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Analyzing the Phenomenon of 'Mail-in-Brides': A Census-Based Study of Marital Patterns

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ABSTRACT
Comparable to the notorious "mail-order bride" phenomenon India also has "mail-in" or "bought brides," or "Paro" or "mol ki bahuein." To determine the approximate population of these women, the article looks at the states in northern India. The current study uses balanced calculations to follow those women using a three-step procedure, and it is based on census data from 1991 to 2011. This paper first identifies the low and imbalanced sex ratio regions that have affected the demand for brides from other states; second, it tracks potential supply areas through unexpected female presences resulting from marriage-migration; and finally, it attempts to calculate the number of these trafficked or traded brides using basic balanced equations. According to the investigation, Haryana is the most vulnerable area among those like Bihar, Chattishgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttrakhand. Data over thirty years indicates that 32.9, 6.3, 25.6, and 14.2 percent of women more than men in rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural, and urban-urban areas, respectively, migrated from Punjab to Haryana for marriage. In contrast, Rajasthan saw a 74.5 percent increase in female migration than male in the rural-rural frame to Haryana. The circumstances get more intriguing for Uttar Pradesh. In other words, roughly 1752 women, who might not have chosen to come to Haryana, arrived each year between 1991-2001. The study's findings indicated that a focused survey and the implementation of policies are desperately needed in order to safeguard women and their children against abuse, human trafficking, resale, and other forms of abandonment.

KEYWORDS
Mail-in-bride, Women Trafficking, Estimation,

Introduction

The increase in intra-regional marriage migration in Asia over the past 20 years has piqued interest among scholars in the destination nations. Marriage migration created new issues related to race, ethnicity, gender, class, and nationality and changed the social, demographic, and cultural makeup of present and future generations in these countries [11]. Also the "mail-order bride" phenomenon has dominated academic and popular discourses on international marriage since the early 1980s [23]. Along with this patrilocality is another patriarchal practice that few scholars note in their discussions of marriage migration. In many societies like in India, wives, rather than husbands, usually move to postmarital residences [18].

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In India, a phenomenon akin to international marriage migration is observed. Thousands of girls, many of whom are minors, are transported from all over the nation to marry men. These girls are referred to as "mail-in" or "bought brides," or "Paro" or "mol ki bahuein" in local parlance. Traveling to the districts of Mewat, Jind, Rohtak, Sonipat, and Mahendragarh, Jyoti Yadav of The Print discovered that Haryana's (a northern state in India) lopsided sex ratio has resulted in the development of a complex, interstate network that makes it easier for local men to purchase women from all over the nation to marry. The majority of these girls are purchased from states like Jharkhand, Bihar, Assam, and Bengal. Additionally, some of them are from Tamil Nadu and Kerala [24]. Many middlemen arrange these marriages. In exchange, they get paid a sizeable commission (say, Rs. 10,000) for their services. The majority of these marriages are inter-caste unions, with Dalit brides and upper-caste grooms making up a large number of these marriages, which is an intriguing feature. In Haryana, this social issue has also gained political significance. Unmarried boys from Jind district founded the "Randa" Union, also known as the "Union of Bachelor Boys," during the 2014 Lok Sabha elections. Their catchphrase was "Bahu dilao, vote pao" (get us a bride, get votes). Moreover in August 2019, Manohar Lal Khattar, the Chief Minister of Haryana, stirred up controversy again when he said that people were saying they would bring girls from Kashmir as brides after Jammu and Kashmir revoked Article 370.

It is to be noted that India's migration rate, or the percentage of migrants in the population, is 28.9 percent, with females making up 89 percent of internal migrants in rural areas [14]. This figure is very much significant given that 1.4 billion people live in India. India's migration rate is sometimes greater than the total population lived in many first world countries viz., Europe and USA. It should be highlighted that the most significant aspect of this is that, whereas 22.8 percent of men moved in search of employment or income, 86.8 percent of women moved solely to get married. That is to say, the primary cause of India's increased female migration has been determined to be patrilocality. However, why has these northern state in India like Punjab and Haryana grown to be so significant in this context?

The ingrained discrimination against women in northern Indian society is one of the most significant factors here. Women's vulnerability is revealed by the fact that they are bought and sold like property. The primary reason why bride trafficking persists is the widespread acceptance of this practice in society [22]. Because bride trafficking is so widely accepted in society, there are cases where a runaway bride is returned to her so-called husband and his family after being searched by the entire family and the village residents and eventually found and apprehended(see report by videovolunteers.org). Women and girls are more vulnerable to trafficking when they experience these gender-based inequalities such as restricted access to education, gendered poverty, a lack of work opportunities, and a lack of control over financial resources [5]. Additionally, poverty affects women and girls more than it does men. Women in India make up 70 percent of those living in poverty, placing them at the mercy of men for financial support [3]. The majority of women work in the home unpaid. The employment gap between men and women is 98 percent, according to Oxfam India's India Discrimination Report 2022[17].

Female infanticide and foeticide are additional factors that lower the number of girls available for marriage, forcing people to purchase girls from other states. The definition of foeticide is the abortion or destruction of a fetus, while the definition of female

foeticide is the abortion or destruction of a female fetus. The ratio of males to females at birth, or the observed high or low birth sex ratio, is used to indirectly estimate the frequency of female foeticide. In the northern regions of India, such as the State of Haryana, where men predominate in society, female foeticide is commonplace [1]. From a study [7], it was shown that the women reported 2,642 live births, 48 stillbirths, and 272 abortions (of which 243 were spontaneous and 29 were induced). Sixty-five percent of liveborns belonged to orders 1 and 2, and only one-fourth of children were of orders higher than 6. Families with more than two surviving daughters made up three times as many as those with more than two sons (110 vs. 37, respectively). The study women could have had up to five liveborn sons and up to nine liveborn daughters. Only 14 percent of families have more girls than boys (34 percent of girls compared to 21 percent of boys). The government workers failed to record the deaths of more than 48 percent of the mothers in the cohort born within the last five years. According to the official records, there were only two mothers (one female and one male) who had not notified of their children's deaths. With a 'normal' sex ratio at birth (SRB) of 1.06, a sex ratio of 1.27 indicates that 16.8 percent of female foetuses among upper castes have been aborted in the last five years.

Therefore, in this context, the northwest region of India has become a "grim situation" [20]. The most severely impacted areas of the nation by the deadly issue of female foeticide are the states of Punjab and Haryana. The declining sex-ratio has demonstrated the seriousness of the issue. And this turns out to be the main factor controlling increased female migration in this area under the reason of marriage. However, the unanswered question is how to differentiate between the amount of women trafficked and the amount of women migrating naturally? We must first determine which states are experiencing these kinds of occurrences in order to respond to this question. We can only move on to determining the concluding observation after that. This paper proceeds step-by-step to address the central query.

1. Locating the vulnerable regions

A key demographic indicator is the sex ratio, which is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males within a given population. Beyond its common use in demographic analysis, the sex ratio also provides valuable insights into marriage patterns within a community. A notably low sex ratio may signal an imbalance between the supply and demand for marriageable individuals. This discrepancy can stem from a variety of factors, including regional economic disparities, access to employment opportunities for women, and migration trends. In regions where the sex ratio is skewed, migration plays a crucial role. Women may be compelled to move from areas with limited economic prospects and fewer opportunities for skilled employment to regions that offer better job opportunities. Conversely, areas with a shortage of marriageable women might import women from both affluent and less prosperous regions to address this gap. To better understand the interplay between sex ratios and marriage dynamics, it is essential to conduct a comparative analysis with other regions that share similar socioeconomic conditions but exhibit different marital patterns. Such a comparison helps determine whether the observed low sex ratio is an isolated anomaly or part of a broader socio-demographic trend. By examining these dynamics, one can gain a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing marriage patterns in a specific area.

To identify states or regions with low sex ratios, the following algorithm can be applied:

First, gather demographic data from reliable sources, such as Census data or national statistical databases. The data should include the number of males and females in each region (state, district, etc.).

Next, calculate the sex ratio for each region using the following formula:

$$\text{Sex Ratio} = \left(\frac{\text{Number of Females}}{\text{Number of Males}}\right) \times 1000$$

This will give the number of females per 1,000 males for each region. Afterward, define a threshold to identify regions with a "low" sex ratio. For example, a sex ratio below 900 females per 1,000 males could be considered low, though the exact threshold may vary depending on the specific context or research goals. Then, filter the regions by applying this threshold to the calculated sex ratios. Any region with a sex ratio below the chosen cut-off can be considered as having a potential mismatch between the supply and demand for marriageable individuals.

Now in our case, data on sex ratios for several Indian states from 1951 to 2011 are shown in Table 1. In this analysis, broader demographic and socioeconomic aspects that may be involved in the patterns identified will be taken into account. The sex ratio in Haryana shows a fascinating trend. Urbanization and changes in the socioeconomic landscape may be reflected in the marginal fluctuations that were noted between 1951 and 1991. With a modest decline in 2001, the notable increase in 2011 may be linked to attempts to reduce gender gaps, possibly through policy measures and awareness initiatives. But in 2011, there was a significant rise, coming in at 879. It should be emphasized that there is always a shortage of women for marriageable men, with the difference between the number of females per 1000 males always falling between 121 and 135 per year. This further illustrates the effects of female foeticide.

Table 1.: Post-independence Sex Ratio of some States in India

Regions/States	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Northern Region							
Haryana	871	868	867	870	865	861	879
Punjab	844	854	865	879	882	876	895
Uttar Pradesh	908	907	876	882	876	898	912
Bihar	1000	1005	957	948	907	919	918
Sourthern Region							
Andhra Pradesh	986	981	977	975	972	978	993
Tamil Nadu	1007	992	978	977	974	987	996
Puducherry	1030	1013	989	985	979	1001	1037
Kerala	1028	1022	1016	1032	1036	1058	1084
Others							
Rajasthan	921	908	911	919	910	921	928
Maharashtra	941	936	930	937	934	922	929
Madhya Pradesh	945	932	920	921	912	919	931
West Bengal	865	878	891	911	917	934	950

Source: Office of the Registrar General, India

With a few exceptions, Punjab's sex ratio has largely increased throughout time. From 844 in 1951 to 895 in 2011, there was a consistent increase, suggesting that the gender balance had improved (see Figure 1). However, the situation in Bihar and

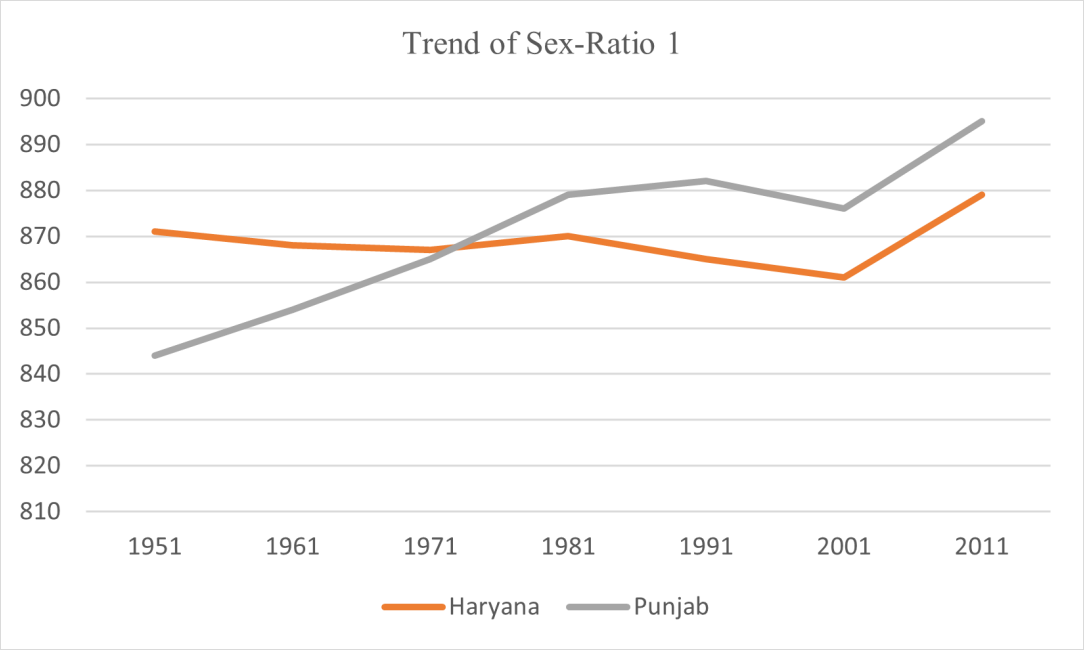

Figure 1.

Uttar Pradesh is extremely important. The sex ratio in Uttar Pradesh fluctuated, although it stayed largely constant. The number increased somewhat from 908 in 1951 to 912 in 2011. In contrast, the sex ratio in Bihar decreased from 1000 in 1951 to 907 in 1991. By 2011, there had been a small improvement, nevertheless, with a total of 918. According to an analysis of the marriage trends that currently exist in Punjab and Haryana, if there has historically been a tendency for people to marry outside of their state because of social or cultural customs, this could have an impact on the sex ratio without necessarily meaning that people migrate for marriage. A thorough investigation is necessary before drawing conclusions regarding the sudden fall in sex ratios caused by a migration of women to Haryana and Punjab from nearby states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (see Figure 2). With slight changes, Andhra Pradesh's sex ratio remains reasonably steady when compared to the southern part of India. Between 1951 and 2011, there was a slight decline, from 986 to 993. The sex ratio for Tamil Nadu decreased, with minor volatility, from 1007 in 1951 to 996 in 2011. However, it might be argued that the high and steady sex ratios in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh point to some degree of stability.

Puducherry's distinct demographic and socioeconomic environment may be connected to the region's high sex ratio. The ratio of men to women in Puducherry fluctuated with time, rising from 1030 in 1951 to 1037 in 2011. Gender-aware activities and progressive socioeconomic policies may have contributed to the growth in 2011. Notable is Kerala's continually high sex ratio. It rose from 1028 in 1951 to 1084 in 2011, suggesting a gender balance that is beneficial. This trend may be influenced by the state's progressive social views and emphasis on healthcare and education (see Figure 3). West Bengal is an exception to this rule, but states like Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh are comparable. The sex ratio in West Bengal rose throughout time, from 865 in 1951 to 950 in 2011, suggesting that the gender balance has improved. The steadily increasing sex ratio in West Bengal points to progress in

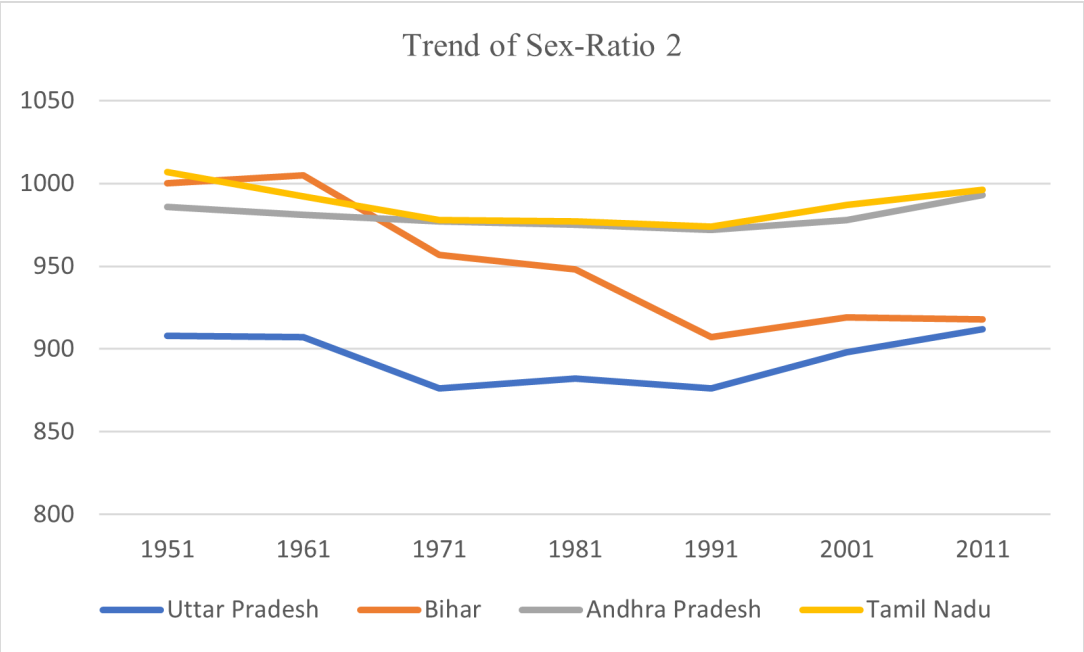

Figure 2.

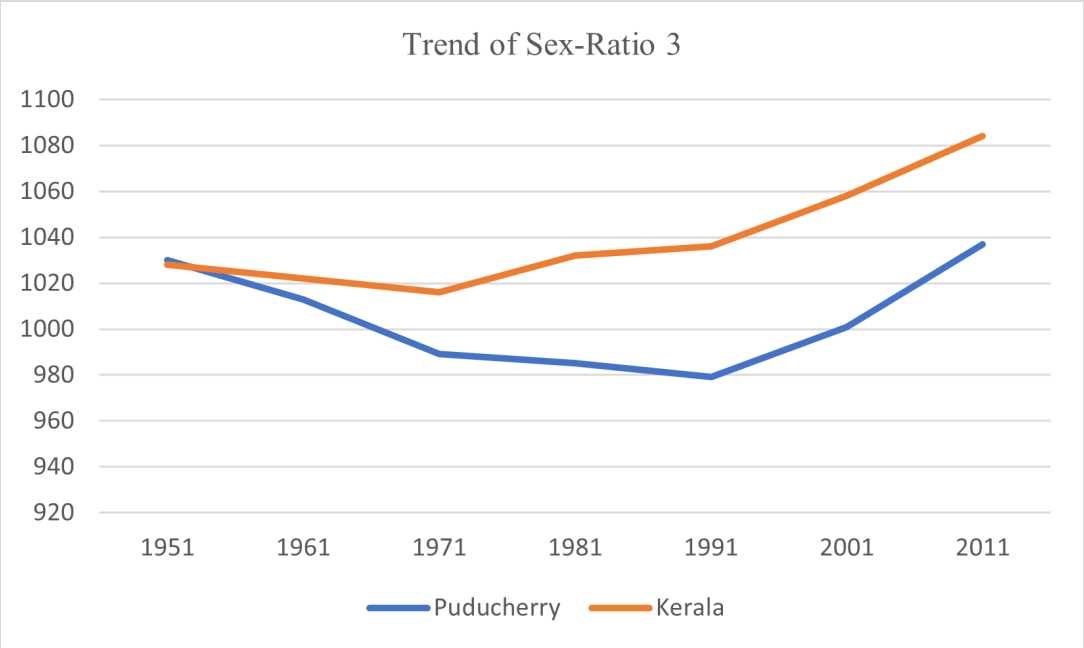

Figure 3.

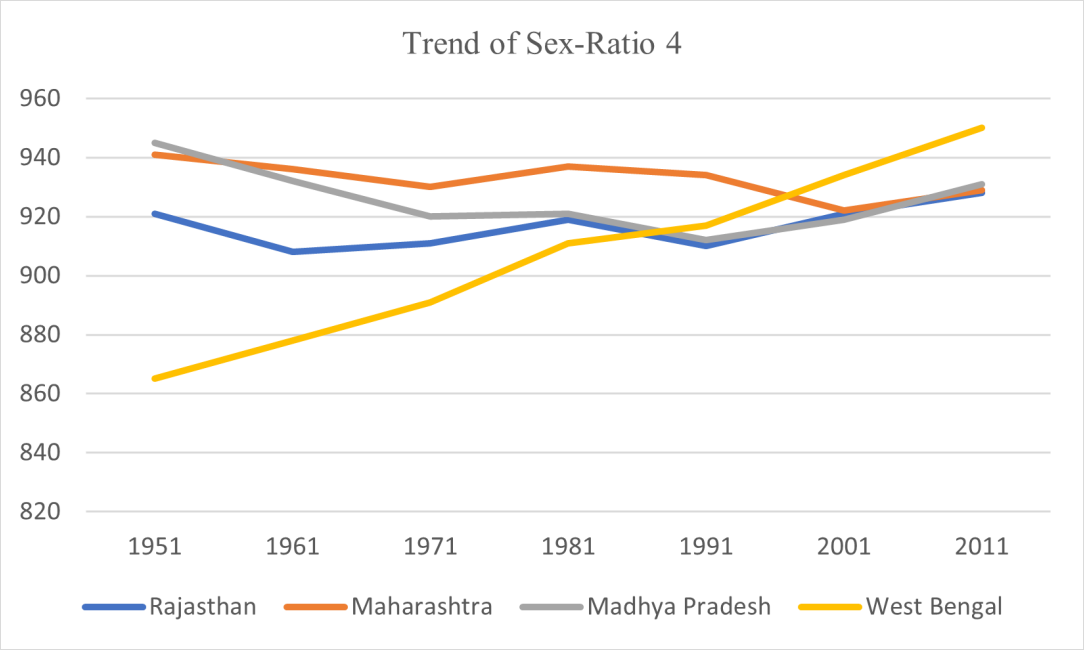

Figure 4.

gender parity. In addition, we must mention that the sex ratio between 1981 and 2001 disclosed certain noteworthy characteristics (see Figure 4). In order to have a more comprehensive comprehension of the sudden drop in sex ratios in Haryana and Punjab, a targeted analysis of age-specific sex ratios across North India, especially in the border regions, is necessary. Through examining demographic trends among several age cohorts, we can reveal minute differences that may escape a more comprehensive examination.

Table 2.: Age Specific Sex Ratio of few northern states in India during 1991 to 2011

Age Group	Bihar			Chhattisgarh			Himachal Pradesh		
	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991
0-9	935	933	952	970	977	N/A	905	903	956
10-19	846	819	821	972	935	N/A	896	942	958
20-29	960	1015	1016	982	1014	N/A	1010	994	1049
30-39	981	1008	979	1009	997	N/A	1010	1033	1023
40-49	903	911	873	953	950	N/A	1002	990	989

Age Group	Jharkhand			Madhya Pradesh			Punjab		
	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991
0-9	952	963	N/A	923	936	924	837	808	880
10-19	906	879	N/A	900	844	928	791	847	873
20-29	976	993	N/A	915	946	956	917	892	905
30-39	967	982	N/A	959	945	883	962	961	913
40-49	921	892	N/A	918	873	892	954	870	871

Age Group	Rajasthan			Uttar Pradesh			Uttarakhand		
	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991	2011	2001	1991
0-9	890	907	919	901	911	920	891	914	N/A
10-19	886	860	850	882	824	800	905	922	N/A
20-29	920	947	972	911	940	951	1021	1032	N/A

30-39	975	962	907	988	979	938	1017	1037	N/A
40-49	947	894	909	912	894	882	979	962	N/A

Age Group	Haryana		
	2011	2001	1991
0-9	831	826	884
10-19	805	821	794
20-29	882	861	912
30-39	934	939	893
40-49	899	842	820

Source: Office of the Registrar General, India. N/A: States were not formed in 1991.

We can divide the age groups into three categories based on reproductive age: infant and child sexual ratios, adolescent and young adult sexual ratios, and middle-aged and elderly sexual ratios. This allows us to investigate other options by monitoring migratory patterns and economic prospects. We can look into how marriage traditions and cultural practices affect age-specific sex ratios while also taking cultural practices into account. Variations according to age could indicate that particular cultural issues are influencing population patterns. Considering the period of importance 1991 to 2011, the Table 2 showed the trend in age specific sex ratios of few northern states in India.

If we track the age groups in the instance of Haryana across several years, we will see some noteworthy phenomena. Table 2 makes it clear that in 1991, there was a balanced distribution of males and females among newborns and early children in the age group 0–9, with a sex ratio that was relatively high. Nevertheless, when the census was conducted again in 2001, ten years later, it was seen that the sex ratio in the age category of 10-19 had decreased, suggesting a discrepant situation among teenagers. Perhaps this is a result of infanticide, a greater death rate, or female out-migration in the age group 0-9 in 1991. The word 'perhaps' means that it is very much certain that the rate of out-migration in this age group can not be higher if we follow our intuition. So, only the female infanticide or higher death rate become visible cause. However, if we go further 10 years ahead, to 2011, we may observe a little improvement in the sex ratio, suggesting that there may have been an increase in female in-migration as a result of marriage. Some may argue that employment or education would be the pull factor for qualified women to migrate to Haryana in this situation, but we shall address and demonstrate later in this paper that Haryana is in no way a gravity factor because of employment or education.

The sex ratio for the age range 10 to 19 in 1991 was also comparatively lower, suggesting a somewhat higher percentage of males in this cohort. This suggests that there was a clear demand for brides in the later age group of 20-29, which is the typical age of marriage in India. It is envisaged that a supply from other states—ideally nearby states with equivalent cultures along with higher sex ratio—must be made available here and must take into account an increasing sex ratio in age categories like 20–29 and 30-39. The improvement in the sex ratio from 794 to 861 in 2001 seems to confirm our hypothesis that there has been a shift, which was potentially brought about by alterations to migration and marriage patterns. A further increase to 934 in 2011 indicates that the sex ratio in this age group has stabilized. This is likely because there were more girls available for marriage in the 20–29 age range from other states between 2001 and 2011, sometimes legitimately and other times through unlawful trafficking. In a state where gender discrimination is more pervasive, this is how female in-migration

contributed significantly to an increase in the sex ratio.

Punjab is subject to the same regulations as Haryana. Because female foeticide is common even in Punjab, leading to a shortage of daughters available for marriage. The 1991 sex ratio for the 0–9 age group is 880 girls for every 1000 males. Figure 847 shows that the sex ratio naturally decreases at later ages of 20–29 in 2001 due to female death and migration at this age. Similarly, marriageable females are being imported from neighboring states, which contributed to a notable increase in the 20-29 age group's sex ratio in 2011. Once more, the government's efforts to raise public awareness and improve the law are reflected in the status quo that is made clear by 873 or 905 of 1991 to 892 and 962 or 961 and 954 of 2001 and 2011 respectively.

This time, while examining other states, we must first rule out Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Uttarakhand (or Uttaranchal), as these states were not even in existence back then in 1991. However, states like Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, show how much the natural sex ratio has changed as a result of dissimilar cultural norms with Haryana and Punjab as well as the less necessity to marry daughters to far-states due to less gender disparities. In addition to having high sex ratios and similar cultures, states with high rates of poverty—that is, those where girls are more likely to be married young for the relief to fathers in the patriarchal system—also frequently have unusual change sex ratios. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are the two largest of these states. Though it may not receive as much attention, the example of Rajasthan is equally noteworthy. When we examine the situation in Bihar, we find that, in 1991, the sex ratio for the 0–9 age group was 952, and in 2001, it dropped significantly to 819 for the 10–19 age group in 2001. Given the usual fatality rate in India at the time, what qualifies as the explanation of this event? So the sole explanation is the enormous influx of women. However, I am no longer asserting that it took place to Punjab or Haryana. The proof will appear in the next section. The situation in Uttar Pradesh is the same. Put differently, for Haryana it is in need to understand the overall migratory landscape from the other states which we'll see in the in the next section.

2. Tracking the zones of Supply and Demand

People have naturally always relocated in search of better living conditions and rights, whether it is through employment or education. Should Haryana be a place that attracts people, then the region's industrial growth and other social prospects need to be considered holistically. India is an agricultural nation with a sizable agricultural labor force. After independence, the Indian economy saw numerous changes, but the most important ones were brought about by the economic reforms in 1991. In India, these changes brought globalization, privatization, and liberalization, which profoundly altered the country's industrial structure and labor market. A nation's economic growth is mostly reliant on the labor force's engagement in a variety of economic activities that include the primary, secondary, and territorial sectors. Using census data from both periods, let's examine employment trends in Haryana during the post-reforms period (i.e., 1991) and the related changes in the pattern in 2011.

In a study [2] which showed that there is a significant imbalance in the workforce between men and women, with more job opportunities for men than for women across a range of economic sectors. It is evident that Haryana's overall main worker involvement fell from 92.46 percent in 1991 to 78.68 percent in 2011. If we dig a little more, we can

find that the percentage of female primary workers in their overall workforce decreased by the greatest amount, while the percentage of male primary workers decreased by roughly 13 percent relative to the 44 percent reduction in female primary workers. Urban areas saw the lowest change in the total primary worker participation rate, going from 99.16 percent to 88.54 percent, while rural areas saw the largest drop, going from 99.16 percent to 73.89 percent. During the post-liberalization era, employment possibilities declined more in rural than in metropolitan areas. Additionally, there has been a roughly 10 percent increase in the unemployment rate for female workers in metropolitan regions in 2011 and the percentage of primary workers in metropolitan regions is also trending downward. Between 1991 and 2011, there was a greater decline in the percentage of women than men in the urban workforce of primary workers. Compared to female major workers in metropolitan regions, women in rural areas have less employment opportunities. Following the reform, large-scale machine-based work began since traditional employment work found it impossible to continue. The unskilled laborers quit their positions in manufacturing and agriculture. This can be explained by the rise of low-wage, haphazard, and auxiliary labor. Because of the decline in the quality of jobs available in the labor market, the unemployment rate has also increased dramatically. The data in the research demonstrates that between 1991 and 2011, the share of male and female major workers decreased in both rural and urban areas across all age categories. Furthermore, there has been a notable increase in the percentage of elderly and kid workers. This rise could be explained by the need to take on part-time employment as a result of financial strain.

So it is clear from the results of the aforementioned study that marriage and women's migration in Haryana are causally associated. To have a deeper understanding, one only needs to compare the migration rates of men and women. In a patriarchal society, male migration ought to be higher when it is related to seeking employment or education; otherwise, it naturally gives rise to suspicions that the primary reason for migration is something else entirely, namely, bringing brides for marriage from other states, whether through legal or illicit means. According to census the total migration to Haryana in 1991 came from all of India, that is, from rural India to rural Haryana, and in the same way, the numbers were 686864, 339666, 116902, and 425890 for rural-urban, urban-rural, and urban-urban, respectively. This order was 1082069, 734477, 140701, and 608343 in 2001; in 2011, it was 1117584, 1105502, 152839, and 1079087. Now in Table 3, it is shown the amount of male and female moved to Haryana from Bihar, Chattishgarh, Himachal Pradesh(HP), Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh(MP), Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh(UP) and Uttrakhand. If we look closely, we can notice that Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh have drastically higher figures than the others. We must compare on a same scale in order to determine reality. For a closer look, let's examine Table 4.

Table 4.: Difference of Percentage between female and male migrants from neighboring states to Haryana during 1991 to 2011 classified by Urban-Rural dimension

Difference (Female - Male)		Haryana(%)					
		1991		2001		2011	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Bihar	Rural	-0.7	-4.1	-2.0	-5.9	-1.4	-3.7
	Urban	-0.4	-0.6	-0.4	-0.5	0.2	-0.3
Chattishgarh	Rural	N/A	N/A	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0

	Urban	N/A	N/A	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
HP	Rural	0.9	-0.1	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.1
	Urban	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.3
Jharkhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	-0.1	-0.3	0.0	-0.1
	Urban	N/A	N/A	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
MP	Rural	0.1	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.0	-0.1
	Urban	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Punjab	Rural	11.3	2.8	10.0	1.9	11.6	1.6
	Urban	9.4	5.3	6.5	4.8	9.8	4.1
Rajasthan	Rural	26.9	2.6	21.5	1.8	26.1	1.7
	Urban	8.8	2.4	4.5	2.1	7.8	2.0
UP	Rural	11.8	-4.6	7.3	-5.7	11.4	-2.7
	Urban	5.2	1.9	3.4	1.8	5.6	2.5
Uttrakhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	0.1	-0.3	0.3	-0.1
	Urban	N/A	N/A	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.4

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

Based on Table 3's percentage comparison to the overall migration rate, we can see that there was a larger rate of female migration from Bihar in 2011 compared to 2001. It is geared more toward men. Put otherwise, it might be claimed that a somewhat greater number of men than women have entered Haryana. Even though the difference is only 3.7 percent (Table 4), its significance is undeniable. Because this discloses the labor supply picture of Bihar with respect to the ability of performing physical work. So, it is inappropriate to judge this situation based solely on the number of women. However, the 8.2 percent migration of women is still apparent. There is very little male and female migration from Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, or Chhattisgarh. However, with a few outliers, female migration seems to have outpaced male migration up until 2011. These can be regarded as natural migrations.

However, we must always be taken aback when we focus on Punjab, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. There seems to have been a significant rural-urban movement from Punjab to Haryana between 1991 and 2011. Between 1991 and 2011, the total percentage of migration that occurred within and between rural and urban areas—that is, between rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural, and urban-urban—was 48.9, 20.6, 45.6, and 38.7 percent, respectively. For men, the corresponding percentages are 16.0, 14.3, 20.0, and 24.4 percent. When we take the totals (i.e., 11.3(1991) + 10.0(2001) + 11.6(2011) for rural-rural and so on), we can see its reflection in Table 4 as 32.9, 6.3, 25.6, and 14.2 percent during the period 1991-2011. This indicates that between 1991 and 2011, 32.9, 6.3, 25.6, and 14.2 percent more women than men moved from Punjab to Haryana. The only reason and explanation for the increased percentages in the rural-rural and urban-rural frames is marriage.

If we take Rajasthan, which borders Haryana and has a greater sex ratio(Table 2), we can observe that between 1991 and 2011, there was a 74.5 percent rise in female migration in rural-rural frame and 6.1, 21.1, and 6.4 percent increase in rural-urban, urban-rural, and urban-urban frame respectively than male. When it is seen that there has been a greater migration of men than women in a particular area in Uttar Pradesh—from rural to urban—the situation becomes more intriguing. The numbers are 30.5, -13.0, 14.2, and 6.1, respectively. The negative sign is the evidence of such scenario. That is to say, men moved continuously in quest of job from 1991 to 2011 since Uttar Pradesh's economy is doing better than Haryana's. However there are more female migrants than male migrants everywhere else in Haryana, which suggests that

Table 3.: Migrants from neighboring states to Haryana during 1991 to 2011 classified by Urban-Rural dimension

Migration Male		Haryana					
		1991		2001		2011	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Bihar	Rural	9440	24070	54130	80141	54573	132192
	Urban	1480	6920	2492	10940	2208	25403
Chattishgarh	Rural	N/A	N/A	15054	2849	2537	2163
	Urban	N/A	N/A	213	628	108	733
HP	Rural	2820	4592	4241	7180	2859	8008
	Urban	840	4750	1224	5888	1156	8079
Jharkhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	2712	3720	2473	4745
	Urban	N/A	N/A	310	1540	242	2909
MP	Rural	910	1740	3377	5244	5781	11927
	Urban	390	2840	703	3671	846	8164
Punjab	Rural	46740	23286	54062	33009	47280	32716
	Urban	9890	42164	7750	52486	9195	63437
Rajasthan	Rural	33984	19157	50612	33882	41360	45787
	Urban	3790	11711	3349	14827	5014	26557
UP	Rural	49712	91359	108213	186297	83000	266960
	Urban	8840	53217	8732	58722	8885	103919
Uttrakhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	4776	15870	2524	18306
	Urban	N/A	N/A	1296	7096	965	10929

Migration Female		Haryana					
		1991		2001		2011	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Bihar	Rural	4640	10313	32558	36451	38770	90921
	Urban	954	4310	1897	7674	2479	22250
Chattishgarh	Rural	N/A	N/A	13464	2284	2598	1924
	Urban	N/A	N/A	198	688	193	951
HP	Rural	9080	4292	11938	6888	14573	8982
	Urban	1420	5024	1752	7505	2386	10827
Jharkhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	1557	1826	2315	3654
	Urban	N/A	N/A	317	1493	399	3159
MP	Rural	1410	1530	3721	4265	5328	10503
	Urban	580	3610	846	4483	1170	9698
Punjab	Rural	124336	32942	161932	46795	176947	50606
	Urban	20833	64847	16898	81851	24117	107603
Rajasthan	Rural	218935	27990	283673	46914	332652	64942
	Urban	14121	21872	9731	27341	16890	47783
UP	Rural	130989	75832	187156	144192	210139	237541
	Urban	14931	61169	13494	69762	17419	130478
Uttrakhand	Rural	N/A	N/A	5835	13431	5770	17507
	Urban	N/A	N/A	1874	10148	1927	15502

Source: Office of the Registrar General, India

marriage is the cause of this. Even yet, this sum is smaller than that of Rajasthan.

However, the question of whether low sex ratios or excessive female migration indicate women are being trafficked still has to be answered. It's possible that marriage is the natural cause of this movement. This indicates that although there is some illicit women trafficking, the majority of the women there are found through marriage-migration. The issue at hand is how to separate them. In the following section, we will try to do that. Determine that there is an inevitably high number of marryable girls in the area before estimating the abnormal quantity.

3. Estimating the 'mail-in' brides

Ansley J. Coale (1991) [4] suggested an estimation approach for "missing girls" by comparing the ratio of male to females from census data with the ratio of the male mortality rate under five years of age to the female death rate at these ages in the states of India. However, things are a little different in this case. It is important to keep in mind that when a woman travels unlawfully, two things occur: first, she may become a victim of human trafficking, and second, she may migrate illegally. However, it is not unlawful for large-scale female migration to occur within a nation under the pretext of marriage, but there may be isolated instances of women being traded. Thus, care must be used when handling this complicated scenario.

We must go into the details of marriage data in order to comprehend this circumstance. Data from 1991 to 2011 are available for the Census of India. Assume that in 1991, we include single males and females between the ages of 0-9. That is, they will be between the ages of 10-19 in 2001, when the next census is taken, and between the ages of 20-29 in 2011, when it is taken again ten years later. In a similar vein, the age groupings 10–19 and 20–29 in 1991 changed to 20–29 and 30-39 in 2001, and 30-39 and 40–49 in the census conducted in 2011 respectively. Here, there will be a mix of married and never-married people as well as divorced and separated people. However, if there were no deaths and zero net migration, or if there were an equal amount of deaths and net migration (say Condition 1), we may anticipate that the number of male and female aged 0-9 in 1991 would be the same in 2001 and 2011. Nonetheless, if the death rate is lower than the net inflow of migrants (say Condition 2), the number of male and female will rise. On the other hand, if the mortality rate exceeds the net in-migration or if the net out-migration dominated over deaths (say Condition 3), the number will fall. If we use a flow chart we can say that,

$$\text{Existing}_{PAG}^{CY} \begin{cases} = \text{Never-married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Others}_{NAG}^{CY+10} & \text{when Condition 1 holds} \\ < \text{Never-married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Others}_{NAG}^{CY+10} & \text{when Condition 2 holds} \\ > \text{Never-married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Married}_{NAG}^{CY+10} + \text{Others}_{NAG}^{CY+10} & \text{when Condition 3 holds} \end{cases}$$

Where,

PAG = Previous Age Group i.e., for example 10-19 in 1991 census
NAG = Next Age Group i.e., for example 20-29 in 2001 census
CY = Census Year

Let us first consider the case of Haryana in Table 5. The disparity in the number of

males and females may be observed plainly here. If we start with the male sector and look at the age group of 0–9 years in 1991, we can see that there was a rise in the number of males in the 10–19 age group in 2001, indicating a negative trend. That is, there are far more in-migrants than there are deaths. However, shortly after that, in 2011, when they shifted to the 20–29 age range, it was observed that out-migration, a positive indicator, had increased. For men aged 10-19, this remained the case in 1991; however, for men aged 20-29 in 1991, things slightly changed. In 2001, those in their 30-39 made up the majority of those who in-migrated. which, once more, returns to the pre-crisis of 40–49 years in 2011 i.e., out-migraton dominance over death. In summary, men are opting to leave their homes at an early age due to the unfavourable economic conditions and lack of work chances in Haryana. There is one exception, though, and that is that at that age, fewer individuals were trying to leave Haryana; instead, people from other places, like Bihar, came. However, males left in search of better work when the matter of a means of subsistence became significant between the ages of 20 and 29. Once more, they returned for marriage after reaching marriageable age. After it was settled, they took a little break and resumed their work outside.

Table 5.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Haryana					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	2655614	2205662	2680791	2215913	2321685	2051143
10-19	2961684	2384384	2708090	2231745	2095772	1673575
20-29	2551139	2248306	1987007	1703442	1498054	1365035
30-39	1889561	1765893	1501999	1410800	1091771	978073
40-49	1446330	1301434	1070610	901523	734556	600776

Age Group	Haryana (Change)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			-386405	-180602		
20-29	156951	-16561	108765	-29867		
30-39	97446	-62451	-3945	-45765		
40-49	55669	109366				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

However, when women are taken into account, the image of in-migration becomes evident. The 'negative sign' is dispersed throughout the table for this reason. The age group of 20–29 in 1991 and 40–49 in 2011 represents an exception to this rule, and it is in this age group because of the reason that moving with a spouse or family after marriage becomes evident.

On the contrary, if the Bihar's, where the sex ratio is quiet balanced, situation is assessed, a different image from Haryana becomes apparent. In Bihar, from Table 6, almost every age group—male or female—depicts out-migration. A significant portion of men and women who, in 1991, at the age of 10–19, left Bihar for other provinces returned in 2011, at the age of 30–39, is one notable exception, though. This can be explained by two things: first, they come back to marry a girl from their hometowns; and second, since Bihar's economy has grown over the past 20 years, there are plenty of jobs available to help them return. However, the first theory seems to be correct. For if the economic situation had improved, the instances of those who left Bihar in 1991 between the ages of 20 and 29 would have also returned. But that's not happening at

all. It is clear that in 2011, the 40–49 age group underwent another out-migration. In Bihar, this is extremely prevalent.

Table 6.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Bihar					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	14373230	13428076	12328543	11481831	12660698	12031034
10-19	12614412	10778165	9998844	8255121	9821218	8075815
20-29	8039272	7697168	6074769	6156732	6546687	6652028
30-39	6818757	6694241	5289960	5337762	5622443	5517217
40-49	4966803	4469263	3992138	3622729	4315493	3759684

Age Group	Bihar (Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			2661854	3775913		
20-29	1959572	557953	3746449	1919083		
30-39	-743988	-537509	1256727	1314266		
40-49	323157	868499				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

As we know that, Bihar's out-migration is a well-known phenomena that dates back to the nineteenth century and appears to have increased dramatically in the last ten years. With time, migration's direction and flow have also changed, with the majority of migrants now heading for western and northwestern India. Half of the inter-censal migrants are from states like Gujarat, Delhi, Maharashtra, Punjab, and Haryana. Employment is the primary cause of this extreme outflow. Not only are people leaving their home countries in search of better career opportunities, but they are also doing so to gain higher incomes. In the same census year, according to (Kumar and Bhagat 2012) around 5.2 million Bihari residents were counted in other Indian states, making up roughly 6.3 percent of the state's total population. Furthermore, by utilizing the place of birth information, a marginally larger number of out-migrants (5.5 million) were identified. The states, as shown by the mentioned study, with the highest percentages of out-migrants counted are West Bengal (21.4 percent), Jharkhand (20.5percent), Delhi (13.8percent), Uttar Pradesh (11.8percent), Maharashtra (6.9percent), Punjab (4.5percent), Haryana (4.5percent), Gujarat (2.8percent), and Assam (2.4percent). In remote states like Delhi (20.8percent male, 15.5percent female), Maharashtra (12.6percent male, 6.1percent), Punjab (8.2percent male, 4.1percent female), Haryana (male 7.6percent, 5.8percent female), and Gujarat (male 5.7percent, female 2.8percent), the percentage of male outmigrants exceeds the percentage of female outmigrants. It is also necessary to incorporate the large-scale migration of married women to other states in this vast out-migration. Though probably on a very small scale, there is a chance that some instances of women trafficking have happened.

Upon examining the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, and Chattishgarh in Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10, it is evident that Bihar presents an analogous predicament. But Punjab in Table 7 indicates that 33230 females in the age group of 20–29 exist there in 2011; these may not be the same women who were being followed from 1991 at the age group of 0-9. These differences and similarities to Haryana are minimal. This suggests that some women in this marryable age range are migrating to Punjab from other states. This is because,

according to a paper [6], from the 1960s through the 1980s, the majority of weddings were between close relatives. But after 1990, there was a significant decrease in these weddings, which was replaced by a commensurate rise in inter-caste marriages as a result of economic and educational considerations. A transition from a joint to a nuclear family structure is seen throughout this time.

After examining the entire picture, it is determined that there is a huge migration of women from other states of North India, mostly to Haryana and little in Punjab, only for marriage. A portion of this influx is caused by trafficking or the purchase of girls from low-income parents for marriage. Along with a great number of disabled people, even in many wealthy homes, girls are bought up in this manner. Let's now go to the last goal, which is to determine how to measure this number.

First of all, it has to be acknowledged that without a targeted survey, it is almost impossible to measure this number. Because of societal stigma and the state's illegality of the practice, human trafficking is an issue that is inherently hidden. However, even at the highest echelons of the state, information is secreted due to the Khaap Panchayat system and societal conventions. But there is a method. In hindsight, an estimate has to be obtained implicitly if we take an age-adjusted mortality rate and incorporate it with a standard migration rate. Using Haryana's general marriageable women aged 10-19 and 20-29 in 1991 as an example (we did not consider 0-9 as there are no marriage as well as high death rate among infants and under five children along with the age groups outside the upper border of reproductive age i.e, 45 for India), we can observe that there were 75632 total arrivals in the age group 20-29 and 30-39 in 2001 (see Table 5). By "arrivals," I mean that, assuming deaths and out-migration play a major role, we can anticipate fewer females in the 20-29 and 30-39 age groups in 2001 (which is evident from the male category in Table 5) if we follow the total number of females in the age groups 10-19 and 20-29 in 1991. However, if the number of women in that age range in 2001 exceeded our expectations, we can anticipate that in-migration would have outweighed both mortality and out-migration. 'Arrivals' is thus used to recognize that circumstance. So this figure 75632 includes both naturally occurring women who came to Haryana and women who were trafficked, even after the death rate and out-migration is adjusted. If it is assumed that there was no woman trafficking in the area, it is possible to compute what the numbers should have been by using the standard migration rate and the rate of adjusting factor due to assignable and chance causes for data incompleteness. And then we may identify the remaining number as trafficked arrivals by comparing it with 75632. Our suspicion will seem baseless if there is no residue or if it is reduced.

However, the Projected Crude Death Rates for Haryana between 2001 and 2025 is 6.5 per 1,000 persons on average, according to the Central Bureau of Health Intelligence's National Health Profile 2010 and 2018. However, in our case for Haryana, we'll take the adjusted factor, which needs to be deducted, as 10 per 1000 people on average across all age groups. Meanwhile, as per census the total female population in Haryana in 1991 was 7636174 and the total female out-migration and in-migration were 973353 and 1041349 which imply that a total of 67996 number of females are net in-migrated. Using this as standard rate (i.e., $\left(\frac{\text{net migration}}{\text{total population}}\right)$) distributed uniformly for all ages we can project the expected number of females who can be arrived in Haryana during this period for the total population of age groups 20-29 and 30-39 in 2001 as 27731. Now in the instance of Haryana, the projected number of females is 58117 if the

Table 7.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Uttar Pradesh					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	23910805	21527580	23885961	21726937	20393831	18742654
10-19	25986727	22923534	20962478	17392797	16591541	13330398
20-29	16871852	15286625	12955972	12148448	11074461	10535399
30-39	12832632	12678272	10415944	10206889	8692336	8164278
40-49	9777310	8903869	7766312	6920135	6686804	5863936

Age Group	Punjab					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	2451638	2049910	2645463	2140643	2496840	2196483
10-19	3015710	2385375	2916372	2471331	2365628	2067234
20-29	2735936	2504561	2268238	2016535	1896246	1715317
30-39	2093395	2012215	1781885	1712680	1398385	1278203
40-49	1727343	1648897	1394107	1213360	1035925	899400

Age Group	Uttar Pradesh(Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			-568647	1349857		
20-29	4090626	2106172	3635569	1181950		
30-39	123340	-529824	658517	328510		
40-49	638634	1303020				

Age Group	Punjab(Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			-419532	-274848		
20-29	180436	-33230	97390	50699		
30-39	174843	4320	114361	2637		
40-49	54542	63783				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

Table 8.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Uttarakhand					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	1049167	934498	1041157	952289		
10-19	1191757	1077696	1052182	971207		
20-29	881977	898275	674507	693867		
30-39	676261	687539	527570	546917		
40-49	533513	522573	413544	397116		

Age Group	Madhya Pradesh					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	8183940	7553801	8000142	7483265	9236155	8862907
10-19	8419401	7591889	6180117	12123925	7249986	6300872
20-29	6542413	5972672	4774505	2147257	5616875	5627025
30-39	5144169	4932462	4023712	191030	4413596	3989027
40-49	4032686	3704749	2536044	62504	3047575	2795470

Age Group	UttarakhandDifference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19						
20-29	170205	72932				
30-39	-1754	6328				
40-49	-5943	24344				

Age Group	Madhya Pradesh(Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			3056038	-3261018		
20-29	-362296	6151253	2475481	4153615		
30-39	-369664	-2785205	1593163	5435995		
40-49	-8974	-3513719				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

Table 9.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Jharkhand					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	3989013	3797709	3656442	3517299		
10-19	3827514	3482150	3203541	2831062		
20-29	2773577	2706684	2098907	2082448		
30-39	2258541	2185519	1842630	1809825		
40-49	1729387	1593213	1400021	1249844		

Age Group	Rajasthan					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	8117447	7227461	8023562	7277728	6458228	5929557
10-19	8320570	7373965	6835022	5897133	5215865	4454377
20-29	6140542	5634449	4598832	4347757	3640941	3539482
30-39	4586359	4470888	3706128	3568883	2867472	2604852
40-49	3535428	3345331	2659776	2370150	1997593	1801683

Age Group	Jharkhand (Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19						
20-29	429964	124378				
30-39	-159634	-103071				
40-49	113243	216612				

Age Group	RajasthanDifference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			-376794	32424		
20-29	694480	262684	617033	106620		
30-39	12473	-123131	-65187	-29401		
40-49	170700	223552				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

Table 10.: Marriage Profile during 1991 to 2011 classified by Male-Female dimension

Age Group	Himachal Pradesh					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	596468	539693	619613	559738	615015	588177
10-19	674969	604716	685575	646088	610386	584731
20-29	613845	619181	552235	548301	429830	450659
30-39	529483	534840	415247	428490	320001	327443
40-49	419911	420777	318428	315123	237887	235459

Age Group	Chhattisgarh					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	2691049	2608774	2572644	2514673		
10-19	2780636	2703219	2341378	2195683		
20-29	2242616	2204181	1642585	1665853		
30-39	1789288	1805184	1485421	1481701		
40-49	1489376	1421551	1047828	994326		

Age Group	Himachal Pradesh(Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19			-70560	-57911		
20-29	71730	26907	58151	36430		
30-39	22752	13461	14583	22169		
40-49	-4664	7713				

Age Group	Chhattisgarh (Difference)					
	2011		2001		1991	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9						
10-19						
20-29	98762	-8498				
30-39	-146703	-139331				
40-49	-3955	60150				

Source: Calculation based on data provided by Office of the Registrar General, India

adjustment factor (30386 based on 10 per 1000 population when applied on the total female population of age group 10-19 and 20-29 in 1991) and the standard migration rate (27731 when applied on Haryana's total female population 3114242 of age groups 20-29 and 30-39 in 2001) are applied. However, the observed value is 75632 (or the total of 45765 and 29867). That implies that if Haryana had not experienced such a high demand for brides, 17515 females would not have appeared in the population in ten years. In other words, roughly 1752 women, who might not have chosen to come to Haryana, arrived each year between 1991-2001. This computation, though, might be viewed as an overestimate because we include some ages which are below of the border of lower reproductive age as well as the legal age of marriage in India. We took this action because census marriage data occasionally shows that a sizable number of marriages took place during certain ages. Nevertheless, having it is still preferable to having nothing. While we do not claim it is error-free, we do hope that in the future, targeted surveys will be able to eliminate these errors.

4. Discussion and Suggestion

In India, there has long been a dearth of registration for important events, particularly marriages. A marriage registration certificate is a legal document that grants women various rights, including the ability to own property and receive alimony and maintenance following a divorce. The act of registering marriage empowers women directly and indirectly by lowering instances of domestic abuse and unlawful husband desertion. According to a study by (Kumari, Ram and Shekhar 2022), 61 percent of women in the Jhunjhunu area of Rajasthan did not register their marriage, and the study also showed that lower levels of education were associated with higher rates of under-registration. In Haryana, too, we can presume the same thing because of the social similarity and the'mail-in' bride situation. For intance, the case of Kerala-Haryana marriages typically involved establishing contact with the potential bride's family; occasionally, a photograph of the groom was shared; and the groom and one or more family members arrived a day or two before the wedding, according to a study by (Srinivasan and Rajan 2018) to ascertain the situation of Kerala brides in Haryana. A handful of the cases they looked at had grooms who didn't match the picture, and several of the prospective brides had consented to get married without even seeing the picture. The majority of the time (41 out of68), the marriage is either registered in the temple registry or at the local Panchayat. The potential groom's family, character, and socioeconomic background are all unknown to the bride's family, therefore they rely on the intermediary (broker) to give them with information. However, lying to the bride's family about a groom's appearance is not the only thing that happens. Following their marriage, many families learned that the grooms weren't always wealthy; some were wage workers without land, had physical or mental impairments, had health problems, were violent or drinkers, or had other problems. Therefore, it is imperative that weddings that are encouraged by trade or human trafficking not be registered.

Since Haryana is a patrilinear, patrilocal state, 'mail-in' brides only live in Haryana with their husbands. Marriage as a reason to migrate could be a tactic for getting ahead. According to observations, the main motivation for this migration is economic. From rural, low-income homes, these ladies come. Instead of getting paid, a lot of them are married off. It seemed that not only Haryana ladies but also local women felt uneasy about associating with these 'mail-in' wives. The women who have changed

who they are to fit the Haryana men are the 'mail-in' brides. By entering Haryana culture through marriage, these brides are not elevating their social status. Therefore, a policy suggestion for the safety of these migrating women and their children as well as funding for enhancing their political, economic, and social lives in Haryana society are desperately needed, according to Mukherjee (2015). Enforce the Haryana Marriage Registration Act (2008) compulsory in order to protect women and their offspring from abandonment, human trafficking, resale, and other forms of cruelty. In addition, the Indian government ought to carry out a targeted investigation in order to determine this figure and provide a fix for the issue. India is being held back by this social disgrace against women. It is bad news for the nation's progress if all of these traditional and patriarchal behaviors cannot be outlawed in the emerging digital economy. I'm hoping the government will pay attention to that and that a research focused on gender will be conducted shortly.

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