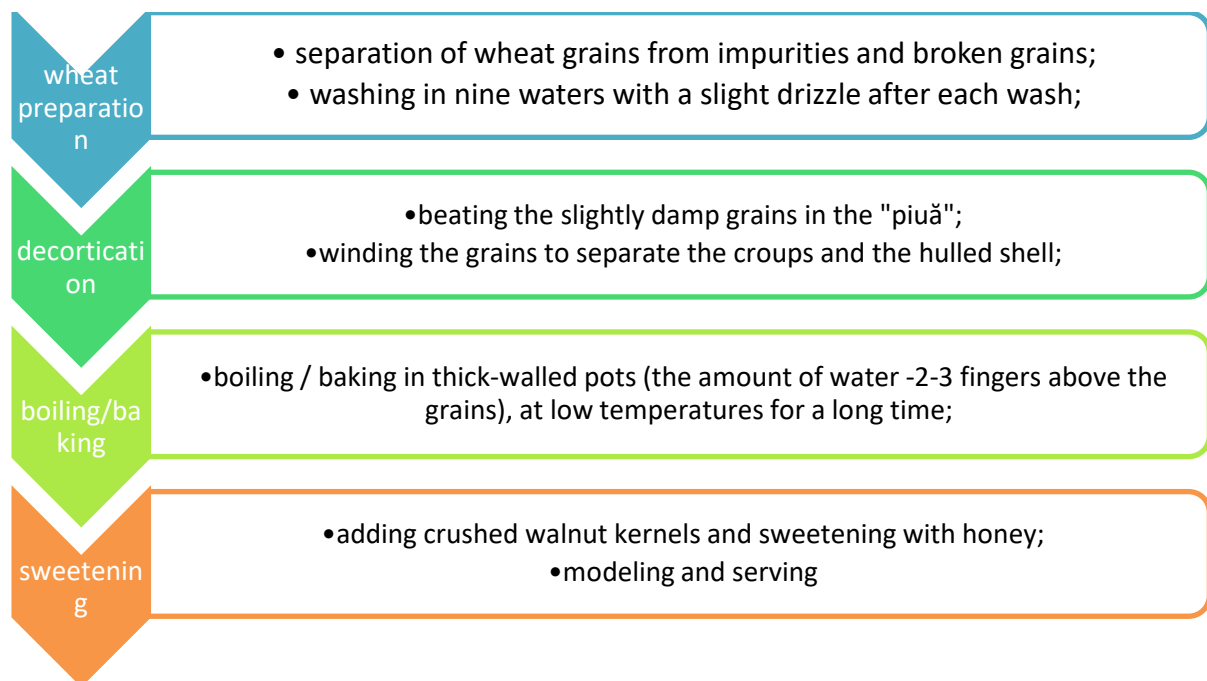


Figure 3: The artisanal technological process of cooking the coliva in the Republic of Moldova



Figure 4: Colive for holiday (Coliva: definiție și minunea Sfântului Teodor Tiron – fotoreportaj de la decorarea colivei, n.d.)

## V. CHANGES IN HYDRATION / WASHING OF GRAINS

The process of preparing the coliva includes the stage of washing the wheat grains. Moisturizing the grains is a process that consists of soaking them in water with the subsequent increase in moisture content. Intuitively or knowingly, but it would seem that this procedure, with a religious connotation in the case of the coliva, would also have a scientific justification: our ancestors, in this way, formed a temperature gradient, which in one way or another, when the grains were wilted, they led to the formation of cracks and the outer layers of the coating and, respectively, to an easier removal of it (Miano and Augusto, 2018), (Rodica Siminiuc and Țurcanu, 2020).

During washing, due to the diffusion process and, depending on the permeability of the seed layer (bran), partial hydration of the grains takes place, which

helps to reduce the cooking time. The hydration process promotes the activation of cell wall enzymes, decreases the degree of polymerization of rhamnogalacturonan I and increases the solubility of polygalacturonan and galactan, which results in better solubility of polysaccharides and a shorter cooking time (Martínez-Manrique et al., 2011).

In addition, hydration improves homogeneous gelatinization of starch and homogeneous denaturation of proteins during cooking (Wood, 2017). Moreover, heat transfer through grains during cooking is enhanced by absorbed water, thus improving the inactivation of anti-nutritional factors such as protease inhibitors, lectins, saponins, phytates, alkaloids and indigestible oligosaccharides (Wang et al., 2009), (Coulibaly et al., 2010). The culinary technology of cooking the coliva for a long time at low temperatures (usually the coliva was put in the wood oven after baking bread and other goodies that the housewife prepared) ensures a uniform and

slow distribution of heat. The advantages were many: the moderate temperature guaranteed a perfect texture of the wheat grains, the richness of the aromas and the preservation of the nutrients.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

Traditional foods over time, have managed to create a strong and mutual complicity, a history, a culture, a tradition that has given them strong individualizing characteristics and that have marked the identity of each human group. Today, traditional foods attract considerable attention as a country's potential resources for product identity. The loss of food traditions is an impoverishment of humanity and a warning that the only real challenge for man to death is to preserve his own cultural memory.

Coliva, managed to intertwine so delicately and beautifully in the identity of the Moldovan people, that now its deficiency in traditional culture is inconceivable. Undoubtedly, it plays an individual identity role, but also an important ethnic and spiritual one. It is the expression of culture, the object and subject of cultural and religious change. He is a promoter of Slow Food, a formidable driver of well-being and health. It is a condensate of social, environmental, historical, religious values.

Over time, the coliva has symbolically served several areas and meanings of culture, magically providing for the spiritual and material needs of the Moldovan people.

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## A Feminist Analysis of Vivah ke Geet(Wedding Songs)

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**Abstract-** This paper provides a collection of analysed wedding songs and is the third in a series of three papers that extrapolate how gender ideals are emphasized through popular folk practices. The folksongs at the centre of this paper were being actively performed in IndoFijian wedding ceremonies throughout Fiji and in some cases in weddings in various other nations where IndoFijian diaspora exist, therefore, practitioners of wedding songs are noted as significant sources in this paper. This paper reads these songs using a feminist lens that is informed by the works of several feminist authors but specifically using the theories put forward by Judith Butler. The analysis of the songs shows how certain patriarchal ideologies, and stereotypical feminine attributes are emphasised upon society and particularly females in a certain cultural and ethnic context.

**Keywords:** gender, performativity, femininity, indofijian, patriarchy.

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# A Feminist Analysis of Vivah ke Geet (Wedding Songs)

Vicky Vishal Shandil

**Abstract-** This paper provides a collection of analysed wedding songs<sup>1</sup> and is the third in a series of three papers that extrapolate how gender ideals are emphasized through popular folk practices. The folksongs at the centre of this paper were being actively performed in IndoFijian wedding ceremonies throughout Fiji and in some cases in weddings in various other nations where IndoFijian diaspora exist, therefore, practitioners of wedding songs are noted as significant sources in this paper. This paper reads these songs using a feminist lens that is informed by the works of several feminist authors but specifically using the theories put forward by Judith Butler. The analysis of the songs shows how certain patriarchal ideologies, and stereotypical feminine attributes are emphasised upon society and particularly females in a certain cultural and ethnic context.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

It is because some texts bear messages which work on us in a way of which we are not necessarily aware that I feel it is important to analyse texts carefully in terms of the systematic language choices which have been made. Close analysis may help the reader to become aware of the way that language choices may serve the interests of some people to the detriment of others.<sup>2</sup>

It is this quote from Sara Mills that becomes the rationale for the following chapter in that folksongs are being treated as pieces of discourses. This chapter will present an analysis and a close reading of folksongs sung at *Sanatani* Hindu weddings in Fiji to identify those features of Indo-Fijian that perpetuate hegemonic gender discourses. The songs that are analysed here are those that reflect gender hierarchy, normative heterosexual relationships, gender stereotypes, kinship norms and gender subversions. I have directly translated the songs into English from *Fiji Baat* and their depictions and portrayals have been kept consistent with the original songs (which are provided in the

appendix) to support the analysis. Indications are also made of the rituals and occasions that the particular songs narrate as contexts of performance influence the meanings in songs. The focus is on exposing within these *Vivah ke Geet* the repeated acts and images that validate gender expectations. The songs prove that while female singers/performers generally conform to such norms, there is a strong, if often untapped, potential for subversion of stipulated standards.

Subversive acts are favoured in Butler's theoretical construct as a means of freeing societies from biased gender notions. The Indo-Fijian society has by default always assumed a heterosexual existence. All vital social aspects have been designed on this very foundation including beliefs, values, family as well as economic and political enterprises. Butler problematizes heterosexuality and the identities formed through and within its ideological parameters. She suggests that heterosexual identities cannot be depicted as authentic as these are also constituted through repeated performances.<sup>3</sup> If heterosexuality was the natural type set human attribute then it would have no need to be enforced on individuals. To ensure its embodiment most if not all Indo-Fijian individuals growing up in conservative Hindu homes are surrounded with heterosexually aligned discourses. The most important feature of such discourse is its portrayal of specific gender identities mainly in a polemical binary divide which is followed by lists of social expectations on conduct and attitude. Butler insists that 'to understand identity as a *practice*, and as a signifying practice, is to understand culturally intelligible subjects as the resulting effects of a rule-bound discourse that inserts itself in the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life'.<sup>4</sup> Pre-sexed agents are made to comply with these guidelines by structuring esteemed human institutions like history, culture, education and religion to reinforce the same ideologies through their practices and theoretical framework. Drenching social discourses with sanctioned notions is vital to maintaining compliance to heterosexuality as this would ensure that heterosexual oriented ideologies form constant points of reference for individuals.

Lia Litosseliti and Jane Sunderland claim that 'discourse in a social practice sense is not only

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on wedding songs see (Shandil, Vicky. 2017. "Performing the Subversive: Analyzing the Subversive in IndoFijian Folklore.: *Diaspora Studies* 1-15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09739572.2017.1331610> and Shandil, Vicky. 2016. "The Gender Agenda in IndoFijian Wedding Songs." *South Asian Diaspora* 8 (1): 63-77. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19438192.2016.1141460>.)

<sup>2</sup> Sara Mills, *Feminist Stylistics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Subordination,' 313.

<sup>4</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 184.



representational but also constitutive'.<sup>5</sup> What they imply is that discourses do not merely display cultural and social knowledge and practices but they also embody the capacity to influence social construction. While being links to the past, discourses are devices that can impact future realities in all aspects of humanity, gender ideologies being one of them. Butler iterates for instance, that heterosexuality survives through constant repetitions and its survival is pivotal to the preservation of the patriarchally inclined gender hierarchy.<sup>6</sup> Surya Munro notes that 'patriarchal systems also underpin the institution of heterosexuality; which depends on the normalisation of opposite sex couples, and is reinforced by particular notions of the family, legitimacy and inheritance'.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it is through the interplay of various asymmetrical ideologies that the Indo-Fijian patriarchy has perpetuated a gendered society. Mills claims that 'ideology is often characterised as false consciousness or an imagined representation of the real condition of existence'.<sup>8</sup> From a feminist perspective the image and status of women depicted in these ideologies are biased. However, due to their prevalence in discursive practices they have been internalised as natural by both males and females. By problematizing heterosexuality, a large part of Indo-Fijian belief system (including marriage) can also be problematized if not altered. The cause for this transformative resistance lies in the fact that conservative ideologies persist in social discourses through traditionally utilised means like folklore. While they successfully communicated sanctioned social norms in the past, they have now evolved into modern forms to continue fulfilling the same task in the contemporary society where they are being challenged by more progressive notions.

It must be noted that where subversion has created counter narratives on gender the existence of complicity and conformity especially in the case of females have reinforced orthodox values. A close reading of the following songs of Indo-Fijian wedding singers reveals their gendered discursive characteristics. Since gender is an act that is performed repetitively, the singing of these songs are gendered performances that occur in a social context, more specifically, Hindu *Sanatani* wedding functions where both singers and listeners converge within an intersection of cultural, religious and social practices. Katie Normington asserts that 'any performance by women is merely the portrayal of a set of learned gestures, a fictitious act. In other words, women are never present upon the stage, instead the spectator

views a representation of womanhood'.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the folksong performers what the audiences view is the depiction of Indo-Fijian womanhood as determined by the Indo-Fijian patriarchal systems which regulate the signifying practices that eventuate into gendered identities. This portrayal is meant to act as points of reiteration for other individuals being gendered.

Collette Harris explains ritualised subversive practices as acts that solidify the place individuals hold in society. She states that:

The power regimes that form human subjects may also force them into displays of characteristics other than or, perhaps more accurately, beyond those that have been internalised, in order to be accepted within their own communities, that is to say, people do not necessarily internalise everything that is supposed to constitute their (gender) identity.<sup>10</sup>

While Harris recognises how society coerces people into certain positions it can also be noted that it is within these restrictions that the performative nature of gender is highlighted through gender performances that are below or beyond the set parameters of individual gender assignment. When women subvert within the confines of cultural practices and rituals, they sustain sanctioned femininity and men momentarily forego their regulation of women's conduct only to assume it with more consciousness of their privileged gender position.

The lengths of *VivahkeGeet* are arbitrary because they are composed to be performed. This gives the singer the prerogative to repeat certain verses or omit them from their performances depending on the context and time. In the past, weddings songs were sung mostly by a group of women who only had the *dholak* accompanying their performance. Shallini reports that 'in olden days 20 or so women would just sit in a and sing the songs at the weddings'.<sup>11</sup> Most singers today prefer to do individual performances and have three to four different musical instruments in their groups. Singers also use sound systems including microphones and loudspeakers which permit the singers to sing solo whereas in the past women had to sing in groups to be able to remain audible when many guests were present.

The continuous performances of these songs prove that they are not mere strings of words tied together poetically to a recreational end or they would have been abandoned at the advent of modern entertainment forms. It is evident that *VivahkeGeet* transact a higher function that necessitates their survival as Agya points out that 'today folk-singing has advanced so much that so many people's livelihood

<sup>5</sup> Litosseliti and Sunderland, 'Gender Identity and Discursive Analysis,' 13.

<sup>6</sup> Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Subordination,' 313.

<sup>7</sup> Munro, *Gender Politics*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 32.

<sup>9</sup> Katie Normington, *Gender and Medieval Drama* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 35.

<sup>10</sup> Harris, *Control and Subversion*, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Shallini, 2013.

depends on it'.<sup>12</sup> However, as this thesis has aimed to depict the Indo-Fijian gender situation is also manipulated through this medium. Fundamentally, these songs embody power discourses; they represent social norms, gender stereotypes and specific images that signify people's beliefs, conditioned values and ideologies. These songs personify hegemonic discourses and allow them the corporeal position from which to impact society. Via the gender performance in their songs, the singers either reinforce the ideas of womanhood or reflect subversive tendencies. In either case it is patriarchy that is the actual beneficiary. Ruth Wodak notes that 'patriarchal inequality is produced and reproduced in every interaction' mainly in a social setup where even subversive behaviour is ingeniously instrumentalized to produce approved genders.<sup>13</sup> The importance of these songs is emphasised in Sholin's comments that 'these songs are not jokes, they have a significant place in the entire ceremony. People need to know that this is not about money and that when people want to come into this field they should realise and recognise the religious, cultural and traditional value it holds'.<sup>14</sup>

The language that is used in the wedding songs is gendered. Even though the songs are performed through women's voices, the language largely fails to embody the specific qualities to be potentially subversive of phallic ideologies as women perform what is expected of them rather than transcendent images. The seemingly subversive songs in reality reinforce the asymmetrical gender standards rather than causing an inversion of the androcentric status quo because the women mostly perform non-normative behaviour momentarily and such performances are categorised as norm or *just for fun*. To break out of such profiling women singers have 'to prove themselves possessors of intellectual and powerful voices, not just beautiful voices suitable for emotionally expressive speaking (or singing)'.<sup>15</sup>

## II. SONGS PORTRAYING MALES/GROOMS ARE RITUALLY SUPERIOR

Songs 1 and 2 in the appendix are sung at the groom's home a day before the wedding and at the arrival of the groom at the wedding venue respectively. The first song is a jovial song and is reflexive of the mood of the groom's female relatives. While female family members, mainly cousins and friends, apply oil and turmeric paste to the publicly exposable bodily

parts of the groom (face, upper torso and legs), they make fun of each other and the groom. These are more of pleasant exchanges of witty taunts, not genuine insults. The apparent discomfort of the groom due to being surrounded by many females is exploited by the singers. Grooms become uncomfortable because the restrictive spaces between males and females are temporarily suspended for the performance of this ritual. Traditionally Indo-Fijian society strictly prohibits the mingling of opposite genders where touching and unnecessary conversations transpire. Thus, the scenario where females are allowed to physically touch a man in most parts of his body is only permissible as a socio-cultural practice.

Folksongs continue to be sung that describe the groom and praise him mainly by comparing him to *Rama*. The singers also assume the point of view of various family members and narrate their emotions. In this case the mother's view has been taken. She is full of pride for her son for his marriage. Since she stands close to him, she also becomes the centre of attraction and adoration of the crowd. The song emphasizes the importance of the groom and how everyone finds significance by being related to him. It must be noted that the other titles of relatives that are substituted with *mother* have to be in relation to the groom, for instance, *fua* (his father's sister), *jija* (his sister's husband). In a patriarchal society mapping relation around male relatives especially fathers and patrilineal ancestors is mandated.

The third line of the song narrates how the groom's mother is standing behind her son and then the next line pronounces that 'now *everyone is adoring*' her. This demonstrates the idea that the mother is adored as the mother of a son rather than as an individual in her own right. She finds prominence in that social space by being associated with the groom. Her physical positioning is also symbolic as she stands '*behind*' the groom (man), thereby representing the subordinate position of most women in a patriarchal society. Gangoli notes that it is through the conformity of 'women within patriarchies' to 'relevant patriarchal norms of female behaviour' that women gain social acknowledgement and in the *adoration* given to the mother of the groom in the wedding ceremony we see a reward for conforming to motherhood.<sup>16</sup> Lateef adds that at a 'later period of the life cycle a woman reaps the benefits of having endured the hardships of being a young wife and daughter-in-law in a strange and sometimes hostile environment'.<sup>17</sup> Hence, weddings in effect are social events in Indo-Fijian Hindu life where women redeem the favours accumulated by aligning with patriarchy.

Song Two also depicts the significance given to the groom. The husband is always portrayed as more

<sup>12</sup> Agya, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Ruth Wodak, introduction to *Gender and Discourse*, ed. Ruth Wodak (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 13.

<sup>14</sup> Sholin, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Judith Bean, 'Gaining a Public Voice: A Historical Perspective on American Women's Public Speaking,' in *Speaking Out: The Female Voice in Public Contexts*, ed. Judith Baxter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 27.

<sup>16</sup> Gangoli, *Indian Feminisms*, 50.

<sup>17</sup> Lateef, 'Wife Abuse Among Indo-Fijians,' 227.

dominant of the couple and this notion is applied to the marriage rituals to confirm this hierarchy. Hindu custom implies the groom and his procession has to be treated with utmost reverence throughout the ceremony.<sup>18</sup> The song narrates the event when close family members of the bride present *jeonato* the groom. The song instructs that the groom be served in vessels made with gold. He is to be given water from Ganges and Indus which are spiritually significant rivers for Hindus. Serving the groom in golden utensils and giving him water from the holy rivers is indicative of his higher status in relation to in-laws. The treatment he receives is comparable to a king's and nothing less is acceptable. While reflecting good values this also indicates the high esteem in which the husbands are to be perceived by wives. This custom sets the precedence for the bride and her family to always continue with such conduct for the husband. To clarify the groom's standing, the song describes that his rest area is decked with flowers (line 7). This is significant because Hindus use flowers as items of worship presented to god during prayer and here the groom gets the same honour. Even during the ritual where the bride's father officially and through religious rites gives away his daughter in marriage, he has to view the groom as Vishnu, an important Hindu god. The father offers his daughter, who has to be decked in gold, as an understanding, devoted, pure and healthy virgin. Such rituals combined with years of submersion in androcentric discourses compel women to resign to their given roles. Irigaray states that women begin to perform these roles 'so perfectly as to forget she is acting out man's contra phobic projects, projections and productions'.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, songs that use the choicest adjectives to praise the groom are not idle words since they reflect the hegemonic hierarchy of genders in Indo-Fijian society.

### III. SONGS PORTRAYING FEMALE STEREOTYPE IN THE SPECIFIC ROLE OF FUA

The ritual of popping rice involves frying raw rice in oil in the *mandap* or the altar constructed within the shed/hall at both the bride and groom's home. This ritual is observed on the night before the actual wedding. The bride and groom's *Fua*<sup>20</sup> using some broom sticks as spoons fries the rice, and the popped rice is later used in the actual wedding ceremony. In cases where there may be more than one *Fua* priority is given to the eldest or the one who is seen to best fulfil social expectations. One of the privileges of being a female who conforms to social norms is the opportunity

to participate in such rituals. In this case being the groom's or bride's *Fua* qualifies one to take up the central role in this ritual. However, the woman who is chosen to do this task must not be a widow or a divorcee or someone with poor reputation. While the role belongs to the paternal aunt any woman who wants to assume this traditional role in the ritual has to meet up with other specific conditions. Since there are punitive consequences of deliberate and irrefutable subversion, women who fail to exemplify sanctioned femininity and womanhood are denied access to such forms of public honour. In such ways a woman with a questionable repute is often ostracised by society. Allowing such women's participation in significant religious and cultural rituals would warrant the expression of displeasure from the wider social circles. Moreover, the union between two families through marriage is only approved after careful scrutiny of family members on both sides. Thus, distancing from relatives who do not comply with social conventions has been more of a norm with Indo-Fijians.

The chosen woman dresses up in full cultural attire and is positioned inside the *mandap*, in full public view. The attire also includes accessories like vermilion that is placed in the hair parting to depict her marital status. She is constantly being commented on and praised by other women and relatives as she performs this task. As the groom's (or bride's) paternal aunt performs her rituals in the *mandap* the wedding singers direct songs like songs three and four describing her actions, appearance and also taunt her in good humour. For example, '*sitting in the mandap the sister looks extremely bright*' (Song 4 Line 1). If she is playful enough to respond to the singer's comments through her gestures or facial expression then this leads to the singing of more songs, some of which could assume a subversive and suggestive nature.

Song three is an example of the type of songs that are sung as a narration of the *Fua*'s actions and the emotions of others in relation to this ritual. In this song her brother-in-law's heart is shown to be beating heavily, '*Listen listen to the brother's heart beating against his chest as his sister pops the rice*' (Song 3 Line 1). The assumption is that the brother is overwhelmed by the amount of money he has to pay the sister as is the custom during this ceremony. Male relatives are required to place *neg* (monetary gift) for her effort. On the same note, it must be added that the woman who is at the centre of this ritual playfully demands money to be placed beside her as she pops the rice. This role has become stereotyped, and the seemingly subversive demands for money are culturally scripted. The money itself does not mark her independence but exhibits kinship ties of dependence between the families. This also becomes an example of redeeming accumulated favours for conformity to social obligations along kinship and gender expectations.

<sup>18</sup> Mayer, *Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society*, 1961, 67.

<sup>19</sup> Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, translated by Gillian Gell, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 53.

<sup>20</sup> Paternal aunt of the marrying individual.

Through witnessing countless repetitions of such performances by other women, girls grow up internalising such roles as inherently mandatory. They in turn perform the very same acts when they arrive at those junctures further justifying this role's existence to the next generation of females. The point to note here is the portrayal of a specific femininity that entails love for material goods and desire to look culturally fashionable.

Such qualities are perceived as gender norms depicting women as seeking opportunities to buy new clothes and dress up for social functions. Butler emphasizes that gender is 'a regulatory norm'<sup>21</sup> and are actualised through actions and these repetitive actions 'congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being'.<sup>22</sup> This implies that the sister's choice (song 4) of copying the performances of sisters from other weddings causes this image to become part of Indo-Fijian culture's image of femininity. In that sense, culture itself is both a portion of and the outcome of the process of gendering.

Song 4 narrates the sister's role in the wedding which appears to revolve around the customary goodwill payments. She is depicted as unsatisfied by any other gifts except money. Lines 3, 5 and 7 of Song 4 repeat the lyrics *she wants more dollars*. The point of interest in this scenario is the refusal of the gifts by the sister. Even though the items being offered are typical materials associated with women, the sister appears to prefer money to them. In one sense this action reflects the power of choice that a woman has even in a traditional context. The fact that she understands that choosing money permits her more options in purchasing whatever she desires instead of settling for what she is given, depicts her comprehension of basic economic principles. This can be interpreted as an improvement of women's status from the post-*girit* period when they were economically dependent on men as the prevalent notion was that women could not cope with 'tiresome and physically demanding work on cane farms'.<sup>23</sup> This coupled with security concerns due to the attitude of certain men against women as a result of the poor reputation women had been given during the indenture period, women opted for protection and economic support through marriage. The continuation of this practice in many ways resulted in the adoption of domestic work for women and all economic activities for men. The naturalisation of this ideology was also one of the main reasons for denying women education as it was perceived that they had no need for it when managing households. Lal also mentions that 'Indian Indentured Women stood accused in the eyes of their

own community as well as those of the official world'<sup>24</sup> which led to a regulation of their femininity and sexuality. Such negative reports and the lack of female political representation meant that little if any protests were made against such conventions by the women who were most affected by them. Thus, the economic naivety and dependence of women became the official status quo.<sup>25</sup> This song however, portrays a woman who understands the value of money and publicly demands it rather than succumbing to the lure of items.

Another stereotype depicted in the song is the sister's compliance with a certain outward appearance. As the song claims, she looks '*extremely bright*' in the central position she occupies. In one sense the woman in such a position experiences that empowerment and attention that one finds deficient in a patriarchal set up. This could also be interpreted as a clever patriarchal ploy to release the build-up of gender and power related tensions. The experience of being in a central position in a public sphere distracts women from the underlying asymmetries that affect their daily lives. Other women can also look forward to such occasions when they would once again assume significant positions publicly, even if temporary. The mention of money and gifts is also pivotal because materiality has often been used as a method of ensuring conformity by women. Indo-Fijian women have historically been kept economically dependent upon men. This has been a deliberate attempt to ensure that men could use money and goods as leverage to sustain their submission. Lateef pronounces that one of the main characteristics of the Indo-Fijian community has been 'male dominance and female subordination, males as economic providers and females as the economic dependents, spatial and social confinement of women' as well as 'male inheritance of family property'.<sup>26</sup> It is conclusive that Lateef notes the close reciprocity between female subordination and their economic depravity as one leads to the other within a vicious cycle. She clarifies that by restricting women to the domestic realm they are 'denied access to the labour market; consequently they are rendered economically dependent on males'.<sup>27</sup> Even in cases of violent marriages women are forced to tolerate such treatment chiefly because relying on social welfare benefits and aid from charitable organisations after divorce or separation remains an effective disincentive.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Brij Lal, 'Kunti's Cry: Indentured Women on Fiji Plantations,' in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (Delhi: Sage Publications, 1985), 58.

<sup>25</sup> See (Biman Prasad and Nalini Lata, Institutions and Gender Empowerment in the Fiji Islands,' in *Institutions and Gender Empowerment in the Global Economy*, Kartik Roy, Hans Blomqvist and Cal Clark (eds.), (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2008), 223-240).

<sup>26</sup> Lateef, 'Wife Abuse Among Indo-Fijians,' 218.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> For more specific data on women's social and economic in Fiji can be attained from the following sources: WadanNarsey, *Gender Issues*

<sup>21</sup> Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 53.

<sup>22</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 43.

<sup>23</sup> Lateef, *Indo-Fijian Women-Past and Present*, 6.



The women in this song are performing a certain gender script as discursively created by society. The repetitions of these acts have over time established these behaviour patterns as normative. Furthermore, the song promotes heterosexual relationships by emphasizing relationship titles within binary oppositions along gender lines, for example, father/mother, brother/sister-in-law.

Even though people have the potential and freedom to act, their actions are controlled by social norms and their acceptance of these regulations is what consequently validates these norms. Using gender performativity as a theoretical construct it can be concluded that any alteration any individual initiates could lead to wider social transformations. For example, the sister in the context of this song could decide to act out of the socially expected mode of behaviour by not requesting *neg* or dressing differently thus discontinuing 'the repeated stylization'.<sup>29</sup> This could potentially lead to the normalizing of the alternate behaviour into culture. The issue, nonetheless, is that most women in such contexts act complicitly as it offers them substantial privileges and attention.

#### IV. SONGS PORTRAYING THE GROOM IN MARRIAGE

As stated earlier, weddings tend to reflect patriarchal values at work, mainly in the legalized and sanctioned exchange of women. Songs 5 and 6 are focused on the attitude of typical grooms and their procession who enjoy a culturally elevated position when compared to the bride's cohort. In the case of Song 5 the singer narrates the arrival of the *samdhi* (the groom's father) with the wedding procession at the wedding venue. The point of view adopted here is that of the bride's father because he calls the groom's father *samdhi* and he is also the one in charge of welcoming the guests. Madhu clarifies that 'even though I am the one who is singing, it is understood that these words are actually of the bride's father and mother'.<sup>30</sup> The actual ritual that occurs during the welcome includes the bride's father washing the groom's feet and the prayer offerings by the priest. This song also takes a turn towards gender subversion as the female singer calls the groom's father '*naughty*' (Song 5 Line 5). In the Indo-Fijian culture guests are accorded highest respect and in conservative families, women veil their faces as a sign

of this respect. While uttering such words cause subversion of the codes of hospitality it must also be noted that within sanctioned femininity an Indo-Fijian woman it is unorthodox cannot pass such comments at important guests. In the list of expected visitors to the residence of a family with daughters, moreover, their daughters' grooms and grooms' fathers would appear right on the top in terms of importance. The female singer oversteps her social limitations to publicly insult the most important guest by calling him names and falsely suggesting that he is *winking* at other women.

However, it would be totally inappropriate to suspect any malice on the part of the singers. This is because the singer is performing a role that is part of the general custom and ritual of weddings. The female singer also subverts her role by publicly insulting the groom's maternal uncle or '*Samdhi's brother-in-law*' (Song 5 Line 8) and this time associating him with the bride's mother. She insinuates that the groom's uncle is eyeing the bride's mother, but this is highly unlikely due to the reverent relationship that is implied between these two as a result of the marriage. The female singer, who should be respectful and silent in public due to the expectations of her gender, assumes the authority to speak publicly. However, she not only speaks (through her songs) she utters insults and invectives towards significant male personas within that social context. Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulation which 'is to feign to have what one doesn't have'<sup>31</sup> fundamentally explains the women's position in this situation. Culturally endorsed regulations are pre-instated to curtail or modulate the subversive acts so patriarchal authority is never threatened as Baudrillard asserts that 'pretending or dissimulating leaves the principle of reality intact'.<sup>32</sup> However, he goes on to clarify that within pretence hides a more subtle fact in that the mere act of faking problematizes reality. In this specific case when women can assume a subversive role depicts the potential for this pretence to develop into an actuality.

Song 6 is a conversation between Rama who represents the groom and his mother. It narrates the groom's departure to his bride's hometown for marriage to participate in the marriage contest to win Sita. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> line, Rama (the groom) is confidently asserting that '*I will break the bow, mother*' and win the contest. In other words, the groom implies that he can achieve everything with his ability. In the following lines he goes on to state that he will destroy the pride of the other great warriors who will come to marry Sita as well. He concludes that he will definitely bring her back as his bride. At every level this song depicts male supremacy as it emphasizes Rama's prowess as a warrior and his confidence as a ruler and Sita becomes the objectified

*in Employment, Underemployment and Incomes in Fiji* (Suva: Vanuavou Publications, 2007.), United Nations Population Fund, *An Assessment of the State of Violence Against Women in Fiji 2008* (Suva: UNFPA Pacific Sub Regional Office, 2008)., Asian Development Bank, *Country Gender Assessment: Republic of the Fiji Island* (Manila: Pacific Regional Department and Regional and Sustainable Development Department, 2006)., Judith Shaw, *Fiji Country Report* (AusAid, 2008): 39-59, accessed November 19, 2013, [http://www.ausaid.gov.au/Publications/Documents/fiji\\_study.pdf](http://www.ausaid.gov.au/Publications/Documents/fiji_study.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 43.

<sup>30</sup> Madhu, 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.



trophy that validates this. At no point in this song is Sita's choice reflected, however, it should be clarified that according to legend she also desired marriage to Rama.

The above song is from an album by DayaWati, a popular wedding singer, whose songs are played in many weddings around Fiji. This particular song is from an album produced specifically with songs sung for the groom. Interestingly, nine out of the ten songs in this album parallel the groom with *Rama*, the Hindu God. As a reincarnation of the supreme Hindu God, he was the crown prince and an acclaimed warrior. From a purely narrative point of view he could be seen as a ruler and a powerful one at that. He in fact personified patriarchy, being the most central character in a male dominated tale in the *Ramayana*. Analysing Rama as a character in a literary text from a feminist perspective, he can hardly be classified as an ideal husband. This is because he succumbed to societal pressure and rumours and doubted his wife's chastity after she had been in captivity of an evil king (Ravana) for a certain period of time. Sita, his wife, had to endure a fiery trial to prove her purity as a faithful wife. This serves as a typical example of victim blaming which still persists. The UNFPA report states that 'ideas and attitudes on traditional gender roles are so engrained in Fiji that cases of sexual harassment and abuse are often not thought of as criminal offenses, particularly if the woman's character or modesty is considered questionable'.<sup>33</sup>

The portrayal of women in the same epic is mostly negative, as it is Rama's step-mother who got him exiled and there is another female character Surpanakha who is the villain's sister. She was a widow and tried to entice Rama and his younger brother but failed. Her jealousy led her to Ravana where she heaped praises of Sita's beauty before him, leading him to kidnap Sita to force her to marry him. Eventually, this series of events leads to war and the absolute destruction of Ravana's kingdom. Much of Hindu life and art are dominated by the teachings of this holy book and undoubtedly the portrayal of women here does have an influence on how women are viewed generically in society. The tradition of singing *Vivah ke Geet* was adopted from the *Ramayana* and even songs today continue to be based on the themes and characters from it. Similarly, the images of women and men and the expectations of both these genders are also influenced by the images portrayed in the *Ramayana* and are discursively enforced through the songs. Bascom iterates that folk art has traditionally been used in most societies as a social control mechanism whereby their exhibitions have been wielded to make individuals assimilate or reject certain attitudes.<sup>34</sup> In a patriarchal

society these songs would definitely carry male centred ideologies, thus providing constant justification of the male dominated social structures. Weddings songs can simultaneously patronise as well as discourage unacceptable attitudes. Brennis and Padarath who carried out a research focused on Indo-Fijian folk songs also emphasised that 'the subject matter of the songs often illuminates moral and social issues which are important'.<sup>35</sup>

## V. SONGS NARRATING THE FAREWELL OF THE BRIDE (SENTIMENTAL)

The farewell of the bride at the conclusion of the wedding is depicted as emotional in Songs 7, 8 and 9. Shallini clarifies that 'I am adamant that at two instances it is mandatory to shed tears to flow and that is at a funeral and at the farewell of a bride ... if a bride departs without crying, in my view she is immature and that she is too modern'.<sup>36</sup> More often than not, the singer herself would shed tears and her voice would adopt a painful tone. Madhu adds that 'I have seen brides breaking into tears after listening to my songs as they actually go around the fire or is being seen off'.<sup>37</sup> Even in commercialized audio albums, singers sing these particular songs sentimentally and this is sensed in their voices. This is because in the traditional sense, this moment marks the severing of all the rights the bride has in her natal family. Traditionally daughters lose all legal rights to their father's property as well upon marriage. This was mostly because fathers would accumulate as much money, jewellery and other gifts of furniture and clothes as was right for a daughter and present it at the moment of *Kanyadaan*. In many circumstances, daughters could not ask for any further financial help from her father's family after the performance of this ritual. Her husband's home becomes her new home and family and regardless of what she experiences it is part of her duty to adopt and adjust her life to that environment. Shallini explains that at times singers assume the viewpoint of brides' mother to tell the bride that

What was pardoned at her natal household may not be pardoned at her in-laws, so she has to adjust to their way of life. The mother must make it very clear that she has to consider her husband's parents as her parents, and she should not run back to her mother for any form of advice or help. She no longer belongs here.<sup>38</sup>

It is mostly unheard of that married daughters take care of their parents in case of the absence or unwillingness of other siblings. In such cases the son-in-law and his immediate family's consent was what

<sup>33</sup> UNFPA, *An Assessment of the State of Violence*, 19.

<sup>34</sup> Bascom, *Folklore and Anthropology*, 33

<sup>35</sup> Brennis and Padarath, 'You and Who Else,' 57.

<sup>36</sup> Shallini, 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Madhu, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Shallini, 2013.

influenced the eventual decision of whether the parents could live with her married daughter's family. It should be noted however, that parents would exhaust all options before they would even consider living in such an arrangement. This is simply because of the stigmatisation such situations could create in social circles.

Even though there are instances of Indo-Fijian couples settling with the bride's family, these arrangements are sometimes tenuous, especially if the bride has other siblings living in the same house. In rural settlements this was always highly unorthodox and was discouraged. Any woman returning to her natal household with or without her husband became the target of gossip. The situation of any man who accompanied his wife in such a situation would be worse. Gossip and insinuation may seem as feeble punishment for non-conformity to social norms.

However, one only has to understand the workings of an average Indo-Fijian community to grasp how effectively gossip is used as a social control in regulating behaviour of individuals.<sup>39</sup> The post *girit* society was mainly acephalous both politically and socially, thus communal discourses were instrumental in forming and maintaining social conventions. Indo-Fijians have been extremely cautious of becoming the topic of discussion in social circles and this fear to a great extent impacts their decisions. Even though this mentality is gradually losing its hold, in most rural settings and to a substantial level in urban Indo-Fijian societies, it continues to influence people's perceptions. To prevent becoming the centre of any critical discourse people keep themselves in check and this is in itself evident of the social order that is discursively sustained.

Song 7 also portrays the departure of the bride to her husband's home permanently at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony. It is sung at a slower pace and some singers do employ a voice that depicts pain. The words and tone of this song makes one feel that the bride feels compelled to let go of her past and embrace her future. Social expectations imply that she removes the memories of her life with her natal household as it may interfere with her new life. Rubin states that 'more constraint is applied to females when they are pressed into the service of kinship than males'.<sup>40</sup> The singer in line 6 is using the narrative viewpoint of the bride who states that '*I have to set my heart*'. This implies that

regardless of her personal stance social norms surrounding the act of marriage demand that she coerces herself into submitting her life to another man.

The patriarchal nature of Indo-Fijian society dictates that a woman moves to her husband's household after marriage and that all that she possesses or may attain in the future becomes her husband's as well. Line 8 is also symbolic because the bride will be '*decorating*' her husband's home which in a sense portrays her as an object of attraction.

Nonetheless, before she can contribute to her marital life she first has to instate '*the desire for my husband*' in her heart. Marriage has created a false imposition to act out the role of a wife and submit to the husband and fulfil the subsequent roles. She also has to assume the husband's surname and name her children after his family name. Rubin goes on to write that 'a woman must become the sexual partner of some man to whom she is owed as return on a previous marriage'.<sup>41</sup> This she claims to be the means of maintaining the 'the flow of debts and promises'<sup>42</sup> among men. The departure of the bride may seem as a minor occurrence to a bystander not privy of its real significance. But within Hindu rituals this is a symbolic act that represents the subduing of a woman's natal ties and pre-marital life by the expectations of her married life.

Song 8 is sung at a slow pace for emotional effect. The fact that in this song the singer draws upon the relationship between the mother and the daughter is in one sense the recognition of a mother's contribution to the process of transforming a girl into a woman worthy of a man. Verse 1 briefly focuses on the father's role where he is shown as the provider who owns the '*compound*' in which she was nurtured. He is also shown as the strong man who is able to place his daughter on his '*shoulders*' (line 6). This act portrays the father's protection over his daughter whereby he keeps her away from situations where things that could harm her chastity exist. The mother, on the other hand, is portrayed as gentle and delicate throughout the song.

She sings '*sweet lullabies*' an act that is repetitively mentioned in the song and she fulfils all the essential duties of a primary caregiver. The last verse shows that the mother '*taught me and made me literate, gave me education, made me worth marriage*' (Verse 5). It basically points to the fact that the rationale behind availing literacy and education to girls was to make them better wives and mothers rather than making them independent. The fact that the mother was at the centre of all this grooming and preparation also depicts how women play a significant role in getting other women to conform to gendered social expectations. The close connection between mother and daughter as depicted

<sup>39</sup> See; (Donald Brenneis, 'Grog and Gossip in Bhatgaon: Style and Substance in Fiji Indian Conversation,' *American Ethnologist* 11, No. 3 (1984): 487-506, accessed December 23, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/644628>.,

Andrew Arno, 'Fijian Gossip as Adjudication: A Communication Model of Informal Social Control,'

*Journal of Anthropological Research* 36, No. 3 (1980): 343-360, accessed December 23, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3629529>.)

<sup>40</sup> Rubin, 'Traffic in Women,' 182.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

in this song validates the notion that Indo-Fijian girls also recognise the immense contribution of their mothers to their overall nurturing into sanctioned femininity.

At certain points the song becomes very personal and specifies the intimate details of a mother's nurturing. For example, the song relates in verse 4 that '*From wet beddings She lifted me out, with her delicate hands She bathed me*'. While in one sense the song rekindles the warm memories, the bride has of her mother, in another sense the song exalts the role of motherhood. In the Hindu beliefs the concept of motherhood is second only to that of a wife. Thus, the song channels young women's minds towards motherhood by enshrining the vital position it occupies in a family and in the life of an individual. More interestingly, meanwhile, verse 2 line 6 states '*she would hide me in her veil*' which points to Lateef's idea of *purdah* as mentioned in her work *Purdah in the Pacific: The Subordination of Indian Women in Suva, Fiji*. The word *Purdah* in its direct translation into English means curtain but in the context in which it is used by Lateef it signifies veiling or enclosing. In this metaphorical sense the song is suggesting the responsibility of a mother in protecting her child from dangers in the outside world.

At the same time the *purdah* performs a dual role of filtering and controlling the learning experiences of the child to ensure that she only learns and practices what is socially approved and sanctioned. While Lateef believes in a recreation<sup>43</sup> of gender roles Butler also asserts the absence of any essentialist or inherent gender. If their views hold true then there is every possibility that Indo-Fijian women can also perform gender roles and embody gender identities that differ from the stereotypes conventionally enforced. The fact that most do not, confirms the power and efficiency of patriarchal discourses that still achieve their aim of producing conforming females who in turn advocate the very same values that render them complicit when seen from a feminist perspective. Wedding singers and their songs form a vital link in the sustenance of these discourses.

Song 9 while belonging to the category of emotional farewell songs is different in one key sense. When in the other three songs the bride appeared to have passively negotiated with her situation, in this song she assumes an accusing tone. The singer narrates the bride's emotions where she questions her removal from her natal home. The choice of words is of interest as the vernacular word used by the singer is '*nikaal*' which in direct translation means '*being removed*' (Line 2). Instead of stating that she is being *sent* or married the singer opts to use *removed* which connotes coercion on the part of the bride's family. This is interesting as the bride is not expected to question such patriarchally motivated traditions where women are mandated to live

at her husband's home. In fact, most females witness over time many women going through the very same process. It is through such processes that women get to comprehend the social mechanisms that govern them and direct their lives as gendered social beings. Despite the prevalent discourse however, it seems that the bride presumed in this song finds a need to rationalise what is transpiring with her. What makes the song more emotive is her debating with her parents. She questions that if her parents were to let her go eventually then '*Why oh mother did you give me birth, Why oh father did you wait on me*' (Verse 1). In one sense she is subverting her gender expectation by questioning her separation via marriage by feeling betrayed. It is highly unlikely that she was unaware of this eventuality as the overpowering and ubiquitous gender discourses that mandate a woman to marry in order to fulfil all her stipulated roles is successfully in operation. This debate, however, problematizes the notion that females are inherently and unconditionally aligned towards marriage and separation from their natal households.

In line 7 and 8 the bride questions '*What was my mistake oh father*' that '*from my home I am being removed?*' Was her error being born in a patriarchal society or being born with a body that was deemed inferior at birth for having certain biological traits that are less esteemed? Or was her '*mistake*' her own complicity and compliance with social norms that endorsed asymmetrical manipulation of normatively gendered individuals? Adinkrah notes that:

The weight of patriarchy appears to exact a particularly heavy burden on Fiji Indian females, commencing at birth and continuing to the end of the lifecycle. From the day she is born, her presence is treated as a melancholic occasion, and she is openly resented for not being born male.<sup>44</sup>

Accordingly, the bride calls on her parents to '*open your mouth*' (line 9) denoting that she wants them to explain their role in materialising this scenario.

However, there is not much complicit parents can say as they are also burdened by social regulations. While they have to fulfil their own specific roles as parents, they also have to ensure conformity in their daughter as society holds them responsible as custodians of culture and social values. The song, nonetheless, is not void of meaning and the utterances made through it are definitely reflections that exist in some quarters of society. It is possible that such rigid traditions have come under scrutiny and need to be rationalised for those women who perceive themselves independent and well able to economically support themselves, their husbands and families. Women in such circumstances, see no cause for the compulsion

<sup>43</sup> Lateef, *Purdah in the Pacific*, 103.

<sup>44</sup> Adinkrah, 'Patriarchal Familial Ideology,' 288.

home permanently for her in-law's residence. The composition and performance of such a song reflects that folksingers who, though normally complicit to hegemonic patriarchal notions of gender and culture, are also aware of the changing social situations and rising female consciousness that births contention against out-dated practices. This song is an insight into the ever-growing female awareness of their empowerment both economic and social. Tara proves this change when she concludes that 'nowadays even the brides do not cry as much as they used to before'.<sup>45</sup>

## VI. CONCLUSION

This paper has analysed some of the *Vivah ke Geet* commonly sung in Fiji, some of which are also available in music albums. The song lyrics are indicative of the gender situation in the Indo-Fijian Hindu society. They expose the gender scripts that individuals have to act out corporeally as part of their daily lifestyle, even though the songs concentrate specifically on the wedding context. The wedding singers depict the gender expectations of society through their songs. This makes them an important part of the discursive network which creates, sustains and regulates gender. While most of the songs depict stereotypical images of women and men, there are also songs that are subversive of gender expectations and social norms regulating gendered individuals but are void of power to question society as it is.

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## APPENDIX

## SONG 1

(Chorus)

More beta ke lagi hai hardiya ,  
Shenayi baje bajna.

(Verse)

Ab maiya khaḍi hai dulha ke piche,  
Ab sab lagaye maiya ke najariya,  
Shenaiyi baje bajna.

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

With tumeric my son will be anointed,  
With the sounds of trumpets and musical instruments  
playing.

(Verse)

Now his mother\* stands behind the groom,  
Everyone adores the mother now,  
The trumpets are playing.

\*mother can be replaced by other relational titles (for example, father, uncle, aunt) and the same lines can be repeatedly sung.

## SONG 2

(Chorus)

Sone ki thali me jeona paroso,  
Jeona jeo lo kripanti dhaan.

(Verse 1)

Ganga Jamuna se jalmangao,  
Keḍuwa gundh lo kripanti dhaan.

(Verse 2)

Longa ilaichi ke vera jodhwo,  
Wirwa kunch lo kripanti dhaan.

(Verse 3)

Phool newari ke sejh bichao,  
Sejia soe lo kripanti dhaan.

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

Serve jeona\* in a golden plate,  
Accept the jeona oh merciful.

(Verse 1)

Get water from Ganges and Indus,  
Accept this drink oh merciful.

(Verse 2)

With clove and cinnamon prepare the  
eateries,

Accept the eateries oh merciful.

(Verse 3)

Set the bed with flowers and foliage,  
Sleep on the prepared bed oh merciful.

- jeona is a collective term for all the eateries and sweet meat offered to the groom but this could also include other gifts like jewellery or clothing. This is to show him respect throughout the ceremony and especially when he arrives at the venue to keep the word of marrying the bride
- jeona is a collective term for all the eateries and sweet meat offered to the groom but this could also include other gifts like jewellery or clothing. This is to show him respect throughout the ceremony and especially when he arrives at the venue to keep the word of marrying the bride.

## SONG 3

(Chorus)

Ke sunn sunn bhaiya ke dhaḍke chatiya jab bhaini lawa  
bhuje na.

Na mano toh bhabhi se pucho,  
Bhiya ji kehaal ho.

(Verse 1)

Haal me gaḍbaḍ, chal me gaḍbaḍ,  
Kaisa hai yeh kamaal jab bhaini lawa bhuje na.

Na mano toh Sali se pucho,  
Jija ji ka haal ho.

(Verse 2)

Haal bhi patka, chal bhi patka,  
Kaisa hai yeh kamaal jab bhaini lawa bhuje na.

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

Listen, listen, to the brother's heart beating against his  
chest as his sister pops the rice.

(Verse 1)

Ask sister-in-law if you don't believe me,  
Her husband's condition.

(Verse 2)

Odd in feeling and in conduct,  
Amazingly, as his sister is popping the rice.

(Verse 3)

Ask the younger sister\* about her brother-in-law's  
condition,

He feels shaken and his conduct is also shaken,  
Amazingly, as his sister is popping the rice.



- The *younger sister* in this case is *Sali*. This term refers to the younger sister of the wife. In Indo-Fijian culture the younger sister of the wife can joke around with her new brother-in-law but respectfully and within social limits.

## SONG 4

(Chorus)

*Maḍo me bhaiti bhaini lage nais bola,  
Lawa jo bhuje bhaini mange dola dola.*

(Verse 1)

Maiya *aur baba ab neg deo bhaini ke apan saḍi deo.*

*Saḍina mange, mange dola dola.*

(Verse 2)

*Bhiaya aur bhabhi ab jaldi se aao,  
Bhaini ke apan challa mangai do.  
Challa na mange bhaini mange dola dola.*

(Verse 3)

*Mama aur mami ab jaldi se aao,  
Bhaini ke apan kajra mangai do.  
Kajra na mange bhaini mange dola dola.*

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

Sitting in the *mandap* the sister looks extremely bright,  
While popping rice sister wants more dollars.

(Verse 1)

Mother and father give some *neg* now, give your  
(referring to groom) sister a new *Saḍi*.\*

But she does not want *saḍi*, she wants more dollars.

(Verse 2)

Brother and sister-in-law quickly come and give your  
sister a ring.

But she does not want a ring, she wants more dollars.

(Verse 3)

Uncle and aunty quickly come and give the sister a  
bouquet of flowers,

But she does not want a bouquet, she wants more  
dollars.

- Saḍi* is traditional Indo-Fijian female attire. It is basically a length of brightly decorated cloth that is wrapped around the body. Depending on decorations and colour, these can be very expensive, thus, good gifts. In occasions like weddings women are stereotypically expected to be dressed in expensive *saḍis* which should be accompanied with jewellery and make up. This behaviour is now taken as a social norm.

## SONG 5

(Chorus)

*Aye gaile aye gaile aye gaile,  
Samdhi baraat liye dekho aye gaile re.*

(Verse 1)

*Jet me na aae ghasita na laye,  
Samdhi baraat liye dekho aye gaile re.*

(Verse 2)

*Noti noti samdhi dekho hai ayaa,  
Mare najariya, mare najariya,  
Samdhi ke paseena bahaye gaile re.*

(Verse 3)

*Samdhike sala sajdahaj ke aaye,  
Samdhi ke dekho nihare laga re.*

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

Arrived arrived arrived,  
With the wedding procession *Samdhi*\* has  
arrived.

(Verse 1)

He did not come by jet he brought no *ghasita*\*,  
With the wedding procession *Samdhi*\* has  
arrived.

(Verse 2)

Naughty\**Samdhi* has arrived,  
He's winking, he's winking,  
While his sweat pours.

(Verse 3)

Fully dressed *Samdhi*'s brother-in-law has also  
arrived,

He is already eyeing the *Samdhi*.

- Samdhi* is the title that defines the relationship between the fathers of the groom and bride. While the English vocabulary does not have an equivalent word, Fiji Hindi uses this term to represent this particular relationship. On the other hand, the mothers are given the title *samdhi*.
- Ghasita* is the name of a carriage made from wood that was used as a transport vehicle in cane farms and rural areas. It had no wheel and was simply dragged on the ground by a horse or bullock using ropes. This song is sung in urban areas as well even though *ghasita* is not used here and has not been used by most of the contemporary urban generation. This proves the fact that folksongs have retained themes and content from the past. Most of Fiji's Indo-Fijian population actually share the common history of indenture and cane farming.
- While the adjective *naughty* is actually what the singer means, her pronunciation is *noti*. She uses the English adjective in a song which is pre-dominantly sung in Fiji *Baat*.

## SONG 6

(Chorus)  
*Jaibe Janakpur,  
 Maiya hum beyahun ko.*  
 (Verse 1)  
*Dhanushwa thoḍan dege more maiya,  
 Wahi re Janakpur,  
 Baḍebaḍe yodha hai,  
 Darshan unke hi karbe more maiya.*  
 (Verse 2)  
*Wahi re Janakpur maiya,  
 Garbh bhirwanwa hai,  
 Hum unhike garbh mitaheb.*  
 (Verse 3)  
*Wahi re Janakpur maiya,  
 Sita kuhari hai,  
 Hum unhise vyha rachiye.*

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)  
 I will go to *Janakpur*\*,  
 To get married mother.  
 (Verse 1)  
 I will break the bow my mother,  
 There in *Janakpur*,  
 Great warriors will be present there in numbers,  
 I will meet them as well mother.  
 (Verse 2)  
 There in *Janakpur*,  
 There is a lot of pride,  
 I will wipe off their pride mother.  
 (Verse 3)  
 There in *Janakpur*,  
 Sita is still single/virgin,  
 She is the one I will marry.

- *Janakpur* is the name of Sita's maternal kingdom. It is coined using the name of Sita's father *Janak*.

## SONG 7

(Chorus)  
*Chodḍ babul ka ghar mujhe pi ke nagar aaj janaa  
 paḍa.*  
 (Verse 1)  
*Sang sakhiyo ke bachpan bitati thi mei,  
 Vyha guḍiyo ki has has rachati thi mai,  
 Sabse muh moḍ kar,  
 Kya bataun kidhar,  
 Dil lagana paḍa.*  
 (Verse 2)  
*Yaad maeke ki dil se bhula kar chali,  
 Preet saajan ke man me sajaye chali,  
 Yaad karke yeh ghar roye ankh magar,  
 Mujhe janaa paḍa.*

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)  
 Leaving my maternal home I have to go to my  
 spouse's street today.  
 (Verse 1)  
 My childhood was spent here with my friends,  
 We married dolls to each other once upon a  
 time,  
 However turning my face away from all,  
 How can I tell you where,  
 I have to set my heart.  
 (Verse 2)  
 I am removing the memories of my maternal  
 household,  
 Decorating my heart with the desire for my  
 husband,  
 My eyes do shed tears by reminiscing this  
 house,  
 But I have to go.

## SONG 8

(Chorus)  
*Janam liya hai maiya ke godhi,  
 Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
 Aur loriya gayi.*  
 (Verse 1)  
*Choti thi mai nanhi bachi,  
 Pita ke angan kheli,  
 Kandhe chadkar pita ke kheli,  
 Ungli bakad kar maiya,  
 Maiya humko chote se paali,  
 Ingli pakad ke chalaayi,  
 Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
 Aur loriya gayi.*  
 (Verse 2)  
*Haatho se apne bhojan khilaya,  
 Godi me bidha ke,*

## TRANSLATION

(Chorus)  
 In my mother's lap began my life,  
 She cuddled me to sleep always,  
 And sang sweet lullabies.  
 (Verse 1)  
 A tiny innocent girl I was,  
 Playing in my father's compound,  
 Playing on his shoulders,  
 Taking me by my finger,  
 My mother nurtured me through childhood,  
 She cuddled me to sleep always,  
 And sang sweet lullabies.  
 (Verse 2)  
 With her hands she fed me,  
 Sitting at her bosom,  
 When I would cry my mother,

Jab mai rotii amma meri,  
Mujko toh hasati,  
Godh me lekar maiya meri,  
Achal me chuphai,  
Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
Aur loriya gayi.  
(Verse 3)

Maiya mujhko gale lagati,  
Kaheti hai re btiya,  
Tum ne humko jivan di hai,  
Tum ne humko pala,  
Girte girte dhokar khate,  
Maiya humko bachai,  
Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
Aur loriya gayi.  
(Verse 4)

Gilye gilye bistar se,  
Maiya humko uthati,  
Apne nazuk haatho se,  
Humko toh nehlai,  
Kaise bhulun apni maiya,  
chote se woh paali,  
Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
Aur loriya gayi.  
(Verse 5)

Mujhko padaya aur likhaya,  
Sikhcha humko dini,  
Shadhi ke mai yog ban are,  
Dulhan mujhko banayi,  
Kaise bhulun apni maiya,  
Anchal me mai kheli,  
Maiya meri palan jhulai hai,  
Aur loriya gayi.

### SONG 9

(Chorus)

Jehi ghar janam liyo more baba,  
Yanhi se den nikaal ho baba.  
(Verse 1)

Kyun maiya mohe janam diyo hai,  
Baba kyun kiin dedaar ho Rama.  
(Verse 2)

Kyun bhaiya humme sung khilayo,  
Bhaoji kyun kiin dedaar ho Rama,  
Kaon chukh aab bhaeo more baba,  
Gharwa se det nikaal baba.  
(Verse 3)

Baba kuch bolo maiya mueh kholo,  
Bhaiya kyun khade chup chaph oh Rama,  
Kahe bhauij tuh jhup jhup roye,  
Sunlo kuch humor oh baba.  
(Verse 4)

Madawa bhi jhuta garwa bhi jhuta,  
Jhute sab sakhiya humar ho Rama,  
Jehi bhaiya ke mae bhandh rakhiya,  
Yehin se hot niyaar ho baba.

Would make me laugh,  
Taking me in her lap,  
She would hide me in her veil,  
She cuddled me to sleep always,  
And sang sweet lullabies.  
(Verse 3)

Mother would hug me,  
Saying 'oh dear child',  
She gave me life,  
She nurtured me,  
When I fell or stumbled,  
She protected me,  
She cuddled me to sleep always,  
And sang sweet lullabies.  
(Verse 4)

From wet beddings,  
She lifted me out,  
With her delicate hands,  
She bathed me,  
How can I forget my dear mother,  
Nurtured me from childhood,  
She cuddled me to sleep always,  
And sang sweet lullabies.  
(Verse 5)

She taught me and made me literate,  
Gave me education,  
Made me worth marriage,  
A bride she made me,  
How can I forget my dear mother,  
Within her veil I played,  
She cuddled me to sleep always,  
And sang sweet lullabies.

### TRANSLATION

(Chorus)

In this home I was born,  
From this very place I am being removed.  
(Verse 1)

Why oh mother did you give me birth,  
Why oh father did you wait on me.  
(Verse 2)

Why oh brother did you include me in your childhood,  
Why oh *bhabhi* (brother's wife) did you wait on me,  
What was my mistake oh father,  
That from my home I am being removed?  
(Verse 3)

Father say something mother open your mouth\*,  
Why brother are you so quiet and reserved,  
Why *bhabido* you secretly weep,  
Hear me also oh father.  
(Verse 4)

My past is left behind with this home,  
Left behind are the company of my girlfriends,  
This is the brother I had tied *rakhi*\* to,  
He turns his face away oh father.

- (*muhkhola*) meaning open your mouth is an idiomatic phrase in *Fiji Baat* that means to speak out.
- *rakhi* is a uniquely Hindu tradition where a sister ties a stringed bend on her brother's left hand during a specially marked time of the year. It was a symbol of the sister's appreciation and acknowledgement of her brother's presence. This practice is more commonly known as *Raksha Bandhan* (literally translated as bend of protection) because that is exactly what the brother had to do. He had to offer protection to his sister. From a feminist

perspective this can be seen as female acknowledgement of their weakness and the power of protection bestowed on males in a patriarchal society. Unfortunately in this song the brother cannot offer any form of escape to his sister who is now in the process of assuming the most important role attributed to her gender, that of a Hindu wife.







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# GLOBAL JOURNALS GUIDELINES HANDBOOK 2020

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A research paper must include:

- a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
- b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
- c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
- e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

- i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
- k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



## FORMAT STRUCTURE

***It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.***

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

### **Title**

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

### **Author details**

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

### **Abstract**

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

### **Keywords**

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

### **Numerical Methods**

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

### **Abbreviations**

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

### **Formulas and equations**

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

### **Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends**

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.



## Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

### PREPARATION OF ELETRONIC FIGURES FOR PUBLICATION

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

### TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality human social science research paper:

**1. Choosing the topic:** In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

**2. Think like evaluators:** If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

**3. Ask your guides:** If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

**4. Use of computer is recommended:** As you are doing research in the field of human social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

**5. Use the internet for help:** An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



**6. Bookmarks are useful:** When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

**7. Revise what you wrote:** When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

**8. Make every effort:** Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

**9. Produce good diagrams of your own:** Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

**10. Use proper verb tense:** Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

**11. Pick a good study spot:** Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

**12. Know what you know:** Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

**13. Use good grammar:** Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

**14. Arrangement of information:** Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

**15. Never start at the last minute:** Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

**16. Multitasking in research is not good:** Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

**17. Never copy others' work:** Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

**18. Go to seminars:** Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

**19. Think technically:** Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



**20. Adding unnecessary information:** Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

**21. Report concluded results:** Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

**22. Upon conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

## INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

### **Key points to remember:**

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

### **Final points:**

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

*The introduction:* This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

### **The discussion section:**

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

### **General style:**

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

**To make a paper clear:** Adhere to recommended page limits.





### *Mistakes to avoid:*

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

### **Title page:**

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

**Abstract:** This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

*Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.*

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

### **Approach:**

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

### **Introduction:**

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



*The following approach can create a valuable beginning:*

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

#### **Approach:**

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

#### **Procedures (methods and materials):**

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

#### **Materials:**

*Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.*

#### **Methods:**

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

#### **Approach:**

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

#### **What to keep away from:**

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



**Results:**

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

**Content:**

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

**What to stay away from:**

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

**Approach:**

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

**Figures and tables:**

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

**Discussion:**

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

#### **Approach:**

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

### THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

*Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.*

*Segment draft and final research paper:* You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

*Written material:* You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.



CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)  
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring





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