

# An analysis of social adjustment amongst Kamboj of different socio-economic status in Sirsa Who has undergone *Watta-Satta* marriage with reference to its present scenario

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## Abstract

We live in a society driven by tradition, in which some traditions affect the whole country by being served in the color of universalization. But some traditions find its shade to localization only<sup>1</sup>. *watta-satta* matrimonial rule had taken all the country to its lap at ancient time, but it appears that now people are coming out of this tradition. For measuring reconciliation, continuity and change among people who are still associated with this tradition, data collected through interview schedule from 30 married couples of Kamboj community residing as a dominant caste in Malewala Village at Sirsa district of Haryana. In which low income was directly related to the marriages undergone *watta-satta* customs, but some high income group people married their children to provide them with high income class lifestyle, so that they can get a better life opportunity to sustain qualitative life.<sup>2</sup>

**Keywords-** *Watta-Satta*, Universalization, Localization, Dominant Caste, Kamboj

## Introduction

Marriage is considered as the divine union of two sexes of opposite nature to fulfill numerous aims of human life. According to Hindu mythology, its roots are embedded in *Dharma* which earmarked marriage as one of the *holy samskara*<sup>3</sup> to enter the second stage of life called grihastha ashram. The tradition of *watta-satta* marriage has been prevalent in Indian society since ancient times. Since ancient time man used to live in groups and gives preference to other groups for marriage their offspring's. There is logic behind the fact that establishing relationships with more groups could give the person less time for agriculture activities and increase their financial loss. *Watta-satta* matrimonial rule is an instrument to build a permanent relationship between two families, which is found due to social and cultural reasons in any society. Its functional mechanism tied two pairs of opposite sex from different families simultaneously and their born infants get

<sup>1</sup>Marriot, M.- universalization and Parochialisation

<sup>2</sup>Weber, M.- Class, Status and Power

<sup>3</sup>Kapadia, K M- Marriage and Family in India

recognition from society which contributes to the maintenance of society paradigm.<sup>4</sup> Since society is a transformative reality and conformity and anomie are the two aspect of society.<sup>5</sup> *Watta-Satta* a traditional form of marriage was built to strengthen relations between two associated families, but if there is a clash occurred due to social, economic, familial, educational and cultural reason in a family, the repercussion of this clash will affect the another associated families. The members of both families have to undergo the state of severe physical and mental stress.<sup>6</sup> Exchange marriages are an alternative of the goods exchange, in which two families exchange of women's from two tribes and two lineages to avoid marital expenses<sup>7</sup>.

*Watta-Satta* exchange marriages comprise direct exchange marriages are the most crucial aspect for life, which concerned with lower economic and horticulture based societies that help them to mount up quadrangular alliance as well as social solidarity without the obligation of bride price. These marriages help families through accumulate wealth as well as a bride for their household chores. Exchange marriages display the social and cultural capital with the manifestation (sign) of equality as exchange marriages determined the position between two families and paved the way for 'balanced reciprocity'.<sup>8</sup> *Watta-Satta* marriage tradition a girl is married off to her sister-in-law's brother often leads to a problematical, because when her brother malfeasance and physically abuses his wife, since a woman ends up becoming only an object of vengeance.<sup>9</sup>



source:tribune.com.pk

### Significance of Study:

*Watta-Satta* marriage custom is found everywhere in India due to social, cultural and economic reasons. Rural areas are the back bone of Indian society where norms and values are transfer in generation to generation by family. Marriage of their children is the basic and moral responsibility of the parents. Inter-Caste marriages are generally follows. Since Freedom of mate selection is not given in *watta-satta* custom of marriage, due to which many person threatens to leave their homes or run away from their homes. When they are married without knowing their wishes, husband and wife usually fails to make mutual understanding. Such situation

<sup>4</sup>Parsons, P. –Social System Theory

<sup>5</sup>Durkheim, E.- The Division Of Labour In Society

<sup>6</sup>Barnes, H. & Teeters, N.-New Horizons In Criminology

<sup>7</sup>Anderson, S. (2017). The Economics of Dowry and Brideprice. *Journal of Economic Perspective*. 21 (4), 151-174.

<sup>8</sup> Payton, J. (2015). Honor and Political Economy of Marriage, 158-174.

<https://orca.cf.ac.uk/72363/1/Joanne%20Payton%20Final%20Thesis%20for%20ORCA.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> Niaz, U. (2004). Women's Mental Health in Pakistan. *Official Journal of the Psychiatric Association*, 3(1), 60–62.

creates the atmosphere for both concerned families with quarrels, tension, separation and many times divorce is as result. Consequently the two associated families are devastated by drowning their self into the ocean of disputes.

Kamboj community came from Pakistan to India during the partition, a dominant caste residing in Malewala village at Sirsa district of Haryana. *Watta-satta* custom of marriage prevails for long time in village. In such situation, the research deliver an insight to understand the process of adjustment of the respondents undergone *watta-satta* marriage, present position of *watta-satta* marriage and continuity and change of exchange marriage with pace of development.

**Objective of the Study:** The present study is descriptive and analytical in nature which aims to explore three objectives as mentioned below-

1. To understand the process of adjustments of the respondents having undergone *watta-satta* marriages.
2. To know the present position of the Kamboj communities with reference to *Watta-Satta* marriages.
3. To gauge Continuity and change in *Watta-Satta* marriage pattern with the pace of development.

### Literature Review:

Shah Jamal Alam (2005) stated that *Watta-satta* is a unique form of cross marriages that applied between brother and sister from the two families married off at the same time, resulting in making of two relationships (marriage) simultaneously. No one resist this rule as it intensifies the tie among families both culturally and economically. *Watta-Satta* is a tribal practice of exchanging brides or trading of brides between two families as both families must have a daughter and a son and be willing to exchange them to a daughter and son of the other family. The study is descriptive and to collect data from 178 villages of Punjab and Sindh social survey method was applied and Majority of the marriages (92%) took place under *watta-satta* custom and most of the girls are married off in their young age( Talal Raza (2010). Steven Vertovec (2012) stated that *watta-satta* represents an exchange of opposite sex siblings, a practice known as giving and taking. It diminishes the dowry probability, reduce the outlay of marriage and provide security from marital collapse. It epitomize the dangers of the *Double-Rishta* for both male and female as it comprises the risk of straight reprisal being taken from your daughter and marriage of your son must be in intricacy as *watta-satta* represents the position where the balance shifts in the risk and benefits of close kin marriage where the conflicts are minimized. Alemayehu Erkihun Engida (2015) unveils the fact that Sister exchange Marriages are preferred by Gumuz tribe to get more wives and to birth more sons to consolidate the prestige and evade threats from outside but they don't allow the marriages in same clan. Girls are considered an asset to provide a bride for their brother's, uncle and father to consolidate a long standing contractual relationship. Women's have to handle most of the home and field activities which led them to force their husband to polygyny. *Watta-satta* is a marriage of Brother and sister from another pair of brother and sister simultaneously. The logic after *watta-satta* is to keep a double pressure on all the spouses to not to leave their spouses and to treat them

properly (Manish Udar 2015). Dawn (2016) reported that Watta Satta and exchange marriage are the responsible for child marriage initiates a sequence of ultimate difficulties for girls as due to early marriage is endorsed with poverty, lack of education and tradition and suffer at multiple stages of their lives as girls are not permitted to complete their education and have to endure health risk.

### Methodology:

The present study consists of the universe of sixty respondents from 30 household whoever married off under *Watta-Satta* custom. Snowball sampling has been resorted for the purpose of data collection. The researcher collected the very data from the respondents through interview schedule bifurcating into three parts as to understand the process of adjustment undergone *watta-satta* custom, present position of *watta-satta* marriage pattern and continuity and change with pace of development. An advance statistics technique like SPSS has been used to present the data in comparable form.

### Hypothesis:

Low income of the people led them to marry under *watta-satta* custom.

### Result and Discussion:

**Table No 1 Monthly income of the respondents \* In your opinion what may be the level of satisfaction between and among the spouses within Watta Satta marriages.**

Monthly income of the respondents	In your opinion what may be the level of satisfaction between and among the spouses within Watta Satta marriages.	Total
	Highly satisfied	
Below 10000	56	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	2	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	2	2(3.33%)
Total	60(100%)	60(100%)

Income is an important variable which determines a particular social position of a person to identify individuals within a social stratification system such as lower class, working class, middle class, upper class and other such classes. Apart from this it is a method of social ranking that involves money, power, culture, life style and identity (vitt-2007). As per the table reveals that all the respondents are highly satisfied whoever undergone *watta-satta* custom. Shockingly 90.33% of the total respondents married under *watta-satta* custom are highly satisfied and having their monthly income below 10000.

**Table No 2 Monthly income of the respondents \* In your opinion whether *Watta-Satta* is assurance of equal treatment with both of the parties to the marriage?**

Monthly income of the respondents	In your opinion whether <i>Watta-Satta</i> is assurance of equal treatment with both of the parties to the marriage?			Total
	Yes	No	50-50 as it is determined by situation of time and pre socialization	
Below 10000	23	2	31	56(93.33 %)
10000-15000	0	0	2	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	1	0	2(3.33%)
Total	24(40%)	3(5%)	33(55%)	60(100%)

**Table No 3 Monthly income of the respondents \* In your opinion whether *Watta-Satta* assurance of equal treatment of both the spouse in terms of their gender.**

Monthly income of the respondents	In your opinion whether <i>Watta-Satta</i> assurance of equal treatment of both the spouse in terms of their gender		Total
	Yes	It is determined by time, condition and pre socialization	
Below 10000	44	12	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	1	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Total	47(78.33%)	13(21.66%)	60(100%)

The above Table 2 reveals that majority 60% respondents are on the view that *watta-satta* is not assurance of equal treatment since the behavior of spouses determined by the sensitivity of situation as well as pre-socialization. Optimistically 40% respondents accept that *Watta Satta* is assurance of equal treatment with both of the parties to the marriage. As per the table no. 3 majority 78.33% accept that *watta-satta* is assurance of equal treatment of both the spouse in terms of their gender and the rest 21.66% practically disclose that this is the thing of future and determined by time, condition and pre socialization.

**Table No 4 Monthly income of the respondents \* As per your opinion, for whom *Watta-Satta* is a subject to be feeling honored about?**

Monthly income of the respondents	As per your opinion, for whom <i>Watta Satta</i> is a subject to be feeling honored about?		Total
	For Both Families	Only Parents	
Below 10000	48	8	56(93.33 %)
10000-15000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	1	2(3.33%)
Total	51(85%)	9(15%)	60(100%)

As per the above table no 4 majority 85% of total respondents reveal that marriages through *watta-satta*

custom are being done when both of two families contented with situation as well as relation.

**Table No 5 Monthly income of the respondents \* Do you think any disorder in one family leads to trouble in another family?**

Monthly income of the respondents	Do you think any disorder in one family leads to trouble in another family?			Total
	Yes,	Not in every cases	Depends on the nature of the family	
Below 10000	30	8	18	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	0	1	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Total	33(55%)	8(13.33%)	19(31.66%)	60(100%)

**Table No 6 Monthly income of the respondents \* If yes, then what source can be resorted to save family or maintain social control?**

Monthly income of the respondents	If yes, then what source can be resorted to save family or maintain social control?		Total
	Family members	All of the above	
Below 10000	54	2	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Total	58(96.66%)	2(3.33%)	60(100%)

The table 5 unveils the fact that majority 55% respondents ruminate that if any conflict occurred in one family may leads to trouble in associated family. As far as 31.66% respondents divulge that it depends upon the nature of family, how they execute the issues As per the above table majority 96.66% respondents concede that if any dispute surmount between associated families them family members maintain *Quid Pro Quo* and rest of 3.33% believe that along with family members, *caste-panchayat* and judiciary system resorted to appease the issue between families.

**Table No 7 Monthly income of the respondents \* Do you think Watta-Satta marriage practice is more durable than other marriages?**

Monthly income of the respondents	Do you think Watta-Satta marriage practice is more durable than other marriages?			Total
	Yes, as mutual reciprocity	NO	Previously more sustainable, but now less	
Below 10000	34	8	14	56(93.33%)



				(%)
10000-15000	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	0	1	2(3.33%)
Total	37(61.66%)	8(13.33%)	15(25%)	60(100%)

The table 7 unzip the point that majority 61.66% of total respondents admit that *watta-satta* marriage custom is more durable than other marriage patterns due to mutual reciprocity, along with this 25% thinks that *watta-satta* custom was more sustainable earlier but in present situation this exchange marriage is fading its charm to lure families.

**Table No 8 Monthly income of the respondents \* Are you willing to marry your children through Watta-Satta marriage practice?**

Monthly income of the respondents	Are you willing to marry your children through Watta-Satta marriage practice?				Total
	Yes, if bride will not available by open marriage/Pundaan	No, girl to exchange	Can't Say	Let's see what happen in future	
Below 10000	18	9	0	29	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	0	0	1	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	1	1	0	2(3.33%)
Total	19(31.66%)	10(16.66%)	1(1.66%)	30(50%)	60(100%)

As per the table a segregated outcome revealed whether for the question that will you marry your children under watta-satta marriage practice. 31.66% out of total respondents are on the view that at first they will try for Pundaan/ arrange marriage for their son, but if due to any reason (economic, social or physical incapability's) bride won't be available through Pundaan marriage then they will exchange their daughter to bring daughter-in-law. Interestingly 50% respondents left this decision in the lap of future.

**Table No9 Monthly income of the respondents \* whether you will give them choice of mate selection?**

Monthly income of the respondent	Whether you will give them choice of mate selection?				Total
	Yes, within watta-satta	Yes, within caste	No	Can't Say	
Below 10000	2	50	2	2	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	0	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Total	2(3.33%)	54(90%)	2(3.33%)	2(3.33%)	60(100%)

As has been depicted in the above table, majority 90% are among the respondents whoever will give the choice of mate selection to their children's within caste whether it may pure Pundaan or *watta-satta*. Only 2% of the total respondents opt for, they will let them to choose their mate within *watta-satta*, they will not allow them to choose their mate and it is determined by future respectively.

**Table No 10 Monthly income of the respondents \* Do you think that people take *watta-satta* into consideration while planning their children to marry?**

Monthly income of the respondents	Do you think that people take <i>watta-satta</i> into consideration while planning their children to marry?				Total
	Yes	No	Can't Say	time will determined	
Below 10000	45	3	2	6	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	0	0	1	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	2	0	0	0	2(3.33%)
Total	48(80%)	3(5%)	2(3.33%)	7(11.66%)	60(100%)

In the above table 80% respondents divulge that people take *watta-satta* into consideration while planning their children to marry, only 5% were not agree to the above statement. 11.66% of the respondents ponder that this decision is the property of future.

**Table No 11 Monthly income of the respondents \* If yes, then why?**

Monthly income of the respondent	If yes, then why				Total
	at first people go for Pundaan but if Pundaan doesn't possible then they try for <i>watta-satta</i>	if such families doesn't matched as they want, they have to opt for <i>Watta Satta</i>	Not applicable	if children are married off in <i>Watta-Satta</i> then the size of in laws relation will concise	
Below 10000	28	14	11	3	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	0	1	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	1	0	0	2(3.33%)
Total	30(50%)	15(25%)	12(20%)	3(5%)	60(100%)

As per the above table majority 75% respondents admit that first of all they search a bride in Pundaan (arrange marriage) for their son, if does not find suitable match than they will try for *watta-satta* marriages, 5% respondents thinks, *watta-satta* marriages concise the relation and individuals can pay attention to their work.

**Table No 12 Monthly income of the respondents \* If no, then what they go for?**

Monthly income of the respondents	If no, then what they go for?		Total
	Priority is given to open marriage/Pundaan	not applicable	
Below 10000	56	0	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	1	2(3.33%)
Total	59(98.33%)	1(1.66%)	60(100%)



**Table No 13 Monthly income of the respondents \* Do you think that *watta-satta* marriage practice is diminishing?**

Monthly income of the respondents	Do you think that <i>watta-satta</i> marriage practice is diminishing?			Total
	Yes	No	Somewhat	
Below 10000	33	21	2	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	1	0	1	2(3.33%)
Total	36(60%)	21(35%)	3(5%)	60(100%)

As per the table no 12 surprisingly majority 98.33% respondents ruminate that they will give priority to open arrange marriage/Pundaan while planning their children marriages. The table no 13 unveils that majority 60% of total respondents admit that *watta-satta* marriage practice is being shrink due to its catastrophic propensity. Optimistically 35% respondents are agree on the point that *watta-satta* custom of marriage will survive due to scarcity of girl child, lack of economic means as well as availability of suitable match. As per the above table no 14 respondents explained the root causes, why *watta-satta* exchange marriage will not abolished. Majority 43.33% respondents marry their children under *watta-satta* custom to provide them same economic status, 23.33% and 21.66% out of total respondents assume the very custom will survive due to the lack of economic resources and reduction/bifurcation of total family land holding respectively. Only 11.66% accept the reason of prevalence of very custom is reducing sex ratio.

**Table No 14 Monthly income of the respondents \* If no, then why?**

Monthly income of the respondent	. If no, then why?				Total
	Sex ratio is decreasing	In order to provide same economic status to their daughters	Due to bifurcation of land	lack of economic resources	
Below 10000	7	23	13	13	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	0	2	0	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	1	0	1	2(3.33%)
Total	7(11.66%)	26(43.33%)	13(21.66%)	14(23.33%)	60(100%)

**Table No 15 Monthly income of the respondents \* As per you is there any difference between open marriage and arrange marriages with in *watta-satta* with reference to social exchange.**

Monthly income of the respondents	As per you is there any difference between open marriage and arrange marriages with in <i>watta-satta</i> with reference to social exchange		Total
	Yes	No	
Below 10000	15	41	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	2	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	2	2(3.33%)

Total	17(28.33%)	43(71.66%)	60(100%)
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The table depicts that majority 71.66% disclose that there is not any difference between open marriage/*Pundaan* and arranges marriages with in *watta-satta* with reference to social exchange. All customs and rituals are same in both of the marriages.

**Table No 16 Monthly income of the respondents \* what do you think about *Watta-Satta* marriage practice with reference to the pace of development?**

Monthly income of the respondents	What do you think about <i>Watta-Satta</i> marriage practice with reference to the pace of development?		Total
	Optimistic as will be continue	Will lose its charm gradually	
Below 10000	31	25	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	0	2	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	2	2(3.33%)
Total	31(51.66%)	29(48.33%)	60(100%)

The above table unveils upon the fact that majority 51.66% out of total respondents are hopeful on their view as *watta-satta* custom of exchange marriage will survive with reference to the pace of development, but the other side of the coin is 48.33% believe that *watta-satta* tradition of exchange marriage will lose its charm gradually.

**Table No 17 Monthly income of the respondents \* As per your opinion what is the perception of other communities' people regarding *watta-satta* marriage?**

Monthly income of the respondent	As per your opinion what is the perception of other communities' people regarding <i>watta-satta</i> marriage?			Total
	Good, as it makes easy for social adjustment	Bad for social esteem to be exchange	<i>Watta-Satta</i> is preferred where it prevail and bad for those don't follow this marriage	
Below 10000	11	22	23	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	0	2	0	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	2	0	2(3.33%)
Total	11(18.33%)	26(43.33%)	23(38.33%)	60(100%)

As per the above table the perception of other communities regarding *watta-satta* marriages divulge that majority of respondents confess that other communities thinks that it is bad for social esteem to exchange daughters for daughter-in-law but 18.33% out of total respondents are on view that other communities also thinks that exchange marriages are good as it makes social adjustment easy for both of the associated families. Optimistically near about 40% believes that *watta-satta* marriage custom is good for those where it triumph

and bad for those whoever don't follow the vary custom.

**Table No 18 Monthly income of the respondents \* As per your opinion which change are taking place in Watta sate marriage pattern?**

Monthly income of the respondents	As per your opinion which changes are taking place in Watta sate marriage pattern?				Total
	Emergence of the choice of mate selection	Rebellion Propensity of Youngsters	Due to compatibility problem	All of the above	
Below 10000	8	16	4	28	56(93.33%)
10000-15000	1	0	0	1	2(3.33%)
Above 20000	0	0	0	2	2(3.33%)
Total	9(15%)	16(26.66%)	4(6.66%)	31(51.66%)	60(100%)

As per the above table it is revealed that majority 51.6% of total respondents reflects that emergence in choice of mate selection, rebellion propensity of youngsters, compatibility problems, less likely by educated person are such transformation being occurred in *watta-satta* custom of marriage.

### Summary and conclusion:

So in the lights of the facts stated above it may be concluded that all the respondents who have been married under *watta-satta* custom, are highly satisfied but income of the majority is below 10000. It is also obvious by the research that *watta-satta* is not assurance of equal treatment since the behavior of spouses determined by the sensitivity of situation as well as pre-socialization. Only 40% out of total respondents are optimistic to accept that Watta Satta is assurance of equal treatment with both of the parties to the marriage and 78.33% accept that *watta-satta* is assurance of equal treatment of both the spouse in terms of their gender. Majority have on the view that if any conflict occurred in one family may leads to trouble in associated family and if there is any conflict occurred then it is dealt by the members of the associated family. In the context of *watta-satta* marriage, women have not been able to get any freedom till date and their main role in the exchange marriage is only to provide bride for their brothers in exchange. Most of the people consider that *watta-satta* marriage paradigm is bad and it is preferred by those who have prevalent *watta-satta* marriages in their society. It is believed by the people that the *watta-satta* marriage pattern is durable but it is no longer as durable as it was before and fading its charm to lure families in order to provide a better in-laws-family for their children, due to the reduction in size of agricultural land and lack of economic resources, people have to opt *watta-satta* marriages to marry their children. The rate of this marriage pattern is declining as compare to earlier, but 35% still agree that *watta-satta* custom of marriage will survive due to scarcity of girl child, lack of economic means as well as unavailability of suitable match. Surprisingly majority 98.33% people, who had married themselves under *watta-satta*, are found to be willing to marry their children under Pundaan/arrange marriage. Majority 75% of respondents explicitly told that first of all they will try to marry their son under

Pundaan (arrange marriage), if does not get suitable match then they will try for *watta-satta* marriages, only few thinks that it reduces the perimeter of the relation and the person gets more time for work. Majority 80% people take *watta-satta* into consideration while planning their children to marry, only 11.66% of the respondents ponder that this decision is the property of future. It is came out that majority 90% of the people would give their children the freedom to choose their life partner, but within their own caste. Majority 51.66% out of total respondents are optimistically on the view that *watta-satta* custom of exchange marriage will survive with reference to the pace of development, but the other side of the coin is 48.33% believe that *watta-satta* tradition of exchange marriage will lose its charm gradually. It is also revealed that majority 51.60% of total respondents reflects that emergence in choice of mate selection, rebellion propensity of youngsters, compatibility problems, less likely by educated person are such transforming factors being occurred in *watta-satta* custom of marriage.

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