

Marriage Migration in Contemporary India: A Critical Analysis

*Banishikha Ghosh**

ABSTRACT

The issue of migration of married women has for long did not draw the attention of sociologists and social anthropologists till recently. Yet, it is recognised that women migrate in large number like men and migrant women play a crucial role in education, health, and economic development of family. In the context of globalisation, there is 'feminisation of migration' and apart from cultural factors, structural factors like demand of female labour and trends in industry and services also affect their decision to migrate. This paper, based on review of available literature, suggests that migration has the potential to liberalise features of traditional system of kinship and marriage and allow women to gain entry into new labour market and enhance one's social status. But at the same time, such migration also leads to trafficking of women. It appears that given national and global economic disparities, marriage migration may be governed more by structural constraints than by women's agency or choice.

Keywords: *Marriage, Migration, Globalisation, Trafficking, Vulnerability*

The Issue of Marriage Migration in India

Marriage is normally argued to be a social institution where a man establishes socially sanctioned conjugal relation with a woman so as to provide legitimacy to the children born out of such relation. Anthropologists have documented that practices of many groups and communities in India do not conform to the criterion of union between one man and one woman. For example, there are instances of group marriage in Nayar society and instances of ghost marriage in Nuer society. Notwithstanding such diversity of rules and practices of marriage, it is universally linked to women's mobility from one place to the other. Given specific rules of marriage like endogamy or exogamy and post-marital residence, the institution of marriage itself entailed women's migration.

Scholars proposing Alliance theory had earlier suggested that exchange of women between intermarrying families of 'wife givers' and 'wife takers'

* Centre for the Study of Social Systems School of Social Sciences Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi-110067

was based on the principle of reciprocity. It had begun in stateless societies in order to maintain stability. Because women were the first human capital and were unique in value, men gave their sisters away in marriage in order to receive the sister (or sisters) of one or more other men. On the other hand, scholars proposing descent theory argued that marriage served as an important medium of determining unilineal and patrilineal line of descent and ensuring that even in a stateless society, the descent group could serve as political, legal and jural functions.

The idea of descent group gets resonated in Indian context where a system of gotra is very important in determining whom a woman can marry and whom she can't. Social anthropologists like Iravati Karve, in this context, have also noted that in certain parts of Northern India, local customs prohibit marriage between a man and women from the same village. In these areas, caste endogamy, clan exogamy and incest taboos regarding sexual relations between primary kins are strictly observed. And the rule that a person must not marry in his patri-family and must avoid marriage with Sapindra kin is ensured. Another ancient rule is avoiding marriage to a person who is removed by less than 7 degrees from father and five degrees from the mother.

Apart from that, Karve also tried to put light on the nature of marriage migration of women in north India. Thus, she argued that if the daughter is given to a certain family of a certain village, the second daughter is not given to the same family or village in that generation. But, at the same time, there is an outer limit of expansion for seeking marriage alliance - this region of endogamy may comprise of a few districts of the whole linguistic region. Thus, rules and practices of marriage not only promoted certain kind of mobility of women, they also restricted such mobility over a wide area in terms of kinship as well as space.

Notwithstanding strong connectivity between marriage and migration in India, the issue of migration of married women did not draw the attention of sociologists and social anthropologists for detailed study till recently. In earlier migration studies, female migration was ignored or paid little attention as women were seen as "associational migrants" or "trailing wives", implying a lack of agency and a near total dependence on migrating males. Further, migrant women were seen as "wives" and never as "workers", eclipsing their economic roles (Piper and Roces 2003). They were seen as primarily dependents and subjects of family reunification and therefore as passive tire and associative movers. The issue of migration of married women was therefore excluded from consideration in migration studies.

Marriage migration in India is almost entirely unstudied, despite its vast size and a growing consensus that migrant women play a crucial role in

education, health, and economic development. As Scott Fulford (2013: 3) argues “Marriage migration is by far the largest form of migration in India and is close to universal for women in rural areas”. Yet, social scientists have paid little attention to the differential experience of migrant women and men (Thapan 2008: 8). But as Pariwala and Uberoi say, “women and girls comprised nearly 49 percent of global migrants in 2000” (2008: 25). In other words, women have migrated in almost the same proportion as men. In 2000, there were 85 million female migrants as compared to the 90 million male migrants (Zlotnik, as quoted in Thapan 2008: 9). In East and Southeast Asia, in particular, the proportion of female migrants is more than 50 percent.

So migration by marriage is a gendered phenomenon that requires more sophisticated theoretical and analytical explanations. The ‘feminisation of migration’, argues Thapan (2008: 10), is a significant but less explored reality. It is important for us to know whether migration enables women to completely break away from the patriarchal and traditional bindings. Women also migrate alone though they do migrate with the families or community and such decisions are informed by both opportunities and constraints. Apart from cultural factors, structural factors like demand of female labour and trends in industry and services also affect their decision to migrate. One therefore needs to distinguish between ‘family migration’ and ‘labour migration’. This paper would therefore try to unravel the diverse types of consequences of marriage migration in contemporary India.

Marriage Migration in Globalised India

In recent times, particularly in the context of globalization, marriage migration has become a central agenda in many social science and gender discourses. Online marriage sites and easy connectivity due to email, facebook and other internet based mediums have made marriage a global phenomenon today. The marriage distance in India was traditionally quite small (say within 25 km radius) except among the elites (Gould 1960). But now romance has reached a global stage where mature educated, professional women look to internet based alliances. Interestingly, diasporic communities often seek brides from the home country, thinking that such women would be docile and would contribute to the reproduction of cultural identity of the community. While easy access to probable marriage partners might also result in unwelcome alliances including elopement, the traditional role of family and community of the bride and groom in settling a marriage has now become dormant.

Further, the agency of women in determining a marriage is recognised today as they migrate across the world to pursue work and economic mobility. They try to provide a strong support base for themselves and their families and become independent and self sufficient. Feminist scholars therefore today

challenge the denigration of women's economic roles embedded in theory categorization as "marriage migrants" (Palriwala and Uberoi: 2008). Women's independent work participation and work related migration is a reality today. Thus, the traditional notion of migration, which states that men migrate for work first and then women follow, stands challenged now. Furthermore, the traditional model of women migrating from poor countries of South to the prosperous North through marriage cannot explain the complex and varied course of marriage migration properly. Unlike the early migration, which was largely directed towards the north and the west, migration today is fluid marked by turbulence and change and undertaken in multiple directions. Globalisation has facilitated the process of migration considering the forces of demand and supply, needs and gratifications, and the easier possibility of movement. Residential restrictions of various governments have also made marriage an easy solution to migrate to favoured destination.

As women join jobs in faraway places, they also escape constricting social structures as they pursue myriad other goals. They often fall in love with men in their workplace and marry them, breaking the basic rules of caste like endogamy, gotra exogamy, and marrying beyond Sapinda exogamy. Thus, it is important to problematise the issue and thereby see how labour migration of independent women too can lead to marriage migration. It may as well be argued here that as a result of these 'self choice marriages' particularly in Northern India, which transgress the societal caste and community norms, the Khap panchayats get enraged.

In this context Prem Chaudhary (2005) has argued that there has been a rise of a phenomenon called "crisis of masculinity". A large number of males-unmarried and/or unemployed along with the elderly are experiencing and generating unimaginable levels of tension in Haryana society especially with regard to their masculinities. In these areas due to skewed sex ratios and a large number of men being unmarried and/or unemployed, a crisis in masculinity is seen with the rise of subordinate and marginal masculinities. As women from these areas go outside and transgress rules of marriage, in the era of new technologies, globalisation and rampant consumerism, there is a rise of greater aggression and violence, worsening gender equations and greater exploitation through the use of repressive social forces and the strengthening of casteism. Such masculinities are affording an unprecedented role to illegal and unconstitutional bodies like the caste or Khap panchayats. Dominated and dictated by a core group of elderly men drawn from among the dominant caste groups, these caste panchayats offer the means through which contradictions between men are dissolved and masculine hierarchies are legitimised and sustained. While Haryanvi and UP males are not averse to marrying women from any caste, religion or region in the face of acute

bride shortage, the women of their own states and communities remain closely guarded.

Vulnerabilities of Marriage Migration

There are both positive and negative aspects of marriage migration. On the one hand, it involves the problems faced by couples, but mainly women and children, when adjusting to new environments and dealing with legal issues including citizenship. Genuine 'marriage migration' is a concern for both migrant community and the state in the destination country. A wife dependent on visa is often forced to stay in an abusive relationship and remain house bound for fear of deportation. The problems of women abandonment by non-resident Indian (NRI) bridegrooms is an issue lost amidst myriads of large issues confronting women in India. Cases of women being subjected to cruelty of false marriage, cheating and dowry extortion have increased in proportion to the growing number of Indians emigrating in search of green pastures abroad.

Even within the country, women are more vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse, lower wages and other forms of exploitation. Large scale import of women through marriage migration has already been reported from areas of better sex-ratios resulting in differences in the experience of brides. The issue of marriage, migration and trafficking is connected to the larger story of business in brides booming in north-west India. Skewed sex ratios in states like Haryana (where there are only 830 girls for every 1000 boys), and Uttar Pradesh are the result of several interrelated factors like female foeticide and young women being lured away to jobs in India's booming cities. In fact, these women often become forced migrants, especially those who end up in the sex or entertainment industry, in forced labour, or in cross-border marriage migration. Scholars like Ravinder Kaur (2010, 2012), for example, highlight how Bengali brides migrate to far-flung and culturally strange, rural destinations away from their own homeland. She shows how cross-regional marriages are propelled by spousal shortages in two female deficient states of the country, Haryana and UP. The process is commonly known as Male-Order Bride (MOB) phenomenon. While Punjab and Haryana also have brides from Kerala, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Tripura and several other states, the Bengalis far outnumber the rest. The families of these brides marry one daughter in a socially approved dowry marriage in the state itself and send the rest out as marriage migrants. These brides serve not only sexual and reproductive roles; they also work as economic or agricultural labour in their husband's house. Thus, it is evident that such long-distance, cross-region marriage is becoming a socially, if not numerically, significant category of marriage migration in India (Kaur 2010: 16).

It is clear by now that 'marriage migration' very often leads to trafficking, exploitation and sex trade of girls from different part of South Asian countries. Often marriages are a bait to lure women from poor women into sex work in faraway places. A recent study on 12 closed and sick tea gardens of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal has found that young girls are trafficked in large numbers from these gardens in the plea of placing them in the lucrative job market in urban metropolis like Delhi, Mumbai and Ahmedabad (Ghosh 2014). Quite clearly, there is change in the nature of human trafficking in contemporary India from trafficking for prostitution to labour trafficking. Interestingly, several other studies have confirmed that West Bengal serves as a source, destination and transit for trafficking in women and children. Bengali women are acquired as wives not only from West Bengal but also from Bangladesh by men of several Indian states. According to Blanchet (2003), the "trade" in brides between Bangladesh and UP peaked in the 1980s. Blanchet mentions how a blatant commodification of women takes place in UP where these brides are referred to as "kharidan aurat" (bought woman). Jeffreys (2006) also mention that in Bijnor (UP), men referred such wives as "bahu mol lena". In this context the role of dalals are also quite ambiguous as the often they misrepresent the characteristics and circumstances of grooms which is equivalent to cheating.

Men regard marriage expenditure on getting a cross-region bride as "buying a bride" and often women are threatened, pressurized, and they are reminded of their "bought" status. There is an incompleteness of their acceptance as a bride and a legitimate bahu in the household as Kaur (2012: 83) says that one of her respondents, an Indian Bengali bride Gulabi Devi lamented that "her husband's younger brother doesn't touch her feet on festivals or while going out of town". However, as compared to brides from West Bengal, Kaur notices that vulnerability is doubled in case of Bangladeshi brides who are disadvantaged in several ways. The latter have little or no recourse to parental support structures, are illiterate and lack citizenship status too. Bangladeshi affine simply does not exist for the wife-takers. Husbands are unable or disinclined to visit Bangladesh, and Bangladeshi brides are often refused permission by husbands and the latter's families to visit their natal homes. Relatives who manage to visit them are often not allowed to speak directly to them and are treated so badly that they return with a disheartened view of the fate of their daughters, sisters or co-villagers. Palriwala and Uberoi (2008) here argue that the security and vulnerability of women and the relative proximity of the effective support networks of natal kins determine the agency of the woman.

Kaur (2012) has also found that the freedom to go out of the house affected the psychological well-being of Bengali women extremely from both sides of

the border, especially since they come from less patriarchal and restrictive cultures. They have to adopt the rites/rituals, feasts and festivals of the husband's community. At the same time they are not being able to celebrate their own feasts, fasts and festivals, which would have given them relief and joy from poverty or relentless farm work. Blanchet also quoted that one of the respondents, Sushma, an Indian Bengali bride said, "Bengali wives are like cows one gets to plough the field; they get fed because they work and give birth to children" (2003: 21). Further, bride of different religion - while not important to the husband and his kin - is something that erodes a part of the self of the bride who has to convert or hide her religion. Without even the minimal support structures, these transnational brides are left at the mercy of her in-laws and local village society.

In case of cross country marriage migration, grooms are ranked in terms of likelihood of achieving permanent settlement abroad. The brides are however ranked in terms of traditional requirements of wives of bread winner husbands - beautiful, domesticated, and familiar with ritual and culinary mores of "home". Simultaneously their horoscopes as well as educational qualifications are seen in the light of the grooms anticipated carrier options. The amount of dowry to be given and lavishness of the wedding are also attuned (Palriwala and Uberoi: 2008). Scholars argue that asking for dowry represents a traditional framework through which modern achievements of educational, occupational and spatial qualifications of the groom's side are measured.

Research has proved that it is the rural and middle class people that often succumb to the temptation of acquiring foreign groom. It is only when the daughters are abandoned that the parents, who have possibly liquidated their assets to help their daughter enter into the so-called marriage, wake up and approach the state authorities. As per a study, the NRI brides of Andhra Pradesh and Punjab (2007) shows that more than two-third of these marriages are proved to be fraudulent matrimonial alliances. There are thousands of such deserted women in India, especially in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Punjab. NRI-deserted women mostly belonged to middle and upper socio-economic class of families. Only after marriage do the bride's family realise that they have been cheated. The data collected from Punjab revealed that most of these marriages were arranged through relatives. The anxiety of parents of girls had led to hurried marriages with NRIs without verifying their antecedents. The trend shows that usually girls and her parents do not seek any legal advice or counselling after desertion. They keep on waiting for compromise or reconciliation. Girls themselves are not willing to take any legal action against their husband with the hope that one fine day she will manage to fly abroad along with him. The social pressures also force

them to keep quiet in this regard. They never disclose in society about his unwillingness to take his wife along.

As a result, transnational marriage migration has received a lot of negative attention by now. This is because many innocent girls are made victim as they fall prey to international trafficking for marriage or sex work. Interestingly the grooms who dupe them use the dowries they get from the brides families to finance their foreign immigration. For example, many Kamma and Reddy castes of Andhra Pradesh use their dowries to complete their IT education and go abroad (Palriwala and Uberoi 2008). Transnational migration therefore reveals a negative picture in which dowry, trafficking, fake marriages, domestic violence, abuse and victimization appear stark. In all such cases the agency of the bride is silenced, and the poor and marginalised women are made a victim to the selfish demands of the bride takers in the context of uneven social and economic development.

Women in such marriages are often stripped of their “social body” and a completely new identity is superimposed on them in which their old one has no part. Such a kind of loss of identity results in the loss of agency of the woman who is reified to a spiritless object only. Interestingly the children of these “lesser” wives in the UP villages later had possibilities of facing difficulties in finding spouses within the local community because of certain rules of caste endogamy and religious purity associated with the Indian caste system. Further these brides in general suffer from abuse and domestic violence due to male alcoholism and insecurity. The village society supports husband since bringing a wife from elsewhere is by itself not a criminal activity. Often police and local society sympathize with local men who cannot find brides and do not see these “stranger” brides as problematic.

Importantly, early marriage of girls is found to be one of the major operandi to traffic young girls and women to faraway places. In India and Bangladesh, there is a silent complicity to child marriage and many rural and backward communities treat it as normal. In traditional village community, there is a stigma attached to single woman. Inability to arrange marriage of daughter is a cause of embarrassment and matter of shame for the parents. In this situation, when the traffickers approach the poor families with marriage proposal (sometimes with cash reward between Rs.1000-5000 on an average) minus dowry, the parents find it hard to refuse the offer. After marriage, the girl is sold and resold, until she reaches the ultimate destination. The method of marriage to traffic a girl has one great advantage. It protects the husband and the recruiter from the immediate accusations of trafficking. The dalals also shame and silence the parents efficiently by offering a share in the benefit of their daughter’s sale (Ghosh 2009)

Mobility through Marriage

While such marriage introduces the element of vulnerabilities of women who got married to unknown persons for reasons beyond their control, it has also emerged as acceptable means to disadvantaged women to achieve a measure of social and economic mobility. In this later sense, migration has also encourage the rescripting of gender roles within family, provide economic security, enhance autonomy of the woman and her respect in both the eyes of her family and community and offer women economic security and escape from subjugation and persecution. It has been noted that the process of labour migration itself often results in marriage migration as young migrant workers find their spouses among their workmates. Migrant daughters may enjoy more freedom in selecting their own partner and spending their own income and in helping their natal families financially before and after marriage. Malwali women working as domestic workers and nurses in Italy, for instance, offer a visa sponsorship as dowry or choose their living partner from a better background in Italy (Gamburd, 2002). Very often these marriages transgress hegemonic local and the given norms of endogamy as well as dowry. Moreover, the enlarged distance between the natal and the marital homes facilitates changes in opposite direction. Thus, on the one hand, there remains on one to control her social and cultural behaviour as in an alien land she may develop a new modern identity. Such changes (language, dress, food habits, customs, rituals etc) are more prominent among the children belonging to such migrant family. Such process of cultural transformation gets strengthened when the families find it difficult to visit home periodically or customarily. But at the same time, such distance may isolate her from familiar environment and scope of protection by close relatives.

For some, 'marriage migration' is a strategy to enable a desired marriage. Even in traditional society, marriage provided a route for achievement or consolidation of upward social mobility. Enhancing family's 'social capital' through marriage is historically used by Tamil Brahmins (Kalpagam 2008). They have tried to seize the opportunity for social and economic improvements both through better education and marriages of their children with partners studying or working in North America. They call it 'America Varan'. Grooms are ranked in terms of the likelihood of their achieving permanent settlement abroad. They therefore set aside the traditional norms of matchmaking preferences like cross-cousin or uncle-niece marriage.

The contemporary phenomenon of 'marriage migration' also introduces new elements in family life and gender relations. Women's increased engagement in paid work contributes to gendered sharing of responsibilities at home, changes in work schedule and development of public care institutions. When married women migrate for work, leaving their children

and children, reallocation of familial roles take place. Moreover, remittances of migrant women workers go to support the family members who remain at home. In case of a migrant couple maintaining a 'mobile family' in a distant location, the usual daily functions and inter-personal relations become qualitatively different. It is expected that such families allows women more freedom to move, decide and spend their income.

Studies on nurses from Kerala reveal that their number has constantly increased over time despite economic slowdown in recent years. These nurses could not only avoid exploitative work conditions like low wages, lack of job security, or inferior work at their home, but could also enhance their autonomy, better family life and status at receiving countries through migration (Percot and Rajan. 2007). Feminist scholars have therefore documented women's independent role in migration and mobility and stressed on their own agency in the process of both marriage and employability. But, at the same time, they have noted that work load of such women increases many times as paid worker, as wife and parent and providing daughter.

Palriwala and Uberoi's (2008: 32) work reflects how marriage migration, might be the most efficient and socially accepted means for socially disadvantaged women to achieve a measure of social and economic mobility. It might provide an escape from the constraints of family surveillance and community pressure. It might become an important arena for achievement and a means for enhancing ones social capital in both short and long run. Marriage migration therefore doesn't just reflect merely individual but family aspirations. Once these women migrate and can successfully settle themselves, interestingly, they bring alliance of other NRIs to their relatives, and almost proudly engage in exchanging dowry which they themselves have avoided at early part of their life.

Even Male-Order Bride may be considered an economic strategy by very poor women though it violates the social and cultural practices of marriage. On the contrary, due to rise in bride price and cost of marriage, there is rise in demand for brides from interior provinces as poor men in more developed regions cannot acquire local wives (Davin 2008). Hence, they start importing wives.

Conclusion

It appears that migration has the potential to liberalise features of traditional system of kinship and marriage. Migration becomes a strategy to bypass the traditional exploitative systems and also to gain entry into new labour market and enhance one's social status. It also leads to changes in the gendered

division of labour in the family and introduces new element of choice among family members. As a consequence, the traditional relation between 'wife givers' and 'wife takers' becomes complex. But at the same time, the implications of marriage migrations within and outside the country for the brides are also mixed. There is a very thin line separating a mediated commercial marriage from the trafficking of women and using them as bonded labour. Due to fluid boundary between matchmaking and trafficking, women and minor girl are forced into prostitution, physical abuse and other forms of exploitation. There is also a political economy of such marriage transactions as dowry demand has increased stupendously along with globalisation of marriage market. There is also commercialisation and commoditization of marriage practices and rituals in India today. The complex interplay of money, marriage and gender has significant impacts upon women's status in society. Given national and global economic disparities, marriage migration may appear to be governed more by structural constraints than by women's agency or choice.

References

- Arya, Sadhana and Anupama Rao (ed.). (2006), *Poverty, Gender and Migration*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Banerjee, Abhijit, Esther Duflo, Maitreesh Ghatak, and Jeanne LaFortune. (2009) 'Marry for What: Caste and Mate Selection in Modern India.' Working Paper 14958, *National Bureau of Economic Research*. URL <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14958>.
- Blanchet, Therese. (2003), *Bangladeshi Girls Sold as Wives in North India*. Dhaka: Drishti Research Centre.
- Chaudhary Prem, (2005), 'Crisis of masculinity in Haryana - the unmarried, the unemployed and the aged', *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 3: 5189-5198.
- Chaudhry, S and Mohan. (2011), 'Of Marriage and Migration: Bengali and Bihari Brides in a UP Village', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 18(3): 311-40.
- Constable, Nicole (ed.). (2005), *Cross-border Marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Davin, Delia. (2008), 'Marriage Migration in China: The Enlargement of Marriage markets in the Era of Market Reform', in Rajni Palriwala and Uberoi Patricia (ed.). *Marriage, Migration and Gender* (63-77). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Fulford, Scott. (2013), *The Puzzle of Marriage Migration in India*, fmwww.bc.edu/EC-P/wp820.pdf
- Gamburd, Michele Ruth. (2002), *Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids*. New delhi: Vistaar.
- Ghosh, Biswajit (2014), 'Vulnerability, Forced Migration and Trafficking in Children and Women: A Field View from the Plantation Industry in West Bengal, India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Review of Rural Affairs, 28th June, 49 (26 & 27): 58-65.

- Ghosh, Biswajit. (2009), 'Trafficking in Women and Children in India: Nature, Dimensions And Strategies For Prevention', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 13 (05): 716-738.
- Gould, Harold, A. (1960), 'The Micro-demography of marriages in a north Indian area', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 16 (4): 476-91.
- Jeffreys, Sheila. (2006), 'The Traffic in Women: Human Rights Violation or Migration for Work', in Anuja Agarwal (ed.), *Migrant Women and Work* (195-217). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Kalpagam, U. (2008), 'America Varan' Marriages among Tamil Brahmins: Preferences, Strategies and Outcomes', in Rajni Palriwala and Uberoi Patricia (ed.). *Marriage, Migration and Gender* (98-122). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Kaur, Ravinder (2010), 'Bengali bridal diaspora: marriage as a livelihood strategy', *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 30: 45(5), 16-18.
- Kaur, Ravinder (2010), Year. 'Khap panchayats, sex ratio and female agency', *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 5: 45 (23): 14-16.
- Kaur, Ravinder. (2012), 'Marriage and Migration: Citizenship and Marital Experience in Cross-border Marriages between Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bangladesh', *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 27, 47 (43): 78-89.
- Kawaguchi, Daiji. and Soohyung Lee. (2012), 'Brides for sale: Cross-border marriages and female immigration'. Discussion Paper 6458, IZA. URL http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2039644.
- Mazumdar, Indrani, N Neetha, and Indu Agnihotri. (2013), 'Migration and Gender in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48 (10): 54-64.
- National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development. (2007), 'A study on desertion of married women by non-resident Indians in Punjab and Andhra Pradesh'. nipccd.nic.in/reports/desertion.pdf.
- Palriwala, R and Patricia Uberoi (ed.). (2008), *Marriage, Migration and Gender*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Percot, Marie and S. Irudaya Rajan. (2007), 'Female Emigration from India: Case Study of Nurses', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42 (4): 318-325.
- Piper, Nicola. (2005), Gender and migration. incedes.org.gt/Master/pipersesentacuatro.pdf.
- Sautmann, Anja. (2011), 'Partner Search and Demographics: The Marriage Squeeze in India'. Working Papers 2011-12, Brown University, Department of Economics. URL <http://ideas.repec.org/p/bro/econwp/2011-12.html>.
- Thapan, Meenakshi. (2008), 'Series Introduction', in Rajni Palriwala and Uberoi Patricia (ed.). 2008. *Marriage, Migration and Gender* (1-20). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Website: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/dec/17/india-bride-trafficking-foeticide> (accessed on 22nd March, 2017).