MIGRATION AND FAMILY DYNAMICS IN GOA

By

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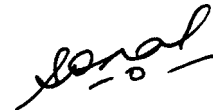**November 2015**

Certified that the corrections suggested are incorporated.

External Examiner

DECLARATION

I, Sonal Thakker, hereby declare that this thesis entitled 'Migration and Family Dynamics in Goa' is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. R.B. Patil, Principal and Head, Department of Sociology, M.E.S. College, Zuarinagar, Goa. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this institute or any other institute or university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

Sonal Thakker

Place: Goa University

Date: 25. 11. 2015

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'Migration and Family Dynamics in Goa' is the record of the original work done by Sonal Thakker under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this institute or any other institute or university.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Migration is an all-pervasive phenomenon in Goa. Particularly, 'male-only' migration and stay-behind families is a common feature in many Goan families. To give a background to my research interest in this aspect of overseas migration, I would like to go back to my school days. I would notice that many of my friends were 'different' from the rest of us. The reason was that their fathers were 'away' most of the time. The stationery they used was different from the local products that most of us used. Their mothers came to collect their report cards, attend the annual gathering or any activity where parental participation was invited. This was my first experience of being exposed to this 'alternate' family form, existing amidst us.

Later, as I was on the threshold of completing my graduation, many of my friends dropped out of studies to settle into matrimony with a guy who is working 'out', which implied working abroad. The apparent hurry was the sudden matchmaking that had materialized, as they had found a suitable boy who was working overseas, either sailing or on shore. This was followed by a quick wedding. Such alliances were most coveted in my social milieu. Ironically, these were the same friends, who had 'absentee fathers' in their childhood and were the ones who settled in long-distance marriages with 'absentee husbands'.

Much later I understood the nuances of such marriages. My young friends were groomed to be amenable to such type of a family set-up, the tutelage of which began very early in their life. Personally, I too experienced conjugal separation during the first year of my marriage as my husband was employed abroad and I faced a lot of practical difficulties in his absence. We had purchased a new apartment during that time, and I struggled with setting up the place initially, but later managed on my own. However, I

did receive assistance via modern communication technology. I was instructed in a step-by-step manner about - which garage I should get the vehicles serviced, where I would find good masons, carpenters, electricians and so on. This piqued my curiosity further. The questions floating in my mind were related to the impact of migration on wives and families left behind. I discussed the topic with my guide and eventually developed it into a sociological topic for undertaking a research study.

Many people have helped and supported me during the course of my doctoral work. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude, first and foremost to my guide Dr. R. B. Patil, Principal of M.E.S College of Arts & Commerce, Zuarinagar, Goa, whose unflinching faith in me made me take up this research study. A beacon of light in the true sense, my guide helped me with his timely interventions which was tremendously beneficial for me to stay on track.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Migration is as old as the history of human beings on this planet. It is a process which is considered integral and natural in the historical evolution of people and places. It has occurred even before the earliest recorded history (Larsen, 1998: 257). To trace the origin of migration would be futile, as man's earliest wanderings are lost in antiquity. Rawat (2012: 61) opines that human habitation all over the world is the result of migration, either sparsely or in flock, during different phases of human history.

The history of the world includes remarkable stories of migration in every era. In olden times, people migrated from one place to another when resources available to them at one place were exhausted. Therefore, they had no choice but to move to greener pastures, more out of compulsion than free will. According to Taft and Robbins (1955: 18), in hunting stage, men left regions where game was scarce for where it was plentiful – as a herdsman, he moved to find grass for his cattle, as an agriculturist he became more rooted to his land and developed affection for the soil he tilled. Thus, "when man developed agriculture, he naturally became settled on the land, and since then agrarian societies have formed a barrier to migratory movements" (Cox, 1976: 144) and this could be attributed to sentimental attachment to the land. However, severe hardships and unusually attractive opportunities in faraway lands, have at times led men to move in large numbers and for long distances (Taft & Robbins, 1955: 18). Later, industrial revolution heralded a large scale movement of people who anticipated the possibility of better job opportunities in nearby towns, cities as well as to other countries. This constitutes the 'flock syndrome' of migration

as workers were drawn like magnet to make the most out of the opportunities offered by the new technological innovations.

The Human Development Report [HDR], (2009: 1) observes that many people in developing countries move away from their hometown, as they consider it the best and often the only option to improve their life-chances. Human mobility is perceived as a vital strategy for those seeking to raise their income, health and education prospects. Thus, we can say that the level of satisfaction of any individual is directly proportionate to his attachment to the land. He is willing to leave his comfort zone if he does not find fulfillment of his needs and envisages a better life elsewhere. Kelegama (2011: 2) has noted that three-quarters of international migrants prefer to move to a country with a higher level of human development than their own. Kivisto and Faist (2010: 2) opine that people migrate "either because things were sufficiently desperate where they currently reside" or they see migration "as a way of enhancing the ability to be upwardly mobile".

The main precipitating factor is the economic aspect which acts as a bait to entice young men who are willing to go away for long period, as well as their own capacity to adapt to new places and situations, chiefly to act out their role as bread winners of their family. This type of human movement can be visualized as emancipatory for many men and women who dare to break-free from the rigid hierarchies of their communities.

Rawat (2012: 35) asserts that "migration is the shifting of the home, and not the house, generally migration is male dominated, particularly in developing countries". However, the cost of moving must be subtracted from the gross benefits, as the social and cultural effects of migration are not always positive (HDR, 2009: 49). The Kerala Migration Study [KMS] addresses the issue of family separation as a result of male migration and asserts that migration causes parting of young men from

their parents, wives and children. "Women migrating without their husbands is infrequent, but men migrating without their wives is more common" (Zachariah, Mathew, & Rajan, 2003: 309). This is so because generally migration to another country, strictly for employment purposes, is typically a male venture, as traditionally men are expected to be the principal wage earners to meet the economic requirements of their family. Thus, we find that mostly it is the men who take on the onus of family responsibility on their shoulders and migrate in search of employment. However, there are some exceptions and very often women 'move out' while the men are left behind as in the case of Philippines, Sri Lanka and Kerala.

Migration research begins with the premise that every departure of a person is a response to some impelling need that for some reasons has rendered the community undesirable and unpleasant (Kaul, 2005: 1). Thus, the seed is sown in the mind and thereafter there is preparation for groundwork. Young men are alert, gathering all bits of information that would enable them to migrate overseas. The path to migration is lined with a variety of impediments, preliminaries, as well as obstacles which would be downright de-motivating – were not the objective of amassing earnings, be so lucrative. The economic remittances are a big lure for men to go off to faraway lands and seek their fortune. It almost assumes a proportion of 'divine calling' and an escape from a difficult and not so productive life at home community. Since much migration is adopted as a survival strategy, the major impact is experienced and assessed in terms of financial remittances, and all the other aspects are relegated to the periphery.

Although the financial rewards are tremendous, separation from family is a painful decision and has high emotional costs for not only the migrant, but also those left behind. However, since "so many parents and spouses are willing to incur these costs, gives an idea of just how large they perceive the rewards to be" (HDR, 2009:

72). The price one has to pay is what Solimano (2010: 16) calls "the human cost that part of the domestic population must bear when emigrants must leave behind their family, friends and the country of birth". This phenomenon has led to public debates on the costs and benefits of migration. One overlooked issue is that not all migration is permanent. Many migrants return to their country of origin after the completion of their contract, spend some time home, and again look out for temporary contractual jobs overseas.

Likewise, Goans have been migrating before, during and after the colonial times. Migration from Goa has been a long standing phenomenon for which documented data, at least from the 16th century onwards exists (De Souza, 1979: 54). According to Gracias (2000: 107) "Goans have been migrating for centuries, either to settle permanently in other lands or for a certain period of time". Due to the advent of the Portuguese in 1510, Goa became the earliest territory in the non - western world to be exposed to western culture and values which encouraged the acquisition of new knowledge and the spirit of discovery (Goa Migration Study [GMS], 2008: 19). A sizeable number of Goans have settled elsewhere and constitute the Goan diaspora, that is, persons of Goan origin. Also, a large number of Goans are working overseas, on shore, as well as at sea, and who send remittances to their families left behind here. De Loyola (2000) points out that "in Goa's case, it is the individual who migrates and not the family. He adds that Goan emigrants have continued to keep the bond with the native land and retained their blood and economic ties".

A significant portion of Goa's prosperity is attributed to international migration. This trend of going overseas is the outcome of a migration culture, which has seeped into the Goan milieu. According to Mascarenhas (2011: 257), "in a migration oriented society, from the cradle, individuals have personal and vicarious experience of marriage through separation", and therefore marriage alliances with

overseas migrants are considered more favourably as it is considered prestigious and also there is an assurance of a stable future in monetary terms.

In Goa one is struck by the frenzy of activity taking place when the migrant has 'come down'. Whether it is house repairing, renovation, redecoration or construction, everything moves along a fast pace due to his presence here. Also the market place and shopping centres are bustling with activity during festival time. It is easy to spot the migrant along with his family doing shopping, going on holidays and pilgrimages, buying gifts, merry-making with friends and indulging in a drink at the local *taverna*, etc. With the help of remittances, debts are paid, gold is purchased, and money is invested in land and property. Also, substantial savings in banks, as well as large donations are made to the Church and village Chapel on feast days. The life-styles and life-chances of the family have visibly gone up. However, this glittering scenario comes to a grinding halt with his departure, akin to one when everything is frozen due to effectuation of code of conduct during election time. Families are known to postpone gratification until the next visit of the primary bread earner who is perhaps the sole decision maker.

It has been observed that after amassing sufficient income, they prefer to return to their families from whom they had been separated sporadically throughout their working careers in foreign lands. These families with absentee spouses are fundamentally different not only in the structural composition, but also the role and responsibilities of women with regard to socialization of children, looking after home and making a transition to literally 'wear the pants at home', that is asserting control, making appropriate decisions and dealing with matters previously considered a male prerogative.

The various issues affecting the families of the overseas migrant are addressed in this study. An outcome of male migration from Goa is that there have been periods

of 'being together' with their spouse, which are almost of a fleeting and transitory nature, and durations of 'being apart', which stretch for a longer time. Thus, there is a continuous cycle of time spent apart, and moments of togetherness in each other's company. Newman (2001: 89) pointed out that "in some parts of Goa a great percentage of the men work on ships, roaming the world to return only once in a year or eighteen months", and in many Goan homes, "there are no husbands, brothers or sons, only small children, women and old men" (*ibid.*: 18).

Mascarenhas (1990: 246) makes an observation that "international migration from Goa was not a temporary phenomenon for achieving only short term goals". Many remained 'out' for their whole working life due to better salaries and they came back to retire only in old age. Thus, according to Larsen (1998: 272) "husband and wife are often separated owing to the migrants' absence from his family for nearly seventy five per cent of the year." The long history of Goan emigrants has been captured in the very emotional Goan Konkani song *Adeus Korchea Vellar*. It conveys the sentiments of people who have known the price of separation (GMS, 2008: 20).

A family is understood as comprising of husband, wife and their children. Often it could also include the elderly parents, aunts, uncles and other dependents. However, international migration for employment purpose has led to a geographical distance resulting in enforced physical separation of wives from husbands, parents from sons and children from their fathers. This has profound repercussions on the family. This study brings into focus the problems faced by the families left behind by migrants and will be useful to understand the sociological implications of male migration on families left behind. It will also throw light on the coping strategies and mechanisms adopted by women and the adjustments made by the families. In most of the families where child care is shared by biological parents, the absence of the father may shift the responsibility primarily to the mother who may face difficulties in

disciplining children. This composition of families entails sacrifices made by the women who are single handedly raising children and are responsible for their socialization. While migration brings in more money, it also places an unequal burden on the spouse who has to cope with life alone. Women are managing various roles – not only the traditional roles, but also the additional roles that are thrust on them given the changing equation in the scenario.

Concerns, issues and problems of migrants at their destination are widely debated as well as a viable solution for their grievances and difficulties are vigorously pursued. Since most migrants move for economic reasons, emphasis is given mainly to economic explanations. However, scant attention is paid to the concerns of the families who are steadfastly holding forte during the absence of the overseas migrants. This study attempts to understand the experience of migration from the vantage point of families left behind, with a special focus on women, which has not been examined in-depth. In order to understand migration and family dynamics, we have discussed various concepts related to it.

1.2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

1.2.1. Family

Family is the basic social institution from which other institutions have developed. Traditionally sociologists have defined family in accordance with the prevailing situation. G. P. Murdock (1949) conducted about 250 research studies on family. He says, "Family is different in structure, but similar in its functions, in various societies". Murdock defines family as "a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction and procreation of children". Some other sociologists and anthropologists have defined family as follows: Burgess and Locke (1953) say that "family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household and having a common culture".

Eliot and Merril (1934) look at family as "the biological social unit composed of husband, wife and children". MacIver (1962) opines that family "is a group defined by sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children" (Rao, 2012: 140). Macionis (2006: 461) points to the universality of family as a social institution that unites people in co-operative groups to oversee the bearing and raising of children.

These above definitions are perceived as traditional as a result of changes impacting the institution of family. Thus, modern day thinkers challenge this as it does not accurately reflect the contemporary family life. In the recent past we find great variations in the nature of family life. A new notion of family is put forth by Schaeffer and Lamm (1999: 378) who look at family "as a set of people related by blood, marriage (or some agreed upon relationship), or adoption, who share the primary responsibility for reproduction and caring for members of society". This definition reflects a paradigm shift in how we conceptualize the family.

1.2.2. Structure of the Family

Family institutions are found in every society catalogued by historians and ethnographers. The terms "Families of Orientation and Families of Procreation" were suggested by W. Lloyd Warner in the early 1950s, and are now popularly used. The "family of orientation" refers to the family into which a person is born, into which they are given their basic orientation of life. It is composed of parents and siblings, in which early socialization normally takes place. A nuclear family that a person starts by marrying is called a "family of procreation" and refers to the family that a person forms by having or adopting children" (Johnson, 1960: 155; Kendall, 2010: 357-358; Macionis, 2006: 462). Although both are similar in structure; the difference between them lies in the fact that a particular person has a position of son or daughter in one and position of husband or wife in the other (Johnson, 1960: 155).

The existence of a family structure is one of the relatively small numbers of true cross-cultural universals (Roe, 1971: 261). As social systems, families vary in their structural characteristics which, in turn, produce great variations in family life. However, there are certain general principles concerning its composition, descent patterns, residence patterns and authority patterns (Schaeffer & Lamm, 1999: 379).

The nuclear family also called as the conjugal family, meaning "based on marriage" and consists of parents and their natural or adopted dependent children, living together in the same household in the absence of other relatives. In contrast, the extended family refers to the network of relatives that radiates from a particular nuclear family. It is also called the consanguine family which consists of parents, their children and various relatives living in the same household. It is founded upon the blood relationship of a large number of kinspersons and an extended clan of blood relatives, together with their mates and children (Horton & Hunt, 1980: 217; Johnson, 1999: 118-119; Roe, 1971: 262). Thus, sociologists distinguish between extended and nuclear families based on the number of generations that live within a household. A traditional definition specifies that a nuclear family is made up of a "couple" and their dependent children; however, this definition became outdated when a significant shift occurred in the family structure (Kendall, 2010: 358).

A patriarchal family structure in which authority is held by the eldest male (usually the father) is widely prevalent pattern of power in most of the families. In a matriarchal family structure the eldest female (usually the mother) holds authority. Across cultures, men are the primary and often sole decision makers with regard to domestic, economic and social concerns facing the family.

In the last two decades there is a trend towards more egalitarian relationships which has been possible in a number of countries, as women have sought changes in their legal status and increased educational and employment opportunities

(O'Connell, 1994 cited in Kendall, 2010: 361). Thus, in an egalitarian family structure both partners equally share power and authority.

1.2.3. Role of the Family

Although the shape of family institution varies enormously from one society or historical period to another, the basic family functions appear to be quite constant and nearly universal (Johnson, 1995: 118). The family is an institutional structure which develops through a society's efforts to get certain tasks done. All societies depend primarily upon the family for the socialization of the children into adults who can function successfully in that society (Horton & Hunt, 1980: 221–223). As a kinship group, families provide for the rearing of children and for the satisfaction of essential human needs.

Davis (1995: 405-407) has highlighted several characteristics of the family that give it a strategic importance in socialization. The family is the most persistent factor in the child's life and the initial steps of socialization, therefore, begin with the home. Being a primary group, it gives a sense of mutual identification as "we" which is not only the product of socialization, but also a catalytic agent for it. The family is connected with the satisfaction of all the needs of the child, from the most material needs such as food and drink to the most spiritual such as security and affection.

Another important role of the family is transmission of culture through ideologies, folkways and mores, customs and traditions, beliefs and values, from one generation to the next. As an agent of socialization, the family indoctrinates the child with the morals and ideals of the society. The family is also a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of cultural goals (Rao, 2012: 351).

1.2.4. Functionalist Perspective

Functionalist perspective theorists emphasize that families serve important functions in society because they are the primary locus for the procreation and socialization of

children. Ideally people receive love, understanding, security, acceptance, intimacy and companionship within families (Kendall, 2010: 92). The well-being of individuals, in turn, ensures maintenance of stability in society. According to Parsons (1955), the husband/father fulfills the "instrumental role" – meeting the family's economic needs, making important decisions, and providing leadership, whereas the wife/mother fulfills the "expressive role" – running the household, caring for children and meeting the emotional needs of family members (cited in Kendall, 2010: 362).

This brings us to the gender-based division of labour, that is, the most basic division of labour appears to be founded on sex and gender. There are 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs' in the simplest hunting and gathering bands and the most complex industrial societies (Haralambos & Heald, 1980).

From a sociological point of view we are mainly concerned with the social functions. Family organization is a kind of structure that has evolved to fulfill these functions. The forces that are necessary to support this structure are a stable union between a man and a woman; and the importance of family as a chief agent of socialization.

The family is the child's first primary group where his personality development begins. One of the main ways in which the family socializes the child is providing models for the child to copy. The boy learns to be a man, a husband and a father mainly through having lived in a family headed by a man. There is no satisfactory substitute for a mother and father, although they need not be the biological parents (Horton & Hunt, 1980: 221-223).

Johnson (1960: 112) highlights the social patterning of socialization. The ways of training children are part of the culture of every society and the task is performed by occupants of definite roles. The family in particular, is organized in such a way as to make socialization possible.

1.2.5. Single Parent Households

In the last few decades there has been a high prevalence of single or one - parent households. This is mostly due to divorce and births outside marriage. The term 'Single Mother' is attributed to a woman, who is divorced, separated from her spouse, never married or due to a widowed status. So, we note that the connotation is usually a woman, who is single and coping on her own. In some studies 'lesbian mothers' and 'gay fathers' are counted as single parents; however, they often share parenting responsibilities with a same-sex partner.

A rapidly expanding type of family system, especially headed by women in societies with high emigrating rates, is the single parent family. This is sociologically most significant, as it lacks adult role models of one gender, and sometimes both genders (Johnson, 1999: 119). In the case of male migration, women, children and also the elderly are left behind. Kendall (2010: 356) opines that "today's families include those 'single women' whose husbands are migratory". Thus, socialization is to be considered as imbalanced in the absence of a parent. Managing for long spells of time imposes hardships on the women. So, the question is how do migrant families not only survive, but also thrive?

Although numerous definitions have been advanced, there are difficulties in applying these definitions to the present study. We need a more encompassing, as well as a comprehensive definition that reflects the missing component of what constitutes a family. In academic literature one does not find an appropriate term to designate this peculiar form of family. Existing definitions are inadequate, and this is perplexing, given the sizeable number of women who are left behind by their migrating spouse.

1.2.6. Migration

Although migration has occurred since time immemorial, we have accurate knowledge of only those movements of people which have taken place since the 16th century. The word 'migration' appeared in the English dictionary only in the 17th century and derives from the Latin *migrare*, which means to change one's residence. People who migrate are called 'migrants' and described as 'immigrants' or 'settlers' in the destination area, while they are referred to as 'emigrants' by those in their place of origin. Kant (1930 cited in Kaul, 2005: 18) developed a classification and noted broad distinctions between 'intra-continental' and 'inter-continental' and between 'international' and 'internal' migration. However, the distinction between internal migration and international migration was accentuated only after the establishment of political boundaries.

Lee (1966: 49) defines migration as a "permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (2008) defines migration "as the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance". The New Webster's Dictionary (1967) describes migration "as the act of moving from one country, region or place to settle in another" or "from one area to another in search of work". The United Nations (1984) defines migration "as a change of residence from one civil division to another, with an intention to stay relatively permanently" (Kaul, 2005: 15; Rawat, 2012: 20).

Historically, the sociological studies of migration patterns have focused on 'push factors' and 'pull factors' (Lee, 1966) as two broad reasons of migration. The circumstances that cause people to leave one area are push factors and are involuntarily in nature. Push factors at the international level, such as political or religious oppression, civil wars, famines, plagues and natural disasters may encourage people to leave one area and relocate elsewhere.

The pull factors are attributes of the destination country that attract the potential migrants who move toward new regions or countries; where they hope to find job opportunities not available to them in their original location. In the modern times, by and large, people migrate voluntarily. At the international level, pull factors such as a democratic government, peace and safety, religious freedom, employment opportunities, social security or a moderate climate may draw voluntary immigrants into a nation (Kendall, 2010: 507).

In primitive societies men were permanently nomadic, because of the need to search for food and resources essential for basic living. In contemporary times most significant migratory movements have a connection with work and economic opportunities. Cox (1976: 142-143) points out that "young men may be obliged to travel, in order to find suitable employment", and in many countries, single men are migrating overseas, strictly for job purposes.

According to Manning (2005: 7-8), individuals migrate so that their personal situation will improve. Further, individuals can hope to bring benefit to their family and the migrants may be going to retrieve needed resources. In recent times this means sending cash home; in earlier times it meant going to hunt or to fetch scarce resources. Thus, in the modern times, the economic factors induce people to migrate.

Examining these definitions, causes, typologies and perspectives on migration put forth by various scholars, we realize the inadequacy in terms of the scope of definitions. The earlier perspective looked at migration as a generally permanent movement of people, from one place to another, usually with the intention of not returning to their homeland. Thus, we note that usually the 'permanent' nature of migration was stressed. It did not take into account that a number of men leave their families and home community; and their migrations generally occupy only a brief portion of their lives. This aspect had not been covered adequately.

However, in the recent past, some scholars have taken into consideration the importance of non-permanent forms of migration. The development in the migration patterns of male migration and left behind families generated a demand of micro-level studies for understanding their socio-economic and psychological implications.

1.3. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

A close examination of various concepts associated with family and migration reveals the paucity of term (s) which will aptly fit this study. Hence, for this purpose it is important to explain the sense in which we have used the terms family and migration.

The Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology (1986) refers to Matrifocal Family as 'Mother - Centred' family, which are defined by the absence or weak role of the father and the emphasis on the female role in the domestic group. Sometimes matrifocality is used to refer to the physical absence of the father/husband, though it should be noted that the absent male may retain strong economic and authority ties with his family (Seymour-Smith, 1986: 184). Hence, the term 'Matrifocal Family' seems suitable to designate such type of families who 'stay behind' due to the migration of men. This kind of family is common, where women have the resources to rear their children by themselves, or where men are more mobile than women (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Family). We can consider remittances as the modern day resources.

Various definitions of migration seem to suggest a change of residence and also focus mostly on the permanent nature of migration. So, for the purpose of this study, we shall refer to Goan men's migration for employment purposes, which is of temporary nature, as 'Overseas Migration'. Specifically the term "Overseas Migrant" shall be used to refer to a man who has gone overseas, and is working on shore. The term "Overseas Sojourner" is referred to those who are sailing and who will generally

return to their country in due course of time. In this study "Overseas Migrants" and "Overseas Sojourners" mean the married male members of the families in Goa, who are currently living and working abroad.

Further, since the overseas migrant is in touch with his family by communicating and visiting, and moreover, sends them remittances, we shall refer to them as 'stay-behind women' and 'stay-behind families' respectively, which are more suitable to designate such women and families. 'Stay-back' has a different meaning, that is, having voluntarily stayed back, and 'left-behind' implies a negative connotation, such as having been 'left' to fend for themselves.

1.4. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Many academicians, economists, social scientists and policy makers have studied the issue of migration from various perspectives. However, material relevant to the research had to be sieved from the vast body of literature. So, a selective review of literature is done pertaining to overseas migration of men and the impact on wives and families left behind.

Movement of people from one place to another in pursuit of gainful employment is an old phenomenon. Migration strictly for work purposes has now become an established pattern to enhance their economic opportunities and thereby improve their standard of life. In the words of Davis (1951) "migration is the result of an idea – an idea of what lies somewhere else" (cited in Amrith, 2011: 7). Thus, many men are willing to move out of their comfort zones, albeit under duress, with hope and a prayer in their heart to test their luck in alien lands, far away from their families and accustomed surroundings to big cities; and many a times to foreign lands, in search of gainful employment.

The departure of a migrant is visualized as an excellent strategy because of economic gains of the household, but it has implications on families left behind, who

are deeply affected by this social set up where there are no adult males and women are the temporary representative heads of the households. The 'voices of women left behind' seem to be muffled in this entire process. Just as the women are 'left behind' in the area of origin, so also they appear to be 'sidelined' in all popular discourse on migration. Whereas the economic aspects are highlighted, there seems to be an inequitable distribution of attention paid to social aspects of migration, which are almost relegated to the periphery.

However, some studies related to male international migration, with a main focus on economic benefits of the remittances on the family members, have also thrown light on the social impact. An early reflection on the subject was a study by Gonzalez, N. S. (1961) titled *Family organization in five types of migratory wage labour*, which deliberated on the subject of migration and left-behind family. Since then, some studies have followed which focus on why men migrate, reasons for families being left behind, effects of remittances and so on. Many significant issues emerge while studying this aspect of 'male only' migration. In the foregoing account a thematic description of studies on stay-behind wives and families is examined.

1.4.1. Decision to Migrate

Making a choice to migrate involves a lot of discussion and planning in the family. Decision to migrate is taken in the context of their surroundings and the pros and cons of overseas migration are weighed carefully. According to Gottschang and Lary (cited in Amrith, 2011: 53) young men from Shandong and Hebei went to Manchuria between 1890 and 1940 to fulfill the expectations and obligations of the family. Family survival was of paramount importance and uppermost in the decision to migrate. Thus, "one son was chosen by the family for his aptitude and initiative, or because he was less essential to the homestead". Hence migration was "governed by

the needs of the family". This led to a process of chain migration, as one of the returned migrants' brothers would replace him.

Osella and Osella (2003) report, "in Kerala most work available locally is temporary labour and associated with untouchability". For young men there is a choice between 'the devil and the deep sea', that is engaging in demeaning occupations or to remain unemployed. Moreover, with no stable source of income, marriage opportunities are not only limited, but the chances of making a good match are remote. So, a large number of men have gone to the Gulf. They are usually supported by a network of kin, friends and neighbours. As Amrith (2011: 178) has pointed out, "migrants rarely act as lone individuals". Family welfare is the crucial motivator for migration and the emotional component of "familial affections and obligations orient migrants' actions and expectations".

According to Tobgay (2011: 201), "in Bhutan, migration arose as an initiative of the overseas worker himself or at the suggestion of a relative residing abroad". In most of the cases "migration entailed a collective decision making process for the purposes of household survival and also upward mobility". Once they are settled in a job, overseas workers propel remittances on a regular basis and/or sporadically in case of emergencies or special occasions to make sure that their family's basic necessities are fulfilled.

Thakillapati (2010) gives an interesting categorization of parents' perception of migration from rural Andhra Pradesh. She notes "some parents adopt pro-migration practices and associate it with increased family prestige", and perceive it as the only possible way their children can have a good life. Others are ambivalent and although they acknowledge that migration may be a necessity for mobility, they consider the financial and social cost of migration to be a deterrent factor. Finally, "some parents develop counter narratives about the ills of migration and the comforts of home", and

prefer to keep their children at home. To strengthen her point, she uses the Telugu aphorism, *Rather than drink milk and run; one can drink water and rest.* Further, she notes that anti-emigration narratives are present among advantaged as well as disadvantaged groups and concludes that not all are in favour of migration.

1.4.2. Exodus of Young Men

There must be some precipitating factor that motivates young men to leave their family and venture off to seek a livelihood. Potential migrants are viewed as brave and ambitious, willing to sacrifice as well as take risks mainly in expectation of stable earnings. After the decision has been taken to migrate, there is preparation for actual departure.

Carvalho (2010: 3) describes young Goan men's angst, the empty hollow sense and the feeling that nothing good can come from vegetating in the villages. This idea provides an impetus to explore beyond one's horizons. Further Carvalho notes, "Ambitious youth with blood coursing through their veins seek adventure, have big dreams and thus seek fortunes in faraway lands". They strongly nurture the belief that life is unproductive in the dung-floored houses and visualize a better life beyond the narrow confines of their villages.

Thakillapati (2010) highlights lack of educational and "lifestyle" infrastructure and limited opportunities which literally push ambitious individuals from rural areas to national and international urban centers. Thus, migrants from rural areas who want a good life are compelled to leave their home villages.

Roy's book (2011) *Distress migration and left-behind women* explores the linkage between poverty, migration and development in the state of Bihar where poverty driven 'male only' migration is a pre-dominant feature. Migration is adopted as a family survival strategy in which rural youth join the migration stream and move

to cities. Migrants retain their bond with the village and send part of their earnings to the family who purchase land or pay off a debt with the remittances.

A study conducted in Pakistan by the Human Development Foundation (2004), found that the majority of migrant workers are working class men, who leave their wives and children behind. These men are willing to sacrifice years without their families because they see it as their only chance to escape poverty in a society with limited upward mobility. The overseas earnings are generally used for consumer goods rather than investing in industry. The wage earner typically returns home after working abroad for five to ten years.

Among the tribal's in South Rajasthan, a very common feature is the large scale migration of men to prosperous locations away from their villages. Men go to the cities and factories to secure a livelihood. They spend a substantial time in these destinations and return home at regular intervals often bringing savings, experience and exposure to urban cultures. The fall out of this phenomenon is that many families have to cope with long term and frequent absence of male members (Aajeevika Research Report, 2006).

1.4.3. Culture of Migration

Few studies have examined the culture of migration that exists in some societies, which stress on the cultural beliefs and social patterns that influence people to move. This brings us to the oft overlooked influence of culture which affects the decision to migrate. Around the globe people leave their homes for a better life, to satisfy needs, and to care for their families (Cohen & Sirkeci, 2011). In the foregoing account a brief description of migration as 'a way of life' is depicted through some examples.

Many scholars have observed that migration of men without their families was perceived as an aberration and resorted to in extreme cases. In 1934 a farmer in

Shantou, China, asked "Why should any man take upon himself all the risks of sailing abroad to seek a livelihood?" (cited in Amrith 2011: 1). Since migration is so widely prevalent, an uppermost question is - why men are willing to go overseas for employment, despite so many perils which they have to go through? Adam Smith remarked that "of all the luggage, man is the most difficult to transport", indicating that usually men do not like change from their accustomed setting. In a famous passage in his *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes wrote of "the scarcity of some things relative to the number of people who would like to have them, although men are unequal in natural endowments and learning, they are equal in hope" (Johnson, 1960: 51). Over the globe millions of people, whether skilled or unskilled have travelled to find remunerative work. This has led to significant economic benefits to the migrants and their families who have stayed home.

Taft and Robbins (1955: 3) remarked "men on the move are usually of more immediate import than quiescent men. Often opprobrious labels like "tramp" and "globe-trotter" had been applied to such men". A similar observation was made by Cox (1976: 144), "at times in European history; men on the move were regarded as vagrants, as such socially undesirable and liable to prosecution". However, such a perception is no longer true. The scarcity factor at home towns and villages, hope of improving their economic situation and the possibility of getting lucrative employment is very attractive, and hence, there is migration of people in search of jobs.

A man is expected to be a 'provider' and during the course of his adolescent years, there is enormous socio-cultural reinforcement to assert his role. To fulfill this expectation, young lads, who are at a vulnerable and impressionable age, seek inspiration from their surroundings. Any successful person or a group is looked upto as a 'role model', and Mascarenhas (1990: 246) notes, "others could be inspired by

their success because they effectively served as reference group". Young boys, who have aspirations for a better life and a steady remuneration, look up to return migrants and wish to emulate and thereby replicate the success story. Almost all villages have a number of heroes, who regale the village community with their tales of bravado, grit and determination in a foreign land; many a times exhibiting only the positive outcome and concealing the hardships and struggles of the initial days.

Gulati (1993: 14) observes "this eagerness to 'jump' has resulted in almost all able bodied young men from families with a member in West Asia to have their passports ready, so that they can leave at a moment's notice". The HDR (2009) mentions that "for many young people all over the world, spending time abroad is considered a normal part of life experience and migration marks a transition to adulthood". The report cites examples of field studies in Jordan, Pakistan, Thailand, Nigeria and Vietnam and observes that migration was "a means of enhancing a family's social status in the local community". This has led to emergence of a 'culture of migration', and "international migration is associated with personal, social and material success, while staying at home smacks of failure".

In order to prove their 'manhood' and 'maturity', many boys perhaps had to 'walk the path' chalked by their predecessors and bring in the coveted economic resources. Bakewell's (2009) study in West Africa, and some groups in Mali, Mauritania and Senegal (Ba *et al.* 2008 cited in HDR, 2009: 81) reveal that "migration is a rite of passage and it is through the knowledge and experience acquired from travel that young adolescent males attain maturity and become men". Osella (2004) notes "migration is tied to the life-cycle strategy" and marks the "transition between adolescence and adulthood". Watkins (2003) study found that migration to the Gulf by young Pakistani men from the Pakhtun tribal region, enables

them to "accumulate capital and become 'householders' back in their country". Also, "their narratives of suffering appear to be part of the process of reaching maturity".

Jonsson (2007 cited in HDR, 2009: 81) observes "mobility distinguishes males and females" in the Sonike village of Kounda in Mali. Men who are not independent are viewed as "immature youngsters"; often women refer to them with a derogatory term, *tenes* which means 'being stuck like glue'. The quest of proving their masculinity provides an impetus to young boys who have grown up in a cultural milieu which favours migration. Thakkilapati (2012) reports that in comparison to migrants in Rural Andhra Pradesh, "individuals who remain in rural areas are thought to lack ambition, be failed attempted migrants or disheartened returnees". Those who migrated could provide financial support to their families and "help develop their rural home towns".

For young men the relative wage differentials between the host and home countries have attracted people to go abroad. Taft and Robbins (1955: 18) opine that migration often takes on the aspects of a 'popular craze' or a local custom and recall that "some towns of Poland and Italy were at one time depopulated of their young blood". Further, "whole nations come to rely upon the funds sent home by emigrants" and this had led to men being literally "exchanged for goods".

Osella and Osella (2003) have presented an interesting linkage of migration of men from the state of Kerala in India; with money and masculinity. Migration to the Gulf does not mean only overcoming unemployment, but it is also an elevation of the *payyanmar* (immature youths) from *payyanhood* (young immature status) to that of a householder. This has proved their merit for marriage, fatherhood and showing ability as a 'provider'. But, to acquire such a status, the first prerequisite is the "accumulation and display of cash". By doing so, they preserve their reputation in the eyes of the village folk.

Mascarenhas (2011: 257) reports that among the migrant Catholic Goans "families have grown accustomed to the absence of fathers and perceived them as heroes, harbingers of gifts, entertainment and distant authority figures". She further adds, women admire their migrant husbands "as fulfilling their role as bread winners of the family". Thus, there is no resentment, as it is perceived as a natural course of life. As the social network grows, the culture can acquire its own self - perpetuating momentum (HDR, 2009). Philipott's study (1968 cited in Mascarenhas, 2011: 11-12) in Montserrat, developed the concept of a "migration oriented society". Various researchers have identified a trend of migration in various cultures. It is assumed to be the next sensible thing to do after late adolescence and is a sort of a cultural expectation. A man is expected to fulfill his obligatory duties and be an able provider. Thus, we can conclude that some cultures actually encourage migration.

However, in some cultures migration is discouraged, as revealed in a study by Adhikari (2011: 171). He draws attention to the cultural practice and beliefs in Nepal which were not in favour of migration. The basic philosophy espoused by the monarchy and ruling elites was based on 'nationalism', broadly defined as *bir* or brave people. The feudal elites and monarchy developed a dictum that the Nepalese were brave people and they lived in pride, despite being poor in economy. The ruling class feeling was that if Nepalese work in menial jobs in foreign countries, it would bring shame to their country (*ibid.:* 181-182). Thus, the Nepali culture prohibited and actively discouraged migration.

1.4.4. Reasons for Leaving Families Behind

It is a human desire to be with one's family. However, 'male only' migration is due to a number of compelling reasons. In a traditional social structure it is expected that all the family members will be looked after and cared for. The main concern is that children's education should not be disrupted, the aged and ailing have assistance; and

the household runs smoothly. So, leaving his wife and family, the man migrates to earn money. In a way both are fulfilling their normative roles, one of a bread earner and the other of a home-maker. This arrangement is seen a practical strategy that suits the interests of all. Thus, we can say that the decision to migrate or to stay back home is related to individuals' roles and responsibilities which are not only obligatory, but also mandatory.

A research paper titled 'Why Men Migrate and Wives are Left Behind - Issues and Challenges from Rural Varanasi in India' by Ganguly and Unisa (2013a), reveals that cultural norms about the role and mobility of women have played a significant role in determining the pattern of single male migration prevalent in India. Also, "the existences of extended family networks are important in migrant's decision to leave and to return". Further, their findings show that keeping women at home is a rational "household strategy" as they have to take care of the household, children, farm and more importantly care for the elders at home. Moreover, an in-built element of the joint family network prevents automatic sanction for the wife to join her migrant husband.

Some countries do not allow permanent migration and also the nature of job is temporary. Further, salaries may not be sufficient for the migrant when he compares the cost of living along with his family. So, he prefers to send home remittances to his family; who make the optimum utilization of the same and also savings are possible thereby.

Mascarenhas (1990: 113) remarks that men prefer not to take their family to Gulf or on Ships that they are sailing, because the temporary uprooting of the family is expensive, inconvenient and it also disrupts children's education.

Thus, in traditional societies, it is the normative structure which inhibits women from following and joining their spouses as it is not feasible socially and

culturally. As Findley and Williams (1991), point out "those who remain behind, do so, because they have no positive economic role in the destination".

Further, in South Asian countries the trend of going overseas is generally of low and semi-skilled migrant workers, so it is not practical to take families along. By and large migration is for poverty alleviation; and it must be noted that status enhancement occurs at a much later stage.

Raihan and Uddin (2011: 142-144) reveal that in Bangladesh low-skilled and semi-skilled people hold the largest share of the total labour migration. Since these migrants have less education, there is almost no ability to communicate in English. Also, they are not certified trainers of any skill. So, they are mostly employed in the lower paying jobs in hotels, construction, farming, low-skilled manufacturing, driving, cleaning and maintenance etc. It is only the professional category of engineers, doctors, accountants, pharmacists, agriculturists and teachers, who constitute 1.6 per cent of the labour migrants and have high earnings; and in most countries, they are permitted to live with their families.

Jayawardhana and Jayaweera (2011: 247-248) have noted that in Afghanistan, the younger family members have higher probability to migrate and do not usually take their families along. However, they have the obligation to look after their dependents back home. Initial cost of migration is funded with the help of other family members by using their personal savings or sale of assets like land and livestock. The family receives financial remittances as a return for supporting the move when the migrant is established. Thereby, the migrants of Afghanistan perceive this as "releasing the financial bond".

1.4.5. Remittances and its Use

When workers go overseas they earn in foreign currencies and transfer their income back to their homeland, giving way to the term 'remittances' (Kelegama, 2011: 1).

Remittances are the most tangible or visible aspect of labour migration for all the countries and India receives the largest volume of remittances within South Asia and also globally (*ibid.:* 288). The importance of economic gains in the form of remittances by the migrant is well known; as it enables the family to lead more comfortable and secure lives. Thus, in many developing countries, migration improves the mover's prospects and those of his family as well.

Tobgay (2011: 204) points out that in Bhutan, remittances reduce inequalities resulting from income disparities; and increase human capital as they provide households with the resources to cover nutritional, educational and healthcare needs. Amrith (2011: 181) notes that relationships are not only strengthened between migrants and their families due to remittances, "but are also associated with emotions such as debt and gratitude; expectation and obligation; pride, shame and aspiration".

In common parlance we understand remittances as earnings and material resources transferred by international migrants to recipients in their country of origin. The migrant maintains strong links with the household by sending money to his family back home. Zachariah and Rajan (2015: 63) have classified household remittances, by making a distinction between cash remittances and ad-hoc remittances. The latter is money received for education, medical expenses, dowry payment and debt repayment. The various 'goods' that a household or a person receives, are termed 'gift remittances'. Money received for either construction or purchase of a house or land is called 'remittances for land and house'. Further 'remittances in kind' include clothing, ornaments and jewelry and electric and electronic gadgets.

A very appropriate example of how remittances are used by the Chinese farmer's family is summed up by Murphy (2003: 103 cited in Amrith, 2011: 184), by remarking that during the first year of migration, the family eats to their hearts

content, followed by wearing new clothes and building a new house. Finally, a bride is taken. Thus, their life goals are fulfilled.

It has been observed by Larsen (1998: 273) and Gracias (2007: 111) that remittances in Goa have had a marked effect in the creation of a sizeable middle class population who have constructed new houses and are able to provide higher education for their children. Further, they use modern technologies, fashionable clothing and also have surplus savings. Thus, migration has solved the problems of unemployment and poverty to some extent. Another study by Sawant (2013) shows that since women in Goa receive remittances, it has enabled families to be financially secure and raised women's status. Children are provided better education. Also, remittances have enabled them to possess property.

The GMS (2008) findings reveal that a considerable portion of Goa's prosperity is credited to international migration. Remittances sent from abroad have helped not only their families, but also their community. Mascarenhas (2011) asserts that "international migration led to a change in the landscape of villages, as migrants built large brick houses in Goa, and this led to altering the demographic profile of villages". Irudaya (2011: 19) remarks that "the consequences of migration on Kerala society are the enormous NRI deposits in banks and the palatial migrant houses built all over Kerala".

Zaqqa (2006) conducted a study in Jordon on the impact of human capital on the economy of sending countries of the migrant. The findings revealed that remittances were mainly spent for daily consumption needs; and with surplus cash land was purchased to construct residential dwellings. Khan *et al.* (2009) have analyzed the use of remittances by families in Pakistan. Their study indicates that people invest on purchasing immovable property like plots, invest in business and up-

grade their houses. Some also purchased gold, invested in agricultural land and bank deposits.

Adhikari (2011: 171) reports that in Nepal men migrate to augment food security at the household level. Each act of migration, therefore, facilitates and stimulates subsequent migration. The major use of remittance is for food, education and clothing – primarily to build the human capital. In few cases, remittances have also been used in buying land and houses.

The above examples show that other than immediate consumption, money is also used to repay loans. Further, it is spent on providing better quality education for children, health purposes etc. It is important to note that savings are possible only at a later stage, which is in turn depend on the category of migrants and also the destination countries. As Siddiqui (2011: 70-71) has rightly observed, in Pakistan, the poverty reducing impact is higher when unskilled or low-skilled labour migrates to the neighbouring developing countries. It is only when high-skilled labour professionals migrate to the developed countries that there is a probability of growth enhancing impact. She sums up by pointing out that "impact is dependent on how remittances are used, whether to finance consumption needs or facilitate productive investment".

Thus, we can conclude from the above studies that remittances have provided adequate livelihood to the migrants; and the families are cushioned against the misery of abject poverty. While for some it has led to an enhancement of status and upward mobility.

1.4.6. Remittances and its Recipient

Money is an important component of our lives and there is a huge emotional connection with the provider of the same. For the recipient it indicates bonding and loyalty; and for the sender, a fulfillment of responsibility and duty. Thereby, there is

respect and awe for the men who are 'remittances senders' – they are elevated on a social pedestal and their importance increases greatly. In turn, for the 'remittance receivers', it is a great confidence booster and is intricately related to self-esteem issues. A crucial question is who the recipient of remittances is, and who decides the allocation and distribution of resources?

Traditional household structures with joint family systems have rigid hierarchies and orthodox way of functioning, especially in matters of management of money and the role of women. Hence, there is little possibility for a woman to be entrusted with money. Also, it would be a violation of norms, (which may invoke the displeasure of the patriarch father), if a man sent remittances directly in his wife's name. A case study of 'Social and Economic Costs of Migration on Family Members Left Behind' (Kofman & Meetoo, 2008) shows that in a rural Bangladeshi household, the wife who is left behind, moves in with her in-laws. The head of the family is authorized to handle the financial aspects in the migrant's absence. Thus, the status quo is maintained and the authority pattern and power structures remain unchallenged. By denying control over remittances, the financial independence is curbed; and consequently there is no scope for decision making power. However, in urban areas women experience an increased standard of living as remittances are sent in their name.

Ahlin and Dahlberg (2010: 22-23) conducted a study in the African region of Kayes, Mali. They report that husbands rarely send money directly to their wives, especially in rural areas. Mostly the households receive the money and it is either they or the migrant, who determines the needs of the family. This is so because in Mali, traditional family set up is common. However, in the city, traditional family values are not strong and some families live in a more nuclear type of family. Hence, some women received remittances directly from their husbands. Thus, a woman has the

privilege to spend money at her discretion, provided her husband is not an authoritarian.

A research paper by Ijaz S. Gilani (1988) on 'Effects of Emigration and Return on the Sending Countries: The Case of Pakistan' analyses the costs and benefits of emigration of low-skilled workers of rural origin. About 70 per cent of Overseas Pakistanis' are married, but their wives and children are not with them. Typically, the extended family environment is a dominant structure. Therefore, his parents and brothers play the role of guardians to his wife and children. Since they are the recipients and administrators of money sent home, most household decisions concerning purchases and children's education is taken by them. Also, they oversee financial investments and other important matters. This study shows that migration and the resulting economic change have only marginally affected the role and status of the women. There is a tight control and accountability over remittances which are used for daily consumption and invested only in productive activities. Thus, there is no scope for empowerment as women largely play a passive role.

An opposite effect of remittances was reported by Zachariah, Kannan and Rajan (2002). The KMS findings revealed that about 80 per cent of Gulf emigrants sent remittances in their wives' names. As a result, the status and the authority of the "Gulf wives" in their households have risen considerably. However, Rajan's study (2003b: 20) indicates that although wives are recipients of remittances, they do not have full freedom to spend money the way they like. Mostly their husbands give directions on financial matters. Also, in absence of spouses, women have to keep their in-laws in good humor and give no scope for complaints.

So, we note that even if remittances are directly sent to wives, they do not have complete autonomy over its utilization. The terms, by which resources are distributed, is according to the discretion of authoritative senior members. Women

have very little say in how the resources are to be allocated and administered. Thus, the 'remote control' is in the hands of men so to say.

1.4.7. Life-Style and Living Standards

Another significant area which has acutely felt the impact of remittances is the life-style and improved living standards of an overseas migrant's household. Almost four decades ago, Gomes (1987) book *Village Goa* portrayed the social dynamics of life in rural Goa. A section touches upon the economic changes brought about by emigration to the Arabian Gulf countries. Newly acquired incomes have led to enhancement of the economic and social status of the *Sudras* in Chandor village located in Goa. He points out that there is a change in dress and tastes of the emigrants and their families. The recently acquired habits are consumption of foreign liquors and beers, which they associate with a prestigious status. Emigrants send lot of money to the village households and this enabled people to enjoy a much better standard of living (Gomes, 1987: 360; 1996: 366).

In recent years the GMS (2008) findings show that conspicuous consumerism is a hallmark of most international migrants. Also, emigrants have raised the standard of living of their households in Goa and Gracias (2007: 111) too noted the ostentatious life style among Goan emigrant households.

According to another study 'Gender Dimensions of International Migration from Bangladesh and India: Socio Economic Impact on Families Left Behind', Kumari and Shamim (2010) assert that the positive impact of remittances are economic solvency. This has brought about an increase in status and dignity of family members, improved educational status for both boys and girls. Also, family members are provided better medical treatment, clothing and food.

Zachariah *et al.* (2003) study points out that increase in income of Kerala households, has led to several changes in their life-styles and consumption patterns.

Changes are discernible in ownership of land, housing and household amenities, nutritional and health status of the members of the households, social status, and the quality of education of their children.

Anisur Rahman's study *Indian labour migration to the Gulf* (2001) investigated the impact of migration on emigrants' families from Bihar. The study found that remittances had a profound effect in terms of gaining a higher economic status, something that had never happened ever before, in any generation of their family.

While remittances have bridged the chasm between the different economic sections of the society, there is also an undercurrent of resentment brewing among different groups, who feel threatened and insecure amidst the rapidly changing equation in their society. The unexpected and swift upliftment of some of the economically backward classes due to migration is not viewed favourably as it challenges the rigid stratification system. Rajan (2011: 59-60) points out to the emergence of social and political problems arising from the class of the 'New Rich' (*puthan panakkar*). Gulf NRIs have transcended family background, caste or creed and most of the transformation are visible among the minority communities. This is perceived as a challenge to the traditional hierarchy and antagonized the 'Old Rich'.

Likewise, this disorienting effect is seen in Afghanistan. Remittances have increased the disparities among people of various strata, as the more affluent rural migrant household receives a higher income in the form of remittances (Kelegama, 2011: 22).

Similarly Tobgay (2011: 208) has noted negative social implications of surplus cash at the disposal of the younger generation in Bhutan. They become used to receiving steady flows of remittances and this may discourage them to take an initiative to participate in the overall workforce.

1.4.8. Social Status

Gomes (1996: 360-363) remarks "employment abroad is considered to be a symbol of high prestige and connotes prosperity". Jobs overseas fetch a lot of money and have given a boost to the purchasing power of the concerned people. This has enabled them to build fashionable houses. Also, money is spent lavishly in their village, by showering donations to Clubs and the Church and Chapels. Likewise Mascarenhas (1990: 250-251) remarks that feasts, formerly celebrated on a modest scale by taking contributions from the members, are now celebrated on a grander scale. The emigrant would bear all the expenses and by doing so, the international migrant considerably elevated his status and that of his family as well.

Thakkilapati (2013) notes that since "migrants provide financial support to their families and also help develop their rural home towns; they garner prestige through these practices". The 'quest' for personal reputation is highlighted by Bayart (cited in Amrith, 2011: 179). His findings suggest that "migrants place a high premium on the community's perception and their self- image is enhanced by a display of gifts which are skillfully made public knowledge". Through such practices they acquire social worth and prestige. Also Mascarenhas (1990: 250) pointed to the remittances of goods which increased the amount and range of material artifacts in Goa. This picture is deliberately presented to evoke awe and respect in the eyes of their family and local community.

Further, Kivisto and Faist (2010: 154) quote Caglar (2006) who provides an illustration of hometown associations in Mexico and Turkey, Jamaican Returnee Associations and the Charitable Foundations in Egypt. They reiterate that through such associations, "migrants provide for construction of Church, safe drinking water, improve sewage systems and give donations for education and health facilities".

Moreover, at times of natural disasters, they help with sending relief material by channeling remittances for the larger good of their home community.

1.4.9. Household Structure

Generally it is assumed that remittances sent home will lead to a change in household structure and a gradual breakup of the joint family, which in turn will facilitate transfer of power and authority to women who may go to live independently. However, various studies have shown different impacts which depend on a range of factors, that exert a pressure to continue living together; or bifurcate from the large family.

Gilani's (1988) study in Pakistan indicates that migration and even the economic change that accompanies it only marginally affected the migrant and his family. The decision making role of the wife has not got a fillip. The extended family structure remains intact. Hence there is no possibility of women living independently as it would mean cessation of all rights and privileges.

While in some cases, the contrary is observed. As pointed out by Gulati (1983) and Gogate (1987) "prolonged absence of one's spouse reduces dependence on other members of the family". In instances where the children are older, most of the familial affairs are handled by women and their children. Overtime, as wives learn to manage things on their own, they become more self-dependent and decisive; and may opt to live apart from the extended family. As a result, the children have matured faster and learnt to take on responsibilities while assisting their mothers.

Living independently gives them more autonomy in many domestic matters and financial decisions (Thomas & Adhikari, 2012: 118). In due course of time, as remittances are more frequent and stable, women feel confident of setting up their autonomous dwelling. Receiving remittances in her name and the freedom to allocate money provides and impetus for nuclear living. Such women, who have unconditional

economic support and no one to dictate how they make use of it, generally make a smooth transition of setting up their own household. Larsen (1998: 276) notes in some instances in the rural areas of Goa, migration results in separation of families from extended ones who are left behind.

The importance of financial autonomy of women as a prerequisite to independence was highlighted by Brink (1991) whose study in Egypt shows that because of increased income, wives of migrants could move from extended to nuclear houses much sooner. This allowed them more control over money for daily expenditure. Also, they had liberty to channelize money in a manner they felt most suitable.

The close-knit kinship systems in South Asia are highlighted by various researchers. Arnold and Shah (1984) report that in the event of husband's migration, there is increased family support to the wife. This leads to joint family living arrangements with husband's parents or brothers, and women are not left to manage by themselves. However, this observation was made almost three decades ago and since then modern ideas of individualism and privacy have infiltrated the perception of individuals.

For many women seeking familial support in absence of their spouses means the curtailment of freedom. In certain instances a woman who is earlier accustomed to living in an independent nuclear family with her husband and children; may have to revert to living with her in-laws, as the circumstances compel her to do so. Also, there are cases where women may go to live in their parents' home where they feel secure and more comfortable. Thus, the rearrangement of living patterns gives an assurance that women have assistance in various crises like situations.

A significant effect of migration on the family is conjugal separation. Ganguly and Unisa (2013b) in their paper 'Husbands' Out-Migration and Familial Support at

Origin' observe that since women are left alone, it leads to modification in the structure of family life, which in turn transforms women's social and economic positions. Also, the need for assistance with child care may lead to a restructuring of household composition.

In a typical rural Bangladeshi household, the wife who is left behind moves in with her in-laws. The family the 'Overseas Pakistani' lives in a typically extended family environment; and his parents play the role of caretakers to his wife and children (Gilani, 1988). Hence, in some traditional societies women do not have consent or tacit support to live on their own. Thus, the family plays a pivotal role and is entrusted with a major responsibility in a migrants' absence.

1.4.10. Impact on Women

Most studies show that due to their spouses migration women have adopted new roles in addition to the previously held traditional roles and responsibilities. In the absence of the male members who have migrated, a UNESCO (1984) study report reveals that women take on more physical workload as men's tasks are taken up by them. They experience emotional problems too.

Studies conducted by Brink (1991) and De Haas (2010) highlight the temporary nature of changes in gender relationships. The influence and authority gained by women on an ad-hoc basis is instantly withdrawn when their husbands come back. Men reclaim their customary patriarchal role within the family. So the women, who had been the de-facto household heads, revert to the docile and submissive role of strictly restricting themselves as homemakers. Thus, women relapse into a regressive mode and recede into the confines of the domestic realm.

These studies demonstrate that the traditional norms concerning women's roles and status or the gendered division of labour have not altered, although they are the temporary heads of the households for a long period of time.

De Haas and Rooij (2010) conducted a study in rural Morocco and their findings reveal that migration often coincided with increasing workloads and uncertainity. Generally, this new role is perceived by the women as a burden, since making independent choices means going against the prevailing gender norms and therefore, could not be equated with emancipation.

Gordon's (1994), study on Lesotho women, throws light on the situation of women who live apart much of their married lives because of the out-migration of their husbands. Men's absence promotes the independence of their wives, who enjoy their emancipatory role. This often results in weakening of family relationships. However, this is not so in extended families where women experienced lot of stress and strain due to excessive responsibilities, fewer resources and long period of living apart from their husbands.

As pointed out by Ganguly and Unisa (2013b), high levels of migration at the village and household level in Varanasi are associated with major changes in the traditional household structure. Families have to make adjustments in their lifestyles and shoulder greater responsibility as a consequence of the migration of a male member. Thus, the wives may take over several of their roles and act as a de facto household head.

In Bangladesh (Kofman & Meetoo, 2008: 152), many women assumed some of the responsibilities such as marketing, dealing with household repairs and supervising the education of children, which were previously held by their husbands. Hence, empowerment often also meant an increased work load.

A study by Gulati (1993) indicates a positive influence on women in Kerala, whose men migrate to the West Asia. Women receive remittances and manage the finances. This makes them dominant figures in their households. However, they face many challenges and take on much more work than expected by the conventional

gendered division of labour. Although these women take on male tasks, they often mobilize male support from other networks. Thus, through networking and managing relationships, women overcome the barriers posed by illiteracy and excessive dependence on family. They have a voice in planning family size and many have got busy in income generation activities.

In the study on Vietnamese immigrant community, Nagli (1990) explores the effects of migration on gender roles and power. This community forms an important source of power for women, enabling them to cope effectively with male migration in the family. Yet, despite their increased power, these women were in favour of a patriarchal social structure, because it preserved their parental authority and assured greater economic security in the future.

Thomas and Adhikari's study (2012: 118) in the three districts of Kerala – Alappuzha, Kottayam and Pathanamthitta, brings to focus the nature of relationship of women with their in-laws, particularly in the absence of their husband. They stress on the importance for women to have cordial relations with others in the family. Ideally women are expected to be obedient and loyal to the husband's family. However, very often they encounter serious adjustment problems with others and maintaining relations and living up to the expectations of relatives is a great challenge. Very often this has serious implications on husband-wife relationship too.

A significant issue confronting women in absence of their migrant spouses is that of upbringing and socialization of children. Studies conducted by Gilani (1983) and Siddiqui (1983) have shown disciplinary problems among children of migrants. Their findings reveal that children have bad habits, are indulgent and spend money indiscriminately. Also, other studies by Abbasi and Irfan (1983) as well as Bilquees and Hamid (1981) revealed incidences of drug use, consumption of alcohol and cases of dropping out from formal education, mainly among the children of migrant

workers families. These studies show that family life could be disturbed significantly by the absence of the father, as the mother is overburdened and feels overwhelmed by the numerous tasks. Children also perceive their mother as 'soft and gentle' and do not obey her when she takes on an assertive and dominant role.

Thus, there is considerable concern among migrant families that their children are becoming undisciplined and careless about their education. Mahmood's study (1991) revealed that a migrants' absence was felt by their wives and children and they felt that money could not be a substitute. Further, the father's absence had a negative impact on children's education because of decrease in discipline or motivation. Children developed some kinds of bad habits such as smoking, wasteful expenditure and irregularity in schools, and almost all had become extravagant due to liberal pocket money and were involved in conspicuous consumption. Adhikari (2011: 194) opines "even though remittances help children go to private schools, their education seems to suffer because of lack of someone to look after them". These studies reveal the difficulties women face in managing their multiple roles. In the absence of men, women are overburdened and keeping a strict vigil and monitoring their children's study, habits and overall conduct becomes an onerous task.

Education is another sphere where migration has exercised tremendous influence. There is a strong preference for English medium and private unaided schools for children of emigrant households. Also, they spend more on tuitions fees and private tuitions (Zachariah et al. 2002: 75). But, women also have to keep pace with the curriculum, help children with their homework assignments and projects.

Rajan (2003b: 20) observes, "Receipt of remittances in their own names and managing finances were major factors which raised the status of women and improved their autonomy and expertise in managing their affairs". Also, having a house or land in their names, operating bank accounts and spending money at their

discretion are important indicators of the elevated status of the 'Gulf wives'. Further, Zachariah *et al.* (2002) asserts that "more important than the visible economic benefits to Gulf wives, are the subtle changes in the women's self confidence and on their ability to get things done in a man's world".

Arnold and Shah (1984) opine that the status of wives of migrants is enhanced as they assume greater responsibility in educating themselves as well as their offspring and become independent. Women ventured outside their homes and began to handle bank transactions. Also, they wrote letters to their husbands themselves.

Gulati's (1993) work *In the absence of their men* focuses on women of migrant households in Trivandrum city in the state of Kerala. Her analysis of 10 case studies revealed that women become more independent, self-reliant, take on increased responsibilities for running the households on their own, and even manage their money and property.

Thus, there was a fundamental change, when compared to the earlier experience of women; who were utterly dependent on others for almost everything, and had confined themselves solely to the domestic realm. Migration of their men-folk brought positive changes and women are able to be assertive; and gradually make changes that would command a better status and value.

Although most studies have revealed that men have migrated to provide resources for their family, some studies report that men may terminate their relationship and discontinue sending money to their wives back home. A study conducted in El Salvador by Pessar and Mahler (2007: 824) reveals how the male migrants assert their patriarchal power by withholding remittances. These women have no cash at their disposal. This dominant attitude ensures that women become "emotionally, economically and materially dependent upon their mobile husbands". This dependence is symbolized in the humiliating experience of pleading for more

remittance support. Since they live in remote areas, they face difficulties in trying to make contact with their husbands abroad, as getting access to a telephone is not easy.

Ahlin and Dahlberg (2010: 32) have discussed the different impact migration has in Sikasso and Kayes, two regions in Mali, Africa. Very few of them receive remittances and that too, about once or twice a year. Such women's lives oscillate between hope and despair. Many women never get any information of their husband's whereabouts after they went abroad. Some women got the 'news' that their husbands have taken new wives and support their new families, while depriving them of monetary help. The plight of abandoned wives is more traumatic as they are economically dependent on their husbands. Such women are obliged to stay in the 'truant' husbands' family and work for them. Remarrying is rarely considered or even encouraged by the family or the community. Thus, they not have the freedom to assert their will and move on in life.

Hauser (1957) highlights the deprivation of emotional security that a husband and father normally provide. The impact of family separation due to migration is felt severely by his wife and children. Since the women are living amidst in-laws, they are likely to suffer the most. In many instances women experience hostility and indifference to their plight. Therefore "any protection she may have had from her husband is no longer available to her". Thus, women are in a vulnerable situation with nobody to turn to, in the event of problems.

The GMS (2008) conducted a special survey in Goa to assess the social and psychological experience of women in terms of adjusting to life in the absence of their husbands, reveals that, women face the problems of loneliness, additional responsibilities and insecurity.

'The Contours of Male Overseas Migration and the Complexity of Management by Spouses at Sending Destination: A Study in context of Rural Goa –

Chandor', a paper by Desai and Sawant (2013) reveals that in absence of their husbands most of the wives have moderate to high levels of stress. The manner of upbringing of children, mismanagement of finances and relationship with in-laws; were major areas of grievances, which caused disputes between husband and wife. Loneliness was reported as a major problem. Also, women often complain that there is interference of the in-laws in absence of their spouses. The in-laws feel that the daughter-in-law doesn't take proper care of husbands' parents in his absence. Further, women reported that health concerns of the ageing parents and in-laws were areas of immense worry. They also complained of difficulties in managing domestic as well as outdoor affairs with minimal logistics support.

Zachariah *et al.* (2002: 81) findings in Kerala show that the principal problems arising from their husbands' emigration were loneliness, debt incurred to finance emigration, increased anxiety and financial gains not up to expectations.

Roy (2011) also raises issues of the gains and pains of left behind wives in rural Bihar, where women are living in a traditional society. She reports that there are instances when the migrant husband carries STDs or develops a parallel family at the place of destination. The mental stress of left behind wives is further aggravated. Adhikari (2011: 194) also noted the negative consequences of migration and risks from HIV/AIDS. His study reveals that migration of men has led to shortage of labour in villages, decline in farming and village enterprises. The burden of work in absence of adult men is largely carried out by women and elderly people. The increased responsibility to manage the household affairs and farm could be taken as an opportunity for women's empowerment, but women face more problems. There is growing tension between husband and wife and a tendency of disintegration of families.

Sawant's study (2013: 7-11), entitled 'Overseas Migration of the Goan Catholic Men-folk and its Ramifications on their Spouses' reveals that "concerns of the mother are more family-oriented than her own self". Further, he asserts that in recent times "men working abroad seek alliances with women whom have better qualifications and preferably employed". This is because of the instability of jobs abroad. Thus, women work as alternative wage earners for the family.

Anisur Rahman (2001) pointed out that in Bihar, wives of migrants were physically and psychologically affected not only by the separation from their husbands, but the fears of abandonment made the situation more traumatic for them. This fear is reported in many other studies. Mc Evoy (2008) studied the left-behind women in South-eastern Mexico and found that some women experienced marital separation or abandonment, and many others feared this could happen to them too. Many Bangladeshi women (Kofman & Meetoo, 2008: 152) also feared the possibility that their husbands might be attracted to other women and abandon them and their family.

Menon (1995) in her study entitled *The impact of migration on the work and status of tribal women in Orissa* demonstrates that women were not overtly favourable to male migration. This was because the sole purpose of migration was basic survival and the migrant's income did not mitigate poverty. Moreover, pinching poverty affected the attitude of men who showed little concern for their pregnant wives. Thus, male migration was problematic for women.

Mahmood (1991) has highlighted "the sensitive issue of infidelity due to the long separation of spouses which results in illicit relationships". But, he finds few such cases where the persons involved were close relatives and neighbours. The physiological problems women faced were sleeplessness and chronic headaches.

Connel (1984) in a study titled *Status and subjugation? Women, migration and development in South Pacific* reveals that migration of a male may affect child bearing, due to lack of proper contact with his wife. Further, an analogy is drawn between farm work and their wives, "Just as male migrants regard agricultural work as trivial and demeaning, the value of rural life and rural wife also declines". However, both men and women experience loneliness and psychological pressures that direct them towards new partners, while some prefer to remain single.

Acharya and Acharya (1991) reveal that women in migrant households face lot of problems. The cause for psychosomatic disorders are, long separation, loneliness, habit of worrying which causes anxiety. Gulati (1983) and Parasuraman (1986) assert that "the absence of the husband caused emotional insecurity and is highest in the case of newly-wed women". Since women have to adjust in a new family environment in the absence of husband's protection, they experience more hardships. Gogate (1986) observes, raising funds, dealing with dishonest agents; spouses departure and anxiety about their job and living conditions are major stressors for women.

The absence of migrant husbands also affected the women's sense of personal security (Kofman & Meetoo, 2008: 152). Women reported that they felt more vulnerable to harassment and indecent advances by other men, which often included members of their husbands' families. This feeling of insecurity, along with restrictions imposed on the women by the in-laws also led to increased use of *purdah*. In the words of De Haas and Rooij (2010), "in a classical 'patriarchal bargain', women prefer to avoid overt rule breaking in order to secure their social position and obediently adhere to the dominant norms of their society. Mascarenhas (2011: 258) points out "Neighbours and older women are quick to note evidence of maladministration and moral lapses", often communicated directly by letter to the

husbands or via their own men-folk. This evoked stern reprimands and threats of permanent or temporary withdrawal of remittances. Moreover, she notes, "servants with their multiple loyalties are perceived as dangerous" as they 'carry news', which could have a detrimental effect.

Another study by Schaeffer (2000: 159) in rural Zimbabwe indicates that "left behind women's feelings of insecurity generated increasing couple instability". During their husbands' absence, these sedentary wives' also faced gossip related to their behavior. Likewise, in a study conducted in South-eastern Mexico, Mc Evoy (2008) notes, "women experienced increased 'policing' of their actions". In most cases women who are in a financially precarious position had to curtail their freedom and mobility.

Ahlin and Dahlberg (2010: 34) findings in both Sikasso and Kayes, show that women experience social exclusion due to their husband's migration and they fear loose talk about their character. Since Sikasso is an agricultural society, the women faced more hardships and coupled with this is long periods of loneliness which has embittered them.

In Sawant's (2013) study in Goa, the economic benefits overrules the other problems, as every woman stated that their husband's working abroad and the remittance provide a better living status in society. Although men's absence promotes independence of their wives, who enjoy their new emancipated role, in their absence the women have to take on more physical workload and emotional strain. However, he concludes, "a majority of them desire that their husbands should continue working abroad and send them remittances".

Many women who receive stable remittances have surplus cash at their disposal. They make use of this in a productive way. Generally local traditions and gender biases do not proscribe women to invest remittances and start a business.

However, Rahman (2007: 20) reports that in Bangladesh "a special type of business called *Dhadon* allowed women to become independent entrepreneurs". He explains, "*dhadon* is a business where money is lent for profit". Since it is carried from home, it does not require much contact with the outside world and therefore most suitable for women.

1.5. SOME OBSERVATIONS AND GAPS IN LITERATURE

The review of literature undertaken by the researcher suggests the following gaps in knowledge. No systematic, in-depth sociological study of implications of male migration on their families has been attempted. In Goa too, no study has focused on certain aspects of migration such as women's role and responsibilities and their coping strategies, and the transitions occurring in the families of the overseas migrants. Though substantial research has been done on remittances and its use; they do not give a comprehensive understanding of different aspects of left-behind families.

1.6. PRESENT STUDY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The present study focuses on overseas migration and the implications arising thereof on women left behind. A migrant spouse spends long duration of time away from his home which is occupied by his wife, children and many a times elderly parents too. The family receives remittances which are a huge consolation for his absence and the sacrifices made by both the family as well as the migrant, which provides tremendous financial advantages. This overshadows other arenas which are gravely affected. This study discusses migration of men and the corresponding repercussions on the families left behind at the place of origin. The economic benefits reaped through remittances are well documented as it is manifested through conspicuous consumption and at times also ostentatious living standards. Research carried out on migration from Goa

does not focus much on the sociological aspects, as the major impact is visualized mainly in terms of receipt of remittances.

Migration of youth from Goa will continue as the economic gains are tremendous and almost overshadowing the latent problems faced by the families. As world economies integrate, job opportunities will open up in different areas. The lure of better wages in other countries and the promise of a better future for their children will continue to attract workers.

This study is unique in the sense that it is the first study, to the researcher's knowledge, that has been undertaken to examine the impact of male migration on families in Goa in general and on women in particular. The fact that perspectives of women left behind remains under-addressed, makes it all the more pertinent to be empirically researched. Based on interviews conducted with women, this study makes an attempt to capture women's voices, which are missing from the discourse, and their experiences of coping singularly. The objective of this study is to explore the areas so far not touched upon. Empirical research to assess the impact on families will help to enrich social science knowledge, which in turn, helps to meet the challenges and problems emerging out of migration and also to formulate appropriate and effective social policies to mitigate these problems.

1.7. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. A brief outline is given below.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introductory chapter gives a description of the research background and examines various concepts associated with the study. It presents the operational definitions used in the study. It also includes a focused and selective review of literature and highlights the inadequacies of earlier studies. This chapter mentions the relevance of the present study and includes the chapterization scheme.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

This chapter deals with statement of the research problem, research objectives as well as research questions and the overall methodological framework in which this research is located. A brief description of the study site is provided. The main thrust of this chapter is to delineate the various research methods, tools of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter 3: Migration in Goa: An Overview

This chapter makes an attempt to trace the history of migration and the associated culture of migration in Goa. It gives a brief sketch of the Portuguese cultural influence and examines the causes and destinations of migration in Goa. Further, brief descriptions of the *Kudd*, *Tarvotti* and *Tiatr*, which are distinct in Goa, are chronicled in this study.

Chapter 4: Overseas Migrants' Families: A Profile

The primary purpose of this chapter is to appraise the situation of the overseas migrants' families in Goa. It provides a socio-economic profile of the respondents and their families. Also, information about the overseas migrants' and the interpersonal relations between the family members is discussed in this chapter

Chapter 5: Women's Role Adaptations and Coping Strategies

This chapter discusses women's roles and responsibilities undertaken in absence of their spouses. In this context the benefits accrued, the problems women face, their chief concerns and worries, drawbacks of managing singly, the support system in absence of spouse and their coping strategies is examined.

Chapter 6: Migration and Family Dynamics

This chapter aims to discern the dynamics occurring because of the interplay of various factors having an indelible imprint on the families who stay behind and examines the changing trends in the migration scenario.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

This chapter is a summation of the entire thesis based on the analyses presented in the preceding chapters. It highlights major findings and conclusions of the study. This is followed by examining the scope for further research.

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter mainly deals with statement of the research problem, research objectives as well as research questions. It also includes the overall methodological framework in which this research is located. It is also a brief description of the study site in which the research is located. The main thrust of this chapter is to delineate the various research methods, tools of data collection and data analysis.

2.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Migration of people in search of job opportunities is a worldwide phenomenon, and Goa is no exception to this. It is generally the men who migrate for employment purposes more than the women. Further, families are left behind in the place of origin. The power and influence of the father may be diluted, as disciplining, monitoring habits, supervision of studies and imparting values lie solely with the mother. For all practical purpose, it becomes a 'single parent family', as women try to juggle various tasks such as rearing and socializing the young ones, looking after the elderly, handling property and financial matters as well as myriad responsibilities and concerns. When men migrate they usually leave their wives, children and elderly folks behind at home. Not only the wives, but also the children feel the absence of the father and the elderly parents are affected by the departure of their son. This type of family structure should be seen as a distinct type, which affects the normalcy of family life.

The visible changes of migration are manifested through conspicuous consumption patterns as well as an ostentatious lifestyle of overseas migrants' families (Gomes, 1987; Larsen, 1998), but the latent repercussions are not easily discerned, as they are not amenable to scrutiny without an in depth and rigorous

analysis of the same. As Amrith (2011: 195) has rightly pointed out "histories of migration must not lose sight of those who did not move, that is those who stayed behind".

Analytical literature on the life and problems of the migrants' family can further enhance our understanding of this significant, yet overlooked aspect of migration. The main concern of this research is to study the impact of male migration with reference to the families left behind in general; and focuses on women whose husbands are working overseas, in particular. Overseas migration has posed fresh challenges not only to the families concerned, but also to the society at large, which needs further research.

2.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In the light of the above discussion the researcher has identified specific objectives of this study which are listed below:

1. To trace the socio-cultural tradition of migration in Goa.

2. To understand the contemporary socio-economic life of the migrants family.

3. To study the impact of migration on women's status, role and responsibilities.

4. To identify the benefits, problems, support system and coping strategies of the women, and

5. To explore the transitions occurring in families left behind.

2.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Broad objectives of the research study have given rise to many sociologically relevant questions. For the purpose of this study some specific research questions have been formulated.

   i)   Does migration of men help in improving a family's socio-economic status?

   ii) How do women cope with various challenges in the absence of their men?

   iii) How is the socialization of children affected?

iv) How do women cope with multiple roles and responsibilities?

v) Is there a shift in gender roles?

vi) Is the household structure and composition affected?

vii) What about instances where men have severed connection with the families?

2.5. RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study necessitates a recall of Weber's interpretive tradition *Verstehen* to understand and grasp the nuances of this particular aspect of study. Social sciences which have in-depth understanding as a goal, requires qualitative data. The research design is descriptive and exploratory in nature and the study is undertaken mainly within a qualitative framework and substantiated with supportive quantitative data to validate the findings.

The research design was planned and structured in such a way so as to obtain answers to research questions. It includes all the steps undertaken, such as the basic plan, conceptual framework, target population and tools and procedures to be used for collecting and analyzing the data. Data was sought through conducting face-to-face interview, observation, case studies, narratives and oral traditions, to map out the overall picture and facilitate understanding on a broader perspective.

In the foregoing account detailed information is provided about various aspects of the study such as selection of the locale of study area, who constituted the study population and how the respondents were identified and selected? How the sample size was determined? Which methods of data collection and data analysis were used and a rationale for the same?

2.6. SELECTION OF THE LOCALE OF STUDY

During the initial stage of mapping the field, it was challenging to decide the research area. Finalizing the locale was complicated and difficult. The Goa Census Department does not collect data pertaining to international migration. Goa Migration Study report

2008 published by the NRI Cell, Government of Goa, helped to know that a majority of emigrants have originated from the Old Conquests i.e. Bardez, Salcete, Tiswadi and Mormugao and hence these have been the focus of most studies on emigration. This fact has been corroborated by Mascarenhas (1990). She mentions that one of the major impacts of sustained international migration was development of remittance economy in many parts of Goa, particularly in the coastal talukas of Bardez, Salcete and Tiswadi, from where the bulk of migrants originated. Also the work of Larsen *Faces of Goa* (1998) reveals that rural villages, mostly those located in the coastal talukas of Salcete, Bardez and Tiswadi, have benefitted economically, educationally and also culturally owing to the existence of a large migrant community. It is important to note that in 1919, Mormugao which was earlier a part of Salcete became a separate sub-district (now called a taluka) for administrative reasons; the dividing line was drawn between Arossim and Utorda (D'Silva, 2011: 10).

To select the locale of study, a survey of four talukas – Tiswadi, Bardez, Mormugao and Salcete was undertaken. Field visits were made to Agaccaim, Goa Velha and Siridao from Tiswadi taluka to check whether they could be included in the study as these places have a long history of overseas migration. However, it was found that in these places, a large number of women have joined their husbands along with their children after the initial migration of the men to Swindon and other parts of United Kingdom. Entire localities have emptied out as families from the three Goan villages of Siridao, Goa Velha and Agacciam have moved to Swindon (Sonwalkar, 2015). Thus, it would not be feasible to undertake research in this taluka since it did not meet the criteria of research objectives.

Further, in Bardez taluka which is located in the tourism prosperous North Goa, urban influence is predominant as tourism industry in the 1970s generate employment and entrepreneurship. From the mid-sixties Goa witnessed the arrival of

foreign backpackers, the *Hippies*, more pronounced in the northern belt. They were responsible for placing Goa on the world tourist map, thus, enabling the tourism industry to grow phenomenally. To accommodate the tourists, new hotels and guest houses were built, which included five-star hotels of renowned national and international chains. Thus, many Goans have got engaged in the lucrative tourism related activities. Hence, the economic necessity is not felt to go abroad to earn money, as many are gainfully employed or have started their own business ventures to cater to the domestic as well as international tourists.

Presently in Mormugao taluka and Vasco, there is a heterogeneous population, and being a Port Town a lot of people have found gainful employment at Mormugao Port Trust, Airport, Goa Shipyard Limited and in mining related activities with the discovery of manganese resources and iron ore since the 1950s. There has also been an influx of migrants from different regions of India and composition of the population is cosmopolitan in character.

Although, Goa has a long history of international migration and almost all towns and villages have male members who are overseas for employment purposes, emigration from Goa is highly concentrated with respect to origin both geographically and culturally. The tables below throw light on the statistics of emigration in Goa.

Table 2.1. District-wise Emigrant Household

District	Percentage
North Goa	**33.8**
South Goa	**66.2**
Source: Goa Migration Study 2008	

According to GMS Report (2008), among the two districts of Goa, South Goa district accounts for 66.2 per cent of emigrant households whereas North Goa district accounts for about 33.8 per cent of surveyed households (Table 2.1).

Similarly, 18 per cent of surveyed households in South Goa had at least one emigrant compared to just 7 per cent in North Goa. Emigration rate is estimated as 22.8 per cent per 100 households in South Goa, but only 10.7 per cent in the North. Thus, emigration rate in South Goa is almost twice of that in North Goa, implying that people of South Goa district are more emigration prone than those in North district. In addition, Salcete taluka, in South Goa accounts for 50.6 per cent of emigrant households (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Taluka-wise Emigrant Household

Taluka	Percentage
North Goa	**33.8**
Pernem	1.3
Bardez	15.2
Tiswadi	15.0
Bicholim	0.6
Satari	0.0
Ponda	1.8
South Goa	**66.2**
Mormugao	3.5
Salcete	50.6
Quepem	5.4
Sanguem	3.1
Canacona	3.6
Goa	**100.0**
Source: Goa Migration Study 2008	

Table 2.3. Women Left Behind District-wise

District	Percentage
North Goa	25.2
South Goa	74.8
Source: Goa Migration Study 2008	

Table 2.3 throws light on percentage of women left behind district wise in Goa. It is clear that South Goa district has almost 75 per cent women who are left behind by their migrant husbands.

Table 2.4. Women Left Behind Taluka-wise

Taluka	Percentage
North Goa	**25.2**
Pernem	0.3
Bardez	12.7
Tiswadi	7.8
Bicholim	0.0
Satari	0.0
Ponda	4.2
South Goa	**74.8**
Mormugao	2.6
Salcete	67.6
Quepem	0.7
Sanguem	2.0
Canacona	2.0
Goa	**100.0**
Source: Goa Migration Study 2008	

Table 2.4 shows that the highest proportion of women left behind, was in Salcete taluka i.e. 67.6 per cent, followed by 12.7 per cent in Bardez and 7.8 per cent in Tiswadi taluka. Therefore, Salcete taluka in South Goa was chosen as an appropriate locale to undertake this research study.

FIGURE 2.1. MAP OF SALCETE TALUKA WITH FIFTEEN STUDY SITES
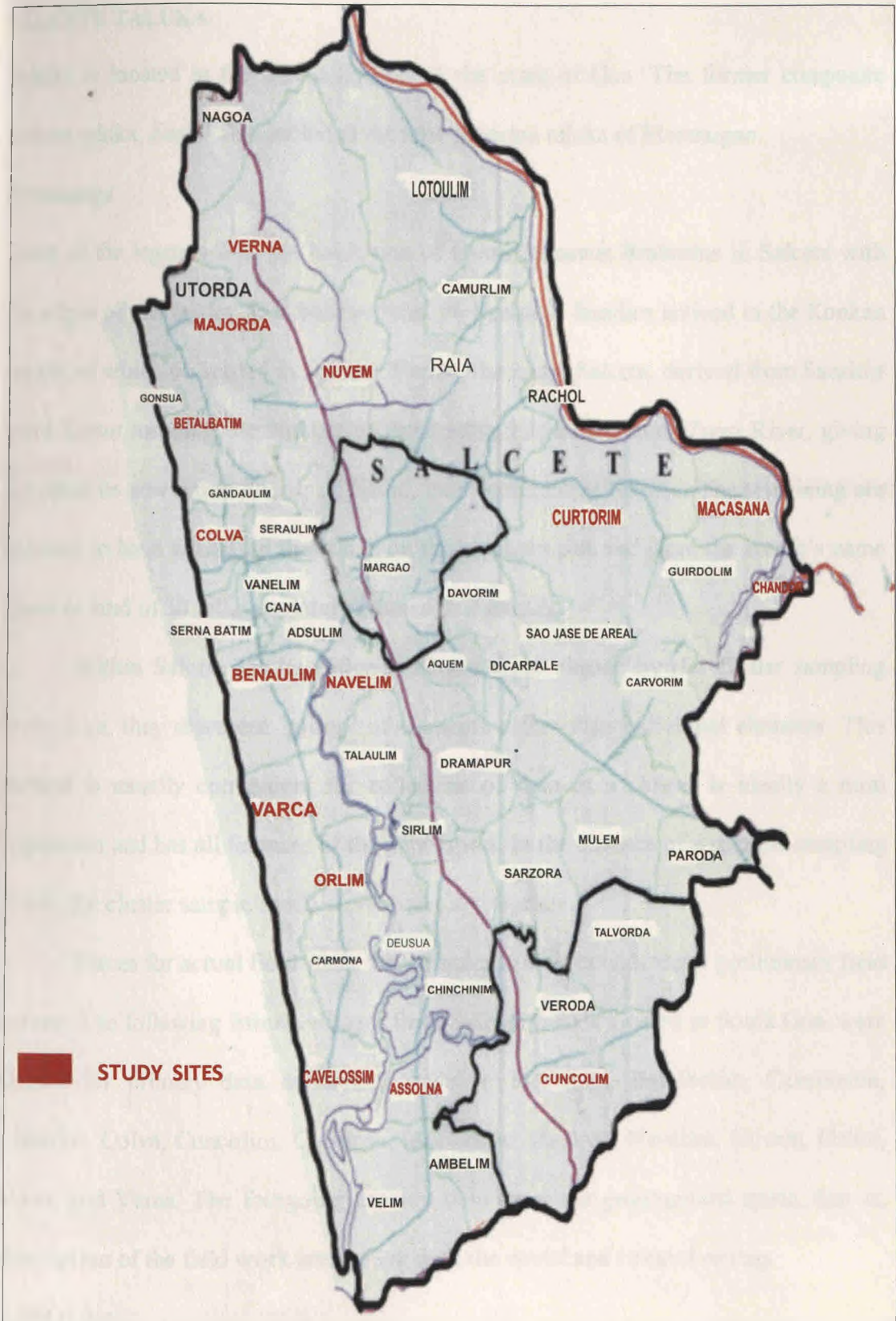
2.7. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA OF STUDY

SALCETE TALUKA

Salcete is located in the South District in the state of Goa. The former composite Salcete taluka, *Sashti* also included the now separate taluka of Mormugao.

Etymology

Some of the legends link the habitation of Goud Saraswat Brahmins in Salcete with the origin of this taluka. It is believed that 96 Brahmin families arrived in the Konkan region, of which 66 settled in Salcete. Hence, the name Salcete, derived from Sanskrit word *Sassat* meaning the number 66, who settled at the south of Zuari River, giving the place its new name *Sassat* or *Sashti,* later renamed as Salcete. The remaining are believed to have settled on the island on the northern side and gave the area it's name *Tissis* or land of 30 villages, later renamed as Tiswadi.

Within Salcete taluka, fifteen villages were chosen by the cluster sampling method i.e. they represent 'group' of elements rather than individual elements. This method is usually convenient for collection of data as a cluster is ideally a mini population and has all features of the population. In the absence of a suitable sampling frame, the cluster sample method was most appropriate.

Places for actual field study were finalized after conducting a preliminary field survey. The following fifteen villages from Salcete taluka, located in South Goa, were chosen for primary data collection: Assolna, Benaulim, Betalbatim, Cavellosim, Chandor, Colva, Cuncolim, Curtorim, Macazana, Majorda, Navelim, Nuvem, Orlim, Varca and Verna. The foregoing account delineates the geographical space, that is, description of the field work area, along with the social and cultural setting.

ASSOLNA

It is popularly believed that the meaning of the word 'Assolna', is *oslem na* or 'nothing like this' in praise of this village. There is a Church of Our Lady Queen of

Martyrs (*Regina Martyrum*) and its feast is celebrated in the month of November. An impressive religious structure - *Cristo Rei*, lies in the vicinity of the Church. There is a Chapel of Our Lady of Lourdes at Ambelim and a Chapel of St. Joseph at Banda. Next to this village, is the NUSI Maritime Academy located at Chinchinim, which imparts technical training with a view to creating a cadre of qualified seafarers.

The village is divided into following wards - Orel, Banda, Colleavaddo, Bainfall, Oriwaddo, Mulleawaddo, Bairo Primeiro, Bainque, Chandlevaddo and Passagem. In Assolna there are 891 households and a population of 3,410, of which 1,669 are males and 1,741 are females, majority of which is Catholic. An ancient deity of *Betal* is worshipped here. On *Shigmo*, this deity is brought from Fatorpa and kept for public veneration for three days before being taken back to the temple. Incidentally this festival coincides with the *Gulal of Zambaulim* and is a local fair (Fernandes, 2009: 50-52). There is a Hanuman and a Betal temple in this village.

ASSOLNA

'Cristo Rei'
Religious shrine opposite main Church

Hanuman Temple at Orel

A tall Cross at the market square

Betal temple at the market square

Church of Our Lady Queen of Martyrs

NUSI Maritime Academy at Chinchinim (close to Assolna)

BENAULIM

According to a legend, Benaulim came into being after Lord Parasuram's *bann* (arrow) landed on the village and the Arabian Sea magically receded from the Sahyadris and lapped against the shores of Benaulim. The site of the landing of the *bann* became *Bannavale* and *halli,* 'village' and hence known as Benaulim. It is also the birth place of venerable Father Joseph Vaz and Dr. Floriano de' Mello, a world renowned scientist.

There is a Church of Saint John the Baptist and Holy Trinity Church (*Santissima Trinidade*), originally a Chapel, was raised to Parish Church in 1992. There are also many Chapels, namely, St Sebastian Chapel at Vhoddlem Bhatt, Our Lady of Livrament Chapel at Mazilvaddo, St Anthony's Chapel at Dangvaddo and Our Lady of Patrocinio Chapel at Birondi (Martins, 1989: 42-44). The village has a temple of Goddess Laksmi.

With a population of 11,919, Benaulim is categorized as a Census Town. It has 2,809 households, males are 5,818 and females are 6,101 in number. Catholics are 83 per cent, Hindus are about 13 per cent and Muslims are 4 per cent. The main occupation is fishing and the *vaddos* of the coastal area are full of fishermen. In the hinterland *vaddos* of Acsona, Mazilvaddo and Pedda, many are engaged in carpentry; and tailoring is also an important activity. Further, agriculture, cattle rearing and horticulture form supplementary activities. In the last decade or so many landlords have succumbed to new avenues offered by tourism.

BENAULIM

| Laxmi Temple | Inner Sanctorum of Goddess Laxmi |

Church of St. John the Baptist

Holy Trinity Parish Centre

Holy Trinity Church

St. Sebastian Chapel at Vhodlem Bhat

BETALBATIM

Betalbatim, got its name from the Hindu deity, *Betal*. Prior to the Inquisition, there was a *Betal* temple in the village, which was demolished by the Portuguese and the idol was shifted to Kavlem in Ponda taluka, where it still exists. Father Heras, a historian, found another idol of *Betal* while doing excavation work. This discovery confirms the importance of this deity in the village and also explains its name.

Betalbatim has 945 households and a total population of 3,511 persons of which 1,703 are males and 1,848 are females. It is predominantly a Christian village.

The Church of Our Lady of Remedies (*Nossa Senhora dos Remedios*), is more than 375 years old and *Remedios* means, 'always ready to help'. The village celebrates two major feasts – *Remedios Saibinichem Fest* in the month of January and the 'Saint Barthlomeu Feast' in the month of August. Some of the names of the wards are - Nagwado, Pockwado, Binwado, Ranwado, Gounsawado, Thanwado and Chaulwado.

Agriculture and fishing, which used to be two main occupations of the villagers, are no longer pursued by the youth who prefer to go abroad for employment. Due to development of tourism, businesses are also making their mark in a big way. Betalbatim is blessed with a long beach, with four different roads leading to separate beaches, along the same stretch, namely; Sunset beach, Gounsa beach, Namwado beach and Nanu Resort Beach. Martin's Corner is a world famous restaurant in this village (Pankar, 2003: 48-50).

BETALBATIM
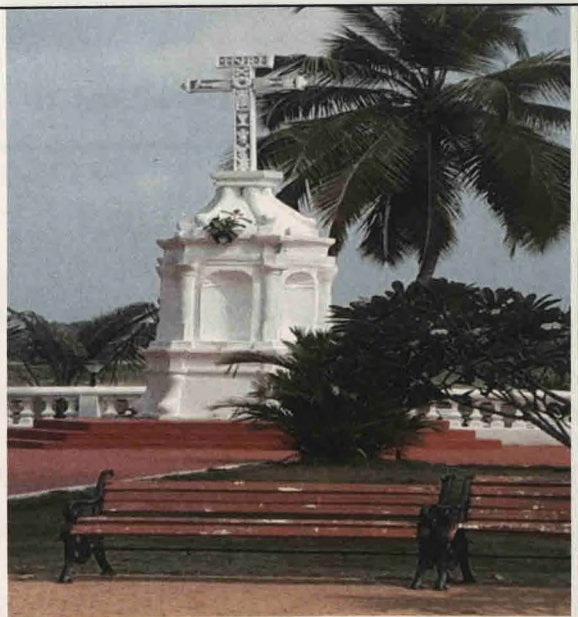
| The Church of Our Lady of Remedies | Religious Shrine opposite the main Church |

Jesus Marie Jose Chapel at Ranvaddo

Village Panchayat Office

Nanu Beach Resort

Martins Corner-World Famous Restaurant

CAVELOSSIM

Cavellosim is the southernmost village on the coastal belt of Salcete taluka. There are 481 households and the total population is 1,955, of which 990 are males and 965 are females. There are abundant paddy fields, fish ponds and coconut groves. Before the arrival of Portuguese and European Christian missionaries, all the villagers were Hindus and the temples and deities for worship and veneration were Kapileshwar, Khetrapall, Nanabai and Mandoli. The town was originally the abode of Goddess Shri Shantadurga, which was taken to Kavlem in Ponda taluka during the Portuguese Inquisition.

There is a legend that a Cross over two metres in height was washed ashore from the Arabian Sea in 1742. It was placed in a small Chapel for veneration and many miracles are attributed to it. A bigger Chapel was built in 1763. In 1948 it was raised to the status of a Church, namely the Holy Cross Church (De' Souza, 1990: 37-39). Tourism has made a mark in this village. The Radisson Beach Resort is located here. Prominent in the village are a few shops with signboards in Russian language, which are a testimony to their strong presence here.

CAVELOSSIM
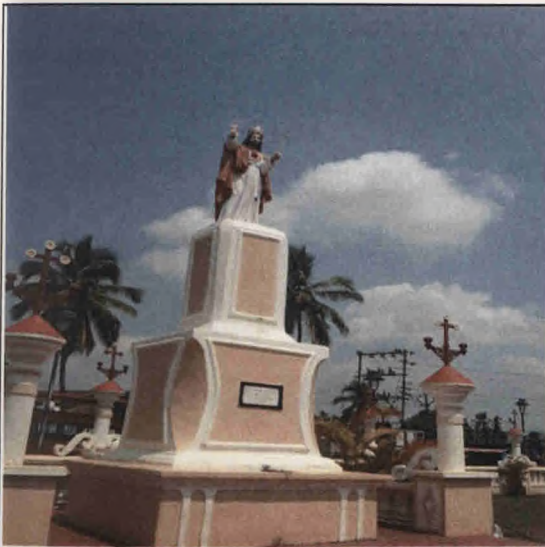
Religious shrine in the vicinity of the Church

The Holy Cross Church

Radisson Beach Resort

Sign boards in Russian language

CHANDOR

Chandor was once the capital city of Goa, but now relegated to the status of a village. It was a capital of the Kadamba kings in the 11th century. It was destroyed and reduced to shambles by Mohammed Bin Tughlak in the mid 14th century. The village is surrounded by the river Kushavati on three sides, and a number of hills which makes it almost an enclave. Bowl shaped Chandor; consists of three hamlets: Cotta which is main Chandor, Cavorim (Coudi) and Guirdolim (Giddhli). Chandor is full of trees and *Giddhli* means a 'village full of trees'. There are 184 households, total population is 707, of which males are 307 and females are 400.

Etymology refers the name Chandor to the old name of Chandrapur. It was a city dedicated to the titular deity of the Bhoja kings, Lord Chandreshwar Bhutnath. A temple dedicated to this deity can be seen atop a hill called Chandranath. Lying quite close to the Church, Father Heras, an archaeologist, found a *linga*. The legends say that once when some people tried cart it off, the cart splintered and the *linga* fell to the ground, where it lies till today.

Majority of the population are Catholics while the remaining are Hindus. Muslims form a very small percentage. There is a temple of Goddess Mahalaxmi. The Church of *Nossa Senhora de Belem,* built in 1645, is centrally located. The major feast in the village is the feast of Our Lady of Bethlehem, more popularly called 'The Feast of the Three Kings' celebrated on the 06th of January. Chandor has the biggest house in Goa which belonged to the patriot and thinker Luis de Menezes Braganca. It has enormous rooms with intricately carved furniture. To the villagers it is known simply as *Oldemghor* (Barbosa, 1991: 40-43).

CHANDOR

St. Francis Xavier Chapel

Church Nossa Senhora de Belem

Ruins of Nandi

Ruins of a Shivling

Mahalaxmi Temple

Menezes Braganca House

COLVA

Colva derives its popularity from the expansive beach and the image in its Church of Menino Jesus which is said to be miraculous. Colva is a world famous tourist attraction. It has a total population of 3,141 persons. There are 810 households, 1,566 males and 1,575 females. The Catholic community is predominant. In the month of October, the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, also known as *Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Merces*, celebrates the *Fama* and feast of Menino Jesus. There is a nine-day religious affair consisting of *salves* sermons and concludes with the feast, rests on the exposition of the image of Child Jesus.

According to Pereira (1978), there were seven Hindu temples in Colva, dedicated to Malkumi (Mahalaxmi), Balespor (Bhaleshwar), Narayana, Vetall, Bhairav, Ravalnath and Maculesper (Makuleshwar). All these were destroyed by the Portuguese invaders. The deity of Ravalnath was transferred to Talaulim in Ponda. But, the statutes of this temple do not mention that the same deity hailed from Colva (Mascarenhas, 1990: 44-47). There is a recently constructed Mangueshi temple in Colva.

COLVA
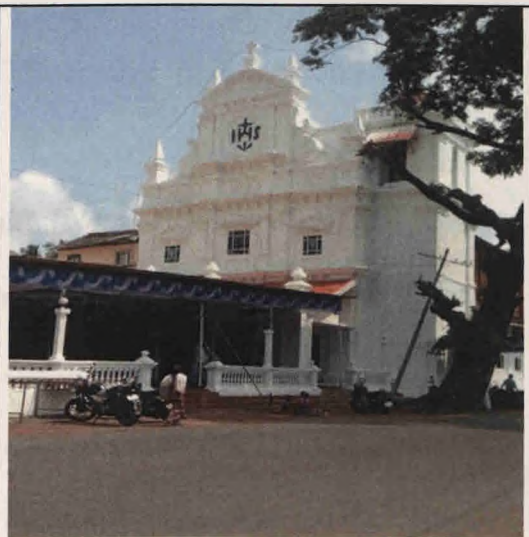
| Fama Feast | Colva Church |

CUNCOLIM

The name Cuncolim originates from the name *Kunkally*, which is derived from the words, *Kunk* or *Mahar* (cane/bamboo) workers and *Alli* which means village. Thus, Cuncolim was obviously a village originally, inhabited by the *Mahars*. Another legend links the origin of Cuncolim as *Kumkumahalli* (village where *kumkum* or vermilion is produced). Now, Cuncolim is a Municipal Council with a total population of 16,623 in 4,070 households. Males are 7,924 and females are 8,699 in number. Hindus are a majority at 50 per cent, Catholics are at 38 per cent and Muslims are 12 per cent.

Cuncolim was the site of recurring dissent against Portuguese rule and hence also known as a land of freedom fighters. The *Kunkollkars* fought bravely against the Colonial regime to stop foreign aggression and protect their sovereignty. Therefore, this place is also referred to as *Punyabhumi* i.e. a sacrosanct land (Faria, 2006: 1-3). Cuncolim is a sacred place of the Hindu culture and religion having many temples. The village of Cuncolim was the original site of the famous temple of *Shree Shantadurga* before it was demolished by the Portuguese in collaboration with the Christian missionaries. The idol of the Goddess was taken to Fatorpa, where the new temple of *Shantadurga* and *Fatorpa Cuncolikarin* is situated today. The annual *Zatra* of the temple is held in the month of December and lasts for five days (en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/cuncolim).

The main Church is Our Lady of Health (*Nossa Senhora da Saude)*. Besides the other Churches and Infant Jesus Chapel, the Molanguinim Cave and the Nayaband Lake are popular places. There is a Mosque – *Zamatul Muslimeen* in Cuncolim.

Sontreo festival is held during the last days of the *Holi* festival. It got its name as it consists of 12 umbrellas, representing 12 *Vangodds* of *Ganvkars* in the village.

CUNCOLIM
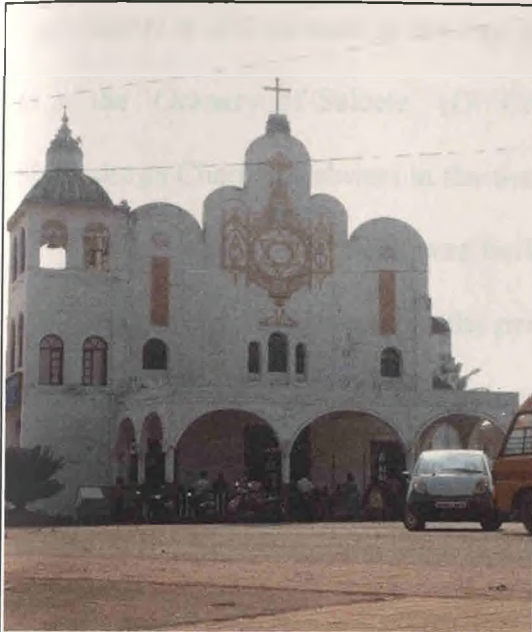
Our Lady of Health Church

Mosque - Zamatul Muslimeen

Shri Shantadurga Kunkalikarin Temple

Sontreo Festival

CURTORIM

Curtorim was known as *Codtary, Coddetary* or *Kardeley* in olden times. It is now known as Curtorim (English and Portuguese), Curtore (Konkani) and Kuddtore (Hindi and Marathi). There is a Chapel of Our Lady of *Milagres* and Saint Rita's Church at Maina. There are many lakes and reservoirs besides 18 natural springs, in Curtorim.

These rain water catchment reservoirs were built much before the Portuguese regime. Agricultural is still pursued in the vast paddy fields and Curtorim was earlier referred to as the 'Granary of Salcete' (D' Costa, 2005). Also, there is a temple of Shri Shantadurga Chamundeshwari in the outskirts of the village.

The Church of St. Alex was built in 1597 and reconstructed in 1647 (Rebello, 1989: 46-50). On 18th December the people celebrate *Kelleam Fest* (Banana Festival) in honour of Our Lady of Guadalupe. It begins with the *Fama* on the 8th of December, which is the beginning of a nine day religious services and a celebration at the end of the *Novenas*. Curtorim has 3,102 households having a population of 12,886 persons, which makes it a Census Town. Males are 6,216 and females are 6,670 in number. Catholics account for 71 per cent, Hindus are at 22 per cent and Muslims constitute 7 per cent.

CURTORIM

| Shri Shantadurga Chamundeshwari Temple | Saint Alex Church |

MACAZANA

Macazana is a tiny village in Salcete taluka having 503 households and a population of 1,972 persons, of which 880 are males and 1,092 are females. It was formerly known as *Maha-casana*, and was famous for the traditional paddy seeds known as *Xitto*. The manufacture and sale of mats made from reeds and are also a specialty of Macasana. Earlier agriculture was one of the main resources of the village.

The Chapel of St. Francis Xavier in Macazana founded in 1651, was elevated to a Church on 12 August 1809. Behind the Church of Macazana on a hill is a statue of Our Lady of Assumption. That is why the forefathers named it *Saibini Moll*. During the Portuguese regime, in 1933, Dr. Floriano de Melo established a hospital known as 'Leprosaria Macazana' at a remote site in the village. Later the Government of India took over this hospital (D' Souza, 1990: 55-57).

MACAZANA

Paddy Fields   **Saint Francis Xavier Church**

MAJORDA

Majorda comprises of three Communidades: Utorda (north), Majorda (central), Calata and the village of *Dongerim* (hill plateau). It is a coastal village with palm trees, fruit bearing orchards, paddy fields, majestic Churches and red-roofed stately homes. The total population of this village is 2,813, households are 742; males are 1,304 and females are 1,509 in number. It has a predominantly Catholic population.

The origins of the names Majorda and Utorda can be traced back to a combination of two native words: *Maz* (middle) and *Orda* (sea-shore). Similarly, *Uttar* (north) and *Orda* (sea-shore); Calata is derived from *Calata* (low land). Pereira (1978) notes, "Majorda was formerly a land of ancient temples of the Hindu community and consisted of 10 *Vangors* of the *Chaddo* class". Before the Portuguese colonization of Goa when Salcete was still a Hindu-Muslim province, Majorda's many ancient temples were dedicated to Durgadevi, Soneshwar, Purusha, Virabhadra and Mahamai. In the year 2013, a temple was constructed of Lord Damodar.

Christianity came to Majorda 400 years ago with the Jesuits. The history of Majorda Church, *Mae de Deus,* dates back to 1588; when the villagers became Christian. The feast is celebrated on 05th of May. There is also a confraternity of *Boa Morte;* and the Blessed Sacrament. In 1976, the Lourdes Chapel at Utorda was given the distinction of a Church by the Patriarch Archbishop. The second oldest Chapel of the village is the St. Rock's Chapel of Calata, which was rebuilt in 1951. There is also a Chapel at *Dongerim* dedicated to St. Sebastian. The two main Chapels of Majorda are Our Lady of Piety and Our Lady of Miracles. The Majorda Beach Resort, a five-star hotel is located in this village (Louzado, 1991: 38-42).

MAJORDA

Our Lady of Milagres Chapel

Mother of God Chruch

Lord Damodar Temple

Majorda Panchayat office

NAVELIM

Navelim is located just outside the city of Margao. Salcete, being a part of the annexed territory of the Portuguese in the 16th century, most of the people of the villages were converted by the Jesuit Missionaries. The total population is 12,323; households are 2,799 with 6,875 males and 5,448 females, which make it a Census Town. The population comprises of 46 per cent Christians, 41 per cent Hindus and 13 per cent Muslims in Navelim. Some of the names of Navelim wards are: Aquem

Baixo, Belem, Buttica, Calero Nagar, Calvado, Colmorod, Davorlim, Dialgona, Donhorim, Firgulem, Fradilem, Gantamorod, Mandopa, Ratvaddo, Rawanfond, Santrim, Shantinagar-Firlgulem, Sinquerim, Sirvodem, Telaulim, etc.

The first Church of Navelim was built by the Portuguese in the early 16th century, that is, in 1590, which was later reconstructed as the original structure was very small. It was financed by one of local merchant. It is believed that he was saved from severe losses by Our Lady of the Rosary. The Rosary College of Commerce and Arts is located here. There is a temple of Lord Vithal at Donhorim.

NAVELIM

| Our Lady of Rosary Church | Lord Vithal Temple |

NUVEM

Nuvem has a total of 2,248 households. It is a Census Town with a population of 9,288; of which 4,450 are males and 4838 are females. Christians are 84 per cent, Hindus 14 per cent and Muslims 2 per cent. Nuvem's inhabitants are predominantly Catholic and mainly belong to the Gawda-Kunbi community. Hindus are comparatively fewer in number.

Some of the wards are: Anuz, Murda-o-Grande, Dongrim-o-Grande, Guiriem, Odghi, Patepur, Belloy, Murda Pequeno, Dugem, Gounlloy, Povosaum, Assoon, Cupem, Baida, Igorje Bhat, Gorvote and Kirbhat.

Formerly under Margao's jurisdiction, Nuvem, before it became a full-fledged village in the early 19th century, was known as *Villa de Margao*. There is a Church of *Mae dos Pobres* and the feast is celebrated in the month of November, which is also referred to as *Gorvamche Fest*, on account of the cattle sale at the fair that lasts for eight days.

Nuvem is surrounded by hills and fields. The major occupation here is farming, cashew distillation and laterite quarrying. In the last two decades or so, automobile showrooms and service stations, a distillery, construction projects, ice cream factory, granite and marble sale outlets have come up in Nuvem. This has led to a change in landscape of the village. Nuvem has educational institutes such as Carmel College for Women; and Agnel Ashram, a Polytechnique College.

Besides the numerous roadside Crosses, there are eleven Chapels in the village. *Nuvem* is the Portuguese word for 'clouds'; and locals believe that perhaps it was cloudy when the village got its name (Miranda, 2000: 44-47).

NUVEM

| Religious Shrine next to the Church | Mother of the Poor Church |

ORLIM

Orlim or *Oll'lle* (colloquial for 'great') has a glorious past. In the olden days Orlim had a bigger population of Hindus, who worshipped divinities of Santeri, Porush, Koukum and others. It was dominated by Brahmins of Naik descent before the missionaries came in the 16th century. Despite having a predominant Christian population, the ancestral names of most of the 12 wards like Chando Naik, Demo Naik and Gonto Naik have been retained. Orlim has 499 households, and total population of the village is 2,049, of which 1,011 are males and 1,038 are females.

Orlim Church, which is situated on the banks of the river Sal, was the first one to be built by the Jesuits in the whole littoral of Salcete and commanded an extensive parish. Dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, the Church also had administrative control of Carmona, Ambelim, Assolna, Sirlim, Chinchinim, Cuncolim, Sarzora, Fatorpa, Velim and the distant regions of Dramapur and Paroda.

Built on the site of a Hindu temple on May 08, 1568, the Church was a makeshift headquarters for the missionaries. The Church passed through various vicissitudes and being a fragile structure of mud and thatch, was burnt at least three times by opponents of the missionaries. It was rebuilt by the Christians and a thanksgiving mass was offered on May 08, 1857. About 150 converts were taught the principles of the religion. The prominent Loyola family donated their house to the Presentation Sisters.

There is a Vithoba temple at Orlim. The remnants of an ancient temple were found near St. Michael Church (Ferrnandes, 1990: 40-43).

ORLIM

Ancient Temple Ruins

Presentation Sisters Convent

Vithoba Temple

St. Michael's Church

VARCA

Varca is a coastal village, renowned for its beaches and a popular destination for tourists. Our Lady of Gloria Church founded by the Jesuits, is also known as *Nossa Senhora da Gloria* Church. Varca's population is 5,439 which makes it a Census Town. It has 1,393 households comprising of 2,583 males and 2,856 are females. Christians are 83 per cent; Hindus are about 15 per cent and Muslims about 3 per cent. Tourism has made a mark in this village. Dolphin watching is a popular activity. There are traditional palm thatched roofs and wooden boats near the beach, which is popularly known as the Sunset beach. The famous Club Mahindra Beach Resort

caters to domestic and international tourists. Prominent in the village are a few shops with signboards in the Russian language, indicating their dominant presence here.

San Thome, a museum of antiques and technical evolution; contains a vintage collection of artefacts belonging to the different fields of technology, which takes one back to the ancestors of modern inventions.

VARCA

Sign Board in Russian Language	**San Thome – A Museum**
Varca Beach	**Our Lady of Gloria Church**
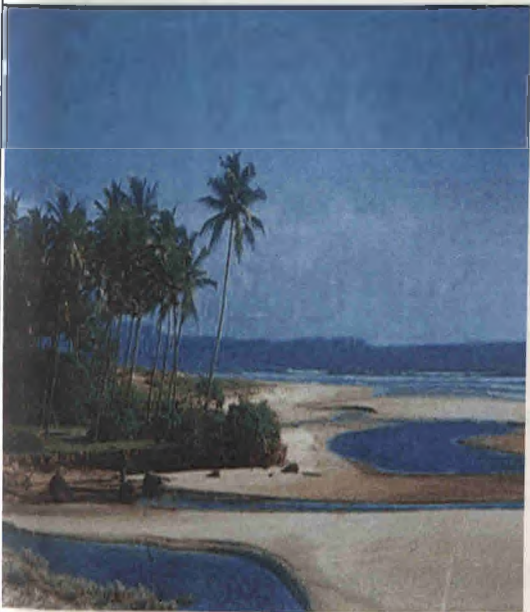
VERNA

There is an interesting tale associated with the origin of the name 'Verna' which is the Portuguese corruption of *Varanapuri*, literally meaning 'City of the Sea God'. *Varuna* means 'God of the Sea' and *Puri* means 'city'. However, there is no sea nearby. Dourado (1998: 42-45) opines that another interpretation of the genesis of its name could be true. A boy named Vishnu fell in love with a girl called Aruna. For some reason the lovers were killed by the village folk and their corpses were burnt. It is believed that Aruna was later reborn as a flowering plant, and it is from her that the village derived its name *Varunapuri*. *Aruna* means 'dawn', and just as dawn signifies freshness, Verna with its many springs and tanks was known for its cool and refreshing climate, and so the Portuguese nicknamed the village, *Terra de Frescura*.

There are 1,668 households and the total population is 6,632, comprising of 3,249 males and 3,383 are females. The Christians are at 80 per cent, Hindus are 18 per cent and Muslims are about 2 per cent only. There are also many old houses which reflect the architectural grandeur of stately Portuguese colonial villas. There is a Commemorative Cross – site of the first ever mass at Verna.

Traditionally, an agricultural village, farming and in particular paddy cultivation; continues to be a common activity. Pottery is a traditional household industry and potters are clustered in a ward called *Kumbravaddo*. Industries like poultry farming, toddy tapping, bakery, tailoring, rice and flour mills, manufacture of iron grills, furniture and stone quarrying are other occupations. It is a predominantly Catholic village, inhabited by some Hindus and a few Muslims. A sizeable portion of the Christian population comprises of the Catholic *Gauddi* community.

The Saint Francis Xavier priests have set up educational complexes from primary to professional engineering college; and an industrial training institute; and an orphanage. Another orphanage and a home for the aged; are managed by the

Sisters of Saint Joseph, of Cluny Convent. Besides, Padre Conceicao College of Engineering at Verna is a part of Agnel Technical Education. Also, the Goa Forensic Science Laboratory (FSL) is situated at Verna.

A recently renovated temple of Goddess *Mahalasa Narayani*, an avatar of goddess *Sateri*, is situated on the Mardol plateau of Verna. Prior to 1560, a large temple dedicated to the deity existed in the same spot. When this temple was destroyed by the Portuguese, the deity was shifted to Mardol in Ponda taluka. In 2006, a mosque was recently built in Verna, known as *Masjid Mehboob-E-Subhani*.

The Parish Church of Holy Cross, established in 1812, is located in Povoacao ward. The feast of St. Michael and Our Lady of Guia are some of the important village feasts (Dourado, 1998: 42-45).

VERNA

COMMEMORATIVE CROSS. The site of the first ever mass in Salcete
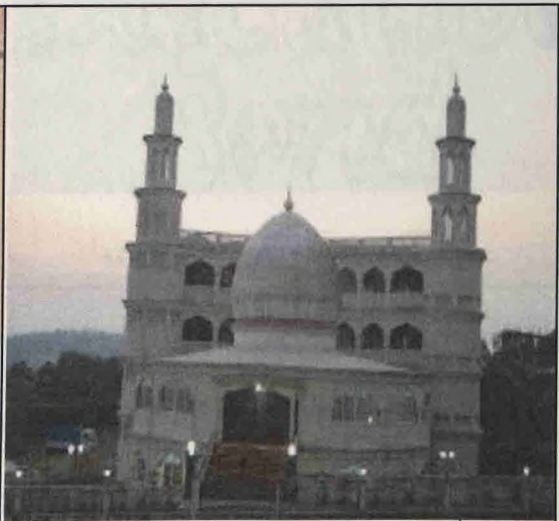
| The Site of the first ever Mass in Salcete | Masjid Mehboob-E-Subhani |

Portuguese Style Mansion

Parish Church of The Holy Cross

Devi Temple at Mardol Plateau

Goddess Mahalasa Narayani

2.8. SELECTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

As the universe in not clearly defined and in the absence of a sampling frame, purposive sampling method was used in selecting the respondents from the sample villages; who could provide the requisite information, and are willing to share the same with the researcher. In this method, deliberate selection of specific population was done; as these respondents were likely to provide data, which suited the objectives of the study and also met the criteria of research. Since the respondents were subjected to a personal interview, prior consent was sought after explaining the nature and purpose of enquiry.

Further, Snowball Method was resorted to, that is, asking respondents to suggest references of other persons exhibiting traits connected to the study. Snowball sampling is the process of selecting a sample using networks and it involves building a sample through referrals. The main target group was women whose spouses were working overseas and they were personally administered an interview schedule.

2.9. SAMPLE SIZE

The present study is largely qualitative in nature. The main aim in qualitative research is to gain in-depth knowledge about a situation, an event or an episode; or to gain as much knowledge as possible about various aspects of an individual, on the assumption that the individual is typical of the group and hence will provide insights into the group. Hence, the size of the sample becomes irrelevant.

Since there was no sample frame available it was difficult to decide the sample size. Sample size is highly dependent on the shape and form of data the researcher wishes to collect, and on the goal of analysis. In-depth nature of qualitative data generally limits the sample size. Also, qualitative data analysis strategies are generally not dependent on large numbers.

Therefore, in qualitative research, a researcher does not have a predetermined sample size, but during the data collection phase when one is not getting any new information or it is negligible; it is assumed that the person has reached a data saturation point and collecting of additional information is stopped. This stage determines the sample size.

Samples of around eighty respondents were initially targeted, but repeated attempts to contact them proved futile. The idea was to oversample, so as to get an adequate sample size. So, in total sixty-one women respondents were taken as samples and subjected to an interview schedule. In-depth personal interviews were held to elicit information and wherever necessary, follow-up interviews were done.

In the course of conducting interviews and interacting with respondents, fourteen households having a long migratory experience were deliberately chosen for the task of building up case-studies through the judgment sampling method, that is, those who exhibited distinct characteristics of the research and were willing to be a part of the study. This method draws from Clinical Psychology and necessitates a small sample size.

2.10. PILOT STUDY

Prior to conducting actual field work a preliminary study was conducted. The pilot study was conducted well before the main interview schedule was finalized. The instrument of data collection had been finalized after checking its feasibility under actual field conditions, on a group of people similar to the study population, but in a non-sample area i.e. Mormugao and Vasco city. This region was chosen because Mormugao taluka was a part of Salcete up to 1919. So, it was found to be most suitable for conducting a pilot study in wards of Vasco city and Mormugao taluka; such as Non-Mon, Kharewada, New-Vaddem and Baina. This pilot study was essential as it probed the sensitive aspects of the research study. The purpose was not to collect data, but to identify problems that potential respondents might have, either in understanding or interpreting a question. The pre-testing of research instrument helped to assess the sequence and relevance of the questions, either to be included or excluded, as well as revise and reframe questions from the interview schedule. After the pilot study, a final interview schedule was prepared with appropriate modifications and corrections.

2.11. TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

There is no one best research method, because of the "complexity of social reality and the limitations of all research methodologies" (Snow and Anderson, 1991: 158 cited in Kendall 2003: 62). Some research works demand a combination of methods or

mixed methods to arrive at research objectives. Data accumulated by different methods and sources, but bearing on the same issue, are part of what is called the multi-method approach. This approach from different methodological stand points is also known as triangulation (Gillham, 2005: 1; Denzin, 1989 cited in Kendall, 2003). The following methods and tools and techniques for data gathering were used:

2.11.1. Interview Schedule

The theoretical roots of in-depth interviewing are known as the interpretive tradition. It is a repeated face-to-face encounter between researcher and the informant; directed towards understanding the informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words. The aim is to get respondents to share their stories.

To enable data collection, a semi-structured interview schedule was prepared, having both close-ended as well as open-ended questions. The interview schedule was subjected to 'Content Validity' that is, linking each question with the objective of study, to establish the extent of coverage of areas of study. This exercise helped to ensure that all relevant aspects were covered, and facilitated easy collection of relevant data. Interviews were conducted using a pre-tested interview schedule. This was personally administered to women respondents whose spouses were working overseas. Various sections were made keeping in mind the objectives of the study. These indicators were used to determine the impact of overseas migration on the families. The interview schedule is divided into the following ten sections:

Section I – Socio-economic Background of the Respondents

In this section general information of the socio-economic background of respondents is sought pertaining to their age, religion, education, duration of marital life, type of house, remittances and so forth.

Section II – Spouse's Details

In this section details were sought about the respondent's spouses who are working overseas, and includes information of their age, education, whether abroad on shore or sailing, reasons for going overseas etc.

Section III – Trips Abroad / Visits and Communication

Here information was obtained with regard to trips abroad by the women respondents and the children, home visits by the migrant spouse, communication between him and the family and so on.

Section IV – Role and Responsibilities in the Household

Here a detailed information was sought regarding women's roles and responsibilities; sub-divided into household chores, outdoor tasks, managing finances, upbringing and socialization of children, looking after the elderly, duty towards the maternal home and miscellaneous roles.

Section V – Support System

This section aimed to elicit data on the support system of the respondents and their coping strategies in the absence of their spouses.

Section VI – Autonomy

This section is related to seeking information about whether spouses migration has contributed to upliftment of women's status, decision making, empowerment and independence or otherwise.

Section VII – Remittances and Finances

In this section, data related to remittances sent home by the overseas migrants and the way the families use them, is sought; through seeking information on consumption and investment pattern.

Section VIII – Benefits

Here, information elicited, is to infer the advantages brought about by migration and the positive outcome; and the resultant changes occurring in the families.

Section IX – Problems

In this section information is sought about the problems faced by the respondents. This section aimed to understand the latent dimensions, that is, the social repercussions of overseas migration.

Section X – Future Plans

This last section sought to gather data about the future plans of the overseas migrant's families.

2.11.2. Observation Method

Certain data cannot be generated only through dialogue; as respondents may hold back crucial information. Since the aim was to elicit information on all aspects of migration, which is not manifested easily during personal interview; it necessitated the use of field observation as a tool of data collection. Additional information was generated by this method. The mode of housing, interpersonal relations between members of family, the manner in which house is decorated, and so on, was minutely observed and inferences were drawn from the same. This method enabled to grasp with the eye; what respondents may conceal or hesitate to reveal during the interview. Gillham (2005: 20) observes "this 'detached' observation, is the 'fly on the wall' approach; and very different from 'participant' observation", its main use is where one needs to be more systematic in how one observes. Observation was carried out with the help of an 'Observation Check List'. The field notes were taken down on field cards, accessed as data record sheets; and corroborated with other findings.

2.11.3. Case Study Method

A case study is about depth, to probe into detail and get a grip on the rich experiences of any individual, community, group or an organization that one wants to explore. This allows a holistic understanding through prolonged engagement and the development of rapport and trust within a clearly defined and highly relevant context (O'Leary, 2011: 173-174). Thus, to simultaneously explore the various types of changes that are concomitant to international migration; case studies were conducted of households, having longer experience of inter-generational migration. Choice of households was made purposively to cover varied aspects of migration. In-depth case study analysis of the households were done by using the interview method, narratives and oral traditions to get deeper insight and understanding of the issue at hand.

2.11.4. Informal and Formal Discussions

Working with key informants enabled to procure answers to research questions with select individuals, who have specialized knowledge. This method contributed tremendously towards understanding the research topic. The researcher discussed the topic of her study with journalists and writers, religious leaders, sarpanch, repatriates, the elderly in the villages, and others. Narrative technique was used to seek to a person's recounting of an incident that occurred in their life, or oral traditions of historical, social or cultural events that took place in the past; and passed on from generations in the form of anecdotal evidence. These personally experienced and community shared stories, of first hand lived information, significantly enhanced understanding of the issue at hand.

2.11.5. Reflexive Journal Log

This entailed keeping a research log and was more supplementary to the research process. Whenever a researcher notices something peculiar, interacts with someone or participates in an activity; that helps to understand whatever the researcher is trying to

find out, is written down. This includes questions to reflect on; insights, hunches or ideas; a report that one needs to get a copy of; the name of someone to be consulted; statistics that need checking and so on. It is a fundamental part of a researchers database (Gillham, 2003: 23).

The process of keeping a journal began as the researcher participated in local scenes and made observations that were later noted down. These were used to write various sections of the research report. This log became the basis of research findings as every creative insight and lead, was explored thoroughly.

These multiple methods and approaches provided a wider scope of information and enhanced the understanding of critical issues.

2.12. TOOLS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Ader (2008) has defined data analysis as "a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modeling data with the goal of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making".

The collected primary data was edited, coded and entered into an excel sheet. This exercise helped to get frequencies. Themes were made which facilitated to conduct meaningful analysis. Since the interview schedule was structured having open-ended as well as close-ended questions, the data was analyzed separately.

2.12.1. Open-ended descriptive data

Content analysis is one of the main methods of analyzing qualitative data. Kumar (2011: 382) points out that it is a "process of analyzing contents of interview schedules, observation or field notes". In this way one can observe main themes that emerge from responses given or observation notes made by a researcher. Kendall (2003: 55) opines "Analyzing content is the systematic examination of cultural artifacts or forms of communication to extract thematic data and draw conclusions". Open-ended descriptive data which consisted of phrases were subjected to content

analysis, as also the data gathered through informal interviews, discussions, case studies, oral traditions and narratives, was organized, screened and coded. From this categorization, recurrent themes were discerned; to analyze and interpret the discussion. In this way conclusions were drawn of the findings in the light of the objectives of research study. Results are presented thematically and, wherever essential, verbatim quotes are retained.

2.12.2. Close-ended data

Close-ended data which was elicited for objective and standard means of enquiry, having a fixed set of responses, were processed, code-sheet was prepared in an excel format and information was compiled in a tabular form. Numerical information thus obtained, were edited and major findings were presented in graphs and charts; and then subjected to discussion and analysis.

2.13. FIELD EXPERIENCE

Field work began in April 2014 and continued till June 2014. The second phase, that is, follow-up phase of fieldwork was done from mid October 2015 to January 2015. Required primary data was collected with the help of an interview schedule. Respondents, who were willing, were sought to be a part of the research. Explaining the purpose and nature of research and enabling them to understand the significance of the study was a difficult task. It took a lot of convincing and cajoling to get them to open up and share the intricacies of their lives with me. Moreover, a few respondents who are living with their in-laws were often tight lipped; so follow-up interviews were done in an unobtrusive place, where they could communicate freely. I was assisted by some local friends and prominent persons who introduced me to potential respondents. This helped to establish contact and build a rapport with them. Having the advantage of knowing the local Konkani language, communication was not difficult. The initial hesitation, combined with suspicion and doubts, was gradually

replaced by cooperation and generally an environment of openness. Case studies of select households also yielded a good response and lot of detailed information was collected from the families. Thus, in total, about six months were spent in the field area.

Before the actual interviews, ground work was done to put the respondents at ease and gain access to their homes. On an average, one interview took about two hours to complete. In one case, after a successful completion of an interview with a lady whose spouse is working overseas, I was requested the following day not to use the material for my research. The reason was that her adult son felt that I was from the government vigilance department and data that they shared with me would be detrimental for them in future.

While interacting with potential informants during field research and respondents at the time of conducting interviews, I observed people in their natural environments and got familiar with their language and the jargon that they used in their social milieu. Overall, although field work was a challenging activity, it was intellectually a fulfilling exercise.

2.14. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Doing research was a rewarding and enriching experience for me, however, utmost care was taken about the ethical aspects which had to be complied with during the research study. Since, the research objectives could be fulfilled through engaging with women whose spouses were working abroad, anonymity and confidentiality was assured to participants of the research; and hence only willing volunteers were approached. To protect the identity of the respondents, names and identifying characteristics were not used anywhere in the research. Also, while conducting interviews, intrusive and awkward questions were avoided. Gaining consent of respondents prior to the actual data gathering was a big responsibility and they were

assured that they had the right to discontinue the interview; if they felt stressed or anxious.

2.15. ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY DATA

In secondary analysis, available literature and existing data sources such as public records, official reports of organizations and government agencies and surveys conducted by other researchers were used.

Additional secondary data from various books, journals, online research papers, archived material and village chronicles helped to build a theoretical framework and also familiarized the researcher with similar work done by various scholars. A theoretical and conceptual framework was developed and linked to the study. Books on research methodology helped to gain a deeper understanding of various research methods, tools and techniques of data collection and data analysis.

Secondary data was collected from various libraries such as Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai; Kalina University, Santacruz, Mumbai; Udaipur University Library; Xavier Centre for Historical Research, Porvorim, Goa; Goa University Library, Taleigao and District Library, Navelim.

2.16. DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is a moral responsibility to identify the delimitations and limitations of this study. This study is located in South Goa, and limited to Salcete taluka, and hence the results of this study would not necessarily be representative of other talukas. Although the analysis is restricted to Salcete taluka, this study provides valuable insights and sheds light on the phenomenon of migration and family dynamics in Goa.

Further, since it is based on information provided by the respondents, there is a possibility of their attitudes and biases having an imprint while sharing their life experiences. The responses given by the respondents are assumed to be true, as it was not possible to verify authenticity of the responses.

CHAPTER III

MIGRATION IN GOA: AN OVERVIEW

This chapter makes an attempt to place in perspective the saga of Goans who dared to venture into faraway lands leaving behind their cocooned existence, to try out their luck in hitherto unknown territories. In order to trace the genesis of migration, it is relevant to know the historical background which facilitated migration during various phases of known history of Goa. In this context the geographic location, demographic and socio-economic characteristics as well as cultural influences are pertinent to understand the present scenario. So, we ought to trace the history, examine the causes, as well as the attitudes and perception towards migration, impact on families and also recent trends and concerns pertaining to migration. Thus, it would be apt to give a brief sketch of the State and establish the context of migration from Goa.

3.1. THE STATE OF GOA

Goa is located in the region known as the Konkan, it is bounded by the state of Maharashtra to the North; and by Karnataka to the East and South, while the Arabian Sea forms its Western coast. Goa occupies an area of 3,702 square kilometers. Its geographical position is marked by 15 degree 48' 00" North and 14 degree 53' 54" North Latitude and 74 degree 40' 13" East and 73 degree 40' 33' East Longitude (Gomes, 1996: 11). According to the Census of India 2011, it is made up of 334 villages and 56 Census Towns. Goa has a total population of 1,458,545, comprising of 73,9140 males and 71,9405 females.

Goa is the 25th state of the Indian Union and was formed in the year 1987. Panaji is the capital city of the state. Prior to the formation of the state, Goa was a major district of the former Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. It attained full-fledged statehood on May 30, 1987 under the Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganization

Act, 1987 (Act No. 18 of 1987), thus separating it from the 25 years old Union

Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.

FIGURE 3.1. MAP OF GOA

Administrative Map of

Goa

— District border
— Taluka border

20 km

The present state of Goa was under the Portuguese colonial rule for about 450 years and it was liberated on 19th December, 1961. It was integrated with India vide the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Act, 1962 dated March 27, 1962 (Goa: A Portrait of Population, Census of India, 1991). For administrative purposes the State is divided into two districts: North and South Goa and twelve talukas. The talukas of Pernem, Satari, Bardez, Tiswadi, Bicholim and Ponda form the North Goa District. The South Goa District comprises of the talukas of Mormugao, Salcete, Quepem, Sanguem, Dharbandora (created in 2015) and Canacona.

The name 'Goa' has undergone several changes in the course of time. Its earliest designations: *Gove, Gopakapuri, Gomant*, seem to indicate its pastoral origin (Albuquerque, 2012: ix). In the local language Konkani, it is called *Goy* or *Goem* (Gomes, 1996: 49). *Goem* means in the ancient Mundari language of the protoaustroloid Indian aboriginals, "a land full of food and fodder". Later Goa came to be known as *Kova* to the Greek invaders and geographers like Ptolemy, and *Gomanchal* or *Gomantak* to Indian intellectuals, as recorded in our ancient texts (Gomes, 2002: 37).

Goa was a part of larger kingdoms like those of the Imperial Mauryas, the Andhras (Satavahanas), the Scythians (Sakas), the Bhojas, the Konkan Mauryas (Pereira, 1973: 72 cited in Mendes, 2014: 19). The other kingdoms were the Silaharas, Kadambas, Kshatrapas, Abiras, Kalachuris, Kaikeyas, Guptas, Sondekars, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, Hoysalas and the Yadavas of Devgiri (Costa, 2992: 3 cited in Mendes, 2014: 19; Rodrigues, 2002: 177).

The Medieval period saw rule of the Bahamanis, the Delhi Sultan and the Nawab of Honavar (Pereira, 1973: 89 cited in Mendes, 2014: 19). The founder of the Bahamani kingdom, Hassan Gangu, attacked and captured a part of Goa in 1352, and by 1369, the Vijayanagara ruler Bukka I made his entry in Goa. Thereafter, the

Bahamani rulers came. Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur ruled Goa till it was taken over by the Portuguese. After an unsuccessful attempt in March 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque finally captured Goa on 25th November 1510 (Da' Costa, 1982: 110 cited in Mendes, 2014: 19).

3.2. OLD AND NEW CONQUESTS

There is a need to take into account the social, cultural and political context in which the migration process takes place. In any discussion on Goa, it is necessary to distinguish between the so called *Velhas Conquistas* and the *Novas Conquistas*. The 'Old Conquests' refer to the more developed talukas of *Ilhas* (Goa taluka as it was known), Bardez, Salcete and Mormugao, conquered first by the Portuguese in the 16th century and these underwent the full impact of colonization in all aspects of life. The 'New Conquests' refer to the remaining talukas, namely, Pernem, Bicholim, Satari, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona which were integrated in Goa between 1763 and 1778 (D'Souza, 1975: 18).

The 'Old Conquests' of Goa, which are the coastal territories, were conquered by the Portuguese from 1510 to 1543, and the 'New Conquests', territories, were annexed and incorporated into Goa in the last quarter of the 18th century. The 'Old Conquests' have a much higher density of population. Agriculture and allied activities like fishing are more advanced in these talukas. It was only with the emergence of mining activity that the 'New Conquests' started gaining importance, since the mines were situated almost exclusively in the 'New Conquests'.

The New Conquests cover three-fourths of the area of present state of Goa and has remained predominantly Hindu. The Portuguese influence on the Old Conquests has been intense and significant, as is evident from a large Christian population living here. The majority of emigrants have originated from these talukas. Obviously, the Old Conquests (Bardez, Salcete, Tiswaddi and Mormugao) have been the scope of

most studies on emigration (GMS, 2008: 23-24). Mascarenhas (1990: 243) and Larsen (1998: 284) have also made a mention that a bulk of emigrants originated from the Old Conquest talukas. The massive migration of the labour and middle classes to various parts of the erstwhile British and Portuguese empires affected the talukas constituting the 'Old Conquests' (Noronha, 1990: 263-264).

FIGURE 3.2. MAP OF GOA (OLD AND NEW CONQUESTS)
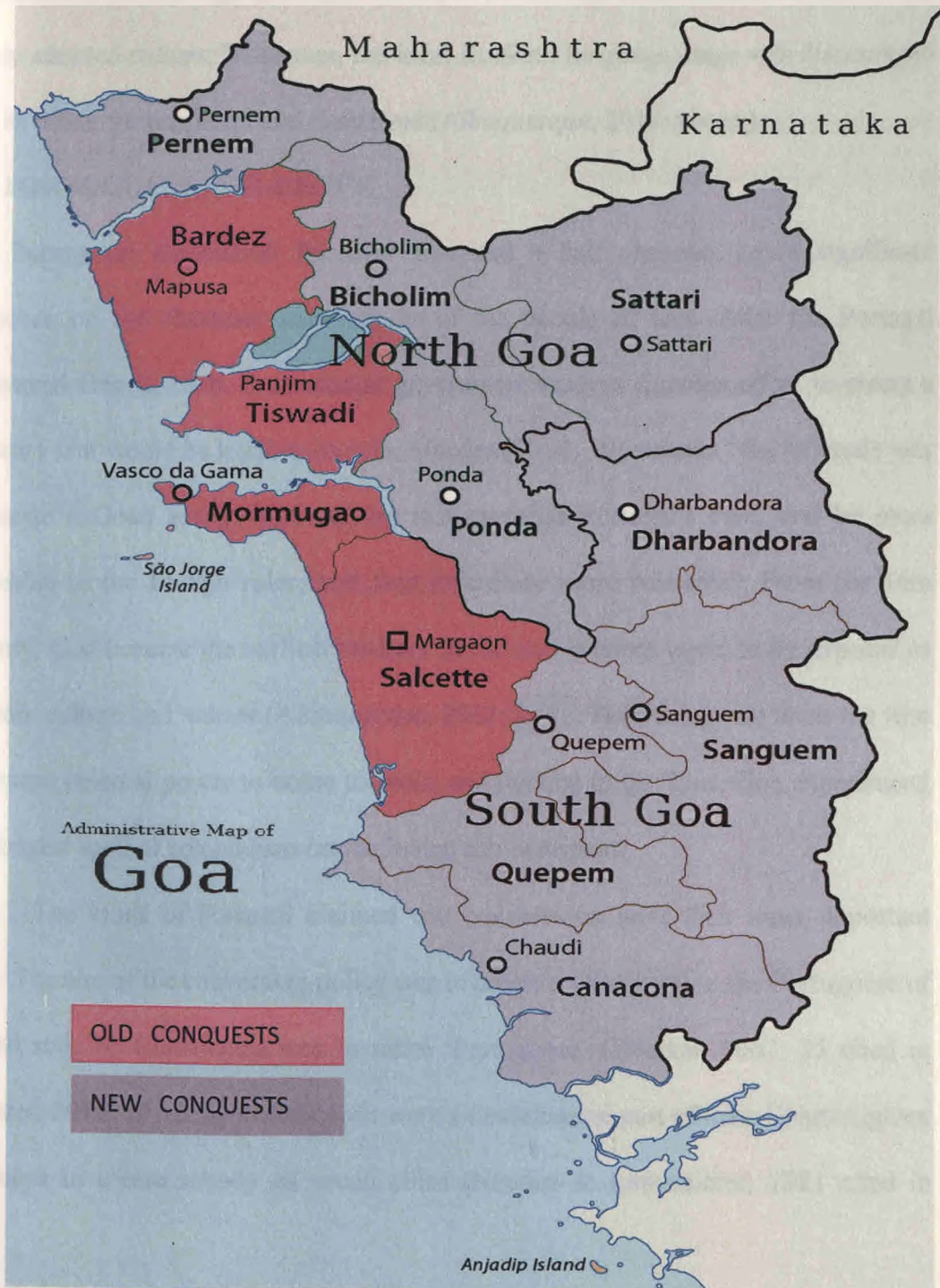
The 'Old Conquests' remained with the Portuguese uninterruptedly for longer period of time than the 'New Conquests' and consequently felt all the more intensively the impact of their influence in a process which may be called 'lusitanization' (Gomes, 1996: 3). Once they adopted the new faith, the newly-converted had to make a complete transformation and they had to shed old loyalties and inhibitions. They had to synchronize their manner of worship, personal as well as family name, dress, language, food habits and diet, custom and manner of life with the newly adopted culture. Moreover, the local Konkani language usage was discouraged and its literature was burnt and destroyed (Albuquerque, 2012: xix-xx).

3.3. PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE

The Portuguese association for over four and a half centuries left a significant influence on the character and attitude of the people of Goa. After the Portugal conquered Goa in 1510, the colonial government made a rigorous effort to create a citizenry that would be loyal to its rule. Mendes (2014: 19) remarks "the rationale was to create a Goan society and culture that mirrored Portugal's own; and be more amenable to the foreign ruler; and find its culture more palatable". From the 16th century, Goa became the earliest territory in the non-western world to be exposed to western culture and values (Albuquerque, 2012: xvii). The Portuguese were the first European colonial power to come to India, and the last to go. Thus, Goa experienced the longest spell of colonialism on the Indian sub-continent.

The kings of Portugal claimed that conversions were their most important duty. The aim of the conversion policy was to create a class loyal to the Portuguese of Indian soil. To Christianize was to make 'Portuguese' (Priolkar, 1967: 35 cited in Mendes, 2014: 20). Mass conversions were a fundamental part of their Charter, given the need to create a body of social allies (Houtart & Lemercinier, 1981 cited in

Robinson, 1998: 46). Evangelization (mass baptism) was carried out after indoctrination.

Goa, for all practical purposes, was a closed territory with little or no contact between the Goans in Goa and their fellow countrymen in the subcontinent of India (Vaz, 1997: 20). Having an indigenous culture as its base, there was a strong imprint of the onslaught of the Portuguese culture on Goan society. Mendes (2014: 18) remarks that "the Portuguese came with a foreign language, religion, music architecture, dress, habits and cuisine, which were all culturally alien to Goa". Further, the Portuguese rulers passed *Alvaras* and decrees to force their culture on Goan society, especially in the early centuries of their rule.

Robinson (1998: 56) makes an interesting observation that among Catholics, beef and pork are the festive food par excellence, the consumption of which is a sign of social and economic status; and is associated with the Portuguese. It is said that they brought the *mis ani mas* (mass and meat). Thus, the principal activities of any festive celebration are incomplete without these practices.

Goa witnessed a rich cultural syncretism of eastern and western cultures. This endowed the Goans with a more inclusive identity and encouraged the acquisition of new knowledge and the spirit of discovery. This provided them with a distinct advantage wherever they went and facilitated their migration and adaptation and integration into different cultural contexts (GMS, 2008: 19).

3.4. CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Any occurrence has a reason behind it, and so it becomes essential to examine the various causes which prompted as well as provoked man to decide to migrate. Mainly the economic and political conditions affect the decision to move in search of jobs. In Goa, however, the causes of migration appear to be quite unique and distinct.

3.4.1. Conversion

During the period of mass conversion movement initiated in the 1540s, the Portuguese rulers wanted to convert the Hindus to Christianity. They used coercion to throw out all the Hindus who resisted. This triggered off the first wave of migration and the Hindus who were unwilling to embrace the Christian faith, migrated to the neighbouring regions of Karwar, Belgaum, Mangalore, Karnataka and Kerala, where they settled without fear of persecution. They did not want to abandon their traditional religious and cultural practices and preferred migration (Azevedo, 1997: 29). Thus, many escaped conversion and retained their freedom to practice their religion elsewhere in India.

The decree of 3rd March 1546, of King Dom Joao III, ordered the Viceroy Joao de Castro, to destroy Hindu temples, forbid Hindu festivities, banish Hindu priests, punish the makers of idols and give jobs in public service to fresh converts (Menezes, 1948: 9). Temples were destroyed in Bardez in 1573; and in Salcete in 1584-1587 (Pearson, 1987: 117 cited in Mendes, 2014: 20). Plenty of privileges were extended to the converts in the following years, including tax exemptions.

The intense missionary activity continued, and within a century of the Portuguese presence in Goa, the local Hindu population had to succumb to the pressure, and converted to Christianity in large numbers. (Costa, 1956 cited in GMS, 2008: 23). Mendes (2014) points out that "conversion to Christianity were of three types - voluntary, induced and coerced". The Portuguese policy of conversion meant that the population in Goa comprised of converts to Christianity, and a few who did not migrate, remained Hindu. Albuquerque (2012: vii) notes that "this led to a serious rift and brought out starkly contrasting attitudes and loyalties which shaped their diverging destinies".

3.4.2. Inquisition

Further, in the year 1560, the establishment of the Tribunal of Inquisition in Goa brought an even more autocratic policy. This phase is termed as the darkest period in the history of the Portuguese rule in Goa (Priolkar, 1961: 3 cited in Mendes, 2014: 25). Besides, not only Hindus, but even Christian converts out of fear of relapsing into the old Hindu usages and customs, came within its purview. Public worship was discouraged. In 1567, about 280 temples were destroyed by the Portuguese (Albuquerque, 2012: xxv; Azevedo, 1997: 30). The Inquisition was instituted in Goa mainly on account of the presence of Jews and Mohammedans; and to prevent converts from reverting to non-Christian practices. It was used against the Hindus also, if it was proved that they had tried to prevent any person from converting (Neill, 1984 cited in Robinson, 1988: 50). Thus, in order to escape persecution, many Hindu families fled for safety and entire villages were deserted; and rice fields were abandoned (Correia, 2006: 337-338).

There was a tendency on the part of the new converts to retain some practices of their old religion. The Inquisition aimed at preventing, detecting and punishing these so-called 'pagan' heretical tendencies. The neo-converts were forbidden to observe their ancestral rites and customs, even behind closed doors. This oppression saw mass emigration to neighbouring territories. Anyone who tried to defy could be arrested and imprisoned and face the torture of pulleys, water or burnt alive at the stake (Priolkar, 1961: 153 cited in Mendes, 2014: 23).

The Inquisition disturbed not only the Hindu majority, who were determined to resist evangelization, but also many Christians of Bardez who were deeply entrenched in Hindu customs. Migration of entire families was thus triggered off to the bordering Hindu principalities. Besides, 12,000 families, mostly Saraswat Brahmins, some Vanis, Kunbis and Sonars stealthily sailed down in ships to the

southern ports of Honawar and Kozhikode, carrying their deities across the border and installing them in new shrines where they resettled (Albuquerque, 2012: xxiii-xxv). Also, a sizeable number of Christians left Goa and settled in north and south Canara, from Karwar to Mangalore (Azevedo, 1997: 30).

The Portuguese, whose key instruments of foreign policy in the colonies were 'the sword and the cross', enthusiastically implemented the policies of proselytism recommended by the provincial councils of 1567 and 1573. This began a long chapter of persecution of Goa's Hindus (Kamat, 1999: 52 cited in Mendes, 2014: 22), which lasted about two centuries. Finally, the Inquisition was abolished in 1812.

Thus, considerable migration of Goans, both Hindus and Christians; took place due to the conversion practices and the atrocities of the Inquisition. A book titled *Swapna Saraswat* written by Gopal Krishna Pai (2014) describes the trauma of such forced and compulsive migrations of Saraswats. In 1560–62, about 22,000 families fled from Goa. The writer calls this Goa's first diaspora, as people were forced to go into self-exile due to the prevailing circumstances.

3.4.3. Agrarian Economy

The *ganvkari* system of administration existed in pre-Portuguese Goa. All the stakeholders had a share in this village community system. The Portuguese referred to these collectivities as *communidades* and collected land revenue from them. As the community land came to be auctioned, it led to the class of private holdings by landowners or *bhatkars*. Rice production was inadequate (Mendes, 2014: 29). With regard to the ownership of land, the *communidade* system replaced the *ganvkari* system of the pre- Portuguese era.

The original inhabitants of Goa were governed by *gaumponns* or village republics (Albuquerque, 2012: ix). Land was owned jointly by *gavnkars* (native inhabitants) and managed by the village communities. The major traditional

occupation in Goa was subsistence farming. With the arrival of the Portuguese, a system of private property was introduced. Despite being an agrarian society, only about 10 per cent of the population derived direct sustenance from the land. Only 2 per cent of the population owned landed property. Those who cultivated their paddy fields earned just enough to live on subsistence. About 40 per cent of the adult male population migrated to earn a living.

Various international developments which took place around the middle of the 19th century raised fresh hopes of employment opportunities (GMS, 2008: 24-25). Also, the sustained demand for labour in the 20th century in different sectors of the international economy attracted Goans who were frustrated by the stagnant economy of Goa under Portuguese rule. These factors influenced those who aspired higher earnings; and white collar professional jobs.

Albuquerque (2012: xxvii) aptly sums up the situation of the landless laboring class which she describes – "like rats on a sinking ship, now just had to break free". Most were illiterate and in feudal servitude to the cruel *bhatkars*. Although, they had never been out of the village, but, confronted with the stark problem of starvation *potak lagonn*, they had to venture out. Since agriculture was unprofitable, Goans migrated to other parts of India, particularly to Bombay and East Africa.

3.4.4. Heavy Taxes

Heavy taxation was another reason for people to leave Goa. Goan emigration was inevitable and large-scale migration to British India was an economic necessity. Many Goans had settled in Santa Cruz in Mumbai, in Calcutta, Karachi and Aden.

From the 1920s, the Portuguese government began levying an emigration tax on every Goan who left Goa in search of employment and also on those returning home on vacation. Further, military tax, property tax etc. had burdened the Goan population (Cunha, J cited in GMS 2008: 25). In addition to government taxes, customs duty was

also imposed. Government provided no funds for the improvement, increase or production of cultivation (Mendes, 2014: 29).

3.4.5. Unemployment

Goans had difficulty in getting jobs in Goa before Liberation, because the economy was mainly agrarian; and there were no industries of significance other than open-cast iron and manganese mines. In the 19th century, economic necessity was the chief reason for migration. The British occupation of Goa from 1798 to 1812 is said to be responsible for further migration (Azevedo, 1997: 30; Rodrigues, 2002: 181).

The discovery of iron ore and manganese resources in Goa in the 1950s, generated employment, but even that did not prevent considerable emigration. After the Liberation of Goa in 1961, further emigration occurred. Tourism industry in the 1970s provided some relief for the unemployed (GMS, 2008: 26). However, migration rose due to the scarcity of work, lack of industries; and disparity between wages and cost of living *(Cunha, 1961 cited in GMS, 2008: 27).*

Although Goa is richly blessed with natural resources, such as iron and manganese ore, the Portuguese did not explore this source of revenue and employment. The growth of this industry was left in the hands of private individuals (Tombat, 1995: 39 cited in Mendes, 2014: 30).

3.4.6. Increase in Transport and Communication

The introduction of steam ships and vast improvements in other modes of transport and communication by coastal steamer and railway made it easier for people who wanted to migrate to Bombay (Albuquerque, 2012: xxix).

The telegraph and postal services were introduced in 1839 and 1841 respectively. The steam ship arrived in 1870; and by 1880 river navigation had started in Goa. Later, Goa's internal railway line was developed. Thus, Goans migrated for a

better life to Portuguese and British colonies, to the Gulf and later to Europe (Pereira, 1995: 20 cited in Mendes, 2014: 31).

3.4.7. Educational Prospects

The education introduced in Goa by the Portuguese in the early centuries of their rule, was limited to religious learning through Seminaries and Convents. Religious orders like Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans established educational institutions and Seminaries in Goa (Mendes, 2014: 26). But, education was restricted to a few people in Goa until 1910; the Hindus were denied the right to education at government institutions.

Thus, education was another factor that led to migration. With the passage of time, there was development of education in British India. For acquiring better qualifications; the Goans of higher castes began migrating because of poor higher education facilities in Goa. The majority of them went to Bombay, Dharwad and Belgaum. A few who were wealthy and could afford foreign education sent their children to Europe, especially Portugal to continue their studies (Rodrigues, 2004: 181).

A competitive spirit among the people to achieve better standards of life made them realize the importance of education. D'Souza (1975: 212-214) notes that the traditional occupations which were based on ascriptive norms started declining and were replaced by "rationalism, secularism, individualism, acquisition and achievement". Further, he remarks, "the emigration of Goans acted like a lever, which jolted the society out of its traditional ascriptive culture".

Brouilhet (quoted in Loyola, 2000) observed "The repulsive factors that keep the people away from their country, together with the attractive factors of the seducing countries, may be interpreted as the causes of emigration". It was mainly the

illiterate classes who were mainly affected by the repulsive causes and were forced to seek jobs in foreign countries.

To sum up, we can conclude that migration from Goa began in the 16th century out of fear of conversion and the Inquisition. This was more involuntary in nature. Later, the agrarian economy, harsh taxes, unemployment and lack of educational prospects led to migration. Moreover, increase in modern means of transport and communication facilitated migration. It is important to note that the above causes of migration do not apply to the present reasons for overseas migration.

3.5. GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

3.5.1. Religion of Migrants

Goan Christians (Catholics) had a higher tendency to migrate, because of their easy adaptability to any environment, their cultural openness and liberal attitude (GMS, 2008: 20) and Rodrigues (2002: 181) rightly pointed out "the Britishers preferred hiring them, as they had assimilated the western culture". The military and civilian settlements of British colonies needed personnel who could meet European tastes in cuisine, dress and music. So, they recruited Christians as cooks, stewards, butlers, musicians, tailors, *ayahs* and bakers. A few took up posts of pharmacists, clerks, doctors, nurses and secretaries in the early British government (GMS, 2008: 25). The cultural syncretism and Christian religion which characterized the Catholics; gave them an advantage in acquiring service jobs and they quickly moved into this economic niche (Pinto, 1960 cited in Mascarenhas, 1990: 244 - 245).

Initially, the Hindus did not migrate, probably due to restrictions imposed by caste and traditions and reluctance to sail probably was due to religious taboos of certain food items, old religious cultural prejudices or due to attachment to joint family which is bound by traditional values (Gracias, 2007: 108; GMS, 2008: 22-23).

Another prohibitive factor for the Hindus, was the restriction to cross the *kala pani*, which was equated to breaking a religious proscription. While the Christians consumed non-vegetarian food, opted for western dress and consumed alcohol. Moreover, they followed social customs; similar to those of the Portuguese rulers (Albuquerque, 2012: 25; Rodrigues, 2002: 18). Hence, emigration has largely come from the Christian population in the territory, due to a range of historical and cultural factors.

So, by and large, the Hindus shunned away from emigration and also preferred to educate their children in Marathi medium. Moreover, they strictly adhered to their family occupations and engaged themselves in trade and traditional crafts of their forefathers. Many of them though, had exiled themselves to neighbouring places in India in the earlier years of Goa's conquest, in order to avoid harassment by Portuguese proselytizers (Rodrigues, 2002: 181). Hindus rarely went overseas and mainly migrated to parts of India and mostly in the vicinity of Goa. Generally they obtained work as petty traders and clerks (Mascarenhas, 1990: 245).

3.5.2. Class of Migrants

For certain people, mainly those belonging to upper strata of society, the nature of job that they would be engaged in was very important. This was because certain occupations were linked to particular castes. These caste based restrictions imposed fetters that bound them and imposed limitations on their choice.

Azevedo (1997: 31) points out that since Goans were well known for their musical and culinary genius, they were recruited in large numbers as musicians in military bands, as well as chefs in hotels in British India and also in the Princely States. Goans migrated in increasing numbers as cooks, butlers and stewards.

In the early stages of *post-colonial migration*, a majority of those who went to the Middle East were Christians, underprivileged and from old conquest talukas. They

mainly belonged to the laboring class, like waiters, butlers, cooks, *ayahs*, musicians etc. It was only much later on they were from the educated class. In the last few decades Goans who have migrated belong to all classes of society (Gracias, 2007: 108; *Rodrigues*, 2002: 180).

While in the beginning emigration was confined to only people taking up jobs on board ships as 'seaman' mainly in the saloon wing, later it had increased in respect of the white-collared class as well, with clerks, teachers, accountants and other skilled professionals going abroad (Gomes, 1996: 362-363). A few of them worked as pharmacists, doctors and nurses.

3.6. DESTINATION AND TRENDS IN GOAN MIGRATION

Migration trends according to destination or changing patterns could be broadly illustrated in chronological order as follows: British India and Asia, Africa, America, Canada and United Kingdom, and The Gulf.

The first recorded wave of Goan migration is traced to the 16th century when the Portuguese rule began in Goa. Since Goa was a Portuguese enclave for over four centuries, with clearly demarcated political boundaries, migration to destinations outside Goa involved crossing national boundaries. Obviously, any out-migration to India before Goa's integration into the Indian Union as well as outside India was perceived as international (GMS, 2008: 20; Mascarenhas, 1990: 243).

Gracias (2007: 107) notes that "during the early centuries of the Portuguese rule a large number of Hindus left Goa to escape conversion". Later, the new converts fled Goa to escape the terror of the Inquisition put forth in the late 16th century. However, these movements were not induced by employment considerations.

With the establishment of British colonial government in India in the 19th century; and the development of Bombay and other towns and cities in the vicinity of Goa, many new employment opportunities were created. Goans migrated to the

metropolitan cities, such as Madras, Calcutta and Delhi; and also to smaller urban centers near Goa, like Belgaum, Dharwad and Poona. Others went to the British colonies along with their masters or on their own. Goans took up the jobs of sailors, stewards and cooks in the passenger and cargo liners on the ships anchored by the British India.

Goan females followed the males and worked as *ayahs*, governesses and other low paying jobs (Azevedo, 1997: 31). Women who migrated independently were mostly poor, low caste unmarried women or widows from the lower classes. They worked as domestic staff in British families, while some took the jobs of nurses and secretaries in Bombay and other urban areas (Gracias, 2007: 107; Mascarenhas, 1990: 245). By and large, for Goans, Bombay has been a favourite destination.

In fact *Matharpacady* village, in Bombay's Mazagaon area, also known as 'Mini Goa', is full of Goan migrants. The East India Company leased the whole areas to a Portuguese gentleman - Alvares Peres da Tavoro or the 'Lord of Mazagaon'. The name *Matharpacady* means 'old people's garden'. It is derived from the Marathi word *Mhatara*, which means 'old man', and the Portuguese *horte*, or 'garden'. This village has elegant Portuguese style mansions. The structures are wooden, with tilted roofs and long spacious verandahs. Amidst the huge two storied structures are the 'Goan village clubs' which have been a part and parcel of *Matharpacady*. This place has been a Christian stranglehold for over three centuries. The village folk celebrate the village feast on May 1, which coincidentally is also Maharashtra Day. The feast is preceded by nine-day *Novenas* to Our Lady (Monteiro, 1992).

Some Goans even migrated further to Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Aden, all of which formed part of British India. Furthermore, Bombay as a port city, like Calcutta and Karachi, provided access to jobs on steam ships and in various parts of India; there was considerable demand for workers (Mascarenhas, 1990: 244). The

English education they acquired in Goa helped them to be well placed in the services of private companies and the British government.

Goans also migrated to the British African colonies of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganiyka; and the Portuguese colonies of Macau, Timor, Mozambique, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea and Sao Tome e Pricipe (Azevedo, 1997: 31).

Fernandes (2007: 41) divided Goans working in foreign countries into three main categories – *Africanders*, *Tarvottis* and *Gulfees*. While most *Africanders*, were from Bardez, *Tarvottis* from Salcete and *Gulfees*, a mixture from all over Goa and they were mainly Christians.

3.7. TARVOTTI

In the early 20th century, Goans began to take up employment on ships as *Tarvottis*. In the Konkani language, Goan seamen/sailors are called *Tarvottis*. The term means "a person working on a big ship" and referred to one's who went sailing. Albuquerque (2012: 24-25) notes, "Being coastal people with seafaring in their blood, many of the early Goan immigrants in Bombay were attracted to this profession".

Correia (2006: 282-283) provides a historical context of the seafaring profession in Goa, in an essay titled 'Goencar Tarvotti'. In 1871, Sir William Mackinnon, Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company (BI), launched a recruitment drive in Goa to serve the passenger and cargo fleet. Christians were enlisted mainly from the villages of Ambelim, Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim (AVC) in Salcete taluka. (The reason was that they consumed meat and alcohol and would not have taboos for handling the same). Correia adds that a Goan *Tarvotti*'s worked on ships "as butlers, assistant pursers, storekeepers, pantry men, library assistants, chief cooks, bakers, canteen supervisors and headwaiters". Further, the "*Bouteiller* managed the household domestic staff; purchased liquors, crockery and victuals". The ships of British India Company were designed as miniature replicas of Britain's

Stately Homes. This was to make them feel close to their own home, as much as possible.

Albuquerque (2012: 25) notes "Goan men were engaged as *lascars* in country craft and sailing vessels which carried cargo that anchored regularly in the harbor of Bombay". They were involved in "strenuous tasks as deck hands, stokers, fitters and carpenters".

Goan Seamen are away from their homes for a period of six to nine months. They receive good salary which compensates for their hard work and sacrifice. They travel around the world and interact with persons of varied cultures. Albuquerque (2012: 25) remarks "Like sailors the world over, the Goan *Tarvotti* is reputedly a master of self-glorification and exaggeration". Often a *Tarvotti* is labeled *Bondolist;* since he narrates exotic stories of his voyage on a ship to his villagers, which are sometimes unbelievable. Generally, a seaman is a fun-loving person and has become the subject of Konkani songs. The middle class looked down on the Goan seamen as *Tarvottis,* a pejorative which describes their service onboard a ship, (derived from the word *tarum*). This derogatory nomenclature has stuck to this day; and *Tarvottis,* are often treated with derision (Correia, 2006: 285-286). Carvalho (2010) mentions "the much caricatured and ignored Goan, the *Tarvotti,*" in her book *Into the diaspora wilderness.* She notes, many a son-of-the-soil from her village Nuvem, embark on a career at Sea.

3.8. KUDD SYSTEM

Some of the *Tarvotti's* built iconic institutions in 19th century like the *Kudds* of Mumbai, defined as "Goan village based community lodging and boarding houses" and referred as "trans-boundary, cross-cultural institutional shared human habitat spaces special to Goans" (Kamat, 2014). The *Tarvottis* sought accommodation in the numerous *Kudds* in Bombay city. These Goan enclaves provided 'a home away from

home', amidst their fellow villagers. *Kudd* literally means 'room' in the Konkani language.

T.B. Cunha (cited in Great Goans, 1985: 108) defines *Kudds* as "The village clubs are real institutions of mutual help, an example of their capacity for organization and solidarity". He further opines, that Goan emigrants had feeble resources and "the remarkable spirit of organization of our poor people had succeeded in alleviating the hardships they encounter in foreign lands". In the Goan village clubs in Bombay, "the emigrant who leaves the land of his birth; finds hospitality, comradeship and assistance; which makes it possible for him to find work and not feel completely forsaken" (*ibid.*: 120-121).

There is a tradition that a group of Christian pioneers made Bombay their headquarters. Affordable housing posed a serious problem. To surmount this, a few Seamen from a Goan village went to their parish priest with an appeal for money to buy a *Kudd* in Bombay. The priest sought the villagers help. Some well-off *Shippies* and villagers pooled in money to start the first Goan club in Dhobitalao.

Soon there were clubs in Bombay, organized by each village, where Goan Christians who went to the city to earn a living could stay. This place was mainly used by those working on the ship - as temporary shelters, when they boarded and alighted at the Bombay port (Mendes, 2014: xxxvi). Albuquerque (2012) calls *Kudds* "the unique bedrock of Goan emigration". Early migrants rarely brought their families along with them and many of those who came to Bombay stayed at the famous Goan residential clubs for working men – *Kudds*, founded by Goans as a support structure for migrants (GMS, 2008: 25).

Several *Kudds* came into existence in the vicinity of the Churches. The first few Goan clubs were concentrated in the massive Jer Mahal complex, Dhobi Talao area in Bombay, presently known as Mumbai. Later, "a number of *Kudds* were

located in Mazagaon and Byculla; which was convenient for the seamen and dock workers" (Albuquerque, 2012: 18-19).

Many *Kudds* are still functioning, although in a dilapidated state. They paid a rent of *pan duddu* (half-anna) which went into the club fund. People from their respective *vaddos* stayed together. The prospect of living with people from one's own village was attractive to them. The club committee members looked after the maintenance and framed its rules and regulations (Honawar, 1992: 34-37). Although, the Goan clubs were mainly patronized by the *tarvottis*, there were also others like clerks, teachers and those who worked in hotels in Bombay, who utilized these facilities.

Mascarenhas (2011: 181) observes "The same principles on which *Communidades* were based were also articulated in the *Coors*". She elaborates, patriarchal principles were in operation – only men could gain entry. Moreover, only those with ancestral links to the Goan Village, after which it was named, could be permitted to live there. Further, "there was collectivity through a corporate life-style and mutual sharing of resources". Saying the Rosary every night was compulsory and everyone had to be present.

A write up "Clubs of Seamen in Mumbai" by Father A. Gomes (2006) reveals that the clubs functioned in a disciplined manner, through the formulation and implementation of certain norms and values, especially designed to regulate the common living. Their existence in the clubs was governed by a timetable.

KUDD SYSTEM– GOAN VILLAGE CLUB IN MUMBAI

A Goan club in Dhobitalao: vanishing institution

| Kudd System – A Goan Village Club in Mumbai | Jer Mahal Complex at Dhobitalao |

3.9. TIATR

Tiatr is a popular, dramatic form of the Konkani stage No feast in the village is complete without staging a *tiatr* on a feast day; and it is a part of Goa's heritage. *Tiatr* – its prose as well as its songs and music – highlight various aspects of Goan society, whether historical, social, political and religious.

The word *Tiatr* comes from the Portuguese language *Teatro*, which means theatre. The story of the *Tiatr* is based on a particular theme; whereas each *Kantar* (Konkani song) is based on a different subject. The plots and themes highlight various issues of Goan society. Konkani songs *Hanv Tarvotti* by Minguel Rod and *Horrad Tarvotti* by Anthony Mendes; describes the life of a Goan seaman. A song *Goyenchi Mati* is a dialogue between two persons about the benefits of remaining in Goa or going to the UK. Thus, *Tiatr* and *Kantara* are considered a mirror of Goan society.

Moraes (2011: 184) points out that "in Goa the folk theatre called *Tiatr* has often shed light on the issues of migration and dealt with themes such as male companionship and sexuality of women". Also, they reflect the problems pertaining to an overseas migrant, whether working in the Gulf; or sailing on a ship.

The sacrifice of the *Tarvottis*, the hardships they as well as their families endure, is depicted in the dramas. Some of the *Tiatrs* dealing with issues of Goan overseas migrants and sojourners are *Kuwaitkar, Gulfie, Tarvotti Irmanv, Bail de Tarvotti*, and *Tarvotteanche Teaag*. A latest Konkani drama *Viva London*, directed by Cardozo, and *Ghar Vapsi* by Araujo; revolves around the trend of the Goan population to acquire Portuguese passports. Cardozo opines (2015) "we do not realize the effects and implications of this trend on the Goan society". The *tiatrs* aims to highlight this fact, as well as portray the lives of those who left the state.

TIATR

Tiatr – *Tarvotteanche Teag* –
(Sacrifice of Seamen)

Tiatr – *Tarvotti* (Seamen)

Tiatr - *Bail De Tarvotti*
(Wife of a Seaman).

Tarvotti Irmanv –(Seafarer Brother)

3.10. POST-DECOLONIZATION

With the departure of the British from India in 1947, many Goans who were employed in British firms lost their jobs, which resulted in their return home from 1948 to 1959 (Mascarenhas, 1987 cited in GMS, 2008: 26). Subsequently, in the late 19th century, many Goans who had gone to British Africa in search of jobs had to return to Goa; as the colonies reverted to indigenous rule in the Sixties. Only a few Goans chose to stay behind; and others shifted to greener pastures in Australia, America, Canada, the U.K, New Zealand and so on (Fernandes, 2007: 46)

With the ushering in the era of decolonization and the attainment of freedom from the Portuguese and the British rule, Goans have sought different places for settlement with new avenues of employment; not only in Portugal and the United Kingdom, but also in Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the USA. The Gulf countries attracted Goans, but this cannot be mentioned in terms of diaspora. For unlike the Goans who have permanently settled in the UK, Canada, Australia, the USA, and New Zealand, those who go to the Gulf, do not settle there; but eventually return to Goa to lead a retired life (Azevedo, 1997: 32).

After the liberation of Goa in 1961, the trend of emigration continued. Rodrigues, (2004: 180) writes "the generality of descendents and *mesticos* living in Goa, opted for Portugal". She opines that the *mesticos* felt that they "might be ill-treated and there would be no scope for them and their families in Goa". Their departure acted as a catalyst for many Goans, who also emigrated to Portugal. There were also a small percentage of migrants to the USA and the UK. This was mostly to pursue higher studies. Some opted to stay on and acquire British nationality; or to get Portuguese citizenship.

Gracias (2007: 107) and Rodrigues (2004: 180) note that the migratory trend changed in the sixties and seventies. People migrated for better prospects to the Gulf

countries, where petroleum mining had gained momentum. Although many Goans had started migrating to the Middle-East from the early decades of the 20th century, a larger number of Goans went during the 1970s and the 1980s with the discovery of oil drilling on a commercial basis. This had generated demand mainly for blue collar workers, possessing fewer qualifications.

Fernandes (2007: 41-42) makes an interesting observation of 'labeling' a person as per the place he went to seek employment. A Goan working in a Middle Eastern country is known to folks back home by a colloquial name of that country. For instance, someone in Bahrain becomes *Barinkar* or *Barinvalo*. Likewise for those working in Kuwait was referred to as *Kuvetkars*. However, until the sixties, regardless of the country in the Gulf where a Goan worked, he was known by a colloquial name – *Basurkar*.

3.11. CULTURE OF MIGRATION IN GOA

The traditional perspective viewed Goan emigration as an involuntary consequence; or as a desperate act of escape from a hapless situation. Just like some Goans, who looked down upon Goa as primitive; and a place where one could not raise their personal status. It was popularly believed that the most able-bodied Goans were encouraged to regard migration as a natural course; and take advantage of it at the first available opportunity (Cunha, 1939: 226 cited in GMS, 2008: 21). Moreover, Goans consider manual labour as trivial and demeaning.

Carvalho (2010: 3) described the aspiration of a Goan seeking his fortune overseas. She opines that young Goan men perceive their situation in Goa as luckless. They have a pessimistic feeling that "nothing good can come from vegetating in the villages". They foster the belief that life is unproductive in the dung-floored houses and envisage a better life beyond the constricted precincts of their villages. A similar observation was made by Mascarenhas (1990: 246). She notes that a potential

migrant's perception was – Goa provided no prospect of a 'good' job. This prevented them from giving up their secure jobs overseas and deterred the decision to return and set-up business in Goa. Moreover, they lacked business acumen and did not want to take the risks that such ventures required. So, they preferred to continue working overseas; to ensure a stable income.

Gracias (2007: 108) observes that the earlier Goans who migrated to the Gulf were looked down upon by those of upper classes and referred pejoratively as *Gulfies* or *Kuwaitkars*. However, she notes, "this condescending attitude began to change from the mid 1980's when members of the middle as well as the upper class started migrating to the region attracted by its wealth". Rodrigues (2004: 180) makes an observation "*bhatcars* and persons of Portuguese descent, who once looked upon them with disrespect and "labeled them *Bombaistas* or *Mumoicares*", also sought employment overseas".

Carvalho (2010: 116) remarks that, "the *tarvotti* had at one time been hailed as a worthy role model to aspire to and then subsequently diminished by ridicule". She adds that, "similarly Goan society turned on the *Gulfkar*". An unfavourable caricature was drawn of a person working in the Gulf as "someone who dressed loudly, wore too much gold, spent conspicuously, but remained uneducated and uncouth". Further, she adds that the term *Gulfie*, contains a certain amount of contempt and mockery. Also, *Gulfie* bears a resemblance to *Hippy* and *Shippy*, and elicited ridicule amongst Goans.

The returned migrant who had been subjected to an unfavourable attitude had later begun to indulge in reverse snobbery. Gomes (1996: 366) writes in his book *Village Goa*, return migrants declined to consume country liquors and looked down upon those who did not migrate as "less fortunate fellow villagers and mere rustics". They preferred to converse in the English language and show particular disregard;

coupled with haughtiness, towards the local language. They brag about the education and culture that they might have acquired while away from the village.

The visible evidence of the role of international migration in helping Goans achieve their ambition of 'doing well' and 'coming up' helped to sustain the favourable perception of migration and generate a feeling of economic and social deprivation among many people in Goa, specially Catholics (Mascarenhas, 1990: 246-247 & 2011: 157). The remittances enabled emigrants' families to maintain a high standard of living; as they could afford luxury goods, like silk clothing and fine cotton; wine, liqueur, beer and cigars (GMS, 2008).

Remittances in Goa have had a positive effect on the standard of living with newly constructed houses, modern technologies and surplus savings (Larsen, 1998: 272). The remittance of goods increased the amount and range of material artifacts in Goa. Goods were usually sent in the form of gifts. The improvement in economic circumstances was evident in the increased consumerism and life-style of migrants and their families (Mascarenhas, 1990: 250-251).

The early migrants served as trend setters; and their letters and periodic visits to Goa, provided opportunities to eulogize the merits of their lives; as overseas migrants or overseas sojourners. This produced powerful stimuli to encourage migration of peers and juniors. International migrants usually exaggerated their new found socio-economic position and they often indulged in ostentatious display of wealth. The visiting emigrants present themselves in a different way; when compared to their old self, prior to migration. This sudden change has been possible due to having better means at their disposal. They are able to spend more money on their clothing and attire. Their manners are classy and sophisticated; as a result of coming in contact with people from various cultures (Gomes, 1987: 361 & 1996: 366).

Once a person acquired upward mobility as a result of migration, other villagers often emulated him, as they too desired to gain material success. Visiting migrants often narrated anecdotes about their life and work abroad. Larsen (1998: 263) observes "the attraction of city adventure and the perceived ability to find a job, lured young and able men from their villages". They derived inspiration from stories told to them from migrants who returned to Goa during their vacations. This desire and fervent hope 'to go overseas only' has given rise to a tendency among Goan youth to opt for tourism and hospitality related jobs like working in travel agencies, airport, hotels or going on cruise liners that offer good salaries. Thus, there is a sort of anticipatory socialization to be equipped with the requisite skills; and be prepared to take a 'leap' when opportunity to go abroad comes along. Thus, migration has become a way of life in Goa; and it has become a habitual trend to migrate.

GMS (2008) findings show that Goan emigrants are dispersed in 43 countries, about 56 per cent in the Gulf region, 13 per cent in Europe, 11 per cent in South and South East Asia, 10 per cent in North America and 7 per cent account for those working on cruise liners and merchant ships.

During the last decade or so, there has been a rise in the number of Goans applying for a Portuguese passport. The reason is that on acquiring this Portugal document, it will allow easy access to the European countries, where they are presently seeking remunerative employment.

Also, the migrant influx from the other states of India to Goa is a common rhetoric in academic debates and casual discussions. Many feel that this ongoing process of Goans emigrating; and 'outsiders' settling here; can destroy the unique fabric of Goan society. The Goa Government is pursuing the matter of granting special status to Goa under Article 371 of the Constitution of India, for regulating

ownership and transfer of land, in order to conserve the limited land resources available for development and to preserve and protect the identity of Goa.

3.12. STUDY ON GOAN MIGRATION

Goan migration has spanned for centuries and Goans have spread all over the world. In spite of this, the phenomenon has not been examined in depth. The Portuguese administration of Goa was not in the practice of registering numbers of Goan emigrants and neither does the Census Department collect data pertaining to overseas migration. Taking into account the present situation in Goa, there is a lack of reliable statistics on Goan emigration, which makes the numbers rather speculative.

CHAPTER IV

OVERSEAS MIGRANTS' FAMILIES: A PROFILE

The primary purpose of this chapter is to give a general appraisal of the overseas migrants/sojourners and their households in Goa. Migration for employment purposes is an established strategy adopted by many Goan men, who are either working abroad or are sailing for long periods. Due to the nature of their job, they as well as their families, have to cope with living apart for a substantial part of their life. Overseas migrants can return home after duration of a year or eighteen months. Overseas sojourners who are sailing on merchant ships or cruise liners, on an average, they can visit home after every six to nine months. They not only bring back savings with them, but also periodically send remittances. In some households remittances constitute the only source of income and the family members rely solely on the migrants' earnings. Most of the overseas migrants and overseas sojourners have contractual jobs.

The data collected with the help of an interview schedule from women whose spouses are working overseas is depicted in a graphical and descriptive form, to give a socio-economic background and profile of the migrants' 'stay-behind' family. It mainly gives an idea of the variables, such as respondent's age, religion, education, structure and composition of the family, the number of generations their family members have been working overseas, women's occupational status, duration of marital life, type of dwelling, possession of household gadgets and ownership of vehicles, use of remittances, types of savings and investments etc.

Also, profiles of the migrants who are working overseas is provided - their age composition, educational qualification, reasons for taking up jobs abroad, whether decision to migrate was taken voluntarily or out of compulsion; and issues which are

sociologically relevant are addressed here. A classification of migrants and categories of repatriates is elucidated on the basis of data elicited about the overseas migrants and sojourners.

Further, details of how the families maintain interpersonal relations are also addressed in this chapter.

4.1. AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Figure 4.1. Age of the Respondents
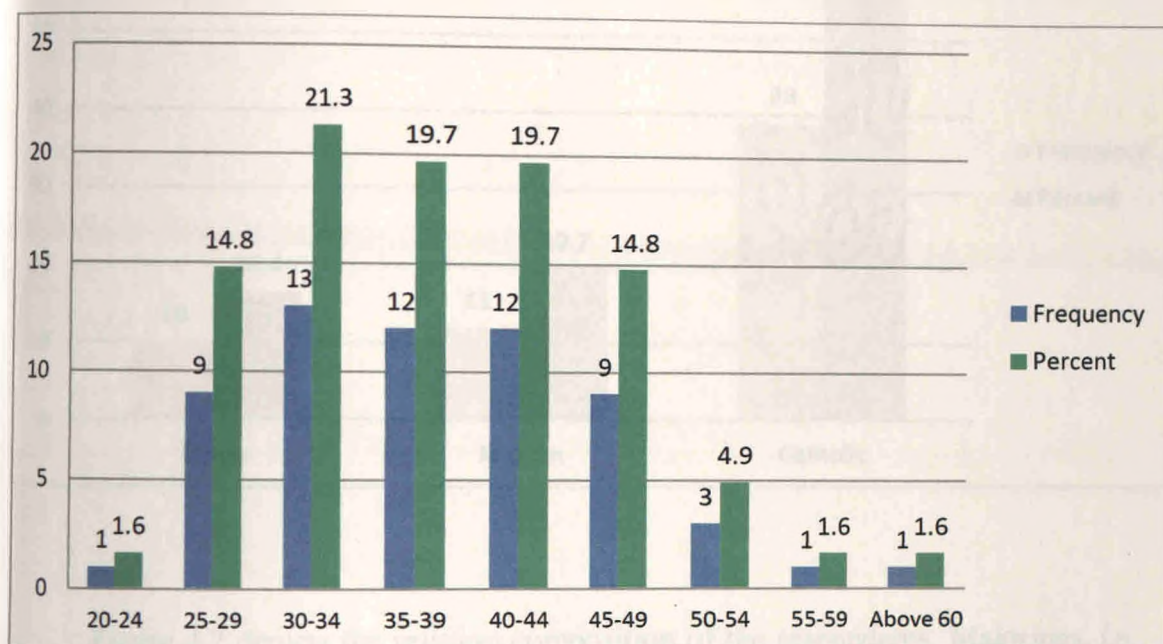
Figure 4.1 reveals the age composition of the respondents. Inclusive class method was drawn with an interval of 5 years. Women between the age group of 30-34 are 21.3 per cent. Those belonging to the age group 35-39 and 40-44 are 19.7 per cent each. About 14.8 per cent women belong to the age group of 45-49 years. Further, a few respondents i.e. 4.9 per cent belong to the age group of 50-54. A very miniscule percentage, i.e. 1.6 per cent belongs to the age bracket of 55-59 and 60 and above, each respectively.

In Goa, girls are encouraged to pursue their education, and early marriages are not a common occurrence. Hence, we do not have a sample of those who are below 20

years of age and also the women in the age group of 20 – 24 are negligible in number i.e. only 1.6 per cent.

4.2. RELIGION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Figure 4.2. Religion of the Respondents
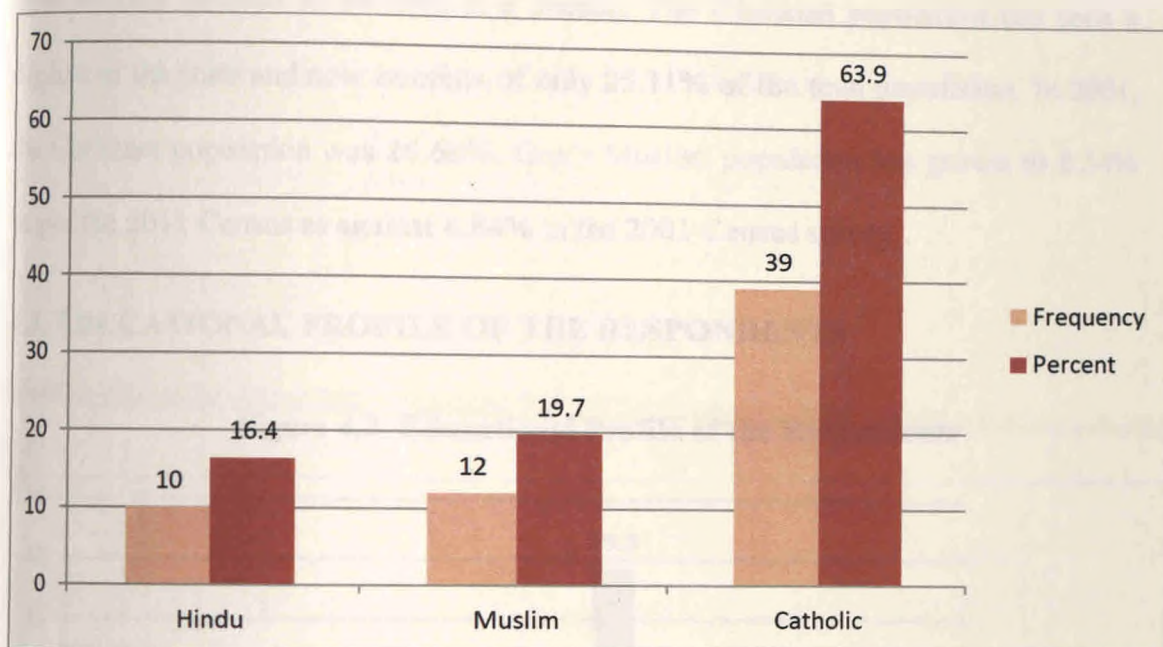
Figure 4.2 depicts the religion composition of the respondents. Majorities, i.e. Roman Catholics are 63.9 per cent, followed by 19.7 per cent Muslims; and Hindus are 16.4 per cent. This data is not surprising as it is known that Salcete being an Old Conquest taluka has a high concentration of Christian population.

When the Portuguese arrived, the Goan society consisted of Hindus, Catholics and Muslims. The Census of 1861 showed that, Christians were a majority, at 64. 5 per cent, this was maintained until the 1900s. Upto 1961, Goan Christians had a population of 42 per cent, the majority living in 'Old Conquests' (GMS, 2008: 23). At the time of Goa's liberation in 1961, they became a minority, and continue to be so.

The Muslims had a population of 1.95 per cent in 1961, which increased to 5.25 per cent in 1991. This was mainly due to the influx from other regions, such as Belgaum, Bijapur, Hubli and other areas of Karnataka (Rodrigues, 2002: 177-178).

According to the 2001 Census, Hindu population in Goa has grown marginally from 65.78% in 2001 to 66.09% in a decade. The Christian population has seen a decline in the state and now consists of only 25.11% of the total population. In 2001, the Christian population was 26.68%. Goa's Muslim population has grown to 8.34% as per the 2011 Census as against 6.84% in the 2001 Census survey.

4.3. EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Figure 4.3. Educational Profile of the Respondents
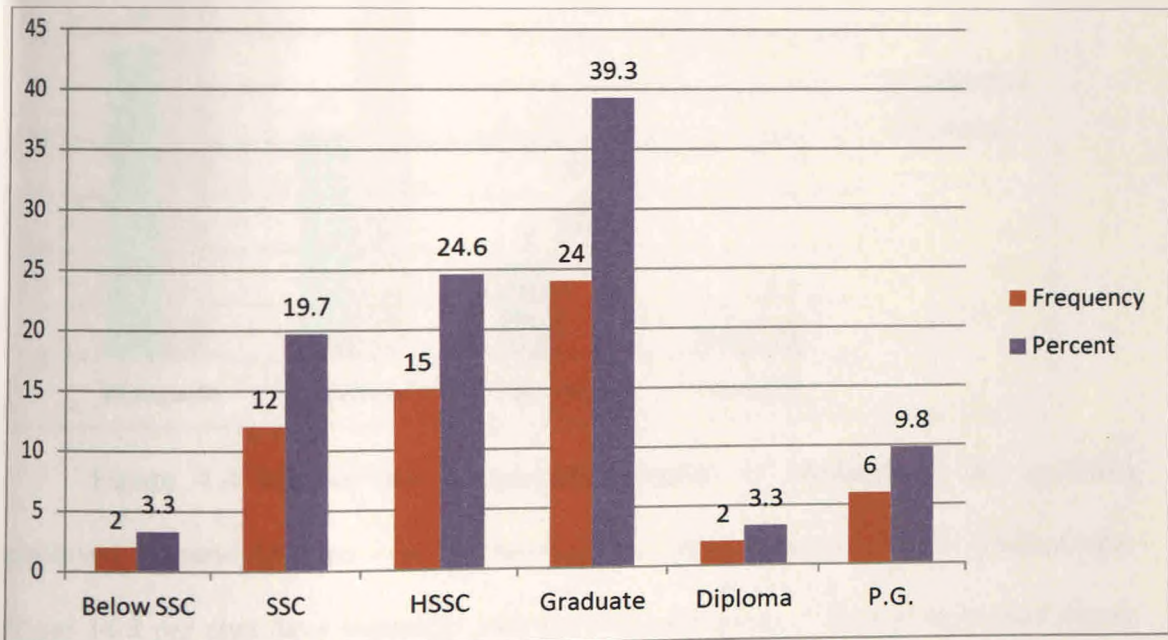
Educational attainment is a crucial parameter in any discussion. As noted in Figure 4.3, a large number of respondents i.e. 39.3 per cent have got a graduate degree and 24.6 per cent have completed their higher secondary. About 19.7 per cent have done their S.S.C; and 3.3 per cent have acquired a diploma certificate in various courses. A small percentage, i.e. 9.8 per cent, has done their post-graduation.

This information reveals the freedom Goan women have in pursuing education in comparison to most women of other states in India. This is a strong indicator of the emancipation of women. However, in Goan society among the Christians, the educated girls find it difficult to get a suitable match; as they are more qualified than the boys.

4.4. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Figure 4.4. Occupational Status of the Respondents
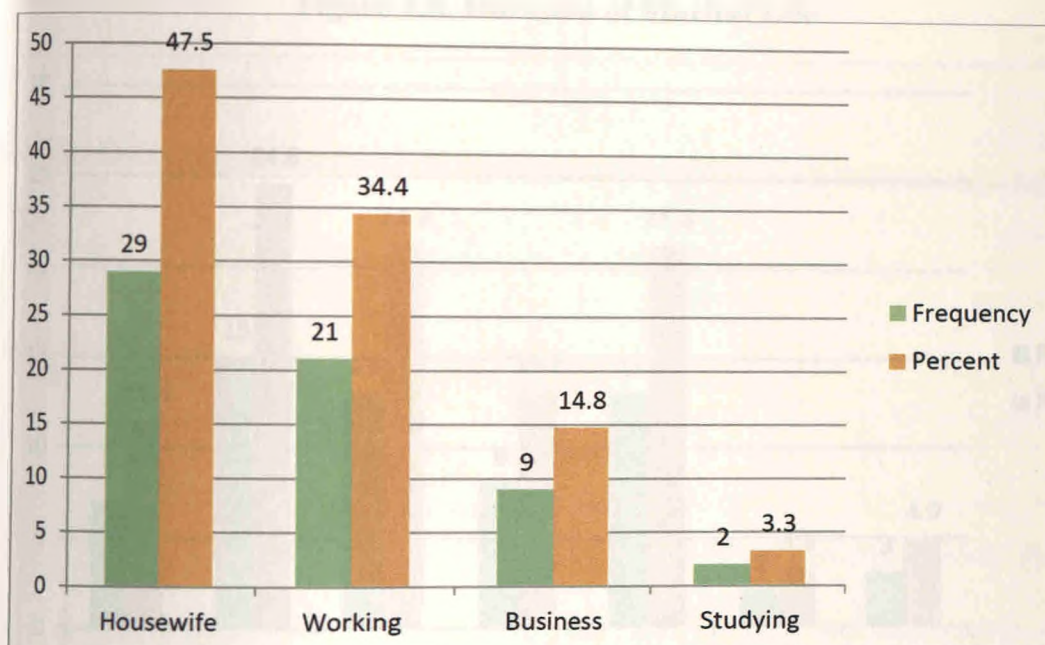
Figure 4.4 reveals that a sizeable number of respondents are gainfully employed. Around 34.4 per cent are working as nurses, teachers, and in clerical jobs. About 14.8 per cent have ventured into the business arena – having their own beauty parlour, tailoring shop etc. However, a significant number of them i.e. 47.5 per cent are homemakers at present, due to various reasons such as having small children, having elderly members to look after etc. A small number i.e. only 3.3 per cent reported that they are pursuing their further studies post-marriage. All women who are presently homemakers answered in the affirmative when asked whether they would like to work. The reasons cited were economic autonomy, to be occupied gainfully

and make the best use of their qualifications. Women who have small children said that they would resume working after a couple of years, when the children start their schooling. Women are encouraged to pursue their careers without any restrictions. This fact throws light on the freedom that women in Goa have in comparison to their counterparts in other states of India. Also, childcare and domestic help facilities are affordable and available for the working women in Goa.

4.5. DURATION OF MARITAL LIFE

Figure 4.5. Duration of Marital Life
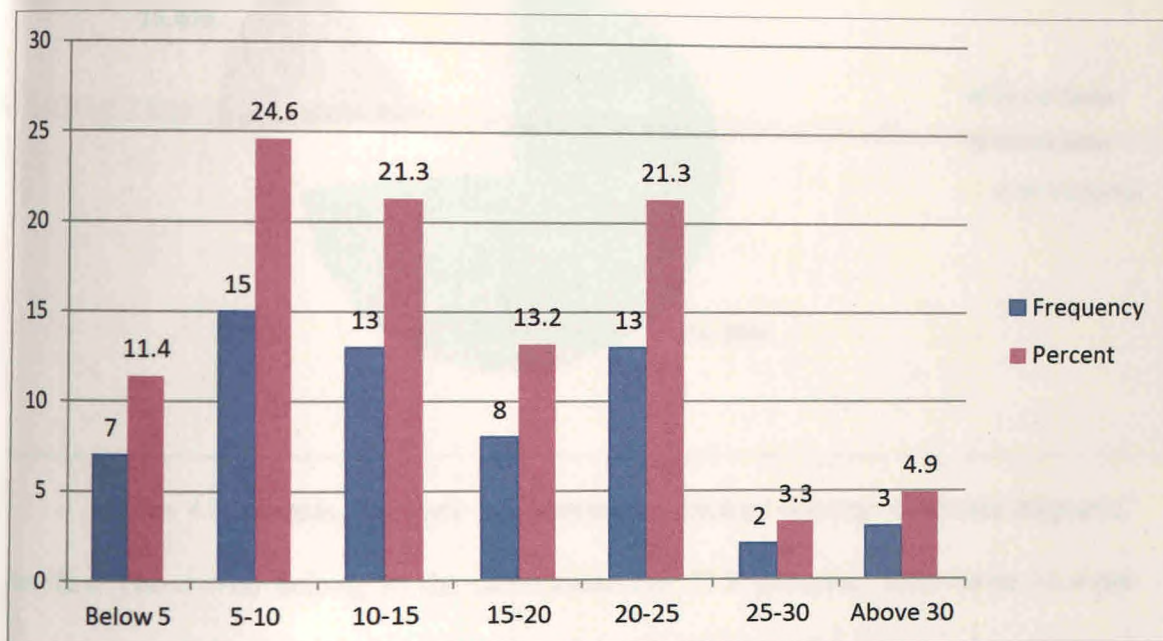
Figure 4.5 provides information about the duration of marital life. As revealed by the figure, 11.4 per cent are married for less than 5 years. About 24.6 per cent are married for 5-10 years. Around 21.3 per cent are married for 10-15 years. Those married for 15-20 years are 13.2 per cent and the ones married for 20-25 years are 21.3 per cent. A small number i.e. 3.3 per cent are married for 25-30 years. Only 4.9 per cent are married for 30 years and above.

However, it cannot be safely assumed that the duration of marital life reveals the years spent apart by the couple, as there are many other factors at play, such as the

time her spouse went overseas and whether there were long periods of being at home in Goa between the two contracts. This is so because there are intermittent periods of being at home before signing another contract.

4.6. SAME CASTE, INTER-CASTE OR INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE

Figure 4.6. Same Caste, Inter-Caste or Inter-Religious Marriage
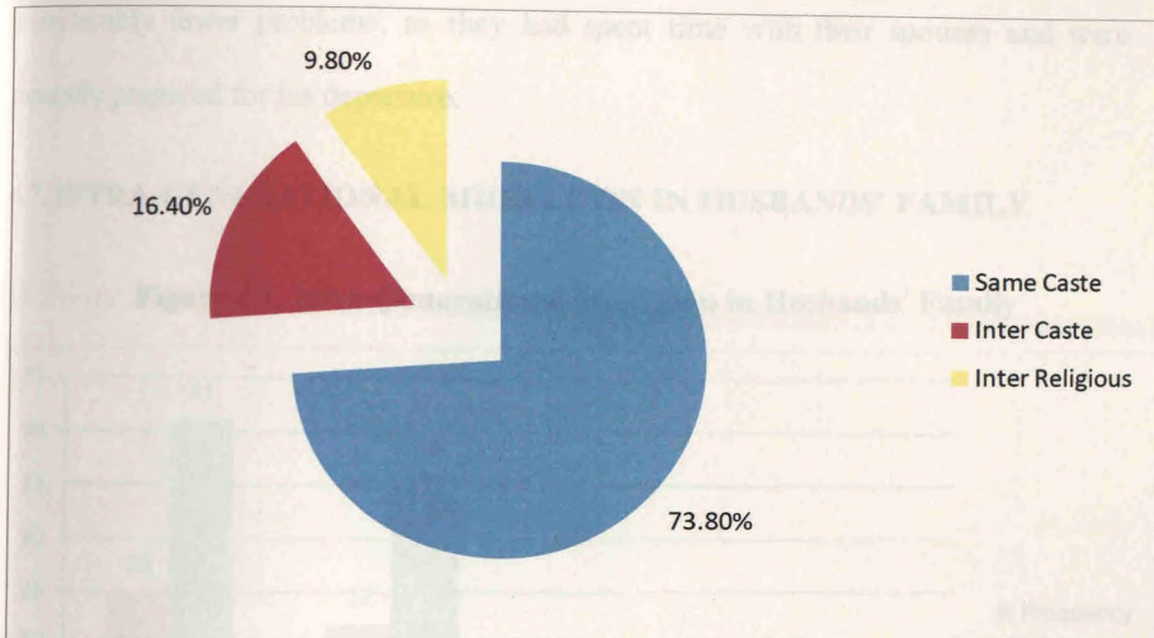
Figure 4.6 reveals the type of marriage alliances among overseas migrants' families. Those who belong to the same caste are 73.8 per cent, inter-caste 16.4 per cent and inter-religious about 9.8 per cent. In recent times, the barriers of caste have collapsed; and inter-caste, as well as inter-religious marriages, do take place. Among these, 62 per cent of the respondents had opted for love marriage and only 38 per cent had opted for arranged marriage. This shows that love marriages are now preferred by couples and also gradually there has been societal acceptance to such kind of alliances. In the past, love marriages were treated as an aberration, and even if couples were in love and subsequently married, it was discreetly referred to as a 'lovingly arranged' marriage.

Also, information was sought from the stay-behind women to know whether their husbands left soon after marriage or whether they had spent considerable time together before resuming work overseas. About 41 per cent men left for work overseas immediately after marriage. These women faced more adjustment problems; as they had not settled in their domestic roles in a new family environment. About 59 per cent spent time with their families after marriage. These women experienced considerably fewer problems; as they had spent time with their spouses and were mentally prepared for his departure.

4.7. INTRA-GENERATIONAL MIGRATION IN HUSBANDS' FAMILY

Figure 4.7. Intra-Generational Migration in Husbands' Family
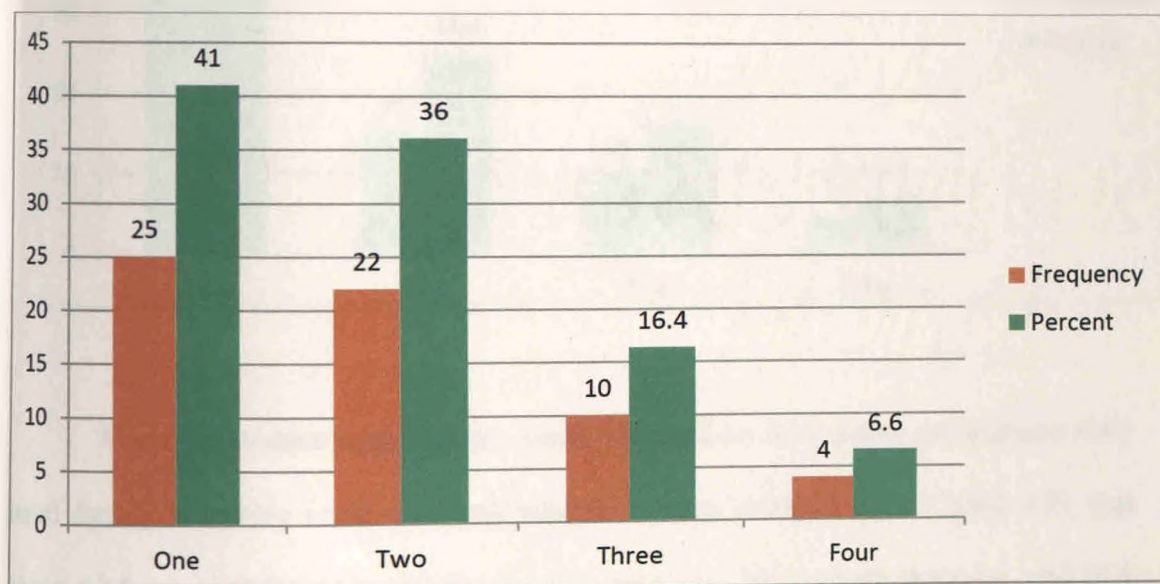
In Goa, migration has occurred for a very long time and some families are more inclined to migrate than the others. This data in Figure 4.7 is pertinent to know the number of generations a family has had the experience of their members seeking employment overseas. About 41 per cent women reported that in their husbands' family it is the present generation members who have gone overseas for employment purposes. About 36 per cent said overseas migration has occurred from two generations, 16.4 per cent said three generations and only 6.6 per cent reported that

their family members have been working overseas for four generations. For young boys the experience of explicit migration during their formative years could be understood as 'incidental socialization'. As they grow up, they too prefer to go overseas for employment.

4.8. INTRA-GENERATIONAL MIGRATION IN NATAL FAMILY

Figure 4.8. Intra-Generational Migration in Natal Family
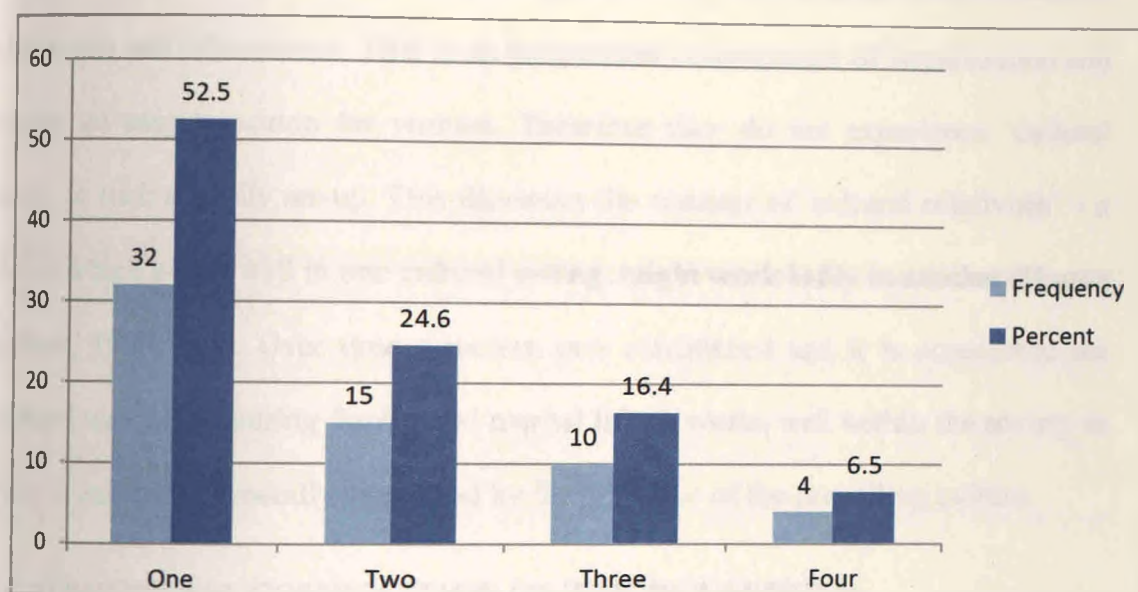
When the women respondents were asked since how many generations their natal family members were working abroad, it was revealed (see Figure 4.8) that about 52.5 per cent went abroad for the first time for employment purpose, and 24.6 per cent for two generations. The experience of migration for three generations was revealed by 16.4 per cent. Only 6.5 per cent reported that their family members have been migrating for four generations. This information is crucial as it throws light on whether the women have had a firsthand experience and an immediate exposure to this kind of a family set-up. This could be seen as 'anticipatory socialization' where young girls are conditioned and programmed to stay back (Mascarenhas, 2011: 257). It is a process by which knowledge and skills are acquired for future roles.

Women reported that the ones who are working overseas; included their father, uncles, cousins or any relative of their natal home. Their mothers, aunts and other relatives served as role models to them. The women who have had the experience and exposure at a young and impressionable age in a family whose menfolk worked overseas are better prepared to accept long absences of their spouses. Having a precedent, i.e. accustomed to such an environmental milieu where male members of the family are away for prolonged periods of time, helps them in smooth adaptations and adjustments. This is an unintended consequence of socialization and thereby an easy transition for women. Therefore they do not experience 'cultural shock' in such a family set-up. This illustrates the concept of 'cultural relativism' – a pattern which works well in one cultural setting, might work badly in another (Horton & Hunt, 1980: 219). Over time a pattern gets established and it is considered the standard way of organizing family and marital life. It works well within the society in which it exists and generally supported by the practices of the prevailing culture.

4.9. STRUCTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Figure 4.9. Structural Composition of the Household
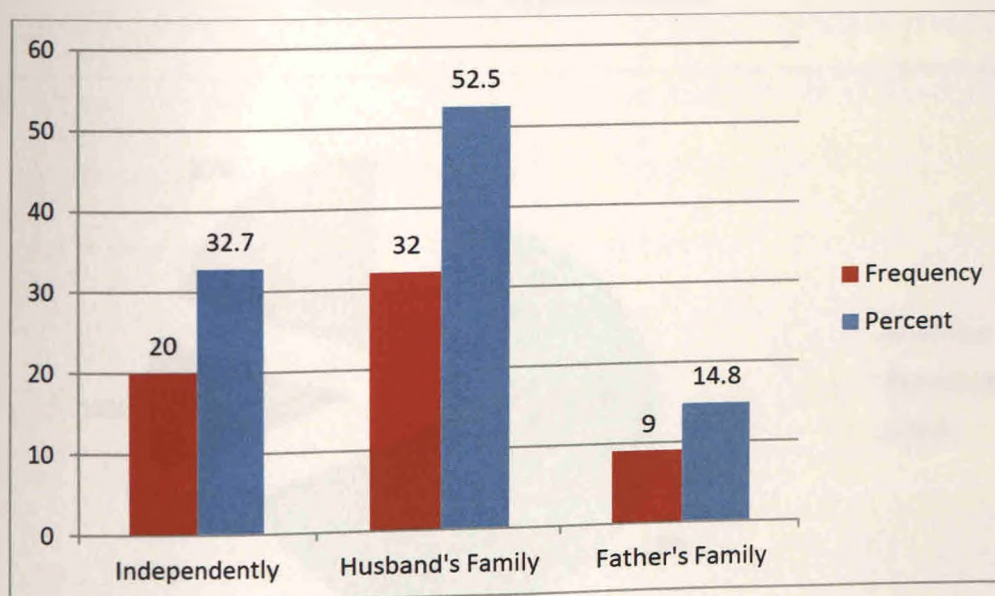
The data in Figure 4.9 shows the structural composition of the family and throws light on the present living arrangements of the women and their children in the

absence of their spouse. Many women, i.e. 32.7 per cent preferred to live in a nuclear family, as they were able to manage by themselves. About 14.8 per cent women temporarily went to live at their maternal home. They preferred to live at their own parents' home when their husbands were away as they faced difficulty in managing with childcare, not able to get along with in-laws and other adjustment problems. Further, if they are working, they need the additional help. This is more like a stop-gap arrangement, only when their husbands are away. Further, 52.5 per cent women lived with their in-laws in a joint family, but within these, about 24 per cent had a kitchen of their own and cooking was done separately.

4.10. CHILDREN AND THEIR EDUCATION

Most of the women have children. About three-fourths are going to school. As seen in Figure 4.10, a majority of them, i.e. 69 per cent are enrolled in English medium schools and only 11 per cent go to government schools. About 20 per cent women respondents have older children who are pursuing their higher studies in degree colleges or professional colleges.

Figure 4.10. Type of School
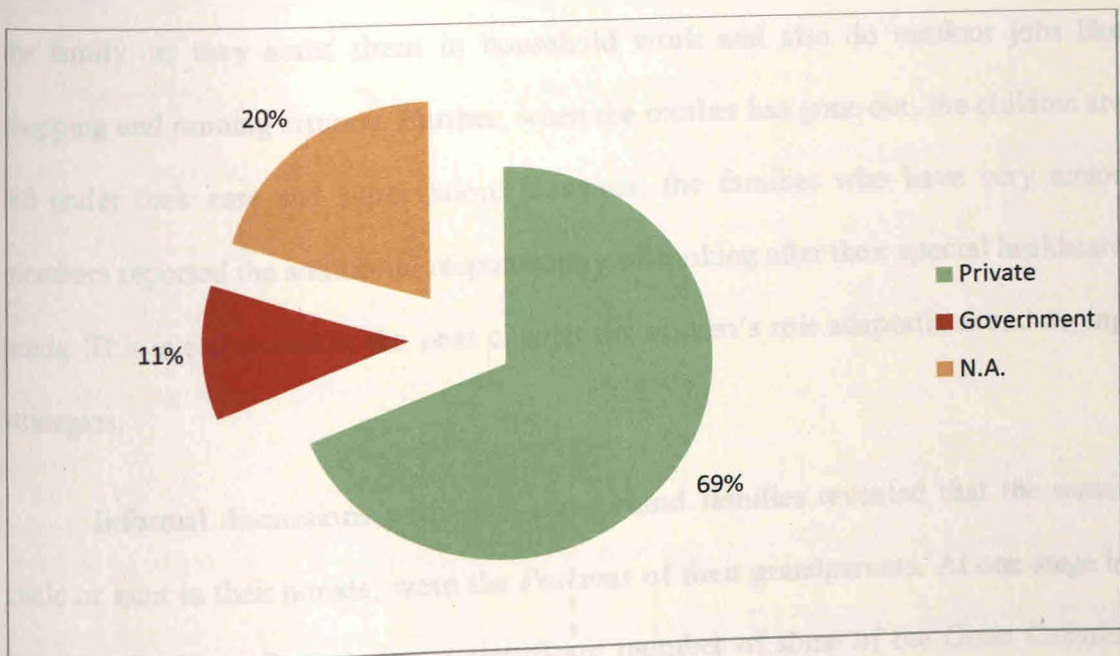
Many of them reported that pursuing higher studies among their children has occurred for the first time in the present generation of their family. Acquiring higher education has been possible due to remittances which help to pay the high fees in self-financed courses and professional courses. Some adult children of the overseas migrants, who have completed their studies, are now gainfully employed. These women who have older children; are relieved from the responsibility of looking after them, as they are now independent and manage by themselves.

4.11. NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS

Those who are staying independently in a nuclear family have three to five members on an average. The ones, who live in a large extended family with their in-laws, comparatively had more members, which included their son(s), daughters-in-law and their children and sometimes their senior parent(s) too.

4.12. OTHER SIGNIFICANT MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

Some families have adult relatives living with them. These mostly include their own parent(s) or an aunt or an uncle living with them, who are single, either due to widowhood or having never been married. They are often considered to be an asset to the family, as they assist them in household work and also do outdoor jobs like shopping and running errands. Further, when the mother has gone out, the children are left under their care and supervision. However, the families who have very senior members reported the additional responsibility of looking after their special healthcare needs. This is elaborated in the next chapter on women's role adaptations and coping strategies.

Informal discussions with four stay-behind families revealed that the senior uncle or aunt in their homes; were the *Poskems* of their grandparents. At one stage in time, the *Posko* or *Poskem* was a significant member of some of the Goan Catholic

families. It mainly referred to a person who has no family of his or her own, who is taken into the family and lives with them. The word *Posko* means "somebody who is very dear". It was a kind of adoption, but did not involve legal paper work. Their parents had either died; or they were orphans; as they were forsaken by their own family. Subsequently, they were taken into the protection of a well-to-do family who provided shelter, food and clothing. *Poskems* were expected to live in gratitude and be loyal to the family in return for the benevolence shown to them.

Although they were called a 'part of the family', the treatment meted out to them was not the same. Gracias (1996: 80) observes, "*Poskems* enjoyed no status in society and were looked down upon", further, she adds, "they received no salary, neither any right for the immovable property in the house of their adopted parents". Moreover, they were not provided educational facilities. Their chief role was to render useful service to the family such as house work, shop for daily provisions and do menial jobs. They were faithful and trustworthy, and entrusted with keys of the house when the family members were away. Modern day families do not have such a member anymore, as now there are legal adoptions. The person brought in the family in such a manner, is given the rights which are due to an own child.

4.13. OWNERSHIP OF DWELLING/ RESIDENCE

One of the basic requirements of any person is living in a comfortable and permanent home. A large number i.e. 85.2 per cent live in their own dwellings. This is an indicator of a high economic status of the family. Only 14.8 per cent reported that they are living in rented premises.

The information in Figure 4.11 reveals the material advancement made by the stay-behind families. It is generally seen that the migrant's main aim is to have a large comfortable house designed in a modern style. Either the existing is renovated and

expanded; or a plot is bought, on which he can build a new house. This gives a sense of pride and a feeling of fulfillment. About 38 per cent respondents live in Goan-styled tiled homes; and those living in bungalows constitute about 31 per cent. The recent trend of apartments mushrooming everywhere is also a telling feature; and a significant number i.e. 31 per cent are living in high rise flats. This is the tangible impact of remittances. Impressive houses are built in the latest style having striking façades.

Figure 4.11. Type of Dwelling
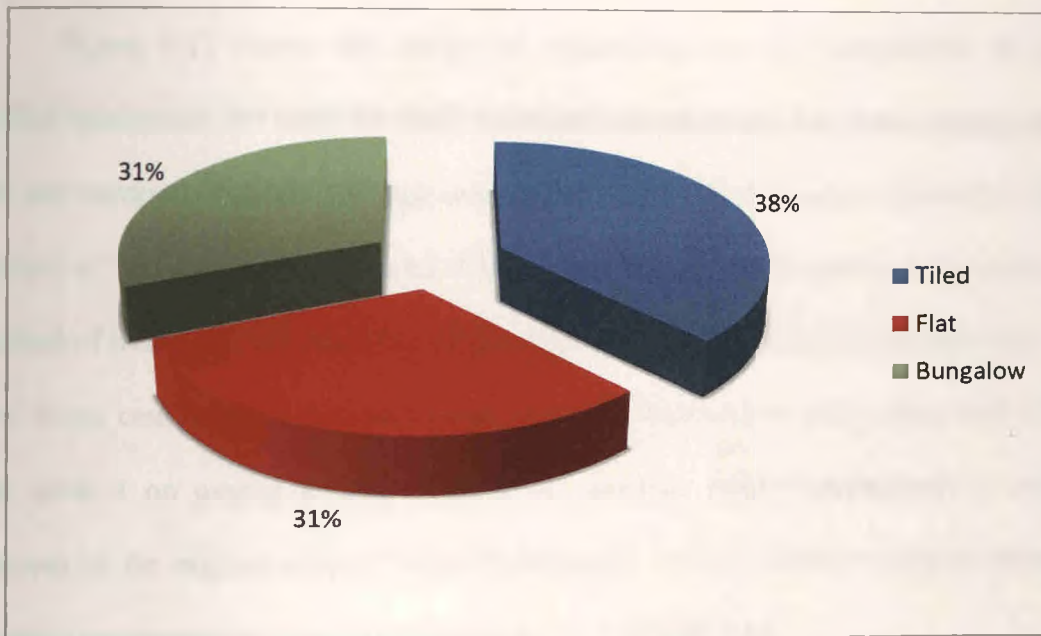
4.14. REMITTANCES AND ITS USE

Generally, irrespective of their religion, all the families spend the first remittance sent home by the overseas migrants or sojourners, for religious purposes. The Catholics renovate and design the God's altar; the Hindus usually use marble, granite or teakwood to restructure the God's shrine; while the Muslims give *Zakat* to the local mosque that they frequent and often the elderly members of the family are sent for a pilgrimage to *Haj* at Mecca.

Figure 4.12. Remittances and its Use
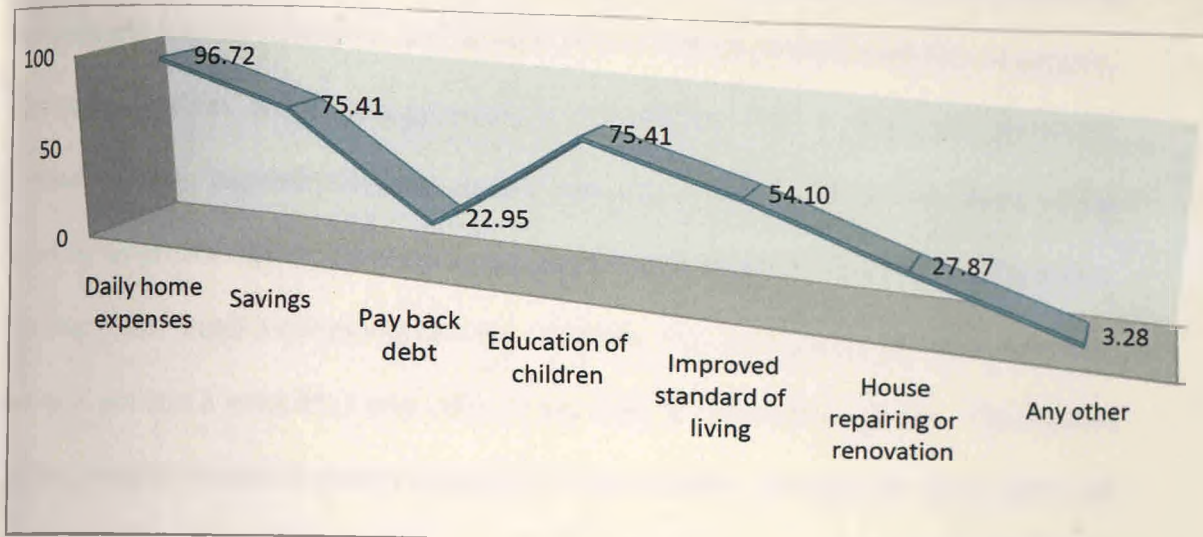
Figure 4.12 shows the usage of remittances by the households. In most families remittances are used for daily consumption purposes, i.e. food, paying utility bills and transport. Further, savings and education of children were reported by three quarters of the respondents. About 54 per cent respondents reported an improved standard of living, i.e. affordability of coveted goods, recreation, leisure activities etc. Only 28 per cent reported that they spent on house repairing or renovation; and 23 per cent spent it on paying a debt. This is so because major expenditure is mostly overseen by the migrant himself when he is home. A very small percentage reported spending remittances on litigation purposes, i.e. 3.28 per cent.

A man is supported in his decision to migrate after consultation with the other significant members of the family. The family also makes sacrifices along with the overseas migrant. This creates a bond of co-dependency and remittances are expected by family members of the migrant. Many migrants send money separately to their parents and siblings on a consistent basis, while some do not send regular remittances. However, gift remittances are sent for special occasions such as birthdays, feasts and marriages on an ad-hoc basis, which can be considered as sporadic remittances.

The benefits percolate not only to immediate consumption needs and spending on essentials such as education and healthcare; but also in the affordability of gadgets, consumer durables and in the possession of vehicles. This is over and above the routine monthly expenditure and occurs once in a while. All the members of the overseas migrants' family possess a cell phone each. Further, television, refrigerator, cooking oven, small kitchen appliances, computer etc. are commonly used. About 87 per cent possess a vehicle(s) and only 13 per cent do not own a vehicle. The number of two wheeler owners is more compared to four wheeler owners, and those who own both are almost about 60 per cent.

4.15. TYPES OF SAVINGS AND INVESTMENTS

Figure 4.13. Types of Savings and Investments
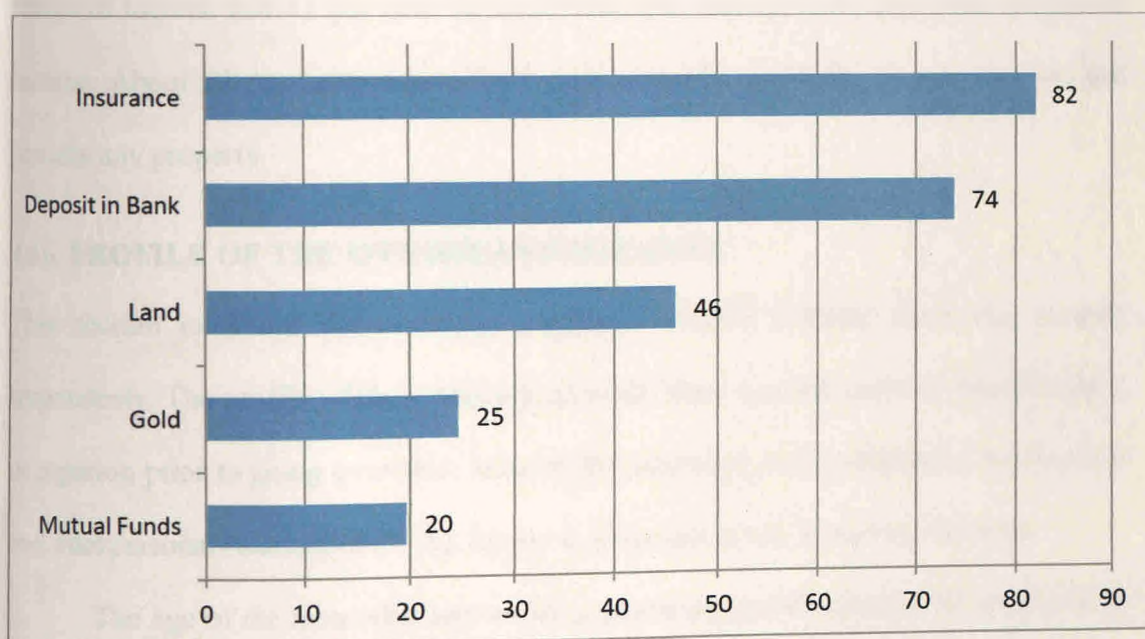
Figure 4.13 shows the type of savings made by the overseas migrant families. About 82 per cent have various insurance policies. About 74 per cent have invested in banks in various forms such as recurring deposits, fixed deposits etc. A significant number, i.e. 46 per cent have invested in purchasing land. As an investment, gold is

purchased by 25 per cent families. Further, investment in mutual fund is preferred by only 20 per cent of the families.

Other than remittances, families have made productive investment in assets such as purchase of flats and shops which are leased out on rent. Many are having paddy fields, fruit orchards and coconut plantations. Thus, remittances are not the only source of income. Also some women are working and they also contribute to the household expenditure.

Since many women respondents are gainfully employed or are managing their own business, they revealed that apart from their spouse's remittances, they had their own earnings as well. Also investments made in the form of deposits in the bank, rent from shops or apartments are a source of fixed income. About 59 per cent have other source of income and 41 per cent revealed that they do not have any other source of income. About 82 per cent respondents own property and only 18 per cent do not possess any property.

4.16. PROFILE OF THE OVERSEAS MIGRANTS

This section examines the overseas migrant's details elicited from the women respondents. The profile of their migrant spouses, their age, educational qualification, occupation prior to going overseas, reasons for migrating and problems at work place and interpersonal relations with the family is depicted in the foregoing account.

The age of the men who are working overseas varied between 28 to 62 years. A majority belongs to the age group of 32 to 46 years of age. There was no sample of a very young migrant, as this data is gathered only of the married overseas migrants.

This information throws light on the percentage of men who are working overseas, whether on shore or those who are sailing. Sailing implies short duration of being away from home, as compared to those working on land, thereby frequent visits

to their homes. About 55.7 per cent are working abroad and 44.3 per cent are sailing on passenger ships and cruise liners.

The main destinations for the migrants from Goa are Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the UAE in the Middle East. Recently, some are also working on contractual jobs in Afghanistan. Those who are working on ships are 'sojourning' the different ports that the ships anchor at. The present designation varied from working in malls, hospitality sector, Petroleum Company, administrative posts in the private sector etc. Most of them are drawing a salary approximately between 50,000 and 2.5 lakh per month.

Information was sought about the educational qualification of the overseas migrants and overseas sojourners.

Figure 4.14. Educational Profile of the Migrants
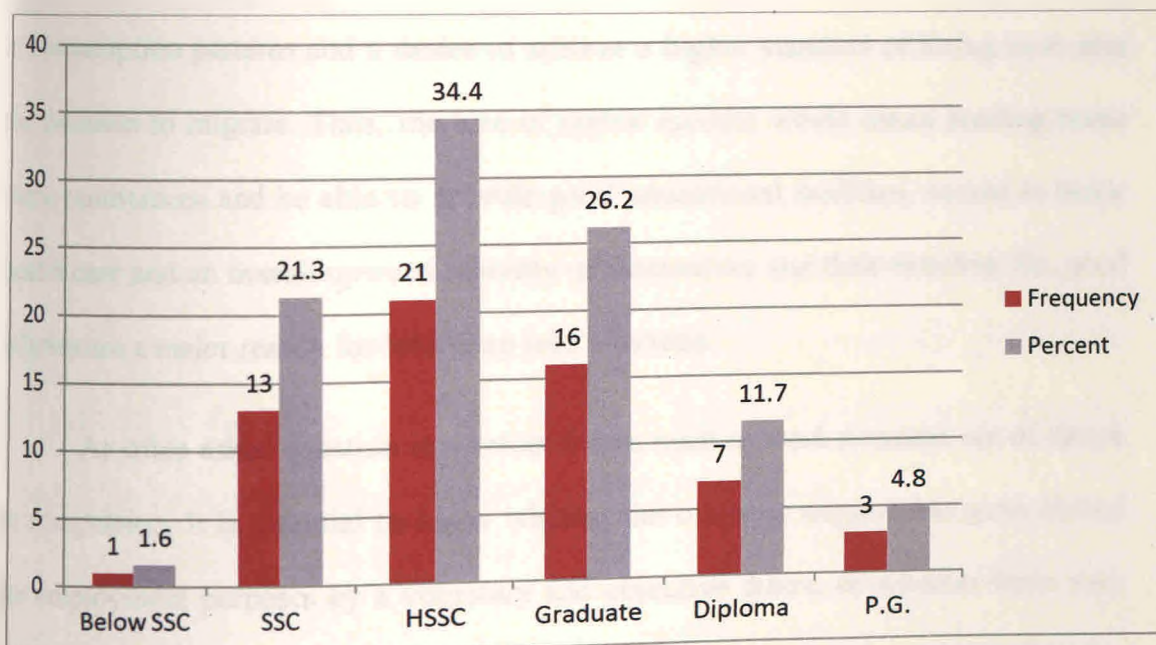
Figure 4.14 gives an overview of the educational profile of the spouses of the respondents. About 34.4 per cent have completed their higher secondary school; 26.2 per cent are graduates; 11.7 per cent have got a diploma, and 21.3 per cent have

completed matriculation. Only 4.8 per cent are post-graduates and a small percentage i.e. 1.6 per cent have not completed their matriculation.

Many young men had been working here in Goa before embarking on a journey abroad for employment purposes. However, some were also unemployed prior to migration. A few of them were doing well in Goa, but preferred to go overseas citing reasons such as low salaries, slow promotions and a desire for higher income. The reasons for taking up job overseas varied. The present findings showed that a number of factors influence the decision of seeking gainful employment overseas; such as less pay in the private sector, inability to secure government jobs, mismatch between educational qualifications and type of jobs available in Goa. Further, growing employment opportunities in the UAE and the Gulf countries; and cruise liners and passenger ships, became an attractive option. The salary in Goa as compared to salaries overseas is less, and this encourages migration of men. The rise in consumption patterns and a desire to achieve a higher standard of living motivates the decision to migrate. Thus, the lure of higher income would mean sending home more remittances and be able to provide good educational facilities, access to better health care and an overall upward mobility of themselves and their families. So, good salaries are a major reason for taking up jobs overseas.

An often asked question is whether a man went to work overseas out of choice or compulsion. It is essential to know whether the overseas migrant has gone abroad for employment purposes by a voluntary and objective desire, or whether there were other subjective factors influencing his decision. About 72 per cent went out of choice and 28 per cent went out of compelling factors such as economic reasons and the desire for upward mobility as they felt that they were stagnating back home. Many overseas migrants earlier went out of choice and subsequently, when they got married,

their desire was to earn more money in order to support a family. Their aim was to work abroad for a couple of years and eventually come back with their savings which they planned to wisely invest in some business venture in Goa. However, with growing families, came increased responsibilities; along with rising inflation and so paying the EMIs on loans became difficult. This made them to prolong their service overseas. Also, returned migrants are not finding it easy to re-enter the local labour market. Hence, coming back in such circumstances, where they had nothing to fall back on, seemed unwise. For these men, it is a compulsion of family responsibilities that have deterred such a move back to their home country.

Thus, due to certain compelling reasons overseas migrants and overseas sojourners remain abroad for a very long time. Some elderly parents lament that they have lost their son(s) to overseas migration. About 69 per cent parents felt the absence of their son(s), and wanted them to return, as they would not need to be dependent on others in their advanced years; when they need care and support. About 31 per cent had reconciled to the long absence; as they felt that their son(s) have been successful overseas and this camouflages other discomforts. The reverse is also true, as some parents appealed to successful migrants' to take their so called wayward and vagabond son(s) to go to work overseas, with a belief that a tough life would instill the right values. Also, they hope that being away from their protection and security; would make them responsible and conscientious human beings.

4.17. CLASSIFICATION OF MIGRANTS

Men working overseas can be classified into the following types:

a) Reluctant Migrant

These types are called 'reluctant' migrants because initially they did not want to go to work overseas. They were coaxed by their family members and goaded by friends to seek employment abroad. At the time of departure, they face 'approach-avoidance' conflict and were in a dilemma to leave family and go to a foreign land.

b) Overzealous and Enthusiastic Migrant

These are called 'overzealous' and 'enthusiastic' as they have been motivated and inspired by the affluence of those working overseas. The salary differentials in Goa and abroad have been instrumental in their decision to migrate overseas for employment.

c) Altruistic Migrant

Some migrant men are called 'altruistic' as the prime concern for going to work overseas is their family. They have meticulously planned their migration and worked towards their goals.

d) Escapist Migrant

Very often people desire to 'escape' a difficult situation either at home or among peers, with a belief that 'going away' is going to solve their problems. This is so mostly in cases of men who have got into various problems and find it hard to extricate themselves out of debts, bad habits and an altercation with the law.

Some successful migrants had played a significant role in 'abetting' the migration of reluctant migrants. Some families narrated anecdotes of how a person was not willing to go abroad and persuaded by a returned migrant in the village, to give up his career in Goa and seek employment abroad. Thus, we can label them as 'abettors' and this is so, because they are perceived as having played a major role in weaning off the young lads from the village, who otherwise, would establish themselves in Goa.

However, successful migrants are also seen as 'mentors' for aspiring migrants and many are like godfathers and benign benefactors, under whose tutelage young protégés are able to realize their dreams.

Some successful migrant families have developed a sub-culture of their own. Their values and customs are different and set apart from the rest. A feeling of superiority and reverse snobbery has crept in their mannerisms and speech. They are debt-free and have made tremendous strides which are manifest by acquiring materialist goods, new technology and latest styles; which are synonymous with migrant families. These constitute the new dominant elite class in terms of the material progress made by them. Some migrant's families are known to indulge in 'invidious consumption" (Veblen, 1899), that is, the ostentatious consumption of goods meant to provoke the envy of other people. This is done mainly to proclaim their *Nouveau Riche* social class.

Many families have senior male members who are returned migrants, that is, repatriates who are presently leading a retired life. These repatriates had influenced other family members to go overseas for employment purposes. Their financial help was instrumental in motivating other family members, as well as neighbours and friends to seek overseas employment.

4.18. CATEGORIES OF REPATRIATES

The older, return migrants i.e. the repatriates can be categorized on the basis of their recollections about their heyday experience of overseas sojourning such as the following types:

a) Successful and boastful type

These types are the ones who are boastful about their life spent working overseas and are proud of their material achievements.

b) Disillusioned and bitter type

They lament that when they were young they were away from their family and now also the cycle of separation from their children disturbs them. Many repatriates recounted the tales of experience of overseas sojourning and regret years that they spent away from their families.

C) Content and not so ambitious type

There are others who are content with their lives and recount nostalgic reminiscences of the good old days.

4.19. PROBLEMS AT WORK PLACE

A migrant is perceived as a greenhorn as he is unfamiliar with the ways of the new place or work environment. A novice in the beginning, but soon he learns the specifications of his job and gets accustomed to the new setting. The hardships faced by them are long hours on duty, job instability and hostility of co-workers who might be from a locally dominant group.

The other problems are high migration costs, visa fees, recruitment charges, medical tests, insurance costs, emigration clearance and exorbitant air fares. Once they are abroad, often there are cases of breach of agreements and low wages,

cheating in recruitments, no holidays, poor working and living conditions, lack of respect for religious and cultural practices and violation of human rights. Also, they live in the perennial fear that their contract may not be renewed.

There is no protection regarding the work related accidents, no insurance and rescue during accidents and deaths. Many are employed in a different type of job than the pre-agreed work. Further, there is no legal recourse for various injustices meted out to them.

Monteiro (2015) reports, "For Goan seafaring community, the pay and perks of the job are countered by the dangers of the sea and profession, and the long periods away from their families". However, for Goan Seafarers working on board cruise ships and the merchant navy away from their families, life is tough. Sometimes there is breakdown of family life. Their job involves more mental stress than physical work and if a mistake occurs, they are treated like a criminal by law. Kumar and Irudaya (2014: 7) point out "a substantial part of the remittances were not easy money earned overseas, but represented the blood, toil, tears and sweat of the breadwinners who had emigrated". Also, bulk of the remittances sent home is used for daily consumption as there is a rise cost in living. Moreover, savings are depleted in case of sickness and other emergencies.

4.20. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

This section examines how the interpersonal relations by overseas migrants and sojourners and their families are maintained. This is discussed in the context of home visits by the overseas migrants, trips abroad by his family and communication.

About 14.8 per cent overseas migrants and sojourners can visit home as and when needed. But, a large majority i.e. 85.2 per cent could not visit home as

frequently as they wish, since they are bound by a contract. It is only in emergency situations that leave is granted.

Generally, overseas migrants can visit home annually. The duration of home visits is mostly for a month or six weeks. In case they are sailing, the contract of overseas sojourners is for a minimum of six months and a maximum of nine months. On an average they can extend their leave for three months before boarding the ship.

The preferred time of coming down is Christmas, Easter, Ganesh Chaturthi festival and the holy month of Ramzan. Also, functions in the family such as weddings, house inauguration and celebration times are marked by the visit of the overseas migrant as he can partake in the joyous family unions. If a migrant does not make it home for Christmas, then Easter is a time he devotes to his family. During such visits family get-togethers are common and traditional meals are shared with close friends and relatives. When the overseas migrant is home it is a time of bustling activity – whether paying courtesy visits to friends, neighbours and relatives or playing host at home for the guests.

A noticeable trend among successful migrants and sojourners is giving large donations for the development of their ancestral village, mainly for social causes or religious purposes. This could be seen as a sign of 'giving back' to their society or it could be visualized as what Veblen (1899) would call "conspicuous compassion". Charitable donations are deliberately given by the overseas migrants and sojourners in order to "enhance the social prestige of the donor and to make a display of superior economic power".

Also there are outings to the beaches, going out for family dinners, picnics, *Tiatr*, tours to Vailankanni, annual visit to Saint Francis Xavier etc. The wives and children look forward to these visits which are an occasion for family bonding.

A familiar ritual in many Goan homes is getting rid of *disht* (evil eye). Many people believe in the magical effects of the ritual and employ preventive measures to dodge the effects of the evil eye. Some of the overseas migrant's families openly revealed that they believed in the power of evil eye and took preventive measures to mitigate the harmful consequence of the same. The most common ritual for removing the evil eye is taking salt and a few red chillies over the one afflicted and thrown into a fire. Usually the mother does this at home. However, if the mother's power is not strong enough to get rid of the effect of evil eye, the *Dishticar* (wise person who could cast out the *disht*) was summoned (Cruz, 2010: 33-34: Greene, 2006: 20: 35). Thus, not only the overseas migrant but every member of the family was periodically subjected to this cultural rite. The superstitious belief was that it protected them from harm, envy and negative consequences in general.

Another practice among the Catholics is organizing a *Ladainha* at home. This is usually done prior to the first departure overseas by a member of their family. This is primarily done to invoke divine blessings. Also, the relatives congregate in show of solidarity and support, to bestow *besanv* (blessings) for the overseas venture. Among Hindus, seeking divine intervention of their *Kul Devta/Devi* is foremost before the actual preparations start. Also, Satyanarayan Puja is organized at home. Before the departure, boys seek *Aashirvaad* by symbolically bowing before the photographs of their ancestors and touching the feet of elders.

At the time of departure, often migrants carry food stuffs to share with their fellow mates overseas. Home-cooked dishes having a traditional flavour such as *Sorpotel, Cafreal* and *Rechead masala*, dried fish, sweets such as *Bebinca, Dodol* having nostalgic value are the preferred dishes for Catholics. Among the Muslims and Hindus; pickles, *papads*, dry cooking powders and sweets such as *laddoos* and

savoury snacks are common. All these food items have a longer shelf life and last for a long time.

In the past, it was rare for women to make a trip abroad to visit their spouses who were working overseas. However, in recent years some women, along with their children, have the advantage of going abroad for a vacation during winter or summer vacations to visit the overseas migrant. These family visits lessen the gap between his visits. Thus, instead of his annual visits, families are meeting bi-annually. Also some women go sailing with their husbands, but this is possible only for the captain or the chief engineer; who are permitted to bring their family onboard. However, only 29.5 per cent women have visited either alone or with their children during school vacations. Women recounted memorable holidays and had souvenirs of the same at home. But, large number i.e.70.5 per cent has never had these opportunities of visiting overseas.

Communication is the chief means of keeping in touch, maintaining and nurturing a relationship. Although physically separated from extended kin, families maintain regular and frequent ties through visits, letter-writing and telephonic conversations (Johnson, 118-119). Overwhelming 98.4 per cent respondents keep in touch with their spouses and a small 1.6 per cent replied that they do not communicate with their husbands while they are away. Now, the chief means of communication are phone calls, Skype, Whatsapp and Viber. Due to the reduced call rate, the frequency of communication is more. Matters usually discussed are practical household matters pertaining to home affairs, children's studies, welfare of all the family members and emotional conversation between the couples. These conversations help to bridge the chasm of separation and long-distance relationships are nurtured thereby.

A migrant is away and misses the formative growing-up years of his children. But, technology has simplified communication between the children and their father. A bond is forged in absentia, between a father and his children. For the overseas migrant, technology has assisted parenting. Children show their worksheets and projects to their father through Skype, images are sent through Whatsapp, videos are shared of their participation in cultural and sports activities. The nature of conversation is mostly related to giving instructions to children to perform well in academics, good behavior, and food habits. A strong emphasis is laid on discipline. In return, children ask for incentives such as latest gadgets, apparels etc. Thus, long distance socialization is assisted through modern means of communication. In this way, these 'alternate families' of 'overseas migrants' and an 'overseas sojourners', maintain interpersonal relations.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN'S ROLE ADAPTATIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES

This chapter primarily discusses the impact of male migration on the role and responsibilities of the wives who stay back. 'Stay back' has a different meaning – that is, having voluntarily stayed back, and 'left behind' implies a negative connotation, such as having been 'left' to fend for themselves. Since the overseas migrant is in constant touch with his wife and family by communicating on a regular basis and takes the responsibility of sending them remittances, we shall refer to them as 'stay-behind women' and 'stay-behind families' respectively, which are more suitable to designate such women and families.

Practical reasons have necessitated wives to stay back and look after the home and their family. Also, it is a cultural expectation, that it is a woman's role and filial duty, to be at home to fulfill all responsibilities, and ideally it is a man's duty to earn for his family. When a man goes to work overseas, it is not feasible for him to take his family along due to various constraints, such as the high cost of living at the work place; certain nations, especially the Gulf countries, do not allow naturalization; expensive education of children and high cost of living. For those who are sailing, taking their families on board is prohibited. However, depending on the designation of their job, only certain rank seafarers are permitted to bring along their families. Hence, all these reasons have been deterring factors and the families do not move overseas.

It is important to note that the residential dwellings in many Goan villages are clustered and relatives live in close proximity. The ancestral property of the family is divided into equal shares among all the heirs. Most of them have built their independent houses. Hence, for most of the 'stay-behind' women, help is at hand, and their movement and various activities are monitored at close quarters. However,

living without their husbands for prolonged periods of time, and managing in their absence, has multiple ramifications on the wives who stay behind.

Primary data gathered through personal interviews with women respondents whose spouses are working overseas throws light on how they cope with diverse roles after their husbands' departure. Further, working women face additional responsibilities as they have to balance the demands of work and duties at home. In this context women's role adaptations, positive aspects of husband's migration, their chief concerns and worries, drawbacks of managing singly, the support system in absence of spouse and their coping strategies in the light of the various pressures is examined in this chapter. Data elicited from respondents has enabled to categorize these women on the basis of their personality and attitude. Also, a typology of migrant men on the basis of the opinion of their wives is delineated in this chapter.

5.1. WOMEN'S ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

This section deals with women's roles and responsibilities in the absence of their spouses and explores the constellation of factors that cause stress and strain to them as they immediately have two conflicting roles thrust upon them, that of a 'worker' as well as that of a 'manager'. It examines the multifarious roles she is called upon and expected to simultaneously manage household chores, manage finances, responsibility towards children i.e. playing a dual – "expressive and instrumental" role (Parsons, 1955), and care for elderly members, if any at home, duties towards her maternal home, if required, and a miscellaneous other roles. Therefore, there is a major rise in the social responsibilities of 'stay-behind' women.

In most societies young girls are socialized into believing that when they grow up they have to be 'good wives' and 'good mothers'. This is ingrained into their psyche at an impressionable age, and when they marry, their cultural conditioning pushes them to play this role. Thus, women play the traditional and normatively

imposed roles in the household. In addition to this, are the new responsibilities that they are entrusted with, given the changing equation and the demands that such a household with an absent spouse compels them to take up.

5.1.1. Household Chores

Whatever material strides may have been made in today's world, it has not emancipated women from the daily domestic chores. Housekeeping refers to the management of duties and chores involved in the smooth running of the household, such as cooking, home maintenance, washing dishes, doing the laundry, looking after domestic affairs, shopping and so on. Housecleaning includes activities such as sweeping and mopping, washing bathrooms and activities related to general cleanliness of homes. In this context the frequently asked questions to women are: how they manage their domestic affairs, and whether they have solicited the services of a domestic help to assist them in the household or whether they manage by themselves.

Some women who are working have domestic help, i.e. 36 per cent and 64 per cent have not solicited the services of a maid. Also, women living in a joint family household said that their daily tasks were divided among other members and they did not feel the need of a domestic helper. Meanwhile there were others, who did express feeling overburdened with house work and did experience fatigue, as they have lot of duties inside home as well as outdoors. Several women also expressed their safety concerns and are apprehensive and distrustful in engaging paid labour for house work. Also, most of them have household gadgets and modern kitchen appliances which have minimized their physical labour.

5.1.2. Upbringing and Socialization of Children

Infants and very young children are totally dependent on the adults for the fulfillment of various essential needs. Early childhood is a crucial stage where intense

socialization takes place. Almost in all cultures this task is generally carried out by the parents who assume the role of nurturing and protecting their children.

Symbolic Interactionists emphasize that during infancy and early childhood, family support and guidance are crucial to a child's developing self concept. In most families children are provided with emotional warmth, feelings of mutual trust and a sense of security. Also, sociologists and psychologists place a high premium on the warm and intimate bond between parents and their dependent children. Thus, socialization is the chief function of the family.

An important element in the upbringing of a child is inculcating good habits and sound values. Along with good education, parents endeavour to transmit the norms, language and the fundamentals of culture to the children. They are taught social skills and how they should behave in society and become conscientious citizens. To be effectively carried out, this task is left to the parents and socialization is given an institutional framework. This requires a stable union between a man and a woman. But, in the absence of the father, this responsibility lies solely with the mother as the father is working overseas. Women are expected to provide emotional love and affection as well as teach good moral values. In such a matrifocal family set-up, women are virtually 'single mothers' for all practical purposes, and the entire responsibility of socializing the children is borne by the mother.

Family is supposed to socialize the child by providing role models for the child to emulate. The negative consequence is that children are without their father's guidance in their formative years and they grow up without having experienced the care and nurture of one parent. Certainly bringing children up, when there are two parents on hand, is a difficult task and rearing them without the benefit of having the spouse around is a formidable one indeed.

Further, working women have to seek the assistance of either their in-laws or own parents to look after their children. Mascarenhas (2011: 26) talks of 'grandparent's socialization' which occurs in cases where both the mother and father are working abroad and the children are left in the care of their paternal or maternal grandparents. In some instances, women solicit the services of a full-time domestic help and children are left under their care.

For overseas migrants and overseas sojourners, providing quality education and the overall welfare of their children is of paramount importance. An overwhelming 93.4 per cent reported that their children's academic performance is satisfactory and about 6.6 per cent said they were disappointed by their children's grades in school. Modern day curriculum requires constant upgrading of knowledge and this puts a lot of pressure on women who have to keep pace with it as they have to take up the lessons of their children. Many have enrolled their older children in tutorial classes for additional coaching and this entails dropping them and picking them up from their classes.

To impart religious education, Catholic families say the Rosary, read from the Bible and send their children for Catechism classes. Hindu women preferred to narrate the teachings from the Bhagvad Gita, and Muslim women laid an emphasis on Quran readings and teachings of Islam. Thus, we note that there is a cultural variation in the manner in which socialization is carried out among different religious groups.

Informal socialization, where children learn core values, depends on where and with whom they interact the most. Also, the background of educational level of the mother, whether she is employed and goes out to work or she is at home most of the time has affected the pattern of socialization. One notices differences in the way children are brought up based on these heterogeneous factors. Many respondents

reported that when their children come from school and they do not see their mother at home, they would begin watching television; instead of having their lunch by themselves. Working women revealed that they did feel guilty about not being around their children. Moreover, even older children who are expected to be independent, tend to exhibit insecure behavior in the absence of their mother.

With regard to the issue of enforcing discipline (when parents are concerned about their children and try to maintain vigilance and personally supervise them) it is perceived as 'interference' by the children. Areas which lead to arguments are: monitoring an average usage of the internet, regulation of the time spent watching television, instilling good values, manners and appropriate behavior and inculcating morals in the fast paced modern world. A strong emphasis is placed on acquiring good grades in studies. Most mothers consider this as a major problem area. This becomes all the more difficult when their father is around, as he is indulgent with the children and does not assert his authoritative role. Hence children feel that their daddy is 'good' and mummy is a disciplinarian and unnecessarily strict. As a result, the children have an 'instrumental' relationship with their father and a means to secure coveted goods. He is looked upon only as a 'provider' of latest gadgets and expensive gifts. Also, children have extraordinary indulgences; many have become spend thrift as there is lot of disposable income in the form of generous pocket money.

Quite a number of apprehensive mothers disclosed that their teenagers rebelled often as a response to their controls, and it is frustrating to cope with their technology addiction, mood swings, fads in food habits and fashion which borders on self absorption type of life style. Demands for bikes, smart phones and excessive pocket money are some of the issues due to which arguments take place. Women thus face

problems keeping a check on wasteful habits in children, and encounter difficulties enforcing consistent discipline.

Very often children have adjustment problems and play mischief to get attention. The other serious problems are temper tantrums and disobedience in children. Older children succumb to bad habits. About 50.8 per cent women reported that their children gave them trouble and this was a cause of worry for them. Around 49.2 per cent said that their children did not give them trouble, as they gave them more freedom and space.

Since the children are growing up in the absence of their father and although outwardly they seem to cope well, they do feel the absence when they compare themselves with others in their social environment. About 75.4 per cent women reported that their children felt like an 'incomplete family'. They missed having their father around during the important milestones in their academic life like annual gathering, sports day, open day etc. Also, on occasions such as their birthdays, they do express disappointment about their father not being physically present. However, some children were used to this set-up of relying only on their mother for their emotional and physical well being. They had reconciled with their situation in the absence of their father. These constitute about one-quarter i.e. 24.6 per cent managed well and did not show signs of outward distress.

Thus, most women respondents revealed that if their husbands are around, parenting responsibility is shared and they have only few roles to perform. But, in the absence of their men, they play multiple roles and the blame is solely on women if there is any transgression on the part of their children. Women are held accountable if children's upbringing is perceived as having gone astray. There is an expectation from men that when they have provided so much and sacrificed for the well being of the

family, their children should perform well in academics and also exhibit good behavior.

Children have matured faster as a result of exposure to advanced technology at a young age and this has diminished the role parents play in imparting knowledge. Negative sanctions are used to make the children conform to normative patterns of behavior; such as reducing amount of pocket money, not sending them to play or reduce television viewing time. In addition, they have to enforce a balanced approach while dispensing discipline. They have to be firm and ensure that they do not break rules and yet be gentle; so as not to hurt their fragile ego. The biggest challenge, however, is meeting their children's emotional needs.

5.1.3. Responsibility towards Elderly

About three-fourths of the women i.e. 73.8 per cent have elderly members living with them, whereas one-fourth i.e. 26.2 per cent do not have elders at home. Since many women reported living in joint family set-up, they have elderly family members living with them. However, some women who live in a nuclear family had one elderly member living with them. Even those who did not have in-laws living with them had to discharge their duty towards their in-laws. Some women, along with their children, are living with their own parents. Although they receive unconditional help from them in looking after their children, their senior parents often did need special care.

With regard to health of the elderly, 82 per cent had issues such as high blood pressure, heart problems, diabetes, cataract, knee pain, osteoporosis, arthritis and kidney ailments. About 18 per cent had fewer health issues, but did not have any incapacitating health problems. Women had to make sure they take their medications regularly and also go with them for medical checkups. Some very elderly septuagenarians have become eccentric and cantankerous and are often irritable.

Pacifying their temperaments is a problem. However, all women agreed that keeping them in old age homes should be avoided at all costs.

5.1.4. Responsibility towards Maternal Home

Many respondents reported that their parents' home is very close to their own home and some are even living with their own parents. In few instances, their own parent(s) live with them. Usually women maintain strong bond with their natal family and women whose parents are living in Goa, had more duties towards them than those who were living far away. Many women revealed that they had responsibilities towards their parents, siblings and their families as well. These include helping them by going to pay the utility bills, bank related jobs, running errands, assisting at the time of crises such as illness or hospitalization of a family member etc. They gladly helped in assisting their natal family. A daughter is mostly attached to her own maternal home in an emotional way. Since her husband is working overseas, a woman is very often expected to put in a favourable word for her brother(s) to get a job abroad. Such help rendered is reciprocal, as her maternal family is indulgent towards her children.

5.1.5. Managing Finances

It has traditionally been a practice that men assume the financial responsibility and women manage home and hearth. The roles of men and women are demarcated by the gender division of labour. But when men are away for a long duration, this task is left to the wives.

A majority of women received remittances in their own name and this has boosted their self confidence and has strengthened their coping strategies. Remittances bring a feeling of security as they perceive being entrusted with large

sum of money, and having gained trust of their husbands. They consider making optimum utilization of money as a major responsibility.

Thus, when women receive remittances from their husbands they have to plan expenditure budget and allocate money for daily necessities. In addition they have to be prudent and make savings, monitor the investments made by keeping track of receipts pertaining to savings account, recurring deposits, fixed deposits, and life insurance premiums and so on. To meticulously maintain accounts and keep a record of the same; is indeed a formidable task. The following section shows whether women exhibit financial literacy or whether she depends on others for management of finances.

A large number of women, i.e. 88.5 per cent reported that they manage their own finances and only 11.5 per cent do not do so. They have left this task to their in-laws, parents or to their siblings. The reasons varied from husband not entrusting them with the responsibility or they felt it an overwhelming task and left it to other family members.

A majority of women i.e. 95 per cent women have a bank account and all of them reported that they operate their own account. Only 5 per cent do not have a bank account in their name. This is mostly in the case of very elderly women who have delegated this task to their older children as they find it cumbersome to operate an account themselves. Further, 82 per cent possess an ATM card, and regularly use it to make purchases. Thus, financial autonomy and purchasing power has empowered these women. About 18 per cent do not have an ATM; as they have not adapted to the usage of modern banking transactions.

In reply to the question whether women make savings from the remittances sent to them, about 56 per cent said that they are making savings and 44 per cent

replied in the negative. The reasons cited for not making savings were that their spouses made major savings and whatever was sent to them was utilized for consumption purposes and other basic necessities. Therefore, they were left with petty cash which did not motivate them to save. Many also reported that they are not aware of savings and investments made by their husbands. This data reveals that women are mostly doing the 'worker' part and men are the actual 'managers' who delegate work to women and under whose instructions women have to work. This could be so because in a patriarchal family, men are generally the owners and administrators of property and resources.

5.1.6. Attending Social Functions

Attending various social functions is considered to be a social obligation. About 70.5 per cent attend functions and 29.5 per cent do not do so. The reasons cited by women for not going are - awkwardness as a single woman, transport problem as wedding receptions, birthday and anniversary parties are held mostly in the evenings. Some women revealed that since they boycott almost all social gatherings in absence of husband, they have been labeled 'snobbish' by their neighbours and relatives. But, the real reason for not attending was to avoid gossip.

However, the reciprocal nature of certain social visits makes it mandatory to attend the same. Some women claimed to have attended unavoidable functions with in-laws; relatives and children, and some went with their neighbours or colleagues. The Goan Catholics are known to have the tradition of *Saibin* or Mother of Jesus, visiting each home in the village. *Ladainhas*, anniversaries, birthdays, family functions etc. are attended on a priority basis depending on the closeness to the concerned invitee.

5.1.7. Role as a Working Woman

At the outset it is important to clarify that when we say 'working women', it means working for salaries, wages or profits outside the home, as feminists have rightly pointed out that women's work at home is often invisible and unrecognized. We noted in the previous chapter that women respondents who are working or have their own business venture are about 48 per cent. Being employed makes such women feel useful as they have put their qualifications and skills to productive use. This supplementary income also acts as a buffer in crises when their husbands' contract is over and in between they are at home for a longer period of time than intended. Also, they are able to lead a more comfortable and luxurious life with the additional income. Some men have encouraged women and also given the initial capital to start their own business as they felt that being engrossed in a gainful activity of their interest would keep melancholy thoughts away.

But, being away from home, working women experience more stress as there is a constant mental tug-of-war between being 'good mothers' and striving for one's 'self- identity'. The challenge confronting women is that they have to play the role of both the mother and the father. They have to handle the domestic realm as well as outdoor tasks. Very often women take up employment to support themselves and their children. They have to look after their children's needs such as cooking nutritious meals, taking up their lesson, helping with home work, school assignments and projects, ensure their physical safety and emotional well being. Further, regular vaccination, health check-ups, hygiene, extra-curricular activities, etc. are to be personally taken care of. Handling the affairs of home include shopping, cleaning, cooking, going to pay bills and taking sick children to doctor. Managing the multiple

roles for long spells of time imposes hardships on the women, and as a result they experience role conflict.

They are often so engrossed in meeting everyone's needs that they tend to fall short in the area of their own need for rest and recreation; which they often put last on their list of priorities. Women mostly felt overwhelmed with all the responsibilities and complain of fatigue, low haemoglobin, anaemia and other health related issues.

5.2. RELATIONSHIP WITH SPOUSE

Women persevere and hold forte until the husbands' next visit. When he comes home, there is respite from some tasks. Although perceived as a 'guest visitor', he is accorded a warm welcome. After settling down, he is expected to fulfill all expectations. Sharing of tasks has a huge emotional connection for the woman and she perceives the care and affection of her husband. This helps her to cope when he is away. A large number of women i.e. 77 per cent were assisted by their spouses when they are at home. Almost all the tasks that are put on hold during his absence are accomplished. But, this was not so in all the cases. Women having a longer experience of their spouse's migration are better equipped to handle separation, as they have been programmed and got habituated to manage singly, while younger women feel overwhelmed and overburdened with their situation, thereby experiencing stress.

The chores some men usually did when they are at home are: courtyard painting, giving the vehicles for servicing, repairing the house before monsoon and so on. Some long pending household issues need to be addressed such as property matters, finances and decisions regarding education of children. A few men also took up their children's lessons, dropped them to school and took the family on outings. These small acts made the women and children happy.

However, about 23 per cent did not receive help as some women do not keep such tasks and chores for the men. They have got accustomed to managing by themselves and also having grown-up independent children, a lot of responsibilities are taken over by them, such as running errands, looking after younger siblings etc. Another reason was that their menfolk felt that since they are here for a short time, they should not be burdened with these chores.

Overseas migrants' brief visit is often marred by arguments, conflicts and quarrels, family disputes pertaining to property matters, upbringing of children, relationship with in-laws and mundane household matters. Women try to avoid misunderstandings and to prevent arguments from getting out of control. Other areas of disappointments for women are unfulfilled expectations, which lead to frustration and bickering as well as nagging on various issues, such as spending too much time with friends, going fishing, drinking sprees, squandering money, not spending much time at home and going over long distances to collect 'parcels' given to them by their friends' families and carrying them without a reciprocal obligation.

Women feel that the short duration of the visits are mostly spent in visiting relatives and friends, so there is not much time for privacy. On one hand, women desire to spend quality time with their husbands, and on the other hand are long pending practical issues which need to be addressed.

As per the descriptions of women, who live and manage by themselves, we can categorize their migrant husbands as the following types:

a) Heroes: Provider type

Men who regularly send remittances and are basically concerned about the welfare of all the members in the family are looked upto as 'heroes' as they are the providers of

not only the basic necessities, but also the luxuries that the families enjoy. Their husbands sacrifice is often cited as an example to their children.

b) Authoritarian: Tyrannical type

Some women described their spouses as 'authoritarian' and 'tyrannical'. Such men are strict fathers and dominating husbands to their wives.

c) Suspicious: Over-possessive type

Some spouses are referred to as 'suspicious' and 'over-possessive' as a result of intense questioning and not trusting their wives.

d) Nagging and Foreman type

Some men are perceived as 'nagging' and 'foreman' type as they are always giving 'orders' on phone and delegating various tasks to be completed by their wives.

e) Happy-go-lucky type

The ones who are described as 'happy-go-lucky' are men who are having an easy going and carefree nature. Moreover, they are fun-loving.

5.3. BENEFITS OF MIGRATION

Many women respondents have benefitted because their spouses are gainfully employed overseas. Being overseas migrant's wives elevates their status not only economically, but socially as well. Despite all the hardships that women face in absence of their men, they do acknowledge the tremendous advantages due to their spouse's migration. The direct benefits are the economic remittances. A majority of the women answered in the affirmative i.e. an overwhelming 95 per cent received money in their name; and only 5 per cent did not receive money. Receiving money in

their own name is a gratifying experience for those who stay back. It also adds to their feelings of self-esteem and self-worth. Thus, we can say that frequency of communication and remittances helps to maintain a strong bond between the couples.

Figure 5.1. Positive Aspects of Spouses Migration
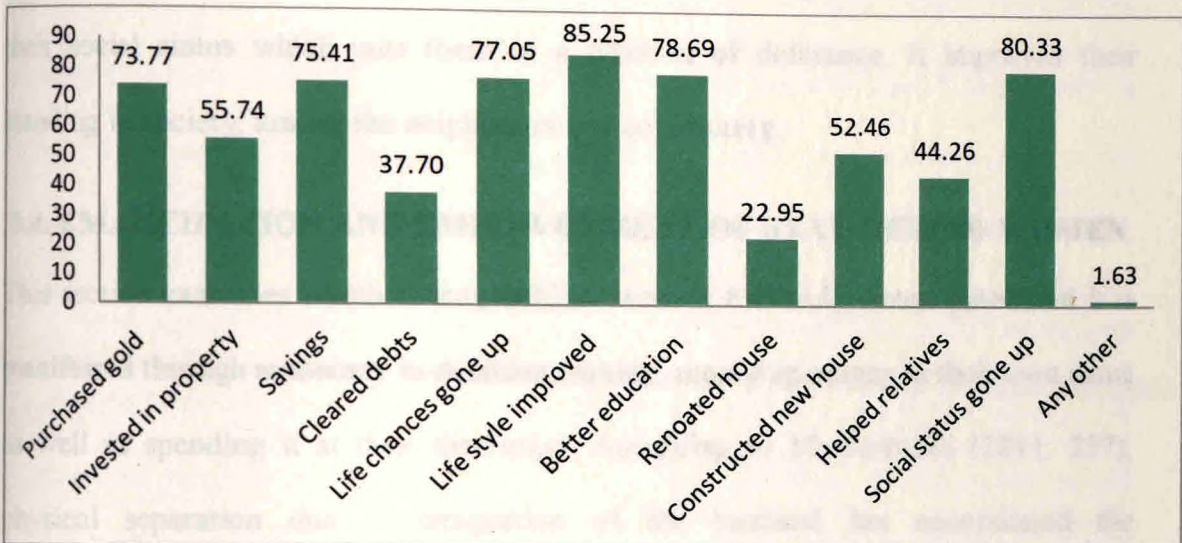
Figure 5.1 shows the quantum leap in benefits accrued by the 'stay-behind families' and 'stay-behind women'. Those living in old homes have renovated them. Many others have bought a plot and constructed a new house and invested in property. Women are able to purchase gold jewellery. Due to the remittances they are able to provide better education for their children and also are able to make savings. Some reported that their family was able to clear debts and have helped their relatives. A majority reported that their social status, life style and life chances have gone up. 'Lifestyle' or the modes of living refer to the dress, type of house, residential area, recreation mode, communication and conveyance. 'Life chances' refer to such things as opportunity to travel for leisure, access to better health care and education etc.

Once a migrant became successful overseas, he gained immense popularity and it is rightly said that a person has many relatives flocking around him when he has money. He is also treated deferentially because of his wealth. Most of the times the

relatives of the overseas migrant's family expect help because of the sound economic position of his family. We note that 44.3 per cent relatives expect help and they are obliged with their requests and 55.7 per cent do not ask for help. Helping one's immediate family is considered to be a moral duty. Thus, wives of successful migrants had an upper hand and being in a position to help other relatives elevates their social status which puts them in a position of deference. It improves their standing in society, among the neighbours and community.

5.4. EMANCIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF STAY-BEHIND WOMEN

This section examines whether 'stay-behind' women feel truly emancipated and it is manifested through autonomy in decision making, receiving money in their own name as well as spending it at their discretion. According to Mascarenhas (2011: 257), physical separation due to emigration of the husband has necessitated the development of certain qualities among women such as a greater degree of independence and self-reliance. A woman has to be able to take prompt decisions, move about to get certain tasks accomplished and also interact with various departments.

Data was sought to know whether the women in such matrifocal families have liberty to spend money in the manner they feel appropriate. About 72 per cent women respondents revealed that they had the freedom to spend money at their own discretion, but for major expenses, they are accountable to their husbands' for the same. A little more than a quarter i.e. 28 per cent said that they had only petty cash, and thus no freedom to spend money at their will, implying that independent decision in money matters was not allowed. Thus, we can say that the authority and power is held by the men and most women did not feel empowered; as they had to follow the dictates of their husbands. Women are subjected to a 'social audit' of their decisions

with regard to management of finances, relation with in-laws and children's progress when their husbands' visited home.

Although migration has facilitated advancement in material culture, as well as non-material culture of families, there seems to be a 'cultural lag' in the position of women. They do not have free will in the true sense. Women have to follow the commands not only of their husbands, but often their in-laws also dictate terms to them. Thus, independent decision making regarding major issues is rare among wives who stay back.

With regard to personal attire, a particular feature about Goa is that women do not face rigid restrictions in manner of dress, social interactions and mobility. Goan culture does not impose a dress code or lay a strict emphasis on *ghunghat* or veil among the Hindu and Catholic women. However, recently some Muslim women have resorted to using a *hijaab* or a *burkha* to adhere to the norms of their culture.

Figure 5.2. Driving and Riding Skills of Women
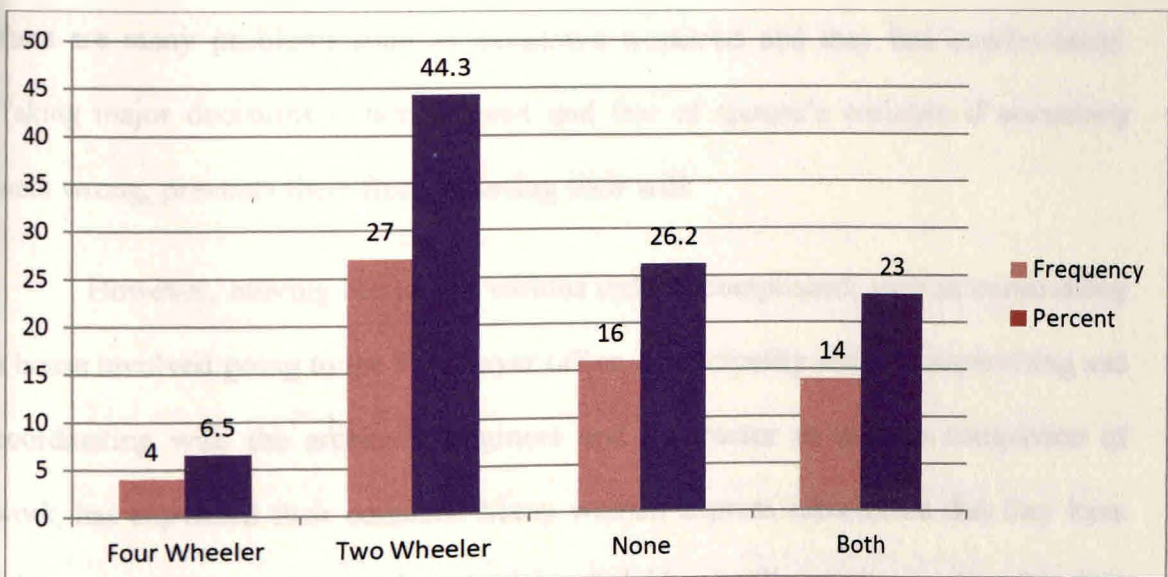
Since women have to accomplish various tasks in running their house; they have to overcome their apprehensions and inhibitions. Being able to either drive a car or ride a scooter is a boon to women as they can then independently manage various

outdoor chores. As shown in Figure 5.2, almost three-fourths of the respondents drive/ride a vehicle. A majority, i.e. 44.3 per cent rides a two-wheeler, about 6.5 per cent drive a car only; 23 per cent drive as well as ride a vehicle and about 26.2 per cent do not drive/ride a vehicle. This is a crucial parameter, as being able to move on their own and not be dependent on others is a liberating experience for women. It is a common sight to often see women ferrying their children to and from school, transporting household supplies and very often a cooking gas cylinder too.

In response to the question whether husbands' migration has empowered them, the responses are ambiguous. Empowerment is a broad term and means different things to various categories of women depending on their educational qualification, working status, and the class they belong to. It encompasses any new skill or ability acquired as a result of the circumstances she is placed in and according to the challenges she has to confront in the absence of her spouse. Almost 69 per cent women felt empowered and about 31 per cent did not feel empowered. They said that there is empowerment only in monetary terms. In most cases women expressed that there are many problems such as excessive workload and they feel overburdened. Taking major decisions is not allowed and fear of spouse's criticism if something went wrong, prevents them from asserting their will.

However, moving out to get various tasks accomplished, such as constructing a house involved going to the Panchayat office, municipality and also supervising and coordinating with the architect, engineer and contractor to oversee completion of work, has expanded their contacts. Many women express satisfaction that they have relevant contacts, as a respondent explains *"olakh zaata"*, and thereby broaden their social network. This has made them confident that they can manage by themselves. A woman reported that not long ago, she was a timid lady and was considered as *lolem* by her family and friends, but now she is proudly acknowledged as *hushaar* in her

society. Some women have also been elected as Panchayat representatives as well as the councilors of their wards. This has elevated the status of the women. But most of the women felt that being single they are in a vulnerable position and fear being taken advantage of by others.

5.5. PROBLEMS IN ABSENCE OF SPOUSE

When asked to narrate the problems in the absence of spouse, a woman summed it up in the following words, "under the protective umbrella of remittances, one should not complain of trivial matters, as we would be complaining had our husbands' been here and earning less salary". Although, there are many problems, the benefits outweigh the problems and women said they felt guilty to complain. However, they did face difficulties of coping singularly. When household maintenance was required and it meant getting workers for plumbing, electrical works, carpenters, masons and it is tedious to get the right persons who would do a neat job. Also, periodic servicing of vehicles, air conditioners, paying utility bills, income tax filing and handling property matters becomes burdensome. Further, education of children, health concerns of family members, household chores, all need to be taken care of. Women feel that if the men were working in Goa their workload would be shared. In the words of a respondent, *"Bhaile ani Bhitulem kaam"*, this means, "he would do the outdoor jobs, and I would look into the home affairs" and presently, it is a "one-man show".

The major areas of worry for matrifocal women who live alone with their children are news reports of armed robbery and murders, as many homes have been recently targeted. This fear of burglary and theft has made them put double grills, as a safety measure. Also, in cases where women have the old traditional type of kitchens where burning of palm leaves and wood is used as fuel, the phobia of kitchen fires and accidents traumatizes them.

In addition, if the husband does not call for few days it adds to the mental agony of the women. In their anxiety women would have irrational thoughts of accidents abroad, illness, and fear of husbands' personal safety; as there are cases of hostility to migrant workers. Also, since many other men return home due to global economic crises, wars, political instability, in reaction to lower wages and loss of jobs lead to a piling up of debts at home, there is fear that this would happen to them too. A few women reported that their spouse is fickle-minded, lazy and hates hard work and discipline; and may leave his job and return home. Sometimes there is enforced idleness between two contracts and men are at home longer than anticipated. In such times, the savings would be depleted for daily consumption needs of the family. Quarrels at home with in-laws also disturbed the peace and harmony in the family. All this has led to frustrations and disappointments. The monotony of their routine life has also aggravated the problem.

Stay-behind women in such matrifocal families have many responsibilities and coupled with this is the constant apprehension about remittances not received on time, children's education and discipline, fears of husbands' infidelity, (sometimes real and often imaginary), concerns about his well-being and so forth. All these issues plague her mind. Women also are blamed if children perform badly in studies or if they are not disciplined. The constant worrying caused tension and stress; and thus, peace of mind eludes them, which has an adverse effect on their physical and mental well-being.

Women also felt lonely and the feeling of loneliness permeates other areas too. In the social sphere also women feel incomplete and socially excluded. Self-imposed fetters bind them and they prefer to socialize very rarely. They have taken such a stand as they fear loose talk by 'meddlesome people'. Their actions are subjected to scrutiny and there is societal pressure which subtly draws boundaries for

women. Thus, there is covert reprimand to behave modestly in the absence of their husbands.

Moreover, few women reported that they have to maintain decorum in their overall persona, that is, certain protocols have to be followed and many felt that they were also on constant 'surveillance' by their family members, neighbours and others. As a result, they experienced a gnawing sense of foreboding that their overall conduct would draw the ire of their husbands' and in-laws. Also, their own mothers advise them to keep a low profile in the absence of their husbands, and to refrain from any mode of behavior which could be exaggerated and misreported to their husbands (Mascarenhas, 2011: 258).

Some women living in the *vaddos* with only their children had a peculiar problem of *pisso* or *bebdo,* that is, the 'mad' or 'drunkard' of the village, who often shouted obscenities which could be attributed to their unstable frame of mind or their drunken stupor. Women who experienced this, would often experience *bhaas,* (hallucinate or imagine) that somebody is knocking at their door very late at night. Also, when power supply is erratic at night time, there is deep fear of something untoward happening to them and their families.

Although women were optimistic and enthusiastic about migration of their menfolk; with the perception that 'life will be set' as there will be stable remittances; which will take care of the major expenditure in the house, the reality is far different. The financial problems are not there anymore, but problems of a different nature do continue.

5.6. DRAWBACKS OF MANAGING WITHOUT SPOUSE

Relationship with in-laws is usually perceived to be hostile and antagonistic and this is all the more difficult when the women have to manage without their spouses presence. However, 55.7 per cent in-laws had various complaints and misgivings with their daughter-in-law when their sons are not here. Areas of dissent include - spending money indiscriminately, finding faults in the manner they train their children, talking unfavourably about daughter-in-law to neighbours and relatives, and so forth. Women reported that it was not always easy to have patience with in-laws and very often back-answered them, which led to quarrels and an exchange of hurtful remarks. In some instances, displeasure was shown by the husband when he came to know about the bickering and squabbles at home. In other cases, these matters were ignored and overlooked by the migrant as he had to maintain diplomacy in addressing these issues, as often an incomplete and a biased picture is presented before him. About 44.3 per cent did not have any major difference of opinion or complaints and maintained cordial relations with their in-laws.

Migration ensured economic security, but they had to sacrifice emotional security. Women revealed that at certain crucial times they greatly felt the absence of their husband such as; at the time of their pregnancy and deliveries, when very young children are not well and their safety when they go to school. Problems were faced when one child had to be reached to the place where his bus would pick him and the other younger one would be sleeping at home. Some women locked them at home for a brief period to do this job. However, this was a very difficult time for them and melancholy thoughts would make them feel low and depressed when they saw other women being helped by their husbands. Again, occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries, and feast and festival days are described as especially difficult

moments, as the pain of separation from their spouses is sharpened on such days. They felt that "money has taken more space and that they have been left alone without love", and expressed it by saying "we cannot enjoy togetherness". Also, women felt insecurity, anger, jealousy, mood swings, insomnia, headache and fatigue. All this leads to frustration and bitterness and an overwhelming feeling of loneliness and sadness.

Women have to be both the mother and father to the children. Handling children's temperament is mentally draining. Also, they have to deal with adjustment of children with peers and the competitive environment, grades at school; and sibling rivalry at home. Thus, women have suppressed and sacrificed their desires for the family and children.

5.7. SUPPORT SYSTEM

Support is of paramount importance to human beings and more so in fragile cases such as women living and managing without their spouses. When women were asked whether they received adequate support in absence of their husbands, they mentioned familial-kin based support and a few friends whom they could rely on. However, the general feeling was expressed as *"aamka aadhaar naa"*, that is, 'we don't have support'. Women tend to form 'ghettos' of their kind, that is, those whose spouses are working overseas seek affinity mainly with other women; who are in a similar situation and therefore, would understand them better and be empathetic towards each other. Strong bonds of such women are forged who are in a reciprocal relationship, as they can open up without fear of being judged or their stories being passed on and become a topic of ridicule.

Friends are a backbone in an individual's life. About 62 per cent respondents reported having a circle of reliable friends whom they can count on for help and about

38 per cent said they do not have a support circle of friends. Many seek counsel of older women who have had a longer experience of their husbands being overseas.

Women's natal family members are supportive, as reported by 85.2 per cent and 14.8 per cent did not have support as they were residing far away. Most women whose parents live close by said that their parent's presence gives them lot of confidence. In crises situations she is helped by her own parents and siblings. The maternal uncle *mama* played a decisive role and the maternal grandparents offered unconditional support.

About 73.8 per cent respondents said that their husbands' side family is supportive and 26.2 per cent did not receive such a support due to lack of cordial relations with them.

Some overseas migrants' families have a 'handy man' that is a person who is known to the family and who could be a neighbour, relative or a family friend. He is often at their disposal and whose services are regarded as indispensable. He is always at the beck and call of the family and does miscellaneous jobs for them.

Having good and congenial neighbours is a blessing. About 59 per cent women said that their neighbours are very helpful and cooperative. Neighbours helped in times of emergency such as bringing medicine from the pharmacy, fetching essential provisions, running odd errands and going to pay utility bills and do bank related jobs for them. Many a time's children are left under the care of neighbours when women needed to go out urgently. About 41 per cent said neighbours were either not approached for help or that relations were not cordial. In such cases, women expressed their hesitation in seeking help, as taking favours meant being under their obligation and they wanted to avoid this.

Another distinct feature peculiar to Goan Christians is the concept of 'Godparents', the *Padrin* Godfather and *Madrin* Godmother, who play a crucial role among the Catholic families and have a formative influence in the welfare of the children. Among Hindus, it is the maternal side family and among the Muslims, the paternal family exercised considerable influence and control. Thus, in the absence of overseas migrant men, to use Merton's terminology, there are 'functional equivalents' or 'functional alternatives' (1975).

Women do not face constraints to working, as child care and elderly care facilities are affordable as well as available. Educated women do not want to stay at home as they wish to pursue their career. It is mostly migrant women from other states like Orissa, Karnataka and Jharkhand who take up domestic help jobs in Goa.

5.8. COPING STRATEGIES

Any individual develops its own mechanism which acts as a buffer in response against trying circumstances. Women's coping strategies can be explained by borrowing Arnold Toynbee's concepts 'Challenges and Responses' (1934-1961). After the initial see-saw of maladjustment and instability, comes acceptance and strategies for adaptations to the situation.

Many women reported that their husbands would like to come back, especially those who have been working for fifteen years or more. But family responsibilities have deterred such a decision, and also to find employment which matches the earnings abroad seem bleak after working overseas. A large number of women i.e. 62.3 per cent said that they would like their husbands to come back and take up a job here and 37.7 per cent said that it is better if their husbands' are working overseas.

Thus, on one hand women want their husbands' to be with them, and on the other hand the need for money makes it essential for the men to be away. Thus, women face a paradoxical situation, a sort of a mental tug-of-war when respondents describe the benefits as well as the problems associated with overseas migration of their spouse. Thus, their responses are ambivalent.

A major problem was procrastination of tasks to be done in and around the house and wait for their husbands to come. This postponement is done deliberately or to keep pending any repairing and maintenance tasks so as to have the husband personally take decisions, arrange for workers and supervise the work himself. They only address urgent works in the house. The chief reason was to avoid blame if something was not done properly and to avoid the husbands' displeasure.

Some women lamented at length about all the problems they faced in their daily life and others had a stoic demeanour. Thus, the reactions were polarized. Many felt that absence of companionship of their spouse defied the very purpose of marriage. Some of them indulged in impulsive shopping sprees and experienced feelings of guilt after they had splurged money on unnecessary purchases.

Further, many women reported going in the 'social hibernation' mode and do not allow anyone to invade their 'personal space'. Also, they preferred to keep a low profile and retreat into a self-imposed isolation. They exhibited a lackadaisical attitude in the absence of their spouse. Many also experience stress, anxiety, depression and psychosomatic health issues.

From the above we can infer how women cope in absence of their husbands. This largely depends on their personality and attitude. The women left behind can be categorized as:

a) Independent and 'no-nonsense' type

Some women are independent and prefer to manage their responsibilities by taking minimum assistance from others. They generally keep to themselves and since these women possess driving/riding skills, they are able to accomplish many tasks, which otherwise would have made them dependent on others for help. Further, they are cautious of dubious characters and so minimize their interactions with others.

b) Hyper vigilant - suspicious type

In the absence of their spouse, some women have become obsessed with irrational fears and suspicious of almost everyone in their social environment. They strongly believe that "it is better to be safe than sorry". In their anxiety to shield their children they become overly protective. The lack of the father figure has prompted them to be oppressively strict. Some are definitely at war with their predicament, but in a way that has made them bitter and distrusting of others, so much so that they smother their children with too many restrictions.

c) Self - pitying dependent type

A few women lament about the problems that they face, while overlooking the positive aspects of their spouses' migration. They have a pessimistic and negative attitude. Mostly they are dependent on others. These women have not reconciled themselves with their circumstances and wallow in self pity.

d) Savvy - smart career oriented type

Women who are gainfully employed, whether handling their own business or having a regular job are referred to as smart and focused on their careers. Since they are occupied most of the time, they do not have time to brood. However, as they have to

manage their household chores and also handle their careers, they do experience 'role conflict'.

e) Submissive - passive type

Some women are meek and submissive type. They do not assert their independent will and there is a lackadaisical attitude among them and as such, they lack in enthusiasm. They usually follow instructions and are led by the will of others. There is no independent decision making and they are compliant to the wishes of others, keeping their needs last.

f) Reclusive and hostile - aggressive type

The problems that some women have had to endure as a result of managing alone, has embittered them. They have 'retreated into a shell' and have minimum interaction with others. Their experience has made them hostile and it is manifest through aggressive behavior.

The above types can be seen as defense mechanisms and coping strategies in the absence of their spouse. When her spouse has gone away for a long period of time, the woman is called on to attend to a multiple tasks. This situation may promote increasing mobility in the man's world; or she may revert back into regressive patterns of seclusion, isolation and increasing dependence on others.

In the absence of their husbands, some women expressed their inability to manage on their own without constant validation and support. Lack of affection and reassurance, has made some women whimsical and this has led to co-dependency. This deprivation of companionship and emotional love has led to what Viegas (2011) calls 'comfort relationships' – there is acute loneliness due to distance and one turns to a friend or co-worker for bonding and comfort. Further, Viegas elucidates

"emotional affairs are much more dangerous than just a physical fling", as the persons involved "love, care and share on par like a married couple". These liaisons sometimes lead to a break-up of families. Also, some children have got into serious problems with the law. Usually, the women are blamed when such mishaps occur. These could be viewed as the latent dysfunctions of stay-behind families.

Many women seek solace in religion. About 29.5 per cent reported that they have joined religious organizations and are active members. These women revealed that they can cope with problems better due to their religious leanings. About 70.5 per cent said that they are not affiliated to any religious organization. However, all women respondents reported that they do visit religious places of worship and also prayed at home.

Catholic women kept *Novenas* during feast days, Hindu women preferred to keep fast on certain days of the Hindu calendar and Muslim women prayed at home. Almost all reported that prayers are an antidote to all their difficulties. Many Catholic women are members of Parish Pastoral Council, Couples for Christ, Legion of Mary, are engaged in *Seva Dhorma,* (spirit of service), distribute communion, liturgy (organizing mass) and other service oriented activities. This helps them in spiritual growth. Volunteering at religious organizations has a twin purpose, that is, to render service as well as to socialize. Hindu women preferred Yoga, meditation and teachings of the Bhagvad Gita. Muslim women derive solace through Quran readings. Mascarenhas (2011, 259) makes an observation that joining devotional activities "provide women with many opportunities for recreational and emotional catharsis". Further, she notes "the necessity to have faith that God will look after migrants" as well as give them the much needed solace to adapt to their circumstances.

Some women have vigorously pursued their hobbies such as gardening, knitting, tailoring, baking etc. They report that doing what they like is therapy for them; and a great way of relaxing and relieving stress.

When women respondents were asked whether they would be in favour of their daughters' marrying an overseas migrant like themselves, almost half of them replied in the affirmative i.e. 48 per cent said yes and 46 per cent said they would not want their daughter(s) to marry a man who is working overseas because of the difficulties they encountered in their daily life with an absent spouse. They do not want their daughters to undergo the same predicament. However, they would not mind if their daughters married a migrant and joined him abroad. For 6 per cent women this was not applicable as they only have son(s).

In response to the question of whether they would like their son(s) to go to work overseas, almost 60.7 per cent said that they are in favour of it and acknowledging the fact that job offers that they are interested in and the salaries that they expect is difficult to come by over here in Goa. About 31 per cent replied in the negative since they do not want the family life to be disrupted and for 8.3 per cent this did not apply as they have only daughters.

To conclude, one can discern a glimmer of bright expectations when women talk of their future plans. There is a sense of optimism as the future is anticipated. They are hopeful that after making sufficient money, their husbands will come back here and start a business in Goa; so that they can live together. Also, they desire to travel with their spouse and see the world. Many are confident and look forward to join their husbands after getting a Portuguese passport. Thus, hope of the future is an antidote for keeping the spirit alive.

CHAPTER VI

MIGRATION AND FAMILY DYNAMICS

Overseas migration of men has led to enormous transformation in the economic position and social upliftment of their families. The main purpose of going abroad is employment, and this has had a powerful impact on two major institutions that is, family and marriage. This chapter aims to explore the dynamics occurring not only in such families, but also the overall trends in the migration scenario, due to the interplay of various factors which have left an indelible imprint on the various facets of Goan society.

The analysis is done in the context of case studies by engaging with different generations of selected households, who have the experience of overseas migration for two generations or more. This data is juxtaposed with the data elicited through the interview schedule to facilitate an understanding of the transitions occurring in the life experiences of the migrants and their families.

Hence, to trace the trajectory of migration 'then' and 'now', or in the words of Fernandes (2007), *aadi ani aatam*, intercepts have been collected in the form of life-story interviews, narratives, memoirs of expatriates and repatriates, who have gone through the experience of sojourning overseas, their families who are personally affected by overseas migration and senior citizens of the village who have watched the unfolding of this saga. Also, the secondary sources of data provide a backdrop from which we can infer the progression in the migration schema, by comparing and contrasting past scenario and present trends.

Overseas migrant's families who stay behind are a distinct type, because the men of the house are away for a long period of time. This has necessitated women to assume major responsibilities and adapt to new roles in the absence of their husbands. Over time, most families experience gradual changes. But, in the migrant families, the

rate and pace of change is sudden; as a result of the member(s) of their families having gone abroad for employment purposes. The enormous wage differentials in the destination country have benefitted the migrants. They make huge remittance transfers to their family and this has generally had a positive impact on the migrants themselves and also on their families. This has multiple ramifications on how the families organize and manage their lives, thus, leading to a restructuring of all aspects of the household.

The main objective for a man to migrate is the economic consideration. He makes a rational calculation, of what Blau (1964) calls the 'cost-benefit analysis' and Homans (1961) refers to as 'success and reward proposition', when he chooses to go overseas for employment. The benefits far outweigh the problems encountered by both the migrant as well as his family. The single and most important factor which lures migrants is the economic aspect. Remittances that the families receive are a huge incentive and the sole consolation for the enforced separation of families. It is because of remittances that such long-distance relationships are maintained and strengthened.

6.1. FAMILY MOBILITY

The first tangible impact of migration experienced by the overseas migrant is his salary which he remits home to his family. The benefit accrued due to geographical mobility is the rise in economic status, which has resulted in social mobility, and is well manifested by impacting all the major aspects of a migrant's household.

An undeniable fact is that there is upward mobility as a result of overseas migration. This quantum leap has only been possible because of the remittances. The individual who has migrated has scaled newer heights. Not only his family and kin folk, but also his village community experiences the 'trickle-down effect'. Many families unanimously acknowledge and attribute the life altering nature of migration. They also assert that all this would not have happened had the men of their family not

gone overseas. Thus, they attribute the 'miraculous' transition of economic success to the efforts of the migrant men which has led to upward mobility.

Further, vertical mobility has occurred in such emigrating families. Those who were the first in their family to go overseas experienced intra-generational mobility, that is, change in status occurring within their lifetime. This has not only elevated the economic position, but also the social status of the family.

In addition, those who are the second and third generation migrants in their families experienced inter-generational mobility. They have contributed to further enhancement of their family status; as they had an initial advantage and were better equipped with education, knowledge and skills as compared to their predecessors. They were well tutored by their father, uncles and perhaps even their grandfather who had the experience of sojourning overseas. Their remittances helped not only to maintain the status quo of their families, but also multiply their wealth. Now these families constitute a dominant group because of their wealth.

It is important to point out that the reverse is also true, and some families have experienced downward mobility, as a result of addiction to alcohol, wasteful habits and absence of savings. Fernandes (2007: 53) remarks that Goan migrants love entertainment and are happy-go-lucky people and many have failed to give a serious thought to savings. In such a context they remain endlessly in the Gulf. Some have even fallen prey to a lavish lifestyle and returned home empty-handed after decades of service in the Gulf.

6.2. IMPROVED QUALITY OF LIFE

The benefits have permeated in daily consumption of necessities such as a better quality and variety of food grains, vegetables, fruits and milk products. They are able to buy groceries from a general provisions store instead of procuring necessities from

fair-price shops. Frequent consumption of meat, fish, fruits and dairy products, which constitutes a balanced and nutritious diet, has been possible due to the remittances.

Other than fulfilling basic consumption needs, remittances have also impacted other areas such as health. An area where the use of remittances has made an impact is affordability of quality health care. A lot of private hospitals, unlike government hospitals, offer sophisticated and quality care; where one does not have to wait in very long queues. They have been able to access better health care facility and treatment for their family members.

Overseas migrant's families are able to afford and provide better quality of education for their children. Due to remittances from abroad, children are enrolled in private English medium schools and professional colleges, where the fee structure is much higher when compared to government institutions and regular degree colleges. Educational attainment has had a tremendous impact in achieving a higher status.

Moreover, wearing fashionable clothing from reputed brands, use of latest gadgets in the house and overall access to coveted goods and services has enabled them to lead a luxurious life. This 'jump' has been quite sudden for some families when compared to their humble origins. Thus, a majority of the family members reported that their social status, life style and life chances have gone up. 'Lifestyle' refers to the mode of living, dressing, type of house, residential area, recreational avenues and conveyance. 'Life chances' refer to such things as opportunity to travel for leisure, access to better health care, nutrition and education.

It is a universal desire of mankind to have a roof over the head. Other than fulfilling the basic needs of giving shelter and protection, having magnificent houses is an aspiration among many people. This is so because it is associated with more comfort and also an opportunity to proclaim one's material wealth. The migrant's house is a visible demonstration of the material progress that he has made in foreign

land. Overseas migrant's dwellings stand out from the rest of the houses in the village as they are distinct in their appearance with a large *balcao*, arches and an impressive façade. Those living in old homes have been able to renovate the existing one and the cow-dung floors were replaced with red cement. Many have bought a plot and are in *the process of constructing a new house*.

Fernandes (2007: 47-48) notes that "one of the first things a *Basurkar* did when he came down on his vacation was to buy a plot, dig a well and gradually build a house on it". He also adds that owning a house was a huge status symbol.

There is tremendous improvement in material culture of the overseas migrant's families which has greatly enhanced their quality of life. Gadgets in the house for entertainment purposes include a television set, music system, and home theatre. Further, refrigerator, cooking oven, mixers, grinders and other small kitchen appliances are commonly used. This has greatly reduced the time spent in doing household tasks and reduced the drudgery of kitchen work for women. Thus, there is better organization and management of the domestic affairs. Also, most of the houses have computers, cars and scooters for conveyance. The possession and usage of which, has made life comfortable and increased independence of the women and other family members.

A subtle change is visible in the non-material culture too. As a result of sojourning overseas and earning lot of money, migrants have more disposable cash, which they spend lavishly. This enhanced economic status, and purchasing power has brought finesse and refinement in their tastes and preferences. Migrants and their families have developed a distinct sub-culture (i.e. they have shared elements distinct from the larger dominant culture, as compared to their neighbourhood and community). Many overseas migrants' families celebrate feasts, festivals and rituals with much show and pomp. There is free flow of alcohol and elaborate banquets

while entertaining guests. Such families are known to engage in "Impression Management" (Goffman, 1959) during their social interaction with the neighbours, community and society at large and revealing only the success part, while concealing the hardships that the family endures.

Another change that has been observed is that the rigid hierarchies of the old caste based stratification system are losing its hold. Some migrants who belong to the lower castes who were earlier socially excluded from various social functions are gradually accepted because of their improved economic status.

During their stay overseas, migrants and the sojourners come in contact with persons from different nationalities. They are exposed to certain standards of conducting themselves in social interactions; and are more aware of various avenues of mobility in the modern world. Their outlook and approach to life is broadened and they have a different perspective encompassing achievement value, belief in hard work and meritocracy. This has made a profound impact and led to a global vision of material success and prosperity for themselves and their immediate family.

6.3. PARAMETERS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Changes are discernible in the various parameters considered essential to human development. The enormous transformation is visible in the economic status of the overseas migrants' families. As shown in Figure 6.1, 93.4 per cent attribute their present growth to the remittance from their men abroad. About 87 per cent feel that they have climbed the social ladder. Also, 70.5 per cent agree that access to improved medical care is due to remittances sent home by the overseas migrant. An improved standard of living has been reported by 80 per cent of the families. However, only 21 per cent reported that they are content and have fulfilled their aspirations; and the rest opined that their life desires and wishes are not yet satisfied.

Figure 6.1. Parameters of Social Development

6.4. DIVERSIFICATION OF INVESTMENT PATTERN

Earlier remittances were the only source of income for the families, who were totally dependent on it. Remittances were mainly used to satisfy immediate consumption needs of the family, constructing of a new house and purchasing some gold. The money sent home enabled the families to fulfill their basic necessities and the existence was on a mere subsistence level. As one informant pointed out, *"Potak lagon pois gelem", "Ghor bandle, bhangaar geylem"* (they went to earn for basic necessities, managed to build a house and purchased gold). Further, a repatriates wife said *"aamka xitt, koddi ani nistem mevlear, aamka dev pavlo"* (if we get our fish curry and rice, we were content). This reveals the limited aspirations of the earlier migrants.

Also, banking facilities were almost non-existent. There was only one bank in Mapusa *Banco Nacional Ultramarino,* which was a Portuguese-run overseas bank. Many overseas migrants availed of the bank's facilities to send demand drafts to their families and some also deposited their gold in this bank. "This bank was the only one of its kind in Goa. It accepted deposits but it did not offer any interest and advanced

loans at what was probably the highest rate of interest" (Rao, 1963: 59 cited in Mendes, 2014: 31).

Present migrants are radically different from their predecessors. The families have made huge strides in investment patterns and diversified the income generating activities. Now remittances are used in an ingenuous way and invested in a manner that will be most productive, such as purchasing land, apartment or a shop which is leased out on rent. Also bank deposits yield good and profitable income in the form of interest and dividend. Thus, investments are diversified and thereby wealth has multiplied.

The type of 'gift remittances' demanded earlier were household goods such as television set, Philips four-band radio, etc. which was for family consumption. Now, due to the technological revolution there is an additional demand for individualistic type of gifts such as branded clothes, smart phones/watches etc., the use and possession of which enhances their status. This has changed the nature of social relationships in the family. Often a son of the family who is working overseas is elevated to a pedestal and treated in a preferential manner by his family and other beneficiaries when he comes home on a visit. This is so because he is the 'provider' of valuable resources.

6.5. WANING OF MULTI-GENERATIONAL CO-RESIDENCE

Earlier there was a joint family structure of the household and communal living, where cooking and housework was shared by all. Also, looking after children was not cumbersome as other members helped. Thus, there was contribution for expenses and sharing of household chores, but these same reasons have now been the cause of fission of joint families. Many families have now opted to amicably separate and establish an independent nuclear pattern of living. Very often quarrels in the household regarding sharing of expenses and other areas of dissent; have been cited as

the cause of the breakdown of joint family pattern. Previously too, there were nuclear homes, but not in the modern sense though, as in the main house, only the kitchens were separate and otherwise there was communal living under one roof. Although now many are living together, they are in the process of moving out to live independently, after the completion of construction of their house.

6.6. MIGRATION AND GENDER DYNAMICS

The social world of the stay-behind wives was small and within an immediate primary group. Women going out to work were unheard of. There was controlled social interaction, limited to a small circle. Family celebrations and neighbourhood events were the only occasions that women could venture out as there were restrictions on women's mobility. Earlier women were passive recipients; their role was defined by their gender, and independent decision making, autonomy and self will was unthinkable. There was a clear demarcation of women's sphere and her personal space revolved around the domestic realm.

But, when men go overseas the power equations change and there is decline of patriarchal control over the family. The changing structure has necessitated that women take on more outdoor responsibilities in addition to the household chores that they perform. However, as a result of money sent home by their husbands, women are relieved from jobs which were more ascriptive in nature and which some of their previous generations women-folk would engage in - selling fish, carrying fodder for livestock, rearing cattle and pigs, working in paddy fields etc. These jobs are outsourced to migrant workers from other states. Women who were earlier largely anchored at home and assisted in carrying out the family occupations; have been emancipated from the traditional social roles.

In a state like Goa with better education and social awareness, women have now marched forward, economically, politically and socially. Wives of successful

migrants also have an upper hand at various social functions. Also, they are actively involved and assert themselves in major decision making. To borrow from Toynbee's work "Challenges and Responses" (1934 -1961), although they are overburdened with various responsibilities, they also see it as an opportunity to realize their dormant potentialities. Most of the women have risen to the challenges of balancing the various household demands and managing their affairs without their spouses support.

6.7. DUAL CAREER FAMILIES AND OUTSOURCING OF PRIMARY CARE

Earlier stay-behind women were mostly home-makers, but now many stay-behind women are also gainfully employed. This has led to a growing number of 'dual career families' – conceptualized 'as a family, where both the husband and wife are gainfully employed'. However, when women pursue a career, they are away from home for a substantial period of time. This calls for a restructuring of the household tasks and duties. Especially in a migrant household, the children's socialization is affected. This has necessitated placing children under the care of other members of the family or often full-time maids are employed. Sometimes children are kept in a crèche. This has led to 'outsourcing' of primary care which was earlier an exclusive prerogative of the family. Thus, the affectionate and emotional component provided by the immediate primary group is missing.

The repercussions of migration are manifested in the mushrooming of old age homes in Goa which could be seen as the latent dysfunctions, as it leads to a fall in the status of the aged. This is the case with senior citizens who do not fit in the modern life style of the children. Further, many women have taken up employment which means they are away from home for six to eight hours a day. There are no traditional caregivers in the family as the family size has shrunk. The senior citizens who are not independent, need constant care and vigil, are considered a 'bothersome responsibility'. Sending the older members of the family to the aged homes is a

testimony to the changing trends in family values and responsibilities. Some of the elderly members living with the family are mostly leading solitary lives and experience an 'empty nest syndrome'.

6.8. WEAKENING OF KINSHIP TIES

A migrant not only leaves behind his wife and children, but also elderly parents, as well as other relatives, who need to be looked after. Mostly this responsibility is taken care of by his wife as a filial duty. De Mello (2010: 43) notes that Goan migrants lived and worked overseas, with an understanding that their stay is temporary. They maintained their home in Goa. A strong sense of family and kinship prevailed in earlier times. Although Goans did not live under one roof as so many extended families in India do, they lived in the same neighbourhood and visited one another often.

In recent times 'gated' residential communities are more prominent, which refer to the localities having fences, walls and gates, which control both entry and exit. In such a residential dwelling one is assured of privacy and anonymity. Now, there is no free movement of neighbours and thereby less social interaction and cooperation. Thus, kin spirit and community sentiment which was dominant earlier is now missing. Relatives and neighbours were supportive earlier, but now, concern is perceived as an intrusion to privacy. Modern ideas of 'personal space' define the 'social distance' one is expected to maintain. There are 'walls and fences' in the mind as well as in homes.

An overseas migrant on his visit home carries himself in a distinct style. Some migrants are known to keep their 'social distance' when they are home on their annual visit and this is perceived as reverse snobbery. However, it is also true that since they are away for long period of time, it is hard for them to reintegrate themselves in the

society. Many overseas migrants find it difficult to develop and maintain friendship, this leaves them lonely and a feeling of alienation envelops them.

6.9. CHANGING PROFILE OF THE MIGRANT

In the past those who sought careers abroad were not qualified for specific jobs, but during the course of their work, like apprentices, they grasped the nuances and skills of the job that they were assigned to do. Since their educational qualification was low, most of them settled for blue-collar and brown-collar jobs.

The earlier migrants were thought of as blindly following the herd. Many senior repatriates narrated that they had to pledge their gold, to finance the cost of overseas migration. Many are known to have been duped of their savings by unscrupulous agents. Fernandes (2007: 53) observes that "there is a big change in this regard among the new generation born after the seventies; they are more cautious and have learnt from the previous generation's mistakes".

Now a potential migrant is viewed as a rational planner who strives to maximize the returns and minimize the losses (Blau, 1964). In the recent years Goans who wish to embark on an overseas career meticulously plan their careers and are able to take an informed decision. Many have equipped themselves with the requisite skills and qualifications. This has enabled them to secure better employment overseas, which comes under the category of white-collar jobs. Further, with latest technology at their disposal, they are in a better position. Thus, today's migrants are relatively better-off than their forefathers and have an advantage in the choice of jobs that they wish to do. Further, those who are second and third generation migrants are not willing to settle for less salary. The experiences and advice of previous generations hold them in good stead.

Moreover, in the olden days migrants were subjected to labour exploitation, harassment and abuse. There are vast differences in the migratory experience, and

now there are improvements as a result of labour laws, human rights and other welfare schemes. Thus, work conditions are relatively better as compared to earlier times.

Over time, the preferred destinations of migration have varied. In the late 19th century; many Goans went to British India and Asia, British Africa and Portuguese colonies in search of jobs and built their careers there. When the colonies reverted to indigenous rule in the1960s, many Goans shifted to greener pastures, mostly to Australia, USA, Canada, UK, and New Zealand and Portugal. In the early 20th century Goans sought employment in the Middle Eastern countries.

6.10. MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Many senior respondents, who were overseas migrants and sojourners', recounted their experiences of difficulties in communication, postal services, transport system and so forth. About two decades ago, there were no direct phones on board. Men who were sailing wrote letters back home. They could use satellite phones only when the ships touched the port. In contrast, now the smart phones enable them to receive constant updates and be in touch with family and friends. Also postal system was not advanced in the Gulf States. Mail was collected from sail boats or ships and stored. Initially, mail distribution took place fortnightly; but later, in the mid-fifties, it was distributed weekly.

Earlier sending remittances was primarily through personal hand-carry method. Very often someone known to the family, who was going home on a visit, was also entrusted with delivering parcels and handing over cash sent by the overseas migrant. He was relied upon to carry out this responsibility, the nature of which was reciprocal.

In recent times the formal means of interpersonal communication and modern banking system has diminished the dependence on favours from other persons as there

is no need to rely on others for such interactions and transactions. Now net banking and online operation of accounts, Western Union money, Money Gram etc. have facilitated prompt and speedy transfer of remittances to the families. However, to avail of these facilities requires technological literacy. Some women do manage this on their own, while many depend on their older children who are comfortable with the use of modern day technology.

Since the last two decades or so the rapid expansion of cheap international phone calls has emerged as the most important way in which migrants maintain communication with their homes. Women left behind to manage home and children are certainly at an advantage compared to their predecessors. Anthropologist Vertovec (2004: 220) calls "cheap phone calls the social glue connecting small-scale social formations across the globe".

The advent of cheap and easy communication, for example by cell phone and Skype, has eased the separation of family members and has greatly helped maintaining ties and relationships in recent years (HDR, 2009: 75). The ISD and internet cafes in every corner of the state have come handy to prevent the problems of loneliness from getting out of hand. The husband is physically away, but his helping hand is at the other end of the communication line (Rajan, 2003b: 21). The ease of instant communications with families left behind is something that distinguishes contemporary migrations from earlier ones. The ability to speak regularly, even daily, with distant family members allows migrants to participate in family decisions and to maintain relationships (Amrith, 2011: 180-181).

Those who wished to go overseas had to endure a strenuous journey. It took almost a week in a *pattimar* to travel to Bombay where they would stay in the famous Goan clubs known as *kudds*. They spent a couple of weeks and sometimes even a month or more in these Goan residential clubs. They attended interviews and if they

succeeded in securing a job overseas, would board the ship from Bombay. Many recollect travelling in a *caminhao* after embarking at Mormugao Port to reach their villages after having travelled by a steamer for a week. Now, by and large, potential migrants apply online and interviews are often held through the assistance of a webcam. Also, there are direct flights from Goa to so many UAE destinations. Thus, technology has simplified the entire procedure and eased the process of migration to another land.

6.11. CHANGING PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS MIGRATION

The negative perception and derogatory attitude towards migration and migrants has changed considerably. Many repatriates recount tales of their younger days of being referred to as 'useless loafers' and thought of as 'good-for-nothing'. But when they went overseas and returned 'successful', the earlier contempt was replaced by admiration and awe.

A family narrates tales of how a family member is looked in a condescending manner by the upper strata and subjected to mockery and ridicule as a 'clumsy buffoon' is later viewed and treated in a deferential manner. Society places a premium on material acquisition and a person who spends lavishly is noticed and treated with respect.

Another successful migrant family recalled that their grandfather was given a hero's welcome in the early 1940s when he returned from his sojourn overseas for a brief visit. Change was visible not only in the economic aspect, but also the demeanour of the returned migrant, his pompous and sometimes boastful attitude made other people in the village take notice of him, get close to him and try to acquire relevant information from him. The aspiration of such upward mobility, possible by overseas migration, kindled in them a yearning desire to migrate. Many successful

migrants were a source of inspiration for their fellow villagers and relatives and they also obliged them by guiding them on embarking a journey overseas.

Fernandes (2007: 48) remarks "once the *Basurkar* settled in his new house, he became a popular person; he earned a lot of respect locally. No sooner did he arrive, all of his relatives would pay him a visit. He entertained everyone. His wife had a triple duty of sort. Every evening when the migrant would be sitting in his *balcao*, often sipping toddy, there were villagers coming to him to seek favours for themselves and their family members. He was worshipped and seen as a 'messiah' for all those who wanted to leave their village and try their luck abroad. Listening to a migrant's success stories overseas, young men visualized it as a ticket to attaining material success and a glorious future. This perception led to a strong belief that migration is a panacea to solve all problems. The 'success proposition' put forth by Homans (1961) aptly explains this decision to go abroad.

These returned migrants were the same young lads, who used to laze about and whose pockets were virtually empty once upon a time. When they are successful, it transforms the perception of other villagers, who put them on a high societal pedestal. They attended social functions in branded 'suit and boots' and their economic advancement became the social identifiers of high prestige and status. The family members of the overseas migrant are also held in high social esteem by the community and neighbourhood.

Thus, to a large extent, caste factor recedes into the background in social interactions. Alliances are preferred with families who have gained affluence due to their men-folk working overseas, as they are known 'to eat well and live well'. Talks for marriages are conducted stealthily, with the parents of an overseas migrant, due to fear of sabotage by envious relatives and neighbours. Thus, the 'bachelor migrant' is much in demand in the marriage market. Also, men who work abroad, seek working

girls as life partners. This is so because many feel that their jobs overseas are not secure; and the steady income of their wives will be a safeguard in crises.

6.12. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION AND FAMILY DYNAMICS ON SOCIETY

All aspects associated with migration have undergone enormous changes – from the factors responsible for migration, to the destinations preferred by the overseas migrants. Also, the means and frequency of communication, the attitude and perception towards migration, and the experience of the migrants and his families are different now when compared with earlier periods.

6.12.1. In-migration and Out-migration

The assimilation of Goa into the Union of India led to heavy influx of other Indians into Goa, especially during the first decade of Liberation (Rodrigues, 2002: 181). However, agriculture has suffered from the huge out flow of local labour. Further, extensive construction activity has resulted in the massive inflow of migrants into Goa from other states of India (Gracias, 2007: 112). Many Goans express concerns about the migrant influx and how it can destroy the unique fabric of Goan society.

However, not all Goans are distressed by the migrants from other states. Particularly, those who have rooms to rent will lease it to migrants and fetch some income. Politicians perceive them as vote banks, and so help them to get ration cards. But, many feel anxious about the additional demands on infrastructure and change in demography. Also, generally a rise in crime rate is attributed to 'outsiders'.

The real estate which had made a beginning in the late sixties/early seventies got a fillip and many new housing projects started. Many old colonial houses were demolished and gave rise to the apartment culture. The concomitant was that land prices shot up manifold and had a disastrous effect on the agricultural land; which was converted for housing projects (Rodrigues, 2002: 182).

Overseas migration creates a void of man-power in Goa which is filled by recruiting labourers from other states. This has greatly altered the demographic structure to a point where the host population feels vulnerable; as it is perceived as a threat to their identity and demography. However, it is also true that the State needs workers at lower level to keep the economy growing. There are very few Goans who can do jobs of carpentry, tile fitting, masonry and plumbing. It is ironical that skilled and semi-skilled human resource from Goa does not take the jobs locally available and they mostly go abroad or take up jobs on ships. D' Costa (2008) points out that the 'social acceptability' of the job is paramount to them. It is the law of nature that any vacuum that is created, gets filled up. Thus, a dual process of out-migration and in-migration is occurring in Goa. Ruiz (2009) calls this "Goa's experience of a labour paradox".

A new elite of well off Indians, film actors, sports persons, writers etc. have made Goa their second home and retirement home; as they find property prices lower in Goa. They have purchased old Goan homes, renovated and refurbished them as well as built their own homes, purchased apartments while some have settled here for permanent domicile.

All these developments have triggered a demand for special status to Goa, under Article 371 of the Constitution of India for regulating ownership and transfer of land especially with respect to sale of land to non-residents/foreigners. The chief aim is to conserve the limited land resources available for development. However, the popular rhetoric prevalent in Goa is that the Goans themselves are selling off their land and migrating abroad.

6.12.2. Decline in Family Traditions and Customs

Some senior citizens lament that traditions have declined in the present times. For instance where the migrant man's wife has also sought gainful employment and

therefore, cannot devote time to making traditional sweets at home which is customary during feasts and festivals such as *bebinca, dodol* etc. This has been outsourced.

However, this changing trend is noticed in non-migrant families as well. Money started playing an important role and old traditions are often sidelined. Since society became cosmopolitan, consumerism has become the norm. Earlier weddings, Baptism, Christening, naming ceremony etc. used to be celebrated at home within modest means. Now, the same ceremonies and rituals are held in an elaborate manner in an expensive hall. Lot of money is spent not only on food and drinks, but also on decorations and other paraphernalia.

6.12.3. Decline in Traditional Occupations

One striking change which is discernible and disturbing is that traditional occupations are declining. Along with technology, the disinterest shown by youth to manual based jobs is also responsible for this trend. The families which were engaged in agriculture, horticulture, toddy-tapping, coconut plucking, bakery, cattle rearing, fishing and so on, have since long given up the family occupations, which were ascriptive in nature having caste as a basis for stratification. Thus, traditional occupations of Goans are showing a sharp decline as they are not considered to be lucrative professions.

6.12.4. Latent Dysfunctions

Many families have not been able to maintain equilibrium and there have been divorces occurring due to inability to sustain long-distance relationships. Viegas (2011) notes "their intermittent presence at home adds to the problem as often deep bonding is lacking". Thus, social cohesiveness is absent due to lack of close-knit relations. This has led to disjunctions in interpersonal relationships.

Breakdown of marriages is attributed to enforced separation. The latent dysfunctions are 'comfort relationships' that some women engage in due to the long

absences of their spouses which sometimes lead to a break up of families. Men too are known to seek clandestine gratification outside matrimony. Earlier the informal means of social control were strong and prohibited social deviance, but they are no longer a deterrent for social aberrations.

Another dysfunctional aspect of men being away from their homes for a very long time is that young children often perceive their own father as 'uncle' and neighbourhood uncle is addressed as 'daddy'. Also, among older children bonding between the father and his children is not deep and many a time children have an instrumental relationship with their father. Gama (2010) expresses his concern that migration hurts the family and community invariably with its inevitable negative results. He asserts "Man was made to live on the love of his family, however due to migration; the whole plan of the creator is broken and today one is left with a perverse greedy generation, who live in loneliness and isolation". This could be understood as latent dysfunctions, depending on case to case; these consequences according to Merton (1975) were unanticipated.

6.13. PAST SCENARIO AND PRESENT TRENDS

The causes of migration today are different from those during the early Portuguese rule in Goa. In the early phase of colonial rule, Conversion, Inquisition, poverty of the family, harsh laws and taxes led to migration. The above reasons led to rampant migration. Generally the 'push' factors (Lee, 1966), that is, unfavourable conditions were the dominant factors of migration that literally 'pushed' people out. There was not much thinking or planning and most who wanted to migrate, followed the herd. Later, agrarian economy, unemployment, lack of education prospects and intolerance of political subjugation gave a further fillip to migration.

In earlier times, families were large and sustaining so many members with meager income from agriculture, leading to a hand to mouth existence. Therefore, in

order to elevate their miseries; men with 'altruistic motivation' (Solimano, 2010: 146) migrated to fetch the much needed resources for their family. Thus, poverty was the main motivating factor and for the households it was a survival strategy. A large number of dependents benefitted due to migration of their family members. Thus, by and large, 'pull' factors (Lee, 1966), that is, favourable conditions in an external location attract workers overseas and are more influential in the decision to migrate. This constituted the 'flock syndrome' of migration.

Earlier migration was mostly involuntary with the subjective factors more dominant than the objective factors; some sort of 'push factors' influenced the decision to migrate. Gradually the 'pull factors' which were voluntary in nature affected the rationale for migration. Thus, we can conclude that earlier migration from Goa was more out of compulsion than free will, but now it is a well informed decision by taking into considerations the benefits to be accrued compared to the earlier venture into the unknown and faraway lands.

Thus, migration in Goa which started out as a 'need based' movement has now become a customary practice. Many villages in Goa have a sizeable number of men who have migrated for work purposes. The children in such families are programmed to such a family set-up. A child normally absorbs from its family a set of interests, norms, values and life habits. According to Sumner (1906), group habits which are repeated over time, become 'folkways'. Thus, youngsters very often follow the path chalked out by the elders and decide to migrate when they grow up. Loyola (2000) remarked that Goans are dominated by a desire to seek better opportunities, make optimum utilization of their talents and get secure jobs with better pay. They believe that by migrating overseas, they will advance not only economically, but socially as well.

Migration from Goa has entered a new phase in recent years. A number of Goans have acquired Portuguese passport and even citizenship since the Portuguese Consulate started functioning in the state. This is a clear indication that Goans want to move in a different direction when compared to the preferred destination of their predecessors. Larsen (1998: 272) opines that "For Goans, Europe is likely to remain on the employment radar and Portugal the convenient gateway to get there".

Colaco (2015) notes, "With more and more *Goemkars* leaving their homes to pursue better prospects abroad, leaving behind empty homes and Church benches". She points out "the local Church priests are stepping in to curb the widespread migration". Further, overseas migrants come to Goa and build a house which is locked up throughout the year now, since the whole families are migrating.

Maslow (1954) spoke of the "Hierarchy of Needs" in his famous work, *Motivation and personality.* When one need is satisfied, another one surfaces and man is in a never-ending quest to satisfy his needs. The changing trends of migration from Goa seem to indicate that Goans are seeking different avenues of employment. Goans seeking Portuguese passport and going to Europe is a continuity of the legacy of migration since the Portuguese rule in Goa, particularly among Catholics as it has become a part of their cultural habit.

It is important to note that earlier the clan sentiment dominated the desire to move and the impetus came from a feeling of duty and loyalty and was therefore family centered. Now, largely the motive is to migrate, and taking their immediate family along with them, in tune with the 'egalitarian' perspective.

Cardozo (2009) in an article entitled 'Opting for Foreign Citizenship', remarks that Post-liberation, successive governments introduced various self employment schemes and small scale industries. In spite of the numerous opportunities, many opted and continue to opt to emigrate.

Goans have stepped up their pursuit of the Portuguese passport and the number has increased in 2015, as compared to the previous year. About 2,158 people (upto September, 2015) have surrendered their Indian passports at the Regional Passport Office at Panaji. In 2014, about 1,660 persons surrendered the document. According to the Portuguese nationality consultants, now persons in the age group of 40-50 years are also migrating; whereas earlier it was mainly those between 18-35 years of age, who used to migrate overseas. Further, 70 per cent of the applicants are Catholics, 20 per cent are Muslims and 10 per cent are Hindus.

Another changing trend is that Goans migrating with Portuguese passports are no longer single males alone, but entire families. The number of minors migrating has also begun to increase as children move abroad along with their parents. These are recent developments occurring in the migration scene in Goa, which will have great repercussions on the state, and the consequences of which are yet to be fully experienced. This is at a nascent stage, a transitional period, showing greater dynamism, generally for the state and in particular to the families.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt has been made to collate the data and summarize the conclusions based on the analyses presented in the preceding chapters. It also includes the major findings and suggests scope for further research.

'Overseas Migrants' and 'Overseas Sojourners' from Goa - usually return to their families - from whom they have been separated throughout their working careers. Various issues and problems of overseas migrants are vigorously studied. However there was inadequate understanding of the experience of migration from the vantage point of families left behind in general, and on women whose spouses are working abroad in particular. This study sought to fulfill this gap in research studies by undertaking an in-depth study 'Migration and Family Dynamics in Goa'.

This study was undertaken with the following objectives: to trace the socio-cultural tradition of migration in Goa and understand the socio-economic life of the migrant's family. In the context of studying the contemporary situation, impact of migration on women in terms of their status, role and responsibilities was sought. The study identified the benefits, problems, support systems and coping strategies of the stay-behind women. Further, the aim was to explore the dynamics occurring in families left behind and the transitions in Goan society at large.

7.1. SUMMATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis begins by providing a background to migration which has been an integral part of the history of mankind. Migration was earlier known as 'movement' of people, from one geographical area to another, basically in search of food and various resources essential for a living. This wandering stage was terminated with the discovery of agriculture and horticulture. Man, thus, marked his boundary and settled

in one place. However, over time, the inadequacy of food supply and land, made him take the path of his predecessors – that of 'moving' in search of new livelihoods.

Later, industrialization offered job opportunities of an unprecedented nature. This fuelled further migration, chiefly for employment purposes. In South Asian countries, migration of 'male-only' is a common pattern of human mobility. The prime reason for seeking overseas employment is the lure for attractive remittances which benefits them and their families who stay behind.

A review of various concepts and theories related to family and migration revealed that no term was appropriate to fit this study. Hence, working definitions were formulated. The main thrust of this research is migration of men and the impact on their families, which for the purpose of this study, are called 'stay-behind families', which diminishes the weight of the negative connotation – 'left-behind families'. Since, the men travel long distances to fetch the much needed resources, the women have taken charge of the households, so the term 'matrifocal' is more apt to designate the overseas migrants' families. In this study 'Overseas Migrants' and 'Overseas Sojourners' mean the married male members of the families in Goa who are currently living and working abroad. It is ironical that men go overseas for the sake of fulfilling their role as a 'bread earner' and in this process it is the families who are left behind.

To get a holistic perspective of varied aspects of stay-behind families and to understand how women, children and the elderly folks are coping in his absence, an in-depth study was carried out in Salcete taluka located in South Goa. This region has a unique history and a large number of overseas migrants hail from this area. Thus, a study was conducted in fifteen villages from this region.

The methodology adopted was in line with the overall objective of gaining an in-depth understanding. Personal interviews on a one-to-one basis were conducted

with wives' of overseas migrants and sojourners. To get supplementary information, observation technique was used. In addition, case study of selected households was undertaken to meet the objective of tracing the transitions occurring in the families who have experienced inter-generational migration.

To place in context the migration of Goan men overseas, an overview of the practice of migration revealed that the causes of migration during the early phase of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa were conversion, Inquisition, agrarian economy and harsh taxes and laws. Later, unemployment coupled with lack of education was a major factor that induced people to migrate. Over time migration as a 'way of life' for young men seeking employment has been deeply imbibed as values, and further imitated by others. Presently, it has become customary to migrate. It is popularly held that such type of migration is possible not only due to economic necessity, but it is also now realized that the expectations of one's family and community, as well an individual's motivation play a crucial determining factor. This propels men who are seeking gainful employment to choose to go overseas.

In Goa, overseas migration to the Gulf and the Seafaring profession is pursued by many men. Out-migration is a common occurrence in many families in Goa. Regular remittances have enabled the families to lead a decent and comfortable life. A unique feature of migration in Goa was that it was restricted to the Goan Catholics. It is widely believed that their proximity as well as affinity with the Portuguese rulers made the transition overseas much easier for them as compared to Hindus of Goa. This was so because Catholics did not have restrictive habits and were uninhibited in their beliefs and practices, unlike the Hindus, who were bound by traditional value systems; which impeded their movement. Now, by and large irrespective of religion or region, overseas migration is sought by many Goans.

Another unique feature in Goa is the Seafarers or *Tarvottis*, who work on ships. In the 1920s many of them gravitated to the *Kudds* in Bombay. The Gulf has also been an attractive region for Goans. It has led to upward mobility for an individual who migrates. His family too, experiences an unprecedented change in their economic and social status. The material benefits are so attractive that the latent problems remain concealed. Overtime, the impact of large scale overseas migration has affected Goan society too. The *Tiatr's* often deal with the issue of migration which affect not only the families, but also the Goan society at large.

The data gathered from field work is presented in the subsequent chapters. The study found that the highest percentage of stay-behind women belong to the age group of 30-34 (21.3 per cent) followed by women between the age group of 35-39 and 40-44 (19 per cent each). About 64 per cent women respondents are Catholics, 19.7 per cent Muslims and 16.4 per cent Hindus.

With regard to educational attainment, the findings show that a large number of respondents are educated. Graduates are 39.3 per cent, followed by those who have completed H.S.S.C. (24.6 per cent), S.S.C. (19.7 per cent). About 9.8 per cent are Post Graduates. Working women are 34.4 per cent, 14.8 per cent have their own business and about 3.3 per cent are pursuing their studies. The remaining are home-makers.

Many families have male members who are working abroad, both at their in-laws home as well as at their natal home. This kind of exposure is not alien to them. Some women have altered their current living arrangements due to the long absence of their spouse.

The section on overseas migrants/sojourners shows that men working overseas range between 28 to 62 years of age. A majority of them belong to the age group of 32-46 years. Most of them are drawing a salary ranging between 50,000 to 2.5 lakh

per month. Although they undergo hardships, they prefer to work overseas. The desire to go abroad was nurtured since childhood.

Interpersonal relations are maintained and nurtured through periodic home visits by the overseas migrants and overseas sojourners. Moreover, constant communication has been simplified by modern technology. In this way families remain connected and relations are maintained.

The direct impact of migration is felt more intensively by the wives of the overseas migrants and overseas sojourners. Such 'stay-behind' women play a dual role, the normative role as well as the new responsibilities in the absence of their spouses. Although society has experienced change due to modernity, women have not been liberated from the domestic chores. In addition, upbringing and socialization of children, duty towards her in-laws and managing finances are the other demanding tasks.

Further, if the wives of migrants are working, they have to manage their multiple roles. All this seems overwhelming and women feel overburdened. Also, a feeling of being 'incomplete' without the physical presence of the husband has repercussions in minimizing social interactions and withdrawal from activities which may lead to reproach from other family members. Some 'stay-behind' women also exhibit characteristics which reveal their autonomy and emancipation.

Based on the personality and attitude of the women, a typology of women who stay-behind is delineated. The support system, coping strategies and drawbacks of managing singularly and problems women face are summed up in the major findings.

To explore the transitions occurring in such 'stay-behind families', that are concomitant to overseas migration, data gathered from case studies was analyzed,

which showed that the discernible changes are upward family mobility, improved quality of life manifest through better consumption, education, mode of house etc. Enormous transformation is evident in the various parameters of social development due to the steady flow of remittances. The positive aspect of overseas migration is mainly the quantum leap in the amount of cash at the disposal of the overseas migrants and sojourners families which has enabled them to lead secure and comfortable lives. This has led to a better 'life style' and improved their 'life chances'. Thus, there is not only intra-generational mobility, but also inter-generational mobility.

Now, there is waning of multi-generational co-residence as a result of new ideas and values of privacy, individualism and materialism. Moreover, the social world of the stay-behind women has broadened and gender dynamism is evident in the active role that women play as compared to their earlier counterparts. Also, dual career families are the norm rather than an exception. The repercussions are felt on the family as primary care is outsourced for the elderly and very small children. This could be attributed to weakening of kinship ties.

The changing profile of the migrants' is evident as compared to their predecessors. The experience of the present migrant is far different in terms of the types of jobs undertaken, transport and communication facilities as well as the causes of migration and destinations preferred. Moreover, one is able to notice a changing perception and attitude towards migration, migrants and their families.

Presently, the Goans who are migrating abroad are no longer single males alone; but entire families are migrating to European countries, which is facilitated due to acquisition of Portuguese passports. This is attributed to a change in aspirations among the Goan population.

7.2. MAJOR FINDINGS

The study has found out that the chief reason why men go to work overseas is to fulfill their role of a bread earner. Women stay back basically as they are programmed biologically and culturally to fulfill their role as nurturers. This 'movement' of men and 'staying back' of women, is seen as a practical way of organizing family life.

Migration occurs not only due to economic necessity, but it is now a part of the cultural ethos of the community one comes from. A culture of migration has developed, that is, the imitation of norms and values imbibed in formative years, directs spatial mobility in Goa, which can be explained by Durkheim's 'Law of Contagion' (1947). Presently, it has become a habit to migrate, which has evolved out of deeply entrenched customs and can be referred to as 'Folkways' (Sumner, 1906) of certain groups, who are predisposed to migrate.

Young boys are groomed to believe that migration is a path to manhood and adulthood, a sort of 'rite of passage'. This is an unintentional consequence of socialization in migrant families. Elders reported that they slogged overseas so that their children could get good education and would not have to struggle in unstable and alien lands. However, youngsters perceive migration as the only solution to a better life.

Some migrant men who are presently working overseas had chosen to 'go away', as they were convinced and inspired by earlier migrants and a recall of Merton's 'Reference Group' (1957) theory is apt to understand this process. Their ostentatious display of wealth and affluent life style were emulated by prospective migrants who also wanted to 'see the world' and perceived staying at home 'as missing something big out there'. Successful migrants are seen as mentors for aspiring migrants and many are like godfathers, under whose tutelage young protégés are able to realize their dreams.

In some families, the members want their so called wayward and vagabond son(s) to go to work overseas, with a belief that a tough life would instill right values. Also, they hope that being away from their protection and security would make them responsible and transform them into conscientious human beings.

Men seeking jobs overseas can be classified into the following types: reluctant migrant who faces approach - avoidance conflict at the time of departure, overzealous - enthusiastic migrant who is adventurous and raring to go overseas, altruistic migrant who has a strong sense of family responsibility on his shoulder and an escapist migrant who wants to sow his wild oats and try his luck on foreign land enabling him to make new beginnings.

Successful migrant families have developed a sub-culture of their own, within the larger culture that they belong to. Also, earlier caste-based distinctions are kept aside in social interaction. Their values and customs are different and set apart from the rest. A feeling of superiority and ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1906) has crept in their mannerisms and speech. They are debt free and have made tremendous strides which are manifest by what Veblen (1899) would call 'conspicuous consumption' of materialist goods, new technology and latest styles which are synonymous with migrant families. Thus, a peculiar type of 'reverse snobbery' can be discerned among migrant families. Migrants also indulge in 'conspicuous compassion' and 'invidious consumption' (Veblen, 1899) to invoke envy of others and also make a statement of their newly found wealth. They attribute this attitude as a response to snide remarks by others who are jealous of their material progress.

The repatriates can be classified as successful and boastful type, disillusioned and bitter types – narrating tales of hardships and content and not so ambitious type – recounting nostalgic reminiscences of the good old days.

The elderly experienced a poignant 'empty nest syndrome' and lament that when they were young they were away from family and now also the cycle of separation from their children disturbs them. The mushrooming of old age homes is a testimony to the changing trends in family values and responsibilities.

Many women reported that their husband would like to come back, especially those who have been working for fifteen years or more. But, family responsibilities have deterred such a decision and also to find employment which matches earnings abroad, seem bleak after having worked overseas.

Remittances are not the only source of income. Dual career families are on the rise. Also, now there are multiple choices for making investments. As such there is diversification of investments. Migrants' invest in shops and apartments as well as bank deposits which yield good and profitable income in the form of rents, interest and dividends. Wealth has thereby multiplied. Earlier investment was mainly done by purchasing gold and constructing a house.

A majority of women received remittances in their own name and this has boosted their self-confidence and has strengthened their coping strategies. They perceive being entrusted with large sum of money, as having gained trust of their husband and consider making optimum utilization of money as a major responsibility.

The children have an instrumental relationship with their father and a means to secure coveted goods. Children have unusual indulgences. Many have become spendthrift as there is lot of disposable income in the form of generous pocket money. Women face problems disciplining and monitoring wasteful habits in children.

Women left behind tend to form 'ghettos' of their kind, that is, those whose spouses are working overseas seek affinity with women who are in a similar situation and are empathetic towards each other. They can open up without fear of being judged or their stories being passed on and becoming a topic of discussion and

ridicule. Basically, they wanted to avoid providing fodder to gossip. Hence, generally they do not allow anybody other than their 'kind' to enter their 'personal space'. Strong bonds of such women are forged - who are in a reciprocal relationship with each other.

Further, many women reported going into the 'social hibernation' mode and a lackadaisical attitude in the absence of spouse. Also, they wanted to keep a low profile and so retreat into a self-imposed isolation. They also experience stress, anxiety, depression and psychosomatic health issues.

Women left behind can be categorized as: independent no-nonsense type, hyper vigilant-suspicious type, self pitying - dependent type, savvy smart career oriented, submissive - passive type, reclusive type, hostile - aggressive type. These could be seen as defense mechanisms and coping strategies in the absence of their spouse.

Women perceive their migrant husbands' as the following types: heroes - provider type, authoritarian - tyrannical type, suspicious - nagging type, happy-go-lucky type and manager - foreman type.

Most women did not feel empowered as they had to follow dictates of their husbands and were accountable for every decision taken. An 'audit' of her decisions with regard to management of finances, relation with in-laws, children's progress etc. was resorted to when their husbands' came home.

Although, migration has facilitated an advance in material culture as well as non-material culture of families, there seems to be a 'cultural lag' in the position of women. They do not have free will in the true sense and have to follow the commands of not only their husbands', but often also their in-laws dictate terms to them. Thus, independent decision making regarding major issues is rare among wives who stay back.

The main supporter of the women and her children is her natal family. The maternal uncle *mama* played a decisive role and the maternal grandparents offered unconditional support. The *Padrin* and *Madrin* played a crucial role among the Catholic families and have a formative influence in the welfare of the children when their father is away. Among the Hindus, it is the mothers' side family and among the Muslims, the paternal family exercised considerable influence and control. Thus, there are 'functional equivalents' or 'functional alternatives' (Merton, 1957) in the absence of overseas migrant men.

Some families had a 'handy man' at their disposal, that is a person who is known to the family, who could be a neighbour, relative or a family friend, who is always at the beck and call of the family and does odd jobs for them.

Women do not face constraints to working as child care and elderly care facilities are affordable as well as available. Educated women do not want to stay at home as they wish to pursue their career. Their income also adds to the family finances and often becomes a buffer in crises situations. It is mostly migrant women from other states like Orissa, Karnataka and Jharkhand who take up domestic help jobs in Goa.

Women having longer experience of their spouse's migration are better equipped to handle separation, as they have been programmed and got habituated to manage singly, while younger women feel overwhelmed and over-burdened with their situation thereby experiencing more stress.

The latent dysfunctions are 'comfort relationships' (Viegas, 2011) that some women engage in due to the long absences of their spouses which sometimes lead to a break up of families. Also, some children have got into serious problems with the law. Usually, the women are blamed when such mishaps occur.

New elite of well-off Indians, film actors, sports persons and writers have made Goa their second home and retirement home as they find property prices lower here. They have bought old Goan homes, renovated and refurbished them as well as built their own homes. Many have purchased apartments and some have settled here for permanent domicile. Also, labour migrants coming from other states are perceived as a threat. This has altered the demographic profile of the state and triggered a demand for special status for Goa.

Earlier there was rampant 'reactive' migration. Generally the 'flee' and 'push' factors dominated in the decision to migrate. There was not much thinking or planning and men wanting to migrate followed the herd. Now, by and large, the proactive 'flock' and 'pull' factors are at play in the decision to migrate.

7.3. SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research studies could be undertaken in the area of Sociology of Migration; such as impact of migration on left-behind elderly parents, effects of the parent's migration on left-behind children, impact on the migrants who have left their family to work overseas and the reintegration of repatriates in the families and society.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is not meant to be an authoritative linguistic reference guide, but has been provided solely to facilitate understanding of non-english words. Many terms have not been included in this glossary, but their meanings have been provided at the place of their occurrence in the text.

Term	Meaning
Aashirwaad	Blessings
Adeus Korchea Vellar	At the time of saying goodbye.
Africanders	Goans who went to Africa.
Alvara	Ordinance issued by King or Viceroy, valid for a period of one year without need of a royal confirmation.
Ayah	A woman working for a household as a governess or domestic help.
Bail de Tarvotti	Wife of a Seaman.
Bairros	Village wards.
Balcao	Balcony
Bann	Arrow
Basurkar	Colloquial term for a Goan migrant in the Persian Gulf and the Middle Eastern region.
Bebdo	Alcoholic
Bebinca	Goan Sweet
Besanv	Blessings
Betal	Local Hindu deity.

Bhaas	To hallucinate or imagine.
Bhailo	Derogatory term for a non-Goan or a migrant.
Bhatcar	Landlord
Bir	Brave
Boatler	Butler
Boa Morte	Our Lady of Good Death.
Bombaistas	Colloquial term for Goans who settled in Bombay.
Bouteiller	Butler
Burkha	Full body veil used by Muslim women.
Cafreal Masala	Goan green masala.
Caminhao	Old type of bus of the 1960s in Goa.
Chaddos	Man from the Kshatriya caste among the Christians.
Communidades	Original Gaonkari system, association of the male members who were the first settlers in the village.
Coors	Goan village clubs in Bombay.
Dhadon	A business where money is lent for profit.
Disht	Evil eye.
Dishticar	The one who removes the evil eye.
Doce	Goan Sweet.
Dodol	Goan Sweet.
Fama	Fame

Feni	Hard drink brewed out of green cashew or coconut.
Fidalgo	Portuguese term for a nobleman.
Gaonkari	Village welfare committee of the original inhabitants.
Gaoponn	Debate on village affairs by the elderly.
Gaunkars	Original inhabitants / village head / members and shareholders of the Communidade system.
Gawdas	Original inhabitants of Goa.
Ghanti	Derogatory term used by Goans for manual labourers from other states.
Ghar Vapsi	A return to one's homeland.
Ghungat	Veil used by North Indian women.
Goemkar	Konkani term for Goans.
Gorvamche Fest	Feast of the cattle.
Goyenchi Mati	Goan soil.
Gulal of Zambaulim	A festival of colours at a Goan village.
Gulfies	Colloquial term for one who went to Dubai.
Haj	Pilgrimage to Mecca by Muslims.
Hanv Tarvotti	I am a Seafarer.
Hijab	Face veil used by Muslim women.
Hippy	The foreign backpackers of the early 1970s in Goa.
Hushaar	Clever
Igreja	Church

Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Merces	The Church of Our Lady of Mercy.
Ilhas	Old Tiswadi.
Kala Paani	Restriction to cross the 'Black Water', loss of caste and the resulting social exclusion.
Kantar	Konkani Song.
Kelleam Fest	Festival of Bananas.
Kudds	Goan village clubs in Bombay.
Kumbra Vaddo	Locality of potters.
Kunbis	Goan tribal community.
Kunkollkars	Persons hailing from Cuncolim.
Kul Devta/Devi	Ancestral family deity.
Kuwaitkar	Colloquial term for one who went to Kuwait.
Ladainha	Litany
Lascar	Native sailor.
Linga	The Phallic Symbol under which Lord Shiva is principally worshipped in his character of the creative and reproductive power.
Lolem	Someone who is not smart (Female).
Madrin	God Mother.
Mae de Deus	Mother of God.
Mae dos Porbes	Our Lady of the Poor.
Matharpacady	Goan Enclave at Mazagaon in Mumbai.

Mesticos	Individual with mixed Portuguese and Indian blood.
Migrare	To change one's residence.
Mis Ani Mas	Mass and meat.
Mumoicares	Colloquial term for Goans who went to Bombay.
Nossa Senhora da Gloria	The Church of Our lady of Gloria.
Nossa Senhora dos Remedios	The Church of Our Lady of Remedies.
Nossa Senhora da Saude	The Church of Our Lady of Health.
Nouveau Riche	People who have recently acquired wealth.
Novas Conquistas	New Conquests
Novenas	A form of worship in the Roman Catholic Church consisting of special prayers for nine successive days.
Nuvem	Clouds
Oldem Ghor	Big House.
Padrin	God Father.
Padroado	Crown patronage of the Church.
Pan duddu	Half – anna.
Pattimar	Crude country sail-craft.
Payyanhood	Young immature status.
Payyanmar	Immature Youths.
Piso	Lunatic or mad.
Posko /Poskem	Male / female adopted in the expectation of providing care for the family.

Potak Lagonn	For the basic survival needs.
Punyabhumi	Sacrosanct land.
Purdah	Veil
Puthan panakkar	New rich.
Rechead Masala	Goan red masala.
Saibinichem Fest	Feast of Our Lady (Mother Mary).
Salves	Prayers said on the last day of the Novena, a day before the main Feast.
Sassat	Sixty-six
Seva Dhorma	Spirit of service.
Shigmo	Spring festival celebrated in Goa
Shippy	A derogatory term for a seafarer.
Sontreo	Umbrellas
Sorpotel	A dish prepared from pork meat.
Sudra	Lowest of the four Hindu Varna system.
Tarum	Big ship.
Tarvottis	Goan seafarers.
Tarvotti Irmanv	Seafarer brother.
Tarvotteancho Teaag	Sacrifice of the seafarers.
Taverna	Country liquor shops.
Teatro	Theatre

Tenes	Stick like glue.
Terra de Frescura	Land of coolness.
Tiatr	Konkani Drama.
Tissis	Thirty
Vaddos	Wards
Vangodds	Original clan of village settlers.
Varanapuri	City of the Sea God.
Velhas Conquistas	Old Conquests.
Xitto	Traditional paddy seeds.
Zakat	Charitable donation by Muslims.
Zatra	Local village fair.

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