THE GOAN DIASPORA:

A Study of Socio-cultural Dynamics in Goa

By

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DECLARATION

I, Sachin Savio Moraes, hereby declare that this thesis entitled '*The Goan Diaspora: A Study of Socio-cultural Dynamics in Goa*' is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, Goa University, Goa. It has not previously fromed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

Place: Goa University

Date: Sachin Savio Moraes

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'The Goan Diaspora: A Study of Socio-cultural Dynamics in Goa' is the record of the original work done by Shri Sachin Savio Moraes under my guidance. 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 or any other university.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I was born in Bombay, a city approximately six hundred kilometers from Goa. I lived in Bombay until I completed my schooling from one of the prestigious schools of Bombay namely "Don Bosco" (Matunga). During the holidays I would stay with my aunt and grandmother in Goa, while at the other times I was in the boarding. I would have also been in Goa but my mother wanted me to finish my schooling from Bombay. After schooling I decided to complete my further studies in Goa, which was so close to my heart. On the other hand my own family members, especially my two brothers, grand-mother, aunts, uncles, and cousins gave me a source of motivation and affiliation to return to my roots.

Besides my desire there was also a constraint that required that I should be in Goa. My father, passed away prematurely. My mother was the sole bread winner of the family for long and she worked abroad returning to us once in two years. Accompanied by my grandmother, I was therefore entrusted with the responsibility of looking after my younger brothers. However my brothers were not living with me, as they were kept in Don Bosco (Sulcorna) which is in Goa and is 30 kilometres south-east of Cuncolim the village where we live. It was only when each one completed their secondary education that they began to live with me. Faced with these responsibilities I took up the challenge of guiding and supporting my brothers, and taking care of myself with my paternal grandmothers' support. I also realized how important it is to have a support, on which one could depend. My grandmother, brothers, aunt, cousins and me was the only family for me, though my mother was also a strong part of it, she was not physically a part of it, as she would return home for two months biannually. During the period she was away, the only binding sources were letters and phone calls.

Being a member of a diasporic family and living in a neighbourhood where many women looked after their families without the physical presence of their male counterparts. I developed academic interest in the phenomenon of diaspora. In the year 2005 for my MA Sociology dissertation I worked on the effects of male migration on the women left behind.

Apart from the auto-biographic roots of this study, I am also aware of the Social and Sociological relevance of diaspora for Goa as a sending society. The journey of completing this study has been a long one and there have been many people who have helped me all the way through. I consider it my duty to acknowledge their contribution and thank them as well.

First of all, I would like to thank Prof. Ganesha Somayaji who is my guide, mentor and father like figure. He was ever enthusiastic in accepting me as his PhD student. He was my teacher at the University and from my university days till day has been a guiding force at every moment in my career. When you fall down the best words you can expect from anyone is 'get up! Don't give up'. Prof. Somayaji uttered these words quite often. He has been extremely patient and always encouraging and overall an empathetic human being, who truly encouraged and advised me in the right direction. Though he was busy in administrating the Department of Sociology, he was able to do justice in checking every single draft from the proposal till the completion of the thesis with utmost detail. I appreciate his time invested in providing me with insights and comments on each of my drafts. I now feel that I can write a logical paragraph. I have learned a lot from him and without him completing this dissertation would be difficult.

absorb my stress without even I knowing that I am stressed. They have been one of the most important motivating factors in the completion of this thesis without their support and concern it would have been difficult to complete my thesis within the stipulated time.

My deepest gratitude to all the people from Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim for their trust and participation, who willingly obliged to answer the questionnaire and trusted me. Without their support and hospitality this study, would have lacked authenticity. I cannot forget the pains taken in getting the questionnaires filled by two persons from the field: Mr. Edwin Moraes (Zaino-Velim) and Mrs. Belinda (Comba-Paricotto). My heartfelt thanks to all those who participated in the interviews, for sharing their invaluable time and piece of life, that has given this research a deeper meaning.

I would also like to acknowledge the love and support of all my friends especially Sunny and Malcom, family members, my uncles, aunts, cousins and my heavenly grandmother, father/father-in-law and grandfather. I take the opportunity to thank my siblings Shodhan and Savino for the unconditional support, love, help, respect and encouragement they have given me that, made me do this study with greater accountability for the sheer need to fulfil this dream.

I am greatly indebted to my mother for all the sacrifices she made to help me reach this stage. Her happy-go-lucky nature has inspired me to never get bogged down by any hardships in life. Her love and encouragement has empowered me to complete this thesis, she always feels proud of me that further motivates me to give my best. I also owe a deep gratitude to my mother-in-law for all the love, care and concern during the course of this thesis and for being an encyclopaedia of various socio-cultural aspects that I could

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easily refer to as and when I wanted. Her perseverance and hard work inspires me even further.

Last but not the least I would like to thank my two greatest pillars my wife and my daughter. They structure the moral fibre and source of my happiness. My wife showed great character, while accompanying me in administering questionnaires to members from two hundred houses. Her acquaintance with many of the respondents gave me a great advantage. Her love, friendship and support with her constructive criticisms have motivated me in the completion of this study. I am also thankful to my two and a half year old daughter for all her love and caring nature. She has been a lucky mascot and her words 'dada what are you doing, are you doing laptop?' while I am typing on the laptop remain a source of inspiration.

Sachin Savio Moraes

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of migration is as old as the history of human race. The human race has always been involved in the process of migration towards the varied and diverse parts of the globe. Humans have migrated for various socio-political and economic reasons, which range from forced migration i.e. refugees or collective movements of communities or groups as indentured laborers from India or individual and voluntarily migration. When communities have migrated to the distant land and established themselves as a part of a particular community of the country of origin, such communities in recent times have been referred by the term 'diasporas' meaning 'to spread' or 'to disperse' in the Greek language (Jayaram 2009: 395). The term diaspora was originally used to depict the Jewish Diaspora, who were found in America and the Europe and had migrated due to social and political suppression (Jayaram 2004:16). From then on the term 'diasporas' has been evolving due to the process of international migration among varied nation/states thereby contributing to the emergence of various heterogeneous diasporas, which in turn adds to the complexity of the term 'Diaspora'.

Diaspora has a decisive role in the globalization of human race. It is a potent force contributing to the socio-cultural and economic dynamics in the sending and host societies. A Diaspora emerges due to the process of migration. Migration refers to 'a form of spatial mobility, which involves change in the usual place of residence and implies movement across an administrative boundary' (Bhagat 2005). Migration as per Bhagat's definition has a broad meaning. We could look at it as being mobile

within a nation/state or geographical territory, which is referred as internal migration or as a movement across the defined borders of a country or nation. In our case we are interested in the latter (Mukherjee 2004: 1).

In today's world we have the Indian and Chinese diaspora in North America, the Irish, Mexican, ethnic Kurdish found in the West and America and the Bosnian Muslims found in Serbia (Jayaram 2004:16). The list of diasporas does not end here but is constantly totting up, thereby contributing to the diversity and heterogeneity. The diasporas of a particular community form a strong bond and develop a 'we' feeling in the host nation as they carry with them the 'socio-cultural baggage' from the nation/state they originally belong to (*ibid:* 16) and are constantly establishing linkages with their families and members in the country of origin due to the feeling of attachment brought about due to the bond they continue with the motherland (Mukherjee 2014: 1). Further, according to Majumdar (2010), the cultural aspects i.e. folk tales, songs and dance united the Indian Diaspora not only among the Indians in Caribbean but also with Indians back home. According to Jayaram (2004) 'they become agents of cultural evolution', which means that diasporas have the capacity to bring about changes in the country of origin.

The Indian Diaspora is heterogeneous and diverse in comparison to many other Diasporas put together. India has had a long history of international migration that can be broadly classified for analytical purposes in to Ancient, Colonial and Post-Colonial phases. The first phase of Indian migration is the Ancient phase. This phase was characterized by religious expansion and trade. During this period Indians migrated to the kingdoms of South-East Asia i.e. Thailand and Bali where elements of Hinduism and Buddhism has been found (see Vincent Smith 1958). Indians also

migrated to Africa around 500 BC especially to Egypt and Memphis. Where existed a colony of Indian merchants. (McNeil 1963: 210)

The second phase of emigration is related to labour migration in the colonial period (see Jayaram 2004). Jayaram (2004) further analyzes this phase as colonial and post-colonial in the order of their chronology. This distinction is made for analytical purpose. However, in reality there exists an overlap between these two phases. As the emigration that begin in the 19th century continued in the first half of the 20th century. Jayaram (2004: 20) states:

> 'The phenomenal trade surpluses earned by the European mercantile class in the wake of geographical discoveries were invested in mines and plantation in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. This created demand for cheap and regulated labor force. By the first quarter of the 19th century, the demand for labor was accentuated by the ever expanding colonial economy, the growing opposition to slavery and its eventual abolition (by England in 1833, by France in 1848 and Holland in 1863), and the inability of European countries to meet the shortfall in labor by deploying their own labor force. A combination of factors made India (and China) an extant reservoir of cheap, docile and dependable labor, especially to work in plantation'.

The Colonial labor emigration is further classified by Tinker (1993) in to three distinctive patterns: a) 'indentured' labor emigration, so called because of the contract signed by the individual laborer to work on plantation and sponsored by the colonial government, b) *'kangani'* and *'maistry'* labor emigration; c) 'passage' or 'free' emigration, post abolition of the *kangani* and *maistry* the emigration of Indians continued to South Africa by *Gujarathis*, East Africa by *Punjabis* and Southeast Asia by South Indians (see Tinker 1976 and 1977, Fisher 1980). These emigrants neither payed for their 'passage' nor they were bound by any contract, so they were 'free' (cited in Jayaram 2009: 398-399)

The last phase was the post colonial period that began in the later part of 20th century and was characterized by voluntary labour migration that was both skilled and un-skilled. During this period Indians migrated to the Gulf due to the discovery of oil, these migrants were mainly unskilled or semi-skilled (see Zachariah and Rajan 2002,

2009, 2010, 2012), whereas; Indians who migrated to the west (U.K, Australia, U.S) were both skilled and semi-skilled (see Oommen 1996, Khadria 2003, Biao 2004, Kapur 2010, Sahay 2011).

During these phases people from various regions within India have migrated to the different parts of the globe (Jayaram 2004). Nevertheless, in spite of this long history of international migration in India, there is only scattered knowledge about the details of International migration both from the perspective of the host region as well as India the country of origin. Because there seems to be insufficient literature pertaining to the in-depth understanding of this heterogeneous Indian diaspora's orientation towards the ties it maintains with India and how the Indian diaspora contributes to the socio-economic and cultural changes within India the country of origin.

Hence, we felt it necessary to investigate the role of the diaspora in the socio-cultural dynamics of the sending society. However, studying diaspora is a herculean task for several reasons, the most important being heterogeneity and diversity. For this reason our study is limited to only one of the categories of Indian diaspora *i.e.* The Goan Diaspora.

The Goan Diaspora is a product of the Goan emigration. Historically, the Goan emigration can be broadly classified in to colonial period (early 16th till the first half of the 20th century) and post colonial (1961 till date). Goan emigration thus has a commonality when compared to Indian emigration. However, the reasons for migration in the colonial and post colonial period differ for Goa in comparison to India. The reasons being religious persecution, the policy of no development by the Portuguese and the confiscation of lands belonging to the village communes, whereas, for India the reason for migration was employment opportunities in different colonies

of the western powers. Goan migration was neither indentured like India nor promoted or sponsored by the government. The Goan migrants were free and had to pay for themselves. Thus, the historical context and the reasons for emigration from Goa to the different parts of the world makes Goan migration unique as compared to India. Hence, Goan Diaspora is a unique category as compared to the Indian Diaspora. Therefore, Indian Diaspora cannot be viewed as a homogenous group. It was a hetrogenous category, a mirror of the diversity of Indian culture. Indian Diaspora is hetrogenous due to the varied history and cultural patterns. Thus, the Indian Diaspora cannot be studied as a homogenous group. It is in this view that the present study is limited to the Goan Diaspora.

The sociology of Diaspora is interested in the study of Diaspora with reference to two situational contexts, 1) The experience of Diaspora in the host nation and 2) the linkages of the Diaspora with the sending nation and the dynamics. Thus, in our case we are interested in the latter. We are mainly interested in the Goan Diaspora and the socio-cultural implications brought about due to their linkages with the sending Goan society.

1.1: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The implication of the Diaspora can be reviewed through various studies undertaken across the globe. These studies should contribute with valuable insights in building a case for our study. The implication of Diaspora has been attempted to be reviewed under the headings of Diaspora and Women, Diaspora and Children, Diaspora and Elderly and Diaspora and Society

1.1.1: Diaspora and Women

Diaspora studies with reference to gender reveal that the absence of the male due to migration exposes the women to do tasks that were done by men earlier. The

exposure to these task i.e. managing finances and doing all the outdoor work, contributes to emotional disturbances and stress. Women try to channelize the support of other male relatives to initially deal with such task. However, over a period of time women adjust and learn to do all the tasks independently thereby contributing to their independence. Nevertheless, women continue to perform the task that was traditionally meant for women thereby juxtaposing this independence (UNESCO 1984, Gulati 1993, Gorden 1994). Further, the amount of stress and strain is determined by the duration of the husbands' absence, lack of resources, the number of responsibilities and increase in these aspects contributed to stress and strain (Gorden 1994, Menon 1995).

Male migration has its pros and cons and it is for this fact that women are not fully favourable to male migration (Menon 1995). One of the important negative impacts of male migration was brought out by Connel (1984) in the study titled 'Status and Subjugation? Women, Migration and Development in South Pacific', in this study the emphasis is how male migration affects the fertility of a women. The findings of this study present that, since contact with the wife is less it affects the fertility of the wife. This further contributed to increase in divorce rates and preference for other women outside marriage thereby putting the wife in a traumatic situation. In another comparative study between wives of non-migrants and migrants by Van Rooij (2000) contested the proposition that migration of the men contributed to change in the gender roles, as the study claimed that the day to day functioning's of the migrant wives was confined within the four walls performing the task of house-keeping and child-rearing. But the performance of these traditional tasks did provide the women with greater access to the remittances send by the husband, thereby enabling them to have greater power which lasted till the husband came back. The

greater power and responsibilities also increased the emotional burden on the women. However, in the same study Van Rooij (2000) presents that women of migrant men have better power and status as compared to wives having their husband around. Similarly, other studies in India present that male migration emancipates women from the control of men and women get equipped to face the world due to the exposure to increased responsibilities and power, which in turn contributes to their autonomy (Zachariah and Rajan 2001, Gulati 1993, Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). Consequently, this may not be true in all the parts of the globe.

Steinmann (1993) cautions us that the women's increased dependency on the remittances contributed to their reluctance to work outside the house thereby affecting their earning potential *vis-a-vis* their empowerment in the true sense (Steinmann 1993: 122). In addition, if women perform tasks that were traditionally meant to be performed by men, then in the course of time these task came to be stereotyped as women task and young men declined to do such tasks (Nyberg-Sorensen 2004: 10) Therefore, it is important not to jump to conclusion that migration of a man contributes to emancipation of a women, as the situation of migration is forced upon the women and the additional responsibilities are taken not out of one's free choice but due to the lack of options.

However, studies in Morroco and India present that the migration of men in the long run had intangible, tortuous and a positive impact on the position of women. This was mainly because the daughters gained immensely due to international migration of their fathers or brothers, as the remittances send by them provided them resources to get educated, thereby not only reducing the gap between male and female education but establishing the females on par with the males in societies where international migration was a hallmark among the men (De Haas 2003: 325-335,

Zachariah & Rajan 2001). Secondly, Courbage (1995) through his study in Morocco put forward that there was a reduction in the population due to the embracing of values relating to marriage patterns and family size this in turn contributed to the improvisation of female education, increase in the age of marriage and higher gainful employment of women. Further in a study in Kerala, the parents got their educated daughters married to lesser educated men on the condition they were well settled and earning handsomely (Zachariah & Rajan 2001).

1.1.2: Diaspora and Children

The decision of parent(s) migration is based on choice or due to unsound circumstances, which in turn leads to a situation of children being left behind. However, at the heart of this decision lies in the selflessness on the part of the parent(s) of providing for the future needs of the children even if it meant toiling hard day and night. The parent(s) thus, try to cater to the future needs by sending remittances regularly which in turn contributes to a better quality of life (Funkhouser 1995, Stark 1995, Becker 1974). Consequently, the remittances send reduce the constraints on the access to educational and recreational facilities by fuelling the accessibility of the same and thereby contributes to the growth of human capital (Acousta 2006). Not only do children find it easy to access education, but remittances also have a positive impact on the school grades, a study in Mexico among children in migrant household by Hanson and Woodruff (2003) confirmed this fact. Further, Byrant (2005) argues that in the Philippines remittances powered the children to go to private school, as private schools were perceived to be better than state managed schools. Finally, one of the positive outcomes of remittances was the postponement of the children from entering the workforce, as the remittances contributes to the easy

access and increases the level of education, which in turn contributed to the postponement. (Hanson & Woodruff: 2003).

Nevertheless, though remittances contributed to the easy access to education it did not mean that student would obediently attend classes' every day. In a study in Mexico by McKenzie and Rapoport (2006) presented that migration of parents effected the children's attendance in school. In the same study it was also brought out that migration of the parents contributed in the 'stereotyping' of the future expected roles of the children, the children especially boys modelled themselves as per what their fathers did. This is what prompted them to migrate to the U.S at an early age as they knew that you could earn fast money by going to the States. However, in the course of time this migration creates a cycle of migration, which in turn makes the household over dependent on remittances as the only means of satisfying all the wants in the present and future (Coronel and Unterreiner 2005). For example, in a study undertaken in Pakistan it was seen that, those families who had their family members working abroad, experienced a 'demonstration effect', whereby the family members were involved in excessive spending (Addleton 1984), whereas; in the Philippines it was found that remittances encourage migration as a way of life among the people thereby discouraging entrepreneurship among the youth (Bagasao 2004).

Migration of parents also has a significant effect on the children left behind. A study in Moldova by the UNICEF (2008) found that the absence of the parents especially mothers, had a major effect on the family life due to the lack of care, assistance, promotion and moulding. The faulty socialization process due to the absence of their parents had a detrimental effect on their role in the community and their right to participate in several activities within the community, which in turn affected their growth, inter-mingling, interpersonal-relationships and independence.

The study also found that the going away of one or both parents contributed to the reorganization of the role expectation and duties. The reorganization and the changes in the family roles was based on several factors, whether the parent is a father or mother, bond of the family with the ones appointed as caretakers, type of children present in the vicinity and the perspectives of the care takers (*ibid*: 2008:10-11).

Migration of a parent also had an impact on the child's bonding with the other parent. When the mother's migrated, it was the Girls that found it extremely difficult to share issues of physical maturation with their fathers over or with their mothers through the telephone. In such a circumstance they were more dependent on their friends or close relatives (*ibid*: 2008: 11-12). In another study by Toth (2007) it was found that if the father had migrated and the mother who was left behind took care of the children then children did not experience any negative effect. Secondly, even if both the parents were absent and the children were kept with an extended family then they also provided enough care and love (Toth 2007:5). This finding was further, substantiated in the study conducted on the children in Philippines by Battistela & Conaco (1998), the study drew conclusion that if the mother lived with her children then the absence of the father did not have a severe effect on the development of a child. Thus, what is important here is to note the gender difference of parents' migration. Depending on who is absent there would be differential consequences for the child.

1.1.3: Diaspora and Elderly

International migration of the adult children is a profitable proposition for the adult child and his/her family of procreation in most cultures of the world, but the question arises is it a profitable proposition to the family of initiation or the older parents left behind (Silverstein, Cong & Li 2006). In Asian societies, the elderly

depend on the adult children for their wellbeing in the old age, as it is the adult children in the family that makes a significant contribution to the welfare of the elderly, by providing the necessary social support to the elderly (Chi and Chou 2001, Whyte 2003, Xu 2001). The long duration of separation raises concerns to the social support received in actual sense (King & Vullnetari 2006, Mallee 2000, Wilson 2002). As a result the elderly feel lonely and abandoned and if they don't have proper resources to depend upon then it makes their life even more difficult (Xu 2001).

However, although the several studies done in Asia present that the elderly lack social support and this has an effect on their wellbeing, the results in many a studies are over exaggerated. This is based on the fact that the social support varies according to what type of social support is provided to the elderly (Lin 2002). In some of the studies the researchers argue that if the elderly are mobile and involved in doing activities i.e. looking after their grand children/ playing with them or managing the household chores then in such a situation the elderly would have a positive state of mind thereby, boosting their importance in the family and society (Becker *et al.* 2003).

Further, research on the impact of international migration of the adult children on the elderly proposes that the mass migration of adult children alters the family structure because the migration means change in the average size of the family (Barker 1994, Wang & Li 2005). Consequently, the reduction in the average size of the family due to the absence of the adult children made the elderly feel lonely, because the size of the family and the type of arrangement provided for the elderly reflected the nature of family support (Keasberry 2001, Wolff & Dimova 2006). This conclusion is based on the finding that the reduced family size, forces elderly couple to be all by themselves thereby bringing in anxiety, which in turn constraints their

physical and mental capacities in the absence of their adult children (Silverstein, Cong & Li 2006).

The Modernization and ageing theory, further substantiates that in societies where there has been a growth in urbanization and industrialization has led to migration of the adult children, which in turn has contributed in the decline of the care and support provided to the elderly (Aboderin 2004, Cowgill & Holmes 1972). When one says there is a decline in the care and support provided to the elderly it refers to the active support and personal care provided by the adult children if they would have been present, the fact that they are absent it does pressurize the elderly left behind. Support can be, further referred to as monetary and emotional and depending on the relationship with the adult children and the people and society around, the support would differ (Cowgill & Holmes 1972).

However, though in the several studies reviewed above the findings suggest that the absence of the adult children contributes to the lack of personal care and active support; the studies do not conclusively prove that the psychological wellbeing of the elderly is at stake. As in several other studies it has been found that even though the elderly lacked the active support and care, this lacking did not affect their psychological wellbeing and with better economic support the elderly felt the absence was reduced (Keasberry 2001). The financial support not only compensated the absence of their adult children but also to brought out 'feel good' feeling because of the inflow of remittances, thereby outweighing the undesirable consequences of the absence (Knodel & Saengtienchai 2005, Wolff & Dimova 2006).

Thus, to conclude the various studies present both positive and negative impacts of international migration of adult children on the elderly left behind. However, in most of the qualitative studies it has been brought to light that the

monetary gains or support outweigh the lack of instrumental support (Kreager 2006). Further, the absence of the adult children does not mean a total neglect or isolation of the elderly parents in Asian cultures, the values with which the young have been brought up guides the adult children to the obligation of providing care and support to the elderly parent by arranging appropriate help and support in their absence (Keasberry 2001, Knodel & Debavalya 1997).

1.1.4: Diaspora and Society

Studies focussing on the impact of Diaspora on the society bring out several positive benefits to the sending society. The benefits could be looked at from the economic as well as the socio-cultural perspective. In the studies reviewed we find all the perspectives criss-crossed, as one has an effect on the other. In a study in Morocco, De Haas (2003) brought out that the remittances received by the sending society helped the Moroccan sending society to cope with poverty reduction, it was also seen that average income of the household was two and a half times than the non-migrants household. The remittances send by the Moroccan Diaspora benefited all the classes of people, who had the family members abroad (Teto 2001). Consequently, this has had an effect on the socio-cultural aspects in Morocco. Whereby, international migration and the resultant remittances have helped the left behind family members to climb up the social ladder in Morocco, which has been done by building a house or donating the money for religious purposes (Crawford 2001:21). The excess remittances also boosted the need of nuclearization of the family, which was established through the building of separate residence, thereby also providing the migrant wife the freedom and privacy (De Haas 2003). These residences in certain cases were build close to urban areas due to the accessibility of good schools (Berrianne 1996).

The review of literature of studies done on the similar theme across the globe presents several interesting findings and provides with reference to the evolution of our research statement. The review of literature presents a composite picture of diaspora induced dynamics in the societies where these studies have been undertaken. Each study has a distinctive focus and is specific in its orientation. Nevertheless, every study in the review of literature adds to our understanding of the gaps in the research or the commonalities between those societies and in the Goan sending society, which is our focus place of investigation. Thus, the gaps and the commonality have facilitated the statement of the research problem.

1.2: STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The present research is concerned with Diaspora related socio-cultural dynamics in Goa. The researcher has developed interest in this problematic due to his life-world involvement with the phenomenon of Diaspora since his childhood. The theme of this research is closely related to the researcher's own life experiences. This autobiographic association and his academic interest in the issue of migration in Goa influenced the selection of this research problem.

From a Sociological point of view this research has an interpretive significance as the researcher has minutely observed the socio-cultural, economic, and demographic changes in the identified villages. The study adds to our knowledge of diaspora from the vantage point of Goa as a sending society. The axial research question of the study is: What are the changes brought about by the Goan Diaspora on the Socio-cultural aspects of the sending (Goan) Society? Let us first elucidate this question with the help of operational definitions.

Goan Diaspora: 'Goan Diaspora' refers to people who are of Goan origin who have migrated, settled or scattered away from Goa and who maintain their links with their

families, villages, socio-cultural organization and institutions, have thoughts of returning and who keep coming to Goa either to reunite with their family members or just for the love of the mother land (see Brubaker 2005).

In the researchers opinion the Goan Diaspora comprises of two categories of international migrants. The first category is of individuals and families of Goan origin who have settled in foreign countries and want to comeback. Second consist of those who stay away from Goa in foreign countries or international waters for more than six months and who come and go back but don't reside permanently.

Further, vast majority of the Goan Disapora consists of Christians 74%, followed by Hindus 20% and Muslims 6% (GMS: 2008) . In our study we have considered only Christians and Hindus. The study is further limited only to the Christians, this is due to the history of migration among the Christians and the population composition of the field.

Sending Society: 'Sending Society' is the place or society from which the diaspora originates or which the Diaspora of a given state or nations actually belongs to. Therefore, with reference to our study 'Goa' becomes the sending society.

Changes: Refers to transformation or alteration in the Goan Society. We would like to understand the strucuturation in the context of the institutions of caste, marriage and family among the Christians in the field.

Goan Society: Refers to those left behind in Goa such as women (wives) men (husbands), children, (son, daughter) parents (father, mother), social organizations/institutions, community/village and culture.

1.2.1: Objectives

The sociological problem mentioned in the above discussion has been stated as specific objectives. They are:

1.   to understand the relationship between international migration and the demographic restructuring of the village;

2.   to know the role of diaspora in family dynamics;

3.   to understand the impact of diaspora on the children left behind;

4.   to understand the role of the of Diaspora in the dynamics of monetary and social support of elderly; and

5.   to discern the role of Diaspora in social mobility and structuration of the village.

Each of the objectives listed above are inter-related and inter-dependent, which together have contributed in the comprehensive understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics brought about by the linkages of the Goan Diaspora. Through the first objective we aimed at understanding the demographic profile of the Diaspora household at the micro-level. The sum of the entire Diaspora household has helped us in the analyses at the macro-village level with the help of different demographic indicators. The analysis is based on the question 'what way the village demographic composition has been altered due to large scale international migration'. In the second objective the focus shifts on understanding the re-organization of families inaugurated due to the unequal migration patter among men and women. In Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim (AVC) men have migrated to a greater extent as compared to women. This unequal pattern has an effect on the Diaspora households, particularly the structure of the household. The focus was on the aspect of Women's empowerment and the major problems faced by the women in the household where the men are absent.

The third objective attempted to understand the problems faced by children of Disapora household and their future aspiration. In the fourth objective the focus was on understanding the level of social and monetary support the elderly received in the

absence of the Diaspora children and also the problems encountered by the Elderly in the Diaspora households. Lastly, the fifth objective of the study was to understand and analyse the process of change in the social institutions of caste, marriage and family brought about due to the linkages of the Diaspora with their respective families in AVC (Goa). The objective also focussed on the question how the absence of the family members and the linkages have led to the reorganization of the society as well as to the development of migration culture.

1.3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Given the complexity of the issue, the researcher was aware that the sociological problem needed to be understood in a comprehensive way. From the five objectives listed above it was evident that our research design was descriptive and exploratory in nature. Thus, to deal with the descriptive and exploratory research design our methodological orientation was of mixed methods. Therefore, the researcher attempted to combine the positivist and the phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach was purposefully chosen because understanding 'socio-cultural' dynamics involved understanding it as a process, while understanding a process it is difficult to get a proper understanding merely through the quantitative approach. Therefore an inductive approach by the use of interviews to unravel the process of socio-cultural dynamics was used.

Along with the technique using interviews, the researcher was conscious of his position and the role he would be playing in understanding the meanings attached to the words generated through the interviews (Bryman 2008: 18). In other words the researchers own self was also used by the researcher's life world involvement with the phenomena.

1.3.1: Methods of Data Collection

The method for data collection was the combination of interview and questionnaire along with the researcher's own observation of the phenomena.

Interview

The interview method involved the preparation of a guide by the researcher that helped in the eliciting of responses that denoted the interviewee's experience of the phenomena that was being investigated (Kyale 1996: 11). Varied interpretations of the role of diaspora in socio-cultural dynamics were generated through the responses of different interviewees. All categories of people i.e. children/youth, women and elderly were represented in the sample from AVC and it was purposefully chosen. Nevertheless, getting people to speak about their lives was a difficult task, the researcher however, was able to get a sizeable number of respondents through the technique of snowball sampling, wherein one person lead me to another (Scheyvens & Storey 2003: 47). A total number of six to ten interviews were undertaken depending on the availability and willingness of different categories of people as per the need of the objectives of the study. However, the total number of six or ten interviews were undertaken and was not chosen on the basis of any rule, although the rule for undertaking qualitative study involves a sample of five to twenty five respondents (see Cresswell 2007: 60-64). The number of interviews was based on the sampling technique of Denzin and Lincoln (1994). The sample included participants from all the castes groups.

Further, the interviews were semi-structured and a very friendly atmosphere was provided to the interviewees (Bryman 2008). However, while undertaking the interviews of the cases there were a few constraints that researcher faced, these

constraints involved completing the interview in one go, cancellation of the interview or at times refusal on the part of the interviewee although they had initially agreed.

The researcher made use of the ethnographic strategy, because of his life world involvement in the villages of AVC for the last twenty years. Further, sliding to autobiography, his own experience of the phenomena could be best documented. The researcher also made use of four different questionnaires that were designed according to the objectives of the study. Each of the questionnaires has been discussed under 1.4.2.

1.3.2: Strategies of Data Collection

For each of the objectives we have described the strategy adopted. The objective one deals with understanding the relationship between International Migration and the demographic restructuring of the village. To fulfil this objective we used the purposeful sampling in the selection of the three villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim (AVC). The wards from each of the three villages were also purposefully chosen. Special care was taken to select the wards which would represent all caste groups or a particular caste so that all caste groups are represented in the study. Once the wards of the village were selected then we randomly went to the houses with Diaspora household. This randomization was based on snowball sampling. The data was collected with the help of a Questionnaire. The Questionnaire was first explained and given to the head of the household and he/she had to fill the questionnaire and return it, on a day that was assigned for collection. Instructions were given saying that 'if they don't understand a particular question to leave it blank when we come we will address the same'. The Questionnaire's were circulated among 180 household of the three villages, 60 in Assolna, 60 in Velim and 60 in Cuncolim. The Questionnaire pertained to various demographic aspects (see appendix-1).

The objective number two dealt with Diaspora and Family Dynamics, for this the snowball sampling method was used in order to undertake case histories. We had prepared a unstructured case history scheduled, this was based on the main axial question, as to how the migration of a husband has affected the woman left behind in Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim (AVC), and whether this migration has had any implications for her capability to make strategic life-choices - her empowerment. Thus, here the major focus of our study was to understand the family dynamic or the changes in the family structure. We borrowed the theoretical conceptualisation on measuring women's empowerment from Kabeer's (1999) three dimensions; resources, agency and achievements, which was used as analytical framework. For fulfilling this objective we prepared a questionnaire so that we could understand to what extent women felt empowered. There were also questions related to the issues faced due to the absence of Diaspora husband. The Questionnaire was executed in 180 households of each of the villages, where a woman was residing without her husband. (see appendix-2). A semi-structured case history guide was prepared so as to understand in greater detail about the family dynamics (see appendix-3). A total of eight women belonging to different caste groups were selected and in-depth interviews were undertaken.

With reference to the objective three that is to understand the impact of Diaspora on the children left behind. The focus was to understand in what way the absence of parent (s) impacts the life of a child, in what way it influences his/her future aspiration and what role do remittances play in the life of a child. In order to deal with the problematic we prepared a detail questionnaire. The Questionnaire was executed in 180 households of each of the villages, wherever a child aged between 15 to 24 years was found residing without one or both the parents. This was done as the

research felt that a certain level of understanding was important in administering the questionnaire (see appendix-4). An interview guide was prepared to get in-depth understanding about the child and his/her experience (see appendix-5). A total of six cases from varied caste groups were chosen.

The next focus of our study was to understand in what way Diaspora children impact the elderly left behind with reference to monetary and social support of older parents. For this purpose questionnaire on social well being in addition to a questionnaire pertaining to the monetary support was administered in 180 households of the three villages, wherever there was elderly living without their children. The questionnaire administered was based on Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley 1988) (see appendix-6) The Questionnaire would help us to know the level of social support with reference to family, friends and significant other in the absence of their Children. Attached to it were also questions pertaining to monitory support. An interview guide was prepared to get in-depth understanding about the elderly and his/her experience (see appendix-7). A total of six cases from varied caste groups were chosen.

The last objective was, what changes the Diaspora has contributed towards social and cultural change in the village of which the Diaspora is a part of, Thus, we would like to know the changes brought about in the institution of family, marriage, caste and education and how Diaspora has contributed to the social mobility of its member in the village. For the purpose, we selected 6 members within the three villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim irrespective of the caste they belong. Each of them were interviewed keeping in mind the objective. The interview guide for this objective was merged with the interview guide of the elderly, as the respondents were the elderly (see appendix-7).

Apart from the primary sources of data collection, we also used secondary sources in the form of books, journals, newspaper articles, The Goa Migration Study Report and Census report.

1.3.3: Sampling frame

A multistage sampling strategy was adopted, where in the first three stages we used the purposive sampling strategy and the fourth stage snowball sampling was followed. In the first stage the selection of the district was done with the help of GMS 2008. The district with the most number of emigrants i.e. South Goa district with 66% of the total emigrants was chosen. In this stage again the Taluka of Salcete was chosen as it had 50% of 66% percent, which meant that 33% of all emigrations in Goa took place from the Salcete Taluka. In the second stage the identification of the villages was done. There were several reasons for selecting the villages of AVC. The three villages had a 175 year of long history of international migration. The villages witnessed all types of International migration, i.e. permanent and semi-permanent. The villages had migrant household to all the three categories of international migration i.e. Migration to the developed countries, Migration to the Gulf and Migration to the Ship (around the world). AVC is also a part of South Goa district, which accounted for 51% of the emigrants from Goa (see GMS: 2008). The third stage was selection of the wards in these three villages. The population of each of the villages was approximately more than 4,000 people. Each of the villages had several wards within its jurisdiction. Hence, only three wards were chosen from each village. This selection was done so that all caste and religious groups would get proportionate representation. The fourth stage involved snowball sampling because of the non-availability of the sampling frame.

1.3.4: Sample Size

The universe of the study constituted all international migrant households. The criteria for the selection of each of the house hold was that at least one member should have migrated abroad and should have some linkage with the family members left behind. The calculation of the sample was done on the basis of the Goa Migration study (2008). According to the GMS 22% of the population had emigrated in South Goa. Thus considering this number, we added the population of AVC. The total population of Assolna was 3431, Velim-6215 and Cuncolim-15,000. The total population of AVC was 24,646, therefore 22% of this population was 5,422 people. The average person residing per household was 4 (Census: 2011); hence, we divided 5,422 by 4 and found that there were 1355 households. The sample size of 10% of the Diaspora households was decided. Thus, our sample consisted of 135 households in AVC. However, considering the rejection rate, we decided to have a sample of 180 households. Since there was no data available of emigrant households, these 180 household were covered through snowball sampling. During the survey, careful attention was paid to accommodate all caste groups in particular, based on the objective of understanding the caste dynamics brought about due to international migration. Neverthless, though a total number of 180 households were considered and accordingly the questionnaires administered, we managed to cover a total of 174 households because when the questionnaires were circulated, we could get back only 174 inspite of repeated request to return the questionnaires.

Fig 1.1
Multi-Stage Sampling procedure

Stage-1 Identfying the District/Taluka with the history of most number of emigrants	Method: Purposive
Stage-2 Identification of Villages with a history of International migration	Method:Purposive
Stage-3 Selection of wards with adequate representation of different caste groups	Method:Purposive
Stage-4 Identifying the Diaspora households for the purpose of study	Method:Snowball

1.3.5: Procedure for Data collection

The process of data collection started in January 2014, first in the village of Cuncolim and then in Velim and finally in Assolna. The actual execution of the data collection drive through questionnaires began in the first week of May 2014 till the end of June 2014. Interviews were undertaken from September 2014 till December 2014. The entire process involved two steps: the initial ice breaking session with participants followed by a question 'are you interested in filling the questionnaire?' If the participant answered in the affirmative then the questionnaire was given to be filled with a closing statement that we will collect it later on a particular day. The second step was to ask some of the participants of questionnaire 'whether they were interested in a detail case history' if they said yes the names of the participants were noted for conducting a detail interview, again this was done through snowballing.

1.3.6: The Locale

The locale chosen for this study was on the basis of three criterias a) The locale should have a history of international migration b) International migration should be significant in terms of numbers and there should be migration by all caste

groups to all places in the world i.e. Developed countries, Gulf and Ship c) The Diaspora should have linkages with the family members in AVC. The above three criterias were based broadly on the objectives of the study. The major focus of our study was to understand the dynamics in the social and cultural sphere. Any change in the socio-cultural sphere is an evolutionary change. Hence the study was a longitudal study and so it was essential to look for villages with a history of international migration. Thus the three villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim met all the criteria's of our study (see Sattelite Map 1.1)

Sattelite Map 1.1
Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim
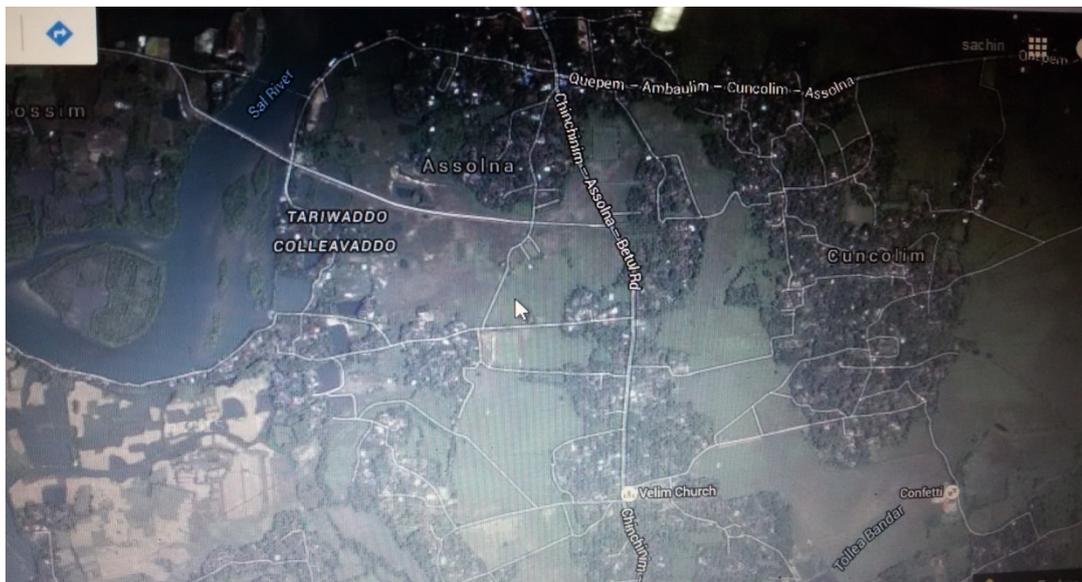
Source: Google maps

The village of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim have contributed immensely in the freedom movement against the Portuguese. These villages gave birth to some great freedom fighters and revolutionaries. The first revolt against any foreign power in India was launched from the soil of AVC way back in 1575-1583[1]. However, during the 16th century there were another two villages added to this abbreviation of AVC i.e. Assolna, Ambelim, Velim, Veroda and Cuncolim. Nevertheless, today the

abbreviation is confined generally to Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim. These three villages are of historical significance not only in the freedom movement but also for international migration. The villagers from AVC irrespective of caste have been migrating for the last 150 years (see Correia 2006: 282). Therefore, international migration in AVC is spread across five generation. During the first two generation from 1870 till 1930 this phenomena was limited only to the higher caste '*Chardo*'. In the third generation post 1930s other caste groups i.e. '*Shudras* and *Mundcars'* began to migrate. The International migration during the first two generation was centered on the ship. During the third generation i.e. post 1930s international migration to East-Africa began and was the monopoly of the higher caste. The international migration up till the fourth generation i.e. from 1960s till the late 1990s was the monopoly of Christian Roman Catholics irrespective of caste. During these two generations the AVCians migrated to the Gulf, U.K and Australia. It is only in the fifth generation that is during the late 1990s that Hindus began to migrate[2]. Nevertheless, only a few low caste Hindus have migrated till date. For every 94 Roman Catholic Christians there is one Hindu, who has migrated. International migration has been a Christian dominated phenomenon in AVC[3]. Elsewhere in Goa this has also been true; Christians have migrated abroad to a greater extent as compared to any other religious group (see Mascarenhas 1987, GMS 2008). During the last generation post 1990s 'AVCians have migrated to several countries like Australia, New Zealand, U.K, U.S and Canada apart from the Gulf .

In AVC, the Goan Diaspora maintains close economic and emotional links. The former is maintained by the sending of regular remittances and the latter through electronic means like email, mobile/internet/Skype and different types of other social media i.e. Whatsapp and Facebook.

The Villages of AVC have always been peaceful and culturally vibrant. The Villages of AVC lie in the Salcete Taluka of South Goa District. When one looks at the villages of AVC it can be spatially categorized as nucleated villages. Assolna and Cuncolim are approximately 13 KM from Margao the commercial capital of Goa, where as Velim is approximately 16 KM from Margao. The map 1.1 will help us to locate the specific location of the villages. The historical and social conditions of the three villages have been elucidated with in greater detail in chapter three.

1.4: THE SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study has five interrelated objectives. Each objective of this study by itself can be taken up as a separate problem for research. The researcher's main focus being discovering and understanding the role of the absence and linkages of Goan Diaspora in the social and cultural transformation of Goa, the researcher couldn't over look the changes in demographic, family and Socio-cultural aspects inaugurated due to Diaspora, as demographic, family and social and cultural aspects are dually linked in the process of change. The aim of this study has been to have a comprehensive understanding of socio-cultural dynamics. This aim being a broad one, it is essential here to spell out the scope and its limitation. We will discuss the scope and limitation on the basis of the main aim and the five interrelated objectives in the paragraph below.

In the first place let us examine the word, 'Goan Diaspora' which appears in our title of this study. These two words 'Goan Diaspora' refers to people who are of Goan origin who have migrated, settled or scattered away from their established or ancestral homeland that is Goa and who maintain their links with their families, villages, socio-cultural organization and institutions, have thoughts of returning and who keep coming to Goa either to reunite with their family members or just for the

love of the mother land. This is our definition of Goan Diaspora. If we were to apply this definition then all religious and caste groups could be included in our study.

However, this definition is limited only to Christian Goan Diaspora. The reason for this limitation is embodied in the fact that International migration from Goa has always been predominantly seen among the Christian's. Since we are interested in understanding the structuration in socio-cultural apects with reference to the aspects of caste, family, and marriage practices, our empirical findings suggested that international migration among the other religious groups started only in the late nineties and their numbers have been much lower compared to Christians. The GMS (2008) states that 42% of Christian household migrate as compared to 5% of Hindu households. Hence, in order to understand the role of international migrant (Diaspora) in the socio-cultural dynamics we felt it essential to include only that group of people that had a long history of International migration. Thus, our study is restricted or limited to only the Christian Goan Diaspora, as changes in caste, family and marriage practices come about in a slow, gradual and evolutionary pace and this evolutionary change can be observed and understood, again by limiting our local of study to Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim, which has a 175 years history of the phenomena of International Migration represented by all caste groups.

Secondly, as stated above that we seek to comprehensively understand the role of the Goan Diaspora in the socio-cultural dynamics in Goa. To achieve this main aim we have listed five objectives. Each objective by itself can be undertaken as a problem for research. Understanding the complexity and extensive nature of each of the objective, we would like to delineate the limitation under each of the objectives of our study.

1.   To understand the relationship between International Migration and the demographic structuring of the village. Through this objective we aim at understanding the demographic profile of the Diaspora household at the micro-level. we are interested in understanding the change in various demographic indicators i.e. Sex ratio, Per capita income, House hold size, Type of family, Standard of living, Educational level, Destination of Migration, Type of Occupation, Number of International migrants on the basis of caste, Number of In-migrants and Reasons for migration. Thus we have limited our scope to the demographic aspects listed above.

2.   To know the role of Diaspora in Family dynamics (Diaspora and Family Dynamics). Through this objective we aim to understand the re-organization of families inaugurated due to the unequal migration patter among men and women. The focus would be on the aspect of Women's empowerment and the major problems faced by the women in the Disapora household where the men are absent. When we say problem this word is limited only to social problem. We have excluded psychological issues. We also seek to understand the impact of remittances on the family status.

3.   To understand the impact of Diaspora on the Children left behind. Through this objective an attempt has been made to understand the problems faced by children of Disapora household and their future aspiration. The word problem here is mainly limited to personal and emotional problems.

4.   To understand the role of the Diaspora in the dynamics of monetary, instrumental and social support of older parents (Diaspora and the Elderly). Through this objective we seek to understand the level of social and monetary support the elderly receive in the absence of the Diaspora children. We would also like to understand the problems encountered by the Elderly in the Diaspora households. The

word problem here is related to only social, instrumental and monetary problems. Psychological and emotional issue have been excluded in this study.

5.   To discern the role of Diaspora in social mobility and restructuration of the Village (Diaspora and the Village Dynamics). Through this objective we intend to understand the process of social mobility brought about due to the linkages of the Diaspora with their respective families in AVC (Goa). We also seek to understand how the absence and the linkages have led to the restructuration of the society. Further, the study is limited only to the dynamics in the social institution of caste, marriage and family. We have not been able to include aspects of language and religion.

1.5: ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The thesis is thematically divided into nine chapters. The Chapter one 'Introduction' introduces the broad theme of the study. It outlines the history of migration in India and Goa and the differences between the two. It also reviews the available work on the problem that we intended to study and goes on to make a case for the present study on the basis of the research gaps. Finally, it describes the methodology of the research adopted by the present study to analyze the changes in the Goan society inaugurated by the Goan Diaspora.

The second chapter on the 'Theoretical perspectives and Conceptual framework' presents a review of different theories in migration and the application to our study. The chapter three presents a description and the analysis of the political, economic and social conditions that propelled international migration in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim vis-a-vis Goa. It also presents a detail historical account of International migration in Goa. In the course of the chapter an attempt has been also made to historically construct the 'Ideal Type' social structure of AVC.

The chapter four titled as 'Diaspora and demographic restructuring of the village' focuses on the changes in demographic aspects brought about due to the absence of Diaspora or large scale international migration from AVC. The chapter illustrates and analyses the significant changes in the demographic aspects i.e. household composition, Sex-ratio, educational qualification, per capita income, standard of living, age composition, number of migrants.

In the fifth chapter the focus shifts to 'Diaspora and Women'. This chapter presents the changes brought about due to the absence of Diaspora (a male member) in a household headed by women. As many studies across the globe point out how women feel empowered, the chapter focuses on the concept of empowerment with reference to women and their views. It further argues that empowerment comes with a cost and this cost is presented in the form of the issues women encounter in the absence of their men.

The chapter six is titled as 'Diaspora and Children'. The chapter focuses on the issues arising due to the absence of parents. The chapter mainly presents the children's experience in relation to the emotional and economic aspects in the absence of parent/s (Disapora). This chapter analyses the role of family and village as positive reinforcement and also presents a construction of stereotype with reference to Diaspora household with special emphasis on education and gender differentiation.

The seventh chapter 'Diaspora and the elderly' deliberates on the impact of Diaspora on their elderly parents in the sending society. The chapter specially relates to impact as social and economic. Thus, the chapter presents the views and experience of the elderly parents with reference to social support and economic support. It also discusses and analyses the plight of the elderly parents. Having looked at the chapters four, five, six and seven, the eight chapter 'Diaspora and the Village Dynamics'

presents an analysis of structuration in the institution of caste, family and marriage within the village society. The chapter presents how social mobility based on international migration and income contributes to the structuration of the caste structured society in to a class structured one, thereby leading to a new structure of the village. The chapter also argues that how the new structured village society contributes in the dynamics of the institution of family, caste and marriage. The entire process of change brought about in the society with reference to family, caste and marriage is analysed with the help of the structuration theory.

The concluding chapter summarises the findings of the study and also proposes the areas where future research could be undertaken.

End Notes

1. Assis Correia (2006) in his book 'Goa through the mists of History' describes in detail, the rebellion staged by the *Gaonkars* of AVC. The rebellion lasted for eight long years. The rebellion was against Portuguese inquisition and taxation policy.

2. The history of international migration in AVC and its categorization in to five generation's is based on the information shared with me in year 2001 by an elderly women aged 89 years, by the name of Prof.Edisa Moraes from the ward of Bencleamvaddo, in the Village of Cuncolim
.
3. The researcher's empirical observation for the last 20 years in AVC points out that Roman Catholic Christians are largest number of International migrants. The ratio of 94 Roman Catholic Christians to 06 Hindu is based on the random survey conducted by the researcher in AVC in 2013. The survey involved going to 200 households and asking in the house if anyone was abroad. Out of the 200 household there were only 12 Hindu households with an international migrant.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Migration fluctuates from productiveness and mortality, which means that the analysis of migration cannot be based on non-cultural and physiological factors but must be distinguished and analyzed on the basis of applicable social conditions. It is for this reason that statements regarding migration shouldn't be treated as a law but rather a form of typology (William Peterson cited in Jayaram 2009: 2).

Through the above brief lines William Peterson brings to the fore the deep-seated problem associated with reference to theorizing about migration. Migration as a social phenomena can be understood mainly through the social conditions and social context in which it occurs. The social contexts and conditions of migration differs from place to place, time to time and individuals to individuals, this varied nature of migration makes it difficult in establishing a grand theory of human migration and presents a fundamental problem in the general theorizing about human migration, as unlike the natural sciences which are objective, it becomes extremely difficult to explain the subjective human migration through a single theory. Therefore a universal theory might not be able to confine the subjectivity involved in human migration. Nevertheless, there have been several theories put forth by scholars from the field of migration studies, to which we could rely upon in order to gain a comprehensive understanding in the phenomena of human migration. However, for the purpose of our understanding the researcher has tried to classify these theories under two broad perspectives namely the Macro and the Micro perspectives.

The Macro perspective on migration presents the larger picture of the phenomena of migration. The Macro perspective focuses on the overall conditions that propel migration (push factors) and the economic impact of migration on the socio-cultural spheres within a particular boundary. It also presents what pulls the migrants to a particular region of the world. Several social scientists seek to understand the push and the pull factors in the country of origin and destination. In doing so they are try to establish the cause and effect of human migration. Historically, the first theory under the classification of Macro theory can be traced back to 1885 and 1886. It is during these two years that Ernst George Ravestien propounded his *Law of Migration.* The next significant contributor to the theory of migration was Evertt Lee, who tried to analyse the reasons of migration and postulated the 'theory of migration' in 1966, popularly known as the push and pull factors of migration Then came the Dual Labour market theory by Piore in 1969, while the latest is Bauder's regulation of labor markets (2006):

> "… the theory challenges the conventional view of labour migration's dependency on labor markets, by suggesting that …it is the international migration of the workers that regulates, shapes and helps the developed economies to survive" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_migration).

To understand international migration in AVC from a macro perspective we apply Lee's (1966) Theory of Migration and Piore's (1969) dual labour market theory to understand the reasons of international migration. We have tried to examine in page 35 the Laws of Migration propounded by Lee and the dual labour market theory.

The Micro perspectives, it tends to accentuate the role of individuals and this perception in the decision to migrate. The Micro perspective as the name suggest uses the subjective lens to look at the phenomena of human migration minutely. In our study we have included three micro theories in order to understand the phenomena of human migration in AVC. These include Sjaastad's theory of cost and benefits of

migration where the individual migrant is concerned, the theory of social capital by Robert Putman and Pierre Bourdieu and the relative deprivation theory

Apart from the Macro and Micro perspectives, we would like to make use of the third and recent perspective in the study of migration. This perspective binds the macro with micro and vice-versa. This perspective is based on the Anthony Gidden's theory of structuration and it tries to explain the dynamics brought about due to migration in the sending society. This perspective is borrowed from Wolfel (2001) Thus; to begin with let us first examine the macro theories beginning with Everett Lee (1966).

2.1: Everett Lee: Theory of Migration

Everett Lee was instrumental in substantiating Ravenstein's theory in 1966, when he re-confirmed the broad cause of migration by and large was economic. Lee was also aware of the fact that his theory couldn't be rigidly applied universally like the laws of physics and therefore he did not emphasize on the generalization of his theory. Lee however, tried to focus upon plurality of migrants, the similarities and differences and the causes of migration. Through such an approach, Lee was able to highlight more than a few aspects of migration and bring to the fore the relationship between aspects of economy and the need to migrate and its impact on the demography. In this theory Lee was able to impress upon the role of economic factors in the movement of people from less developed regions to the more developed ones, which meant that any changes in the economy of a given place would contribute to the increase or decrease in the number of migration in the given place. Lee also put forth, four broad factors that contributed to migration i.e. push factors in the country of origin, pull factors in the receiving nation, 'intervening obstacles' and 'personal factors' (Lee 1996: 47-53).

Lee also suggested that the rate of migration to a particular country was supported by the progress made in a particular country (*ibid: 54*).

Further, the most important contribution of Lee's theory is not only the push and pull factors in the decision to migrate but also the individual awareness of those factors. Lee was able to shed light upon the role played by the individual in his decision to migrate. Lee presented that the individual through his/her contacts and network at the country of destination became aware of the conditions and wages in that particular country that prepared the person to migrate or not based on his/her evaluation of his/her own country of origin (Lee 1996: 51). Thus, although many state that Lee replicated Ravestien's theory of migration, Lee should be credited for bringing to light the role of the individual migrant and her/his rationality in the decision to migrate, based on the situation in the country of destination, which was based on the individuals contacts and network in the destination country.

2.2: The Dual Market labor theory

The dual labour market theory is based on the premise that economic structures of the developed countries are structured in such a way that there is a permanent demand for foreign labour, which marks the increase in international migration (Piore 1979). The dual market labour theory presents that, developed countries of the world have dual labour market, the economies of such countries produce jobs in both the primary and the secondary sector. The primary sector jobs are high in wages, promotion, security and status, whereas the secondary sector jobs are low on wages, promotion, security and status. The secondary sector jobs are conceived as jobs below the dignity to which the local population refuses to take up, this refusal in accepting low status jobs by the local population creates a vacuum, that is finally filled by the workers from foreign countries (*ibid 1979*) .

Such a development presents a profitable proposition to the Employers, as the employers don't mind hiring the cheap foreign labour as it saves that millions in their currency, if not they would have to shell out millions to increase the wages so as to attract the local workers. Secondly, the foreign workers are paid less according to the wage standards of the locals. These wages when converted in their respective currencies in the country of origin are much higher and, therefore, a profitable proposition to the foreign workers, who are least interested in status. The most important interest is to earn money and remit it back to their homes. Thus, the dual labour market theory presents us an answer to the question why there is demand for labour of a particular kind in certain developed regions of the world? It does not reveal much on the varied characteristics of the migrant and his/her decision to migrate. However, the theory of Larry Sjaastad would help us to know better, the characteristic of decisions to migrate by the foreign workers.

2.3: Larry Sjaastad: The Costs and Returns of Human Migration

In this theory Sjaastad elaborates on the role of the individual migrant as an important agent in the decision making process of migration. Sjaastad provides with detailed analysis of the individual migrant's goal to migrate by presenting the factors that contribute in the decision to migrate. He lays importance on the price that the individual migrant pays through his/her decision to migrate. This price is not merely limited to the investments made to relocate to a new place or a new house but it also includes non monetary aspects to which he referred to as 'psychic costs' i.e. the fear of feeling home sick in the absence of the near and dear ones, the fear of not getting a job and the fear of the new place and conditions. The individual migrant goes through all these fears but is hardly investigated or documented (Sjaastad 1962: 80-85).

At the same time Sjaastad identifies that along with the cost there are also returns that the individual migrant gains both in monetary terms and non-monetary terms. For example if a person worked in Goa as a barman and migrated to London, the said person would definitely earn ten times more for the same job in London as compared to Goa. Along with this monetary gain the person may also gain in non-monetary aspects such as soft skills, foreign exposure of working in a multicultural set up and overall a better standard of living. Consequently, when an individual migrates he/she measures both the costs as well as the returns. Therefore, what we find in Sjaastad's theory is, the emphasis on the individual migrant and the varied factors that contribute in the decision to migrate, which in turn helps us to understand the dynamics of migration from the perspective of how migration is an investment to which the individual agent measures the cost and returns and when the returns compensate the cost the individual migrant decides to migrate. Further, it can be concluded that Sjaastad's theory has universal application in migration studies both internally or internationally, as it takes it to account the role of the individual migrant in the decision to migrate (*ibid:86*).

Along with Sjaastad's theory of cost and return of human migration, this study has also included the theory of social capital in the understanding of the phenomena of the Goan diaspora. Though the theory of social capital by itself is not a theory of migration, we have included this theory in our review as it provides us with valuable insights in understanding the motives of the migrant/ diaspora. The concept of social capital is applicable to the migrant/diaspora because the concept refers to the power and ability of the owner to have access to resources that helps the owner to migrate in the further quest to enhance the acquisition of resources *vis-a-vis* social capital that includes both the economic and cultural capital. With this brief introduction to the

theory of social capital let try to understand the theory and it applicability in our study.

2.4: Theory of Social Capital

The concept of social capital is relatively new when compared to economic and cultural capital. As the discussion on the concept of capital kept growing by several prominent thinkers i.e. Smith, Marx, Putnam, Bourdieu and Coleman, the concept of capital got associated with the word 'social' through the works of Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu. Social capital is born through the union of reciprocal relations of mutual obligation and every day practice of these reciprocal relations by humans in their day to day lives (Lin 2000, 2002). The concept of social capital is polsemic and is ever changing. However, in our study we shall focus on the definitions and works of Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu.

According to Robert Putnam Social capital refers to "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and thrusts that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1993: 35). Putnam (1993, 2000) through his various works, presented that social capital was entrenched in the social relations that human beings maintained with each other. These social relations with fellow human beings were based on the motive of generating value that helped the agent to mutually benefit in the social ranking of the given community.

Having understood the meaning of social capital through the work of Putnam, let us now turn to Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of social capital. Bourdieu defined Social capital as "the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1997: 48). Bourdieu tried to relate social capital on the basis of the dimensions of the network and the level of preceding

social capital amassed and controlled by the agents (Bourdieu 1986: 249). For Bourdieu, the most important motive behind the actors act of forming association and links was profit. The profit does not primarily refer to economic profit but this profit had a tendency of ultimately reducing to the economic aspect. According to Tzanakis (2013):

> 'The actors potential for accruing social profit and control of capital are differently distributed. This differential distribution of potential and control is a central notion in Bourdieu's theories of social reproduction and social space' (Tzanakis 2013: 3)

According to Bourdieu, social space meant the composite collections of the actors positions, which were subjective in nature. Social space was subjective because it involved multifarious interactions among the actors that had plural meanings, the plurality of the interactions made it impossible to deduce a singular meaning that would help us to view positions in an objective manner (Bourdieu 1989). Consequently, for Bourdieu resources were not evenly distributed but rather they were relative to the space or position that the actors occupied. This position was established by the cultural and social capital that the actors possessed and for what the other actors craved for (Bourdieu 1984).

Further, Bourdieu presents to us that the entire structure of capital is built on the basis of the position one occupies in the social space. The actors make use of resources made available on the basis of the position they already belong to in order to amass more social capital. Therefore, what we get to understand here is that the position that the actor occupies acts both as a cause and effect to amass future social capital. According to Bourdieu social capital of the past helps in the perpetuation of unequal distribution of resources (Bourdieu 1986: 249)

The discussion on social capital in the works of Putnam and Bourdieu has helped us in recognizing two important postulations about social capital. These include the correlation between social capital, social networks and group membership

and the correlation between social capital, mutual reciprocity and recognition (Siisiainen 2000: 8-12). The next theory that helps us to gain insights in to what propels individual to migrate is the theory of relative deprivation.

2.5: The Relative Deprivation Theory

The relative deprivation theory is based on the premise that migration of a person is a result or reaction to the feeling of deprivation that is relative to a particular reference group. Runciman (1966: 10) defines relative deprivation as 'a feeling of deprivation in relation to others'. Further, according to Runciman the sense of relative deprivation is established when a person feels deprived of something that he does not have but others have and that something that he wishes to have can be obtained in the near future. Such a feeling of relative deprivation is universal and can be found in all types of societies. In societies where there is added economic disparity, one will see migration as highly rewarding for large number of people (Stark & Taylor 1989). Thus, the need to migrate emerges not purely due to economic deprivation but more due to the need to improve one's status in context of a particular reference group.

Stark and Taylor (1991), substantiates that the people who migrate have twofold effect on the welfare of those members who are left behind. Firstly, remittances sent to the family members in the households increases the income level and secondly, the increase in the income is relative to other people in the vicinity or the society (*ibid 1991*). The increase in income in certain families brought about due to migration, motivates many others to also migrate as they feel relative deprived compared to those who have migrated and increased their incomes. This whole process of relative deprivation contributes to a cycle of migration as everyone in the given society want to match up with the ones who have migrated (Massey *et al.* 1998).

Having analysed the various theories of migration, it is important at this juncture to review the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens, which according to us is useful in examining diaspora as an agent of Social dynamics in Goa. The study seeks to explain the process of migration as forming in to a 'culture of migration' among the Christians in Goa. The study which proposes the theory of migration culture is build around Anthony Gidden's structuration theory. We shall now try to understand the application of Gidden's theory in this migration study.

2.6: Gidden's Structuration theory and Migration

According to Gregory (1994), the theory of structuration is a perspective that presents the meeting point for 'knowledgeable, capable social agents and wider social systems and structures in which they are implicated' (Gregory 1994: 600). Gidden's theory of structuration, consists of six imperative elements or concepts i.e. agency, structure, the duality of structure, institutions, the dialectic of control and time and space relations. Understanding all the six imperative elements is necessary for laying the ground work to use Giddens' perspective for the present study.

a) Agency

Agency refers to the individual or an agent, who have a major function in fulfilling the structuration project. The agent is 'knowledgeable and capable subject' (Cloke 1991: 97). In this theory Giddens presents that the agents perform actions that have certain meaning or intention, as the agent is completely aware of the goal of the actions. Giddens states that every single action is 'intentional' (Giddens 1979). Thus, under the structuration project of Giddens, agents are of great prominence because they are knowledgeable and the actions that they perform have well defined purpose. These actions that have a purpose are performed by deciding the calculative risks in undertaking a given action. The risks involved are calculated by acknowledging the

probability of sanctions in the given action undertaken. Consequently, the actor understands the price one needs to pay in order to fulfil an end (Giddens 1979: 84-88)

The question arises as to, on what basis does the actor zeroes down upon the need to perform the action? The answer to these two questions is that the actor investigates the price and what benefit she/he will get after performing a particular action. If the actor knows that his rewards from his actions are greater than the price he paid then the actor will definitely perform the action. The actor also calculates the probability of a negative sanction on his/her action to be performed, again if the rewards exceed the price and the sanction then the actor will perform the action. Therefore, it is important to realize that the 'knowledgeable actor' performs her/his actions by thoroughly investigating the price that one needs to pay for the rewards one is expecting in return.

The knowledgeable actor, according to Giddens "is always bounded on the one hand by the unconscious and on the other by unacknowledged/unintended consequences of action" (Giddens 1984: 284). According to Giddens it is the unintended consequences that are of great significance in his theory. By consequences, Giddens refers to the outcome of an action and unintended consequence refers to the result of an action that was not intended or there was a different motive behind the action (see Ritzer 2003). For example, a person turns on the fan because she/he is feeling hot, here the motive that is clearly evident is to cool one's self. Yet, another probable outcome of this action of putting on the fan is that the mosquitoes in the room run away. The mosquitos' running away is not what was intended and hence is an unintended consequence. Since, the actor was unaware of this consequence, any study involving the running way of the mosquito as the motive behind the actor action of putting on the fan is pointless.

Nevertheless, in certain complex situations unintended consequence did play a significant role. An example that Giddens illustrates is that, a person migrates to reunite with his family members in another city. During the course of this unification the person finds a better paying job. In this example, it is clearly evident that the unintended consequence was the acquisition of a better paying job. This unintended consequence may facilitate greater number of people to migrate with the intention of getting a better job (Giddens 1984: 8-14). Nevertheless, as the unintended consequence is the result of the action performed by the individual, the individual and his action has a vital role in the society. This process involving the actions that the individuals perform and the visible and invisible outcomes on the society is elaborated by the concept of duality of structure (see Giddens 1984).

According to Cohen (1989), the emphasis that Giddens gives to the individual agent is with the perception that 'the individual plays a vital role in the development of history instead of "maker of history" (Cohen 1989: 46-47). For this reason, the most important aspect of Giddens theory that is distinct as compared to many other theories, is the perception that the agents/actors perform actions that contribute to the creation of history. In other words the agents are the creators of history. Therefore, as we seek to make sense of Giddens theory, it is important to comprehend the correlation between individual and society. This correlation between individual and society is referred to as 'duality of structure' according to Giddens (1984). Before we understand what is the duality of structure, let us first examine the meaning of structure.

b) Structure

Structure plays a significant function in the process of social change. Giddens however, defines structure in the most unusual way. According to Giddens structure

refers to "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems...it exists in memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability instantiated in action" (Giddens 1984). A closer look at this definition presents several aspects to it, the most important being 'recursive'. When Giddens talks about recursiveness, it means that the action is practiced or repeated over and over again, which gives birth to social system. This means that, the structure is dually performing the role of being the source and the result of the social practice that amounts to the creation of social system (Gregory 1994: 110-112). Giddens further asserts that structure is involved in the reproduction of action, other than theorizing it as an obstacle to any action (Giddens 1979: 70). Thus, this means that structure brings about social change and structure also gets influenced by social change. What this means is that societies are always governed by certain laws and resources that bring about social change. These laws and resources can be also changed depending on the change in the society.

The second aspect of Giddens' definition of structure that is of importance is the idea that of 'structure existing in memory traces of human knowledgeability through recursive action' (Giddens 1984: 377). What this statement means is that structure is not something that is visible to the naked eye of the human, but it is something that exist only in the human memory, the existence of which is observable only through the recursive action that contribute in the establishment of rules, that further institutes in to a system. Thus, structure contributes to change, that is dynamic and hence structure is also dynamic because is constantly changing.

The next key element of Giddens definition of structure is his, delineation involving structure, system and structuration. As seen earlier structure refers to 'rules and resources, organized as properties of social systems' (Giddens 1984). These rules

are changed and modified by the actors but system refers to repeated relationships amongst actors through customary social practice (Giddens 1979: 66). The structure is used accordingly by the actors in order to bring about change in society. The changes in the society are referred to as structuration. According to Giddens structuration refers to "the conditions that govern the changes in the structure that contributes in the reproduction of systems" (*ibid: 67*).   Thus, according to Giddens all the three factors i.e. structure, system and structuration collectively explain the outline and procedure of social change that in turn effect the structure of the society.

Therefore, when we try to understand the process of migration it is important to consider the role of the society and its social structure in the explanation of migration. As many a decisions regarding migration among the agents stems from structure and it is the need to change the structure, that migration takes place or the agent decides to migrate.   Let us now examine the next element in Giddens structuration theory 'duality of structure'.

c) **Duality of Structure**

The Duality of structure is of utmost importance in Giddens theory of structuration. Duality of structure is the heart that pumps the blood in the veins of structuration theory, which in turn provides the structuration theory to develop and sustain. According to Giddens (1979), the duality of structure, "relates to the basic recursive character of social life, that shows the mutual dependence of structure and agency" (Giddens 1979: 69). This mutual dependence of structure and agency further contributes to the changes in the society through the dialectical relationship between the structure and agency.

The change in the society is initiated by the individuals, whereby the rules and resources are channelized in order to establish an interface with the structure and

ultimately achieve a change in the structure (Giddens 1979: 69-72). The above idea that presents a duality of structure can be further elaborated with the help of Cohen (1989) who says that, social practice is nothing but reproduction of certain actions in our social life that constantly reshape the structure, thus the structure acts as both the means as well as the end through the reproduction of the actions (Cohen 1989: 41-43). Consequently, what can be concluded on the concept of duality of structure is that, as the agents produce change, there is modification of the rules that takes place simultaneously as the social change is taking place. Thus, the structure and agency constantly interact with each other to undergo a change during the course of this interaction. The dialectical relationship between the agency and structure is at the heart of the structuration theory.

d) Dialectic of Control

The dialectic relationship similar to agency and power can also be seen in the control of power. In the structuration theory, Giddens also presents the dialectic of control. In this concept Giddens, demonstrates that the idea of dialectics also exists in power relationships among the agents within a given society. The agents may be placed at different position with the social stratification and even if one occupies the lowest position or the highest position the agent experiences certain degree of oppression. Every agent within the society has the capacity to alter these positions, so as to have greater control within the society she/he belongs to. In the words of Giddens "every actor has the power to persuade the structuration of the society". The actor who has no power is not an agent. (Giddens 1984: 70-74)

The ultimate goal, why agents seek power is the acquisition of resources. The control over the resources helps the agents to restructure their positions in the society. The most important aspect within this concept of dialectics of control is that, of

control of resources by the agents is dynamic, which means that the control of resources is not always in the same hands, but may keep changes as and when certain agents within the group acquires the same. Thus, the agents who control the resources will be in a position to influence change and the society may adapt accordingly to this change. Those agents who cannot adopt may feel oppressed and may further seek to change those aspects in society that they want to change.

Accordingly, what we see in the structuration theory is the emphasis given to power by Giddens. However, Giddens does not look at power in the traditional way as portrayed by many other social theorists. As for Giddens all the agents have certain degree of power and therefore all the agents have the capacity to bring about change. Whereas, those who have no power are almost non-existent, it is for this reason that the concept of dialectic of control holds significance in studies on migration. Because those agents who are non-existent, have no power and hence no control over the changes in the society, such type of agents may try to gain power and control by migrating and having access to resources (Giddens 1984: 83-92). The next element that has an equal role in the structuration of the society is 'Institutions'

e) **Institutions**

In the words of Cohen (1989), Institutions are defined as 'regular practices that form a routine and are widely held and recognized collectively" (Cohen 1989). The agents in the given society make use of these 'routinised practices' to institutionalise them and contribute to change. According to Giddens there are four kinds of institutions. These include; symbolic order/modes of discourse, political institutions, economic institutions and law/modes of sanctions. Varied combinations of these institutions are used to bring about change in society. Practices when routinized by larger number of people results in to change (Giddens 1984: 104-108).

However, these practices get routinized over a period of time and space. Any change in society cannot over look the element of time and space that has been discussed below.

f) Time/Space Relations

According to Giddens (1984) the structure in the society changes in relation to time and space. He emphasises the importance of characteristics relating to the history (time) and geography (space) in the establishment of change in any given social structure. Giddens, emphasis on the importance of time/space relations presents the drawbacks of the other social theories. Giddens, substantiates that societies are not build purely around agents and the social structure, but societies have a tendency to undergo structuration through the events that takes place across time and space. Thus, the history and geography of any given space is important in

The history and geography of a region are essential to have a comprehensive perception of social change, as it is the history and geography that influences agents and their actions that contribute to change.

The dimension on the theoretical background of migration presents that migration is a complex and a diverse phenomena and therefore it can never be described by taking in to account only one theory or discipline.

In our study, we have also made an attempt to understand the historical processes and geographical location that have contributed in the migration process. The same has been discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE MAKING OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN AVC-GOA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter attempts to give a historical account of International migration in Goa. In presenting a historical account of international migration in AVC, the chapter analyses the political, economic and social conditions that propelled international migration in the villages of Assolna, Velim and AVC vis-a-vis Goa. In the course of the chapter an attempt has also been made to historically construct the 'Ideal Type' social structure among the Christians of AVC.

3.1: HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN GOA

Migration from Goa to different parts of the world is not something new and there is documented data from at least the 16th century (D'souza 1979: 54). Pearson (1990: 156) also states that Goa had been open to the Arabian Sea even before the Portuguese arrived.

Nevertheless Goan migration has never been uniform it has been in sporadic form (Gracias: 1999). Gracias (1999) classifies Goan migration in to three phases. The first phase consisted of migration to the neighboring kingdoms during the 16th to 18th century. The second phase consisted of migration to British India and Africa during the 19th till the first half of the 20th century. The third phase consisted of migration to the Gulf and the West (Europe, America, Australia and New Zealand from 1961-1991. However, the researcher has added another stage of migration and that is post 1991 till day, as this year marked the liberalization of the economy in India.

3.1.1: First Phase

The first phase (16th to 17th CE) has three waves of migration. The first wave was when Goan Hindu's migrated to the neighboring kingdoms i.e Manglore and Kanara. They migrated in order escape the mass conversion and restrictions imposed on their rites and celebration (Gracias 1997: 48). The Second wave was when the Goan converted Catholics migrated to Manglore. Silva and Fuchs (1965) presented the role of King Sebastian and the Portuguese inquisition in the mass migration of Catholics in 1560. Russel-Wood (1998) further states that 'The Inquisition scrutinized the trace of Hinduism and declared the followers as deviating from the accepted beliefs and norms. The converted Hindus were asked to strickly keep Christian names and were prohibited from taking part in Hindu customs and traditions both sacred and profane. So much so there was also restriction on the type of clothes to be worn by the converted Hindus. Silva and Fuchs (1965) adds that 'those Christians who did not want to give up their age old practices were treated as outcastes, subordinated and also condemned to death. Thus, such Catholics lived with a constant fear of persecution; those who couldn't manage were forced to leave Goa'. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mangalorean_Catholics). As D'souza points out that:

> "The rituals and practices followed by the Manglorean Catholics in contemporary times are appealing and useful in comprehending the cause for the mass scale migration of the new converts from the northern districts of Goa. He further reterietes that the migration was centered on the idea of escaping the inspection and prohibitions ordered by the Portuguese regime on customs and traditions of the people". (Cited in History of Manglorean Catholics http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mangalorean_Catholics)

The Goan Christians who migrated were forced to migrate also due to the fact that, the Hindus began to look down upon the newly converted people including those who were of Brahmin origin. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mangalorean_Catholics). The third wave

was during the 1680's when Roman Catholic Goans began to emigrate in mass number to south Canara fearing the onslaught of Shambaji the Maratha ruler. According to an estimate two thousand Christians from Salcete taluka and twelve thousand from Bardez taluka emigrated to the south between 1710-1712 CE. According to Machado (1999):

> "… A report of the Governmnet of Goa dating to 1747 presents that the Maratha invasions contributed to the migration of sixty thousands Christians to South Canara, although the number came down with the return of ten thousand to Goa due to wars between Mughals and the Marathas. The number of Manglorean Cathololics was roughly around fifty eight thousand" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mangalorean_Catholics).

Goans also migrated to escape the taxes imposed by the state. Goan Christains migrated to the Portuguese colonies of Brasil, Timor, East-Africa and Portugal (D Couto-Potache 1990 cited in Gracias 1999). The number of migration around this time was insignificant. A few Goans also migrated to Portugal for studies in law, medicine and theology. Thus, the reasons for the first phase of migration can be broadly linked to religious persecution and the Portuguese colonial policy.

3.1.2: Second Phase (19th to the first half of 20th century)

The second phase of migration was socio-economic in nature and was seen on a large scale. During this phase migration took place in two directions i.e. to the British India and to the east African Portuguese and British colonies. We will examine the first direction of migration to British India. Migration to British India was based on several factors. i.e. The Anglo Portuguese treaty of 1878 and the British occupation of Goa during the Napoleonic wars. The Anglo-Portuguese treaty allowed the British ships to be anchored in Goa. As there was a need for staff on these ships, Goans were hired. When the ships left Goa for British India, the Goan staff also accompanied. The treaty also developed railways in Goa, which was of great significance in terms of

communication, transport and travelling to British India. The railways provided

Goans the accessibility to British India. As Mascarenhas-Keys (1979) states that:

> 'Migration of Goans to Bristish India continued throughout the early part of the nineteenth century but it was since the middle of the century that a significant flow of migration took place. Immediately after the Indian mutiny in 1857, the British reasserted their power with the proclamation of Queen Victoria… The British began setting up vast railway network for the quick movement of troops. The Goans poured out of Goa and got jobs on the great Indian Peninsula Railway and Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Railway. The construction of Western Indian Portuguese Railway in the late 19th Century provided additional impetus for Goans from Old Conquests to migrate and subsequently settle in large numbers in Hubli, Belgaum, Mumbai and Pune'

In British-India, Goans migrated mainly to Bombay, Karachi, Karwar, Belgaum, Calcutta and Pune. Goans went to these places for education in English medium as they saw it as an opportunity for recruitment in British administration. The Portuguese government also introduced English medium schools in Bardez and Salcete taluka to prepare Goans for emigration (GMS 2008:21). The demand for English education kept on increasing as new opportunities for white collar jobs emerged in Portuguese colony of Mozambique and British colonies in east Africa (Kamat 2002: 49-50).

Apart from this development, the push factors for migration were, Goa had a very high cost of living, high unemployment rate, lack of educational facilities and social problems. The absence of agricultural management and the absence of Industries produced waves of migration (GMS 2008: 22). In 1931, Goa had a population of 500,000. Around 55,000 to 60,000 people mostly from the Old Conquests, hacked a living in British India spread through India they formed prominent groups in Bombay (45,000), Karachi (3,500), Calcutta (1,000), Ragoon (800) and of these only 7500 were Hindus and Muslims (Relatorio 1931 cited in GMS 2008:23). Whereas the pull factors for migration was better job opportunities and better remuneration (See Pinto 1960, Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987). Thus, from the above it is evident that Bombay had the most number of Goans irrespective of caste

and religion. At the beggining of the nineteenth century, when Bombay was growing in Business centre the number of Goans was already high and in the 1950's, Bombay counted 8,000 Goans who occupied positions in business, liberal professions and administration and later women of lower strata joined the domestic labour force. Cunha (1939) presents that emigration increased with the economic development of the city.

> 'During World War I, there were over 12,000 Goan seammen in Bombay and after the war around 7,500. Goan emigration must have increased 30 to 50 percent between 1915-1935. Around 12,000 Goans worked in public services in Bombay in 1956. Hindu Brahmins, culturally and educationally more advanced, migrated to Bombay during the early 1900s ; some established jewellery shops and did well as a community. Christians from lower communities migrated and opened tailoring shops ; the more resourceful ones opened restaurants and guest-houses' (Cited in GMS 2008 :23)

Also, during this time due to the demand for shipping services and the replacement of individual capitalism in Europe by the corporate finance and management methods led to the considerable extension of shipping (Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011 :144). This development led to the emergence of opportunities on the passenger and cargo ships especially dominated by the British. Goan's were specially prefered in the two of the biggest cruise shipping companies i.e. P&O (Peninsula and Oriental) and B.I (British India) shipping. Both of these companies later merged in to one in 1914. Goan's worked as Butlers, assistant pursers, storekeepers, pantrymen, library stewards responsible for ordering books and running the ship's library, chief cooks, bakers, canteen supervisors and headwaiters (Correia 2006 : 283). Gracias (1999) states that :

> 'Goans who migrated during this period to British India were both Hindus and Christians. Women migrated independently to British India. They were mostly unmarried women or widows from lower classes. Among independent female migrants were *bailadeiras (*dancing girls). Large number of women who migrated worked as domestic staff at the homes of Parsi and British families, while others worked as nurses and secretaries. Men generally migrated to the rest of India without their families. They were engaged in skilled and unskilled manual jobs. A small number took up white-collar jobs or worked as musicians. Some proceeded to Bombay for further studies in medicine and other fields'.

The significant aspect here is that both Christians and Hindus migrated to British India. But it was not the case for Africa. As Gracias (1999) states:

> 'In Africa, Goans were involved in pioneering work in many fields, including medicine. They belonged to all classes of the society. Goans who migrated to Africa sometimes took their families or returned home to take a bride. They did not settle permanently in Africa, but eventually returned home to provide their children with western type of education and culture'. The majority of those who went to Africa were Christians. Goan Christians were more westernised than the non-Christians. They knew one or more western languages and western music. This helped them to acquire jobs in Africa, as already mentioned earlier. Hindus were more traditional, caste bound and influenced by food restriction. Immigration of Goans to Africa came to end when African colonies gained their independence in the late 1950s and in the 1960s'.

This did not prompt the Portuguese government from stopping Goan migration, as the economic conditions were not suitable. Goans migration to East Africa was in the countries of Mozambique, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zenzibar and Kenya.

Goans also migrated to the gulf during this period. Wherein, some Goans from Goa, Bombay and some parts of Pakistan sailed to Aden and Oman at the turn of nineteenth and early twentieth century. Early migrants to Oman worked as domestic help, musicians and tailors or were employed in the British army stationed there (Mascarenhas-Keys 1990: 242). The number of Goans migrating in the Gulf was limited, although the number had gone up to 20,000 by 1954. (cited in Gracias 1999: 426)

The second direction of migration was in African colonies of Portugal and British. Goans migrated to Mozambique, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya and Zanzibar. From as early as the sixteenth century, Goans had helped the Portuguese to penetrate the inhospitable territories in Africa. However, there is no much data available on the number at this stage. Nevertheless, in the eighteen century, Goan traders settled in Mozambique. They participated in the trade in ivory and gold between Goa and East Africa. They established large import-export business (Mascarenhas-Keys 1979: 12). Albuquerque states that:

'….Between 1890 and 1895, when the British government took over the administration in East Africa, the policy of employing Goans in the colonial civil service and telegraph offices was already established. By 1890, there were 160 Goans in Mombassa forming the backbone of the port administration. When the British colonial government began constructing the Uganda Railways in 1896, Goans were employed as stewards and administrative staff for the East African Railways & Harbours. There was however no indentured labour from Goa. At the turn of the century, emigration increased with the expansion of British and Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Knowledge of Portuguese and English helped the Goans'. (cited in GMS 2008: 26)

The Goans also found employment with the British India Steam Navigation Company, Goans were employed as staff to run the offices in East Africa and the employment reached its zenith during the (1918-39) when the world wars were active, as many families and their men who were employed in the Royal Navy moved to East Africa, also with the independence of India in 1947 many Goans employed in the civil services and in the army were offered jobs in East Africa by the British Government, they settled there until those countries got freedom. (GMS 2008: 27). Let us examine migration to Mozambique, Uganda, Kenya and Zenzibar.

Migration to Mozambique emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Costa 1956: 172), the Portuguese recruited Goans as clerks and administrators on the basis of literacy in Portuguese. Those who did well, then played the role of mediators in colonizing the local tribal chiefs and the population (Cited in GMS 2008: 27). The district administrator in Goa tried to promote emigration to Mozambique by providing prospective emigrants with assistance and information on the places and salaries (*ibid*). Goans went to three major cities: Maputo, Beira and Nampula. Soon the regions of Maputo and Beira became a favourite among the Goans. The Goans here were employed in public institutions, administration and other white collar jobs (*ibid*). Wherein the older Goans worked in administrative positions and the younger ones worked in liberal professions (*ibid*).

Goans also found employment in Uganda as civil servants, when the Ugandan Railway was being constructed by the British in 1894 (Mascarenhas-Keys 1979:13), The GMS (2008) points out that:

> 'The law-abiding character of the Goan community stood out remarkably. More Goans arrived in Kampala, Uganda in 1900' and distinguished themselves in the field of sports and helped in the development of sporting activities and musical entertainment through the Goan Institute of Kampala. In 1960, events in Uganda gave cause for concern, forcing some to migrate to the West and others to return to Goa. Goans, being industrious and peace – loving, played an important role in the civil society and economic development of Uganda. In East Africa, they earned the commendation of high officers of the British Empire and lofty appreciation from various governors'. (cited in GMS 2008:28)

Goans migrated to Kenya as early as 1865; Goans worked in Kenya as sailors, cooks, tailors, railway employees and Clerks. Goans contributed to the development of churches in areas where they resided. In 1956, there were 30,000 Goans in Kenya especially in Nairobi. Kenya was granted freedom by the British in 1963 (Costa 1956:190 cited in Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). Goans in Zenzibar arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century and was known as the principal destination. Goans were known for their prosperity and peacefulness and also popular among the natives of Zanzibar Islands (cited in GMS 2008:28). Goans worked in almost the occupation mentioned in Kenya and had the monopoly in those occupation. Finally, the Goans had to move out due to the uncertainty brought about as a result of the independence in the 1960's to the East African colonies of Britain and Portugal. The Goans moved in different direction, some returned to Goa, while others ventured to Europe and America on adopting the nationality of the colonizers.

Thus, the Goans during this phase migrated mainly in two direction; one, to British India and two; to the colonies of British and Portuguese in Africa. This migration was mainly due to the lack of interest by the Portuguese government in providing good educational opportunities, economic and employment opportunities, thereby turning Goa in to a land of migration and exile (Newman 1984:57).

3.1.3: Third Phase (1961-1991)

The third phase began after the Portuguese left Goa. It can be also referred to as the post-colonial phase. This phase was economic in nature. Goans during this phase migrated to the Gulf, Canada, USA, Brazil, Australia and New Zealand. The migration to the west was related to the push factors i.e. the worsening socio-economic conditions in Goa as well as the pull factors i.e. better living condition, job opportunities and educational facilities. This phase can be further classified in to migration to the Gulf and Migration to the west.

Migration to the Gulf in the 1970's and 1980's was propelled due to two main reasons. The former being search of petro dollars due to the discovery of petrol and construction boon. The rapid development of the gulf states provided ample of opportunities for labor force as many of the locals were lacking the skills necessary in the construction sector (Prakash 1998: 3209) and latter due to the independence of the African colonies (Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). The independence of African colonies made life of a Goans uncertain due to the indigenization process especially in countries of Uganda and Kenya. (see Gracias 1999). As the Portuguese left in 1961 many primary schools and colleges were set up (Newman: 2001). This development in the field of education gave many Goans irrespective of caste a chance to be educated. As during the Portuguese rule education was the privilege of the *Bamon's and Chardo's* (Botelho: 2011). Thus, as various members of different caste groups got educated they chose to migrate, as Goa lacked the opportunities and most Christain Catholic Goans strived to improve upon their status (Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). (Gracias 1999) states that, the educated Goans irrespective of caste continued to migrate to the Gulf States post liberation.

Migration to the West

The migration to the west especially Europe existed even during the colonial times, however the large scale migration from Goa to Europe gained prominence soon after liberation in 1961, when the Portuguese government gave the choice to the Goans to join Portugal or to remain with India. Thousands took up Portuguese citizenship; the majority of those who migrated to Portugal were Christians. The Christians migrated for two main reasons; first, was that they felt threatened that their uniqueness of their cultural and religious identity would be lost with the doors of Goa getting opened to the rest of India; and second, choosing a Portuguese citizenship meant opening the doors to enter Europe, especially United Kingdom. Thus, from 1961 began the exodus of Goans to Europe via Portuguese passport. The emigration to the European Union via Portuguese Nationality became very popular among the Goan Christians. However, not everyone could afford to claim a Portuguese citizenship, as it was a costly affair. Therefore, many Goans who aspired for a Portuguese nationality in order to migrate to Europe especially the U.K had to accumulate enough of wealth, which was needed for investment in the process of making a Portuguese passport. Thousands of Goan professionals i.e. engineers, doctors, nurses, teachers, I.T professionals, hospitality professionals and others managed to make use of this opportunity and migrated to Europe. Most of these professionals belonged to the second and third generation, as it were their parents or grand-parents who worked hard on the ship or in the gulf and saved money in order to invest it for making Portuguese passports for them and their children. The claim for Portuguese nationality was open only for all those who were born before 1961. Therefore, if the present generation wants a Portuguese nationality then they can get it only if their parents have got the same. Thus, the demand for Portuguese nationality has increased rapidly in the last two decades from 1991 to 2011. Every year the

Portuguese Consulate in Goa receives a thousand applications for filing in for the process of Portuguese nationality. The Portuguese nationality serves as a door to the open European Union.

3.3.4: The Fourth phase (1991 till day)

The fourth phase is characterized by labor migration and emigration of Goans to different parts of the world. As the state of Goa witnessed the development of education and its availability to all the sections of society, varied sections of Goan society have tried to make the best of the opportunities available on the ship, Gulf, Europe, America and other western countries. The important point to note here is that in all these countries English is the spoken language and this is the reason why some scholars in Goa refer to English as the language of the stomach. It is for this reason that parents desire their children to go to English medium schools.

From the above discussion, Goan emigration of each of the phases can be broadly classified in to colonial period (first phase of early 16th till 17th century and second phase of early 19th century till the first half of the 20th century) and post colonial (1961 till date) . Goan emigration thus has a commonality when compared to Indian emigration. However, the reasons for migration in the post colonial period differ for Goa in comparisons to India. The reasons being religious persecution, the policy of no development by the Portuguese and the confiscation of lands belonging to the village communes, whereas, for India the reason for migration was employment opportunities in different colonies of the western powers. Goan migration was neither indentured like India nor promoted or sponsored by the government the Goan migrants were free and had to pay for themselves. Goan migration has been religio-centric, wherein in the first phase greater number of Hindus migrated from Goa to India and in the later two phases large number of Christians migrated to different parts

of the world. During the second phase of migration from Goa only the Dominant caste groups migrated, whereas in India there is no clarity with regards to migration of particular caste groups. In Goa, during the last phase i.e. post colonial period, large number of subordinate caste groups began to migrate to different places of the globe. This phenomenon owes to the development of education in Goa post liberation, which in turn has contributed to the dynamics of Goan society and culture. The root cause of migration is hidden in the several transformations that Goa underwent during the phases of migration. The phases of migration have been broadly classified as pre-colonial and post-colonial. In the Pre-colonial phase, which was the longest period of 451 years, we shall try to examine the role of the Portuguese regime in the development of migration.

3.2: THE PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUSH FACTORS FOR MIGRATION

The Portuguese established their rule in Goa in 1510, with Afonso de Albuquerque as the Governor. The Portuguese initially conquered the talukas of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete, which came to be referred to as the 'old conquest', while the remaining seven talukas were annexed later and have been referred to as the 'new conquest'. The Portuguese rule lasted for 450 years i.e. 1510 to 1961. During these 450 years the Portuguese rule contributed to enormous changes in the every sphere of Goan society. Now we shall try to locate the roots for migration.

3.2.1: The Religious Transformation as a cause for migration

In order to understand religious transformation brought about in Goa, we have to understand the 'Ideal type' *Ganvkari* system that existed in Goa for centuries before the Portuguese transformed it in to the 'Communadade System'. The *Ganvkari* system

is an all encompassing system of religion, economy, caste and culture crisscrossing each other for the proper functioning of the society.

a) The Ideal type[1] '*Ganvkari* system'

The *Ganvkari* system is centered on the concept of *Ganvkari/Ganvpon*. Siqueira and Henn (2001) state that;

> 'The ganvkaria is a compound of two word '*Ganv*' (village) and '*Karne*', which is a radical of the word to do. Hence *Ganvkaria* is that what 'does' the village. *Ganvpon* is the abstract noun of '*ganv*' signifying 'villageness' or' villageosity'. This abstract noun ganvpon stands for the meeting of the *ganvcars*……..the *ganv* is generated in the *ganvpon*. The *Ganvkarai/ganvpon* negotiate the different domains of its context, the ritual, the social, the ecological, the economical and the political'

Sequeira and Henn (2001) further, emphasize that the *Ganv* was socio-ritual in nature, the *ganv* is embodied in the mother goddess that emerges from the village, she is the first inhabitant of the village even before human habitation. The mother goddess was called *santeri/Boomika*. The *Ganvkars* are the sons of this mother goddess and perform several socio-ritualistic functions for the mother goddess. The *ganv* does not merely consist of space or land; it is a fusion of mother goddess, land and people. The *ganv* is beyond land, land is not the pre-requisite for the *ganv*, it is the *gavnponn* that establishes the *Ganvkari*. Therefore, in many parts of Goa there existed *Ganvkari* without predefined space i.e. coastal areas and the hilly areas. Such *ganvponns* were spared across in every village of Goa. The *ganv* was the *'devi'* and the boundaries were determined by ritual borders called as '*sim*', which was a sacred space. The *Ganvkari* was based on a Metonymic relationship between the *devi*, the *ganvkars* and the *ganv*. The *Ganvkari* not only consisted of the socio-ritual but also the socio-economic. As various honours and privileges were distributed among the *ganvkars* and so were the social and communitarian functions. The *Ganvkari* was an association of settlers of the community and their male descendents (Trichur 2013:50). In most of the cases the *Ganvkars* belonged to the higher castes but not always. The *Ganvkars*

were made of several *vangods* (patrilineages of the original settlers) also meaning together in Konkani , who controlled the land under the *Ganvkari*, these *vangods* were served by hereditary servants, who had predetermined obligation and were paid in kind. They were also given rent free land as a part of their remuneration towards their services (Kosambi 1964: 160).

The *Vangods* among the *Ganvkars* were ranked according to their contribution, the rankings were of significance especially during religious rituals and functions (*ibid*). The *Ganvkari* had a control over all the cultivable land, this land actually belonged to the *devi* and was centered around the temple (Sequeira and Hann 2001), the land was distributed or auctioned once a year or once in three years among the various *vangods* of the *ganv* (Kosambi, 1964: 160). The land was cultivated with the help of the *'mundkar'* (landless laborer under an agreement), the *mundkars* and its lineage were given rights to live on a plot which was rent free and based on an agreement that they will cultivate the lands and share the harvested produce with the owners. Nevertheless, the land was not owned by the *Ganvkars* but by the *Ganvkari* as a whole. Rui Gomes Periera in his book 'The Old Village Associations' (1981) states that;

'Land was inalienable estate of the village community, even though various groups had different heritable rights to the use of land and to share the income. The allotment of resources varied from village to village. Members or member families had rights to resources, which again was determined by a variety of obligation to pay rent, land revenue, labor and to perform various services to the community. At the core of the administration of the *Ganvkari* were the distribution of land and the share in the income within the community' (cited in Trichur 2013: 51).

The land of the village was also sometimes leased out to a *Ganvkar* by paying a lump sum to the *Ganvkar*, these lands could be further leased out to other Ganvkars or the *mundkars*. However, the lands that were leased out to the *mundkars* were leased only for the purpose of cultivation or residence, the *Ganvkars* did not transfer the privileges as the *Ganvkars* of the village (Periera 1981: 90). Neverthless, the lands

that were leased out by the *Ganvkars* for the purpose of residence to the non-*Ganvkars* or *mundkars* came under the possession of the *Ganvkars* over a period of time. This privilege that certain Ganvkars enjoyed contributed to the development of new settlements in the form of in migration in to the village and also brought in additional revenue (*ibid*: 69). *Ganvkars* in a given village decided to make land grants available to outsiders, this again was on the assurance of a *Ganvkars* (Biden-Powell, 1900 cited in Trichur 2013: 52). The land leases to the *Ganvkars,* the non-*Ganvkars* and the mundkar was always done through a *Ganvkars*, who acted as a surety through the system of auctioning. The system of auctioning was one of the ways in which joint ownership of land was perpetuated. The auctioning ensured rotation of lands so that no particular land became the right or privilege of the particular *Ganvkars* (de souza 1979:64)

Mascarenhas-Keyes (2011) points out that 'the number of *ganvkars* varied in different villages, in villages were the numbers were small, they acquired large tracts of lands and in villages were the numbers were large they had joint ownership in some cases and individual ownership in some other cases. The number of bidders kept on fluctuating year after year, as the number depended on the birth and mortality rates'.

Further, the *mundkars* were made up of different occupational groups. These included carpenters, barbers, potters, blacksmiths and other artisans, who were usually paid by the community as a whole, and sometimes supplemented by the individual *ganvkar* (de souza 1979: 85-86). Thus, Siqueira and Henn (2001) rightfully state that the *Ganvkari* was a combination of the socio-ritual and the socio-economic. The *Ganvkari* was dominated by customs and traditions and personal mobility was curtailed.

b) The transformation of the *Ganvkari* to Communidade as cause of migration

Siqueira and Henn (2001) present that the Portuguese rule during its early stages brought about a rupture in the *ganvkari*, which was a combination of the socio-ritual and the socio-economic. The Portuguese tried to preserve the socio-economic by establishing the communidades, the communidades were merely an economic co-operative. The Portuguese in their initial period of rule preserved the communidade but destroyed the temples. The destruction of temples, meant that the deity that was kept in the temples was to be re-located to the new conquest areas, where the Portuguese were yet to penetrate later (Newman 2001). With the destruction of the temples, the metonymic relation between the *devi*, the *ganvkars* and the *ganv* was ruptured. The *Ganvkari* that was made up of all the settlers of the village, was reduced to only those who owned land. The *Ganvkari* got reduced to its economic function as the Portuguese were interested in the collection of revenue from the villages. In order to systematize the revenue collection, the titles of the land were recorded in the books. The ones who owned the land (usually the *ganvkars*) got themselves registered under the title of '*Associacao agricola'*. This lead to the de-*ganvkarisation* of the subaltern non land *ganvs* and reduced the *ganvkari* to an economic unit (Sequeira and Henn 2001). Because the communidade was centered around agriculture, those who owned the means of production with reference to agriculture got a right over the land, whereas the rest were isolated and left out. In this sense the *Gaonkari* lost its religio-ritualistic essence and got transformed into the economic centered communidade.

c) **Religious Transformation as a cause of Migration**

The lusitnisation process, which contributed to forceful conversion and destructions of temples led to the transfer of cultivable lands that were set aside for the maintenance and operation of the Hindu temples to the Catholic Church. The surplus from the produce that was earlier used to support families from the villages was now transferred to the various orders of the church (Trichur 2013: 59). Lands that belonged to the Hindu families were confiscated and sold if they failed to convert to Christianity (*ibid: 59*). Lands were also confiscated if in a joint family there was no male heir, as inheritance of property was allowed only from the father to the son and not any other member. The confiscated lands could be distributed to any one from the higher castes, who were willing to pay the taxes for the land. However, not all villages accepted the demands of the Portuguese. In certain villages such as AVC, the villagers resisted conversions, while there were many who did get converted but used subtle ways of resistance by continuing with the age old religious practices (Kamat 1985). The Portuguese were intolerant towards the approach of these villages and the lands of AVC villagers were taken away by the Portuguese administration and given to missionaries such as the Jesuits. The Jesuits influenced colonial policies which transformed the cultural and political landscape of Goan society (Subramanyam 1993: 84; Souza 1994: 72-76). The Portuguese also declared hereditary succession as illegitimate unless it was legitimately proved. This was possible only if marriages were sanctioned by the Church according to Christian laws. The traditional laws of inheritance was modified so that women converts could inherit when a Hindu head of the family died without a male heir (cited in Trichur 2013, Xavier 1861: 14-18) . Thus, the socio-ritual ruptures of the *ganv* (Siqueira and Henn 2001) vis-à-vis the forceful conversion of people to Christianity made several people to migrate to the

neighbouring kingdoms, either to escape conversions or to escape the ostracisation on being polluted by those who claimed themselves to be pure (Axelrod and Feurch 1996).

3.3: AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION AS A CAUSE OF MIGRATION

As already seen in 3.2.1.b, the transformation from *Ganvkarsi* to Communidade brought in several changes in the agrarian system prevalent at that time. The agrarian changes were drastic; the changes were made to suit the Portuguese administration or to suit the high castes. Nevertheless, these changes rendered certain parts of the conquest reach a stage of poverty. Mascarenhas-Keyes (2011) elucidates the changes in her book, in which she analyses the changes in a) private property b) share holding c) state intervention d) food production e) occupational structure. Let us briefly examine these in understanding, how agrarian transformation contributed towards migration as a means of livelihood among the Roman Catholic Goans.

a) Private Property

Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) presents that the Portuguese though initially respected the traditional law, they soon changed the policy by declaring the Crown as the owner of the village lands. The Portuguese conveniently started collecting rent from the villagers and confiscated property to suit their needs. Lands were appropriated by investors called as *cuntocares,* who were European, these investors turned to lands as a capital assets as they saw that investment in the sea trading did not provide with good returns. This transfer of lands from the villagers to the private persons led to the depletion of land from the villages. The communidades lost a considerable asset and the *Gaonkars* lost their hereditary right to ownership of part of the village lands. As a result after the 450 years of Portuguese rule approximately 40% of agricultural lands

in the old conquests came under the control of private owners. Therefore, what can be derived from this policy of the Portuguese was that, whoever could pay for the lands they could have the lands. The ones who could pay were not necessarily Goans or of a particular religion, sex or caste. Nevertheless, in comparison to the private lands, communidade land continued to be transmitted only among males[2]. However, though in most of the old conquest areas the Portuguese tried to transfer land of the villagers to the private persons or the Church[3], there was stiff resistance in AVC. This resistance from the villagers of AVC had a profound effect on the economy of AVC (see Correia 2011).

b) Shareholding

Along with the introduction of private lands, the outsiders from the village could have land through shareholding during the Portuguese rule. Though shares of lands were made available during the pre-Portuguese period, these shares of land couldn't be transferred to outsiders as there were rules and regulation. The great demand to subsidize Portuguese ambitions, expeditions and the sustenance of Roman Catholicism, which was a costly religion to maintain[4], made the Portuguese to open the doors of shareholding to outsiders. As the time passed by, '*zonn*' (a share in the profits of the communidade) was stopped, as some of the communidades became impoverished. This was mainly because the *communidade* was a system of community land, and was slowly loosing the land, which were being distributed to outsiders or institutions that could afford to purchase the land. As a result the *communidade* lost its exclusiveness and became a mockery of its principles of collectivity, heredity, hierarchy and patriarchy (Mascarenhas-Keys 2011). The Portuguese rule laid the foundation of capitalist penetration into the village agrarian economy.

c) State Intervention

The state began to interfere in the functioning of the *communidade* through the state officials using veto powers in important decision i.e. expenditure, loans and land leases. The intervention by the state denied the *ganvkars* their customary rights. Irked by the states interference the *ganvkars* resisted the state by not attending the meetings or through disruptive behavior during meetings. The state imposed fines to discipline such behavior. Nevertheless, the *ganvkars* felt threatened by the way the c*ommunidades* were transforming and taking a new uniform shape controlled by the state. To add to the misery of the ganvkars, the non-ganvkars and the *culacharins* were also agitating for greater say in the management of the *communidade* affairs and for better opportunities to acquire land rights. All of these rapid changes in the functioning of the *communidade* contributed to the loss of the elite position held by the *ganvkars*. The *ganvkars* felt threatened on their own lands as they faced competition towards livelihood from the non-*ganvkars*[5]. Furthermore, the village councils which were made up of the *ganvkars* was gradually modified from the turn of the 19th and early 20th century. The modification involved the inclusion of administrative board consisting of members appointed by the state.

d) Food Production

The Portuguese rule had a profound impact on the food production. Mainly due to shareholding and establishment of private property there was fragmentation of land. This was mainly because the *ganvkars* not only owned, controlled and distributed the land but the maintenance of land was also their responsibility. This responsibility slowly slipped into the hands of the non-*gavkars* by the 19th century. Due to the personal interest of the non-*ganvkars* the crop production suffered. The food production was insufficient for the people. Though the taxes increased, these were

hardly used for promoting agriculture. During the 1850s Gomes suggested, a series of reforms to boost the Goan economy. There was also a mismatch in the education, as in there was no relationship between what was taught and the skill needed for agriculture. It was also recommended that the state should promote fishing and the salt industry and there was a need to develop agriculture, commerce and industry. The Portuguese government did nothing to generate employment.

e) Occupational structure

The Portuguese also had a strong impact on the changes in the occupational structure in the villages. Mascarenhas-Keys (2011: 139) states:

> 'At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the majority of Goans were employed in agriculture, the others mainly as fishermen, toddy tappers, artisans and village servants. However, the nature of the relations of production changed over the course of four and a half centuries both with respect to those who continued to be employed in agriculture, and those who were obliged or attracted to pursue non-agricultural occupation'.

With the introduction of private property from the 16th century the domestic mode of production suffered[6], the growth of private property also lead to the development of horticulture gardens of palm groves and cashew trees, which in turn attracted demand for more labor. These labourers were the *mundkars*. The *Mundkar* were the low caste members. During this period some traditional occupations especially that of tailors, cobblers and carpenters gained prominence due to the demand created in the life style of the converted *ganvkars*. There also emerged such new occupations as *bordadore*s, milliners, butchers, cooks, bakers, priest and musicians. All of these occupations were required because of the Roman Catholic lifestyle which had incorporated the western lifestyle in one way or the other.

3.4: THE HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN AVC

International migration in AVC and other neighbouring villages i.e Assolna, Ambelim, Velim and Veroda) dates back to 1840s, wherein a few men of the higher

castes i.e *Chardos,* migrated to Portuguese colony of Mozambique and Angola. They migrated as there were opportunities for the educated in these colonies[7]. There is documented data of International migration from 'AVC' (Assolna, Ambelim, Velim, Veroda and AVC) from 1871 onwards. During this time a large number of Catholic Christians (Chardos) from these villages were recruited to work on the 'British India Steam Navigation Comapany'(BI). The recrutiment was so successful that by 1874 there were 360 Goans as General servants of the company –saloon and table stewards'. This number multipled in the years and by 1905 there were 4000 men from 'AVC' (Correia 2006 : 282). Let us unfold how this took place.

In 1871, Sir William Mackinnon, Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company (BI), launched a recruitment drive in Goa to attract Goans to work in the expanding passenger and cargo fleet. In Salcette, the Christians were enlisted chiefly from the villages of Ambelim, Assolna, Velim and AVC (AVC). Initially the intake by BI was from the ranks of the educated middle class Chaddi (Chardos) (Correia 2000: 282). The recruitment was so successful that by 1874 there were around 360 Goans all from AVC employed as 'general servants of the company saloon and table stewards'. The AVC sailors were devoted to their work, courteous and helpful. These qualities won the confidence of the European captains and also the chairman of the Company. Thus the demand for Goans on these ships went on increasing. By the 1890s Goans were promoted to displace Britons as Butlers, assistant pursers, storekeepers, pantry men, library stewards responsible for ordering books and running the ship's library. There was also a large intake of saloon and cabin crews, and by December 1898 the Shipping Register had 1,037 AVC seamen with their C.D.C (Continuous Discharge Certificate) (*ibid: 282*).

By the prospering economy of the Victorian and early Edwardian era, the BI fleet had reached a strength of 88 vessels. To man these ships more and more Goan Christians were employed especially from AVC, and by the year 1905 there were more than 4,000 men. The policy of recruitment followed by the BI was patriarchal, in which the Company's Goan crew were drawn from various Goan villages. The policy of recruitment followed by BI were drawn from a group of villages under their own Butler, who had almost monarchical powers to select the crew. Since majority of the Butlers were from AVC, a large number of men from AVC got recruited. Thus the expansion of the BI fleet proved a boon to the unemployed and agriculture dependent Goan Christians of the AVC, where BI became a household name because its employees did very well. They were able to afford to educate their children in Panjim and Lisbon and later in British India, where in due course AVC students passed out from the Universities of Bombay and Calcutta. The earnings of the Goan seamen helped in the general economy of AVC. The BI shipping office records show that the impoverished Goa Treasury received in the years 1910 to 1938 total remittances from Goan merchant seamen, by money order to the tune of 1,710,000 Pounds-Rs 2.28 crore and during the Second World War years (1939-1945), the total remittances by Goan seamen to their families in Goa by money order was 3,432,000 Pounds-Rs 3.88 Crore. These remittances helped the Goan land-owning elite families to retain their stately standards of country house life.

The shipping life brought many a benefits to the families of these seamen. Most of them invested their money in the education thinking about the future prospect of employement opportunities in India. The Butler was like a patriarch of the ship, who had recruitment powers. Since the fleet of ships was a huge number, many subordinates of various positions were needed to work. In such a scenario, the Butler

recruited many of his village friends irrespective of caste. Thus many low caste Christians got opportunities to work on the ship and later on the luxury cruises i.e. Princess and Oriental (P&O). This in turn contributed to the development of the low caste (*Mundcars/Sudras*). This process began around the 1940s. Though on one had the elite *Chaddis/Chaddos* of AVC (AVC) managed to maintain their high status there was on the other hand a transformation happening with respect to the low castes (*Mundcars/Sudras*), who had made it to the seas. And later those who did not make it to the seas, began to go to gulf around the 1970's. Thus, international migration continued and till day it is the most preferred means of livelihood among the Catholics of AVC. However, one might wonder what led to this culture of international migration. This question is answered in the next Section.

3.5: THE CONDITIONS IN AVC THAT CONTRIBUTED TO INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

AVC (Assolna, Ambelim, Velim, Veroda and Cuncolim) is historically famous for the rebellion of 1583 CE. One might wonder what the rebellion has got to do with international migration. At this point as we unfold the events that took place from 1542 till 1931, it will become clear as to how certain conditions in the society pushes its inmates to migrate and restore its lost glory.

The villages of Assolna, Ambelim, Velim and AVC were rich villages, it was a part of the Salcete *mahal*, which belonged to Ibrahaim Adil Shah, the sultan of Bijapur. These five villages contributed substantially to the Bijapur treasury. Each village was known for something or the other. Assolna was known for its fortress on the banks of river sal and many maritime transactions i.e. import and export took place in Assolna. It was also known for fishing, salt pans and paddy. The villages of Velim and Ambelim were known for coconut groves, paddy and salt pans. The village

of AVC was the largest of all, it was known for its temples and the bazaars associated with it. It was a place of meeting for many people from Goa, as it attracted people to the temples and fairs, making it a great pilgrimage centre. Agriculture bloomed in AVC due to the permanent fresh water. It was also know for its foundries of brass, copper and carpentry works and potteries. AVC was also famous for manufacturing arms for the Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. The Guns produced were so famous that Afonso de Albuquerque in his letter to El-Rei Dom Manuel I, commented that Guns produced in Goa were superior to that manufactured in Germany. Thus, the villages of AVC were prosperous due to agriculture and other occupations. AVC was like a 'Golden Hen', and any ruler would like to have it. In 1542 CE the Sultan of Bijapur ceded his *mahals* of Bardez and Salcette to the Portuguese crown and signed a treaty of peace (Correia 2006: 193).

The Portuguese having acquired the territory from the Sultan of Bijapur jumped on this 'Golden Hen'. They immediately increased the taxes two fold as compared to what the villagers were paying the Sultan. The *Gaonkars* refused to pay the taxes; this refusal coincided with the religious persecution ordered by the viceroy Dom Antao de Naronha. In September 1567 the captain of Rachol Fort Diogo Fernandes-Rodrigues began to destroy the temples in AVC. The mission of evangelization was entrusted to the Jesuits. The Jesuits moved to Christianize Salcette. They were successful in few villages except for AVC. The *Gaonkars* of AVC were infuriated by the Portuguese for levying high taxes, religious persecution, destruction of temples and loss of revenue due to the restriction on the religious rituals during temple fairs (Correia 2006: 194). The *Gaonkars* of AVC rebelled for eight long years from 1575 to 1583. In the course of this rebellion the *communadades* of AVC were confiscated and controlled by the Jesuits until 1759, when the Jesuits were

expelled from Goa by the orders of Marques de Pombal (*ibid*: 210). The *communidades* of AVC were later controlled by Portuguese and the Marathas until March 1931[8].

In 1931 the Governor of Goa decided to restore the three communidades to the *Gaonkars* of AVC. After almost three and a half centuries when the *Gaonkars* received their lands they received it with restriction imposed by the state. The lands were to be administered as per the Portuguese government and not through the ancient five member panchayat or the presidency of the '*vodil*'. A share of land possession could be obtained by paying to the Government whatever was fixed as the value.

The Portuguese rule transformed the villages from prosperity to poverty. The Portuguese rule changed the villages of AVC, which were centred around the temples to that of churches. The Portuguese rule transferred the power from *Gaoncar Mahajans* consisting of both the Brahmins and *Chaddi* to the Church and the State. Thus, the Villages of AVC underwent several changes during the Portuguese rule. As the *Ganvkari* system got converted to the Communidade system, there were many changes that took place in the villages of AVC. The biggest change was in terms of the ownership of land. Large areas of land were taken over by the 'conndade' (An Attorney appointed by the Portuguese). The said person collected taxes from the villagers. It is for the same reason that the Villagers of AVC had launched a revolt against the Portuguese in 1583 CE. However, the rebellion did not work for the villagers. It only made the matters worse. Thus the villagers, who controlled all the areas of land, were now left with only a little of the total areas. By the 18th Century CE, It was becoming difficult for the dominant Caste of 'Chaddo' also referred to as the 'Ganvkars' to continue with their dominance. During the same point of time there were also opportunities available for the educated in British India and also in the

Portuguese colonies. It is here in around 1840s that the exodus began to British India to get educated in English Schools so as to seek employment in British India and British colonies. There were also a few who migrated to East Africa (Mozambique and Nigeria) which were Portuguese colonies.

3.6: IDEAL TYPE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF 'AVC VIS-A VIS GOA' PRIOR TO THE PORTUGUESE CONQUEST

In AVC, the *Bamonn*'s were largely priest, who were also involved in other occupations i.e. agriculture, trade and commerce. The *Chaddho* or the Kshatriyas were the aristocratic class consisting of warriors and agriculturists (land lords). The Vaishya-Vanis consisted to traders and jewellers (*shets*). The *Sudir* or the *Sudras* were the labor class consisting agricultural labourers and service class meant to serve the upper three classes. The caste structure and hiearchy in AVC stemmed from the idea of purity of blood, similar to the idea of family dignity seen in different parts of India (see Xavier 1993: 40-41) (see figure 3.1)

Fig 3.1
Social Structure Pre- Portuguese

Bamon
Chaddi
Vayshya-Vani
Sudir
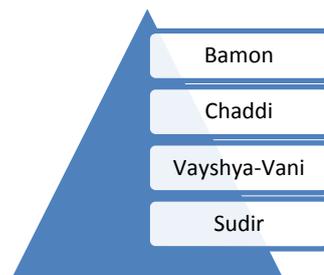
3.6.1: Transformation of the Social structure under Portuguese rule

During the Portuguese rule, the conversion of people to Christianity contributed to the clubbing of all the castes or rather sub-castes or jatis from the Brahim caste as one caste of *Bamonn* or Brahmin. However, in AVC the Brahmins or *Bamonn* never got converted. Hence, there are only Hindu *Brahmins/Bamonn* in AVC. The Hindu *Bamonns* of AVC usually consisted of merchants, traders, owners of

land and temple priest. Further, some of the *Kshatriyas/Chaddos* were converted to Christianity and this caste group was dominant both economically and politically, however what was missing was also religious dominance. Though they did have a dominant role in the temple, it was secondary to that of the *'Bamonns'*. When they got converted to Christianity they occupied the top most position in the Church hierarchy in AVC. As a result in AVC the dominant castes due to the sheer numbers were the *Chaddos* or the Kshatriya caste.

Further, when the Portuguese missionaries organized conversions the untouchable jatis or sub-caste of Mahars and Chambars were merged together as one in the Sudra caste among the Christians. Many of the artisians of the village of AVC i.e. Peasants *(Mundkars)*, Potters, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Masons, Barbers, Toddy Tappers, Bakers, Craftsman and the 'Render's' were also merged with *Sudras*. Thus the *Sudra* caste was the service caste. The service caste (*Sudras*) worked for the *Bamonns* and *Chaddos*. The relationship between the *Sudras* and the upper castes was similar to that of the Jagmani system. Wherein the Sudras, lived as tenents (*Mundcar*) in the land provided by the upper caste (*Bhatcar*) and provided all the services in exchange of kind or cash. The Mundcars were paid for their labour by giving them coconuts, rice, vegetables, fruits and sometimes cash. These *Mundcars* also worked on the agricultural lands of the *Bhatcars* along with the *Bhatcars*. The *Mundcars* had no land of their own and were always in a subordinating position. Thus one can see that the *Bamonns* and *Chaddhos* were the two advanced castes among the Hindus in AVC, where as among the Christians the *Chaddos* were the most advanced caste in AVC.

Consequently, the continuation of the caste system among the Christians in AVC and Goa can be credited to the large scale conversions of the whole village by

the Portuguese. Thus, the large scale conversion resulted in the creation of a new umbrella of religion covering the people following their centuries old custom of caste, thereby unaltering the social structure and the custom, superstititious beliefs and traditions (see Xavier 1993: 41-43, Correia 2006: 193-200, Trichur 2013:16). The Portuguese damaged and ruined all religious scriptures and structures fearing reversion of the newly conveted Christians to Hinduism. Due to which the deities of the Villages of AVC for example *'Shantadurga Kunkkalkarien'* from the village of Cuncolim was shifted to the nearby village of Fatorpa (Newman 2001: 127-130). However, there was a resistance on the part of the villagers of AVC in the acceptance of Portuguese rule and the new religion (Kamat 1999). The Dominant castes seem to have subtly accepted the Portuguese, due to the fact that they were allowed to continue with their caste hierarchies. However, the structure of the village was intact untill it was totally dependent on agriculture (See figure 3.5 for the social structure among Roman Catholics). Let us now examine the *Bhatcar/Mundcar* relationship.

Fig 3.2
Social Structure among Roman Catholics during Portuguese rule
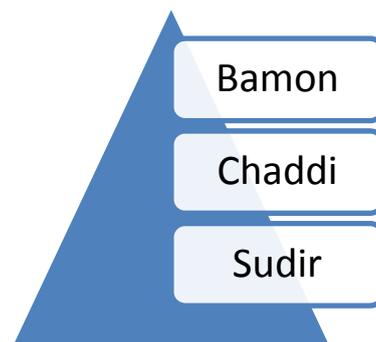
3.7: UNDERSTANDING THE *BHATCAR/ MUNDCAR* RELATIONSHIP FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Kosambi (1962), in his essay entitled 'The Village community in the Old Conquest of Goa, draws attention to this *Bhatcar-Mundcar* relationship. In this essay Kosambi highlights that the *Mundcars* had no association to the *Ganvkarsis* except that they were cultivators of the land and village servants. The question arises that who were these people? What role did they play in the village community. According to Kosambi (1962: 165), when the coastal areas of Goa were being populated, land was assigned by communal agreement to the settlers (*Ganvkars*) and also to the workers' households. The Latter category, while it included the people employed in the service of the *gaunkari,* did not include the *mundkars*, individuals bound by contract to the *gaunkars* (Trichur 2013:65). Trichur (2013: 66) further elucidates:

> 'Over the centuries, all other sections of rural Goa, except the *mundkars*, had access to the institutional apparatuses of the *gaunkari*. The *bhatkar-mundkar* relationship was out of the purview of the *gaunkari*. The redefinition of the *gaunkari* as an agrarian association in the 18th century reinforced the position of the landed elite…, this brought to the forefront the distinction between producers and non-producers defined by the relationship between *bhatkars* and *mundkars* over that between *gaunkars* and non-*gaunkars* in colonial Goa. While the *bhatkars* were predominantly upper caste Catholics and Hindus, Brahmins and *Chaddos*, the *mundkars* mostly comprised of *Sudirs* (Shudras) and *Kunbis* (predominantly Catholic) or Hindu peasant families like Gavdas or Naiks'.

The *mundkar* was thus a bonded servant of the *bhatkar* and the relationship was of subordination and dependence on the *bhatkar.* The *mundkar* was grateful and at the same time provided services to the *bhatkar* by working in the fields or the properties owned by the *bhatkar.* The *bhatkar* remunerated the *mundkar* by allowing them to build a house on the *bhatkar's* property. At the time of harvesting the *mundkar* was given a small portion of the produce along with some money (Souza 1979: 223-224). The *bhatkar-mundkar* relationship became more exploitative as the alienability of land under the *gaunkaris* increased (Trichur 2013: 67).

3.8: GOAN ECONOMY AT THE OUTSET OF LIBERATION AND POST-LIBERATION

Goan economy at the outset of liberation was an 'industry-less' economy, Until 1940s the Goan economy was stagnant. The Goan economy got a boost due to

the introduction of mining in Goa in the late 40's. Goa was long known for its low-grade deposits of iron and manganese ore. These deposits were not extracted as the low quality of the ore made the extraction uneconomical. The unexpected demand for iron ore from the post world war II economies of Japan and West-Germany gave impetus to the Goan economy (Trichur 2013: 78). The Portuguese soon took advantage of this situation, as at that time there was a growing demand for liberation and also India got its independence from the British in 1947. The Portuguese made a desperate move to cling on to Goa by trying to create a new class of Goans that would have stake in the Portuguese future (Newman 2001). The Portuguese administration issued 798 concessions for mining activities in Goa (Angle 1983: 43). The benefits of these concessions were taken up by the rich merchants i.e. Dempo, Salgaoncar, Chowgule and Timblo (Newman 2001). This development saw mining industry contributing 47.7 per cent of the total income but employed hardly 18 percent of the labour force (Kamat-Helekar 1964: 37-38). Thus, at the time of liberation in 1961 even mining which contributed Rs. 20 crore annually by way of foreign exchange could not be strictly classified as industry. At this point of time there were hardly 50 small scale units in the territory. The small scale industries mainly consisted of few cashew processing units, fruit canning units, carbon-dioxide plant, a canned food factory, a Mangalore tiles factory, match factory, a tyre retreading unit and a few laundry-soap-making units. These units only provided seasonal employment, depending upon the availability of raw materials. Further, the market size being small with a population of only 6 lakh people did not attract industrial enterprises. Goa's pre-liberation economy was basically an import oriented economy and supported by the exports of mineral ore. However, the situation changed post-liberation, when some of the entrepreneurs started realizing that the future prosperity lay by stepping in to

the industrial arena. Thus, after 1961 began the process of switchover from the pre-liberation import oriented trading economy to a post liberation production-oriented economy. The 'switchover' was activated by the planning board that was appointed to plan and execute 'planned development'. Thus, the government of Goa established developmental agencies i.e. Small Industries Service Institute, Maharashtra State Financial Corporation, Maharashtra Small Scale Industrial Development Corporation and National Small Industries Corporation. To finance the development of industries the following agencies were set up in Goa. These included the Industrial Development Bank of India, Industrial Finance Corporation and Small Industries Development Bank of India (Angle 2001: 38-41).

3.8.1: The development of Industrial Estates

The development of financial and planning institutions accelerated the pace of industrial development in Goa. This development boosted the government to take a step of setting up of the Goa, Daman and Diu Industrial Development Corporation (GDDIDC), this agency functions today in the name of Goa State Industrial Development Corporation (GSIDC). The main purpose of setting up of the GDDIDC was to develop industrial estates, these industrial estates were already a success in different parts of the country and the industrial estates were required to have necessary physical infrastructure in the form of built-up sheds, developed plots, supply of adequate water, electricity and communication facilities, so that entrepreneurs would be attracted. The government set up the first industrial estate in Corlim in 1966, a place close to Panaji. The Idea was to have industrial estates away from the urban conglomeration, yet have good connectivity for the workers. After, the setting up of Corlim industrial estate, the government set up industrial estate in San Jose de Areal near Margao. From then on till date the government has set up 18

industrial estates, which occupy 11000 hectares and accommodates nearly 1500 units. The industrial estate of Verna near Margao is the largest and best developed and the smallest is near Mapusa. Further, the development of these 18 industrial estates was mainly due to the investment subsidy made by the central government and state government from 1973, when Goa was identified as an industrial backward area. Having looked at the development of industrial estates, the question arises is that did these industrial estates provide employment to the youth and the working force? and to what. The answer to this question is yes, however industrial estates were able to provide employment only to a few Goans, as the majority were found to be either unwilling to work in the industrial estates for a meager salary or they were not employable as there was a mismatch between the skills required in most of the industries and the skills acquired by the job seeker.

3.8.2: Development of Tourism

The development of tourism took place in the mid 60's with coming of hippies from Nepal. The hippies were tired of Nepal and so they moved in to Goa. The hippies made the coastal belt in the old conquest their home by spending six months in Goa. The number of hippies kept growing, along with the hippies the there were also tourist from India who came to Goa. The first group of Goans who took advantage of this development were the *Kharvis*. The *Kharvis* refer to fishing community who were settlers of the coastal belt. They belonged to the lowest rung of the Catholic community in Goa and were deprived of their rights in during Portuguese colonialism as well post liberation when the tenancy acts were passed. However, the arrival of hippies and the tourist from India was a blessing in disguise for this community. The *Kharvis* soon began to get involved in tourism by renting out their homes and by providing food to the tourist and hippies. The *Kharvis* soon created structures at the

beach known as shacks and offered food and beverages to the hippies and the tourist who visited the beaches. The *Kharvis* gained significantly with their interaction with the hippies both economically and socially. Some of them also saw this involvement as a status enhancing exercise. The tourist arrivals at the coastal belt kept on increasing by 1973 there were 1, 27,758 tourists who arrived in Goa. It is from here that tourism began to develop with the Maharashtrawada Gomantak Party that ruled Goa at this point in time passing the tenancy laws that allowed the *mundkars* to have ownership of their homes and use it the way they want. Thus, the *Kharvis* benefited immensely and began to prosper. It was also around this time that the MGP government gave permission to the Tata group to build the Fort Aguada Beach Resort. The Fort Aguada Beach Resort was the first five star resorts in Goa and continued to be so till the 1980. The tourist arrivals kept on increasing and so did the involvement of the peasant/Kharvis. In a span of two decades from 1980 to 2000 a dozen five star resorts came up along with the hundreds of three star hotels and several other properties meant for accommodating the tourist. Finally, in 2011 there were 26,70,937 tourist arrivals out of which 4,35,945 were foreign tourist. On one hand the large business houses have been given all the patronage by the government to invest and operate thereby opening avenues for outsiders to come to Goa, while on the other hand the government has restricted the number of shacks on beaches thereby reducing the opportunities for the locals to turn to entrepreneurship in hospitality and improve their standard of living (see Trichur 2013: 101-107)

3.8.3: Education and Employment

Post 1961, a thousand elementary schools, ten odd secondary schools and five odd colleges were set up. Education before 1961 was a privilege of only the higher castes, but post-liberation the establishment of schools by the government in every nook and

corner provided children from all sections of the society equal opportunity to education (Botelho 2011). This development had a significant impact on the development of social capital in Goa. It provided an opportunity especially for the lower castes to break the shackles of upper caste hegemony in the public sphere, as well as in the area of migration among Catholic Goans, which would further have a far reaching consequence for the Catholics as a whole in Goa and which has been discussed in chapter eight.   The Goa University was set up in 1985. Today the state of Goa boasts of a thousand plus elementary schools, two hundred plus high schools, hundred plus higher secondary schools and thirty odd colleges. The adequate educational facilities available in Goa, turns out every year 9000 plus graduates and diploma holders; a 14,000 plus SCC and HSSC. Out of the 9000 plus graduates, there are 1000 plus graduating in engineering, medicine, pharmacy and architecture. All of these numbers add up to the number of educated job seekers.

While, the state takes pride in the educational progress made by the state, a deep concern is expressed at the levels of the society about providing gainful employment to the educated candidates seeking employment. A look at the Employment Exchange Register in 2014, presented that there were 2,88,765 candidates registered for employment, out of which 55 percent were candidates who had passed SSC and HSSC and the remaining candidates were graduates and diploma holders. Though this number appears large in percentage terms, when we compare it to the state population, it has not created any social tensions so far. The reason for this is that many of the job seekers move out of Goa in places such as Mumbai, Pune, Bangalore or Abroad. Secondly, the one's who stay back want a government job with a decent salary, until they get this ideal job they either stay at home or work at small firms. The question that arises here is that, why are just a small number of Goans

employed in the industrial estates, and the answer one gets is that they don't pay you well. Therefore the youth prefer to stay idle at home waiting for a government job and the parents don't find it difficult to feed the children. This is the scenario for the whole of Goa, but for the Roman Catholic families in AVC, the youth complete their required education and go abroad. Thus, if the government sectors opportunities and the foreign opportunities dry up, in the long run and in the future this would create social tension.

Presently, two sectors in Goa provide employment opportunities and these are industry and tourism. The tourism industry is a preferred industry for job, only in temporary terms. The job seeker works in the tourism industry by working at the star hotels only to seek the minimum experience in order to go abroad. Thus, in this case scenario it is only the Industrial sector that can create quality jobs. For the job seekers the quality of a job is determined by the salary of that job and in the present day the industrial sector has not been able to live up to the expectation of the job seekers. The job seekers in Goa don't like hard work, but these job seekers are endowed with an intelligent bent of mind and to whom skills could be easily imparted at lower training costs. (see Angle 2001: 38-46). To conclude, all of the factors discussed in this chapter, in varied combination contributed to the exodus of Goans especially Catholics to different parts of the globe.

End Notes

1. 'Ideal Type' this refers to the concept put forward by Weber (1978) and is used as a methodological tool.

2. Mascarenhas-Keys 2013, elaborates that private ownership in the villages not only represented a reduction in comunidade assets, but became a vehicle undermining the principles of collectivity, heredity, hierarchy and patriarchy. Private lands could be acquired by anyone who had financial resources and political influence and hence, the restriction of ownership, through inheritance, to an exclusive cluster of ganvkars was no longer tenable. The new landlords were either male, female, European or Goan, and in the case of the latter, could be of any religion or caste.

3. Private ownership was not confined to only individuals but institutions could also acquire property, hence the Catholic Church amassed a total of 7 percent of the private lands in Old Conquest Mascarenhas-Keys (2013).

4. The establishment of a large, baroque church and several chapels in each village, with rotating personal, required a considerable higher degree of maintenance, Catholicism was a congregational religion with an extensive liturgical calendar, and so it was far more expensive religion to maintain as compared to Hinduism (Mascarenhas-Keys 2013:133).

5. The non-ganvkars through better financial resources generated from the private holdings, government employment, trade etc. Were able to mount higher bids beyond the reach of those individual ganvkars who had few other resources of income (Mascarenhas-Keys 2013:135).

6. Under the domestic mode of production, family members and reciprocal exchange of labour at peak periods was widely practised. Those who had larger plots used mundkars (tenants) whose services were tied to the bhatcar (landlords), usually by the provision of a dwelling house and other forms of patronage (Mascarenhas-Keys 2013:139).

7. Edisa Moraes, a lady aged 89 years shared this information with me in 2005, when I was doing M.A at Goa University and also working on my M.A dissertation on a similar theme.

8. Correia, Assis.2006. Describes that how the Marathas and the Portuguese negotiated with each other on several occasion to keep AVC to themselves

CHAPTER 4

DIASPORA AND DEMOGRAPHIC RESTRUCTURING

This chapter begins with an analysis of the reasons for migrations with the help of the migration theories discussed in chapter two. The chapter focuses on the changes on the Social demography due to the large scale international migration from AVC. The chapter presents a demographic profile of the Diaspora households and analyses the significant changes in such demographic aspects as household composition, sex-ratio, educational qualification, standard of living, age composition and the number of in-migrants. The Chapter presents a picture of new demographic structure of the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim and addresses the issues raised by the locals.

4.1: INTRODUCTION

International migration is a multifaceted and an evolutionary phenomenon that contributes to the progress and growth of both the sending and host countries. In the sending country the remittances that the diaspora remits contributes to the enhancement of incomes, improvised standard of living, better access to facilities i.e. health and education that helps in the improvement in social capital. This fact is presented by several studies across the globe, however, what implication does international migration have on the demographic aspects of the sending country vis-à-vis the implication on the demographic aspects of those family members left behind is a research question that needs attention. Goa, as discussed and elaborated in the previous chapter has had a long history of international migration. The same holds true with reference to the locus of our study.

A study undertaken by the Centre for Development studies (2008) it presented that there were 16 percent of the households in Goa, who had an emigrant working

abroad spread across 43 countries of the world. Out of 200,000 estimated Goan Diaspora 56 percent lived in the Gulf region, 13 percent in Europe, 11 percent in South and South –East Asia, 10 percent in North America and 7 percent on ships. It also states that 74 percent of the emigrants are Christians and 50 percent of all international migration in Goa takes place from Salcete Taluka. The Villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim are located within the Salcete taluaka and are the nucleus of international migration in South Goa. The study also states that Goa received a total of rupees 700 crores, which made up for 33 percent of the revenue receipts and accounted for 6.3 percent of the state domestic product. The remittances received were mainly used for daily consumption, education of children and health of the left behind, along with building of house or buying of property or flat. Further, the per capita income and the per capita savings were found to be much higher among the Diaspora household compared to the ones residing in Goa. What can be made out here is that International migration plays a significant role in the development of Goans, especially Roman Catholics. However, what changes this contributes to the demographic landscape of AVC needs to be examined. Lets us now examine international migration among the Roman Catholics Goans with references to the questions as to who migrates and why he/she migrates.

4.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANT

The theories of migration already discussed in chapter two, shall provide us with answers to the questions as to why do people choose to migrate, where they choose to migrate, how they succeed in migration, what does this migration do to the sending society and lastly who are the people migrating. The last question holds a lot of significance because this has an effect on demographic and economic aspects of the sending society. Thus, in examining who migrates where and why in the villages of

Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim, we would incorporate the theories of migration that we discussed in the second chapter.

4.2. 1: Why do people migrate?

Why do people migrate in AVC, if we could would use Lee's theory of Push and Pull factors to analyze the answer to this question we could point out that in the case of AVC, international migration among the Christian is not restricted to caste or class. Therefore we will pick the commonalities among them in applying Lee's theory. In applying this theory we are not interested in the micro individual rather the macro social. In the first place let us examine what pushed people in the case of AVC, the push factors have been historically related to the government's policy of disrupting the traditional village economy, which forced people from AVC to migrate to regions that pulled them towards them. These regions were much more developed compared to AVC. The economies of the regions that people from AVC migrated were better as compared to AVC or Goa (see Lee 1996: 47). Further, Piore (1979) presented the dual labour market theory, The dual labour market theory is based on the premise that economic structures of the developed countries are structured in such a way that there is a permanent demand for foreign labour, this permanent demand for foreign labour marks the increase in international migration (Piore 1979). The dual market labour theory presents that, developed countries of the world have dual labour market, the economies of such countries produce jobs in both the primary and the secondary sector. The primary sector jobs are high in wages, promotion, security and status, whereas the secondary sector jobs are low on wages, promotion, security and status. The secondary sector jobs are conceived as jobs below the dignity to which the local population refuses to take up, this refusal in accepting low status jobs by the

local population creates a vacuum, that is finally filled by the workers from foreign countries (*ibid 1979*).

In AVC the Non resident Goans (NRG) don't mind doing any job in an alien land or place, as they consider no job below their dignity. The main concern is the pay, so long as they are paid two or three times what they would have earned in Goa or India it is fine to work in the foreign countries or international waters. Thus, the primary aim of the Goans is purely a means to an end, a high paying job to accumulate quick money so as to climb up the social ladder or maintain and sustain a high status in the society. See table 4.1 to understand why people migrate in AVC.

Table 4.1
Why people migrate in AVC, Goa?

Reason	Frequency	Percent
Better Standard of Living	121	69.54
Improvement of Status	26	14.94
Maintaining Status	2	1.15
Better Income	25	14.37
Total	**174**	**100**

A look at the table 4.1 presents before us that 69.54 percent of Roman Catholic Goans in AVC migrate for the reason of better standard of living. Better standard of living as a reason for migration accounts to two thirds of the total number. The second most prominent reason is shared by improvement in status, which accounts to 14.94 percent and better income which accounts to 14.37 percent. Both of these reasons are interrelated and if we add both than that accounts for 29.36 percent. Further, all the three above reasons are inter related and account for 98.85 percent. The better income contributes to better standard of living and hence improves one's status.   Only 1.15 percent of the people said that their relative migrated for

maintaining the existence status. There were no responses to the reason of seeing the globe and caste discrimination. Thus, from the above we can conclude that AVC Goans migrate mainly to achieve an end and that is better status, through better income and better standard of living.

4.2. 2. Who migrates?

In any analysis of who migrates, it is important to review the distinctiveness of the migrants so that we can accordingly understand their motives and their resultant consequences on the demography, economy and society. Further, in analyzing who migrates we would incorporate two micro theories namely, Larry Sjaastad's human investment theory and the social capital theory by Putnam (1966) and Bourdieu (1986). Let us begin with Larry Sjaastad who in his essay, *The Cost and Returns of Human Migration* (1962) elaborates on the role of the individual migrant as an important agent in the decision making process of migration. Sjaastad provides with detailed analysis of the individual migrant's goal to migrate by presenting the factors that contribute in the decision to migrate. He lays importance on the price that the individual migrant pays through his/her decision to migrate. This price is not merely limited to the investments made to relocate to a new place or a new house but it also includes non monetary aspects to which he referred to as 'psychic costs' i.e. the fear of feeling home sick in the absence of the near and dear ones, the fear of not getting a job and the fear of the new place and conditions. The individual migrant goes through all these fears but is hardly investigated or documented (Sjaastad 1962: 80-85).

At the same time Sjaastad identifies that along with the cost there are also returns that the individual migrant gains both in monetary terms and non-monetary terms. For example if a person worked in Goa as a barman and migrated to London, the said person would definitely earn ten times more for the same job in London as

compared to Goa. Along with this monetary gain the person may also gain in non-monetary aspects such as soft skills, foreign exposure of working in a multicultural set up and overall a better standard of living. Consequently, when an individual migrates he/she measures both the costs as well as the returns. Therefore, what we find in Sjaastad's theory is, the emphasis on the individual migrant and the varied factors that contribute in the decision to migrate, which in turn helps us to understand the dynamics of migration from the perspective of how migration is an investment to which the individual agent measures the cost and returns and when the returns compensate the cost the individual migrant decides to migrate. The table 4.2 presents who migrates on the basis of religion.

Table 4.2
Religion of the Diaspora

Religious Background	Frequency	Percent
Hindu	10	5.75
Christian	164	94.25
Total	**174**	**100**

In the table 4.2, it emerges that AVC Christians have migrated to greater extent as compared to any other community: They account for 94.25 percent of International migration in AVC. Nevertheless, what is significant among the Goan Catholic Diaspora is that they left Goa by analyzing the gains over the 'psychic costs'. The Catholic Goans have been able to calculate that the monetary gains outclass the psychic losses. The monetary gains have been emphasized and educated in to the young minds through the process of socialization, to such an extent that International migration is the way to success among the Roman Catholic Goans in the Villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim. Further, it was observed majority of the Goan Catholic

Diaspora migrated in the age of 18 to 25 years. A look at the table 4.3 gives us the full picture.

Table 4.3
Age of Migration

Age of Migration	Frequency	Percentage
18-25	146	83.91
25-30	26	14.94
30-35	1	0.57
35-40	1	0.57
Total	174	100

From the table 4.3, it can be concluded that 83.91 percent migrated between the age of 18 to 25 years, followed by 14.94 percent between the age of 25 to 30 years. We can further state that 98.89 percent of the emigrants migrated within the age of 30 years, out of this 83.91 percent were in the age group of 18 to 25 years. This shows that emigrants tend to migrate when they are young, much before marriage, as the average age of marriage for men is 30 years among the Goan Roman Catholics. Thus, this finding adheres to the theory of human capital that states that migration is highest among younger and active population in the sending society.

Further let us examine, who migrates with the help of the social capital theory (Putnam 1993, Bourdieu 1997). The Roman Catholic Goans from Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim migrated in large numbers to build a social capital or maintain their existing social capital vis-à-vis power relations. However, before we try to decode social capital as a motivation to migrate, it is essential to shed light on the concept of social capital. The concept of social capital is polsemic and is ever changing. However, in our study we shall focus on the definitions and works of Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu.

The social networks once established are utilized to have access to the opportunities and resources. Thus, the social networks are established not only through relationships based on family, kinship and friendship but also through professional relationship based on occupation.

Let us now apply Putnam's concept of Social capital in understanding who migrates in AVC. Putnam's perception of Social Capital has two aspects, First he talks of social relations and networks which are used for reciprocal gains, The Roman Catholic Goans were able to migrate in large numbers due to the network of relations who had migrated to different places, a person wanting to migrate would ask his relatives or friends to help him to migrate, these relatives or friends would help because of the mutual thrust and love and mutual benefit of the family and village as a whole. As in the village each one lived in a brotherhood, once he migrated he was then obliged to be loyal to the one who helped him to migrate. In a course of a generation the one who migrated slowly and steadily acquired a position which enabled him to help others and thus secured a social capital for himself and his family. Thus, this can be seen with reference to subordinate castes of Shudra's in AVC as well as within the subordinates of the dominant Chardo caste. Second he states that for some the access to social capital was inherited through the social standing of their kin or family, however in AVC a dominant class would continue to migrate in order to maintain their access to Social Capital vis-à-vis their future generation. Thus, what we see in AVC is that, if the father migrated, then the son and the grandson continued to migrate with an improvement in the occupational hierarchy. If the father was working as a utility then the son would go as a cook or chief steward, and the grand son would be motivated to study hard and join as an officer or engineer.

Further, if we apply Bourdieu's definition of Social Capital, Social capital is defined as "the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1997: 48). Bourdieu tried to relate social capital on the basis of the dimensions of the network and the level of preceding social capital amassed and controlled by the agents (Bourdieu 1986: 249). For Bourdieu, the most important motive behind the actors act of forming association and links was profit. The profit does not primarily refer to economic profit but this profit had a tendency of ultimately reducing to the economic aspect. The historical and social conditions (see chapter 3) contributed to the 'we' feeling and brotherhood among the people of AVC. Thus, when certain Roman Catholics migrated in 1870s and prospered it motivated many others to follow suit. This migration was possible because of the membership to AVC as a whole. As the membership enhanced the ability of the Roman Catholic actor to advance her/his own interest to the extent of transforming her/his social capital into economic capital.

Further, Bourdieu presents to us that the entire structure of capital is built on the basis of the position one occupies in the social space. The actors make use of resources made available on the basis of the position they already belong to in order to amass more social capital. Therefore, what we get to understand here is that the position that the actor occupies acts both as a cause and effect to amass future social capital. According to Bourdieu social capital of the past helps in the perpetuation of unequal distribution of resources (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

In the above discussion we have seen that access to migration as a means to achieve social capital was based on social networks and group membership. Thus, the Roman Catholics of AVC migrated collectively and also tried to maintain mutual

reciprocity and recognition. As stated in chapter three under 3.6.1 that the Hindu caste system continued inspite of the conversion of the Hindus to Chritianity. The continuation of Caste was a result of the reluctance of the people converted to part with caste, which meant that the converts parted with religion but not with caste, this resistance was mainly due to the century's old established social structure in the villages of AVC, which was based on caste. Therefore, as discussed earlier, in AVC the two caste groups of *Chardos* (Khatriya) and *Sudir* (Shudra) continued to coexist among Roman Catholics. The relationship between these two as discussed in chapter three under 3.7 was of superordination and subordination. Thus, in this context does the same relationship continue till day in the context of international migration in AVC holds significance? And also what are the reasons of migration. As a result we have portrayed in 4.4 as to whether international migration is limited only to a particular caste group or its open to all. A look at the table 4.4 presents to us that both the caste groups have been migrating and the percentage of Chardos and Sudras are depicted in table number 4.4.

Table 4.4
Caste of the Diaspora

Caste of the Migrant	Frequency	Percent
Chardo	98	56.32
Sudra	76	43.68
Total	**174**	**100**

A total number of 56.32 percent were Chardo's and 43.68 percent were Sudra's. Why didn't all *Chardo*'s migrate or all *Sudra's* migrate. The answer is that not all the members within a particular caste feel relatively deprived so in the first place for a person to migrate she/he should be relatively deprived. Runciman (1966: 10) defines relative deprivation as 'a feeling of deprivation in relation to others'.

Further, according to Runciman the sense of relative deprivation is established when a person feels deprived of something that he does not have but others have and that something that he wishes to have can be obtained in the near future. Such a feeling of relative deprivation is universal and can be found in all types of societies. In societies where there is added economic disparity, one will see migration as highly rewarding for large number of people (Stark & Taylor 1989). Thus, the need to migrate emerges not purely due to economic deprivation but more due to the need to improve one's status in context of a particular reference group. The Shudra's in AVC have been subordinated for centuries. The shudra's have migrated not only to improve their economic conditions but also their social standing.

Further, Stark and Taylor (1991), substantiates that the people who migrate have twofold effect on the welfare of those members who are left behind. Firstly, remittances sent to the family members in the households increases the income level and secondly, the increase in the income is relative to other people in the vicinity or the society (*Ibid. 1991*). The increase in income in certain families brought about due to migration motivates many others to also migrate as they feel relativly deprived compared to those who have migrated and enhanced their incomes. This whole process of relative deprivation contributes to a cycle of migration as everyone in the given society want to match up with the ones who have migrated (Massey *et al.* 1998).

This part of theory could be applied to all caste groups in AVC. Consequently, the relative deprivation theory only explains migration in Assolna, Velim and Cucolim in the context of the deprivation. But for those who are not deprived they migrated to maintain their social positions intact, which we have seen through the theory of social capital.

Among the Goan Diaspora in AVC we can make another additional observation regarding why the Roman Catholic Goans have continued to migrate in larger numbers. This is mainly because once you establish a certain standard of living and you already have the resources to sustain it even if you're not working then such a situation gives you the freedom to migrate if you want to migrate. This is referred to as the "U shaped correlation between migration and income (Docquier & Rapoport 2005). This is a significant point that helps us know the reason why the Roman Catholics in Goa continue to emigrate in large numbers in spite of the fact that their incomes have increased.

4.2.3: Where they migrate?

As per Goa migration study (2008) Goans were found to be residing in 43 countries of the world. In the case of AVC, we tried to classify the migration on the bases of regions. We classified migration to six regions as 1. Gulf 2. International Waters (Ship) 3. Europe (U.K, Portugal etc) 4. Pacific and Oceania (U.S, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) 5. Africa 6. South East Asia. These six regions were put forth in the form of a question where the respondents had to select the place of migration of their family members in the questionnaire on demographic profile of the diaspora household. Table 4.5 depicts the place of migration.

Table 4.5
Regions of migration by the family members of a Diaspora Household

Regions of Migration	Frequency	Percent
Gulf	36	20.69
Ship	96	55.17
Europe	35	20.11
America /Australia/New-Zealand	7	4.02
Total	**174**	**100**

From the table no 4.5 it can be seen that Goans migrate to regions, where they can capitalize on their income. If their income to these regions is not beyond the investments made, from the above table we see that 55.17 percent of the Catholic Goans as well as Hindu Goans have sought employement onboard ship. Also Goans tend to migrate to those countries or regions, where they get the maximum returns, this is what explains 4.02 percent of AVC Goans immigrating to the US, Australia, Canada and New-Zealand to maximize highest returns. For example, in one of the Diaspora household we saw that a person who worked on the ship as a chef, left the shipping job after having worked for 14 years and migrated to Cayman Island in the U.S as he was offered a pay package of four thousand dollars per month.

Further, the unskilled individuals are more likely to migrate to countries, where we find the situation of dual labour market. This is what explain to us the immigration of 20.11 percent of Goans to Europe, especially UK and the Pacific and Oceania. What we see in these regions is taht the money offered to the locals and them is same, but the locals are not willing to work as the pay is less, where as for the Goans this remuneration after conversion to the rupee is much higher then what they would have earned in Goa. We also find migration of skilled workers to Europe, US, Canada, Australia and New-Zealand, which accounts to a total of 24 percent as they earn more then the locals. Also, individuals have a propensity to move to those regions where the cost of migration is low. This is done by migrating to those places where there is a network of fellow countrymen or friends and family (see Pedersen *et al* 2009). This is true with reference to Gulf migration from AVC, which account for 20.69 percent of the migration

4.2.4: How they migrate: Models of Migration

In AVC, we were able to observe four models of migration. The models presented here are on the basis of case histories of families that have migrated and the empirical observations of the researcher in the field.

a) **Migration through Sailing:** We have elaborated the first model with the help of D'souza family. The first to migrate from the D'souza family was Christopher D'souza. Christopher D'souza was 22 years old when he got an opportunity to work on BI shipping in 1884. Mr. D'souza was the eldest child in the family. Chistopher had two brothers and one sister. All four of them had only completed *premier grau* (Primary education) in Portuguese medium but knew to speak in English as their father Roberto worked for the British India Post and Telegraph services in Bombay. Christopher joined the BI as a cleaner through a recruitment drive that was conducted in Margao. Although the recruitment drive took place in Margao, he had to travel to Bombay for the other formalities i.e. medical and passport clearance. The BI shipping was expanding its services in 1889 and so it wanted to hire more staff members. Sensing an opportunity Christopher asked both his brothers if they were interested, Christopher's youngest brother refused the offer initially[1] but later on gave positive response, as both the brothers agreed he requested the butler[2], who was from Assolna to talk to the captain. In 1890 both of Christopher's brother's who were two to four years younger were sailing. As they sailed across the globe on the passenger ship they began to accumulate wealth for their marriage and for the building of a house. All three of them got married one after the other, Christopher and John continued residing in their ancestral house, while Joquim build a separate house on their ancestral land. In the

course of time they had children, Christopher had four children two daughters and two sons, John had three children and all were daughters, while Joquim had six children; four daughters and two sons. All three of them and their wives knew about the opportunities in British India especially Bombay and Calcutta; however the prerequisite for jobs in British India was English education.

The wives along with their children migrated to Belgaum in Karnataka for the purpose of English education[3]. The Boys went to one of the most prestigious Jesuit school namely St.Paul's and the girls studied in St.Joseph Convent High School. After finishing their schooling the families returned to Goa. Christopher's eldest son, Jacob joined the ship as a steward in 1925, while his second son Emmanuel, who had done his further studies in St. Xavier's College, Bombay got an opportunity in Kenya and migrated to Kenya in 1932, whereas his elder daughter Rita became a nun, the younger daughter Emma got married to a chief steward from Velim and had three children. Chirstopher's elder son Jacob got married and had two sons and one daughter. Jacob's children also went to Belgaum for their schooling and all three of them after finishing with their schooling came back to Goa. Jacob's eldest son Bambino became a priest in 1947 (a priest in Goa in your family meant an increase in your status and was of great prestige for the family), while second son Peter did his further studies in St. Xavier's College, Bombay and then he also went to Kenya in 1952 at the age of 23 with the help of his uncle Emmanuel and took up a job there, he later went to London in 1964 and from London he went to Canada in 1972 and got married to a Canadian women in 1974 at the age of 45 he had no children and lives there till day.

Whereas, Christopher's younger son Emmanuel established his family in Kenya. He had two daughters and a son and they were schooling in Kenya itself. Emmanuel's son Ryan went to London in 1957 for further studies and became a doctor. Ryan got married to an English lady in 1967 at the age of 31. Ryan had only one son Reegan, who was brought up in London, but now lives in USA with his wife and two children[4]. Thus, what one see's in the case above is that sailing across the world provided the *Tarvotis* (sailors) with consistent income. This income was mainly invested in building a house and education of the children. The building of the house contributed to the improvement in status and the investment in education helped in the perpetuation of the improvement in status. The opportunity of working on the ship also helped in development of human resource and accumulation of economic resources, which together contributed in the development of social capital. The development of the social capital through the twin progress in education and income levels provided those with the aspiration to immigrate to Europe the required fuel to take them there. We could say that working on the ship provided one the passport or a launch pad to migrate to foreign nations. The migration to foreign nations further reflected the status and prestige of the family.

Figure 4.1
Migration through sailing: Model No-1

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                        ┌──────────────────────┐
                        │    Roberto D'souza    │
                        │  (Bombay 1864-1889)   │
                        └──────────┬───────────┘
           ┌───────────────────────┼───────────────────────┐
  ┌────────────────┐      ┌────────────────┐      ┌────────────────┐
  │   Christopher  │      │      John      │      │     Jouqim     │
  │  (BI-Shipping  │      │  (BI-Shipping  │      │  (BI-Shipping  │
  │   1884-1914)   │      │   1890-1920)   │      │   1890-1923)   │
  └────────┬───────┘      └────────────────┘      └────────────────┘
    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│    Jacob     │   │   Emmanuel   │
│ (BI-Shipping │   │ (Kenya 1932-80)│
│  1925-1959)  │   │              │
└──────┬───────┘   └──────┬───────┘
   ┌───────┴───────┐      │
┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
│ Bambino  │ │    Peter     │  │     Ryan     │
│ (Priest  │ │ (Kenya 1952- │  │ (London 1957 │
│  1947)   │ │    1964)     │  │   till day)  │
└──────────┘ │ London: 1964-│  └──────┬───────┘
             │    1972      │         │
             │ Canada: 1972 │  ┌──────────────┐
             │   till day   │  │    Reegan    │
             └──────────────┘  │ (USA 1993 till│
                               │     day)     │
                               └──────────────┘
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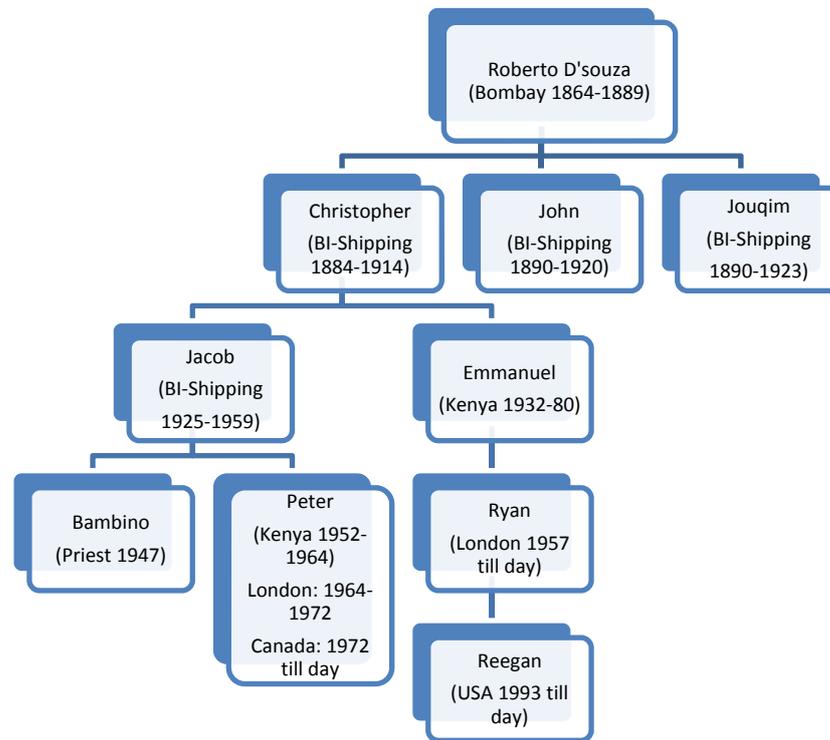
b) **Migration to Portugal and UK**: The second model involves post liberation international migration. This model denotes migration to Portugal and then to UK via Portuguese passport. It all began in 1961 when the government of Portugal provided its citizens from Goa the choice to migrate to Portugal or to stay with the Indian union. The Coutinho family made the best use of this opportunity and all of the family except one of them stayed back. The Coutinho family consisted of seven members, The grand-parents (Zuziko and Maria), parents (Mark and Melinie) and three children (Royston, Kenneth and Zarina). The grand- parents, parents, Kenneth and Zarina migrated to Portugal in 1962, whereas Royston who had developed a nationalist mind-set stayed back. The grand-father Mr. Zuziko passed away in 1971 and Mrs. Maria followed the next year. After being in Portugal for ten years Kenneth and Zarina both got married to fellow Goans in Portugal. Kenneth had two sons

from his marriage to Sienna, after the birth of their sons (Esmond and Elmer), Kenneth and Sienna migrated to London in 1986 through a Goan friend. Kenneth was working in the health sector and Zarina worked as a secretary in a firm. Their sons got educated in London and are now working in London. On the other hand, Zarina the sister of Kenneth stayed in Portugal with her family consisting of her husband (Apolonio), son (Armando) and daughter (Amanda).

Whereas, Royston who had stayed back in Goa got married to Rebecca and had two sons (Ronny and Rocky) and one daughter (Reena), all the three children went to the local school for their education. Royston's sons completed 12th standard, did a course in Fr. Agnel Polytechnique, Verna in the skill of fitter and welder and thereafter they joined the ship. Whereas, the daughter did her graduation and B.Ed and became a teacher in an Archdiocese school, all three of them are married and have two children each. Ronny and Rocky had applied for the Portuguese passport two years ago through a firm in Margoa, *i.e.* Jet International. Ronny and Rocky have already got their Portuguese passports and will be leaving for Portugal along with their respective wives and children during the month of December 2015. Thereafter, they will proceed to London and work in the hospitality sector. The offer letter in the hospitality sector was possible due to the influence of their uncle Kenneth, who lives in London. Their Uncle through his friend, who is again a Goan has arranged for the Jobs. The process for the Portuguese passport cost them rupees two lakh each. The cost of the Portuguese passport is actually more than this amount, but since both of them had their relatives in Portugal some of the procedures were taken care by them. Thus, what can been seen

through the Coutinho family is that migration to Portugal was used as an entry to UK. The family member who stayed back had two sons, they both worked on the ship and after having worked for sometime invested some money in the acquisition of the Portuguese passport. Through the Portuguese passport they are now citizens of Portugal and hence part of the European Union.

Every year the Portuguese Consulate in Goa receives 1000 odd applications for acquiring Portuguese nationality. The two famous firms in Margao namely, Jet International and Travco's receives a hundred inquires each, twenty percent of which request to start the process. The quest for Portuguese passport is based on the idea of several benefits that one gets after acquiring one. Firstly, you become a part of the European Union and with this access to any of the countries in the Union is unrestricted. Apart from this a 170 countries provide you the option of travelling without visa or visa on arrival. Secondly, the job that you seek entitles remuneration on par with the locals, this amount is roughly four times or even more then what you earn in India. Thirdly, you get access to a better quality life. It is all these factors that propel Goans to seek a Portuguese passport. In 2014, a total of 1660 Goans surrendered their Indian passports and in 2015, the number was even higher at 2158. On an average nine persons surrender their Indian nationality (passports) on a daily basis. The numbers however could be even higher as there are many Goans in other parts of the world, who surrender their Indian passports for Portuguese ones (Times of India, Panjim, 25th October 2015).

Figure 4.2
Second Model: Migration to Portugal and UK
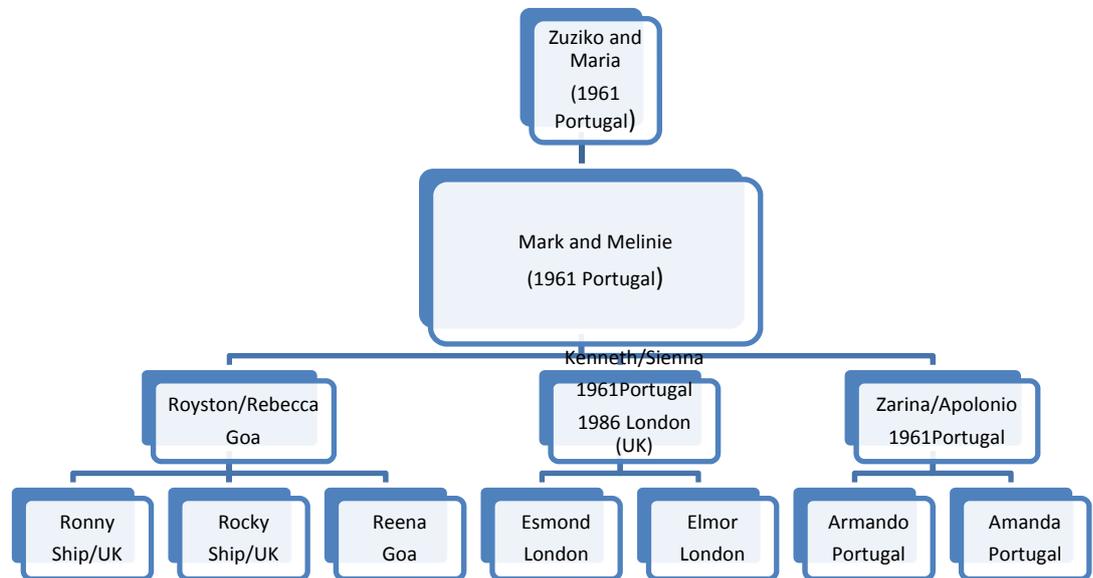
c) **Gulf Migration:** The third model of migration involves migration to the Gulf. This model emerged in the 1970's due to development of the Gulf States as a result of oil boon. We shall make use of the Mascarenhas family to elaborate this model of migration. The Mascarenhas family consisted of five members i.e. the parents (Agusto and Brenda) children Ramiro, Brian and Bruno the grand-parents had already passed away. Augusto, who had done his S.S.C in St. Xaviers High School, Velim belonged to the low caste and through an agent in Bombay migrated to Kuwait in the Gulf to work as an office boy leaving behind his children and wife. Agusto actually wanted to go on the ship and therefore he had gone to Bombay. Agusto was staying in the club in Bombay and going everyday to Colaba and Mazgaon to seek a job on the ship. One day in the month of August 1972, Augusto's friend told him of a vacancy for Kuwait as an office boy. Augusto had already tried for one month

to go on the ship and had also exhausted his resources. Thus, seeing an opportunity he sent a word with a villager to tell his wife about it and that he would like to join. Agusto wasted no time and went for the interview the next day at a hotel in Nariman point. He got selected but the agent asked him to pay one thousand rupees, which was a big sum in those days. So he prayed for time and promised the agent that he will go to Goa and get the money.

Augusto returned to Bombay after three days and gave the money by selling his wife's golden bangle. Thereafter, after a week he flew to Kuwait and joined the office. He was offered a salary of 50 KD. There was no looking back. Augusto after having spent ten years in Kuwait got promoted as an accountant as he proved his mathematical abilities. This development propelled him to take his wife and children to Kuwait. Augusto's wife had completed her studies up till 12th standard. Augusto had arranged a job for her in an insurance company in Kuwait. The children were sent to an Indian school for completing their education. After Ramiro and Brian finished their education they came back to Goa as the education after schooling was expensive in Kuwait. Both of them went to St.Xavier's College, Mapusa and after graduating in Science and Arts respectively they went back to Kuwait. Ramiro was offered a job in an Oil company as a trainee analyst, while Brian joined the Kuwait Airways. In the mean while Bruno completed his schooling and Bruno aspired to be a pilot. Bruno's father arranged for resources with the help of Ramiro and Brian and send Bruno to Canada. Bruno became a pilot after four years and joined Cathay Pacific airlines as a trainee.

Ramiro was promoted after five years of service and then got married to Zelia and had two children. Ramiro then applied in the American company

Mobil oil and got an offer letter to join them in Los Angeles, where he stays now with his wife and children, whereas Brian got married to Sheena and has a son and lives in Kuwait. While Bruno has married a Canadian girl and lives in Canada and has no children till date. Augosto and Brenda left Kuwait in 2005 and now live in Velim in their magnificent house.

d) Migration to the First world: This involves migration to the developed countries i.e. Australia, Canada, U.K and America. The fourth model is mainly based on the linkages of the family members or friends from the second and third model.

4.2.5: How long they have been migrating?

It was found that the majority 57 percent of the Diaspora has been migrating for more than 10 years and out of these 57 percent, a total of 20 percent had migrated for more than 20 years. It was also seen that 14 .9 percent of the emigrants household had their members migrating for less than five years and a total of 27.5 percent have been migrating for 6 to 10 years. Most of them have migrated during their youth. The remittances that the youth send and the material prosperity acquired and displayed has a spillover effect that has been dealt with in great detail in chapter eight. The table 4.6 gives us a picture of the Number of years spent by a Goan emigrant abroad.

Table 4.6
Numbers of years abroad

Numbers of Years	Frequency	Percent
1.0-5 yrs	26	14.94
2.6-10yrs	48	27.59
3.11-20 yrs	65	37.36
4.Above 20 yrs	35	20.11
Total	**174**	**100**

4.2.6: Frequency of Visits

The table 4.7 presents us the number of times the Goan diaspora visits Goa. The first second and the category of visit namely once a year and twice a year were largely seen among those Goans, who worked on the ship. Whereas, the Goans who worked in the Gulf visited once in two years as they usually signed contracts that lasted for two years. The last category of once in five years was mainly seen among those Goans who had migrated to U.S, U.K, Australia or Canada.

Table 4.7
Frequency of Visits by the Diaspora

Frequency of Visits	Frequency	Percent
1.Once a year	106	60.92
2. Twice a year	28	16.09
3. Once in two years	32	18.39
4. Once in Five years	8	4.60
Total	**174**	**100**

4.3: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE DIASPORA

HOUSEHOLD

Let us try to understand the demographic aspects of the Diaspora household.

4.3.1. House hold composition

The house hold composition of the Diaspora household comprised of Children, Elderly and Adults. The house hold composition was further divided on the bases of male and female. Let us have a look at the table 4.8

Table 4.8
House hold composition

Category	Frequency	Percent
Adult Male	79	11.36
Adult female	136	19.56
Elderly male	70	10.07
Elderly female	149	21.43
Children	261	37.55
Total	**695**	**100**

From the table 4.8 it can be seen that, adult males make up only 11.36 percent of the household, where as adult females were far more than male with 19.56 percent. The same was true for the elderly; elderly females were double of that of elderly male with 21.43 percent as compared to only 10.07 percent elderly males. This contributed to the male-female ratio imbalance, in the sense for every two woman there is one man, hence the ratio is 2:1. The majority of the households were headed by women, what is the implication of this imbalance on the household and vis-à-vis the family have been dealt with in chapter five. Another striking feature of the household composition among the Disapora household is that children and elderly make up 69.05% of the household. This is almost two third of the total number and the

implication of this striking aspect of Diaspora household has been dealt with in the sixth and seventh chapter. It was also see that the average size of the family was 3.9 which is lesser than the state average of 4.2 as per the 2011 census.

4.3.2 Religious Composition

The study is limited to only Roman Catholics (Christian) Goan Diaspora, this is mainly due to the fact that in AVC Christians are a majority and they account for 94.25 percent of all international migration among the Goan Hindus and Christians (see table 4.9). Therefore, it is right to say that International migration in AVC is predominantly a Christian phenomenon, though Hindus and Muslim also migrate. But the number is too small to observe any social and cultural changes among the Hindus and Muslims. The table 4.9 presents the religious composition of Diaspora household. The Goa migration study 2008 also presents that Christians account for 74 percent of emigrants as compared to 20.5 percent Hindu emigrants (see GMS 2008:41).

Table 4.9
Religious Composition

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Hindus	10	5.75
Christians	164	94.25
Total	**174**	**100**

4.3.3: Caste composition

As the study is limited only to Roman Catholic Goans, we have only surveyed the Roman Catholic Goans, the composition of caste is in relation to Roman Catholic Goans. However, we also surveyed the Hindus and found that the 10 household

among the Hindus belonged to the Sudir caste group. The table 4.10 presents the
caste composition among the Diaspora household.

Table 4.10
Caste composition

Caste	Frequency	Percent
Chardo	98	56.32
Sudir	76	43.68
Total	**174**	**100**

In the table 4.10 it is evident that International migration is not caste centric,
the dominant Chardo caste and the subordinate Sudir caste have also migrated. The
difference between the two is not too large with 56.32 percent of Diaspora household
comprising of Chardo's compared to 43.68 percent Sudir's. However, if international
migration is not caste centric and if both the high caste and low caste have been
migrating, then what implication this has on the Roman Catholic society? We shall
dwell upon the implication of this demographic aspect in chapter number eight.

4.3.4 Educational Qualification

In a country like India, the literacy rate is higher among the men as compared
to the women, the same is the case with reference to Goa, the literacy rate of men is
92.65% and that of women in 82.16% as per the 2011 census
(http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/goa.html). However, a look at the
education level presents a different picture especially when one compares the number
of graduates and post graduates among males and females. The percentage of women
in undergraduate and post graduate courses is higher than that of men. Though the
difference is not great, it is a striking feature in Goa, but the difference is even more
striking among the Roman Catholic Diaspora households, wherein we see that
53.35% of women were graduates and above and out of these 53.35% more than half

i.e. 32.76% were post graduates. These figures finally present that more than half of the women population among the Diaspora household i.e. 53.35% were graduates and above. However, among the men both sons and husbands recorded only 33.58% and 33.08% as graduates and above. The most striking difference was seen in the post graduate level of education, wherein there were 32.76% as graduates and above, but out of these there were a mere 3.81% post graduates and above among the sons and almost the identical percent among the husbands i.e. 4.81%. This is not the same were the whole state is concerned, the percentage of enrollment as per 2004-2005 annual report of Goa university presents that 62.91% of the post graduate students are girls compared to 37.09% of boys. Thus, what we can conclude from this factual data is that women are promoted for higher education in diaspora households, however do they enjoy a high status in Diaspora households still needs to be researched though it is evident that great importance is laid on women's education and the acceptance of a girl child as a gift. The tables 4.9 will give us a clearer picture of the educational level among women, son's and husbands.

Table 4.11
Educational Qualification of Women

Women's Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
10th with certificate/ITI	48	27.59
10+2 with certificate	33	18.97
women Graduation with Course	36	20.69
Post Graduation with course	57	32.76
Total	**174**	**100**

Table 4.12
Educational Qualification of Son's

Son's Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
1. Below 10th	9	6.87
2. 10th with certificate/ITI	14	10.69
3. 10+2 with certificate	64	48.85
4. Graduation with Course	39	29.77
5. Post Graduation with Course	4	3.05
6. Ph.D	1	0.76
Total	**131**	**100**

Table 4.13
Educational Qualification of Husband

Husband's Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
1. Below 10th	25	17.24
2. 10th with certificate/ITI	28	19.31
3. 10+2 with certificate	44	30.34
4. Graduation with Course	41	28.27
5. Post Graduation with Course	5	3.44
6. Ph.D	2	1.37
Total	**145**	**100**

From the tables 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13, one will find another striking feature among Diaspora household. A look at the 10+2 level of qualification presents that a staggering 48.85% sons have this qualification and 30.34% of husbands fall under this category of qualification as compared to only 18.97% of women in the same category of qualification. From the interviews with the people from AVC it was known that the youth from the Diaspora households are not interested in further studies as they know that to work abroad 10+2 with some skill certificate and a little work experience is more than enough. They also stated that they would love Government jobs but for that they have to study further and also pay bribes to get them. Therefore they think why

to waste money and time? It is better to go abroad. Where you don't have to pay a bribe and you can also earn and save faster. Thus, this is further confirmed if one looks at the age of migration, wherein 83.91 percent in AVC migrate at the age from 18-25 (see Table 4.3). Further, a person completes his/her 10th standard at the age of 15 years and 12th standard at the age of 17 years, one year for certificate course or diploma and a year or two for work experience. Thus, we see that the youth especially the Roman Catholic boys are on the move. But, the same doesn't hold true for women, while it is seen that the women are better educated than men (see table 4.14)

Table 4.14

Gender wise enrolment for Higher Education (2001–2002)

Education level	Female	Male	Total
XI and XII	11171 (49%)	11697 (51%)	22868
College	8716 (61%)	5639 (39%)	14355
GU	697 (64%)	394 (36%)	1091
Professional	2408 (49%)	2489 (51%)	4897
Technical	1157 (21%)	4406 (79%)	5563
Vocational	539 (38%)	872 (62%)	1411

Source: Computed from Census data 2001

The education that the women have acquired does not contribute to employment, as one will see in the next sub section that the majority of the women in Diaspora households are house wives. Therefore the question arises that for what reasons do women continue with their education in Goa? The answer to this question has been discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3.5: Occupation

The occupation of the diaspora household members has been divided in to women and men, in order to have a better understanding in the differences in the choice of

occupation and the reasons of choice. These differences in a way contribute to the stereotype gendered occupation. However, the point to be noted here is that the occupation is based on the choice of the individual man and woman.

a) Occupation among Women

A total of 72.09 percent of women were involved in the occupation of house management and claimed themselves to be house wives. Teaching was found to be the next best option for women, wherein a total of 9.88 percent were involved. Interviews with the women from AVC Diaspora households revealed that teaching was preferred for four main reasons.

1. It was a half day job and so one could do justice to the family and household activities.
2. It was satisfying to work as a teacher as you are well respected.
3. The timing of the job was most suitable if one has children.
4. It provided with a steady and decent source of income.

The next best option was government service. There were two main reasons for this.

1. It provided with a steady and decent source of income
2. It was satisfying to work and make use of one's education

Almost an identical number of 6.40 percent women were involved in private service, the main reasons for this option was

1. There couldn't get government jobs.
2. It was satisfying to work and make use of one's education.

Finally, only 2.33 percent of women started their own business of Supermarket, Beauty parlor, Floriest and a Cake shop and only one woman worked as a day servant moving from house to house, the reason for this was her son did not send her any money. Thus, from the above discussion it is evident that women are free to work or

stay at home. This freedom to choose to work or not has a great implication on Diaspora households and the empowerment of women. We have tried to address this problematic in the chapter five. The table 4.15 provides us with an overview of the choice of occupation among women.

Table 4.15
Occupation of the Women

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
1.Teacher	17	9.88
2. Service Private	11	6.40
3. Service Government	12	6.98
6. Lawyer	3	1.74
7.House-Wife	124	72.09
8.Own Business	4	2.33
10.Worker	1	0.58
Total	172	100

b) **Occupation of the Son and Father/Husband**

A look at the tables below presents before us that most of the occupations are centered around the formal education one goes through in the school and other institutes that provide certification of the skills that one has mastered outside one's home. As a result no longer on see's the Goan diaspora working in the traditional caste based occupation that once pre-determined their position in society. The 150 odd years of migration among the Goan Christian diaspora and the success stories of the ones who migrated in the villages propel others to also migrate and take up occupation that are of great demand outside India, this in turn has contributed to the transformation of the village from a caste centric society to a class centric society. Though, such a transformation has had to face the brunt of resistance from the higher castes, the transformation is inevitable. We shall discuss these transformations in chapter eight.

Table 4.16
Occupation of the son and husband

Occupation	Son Frequency	Percent	Husband Frequency	Percent	Total Percentage
1.Cook	25	17.86	19	15.45	16.73
2.Waiter	17	12.14	28	22.76	17.11
3.Officer	19	13.57	16	13.01	13.30
4.Engineer	19	13.57	18	14.63	14.06
5.Utility (Hospitality)	15	10.71	7	5.69	08.36
6.Barmen	8	5.71	11	9.76	07.22
7.Doctor	1	0.71	0	0	0.38
8.Mechanic	2	1.43	3	2.44	01.90
9.Manager Hospitality	5	3.57	4	3.25	03.42
10.Factory Worker	2	1.43	5	4.07	02.66
11. Manager	7	5.00	3	2.44	03.80
12.Own Business	0	0	6	4.88	02.28
13.Any other Manager	9	6.43	0	0	03.42
14.Any other	11	7.86	2	1.63	04.18
Total	**140**	**100**	**123**	**100**	**100**

A look at the table 4.16 presents that the men both son's and husbands had similar occupational choices. The top three occupations were Hospitality (52.84 percent), which comprised of cooks, waiters, barmen, utility and manager, Engineering with 14.06 percent was the second choice of occupation followed by Officer's 13.30 percent among the Goan Catholic diaspora in AVC. The rest worked in other diverse fields as mechanic, manager in different types of companies, factory workers in different firms, doctors, IT professionals, Mass Media and some 2.28 percent who were enterprising enough started their own business in the distant lands.

4.3.6: Standard of living

The standard of living can be observed with the help of the monthly income, ownership of house and property and the use of appliances.

a) Monthly income

Table 4.17
Monthly Income of the Left Behind

Monthly Income	Frequency	Percent
1.RS. 20,000-40,000	15	8.62
2.RS. 41,000-60,000	27	15.52
3.RS. 61,000-80,000	41	23.56
4 RS. 81,000-100,000	38	21.84
5. RS.1 Lakh and above	53	30.46
Total	**174**	**100**

The monthly income of the household was way beyond the states average, where in more than 50 percent of the Diaspora households had a net income of more than Rupees 9.6 lakh per anum that is approximately around 16,000 dollars per year . One could further go on to say that more than 75 percent of the households had an income of Rupees 7.2 lakh per anum that is approximately around Dollars 12,000, Whereas the state average was Rupees 1.92 lakh per anum as per the 2011 census. Though the state of Goa has the highest per capita income in the country, which is rupees 1.92 lakh this was much lesser as compared to Rupees 6.9 lakh on an average among Diaspora households. This only confirms that remittance is the single largest factor that contributes to the development and upward mobility of the Diaspora Goan households as compared to the locals. Further, remittances contribute immensely to the state GDP (see also GMS 2008:6). What implication do remittances have among the Diaspora households? is answered through chapter eight.

b) Ownership of House

Ownership of house is of paramount importance in every person life, the same holds true among the Diasporic household. The table below presents before us that 94.83 percent among the Diaspora households owned a house, whereas approximately only 78 percent in the state of Goa owned a house as per the 2011 Census. Further, with reference to south Goa 75 percent owned a house. Thus, larger percentage of Diaspora Goans own houses as compared to the others in Goa.

Table 4.18
Ownership of house

Own House	Frequency	Percent
No	9	5.17
Yes	165	94.83
Total	**174**	**100**

The house apart from the manifested function of shelter has a hidden function. The hidden function of house among diaspora households is status. The type of house depicted the status of the person in the village. We have tried to classify house on the bases of material used and the material used has a value. Hence, a mud house in the past depicted a low status, a traditional house refers to a house made up of tiled roof upon a wooden frame resting upon walls made of laterite bricks and plastered with lime or cement along with sand. Whereas, the modern house refers to houses made up of concrete roof resting on walls made up of laterite or cement bricks and plastered with cement and sand. Further, the houses have been classified a small, medium and big. A small house consist of two and less then two bedrooms, a medium house consist of three to five bedrooms and a large house consist of more than five bedrooms. The more the bedrooms the greater is ones status. Thus, the house is a status symbol and it is through the house that Diaspora households portray and claim

an elevated status in the society. The dynamics brought about due to the ownership of house has been dealt with in chapter eight with a special focus on caste. The table 4.19 presents the type of houses owned by the diaspora in AVC, Goa.

Table 4.19
Type of house

Type of House	Frequency	Percent
1.Mud House	2	1.15
2.Traditional House (Small)	26	14.94
3.Traditional House (Medium)	39	22.41
4.Traditional House (Big)	6	3.45
5. Modern House (Small)	37	21.26
6. Modern House (Medium)	56	32.18
7. Modern House(Big)	8	4.60
Total	174	100

From the table 4.19 it is evident that more than half the people i.e. 54 percent lived in medium houses both traditional and modern combined. This goes to show that majority live in houses that have three to five bedrooms, according to the Government of India Census a medium house that we have used as a type of classification, would mean four to six rooms. Hence we can say that 54 percent of the households live in houses with four to six rooms. When one compares this with all the households of the state as per the 2011 census, then one see that 19 percent live in one room, 25 percent live in two rooms, 24 percent live in three rooms, 14 percent live in four rooms, 6.5 percent live in five rooms and 6 percent live in six rooms and above. Thus, as per the 2011 census, 68 percent in Goa lived in house with three or less then three rooms. This fact results us to say that the majority of the Diaspora households have better houses as compared to the general population. Finally, we can further say that the

emigrant household presents these houses as a symbol of status in order to claim an elevated status in the society (see Photograph 4.1 and 4.2).

Photo 4.1: Traditional House

Photo 4.2: Modern House

c) Ownership of Land

Along with the ownership of house owning a property is also of great importance, the property along with the house serves as a status symbol. Property is not only purchased for the building of a house or construction but property also serves as a means of long term investment. The table 4.20 presents that 80.4 percent of the emigrant household owned property by residing on it or by keeping it as a means of investment.

Table 4.20
Ownership of Property

Own Land	Frequency	Percent
NO	34	19.54
YES	140	80.46
Total	**174**	**100**

d) **Number of Toilets**

It was found that all the 174 households had toilets and out of those 52.9 percent of the households had one toilet, where as 47.1 percent of the households had two or more toilets. However, when one compares this number with the general population we see that 20 percent of the households in Goa have no toilets at all and majority of the households have only one toilet. Further, the toilets in Diaspora households were having proper sewage facility i.e. a septic tank and a total of 74 percent of the toilets were western and 26 percent were Indian.

Table 4.21
Number of toilets

Number of Toilets	Frequency	Percent
1	92	52.9
2	65	37.4
3	12	6.9
4	4	2.3
5	1	.6
Total	**174**	**100.0**

e) **Source of Water supply**

The table 4.22 presents before us that 67.82 percent of the household made use of tap water and 32.18 percent made use of well water.

Table 4.22
Source of water supply

Source	Frequency	Percent
1.Tap	118	67.82
2.Well	56	32.18
Total	**174**	**100**

f) **Type of appliances owned**

Table 4.23
Type of Appliances owned by the left behind household members

Appliances	Counts	Percentage	State Percentage
LCD/LED TV	174	100	81
Refrigerator	174	100	56.4[5]
Mixer	170	97.70	Not Available
Washing Machine	169	97.13	Not Available
Motor Cycle	163	93.68	57
Gas Stove	160	91.95	72.73[6]
Geyser	154	88.51	Not Available
Mobile Phone	148	85.06	53.8
Laptop/P.C	143	82.18	31
Car	134	77.01	25
Air Condition	88	50.57	Not Available

The table 4.23 presents before us the type of appliances owned by the emigrant household members. The appliances listed above were found to be the basic appliances that an emigrant household usually owns. Thus from the above table we could analyze the standard of living and also compare the same with the general population in Goa. A closer look at the table reveals to us that 100 percent of the households were found to be owning at least one Television set and a Refrigerator, as compared to 81 percent owning Television sets and 56.4 percent owning a refrigerator among the general population. There were 97 percent households owning a mixer and a washing machine, data for these two appliances were not available through any source. Motor Cycles were owned by 93.68 percent of the households as compared to only 57 percent of the household among the general population, making the emigrant household access to mobility easy. Gas stoves were used by almost 92 percent of the

households as compared to 72 percent among the general population. A Geyser was used by 88 percent of the households with no data available for comparisons. Mobile phones were used by 85 percent of the households as compared to 53.8 percent among the general population. Laptop or Personal computers were used by 82 percent of the emigrant household as compared to only 31 percent of the household among the general population. The mobility among the emigrant household was further simplified with 77 percent of the household owning a car as compared to only 25 percent among the general population in the state of Goa, though this 25 percent ownership of cars is the highest by any state in India. Air-conditions were owned and used by 50 percent of the households. Thus, this comparison helps us to justify that the standard of living is higher among the emigrant households as compared to the general populations.

Further, a look at all the indicators of standard of living i.e. per capita income, ownership of land, type of house, ownership of house, number of toilets and the type of appliances owned showed us that the emigrant households were better compared to the general population. Thus, all the results of these indicators of standard of living help us to validate the statement that the standard of living of the emigrant household is higher than that of the general population in Goa.

4.4. THE LARGE SCALE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC RESTRUCTURING OF THE VILLAGE

In AVC one in every four Roman Catholic migrates abroad (approximately 22 percent see GMS 2008). What does this mean for the Roman Catholic society in AVC and for the majority community of 60 percent Christians in AVC. The total population of AVC is 24,646 as per the 2011 census, out of which 5,412 persons have migrated. The ones who have migrated are from the dominant as well as the subordinate caste. Due to education and employment opportunities for the people in Goa and abroad, most of the people in AVC prefer either government jobs or jobs abroad. Thus, as most of the working force is employed in the government sector and abroad and a few in private sector, the jobs that people in AVC prefer doing are white collared jobs and jobs that give one a decent salary. The people in AVC don't prefer jobs that are below their dignity or jobs that pay you nothing. This situation has resulted in a demand for the unorganized sector jobs i.e. agricultural laborers, construction workers, carpenters, barbers, vegetable vendors, waiters, cooks, plumbers, electricians, bakers, blacksmiths, cobblers etc.

Though the fact is that Goan's do these jobs but outside the country in distant lands that pay you well. There is also a demand for workers in the organized sector i.e. various industrial estates in Goa, especially the Cuncolim Industrial Estate in Cuncolim, which is a part of AVC and has 82 percent labor force from outside Goa. Thus, the whole scenario can be explained with the help of the dual labour market theory (Piore 1979).

The dual labour market theory is based on the premise that economic structures of the developed countries are structured in such a way that there is a permanent demand for foreign labour, this permanent demand for foreign labour

marks the increase in international migration (Piore 1979). The dual market labour theory presents that, developed countries of the world have dual labour market, the economy's of such countries produce jobs in both the primary and the secondary sector. The primary sector jobs are high in wages, promotion, security and status, whereas the secondary sector jobs are low on wages, promotion, security and status. The secondary sector jobs are conceived as jobs below the dignity to which the local population refuses to take up, this refusal in accepting low status jobs by the local population creates a vacuum, that is finally filled by the workers from foreign countries (*Ibid. 1979*).

Thus, what can be seen in the case of AVC is that the native populations do not prefer low paying jobs and jobs that are below the dignity, nor do we find the employers increasing the wages. These preferences of the native people provide ample opportunities for the people from outside Goa from various states of India. Most of the migrants come from Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. These migrants are involved in several skilled and unskilled jobs, while some are involved in private industrial firms in the industrial estate, mining, fishing, hospitality and construction. Some also have their own businesses and some are involved in highly skilled jobs. The table 4.24 gives us a glimpse of the occupations that the migrants in AVC are involved with.

Table 4.24
Migrants and the Type of work involved

Type of work	Number of Tenants	Percentage
1.Cook	15	8.33
2.Own Business	12	6.67
3.Electrician	10	5.55
4.Plumbing	15	8.33
5.Mason	33	18.33
6.Painter	20	11.11
7.Labourer	7	3.89
8.Agriculture	0	0
9.Waiters	6	3.33
10.Service Private	6	3.33
11.Factory Worker	22	12.22
12.Service Government	0	0
13.Utility	8	4.44
14.Baker	12	6.66
15.Blacksmith	5	2.77
16. Barbers	8	4.44
Total	180	100

The table 4.24 shows that the migrants are involved in varied occupation. These migrants earn well as compared to their counterparts in their own state. For example a mason in Tamil Nadu is paid 150 to 200 rupees a day, where as in Goa he commands a daily wage of 500 to 600 rupees. The rents being low in the village side of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim and most of the migrants preferring to cook by themselves, makes it possible for the migrants to save money and send it back to their families in their native places. Further, a few of them have made Goa as their home, residing in rented places with their family because of the better standard of living in Goa and the better educational opportunities in Goa.

Thus, at the time of the survey it was found that 180 tenants were residing in about 36 household premises of the diaspora households and in the close vicinity. Some of the migrants who lived in the premises of the diaspora household with their families, were seen performing the role of traditional *mundcar*. The wife of the migrant worked as a domestic servant for the owner and the husband is asked to do jobs at which he has the skill. Such cases can be observed in both the caste groups of *Charddos* as well as *Sudras*. Thus, what can been seen in AVC is that the traditional occupations have been taken over by the migrants though not completely but to a larger extent.

The Roman Catholics from the lower caste who were involved in the traditional occupation are mainly working abroad or in government sector in Goa. As a result there has emerged a new social structure, a structure that is based on income, buying power and dignity of labor. When we undertook the survey among the diaspora households in order to see what percentage of them agreed upon the emergence of new social structure in AVC, it was see that 97 percent of the people from diaspora household agreed upon the new social structure that has emerged due to the international migration and the changes introduced by it. The figure 4.1 provides us with a glimpse of the new social structure that has emerged in the field. What has contributed to the emergence of the new social structure and how it has happened will be discussed in chapter 8. The demographic re-structuring has also contributed to issues of identity crisis among the Catholic Goans in AVC. This is mainly due to the fact that the international migration scene in Goa is dominated by the Christians. Therefore this imbalance in international migration has resulted in the reduction in the percentage of Christians in Goa, as compared to Hindus and Muslims. As per the 2011 census, the Hindus make up for 66 percent approximately, followed by

Christians 25 percent and Muslims consist of 8 percent approximately. The increase in the Hindu and Muslim population is mainly due to in-migration, while the decrease in the Christian population is mainly due to international migration. The feeling of insecurity and identity crisis is a phenomenon that can take place in any part of the globe.

End Notes

1. Christopher's youngest brother was a vagabond and a lazy person, he did not want to go as he would miss being with his friends and roaming around the whole day. However, his mother forced him to go saying that 'what would you do in Goa'. Having felt pressurized and decided to go to Bombay, his mother gave him 200 rupees to undertake his journey and for the stay and formalities in Bombay. Going to Bombay was a long journey by walk. As there was no transportation and experienced men guided others to reach Bombay through the jungles and '*ghats*' in the *Konkan* region.

2. The role of the butler was significant. The villages of AVC had many butlers and each of them played the role of hiring men from AVC to work on the ship in various positions. For, the people in AVC the *'Botler'* was a great person and occupied a high status in the village hierarchy.

3. People from the villages also spoke of going to Calcutta, Mumbai, Karwar and Poona for the purpose of education, as there were very few schools in Goa that provided English education.

4. For the purpose of this model we have restricted the information to Chrsitopher's family only.

5. Computed from NHFS-3 http://www.dhsgoa.gov.in/documents/goa-nhfs-3-report.pdf

6. Computed from the 2011 Census report by taking into consideration the number of households using LPG as a fuel for cooking

CHAPTER 5

THE GOAN DIASPORA AND WOMEN IN GOA

This chapter deals with the question what happens to the family when Catholic males migrate both on shore and off shore for generations in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim (AVC). The chapter presents the changes in a family/household by investigation on the question of do women feel empowered? And if yes what is the level of empowerment among women left behind in AVC vis-à-vis Goa. When we tried to review the existing literature, scant attention was paid to the aspect of male migration and the impact on the social life of left behind women. Based on the empirical data collected through interviews, questionnaire and my own empirical observation, the chapter tries to present an analysis of empowerment among the wives of Diasporic husbands. The chapter tries to use the analytical framework of Kabeer (1999) in order to analyze women's empowerment in the context of male migration. While analyzing empowerment the study also tries to explore if caste and the employment status has a role to play in the empowerment of wives whose husbands have migrated abroad. Finally, the study illuminates the gains and losses in the process of empowerment and brings to the fore the experience of women through eight themes discussed further in this chapter.

5.1: INTRODUCTION

International migration has tremendous implications on the economic and social development of both the individual and the society at large. These implications have received tremendous attention from varied research bodies and researchers across the globe. The effects of international migration depend on the collections, scale and character of the flow of migration and the contexts that migrants emerge

from (Katseli *et al.* 2006: 30-44). In the case of Goa 82% of the emigrant households used the remittances for daily subsistence. One third used it for educational purposes, one fourth deposited the remittances in Bank and one fifth used it for building new house and purchasing land (GMS 2008: 6). Even though the economic impact in Goa has been researched upon there is a lack of research on the social impact. Nevertheless, in Goa, the social impact has been studied with specific reference to the problems faced by women in the absence of their men (see GMS: 2008). This question of problems faced by women arises due to the fact that migration among Catholics, especially males has been and still continues to be prevalent, despite the relative improvements in economic condition in Goa. A constant refrain is "there are no jobs in Goa" or "the salaries are low" (Mascarenhas 1987). The Goa Migration study in 2008 also presented that 74% of the emigration was among Christians, to add to this of all the emigrations that took place in Goa till 2008, 80% of the emigrants were male and only 20% were female (GMS 2008: 5-37).

However, whether women felt empowered in the absence of their men lacked the desired attention by the researchers. Though, Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) presents, the women as progressive mother and autonomous women, she falls short to say whether the women are empowered in the absence of their men. Thus, the study in general tends to focus on the lives of catholic women and the level of empowerment they have in the absence of their men, *vis-a-vis* the changes brought about in the family due to this arrangement. As the study focussing on the question of empowerment, we shall try to review the concept of empowerment in 5.1 following below.

5.2: EMPOWERMENT

The concept of empowerment began to have takers from the field of psychology in the late 1970's, from then on it has been evolving through its continued interest from several social science discipline thereby making 'empowerment' a catchphrase (Perkins & Zimmerman (1995:571).   There have been several definition of empowerment but in our study we shall make use Kabeer's (1999) definition of empowerment, which refers to as "the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability has previously been denied to them" (Kabeer 1999: 435). This definition is of greater relevance as it includes both, the constituent of the process and the human agency and choice (Molhotra *et al* 2002). Another significant aspect of this definition is the importance given to the individual agent in the process of change.

Ever since the concept of empowerment got associated with women, the World Bank has recognized empowerment as the solution to eradicate poverty and contribute to the basic development of the women in particular (Molhotra *et al* 2002: 8). Apart from the World Bank there are many other agencies that recognize the role of empowerment in promoting gender equality (see UNDP 2008). Thus, empowerment as a UNDP millennium goal has two objectives, one being justice for gender equality and welfare of human beings and the other being bringing down the levels of poverty. This is sync with the capability approach of Sen (1999), whereby he presents that for overall development of human beings it is not enough to create economic prosperity but along with it social prosperity was also important, he further emphasized the role of women in the process of change (Sen 1999: 190-202). The findings in this chapter are based on the presentation of data and method of analysis as discussed in 5.2.1.

5.2.1: Measuring Women's Empowerment

In this study we have not only used Kabeer's (1999) definition but also used her analytical framework in analyzing and measuring empowerment among the wives of Diaspora husbands. Kabeer's analytical frame work has been used as she provides an all encompassing definition of empowerment. This study finds her definition and its usage most suitable as she presents the role of agents in making strategic life choices that enables the agents (women) to bring about a change (Kabeer 1999: 437). Another significant element in her analysis of empowerment is choice and she tries to distinguish between first order and second order choice, she gives greater relevance to first order choice as these choices help people to 'live their lives the way they want' (*ibid*: 437). Further, what Kabeer means by strategic life choices is whether you want to work or not, whether you want to marry or not or whether you want to have children or not. Therefore, when we try to perceive empowerment in this study it should be perceived as the ability to make strategic life choices. Further, in this study we have used Kabeer's (1999) three dimensions of empowerment i.e. resources (pre-condition), agency (process) and achievements (outcomes) in the analysis and measurement of empowerment in the villages of AVC, Goa.

5.2.2: Profile of the data

In this study we have generated data through the qualitative as well as the quantitative source. The qualitative data was based on the six semi-structured interviews with women having their husband's abroad. Four interviewees belonged to the *Chardo* caste and two belonged to the *Sudhir* caste. All three dimensions were evaluated in terms of measuring women's empowerment. The Group of women interviewed were from diverse backgrounds, who came from different educational, occupational, caste and economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, common to them all is

that they live in villages and have the experience of male migration. We have systematically analyzed the interview by following certain procedures. Firstly, the interview was recorded and simultaneously certain points were noted. After the interview, the recordings were transcribed and efforts were made to look out for the common themes that evolved from the interviews so as to code the data   (see Bryman 2008).

The Quantitative data as mentioned in chapter one was gathered by administering questionnaires to 180 households in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim. The sample size is based on the calculation derived from the GMS (2008). A total of 101 questionnaires were administered and answered by 101 wives in 80 households of the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim in the Salcete Taluka of the South Goa District. The questionnaire was attempted by mainly two caste groups i.e Chardo or Chaddi 52.5 percent and Shudra or Sudhir 47.5 percent. A total of 15.5 percent were found to be working and 84.5 percent non-working women.   The questionnaire had a total of fifty questions, all the three interdependent aspects (resources, agency and achievements) in the measurement of empowerment were the unit of analysis and accordingly questions in the questionnaire tried to measure each of the aspects. Thus, in 5.3 we have tried to present an analysis and measurement of empowerment experienced by the left behind wives in AVC, Goa.

5.3: THE ANALYSIS AND MEASUREMENT OF EMPOWERMENT: KABEER'S THREE DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

As we begin analyzing the levels of empowerment in AVC, Goa. It is however, imperative for us to understand that there is no uniform experience of women in the absence of their men. The experiences of women are pluralistic in nature although we have tried to analyze and present the experiences in an unformed manner with the help of Kabeer's (1999) three dimensional framework. Further, we will also examine if caste and employment status has any role in the empowerment of women left behind.

5.3.1: Resources

Resources relate to the necessary conditions that would contribute towards empowerment and the meaning of resources should not be limited to the economic sense but must also include human and social resources (Kabeer 1999: 437). The right to use the resources by certain actors in the society is based on the rules of various social relationships that are governed by different institutional domains (family, market and community) (*ibid:* 438). The resources and their access determine the prospective of empowerment (*ibid:* 443). In this study, the six interviews presented that the women in the absence of men had access to the resources *i.e.* access to mobility and access to remittances. This free access to movement to any place and the access to remittances (both social and financial) contributed to the prospective of empowerment. As in a typical Goan family the husband or father plays a greater role in decision making and this access to decision making provides the men to exercise power over the other members in the house. The fact that males are absent in the household, his position and authority got transferred to the women of the house.

Thereby making them the new household heads. One of the women namely Olivia (name changed) states:

> "Since my husband is not around I go to the bank, I manage the accounts, I invest the excess money, I visit the market and take the children, my in-laws as well as myself to the doctor whenever needed, As I know to ride a bike moving around is not difficult at all, if I have to go to Margao for shopping then I leave my children with my in-laws, the only problem arises when we have to go for weddings or parties in the night. Since my children are small I avoid, but If I have a good company then I take my children along and go by the wedding bus" (Interview No 1: Olivia Gomes 10th Septemper 2014)

Another women Rina Menezes (name changed) states that:

> "I go everywhere, as our new house is being constructed. I pay the money to the builder; order the tiles, electrical and bathroom fittings, paint etc. Everything I have to see as my mother in-law has just gone to Dubai and will come only after six months" (Interview No 2: Rina Menezes 7th September 2014)

In the above two cases of interview it is evident that women being without their husbands have to be mobile in order to see that the day to day activities and responsibilities transferred to them are undertaken. The free access to mobility (resources) provides them with the potential for empowerment. It is also interesting to see from the above two interviews that the remittances are systematically managed by the women. One of the women Anne Carvalho (name changed) states that:

> "My husband sends me one lakh rupees regularly, I have two accounts one is my individual account and the other is a joint, He sends his full salary to our joint account. I remove fifteen thousand rupees and put it in my account for household expenditure, I remove another ten thousand rupees and give it to my mother-in-law and father-in-law for their expanses. The remaining seventy five thousand is put in fixed deposits and insurance" (Interview No 3: Anne Carvalho 12th September 2014)

As we know the pull factor of migration has been to earn more and improve one's status. From the interview above it is evident that the remittances are received by the women left behind and are systematically managed by them. This right to use and organize resources is of a great consequence for women's empowerment, which

makes it a prerequisite for empowerment (Kabeer 1999: 437). The group of women interviewed belongs to diverse social strata, to what extent they spend and how much of the money is spend, is dependent on the husband's job as well as the freedom they have to spend that money. For example Lyean Costa (name changed) states that:

> "*Lok makha kod muntat, kityak muge hattin Ielole poishe nach zata, muihniank muge gho tis hazar dadta, tintuntule panch hazaru utta, pun mug eak rule aasa bor je, bor nes, soglen bor zoapak zai*" (People call me spendthrift, because money just disappears, every month my husband sends me thirty thousand, from which only five thousand remains at the end of the month, but for me the most important thing is that we should eat and dress well, everything should be well presented. Interview No 4: Lyean Costa 7th September 2014).

As brought out in the above interview quote, the remittances bring along an improvement in the quality of life due to the increased possibility to earn more money abroad. In the interview number one the women stated that she was working but her husband earned five times more than her, where as in the interview number four the women was not working. In the first case, though she was earning she used her income as well as her husband's income to buy what she wanted for herself apart from the household expenses. In the fourth case, she used all of her husband's income to buy all that she needs. It is evident from the two interviews that increased income gave them the freedom to increase their spending even on their personal expenses. From all the above interviews it is clear that women had the access to mobility i.e. to move wherever they wanted as the situation demanded the same, and they also had access and freedom to spend the remittances in a manner which they decided to spend, from high saving of seventy five thousand a month in one case which worked out to 75 percent of the earnings to saving only five thousand a month in another case that worked out to only 16 percent of the earnings. Thus, let us also analyze the questionnaire results. A total of 17 questions tried to measure the access to resources.

The scale was low to high, the scale for low access was 1-6, moderate access was 7-12 and high access was 12-17.

Figure 5.1
Level of empowerment on the basis of resources
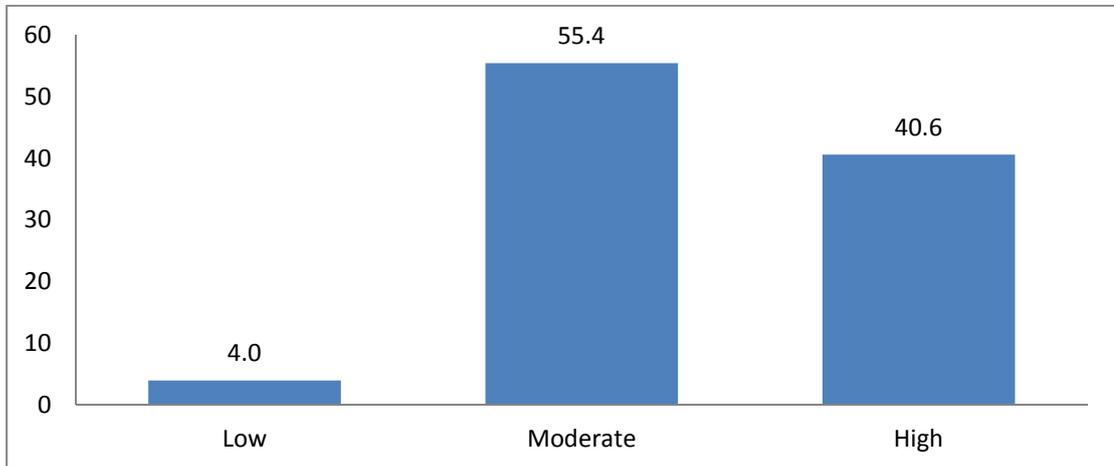
From the above graph, what can be analyzed is that only four percent of the women felt that they had very limited access to resources, a vast majority of 55.4 percent felt that they had moderate access to resources; whereas quite a sizeable number of 40.6 percent felt that they had a high access to the resources.

Thus, from the qualitative data resource of interview as well as the quantitative data resource of the questionnaire discussed above, it is evident in Kabeer's terms that the increase in the ability to use and organize resources due to the absence of the men provided the women the prospective of empowering themselves. Let us now deliberate on the aspect of Agency as a contributing factor towards empowerment within the three interdependent aspects of Resources, Agency and Achievement as an indicator of empowerment.

5.3.2: Agency

The element of agency also plays a significant role in the process of empowerment. Agency is defined as 'the ability to define one's goals and act upon them' (*ibid*: 438).

However, in our case agency could be viewed in three interdependent aspects i.e. responsibilities, decision making and mobility that will be analyzed here.

a) **Responsibility**

When the husbands are absent, women gained greater power to make decisions and with this change came greater responsibilities. However, in situations like AVC women had already assumed the power and responsibilities through the experience of their mothers or other senior women in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim. As see in our case, a total of three women out of the six interviewed had already an experience of their father's working abroad and they were a part of the anticipatory socialization process. The women lived with their mothers and observed and experienced the life of their mother in the absence of their father. The three women interviewed have anticipated before their marriage the various aspects of living without the husband. The questionnaire data through 101 informants presented that a total of 47 percent of women had their fathers working abroad, a total of 78 percent stated that this experience helped them in deciding about their marriage partners and a total of 72 percent got attracted to marry their partner due to love, 7 percent got attracted because of security, 8 percent because of status and 13 percent because of Independence.

The interviews and the questionnaire data presents that taking care of children is a normal duty of the mother, taking care and raising the children singlehandedly is also a normal duty for these women as they already have the experience. However, what are new for them are the added responsibilities and the decisions one needs to take, apart from the responsibility of taking care of children and the decisions pertaining to them. These added responsibilities involve travelling with children without the husbands accompanying to various celebrations, visit to doctor,

management of the remittances (savings, expenditure on household and celebrations, construction, renovations and investments) and decisions to all the above mentions responsibilities.

In a household with male migration and a husband who is no longer present, women's decision-making agency changes, this was evident from all the six interviews. One of the interviewee states:

> 'My father was a '*shippe*' (working on merchant navy) and when I was a child I had seen my mother living without him, I knew that without the husband taking care of children is such a difficult task, because me and my brother were so naughty you know…..(laughing) *ekdom chod mosti* (Extremely mischievous). But, she would manage it and my grand-parents from my father's side were also there. So even now, at present for me it is not difficult but what I found most difficult is to oversee the construction of our new house, my children go to school. My boy is in the 5th standard and my girl is in the 3rd standard and both have different timings. So both of them I only reach as my father-in-law doesn't know to ride a bike, he rides a cycle. I can ride and drive. My mother-in-law and myself manage the cooking and marketing. But managing these workers, contractor….. (in a serious tone) *zann tun kit konn dhavu potta* (you know how you have to be after them to get your work done). To add to it you have to order the raw materials, sometimes there is a delay in sending the money, then you have to wait, then the building contractor makes you to dance. Apart from this I got to decide whose wedding to go, as the others had come for mine I have to go for theirs...' (Interview No 4: Lyean Costa 7th September 2014)

From the above excerpt of the interview one needs to observe that the power and responsibilities that are already assigned to her through existing gender roles, wherein taking care of children is something that is basic. The interviewee says that taking care of children all by her-self is not difficult, but the added responsibilities and decisions one needs to take with reference to activities i.e. Construction and going for celebrations makes managing these without the husband challenging. However, this challenge gives her the capacity or an opportunity to make strategic life-choices, which was denied to her in the past or would have been denied if her husband was around. Thus, the added responsibilities and the decisions contribute to the process of empowerment. The process of decision making and the added

responsibilities was a recurrent theme in most of the other interviews. From the interview it is also evident that the process to empowerment is not easy, it is a challenge. We also put forth in the interview the question about whether they were working or not, if so why? The main reason to ask this question was to examine the role of employment status in empowerment. To this one of the respondent answered:

> 'I don't have to work if my husband is earning a lakh of rupees in a month, for me what is important is to manage everything at home nicely, especially my children. Giving them all the love and guidance is my utmost aim. If they grow up responsibly then what else we as parents want. Nevertheless this decision of not working was a conscious one. My husband told me to work if I want to but I decided not to work. As for me my children are important and what I would earn would hardly make a big difference. I am enjoying my life as a house wife and all the freedom and responsibilities that I have' (Interview No 5 Siona Menezes 10th September 2014)

The same question on employment was put forth to another lady, she was a working women and she said that;

> 'I decided to work as I like to work and earn for myself, rather than be dependent. My husbands keeps saying that if I want to quit I could, but I enjoy and feel nice, at home I feel bored. I am so used to working. Though my children are there, they are fine with their grandparents (my parents). But yes, at times I feel the guilt that I am not giving enough time to them, because already their father is not there around. But at the same point of time my children understand me….'(Interview No 6 Arila Menezes 15th September 2014)

From the above two interview excerpts one would say that it is quite clear in the case of Siona she is dependent and in the case of Arila she is independent. However, to what extent this is an indicator or contributing factor to empowerment? If we apply Kabeer's idea of empowerment then it has to do with making strategic life choices. In both these cases the husbands have given them a free hand to decide whether they would like to work or not. In the case of Siona, she decides not to work because for her the priority is her children, where as in the case of Arila her priority lies in being economically independent. Thus, from the above two interview excerpts we can conclude that empowerment cannot be linked purely to employment, but

empowerment is strongly related to the strategic life choices one makes. Further, we could go on to say that whether one is employed or not it shouldn't be looked as a single indicator of empowerment. As the women here are not subject to coercion but have decided to work or not to work by their own choice. Though, there are exceptions to this finding, wherein one of the women stated that 'my husband says why are you working for peanuts, leave your job and stay at home, I'll pay you more than that, but I choose to work as I have my own identity and self respect'.

From the above results and findings it is evident that the increased responsibilities that the women of the Diasporic men undertake are due to their own choice. This fact is evident as 100% of the women decided to get married to the Diasporic men by their own choice and all of them also had anticipated before marriage the additional responsibilities. Hence, the added responsibilities shouldn't be looked at as a burden and something that is of injustice to a woman, but should be looked at as an opportunity of empowerment brought in due to the strategic life choice of marrying a diasporic men. Thus, the women here have consciously weighed the pros and cons of marrying a diasporic men before entering into an alliance. Further, to what extent do the increased responsibilities hinder or allow the decision making capacity of the women left behind?

b) **Decision making**

The next theme that was recurrent in most of the interviews was that of the capacity to make decisions. In five out of the six interviews the respondents stated that all decisions relating to their children and household were undertaken independently by themselves. Decisions with reference to children in particular were undertaken on the advice of the elder members in the household, whereas decisions with reference to household expenditure were independently undertaken by the

women. The women however, stated that whenever it came to any major decision then they would consult their husbands and jointly decide. The major decisions included investments, building/renovation of house and the buying of various raw materials, buying a new car/bike or costly household appliances, putting their children to a specific school, organizing a celebration for 1st Birthday, Communion, 21st Birthday and going to parents place to stay for a month and so on. All the six respondents stated that all minor decisions were independently undertaken by them. The minor decisions included buying of groceries, clothes and certain things for children or taking in-laws or parents to doctor etc. What is evident here is that all of them had anticipated taking care of their children and deciding for them. But what is new for them is the added decisions one needs to take to the added responsibilities with reference to money management and in-laws health and care. As one of the women stated that:

> 'I manage the money properly and also decide how much to spend and where to spend, mostly when it comes to marketing of daily things I buy without asking anyone, at times my mother- in-law tells me to buy a particular fish and at times I buy what I want. At times she says I spend a lot, but she thinks like that because during her days things were cheaper and now they are expensive, but in her days her husband was earning a thousand rupees a month, now you can't compare those prices, but now my husband's salary is also quite high, he earns around fifty thousand. So that's the difference. I however, ask my husband about spending on celebration. Like for instance, last year was my son's first holy communion, so I asked my husband how much we could spend, he said we could spend fifty thousand. So accordingly I tried to fit the expenses within fifty thousand. But it finally came up to sixty five thousand rupees. I then told him, he said it was ok, I also told him why it exceeded. So mostly we jointly decide how much, at times I tell him to buy something abroad and get it and he brings or sometimes he asks what we need. So ultimately spending is left up to me and big spending we decide jointly.' (Interview no 6 Arila Menezes 15th September 2014)

The survey questionnaire also supports the above two interview findings, with reference to the role the absence of men played in increased responsibilities and decision making. Let us examine the survey results to further substantiate this point.

The level of empowerment relating to agency was measured on the basis of a total of 11 questions. The scale presented the low level, moderate level and high level, the scale for low was 1-4, moderate was 5-7 and high was 7-11.

Figure 5.2
Level of empowerment on the basis of Agency
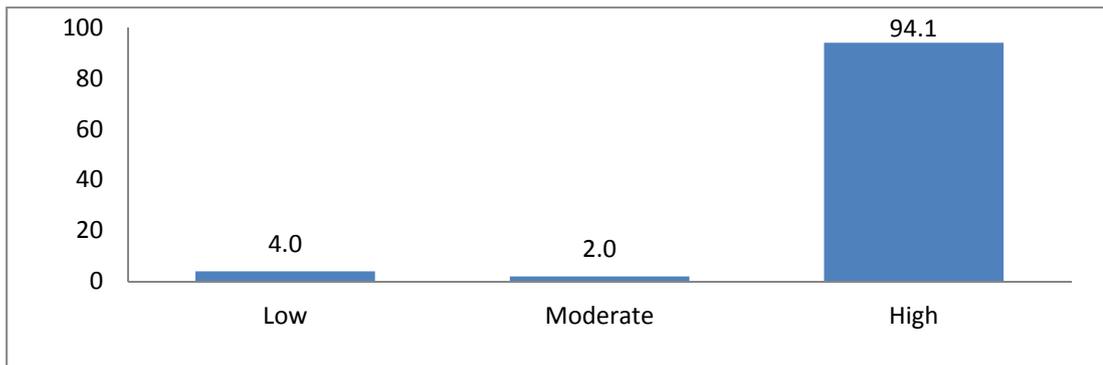
From the figure 5.2 it is evident that only four percent of the women felt low with reference to agency that covered the aspects of responsibilities and decision making, again only two percent felt that they had a moderate role in decision making and the responsibilities that came about due to the absence of their husband, while a vast majority of 94.1 percent felt that they had a great role to play in decision making as well as undertaking the added responsibilities.

Thus, to conclude the physical absence of the husbands contribute women to take greater responsibilities and decisions, thereby contributing to their empowerment and independence (see also Zachariah *et al* 2000:45, Gulati 1993, Mascreanhas-Keyes 2011) Further, could we say that increased mobility contributed in the process of empowerment.

c) **Mobility**

The element of agency can also be related to mobility, the capacity to move and stay wherever one wants to is of great significance in the process of empowerment. In the case of AVC what we can see is that the several responsibilities that these women have to shoulder both within and outside the house, compel women to be more mobile. The extent of shouldering the responsibilities among these women of migrant households differs from one family to another. In all the six interviews the interviewees stated that there were lots of social compulsions in the villages and as they were the only ones in the home along with their in-laws they had to oblige these social compulsions.

The social compulsions include the various invitations of weddings, birthdays, communions, confirmation, housewarming and christening. Apart from these there were other social compulsions like funerals, *'saibins'* (Mother Mary's Litany and procession at each other's homes), cross feast, church feast, novenas, relatives feasts and condolences. There were also family and personal needs that needed to be fulfilled. Family needs include taking children and in-laws to the doctor, reaching children to school, banking, picnics, marketing and dealing with various people when a house is being constructed. Personal needs include going for movies, *'tiatrs'* (Drama/Play), parlour, tailor and personal shopping. One of the women interviewees states :

> 'I stay with my mother-in-law and my children. Life is so hectic. I go to the market once a week, everyday I reach my daughter who is four to school, my son is twelve so he goes by himself. Sometimes I have to take an appointment for my mother-in-law to visit the doctor in Margao, I go for *'tiatrs'* with my children as I like *'tiatrs'*. In the morning if there is someones funeral I have to go in the evening during certain months there is *'saibin'*, so there also I go with my children. For weddings I take the car and I go with my children and mother-in-law. For birthdays and other celebration only me and my children go, so in the villages you see you have to be ready for something or the other, because if you don't go then everybody will make *'shin'* (laughs *soglin shin*

kortolin: which means everybody will condemn you for not coming for the several occasions that takes place in the village or anything concerning any of the villagers). Because if I don't go they will talk and next time they won't come for our occasions. So i have to go' (Interview no 6 Arila Menezes 15th September 2014)

'I avoid going for weddings or celebrations if there is no transport, as i don't know to drive or ride so it becomes difficult to go for certain occasions especially if they are far away. But if the occasion is in the village or close by I go with my neighbours and far of places only if there is a bus or some transport....... (Interview no 5 Siona Menezes 10th September 2014)

What we see in these two excerpts of the interview is that the women are very much aware of how society will perceive them, and they have to oblige to ways that people and society expects and accepts. In the Villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim vis-à-vis the Catholic Goan society expects the families to be obliging during the various social gatherings, since the husband is not there, the women left behind performs the social function and vis-à-vis becomes mobile. The women also fulfill their personal needs along with the various social needs. Thus, the freedom of mobility contributes towards the process of empowerment.

5.3.3: Achievements

According to Kabeer (1999) achievements are the outcome of resources and agency and thus the three together constitute empowerment. In our study we have used two important inter-related aspects of Happiness and Role achievement as a measure of achievement within the process of empowerment. The choice of the said indicators is based on the fundamental idea of 'choice'. Since the women in AVC rationally and judiciously decided to marry men who migrated for reasons i.e. love, security, status and independence. We found it logical to link happiness and role achievement as the indicators of achievement. As the previous two aspects of resources and agency together constitute; What Sen (1985 b) refers to as:

'capabilities: the potential that people have for living their lives the way they want, of achieved valued ways, of being and doing" He uses the idea of 'functionings' of all possible ways of 'being and doing', which are valued by people in the given context and of 'functioning achievements' (cited in Kabeer 1999: 438) .

What we see in the case of AVC (Goa) is that the society values the role of the women i.e. a good daughter, good mother, good wife, good daughter-in-law, good manager, multi-tasking in case of working women etc. The achievements of a women in AVC is not only centred around the family welfare but also personal welfare and interests, which are related to aspects i.e. working as a professional, contributions to the church associations (legion of Mary, Vincent de Paul, Parish Council and Cross committees) Village panchayat and Municipal Counsellor. Through all these association of a women, a women felt happy or content, apart from the happiness derived from the respect that people gave on being a good daughter, wife, mother, daughter-in-law or a professional worker. Further, the alliance to all these association was a matter of choice. However, Kabeer (1999) states that:

"a concerns with 'achievements' in the measurement of empowerment draws attention to the need for further qualification to our understanding of choice as far as empowerment is concerned, we are interested in the possible inequalities in the capacity to make choices, rather than in differences in the choices they make" (Kabeer 1999:438-439).

Hence, though in some studies the ability to be employed is taken as an achievement. In the case of women in AVC to be employed or not is a matter of choice. The women here have a choice to work or not to work. A woman's employment status is not the only achievement indicator, apart from employment to be able to up bring children and the welfare of the parents and in-laws in the most appropriate way and to be able to contribute to the village, is also an achievement. The Idea of success and achievement in the case of women from AVC is centred on the Sen (1985b) idea of 'functionings'. Thus, in the case of AVC I have tried to

measure Achievements by applying the concepts of 'functionings' and operationalizing it to valued aspects in the AVC society with reference to women's achievement. Thus, let us examine the level of achievement, as a contributing factor to the process of empowerment.

a) Role fulfilment[1] as an Achievement in the Process of Empowerment

Women in AVC are regarded successful if they have been able to fulfil their various roles as a women. Women are expected to be superwomen, especially if they are working. The roles that women performed were the role of a daughter, wife, mother, daughter-in-law and women. In all these roles women are supposed to be good, by good we mean she should be able to perform all her duties and responsibilities with reference to each of the roles. The roles are to be performed irrespective of working/employed or not. The women's achievement in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim is on the basis of their achievements as daughters this is linked to their educational and other extra-curricular achievements and the ability to care for her parents even if she is married, their achievements as a wife in relation to how they manage the household and how they maintain relationships with the in-laws, relatives, neighbours, friends and the husband, their achievement as a daughter-in-law and this is measured in reference to how well one takes care of the in-laws, their achievements as a mother is related to the achievements of their children, their own achievements as a women is measured with reference to her ability to manage public and the private sphere. One of the women in her interview spoke in detail about how she deals with the public and private sphere, she says:

'I am a teacher and I work in Canacona, every day I have to travel from Cuncolim to Canacona, which is a distance of 30 KM. My school starts at 8.00 o clock so everyday i wake up at 5.00 am. I wake up early to prepare lunch and breakfast for me and my children, my children are in 7th and 9th standard. Luckily they are girls so I don't have to worry about whether they have had their lunch or not, as they come home heat and eat. I reach home by 3.00 pm, by the time i come I am quite exhausted. I take rest till 4 pm, i then drop my children to Margoa, that is around 13 km for music classes on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The music class starts at 4.30 pm and finishes by 5.45 pm. So during those times i shop in the city sometimes or simply wait till they finish. Once a week, mostly on Sunday's I go to Carmona that is my husband's place as my mother-in-law stays there with her elder son, I have no brother and my parents passed away so my husband stay's here in Cuncolim, whenever he comes, you can say he is a *'Ghorzovoin'* (son-in-law of the house, a men who lives at his wife's residence is called so). In the evening we say the rosary, and I prepare vegetables and heat the food, we watch serials and have dinner and then go to sleep. This is my everyday routine, except for celebration, parties and other functions. This most difficult part is to go out for functions it disturbs the routine but what to do we have to maintain relations with all, if i don't go for someone's wedding one day my daughter will marry who will come for ours'.

Thus, the women independently perform the expected roles; as if they don't they will be considered not good enough.

b) Happiness as an indicator of achievement

From all the six interviews another recurrent theme was happiness, the women felt happy if everything in their life was stable and going on peacefully. Women's happiness was based on the economic stability, bearing of children, children's achievements, good relations with in-laws and neighbours, ability to contribute in the private sphere i.e. Legion of Mary, Vincent de Paul, Parish Council, Cross committees, Village panchayat and Municipal Council and employment. The first four aspects of economic stability, bearing of children, children's achievements and good relations with in-laws and neighbours were most important for their happiness.

Let us now examine the survey questionnaire data in order to substantiate the level of happiness and to see how women perceived their achievement with reference

to the various roles they play and are expected to pay among the women left behind (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3
Level of empowerment on the basis of Achievement
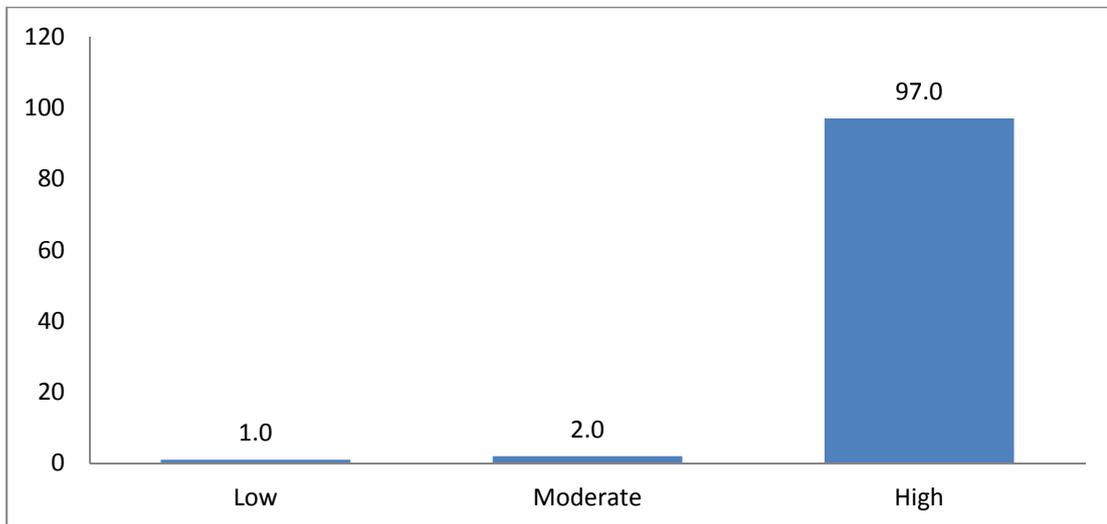
From the above graph it is clearly evident that a large majority of the women i.e. 97 percent felt that they were high achievers and were happy and content with the contribution they have made to their families and the society at large. They felt good about the roles they played, especially due to the autonomy they enjoyed in fulfilling the expectations that the various roles demanded of them.

5.4: EMPOWERMENT AND CASTE

The main aim of the study was to understand how migration of a man contributed to the empowerment of women by using the theoretical framework of Kabeer (1999). The study being exploratory in nature, this theme cropped up as the data and interviews were to be undertaken from all sections of society irrespective of caste. Nevertheless, when we undertook the interviews with the six women, out of the six interviews four were women belonging to the *Charddo* caste and two women belonged to the *Sudra* caste. With reference to each of the interdependent aspects of

resources, agency and achievements, we did not find any significant difference among them. This contributed to a curiosity to see whether the caste status had any implication on the level of empowerment among a larger number of women. The results and the analysis of the of survey questionnaire undertaken by 101 women in discussed below.

Table 5.1
Level of empowerment among Chardo's and Shudra's in Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim

	Caste	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	D.F	test statistics	p-value
Resources	Chardo	53	11.736	3.108	99	0.01	0.99
	Shudra	48	11.729	2.901			
Agency	Chardo	53	10.226	1.540	99	.747	.457
	Shudra	48	9.958	2.052			
Achievements	Chardo	53	9.849	1.183	99	.262	.266
	Shudra	48	9.583	1.182			
Total	Chardo	53	31.811	4.587	99	.557	.540
	Shudra	48	31.271	4.625			

From the above table it is evident that in each of the indicators of empowerment i.e. Agency, Resources and Achievements there is no significant difference. Hence there was no relationship found between caste and empowerment.

5.5: EMPOWERMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

In the course of the exploration in this study, we also came across that out of the six women whom we interviewed three were employed and three were not employed. However, the employment status did not have a significant impact with reference to empowerment in the sense Kabeer has examined. This was contradictory to the various studies done across the globe, which suggested that employment of women contributed to their empowerment. Bloomberg (2005) states that "developing women's access and power over income, holds the key for gender equality,

development and empowerment". But, could this be applied in all cases of women. We were curious to further test this relationship; we included employment status in the questionnaire that we had planned to administer to the 101 wives from AVC who had their husbands abroad. The results of the survey questionnaire are discussed below.

Table 5.2
Level of empowerment among two groups the working and non-working women in Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim

Employment Status		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	D.F	test statistics	p-value
Resources	Working	16	11.063	3.021			
	Non-Working	85	11.859	2.993	99	0.975	0.332
Agency	Working	16	10.188	1.721			
	Non-Working	85	10.082	1.821	99	0.214	0.831
Achievements	Working	16	9.250	1.438			
	Non-Working	85	9.812	1.118	99	1.759	0.082 *
Total	Working	16	30.500	5.073			
	Non-Working	85	31.753	4.498	99	1.002	0.319

The results above indicate that there is no significant difference in the level of empowerment among those women who were employed and the ones who were not employed. However, there was a marginal significant difference in achievements of working and non-working women at 10 percent. The reason for this difference is based on the idea of women's perception of achievement, staying at home and giving your best to the family and society. Further in AVC this was the most idealistic way of looking at achievement among the women of Diaspora husbands

This finding, though debatable, is supported by Kabeer (1997), who states that 'it is not enough to work and earn a wage, but rather it is control over those

resources that matters'. A woman working status is insignificant, if she has no say in the management and allocation of resources in the household.

However, many other researchers feel that control over resources does not purely mean empowerment or autonomy for women (Kibria 1995, Endeley 2001, Malhotra & Mather 1997). According to Kibria (1995), it is always the males who have control over the resources due to the society at large. Thus, we see the issue of employment and empowerment of women is highly debatable. However, the researchers who support that employment contributes to empowerment of women, point out that women who work have greater control over their family life, they participate in the public sphere, they interact with a greater number of people, it increases their self esteem and self worth. The access to resources and the decision making power that women get through working is either ways accessible to women of husbands working abroad in AVC. Through the interview excerpts that we discussed earlier it becomes clear in the case of Siona that she is dependent and in the case of Arila she is independent. However, to what extent is this indicator or contributing factor to empowerment? If we apply Kabeer's idea of empowerment then it has to do with making strategic life choices. In both these cases the husbands have given them a free hand to decide whether they would like to work or not. In the case of Siona, she decides not to work because for her the priority is her children, whereas in the case of Arila her priority lies in being economically independent. Thus, from the above two cases and the survey data, we can conclude that empowerment cannot be linked purely to employment, but empowerment is strongly related to the strategic life choices one makes. Further, we could go on to say that employment cannot be looked as a single indicator of empowerment. As the women here are not subjected to coercion, but have decided to work or not to work by their own choice.

In the case of women in AVC, we cannot deny that women have control over the resources, along with the equality in decision making, wherein minor decisions are made independently and major jointly. As logically women in AVC almost become the prime minister of the house and their husbands abroad are like the president in the Indian context. Thus, the most important aspects in the process of empowerment in AVC is the ability to bargain and make decisions over the access of resources at home and the ability to be independent and mobile in undertaking several expected task which bring happiness to women. However, the empowered feeling comes at a cost, which has been discussed in 5.6 in the form of challenges and loses.

5.6: THE GAINS, LOSES AND CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN IN AVC.

The gains, loses and challenges faced are depicted in the graphs that follows. The gains depicted namely status, independence, economic security/better standard of living, were indicated during the course of our interviews (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4
Greatest Gains of Women Left Behind
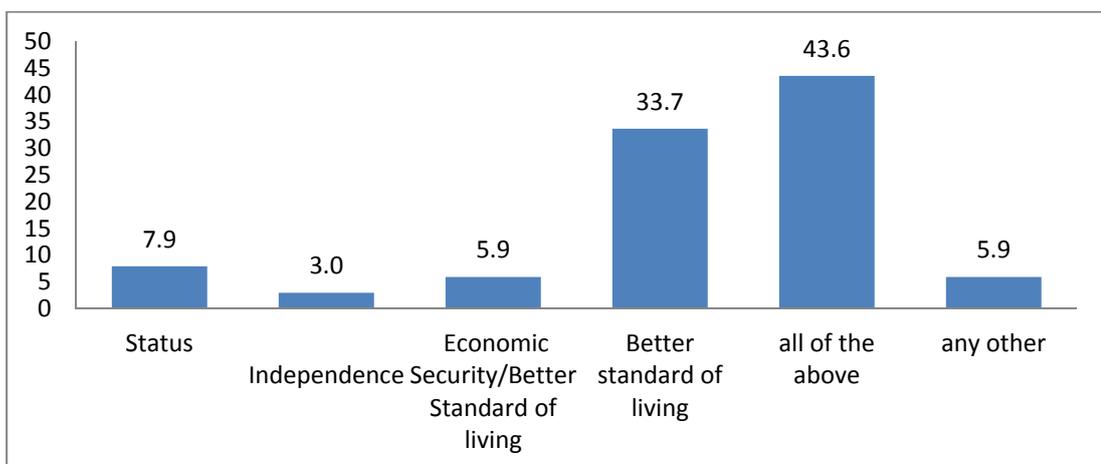
The figure 5.4 shows that 7.9 percent of the women felt their greatest gain was status, 3.0 percent felt that it was independence, 5.9 percent felt their greatest gain was economic security, quite a large number of women 33.7 percent stated that their gain was better standard of living, where as a majority of 43.6 percent felt that they gained in all the four aspects of status, independence, economic security and better standard of living. A few women 5.9 percent felt that their greatest gain was freedom, mobility etc. The figure 5.5 presents the greatest loss.

Figure 5.5
The Loss of Women Left Behind
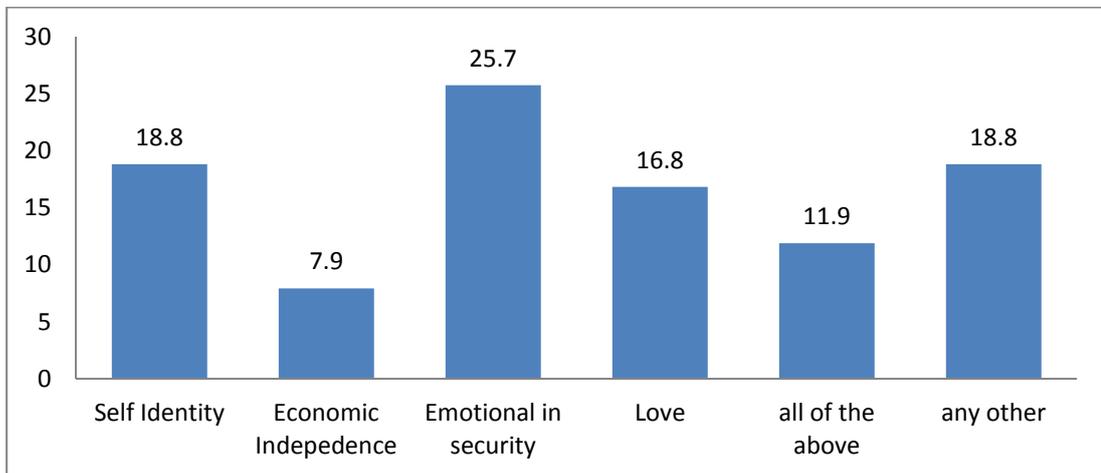
The women in the interview were also asked about their greatest loss and from the six interviews each women contributed to one of the following self identity, economic independence, emotional insecurity, love. From the above graph it is evident that 18.8 percent of the women felt that their greatest loss was self identity, only 7.9 percent felt that their loss was economic independence, large majority of 25.7 percent felt that it was emotional insecurity followed by 16.8 percent who felt they lacked love, whereas 11.9 percent stated that they felt loss in all of the above aspects and 18.8 percent chose not to disclose their loss.

Though we see that women experienced empowerment in the absence of their men, women get this feeling of empowerment due to the challenges one tries to take up. From our interviews it was know that the greatest challenges that women faced was child care and education, coping with in-laws, coping with the absence of men and child disciplining. The figure 5.6 sheds light on the greatest challenges that women have to take up.

Figure 5.6
Challenges of Women Left Behind
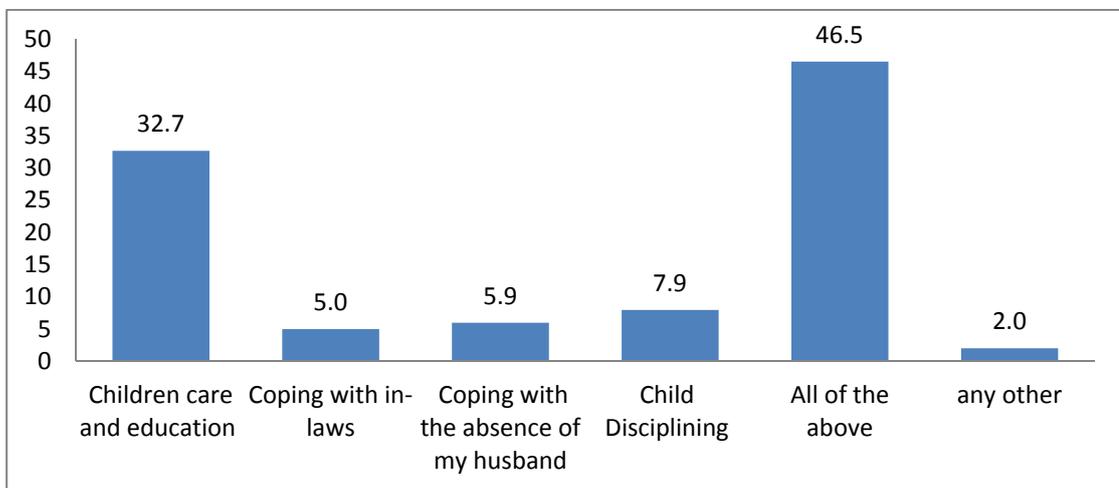
From the figure 5.6 it is evident that 32.7 percent of the women felt that their greatest challenge was care and education of their children, 5.0 percent felt it was coping with in-laws, 5.9 percent felt it was coping with the absence of men, 7.9 percent felt that child disciplining was a great challenge. However, a vast majority of 46.5 felt that all the aspects were of great challenge to them, whereas two percent stated that it was loneliness that was the greatest challenge.

When the researcher had some personal interactions and interview with some of the women in Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim, we asked women what they felt in the absence of their men and to describe it in one word to this they stated that, they felt

they could cope up, lonely, empowered, useless, independent and dependent. These were also included in the questionnaire and the results are discussed with the help the graph figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7
What women feel in the absence of their husbands?
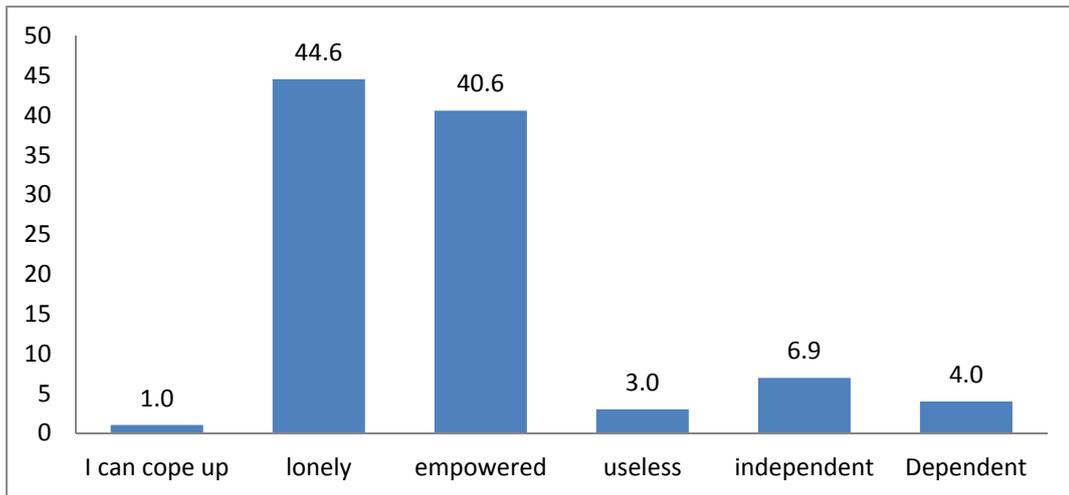
A study undertaken by CDS in 2008 discovered the gains, loses and challenges faced by women in the absence of their husbands. With regards to loses, being lonely occupied the number one position, both among young women (below 30 years) and women above 30 years. The other loss reported was the feeling of isolation and insecurity. With references to the challenges faced the issues pointed out were burden of added responsibilities at home in the absence of husbands, One out of 10 women felt that bringing up children alone was difficult. The gains reported was that husbands based abroad brought in remittances, and the women and elderly in Goa are economically well off and enjoy a better quality of life (GMS 2008)

5.7: EXPERIENCE IN THE ABSENCE OF MEN

The overall interviews with the six respondents also brought out eight more important themes (Moraes 2013).

5.7.1: Marital Life Cycle

It has been evident that marital life cycle follows the migration pattern of the husband. Let us start with the young brides. Their husbands migrate within a month of their marriage and they have not had time to conceive or bear a child. Even when they return, their duration of stay is just for four to eight weeks. This period is socially very hectic and emotionally draining. The wife in this case spends just a few weeks with her husband, who works in the gulf or on the ship, and the same process continues every time he comes, making her psychologically and emotionally weak and resulting in her becoming unfit to bear a child (also see Connel 1984). In other cases of migration most of the women had succeeded in bearing a child within a year or two. The condition of these women with children was comparatively better than the childless ones. Women with children felt more secure and also had a clear cut role to play in their husband's family.

5.7.2: Interdependence

In the absence of their men, women are bound to depend on their in-laws, parents, friends, and neighbours in order to cope with different situations. In most cases the mother-in-laws had also gone through a similar situation like this, which in some cases helped them to have a better understanding of their daughter-in-laws. Parents and in-laws played a vital role in providing support to bring up the children and in strengthening the emotional well being of the women. Support from in-laws was based on whether the woman became a mother or not.

Friends and neighbours were very important to the woman to cope with the absence of her husband. The woman's life became difficult in cases, where there was no help from relatives, whatever the reason. In some cases the woman tried to fulfil her emotional and other needs by developing extra-marital relationship.

5.7.3: Marital Relationships

In the absence of the man, the wife's relationship with her husband was found to be positive or negative based on the following factors given below.

a) The type of Family Members: whether the parents and in-laws are understanding and supportive.

b) Proper communication with the husband.

c) Support from husband.

d) Ability to bear a child.

Marital relationships may become problematic if any of the above factors are in the negative.

5.7.4: Child Care and Education

In the absence of the father responsible parenting becomes the duty of the mother for she is the 'progressive mother'(see Masacrenhas-Keys 2011). The women in my study found this duty challenging, rewarding and fulfilling the goal of motherhood. Children's education was given utmost importance and was easily managed by the women in the absence of their husbands. For working women this task became easier when they received assistance from some other family members. For example we see how well Anne in one of the cases managed different responsibilities with the help of her parents. Taking up children's lessons was also much easier when most of the members of the family were educated and my study showed that many of them enjoyed this task, which also kept them busy. However,

the women found it difficult to cope up with the disciplining of the boys, especially after their primary education.

5.7.5: Communication

Communication with the husband was mainly through Watsapp, Facebook, Viber, Skype and through phone calls. The frequency of communication differed from one family to another. A phone call or a chat through social media i.e. Facebook and Watsapp improved the emotional wellbeing of the wife and made her feel loved and cared. During the calls the wife discussed with her husband some of the problems she faced as well as the day to day happenings, while she avoided those things that would upset him. The frequency of phone calls reduced after the first year of marriage, while in some cases the wife initiated the reduction to lower costs. Though this is the general picture, there were also exceptions were in the husband never bothered to call or communicate and left the wife to depend on others.

5.7.6: Money Management

Another responsibility that a woman takes up in the absence of her man is managing the finances appropriately. Money management involves two aspects, managing money for household consumption and managing money as savings. Every month a major amount of the salaries go in saving. These savings are later used to enhance the social status by building a new house, buying a new car or a bike, investing in a land, etc. Money is also deposited in the children's name for their future, and for their education and medical expenses. Money is generally sent in the wife's name, though a small amount is also sent separately to the mother. All financial transactions are managed by the wife but in the case of building of a new house we see how Anne under the guidance of her husband manages the money, as she has to pay different people involved in building the house.

5.7.7: Mobility

The question of mobility of women whose husbands have migrated is a complicated one. The extra responsibilities that the women have to shoulder both within the private and public spheres compel them to be more mobile. The extent of shouldering various responsibilities among the women differ from family to family and so too the mobility of women. When it comes to social gatherings, weddings, parties, and anniversaries, some of the women feel out of place without their husbands and also worry about what people will think about them. This forces them to be cautious and make sure some family members or their children, if they are grown up, accompany them at these functions. These women however have hardly any restriction when it comes to shopping, reaching the children to school, banking and visiting their parents. In many of the cases the women went to stay with their parents whenever they wanted or there was a need.

5.7.8: Negotiations and Compromise

In AVC the unique characteristic of male migration abroad is that the men have migrated before their marriage. This is evident from all my field work. The women who married these men definitely negotiated and compromised for some benefits at the time of marriage. Women agreed to marry these men who were working abroad primarily for future security - for themselves and their children, children's education and career and old age. They also desired economic security, higher social status and upward mobility. But the women did not get what they desired so easily; they had to reckon with and compromise their own careers in some cases and their emotional, psychological and physical well being. This eventually contributed to their empowered feeling after ten years of marriage. As after ten years of marriage the women felt that they had a control over the home. The economic

benefits and the co-operation of women have been important factors for the success and reinforcement of male migration among the Catholics in AVC.

Thus to conclude, several studies on a similar theme presents that in the absence of the men, women to do tasks that were done by men earlier. The exposure to these task i.e. managing finances and doing all the outdoor work, contributes to emotional disturbances and stress. Women try to channelize the support of other male relatives to initially deal with such task. However, over a period of time women adjust and learn to do all the tasks independently thereby contributing to their independence. Nevertheless, women continue to perform the task that was traditionally meant for women thereby juxtaposing this independence (UNESCO 1984, Gulati 1993, Gorden 1994). Further, the amount of stress and strain is determined by the duration of the husbands' absence, lack of resources, the number of responsibilities and increase in these aspects contributed to stress and strain (Gorden 1994, Menon 1995). Further, other studies in India present that male migration emancipates women from the control of men and women get equipped to face the world due to the exposure to increased responsibilities and power, which in turn contributes to their autonomy (Zachariah and Rajan 2001, Gulati 1993, Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). Consequently, this may not be true in all the parts of the globe. Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) also referred to wives of international migrant as progressive mother, she refers to this concept to denote the ideal attributes, skills and modern progressive outlook that a women of a Diaspora household possessed in several household. The table 5.3 finally gives us a complete picture of empowerment among the wives of diaspora husbands.

Table 5.3

The level of empowerment among the wives of Diaspora husbands

Empowerment	Resources (in percentage)	Agency (in percentage	Achievements (in percentage)	Overall
Low	4.0	4.0	1.0	3.0
Moderate	55.4	2.0	2.0	19.8
High	40.6	94.1	97.0	77.23
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

From the table 5.3 considering all the three interdependent indicators of resources, agency and achievements it is clearly evident that a vast majority of 77.23 percent felt highly empowered, followed by 19.8 percent who felt moderately empowered and a negligible three percent of the women felt lowly empowered. Thus, women in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim feel empowered in the absence of their men. The empowerment is indicated through their greater access to resources, their role in decision making, undertaking of the additional responsibilities previously undertaken by men and the achievements with references to the role they play in their families and the society at large. Not to forget that this empowerment comes at a cost, a cost of absence, emptiness, negotiations, compromise and family disunion.

End Notes

1. Based on the researcher's empirical observation in the field. We have tried to provide the role expectation of women who have their husbands abroad. When we say a woman is successful in AVC then it means that she has been an Ideal daughter, wife, mother, daughter-in-law and an Ideal women overall.

CHAPTER 6

DIASPORA AND CHILDREN

This chapter focuses on the issues arising due to the absence of parents. The chapter mainly presents the children's experience in relation to the emotional and economic aspects in the absence of parent/. It, further describes the role played by the family and village society in the socialization of the child in to the culture of migration, thereby, forming a pattern that contributes to the 'culture of migration'. This chapter analyses the role of family and village as positive reinforcement and also presents a construction of stereotype with reference to Diaspora household with special emphasis on education and gender differentiation.

6.1: INTRODUCTION

Literature on the impacts and implication of international migration of the parents on the children/youth is lacking in relative terms compared to impacts of international migration on other relevant aspects. The question arises why children need to be given adequate attention? the answer to this question is that children are the future, what they experience today will contribute towards the social development, role taking and role performance for these children as future parents.

As migration increases, there is also an increase in the number of children being left behind. Migrating parents often leave their children in the care of the parent/s staying back. If it is in the case of one parent migrating or close relative and trustworthy person if it is in the case of both parent migrating. Further, to put it in simple words children usually undergo an up gradation of their material wellbeing, because children left behind get better clothes to wear, improved house to live, having all the devices of entertainment and talent and skill development opportunities as compared to children of non-migrating (UNICEF: 2008) . However, despite of the

material improvement that remittance tends to provide, there is inadequate awareness of the larger social impact that migration of the parent(s) has on the children left behind. In this chapter a humble attempt has been made to focus upon the social impact taking into consideration the views of the children (youth) in the villages of AVC. The views have been documented with the help of a questionnaire and interview shedule and are covered under the headings of impact of diaspora on the future education attainment, occupation and marriage, impact of diaspora on the relationship with parents due to the absence of one or both parents, impact of remittances on the children left behind.

6.2: DEFINITION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH AND TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN LEFT BEHIND

Children according to international standards are defined as 'Individuals below the age of 18 years' and 'Youth are defined as anyone in the age group of 16-24' (CRC, Article-1). In our case the study is limited to youth, but we will use children and youth interchangeably because the youth are the children of their parents. Therefore, children in our study would refer to youth in the age group of 16-24.

How many children are left behind by migrating parents is hard to guesstimate not only for Goa but elsewhere in the world. However, approximately there are at least a million (Yeoh and Lam 2006). In certain parts/countries of the world, the left behind children consisted of a noteworthy percentage in comparison to the entire children population. For instance, in Moldova 31 percent and in Philippines 27 percent of children have one or both parent working abroad (UNICEF 2007). When one compares the percentage of Moldova and Philippines with AVC in Goa, it is quite surprising to see that 47 percent of the Christian children in AVC had at least one of their parents working outside India. It is important to recognize at this juncture that

the children left behind is broad and heterogeneous group, in some cases children stay with one parent, while in others they may live without both the parents only to be cared and looked after by their caretakers or relatives. In some other cases children are left behind for years or months. In our study we have taking in to consideration all the categories of children left behind. The table 6.1 shows us the duration of migration of the parent(S) and table 6.2 shows us, where they have migrated.

Table 6.1
Parent(s) Number of years Abroad

Years Abroad	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1. More than 15 years	76.47	81.48	79.55
2. More than 10 years less than 15 years	11.76	14.81	13.64
3. More than five years less than 10 years	11.76	3.70	6.82
TOTAL	**100**	**100**	**100**

Table 6.2
Place of Migration

Place of Migration	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
SHIP	52.94	7.41	52.97
GULF	17.65	22.22	17.76
AMERICA	11.76	11.11	11.81
EUROPE	17.65	59.26	17.94
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

The table 6.1 presents a significant observation, wherein we see that 79.55 percent of the parent(s) have been away from their children for more than fifteen years. The parent(s) migration includes migration to any part of the world for a period of six months and above. From the table 6.2 it can be inferred that majority of the parents 52.97 percent of which 95 percent are men have migrated on the ship. In what way

this distance creates gaps in the relationship and how it reinforces certain stereotypes where job are concerned have been discussed in 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

6.3 CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON PARENT(S) MIGRATION

In our study we found that migrating parents decided to migrate by choice. The decision to migrate in AVC happened much before marriage in the case of fathers who had migrated and post marriage, in the case of both parents migrating. However, there were only 8 percent of such cases in AVC. With reference to the question as to why the parent migrated? all the youth in our study were aware of the reason for the migration. The reason for migration of the parent(s) could be summed up as an act by the individual or a group involving sending of remittances to provide the best for the children and make their life secured (see Funkhouser 1995, Stark 1995, Becker 1974). The children felt their life was progressing with special reference to education, housing, clothes, gadgets, transportation and appliances.

6.4: IMPACT OF DIASPORA ON THE FUTURE EDUCATION ATTAINMENT, OCCUPATION AND MARRIAGE OF CHILDREN.

6.4.1: Educational Attainment

The consequence that international migration of the parent on the children's educational preference or educational attainment can be positive or negative because the decision to migrate is theoretically linked to children's education in a number of ways (Nobles 2008:7). In our study the focus was on the future educational attainment of the youth. We found that there was a significant difference in the preference of educational attainment of male youth and female youth. The table 6.3 presents the preference of educational attainment.

Table 6.3
Preference for level of education among Male youth and Female youth

Level of Education	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1. Higher Secondary	29.41	3.70	13.64
2. Vocational Polytechnic	17.65	3.70	9.09
3. College/Bachelor's	29.41	48.15	40.91
4. University/Master's	23.53	44.44	36.36
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

It is evident that the youth (males) did not want to be highly qualified as compared to the youth (females). As it was seen that the majority of the youth (female) i.e.. 92.59 percent wanted to attain graduation and post graduation. With reference to why they wanted to do/or did graduation and post-graduation, there were four reasons that came up from the interviews.

1. They were certain that they would have to stay in Goa and look after the family, in such a case if they wanted to stay in Goan and work simultaneously, graduation and post-graduation was a must.

2. The family gained status, which would provide the family with some bargaining power at the time of marriage.

3. Even if they wanted to join their husbands abroad then being a graduate or a post-graduate would fetch you a job faster.

4. It also contributed to Delay the marriage of the Girl

On the other hand a look at the boys preference of educational level, presents that equal percentage of 29.41 percent boys wanted to complete 12th standard and graduation. There was less percentage of boys for Polytechnic and University as compared to 12th standard and Graduation. But, if one considers 12th Standard and Polytechnic together then a total of 49 percent boys wanted achieve or had achieved

it, this percentage for 12th standard and Polytechnic was very high for boys as compared to only 7 percent female. The reasons for this difference that emerged from the interviews.

1. The boys felt it was useless spending years in college and university because to work abroad and to work on the ship one need not be highly educated but one needed practical skills.

2. The boys also felt it was pointless doing graduation and post-graduation and seeking a job in Goa, as there was corruption and since opportunities were few it was a long wait for which one has to pay the ministers and politicians to get a job.

The difference in gender on the educational attainment has been supported by a study undertaken in Mexico by Hanson and Woodruff (2003) where it was found that female spent significantly larger number of years in high school compared to boys. This vast difference in educational attainment can be also linked to their occupational preferences and their place of work, which has been discussed in 6.4.2 and also the table 6.4.

6.4.2: Occupational preference

The study also found a significant difference among the male and female youth members on the dimension of occupational preference. This difference of occupational preference could be hypothetically linked to the preferred educational attainment among the youth and future study in this direction could unravel interesting facts. The table 6.4 provides us with the occupation preference among the male and female youth members of AVC left behind.

Table 6.4
Occupational Preference among the Youth

Preferred Occupation	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1.Doctor	0.00	3.70	2.27
2.Engineer	58.82	11.11	29.55
3. Musician	0.00	3.70	2.27
4. Teacher	0.00	18.52	11.36
5. Government Servant	0.00	29.63	18.18
6.Bussiness	5.88	11.11	9.09
7. Administrative Services	0.00	0.00	0.00
8. Defence Forces	0.00	0.00	0.00
9. Manager	11.76	3.70	6.82
10. Sports person	5.88	0.00	2.27
11. Technicians	5.88	0.00	2.27
12. Any other	11.76	18.52	15.91
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

A look at the preferred choice of occupation shows us that there were vast differences in the preferred choice of occupation between male and female youth. The female youth strongly preferred jobs in the government offices and the next best occupation was teaching with 18.52 percent stating that they wanted to become teachers, and an equal percent choose any other, out of these majority choose occupation i.e. fashion designing, hospitality and nursing. Whereas among the boys the top three areas of work was engineering with 58.82 percent, followed by manager in any company, which was 11 percent and an equal percent chose any other, from this category 66.66 percent chose hospitality (Chef, Waiters, Captain, House-keeping, Front office manager etc) and one youth stated that he wanted to be a priest. A look at these preferred choice of occupation shows that majority of the female chose occupation that one would get a job in Goa, whereas majority of the boys chose occupations that one would get a job abroad. This shows that there is a gender stereo

type in the job preference. Interviews with the youth presented that the youth looked up to different people for inspiration and motivation. The youth first looked up to their parents followed by their other family member like uncles and aunties and finally they looked at teachers and friends for guidance. The boys in particular were keen to follow their father's footsteps, where preference of job was concerned. One of the boys stated that ' my father has told me to complete my 12th Science and then go for mechanical engineering, after that he said that he will help me to get a job on the ship as a third engineer as he has his contacts' . Another boy stated that 'my father is after me not to do graduation, but rather to do a course in chef management at I.H.M, Porvorim, so that I can join the ship as *chef de partie* and salary is 80,000 Rupees . Whereas, another boy stated that 'my mother told me to do my graduation and then go to Dubai, as a graduate in Dubai I could get any job.

However, the females stated that there was no pressure from their parents to go for a particular type of education. One of the Female stated that 'my parents have told me do what you like study as much as you want'. While another girl stated that 'I don't know what to do, I have done my graduation so now I am planning to do law or Master's'. Hence, these responses confirm that there are fixed expectation and acceptance of occupation for boys and female. These expectation are enforced by the family and society that the children belong to, the youth adapt the prevalent means of achieving the goal of success.

The success for a AVC boy means material riches and for a AVC girl it means education and being an ideal woman. Thus, boys are socialized in to stereotype occupation, which they anticipate and pick up from their male elders i.e. father, uncle or friend from the village. Whereas the female are socialized in to occupations that help them to become ideal women just like their mothers , Mascarenhas-Keys (2011)

reefer's to this ideal women as progressive women/mothers and autonomous women, however the ideal women in our study is much beyond the concept of progressive mothers as already discussed in chapter five.

Thus, a look at the table 6.5 helps us to confirm that boys prefer to go abroad and female prefer to work in Goa or India.

Table 6.5
Preferred Place of Work among the youth

Place of Work	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1.Goa	11.76	74.07	50.00
2. Elsewhere in India	5.88	11.11	9.09
3. Abroad	41.18	14.81	25.00
4. Ship	41.18	0.00	15.91
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

More percentage of the youth (males) that is 82 percent stated that they would like to work abroad or on the ship rather than India, compared to only 14 percent of Female. The choice of occupation that boys wanted to take up was linked to the demand of such occupation abroad. The choice of such occupation was mainly due to the money factor. Such jobs abroad fetched one good pays as compared to Goa. The youth (males) have a fixed notion that in order to be successful one doesn't need to do a Ph.D, all that one needs is to earn money. The money can be earned quickly by going abroad and to go abroad one just need certain basic education and skills that are in demand in the foreign country and for which one gets paid three to four times more than what one would have got in Goa or India. Interviews with the youth also revealed that the youth especially males stated that they had watched their fathers earning enough money and have been successful with limited qualification. They had

seen how the qualification of their father's was sufficient for them to find a high paying job abroad. A look at the table below on the reason for the preferred place of work shall shed some more light on the facts.

Table 6.6
Reason for choosing the preferred place of work

Reasons for the place of work	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1.Poor Pay scales in Goa	17.65	3.70	9.09
3.Love of My family	17.65	66.67	47.73
4.Better opportunities in India	0.00	11.11	6.82
5. Better opportunities abroad	52.94	14.81	29.55
6. Like to see the world	11.76	3.70	6.82
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

The table 6.6 presents a stark contrast of the reasons for a preferred place of work among boys and female. As it was seen in table no 6.5, a large percentage of female i.e. 74 percent preferred to work in Goa and another 11 percent stated that they wanted to work in India. The total percentage that wanted to work within India was 85 percent. The reason that 66 percent of female presented on staying back in India, was that they loved their family as compared to only 17 percent boys and 11 percent female felt that there were better opportunities in India as compared to 0 percent boys. Whereas, a vast majority of 82 percent boys who preferred to work abroad or on the ship, pointed out that their main reason for this choice of place of work was better opportunities abroad (52.94 percent), poor pay scales in Goa (17.6 percent) and that they would like to see the world (11.7 percent). This reason could be summed up as the push and pull factors.

Thus, Educational attainment and occupational preference are interlinked. Through studies world over it is that, when parents or any other family member migrated it contributed to the high possibility of the children also migrating. Further, the children would migrate as soon as they had an opportunity to migrate and this happened usually in their later teenage years. However, this decision to migrate would cost the child the inability to go for higher education (Nobles 2008: 6-7). In addition to the above some studies argue that adolescent in Mexican communities, who anticipated migrating to the first available opportunity were not interested in the Mexican educational credentials because higher education was insignificant to the acquisition of a job in the United States (Chiquair and Hansen 2000). Consequently, Knodell and Kao (2011) in their analysis of children in Zacatecas (Mexico) found that children from migrant homes had a lesser inclination to go to college as compared to non-migrant children. Therefore, in our study we could clearly see that the boys in particular were more eager to migrate at the first available opportunity.

6.4.3: Preference for Marriage Partner

It is not surprising to see that there was a strong relationship between the place of job preferred and the preference for marriage partner among the youth.

Table 6.7
Preferred place of work among the Marriage partner

Preferred Place of Work	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1. Working in Goa with Government Job	52.94	11.11	27.27
2. Working Abroad	5.88	33.33	22.73
3.Working on the Ship	0	44.44	27.27
4.Working in Goa with own business	23.53	11.11	15.91
6. Not Working	11.76	0	4.55
7. NA	5.88	0	2.27
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

From the table 6.7 it can been see that greater percent of males (76 percent) stated that they wanted to marry females, who were working in Goa as compared to only 22 percent female preferring to marry boys in Goa. Whereas, 77 percent female preferred to marry males who worked abroad, as compared to only 5.8 percent males preferring the same. If we compare males and females and their preferred choice of marriage partner's place of work, then we see a strong relationship with majority female (75 percent) preferring to work in Goa and India and 76 percent males preferring to marry female working in Goa and India, while majority of the boys (82 percent) chose to work abroad and 77 percent of female stated that they would choose to marry with boys who worked abroad.

Thus, what can be concluded out of these observations and through the interviews is that the boys know that the female prefer marriage partners who work abroad, as they earn well and there is a secure future in financial terms. This is what motivates the boys to work abroad. The boys see that they earn well and save well to build a house and fill it with all the modern amenities and in the mean while they look out for marriageable partners. The marriageable partners enter into an alliance either through love or by the parents arranging a partner for the boy. Whereas, the female preferred to work in Goa, as they know that after marriage they will have to stay back in Goa to look after the family. The chances of woman migrating is dependent on the place of migration of the boy. If the boy is working in the U.K, U.A.E (Dubai) America (North) or Australia and New Zealand then there are greater chances of migrating with the entire family. But if the boy is working on the ship or certain gulf nation i.e. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar then the chances of migrating were less depending again on the position of work the boy is in. Further, in the table 6.8 we

see the preferred aspects that the male youth members and females youth members prefer in their probable spouses.

Table 6.8
Preferred aspects in the probable spouse

Preferred Aspects	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)	Total
1.Religious	47.06	37.04	40.91
2. Same Caste	0	7.41	4.55
3.Well Educated	29.41	29.63	29.55
4.Good looking	11.76	3.70	6.82
5.Homely	5.88	11.11	9.09
6.Earning handsomely	0	11.11	6.82
7.NA	5.88	0	2.27
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

6.5: IMPACT ON THE CHILDREN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS

Children often experience significant isolation, longing and sadness after one or both parents migrate. A UNICIEF study (2008) on Moldovain children found that separation from their parents affects the internal lives of children to a great extent. In our study it was seen that 75 percent of the children/youth felt sad about the absence of their parent(s). On interviewing the children/youth, they revealed that they were not only sad but also felt isolated and lonely. The youth boys in particular felt isolated as majority of the households in our study had no fathers in the household. Two of the youth in our study stated:

> 'when I was a small child I always wondered why my father never came to reach me to school and take me back, while I felt jealous that other children's fathers dropped them to school and mine was never present, I would always ask my mother where is dada, and she would say dada is gone to bring lot of money and toys for you'. When she would say that I would be happy but I would always wish that my dad was there' (Interview No-1 Alwyn Correia)

'I would always miss my dad taking me around to play or go for an outing, but when I would tell my mom please tell dad to come soon, she would say he cannot come as the company will not send him. Then I would insist when is he going to come, mummy would tell me he will come for Christmas and get you lots of gifts' (Interview No-2 Godwin Tavares)

From the two interview excerpts it can be seen that the children do miss their father's and whenever they miss, the mother would tell them that their father has gone to earn money and get toys. Thus, the children in the family start perceiving the father like a Santa Claus, whose role was to present them with lots of material things and the father in return looked at this gesture as a way of substituting his absence.

Further interviews with another two youth boys revealed that, as the fathers had migrated; the boys were deprived of a role model. The boys felt isolated and lonely as they missed the presence of their fathers. One of the youth stated that:

'If my father were around all the time, I would become more macho, I would become more strong and manly, my friends tease me that I am a sissy' (Interview No-3 Lenoy Fernandes)

The fathers' absence meant more for the boys as compared to the female. This difference among males and females was mainly because the female youth members had their mothers around to share different things with them. But this does not mean that the females did not miss their fathers. One of the Female youth member presented how she missed her father and stated that:

'I miss my dada, as he loves me a lot, my mom doesn't understand me, my dad is nice and he never shouts at me, I miss my dada he is the best in the world. When I was a child he would always embrace me and I would feel so protected' (Interview No-5 Sieanna Periera).

However, in situation when the mother migrated, the daughter in particular found it very difficult to live in the absence of her mother especially during adolescence. One of the youth girl revealed 'I did not know whom to talk to when I got my first periods, I was so scared and confused as to what was happening to me, but I managed to speak over the phone and my mother advised me to talk to my

grand-mother or the teacher from the school who knew my mother'. Thus, what we see here is that the role of each parent has a distinct importance in the emotional and psychological development of the child. Mothers in our study revealed that they faced a lot of difficulty managing their kids in the absence of their father. The mothers faced difficulty especially in managing the boys, as the boys became undisciplined and rebellious in some cases due to the lack of a role model. The study also found that 79.55 percent of the youth found it difficult in making decisions for themselves and they stated that if both the parents were present with them they would have made better decisions.

6.5.1: Communication

In our study it was seen that 95 percent of the youth spoke over the mobile phone and used the mobile phone by the means of social networking sites i.e. facebook messenger and whatsapp to chat with their parent(s) by texting. The frequency of communication varied from child to child and family to family. It was seen that 36 percent communicated with their parents over the mobile phone by talking to them once or twice a month, where as a larger number of the youth that is 45 percent communicated with their parent(s) by talking to them every week.

Fathers in our study communicated more with their daughter's as compared to sons; this was mainly due to the fact that the daughter's were more expressive. It was also seen that the youth did not feel shy talking about the general aspects about their lives with either of their parents this was evident from the fact that 90 percent of the youth stated that they shared their problems with their parent(s), but when it came to aspects of bodily changes and issues relating love relationship, there was a difference seen in the communication pattern of boys and female and also with whom they were more comfortable sharing about these aspects.

The boys in particular found it difficult to share about bodily changes and issues of love relationships with their fathers as compared to their mothers. It was seen that only 42 percent of the boys were comfortable sharing these things with their fathers, on the other hand 52 percent of the boys were comfortable sharing these things with their mothers. The boys in general found it difficult to share about personal aspects with their parents especially with their fathers as they always looked at the father as a disciplinarian, who would scold or yell at them whenever he came back for holidays. They also did not have any one to talk to about bodily changes that they were undergoing or underwent, forcing them to depend on friends and mass media. One of the youth boys revealed that:

'I am not comfortable sharing about my bodily aspects with my father, the reason for this is that I don't feel emotionally attached to him, forget about bodily aspects, I can't talk emotional things with him, because he is not that close to me, you understand na, and since childhood I have been communicating over the phone, so when he is actually present I am not comfortable. It is fine to talk about sports, cars, bikes and what things I want but this emotional stuff, I cannot (Interview No-7 Samuel D'souza)

The females in our study were more open in their communication with either of the parents. A youth girl spoke at length about her relationship with her father and mother:

'My father is cool, he loves me a lot, whatever I ask he brings or he sends for me. This time I asked him for an I phone 5 and he brought it for me. He can never says no. I hope he buys a bike for me, but he has put a condition and that is only if I get a distinction for graduation he will buy me a bike. My mother is super cool, I can talk anything with her, she knows everything about me, I have a boyfriend and I have told her, But I haven't told my dad. My mom also knows whenever we go out and If there are any problems I discuss with her. My mom is the closest to me and I love her a lot'

Though we cannot generalize on the basis of this stray narratives, usually when it comes to asking for things they would ask it from their fathers. But for all their personal aspects i.e. love relationships and bodily changes they would discuss it with their mother, as we found 74 percent stating that they shared these personal

aspects with their mothers and since the mother's were around they did not find it difficult to do so. Thus, what we can conclude from these findings is that boys were reluctant or shy to talk to either of their parents about personal aspects, whereas the female were more open as the mother's were around. However, it was heartening to see that 95 percent of the youth understood the reason for the absence of their parent(s). The youth were fully aware that their parent(s) are not around because they want to give them the best in life and help them secure a good future. As one of the youth stated that 'My parents are in Bahrain, I know that they have gone there to give me the best in life, If it wasn't for them I would not have got all the wonderful things that I enjoy. They spend so much on me and they want me to do well in my studies and be successful in the future (Interview No-8 Lean Vaz)

Finally, studies elsewhere reveal that children experience varied types of emotional deprivation and the difference in the emotional deprivation was based on age and personality of the child (Toth 2007: 7).

6.6: IMPACT OF REMITTANCES ON THE CHILDREN

When looking at the impact of migration and remittances on the children left behind. It was found that 53 percent of the youth felt that they received more pocket money than their friends whose parents worked in Goa. Our study also found fathers more obliging in giving pocket money as compared to the mothers. The reason for this difference was that fathers gave the pocket money as a substitute for their absence.

6.6.1: Use of remittances in Education

The remittances that the household received were used for different purposes. One of the most important uses of remittances was education. The majority of 89 percent of the youth stated that the money sent was invested in their education by spending on the school fees, books and uniform. The remittances were also used for food and clothing and a total of 86 percent approximately answered in the affirmative. Further, a total of 81 percent of youth agreed that remittances was used for all of the above aspects i.e. education, food and clothing and leisure.

The youth also revealed that the money received by the parent left behind or the caretaker was used for developing talents in the fields of music, dance and sports. A total of 93 percent of the youth agreed to this. These findings suggest that remittances in the household relax the household constraint, which would have limited the educational investment, this trend of investing in children's education and welfare enables households to develop the human capital. The family thus, sees migration abroad as a means towards achieving a better life and a secured future of their children by investing adequately in their education. The interviews with the youth also revealed that children having their parent(s) abroad went to private or aided English medium schools i.e. Manovikas, Vidya Vikas, Kings School, Maria Bambina, Our Lady of Health, Our Own English School, St. Francis Xavier High School, Perpetual Convent and Regina Martyrum. The parents preferred to send their children to English medium schools even if they had to pay extra fees. The reason for this was that the parents believed that English being an international language was a must for future job prospects abroad, and therefore it should be mastered and learned by the child. This finding is supported by a study undertaken by Bryant (2005) in which he argued that remittances in the Philippines were used to send children to

private schools, which were considered better then public schools. He suggested that children in left behind households have higher probability of attending private schools.

The impact of remittances on the children left behind in Diaspora households differed on the basis of gender. The remittances had either a positive or a negative impact on the educational attainment depending upon the gender of the youth. The remittances had a positive impact on the educational attainment of the female, where the money from the household was invested in higher education of the female. Therefore it was seen that there were much higher percentage of female graduating and post-graduating as compared to boys. This meant that remittances had a negative impact on the educational attainment of boys, because the boys always looked up to their fathers to model their future and therefore they knew very well to go abroad degrees are not important but skills. This finding is further supported by Mckenzie and Rapopart (2006) the authors argue that migration enforces educational decision among the children especially among the boys, who decide to follow their father's footstep. They explain that in rural Mexico, children who had their parents working in the U.S had a high probability of also migrating to the U.S. The probability of migrating to the U.S was high because they knew that in order to migrate to the U.S going to high school was sufficient enough and therefore it was not important to go for higher education. However, such an approach by the youth had a detrimental effect on entrepreneurship as it is seen that the youth get carried away by the remittances that their parent(s) are sending them. The effect of remittances get enlarged, when a significant number of the population depend purely on remittances to satisfy their economic needs. This effect creates a tendency to further migrate by a

large number of people, which in turn produces dependency on remittances for the household members left behind (Kirtz *et al* 1981)

6.6.2: Remittances and Leisure

It was also seen in our study that remittances were used for Leisure, a total of 83 percent of the youth agreed to this aspect. The remittances were used for various celebrations of the child in the household. One of the youth female stated that:

> 'I am so lucky my father along with my mother planned a huge celebration for my 21st birthday. All my relatives, friends and neighbours were invited. My birthday celebration was like a wedding. The cake was brought from Taj it cost around six thousand. My dress was designed by a designer. I really enjoyed my 21st birthday'(see Photo 6.1).

Apart from the 21st birthday there were other celebrations. These celebration included Christenings, First Birthday, First Holy Communion. The parties and celebration gave the family an opportunity to display their status by adopting the dominant practices of the village. For example, in a study undertaken in Pakistan it was seen that, in families where the members worked abroad were witness to a 'demonstration effect', whereby the family members indulged in spending more (Addleton 1984) (see Photo 6.2 for first holy communion).

Photo 6.1: The 21ˢᵗ Birthday Celebration

Photo 6.2: The First Holy Communion Celebrated in the Hall

Thus, the youth spend a lot on leisure and the money comes in as pocket money. The youth use the pocket money for filling of petrol in the bike, recharging their mobile phones, buying new clothes and on outings and movies.

Further, what can be seen here in AVC is that the impact of the absence of one of the parents has been thoroughly interceded by the protection cover provided by the extended family members, which has become an efficient retort to economic and social crisis. What we mean here is that, though in majority of the cases the father is absent or in some cases the mother or both are absent this absence of one or both parent does not have a detrimental effect on the psycho-social development of children in AVC. This is mainly due to the fact that throughout AVC the parents have made arrangements that make the life of the child easy and simple to cope up. The extended family network was active in cases where both the parents have migrated. The extended family network means the children were kept with the grand-parents or uncles and aunties. This ensured that the child was not fully deprived of parental love and care. Such a finding is supported by studies undertaken in sub-Saharan Africa by Foster (2004), the study shows that children do not suffer greater economic or social problems when compared to peers of non-migrating households. This was mainly because the extended family took care of them. Further, since majority of the households have the mothers staying with the children they get all the emotional care from the mother, who also compensates the absence of the father.

In conclusion we can say that remittances in AVC encourage migration abroad as a way of life among the youth. The dependency on migration represses entrepreneurship among the youth. In other words, since parent(s) have migrated abroad, the children look at their parent(S) as role models and the society at large.

CHAPTER 7

DIASPORA AND THE ELDERLY

This chapter focuses on the impact of Diaspora on their elderly parents in the sending society. People always migrate to areas of greener pastures. When members of a family migrate to a distant land a vacuum is created among the family members of the sending society. In AVC large numbers of Roman Catholics have migrated abroad, the migrated are mainly adults leaving behind their elderly parents. The chapter attempts to shed light on the implications of such large scale international migration on the elderly left behind. The question of impact of childrens migration on the elderly parents left behind is significant in the sending societies because in countries like India, the elderly depend heavily on their adult children to live peacefully in their old age. In such a situation international migration of the adult children may have mixed impact, wherein on one hand the elderly may benefit economically and on the other hand they may suffer emotionally, as the adult child cannot be around to provide that comfort and instrumental care to their ageing parents. The chapter focuses on the implications on the dimensions of social support, economic support and the overall wellbeing of the elderly. Thus, the chapter presents the views and experience of the elderly with the help of a questionnaire administered. The questionnaire on social support was the multi dimensional perceived social support developed by Zimet *et al* (1988) as discussed in chapter one and the questionnaire on economic support was developed by the researcher. Along with questionnaires, the researcher also tried to capture their experience through in-depth interviews following the case history approach.

Consequently, the study found out that International migration of the young adults may had a positive outcome, where economic support is concerned.

Whereas, the left behind elderly do not face social isolation when there is considerable support from the community, friends and relatives in the absence of their adult children. Thus, the chapter presents that international migration of the adult children has a positive outcome for the elderly left behind especially where quality of life is concerned (see also Kuhn *et al* 2011).

7.1: INTRODUCTION

In AVC there have been different categories of international migration during the 174 years of migration, i.e. Migration to the Gulf, Migration to the West, Migration to Africa and Migration on the ship. Thus, depending on which category the migrant belongs to, the elderly in that particular household will have a varied experience about the absence of their children. Nevertheless, the common aspect is that they live without their adult children around, who are their sources of comfort in their old age. Thus, the first question to investigate was, How does migration of the adult children affect the aging parents? With reference to this question we limited the effect to social and economic. Further, we wanted to investigate whether there was difference among the elder's views if they lived alone by themselves or with spouses or with their children's family.

The elders in this study has been defined as any person who has attained the age of 60 years and above, as the government of India considers sixty years as the benchmark for a senior citizen (*nhrc.nic.in/Documents)*.

A series of in-depth interviews to unearth each case history of the Disapora households and questionnaires were administered in the field from May 2014 to May 2015. The table 7.1 indicates the sample of the questionnaires and the Interviews. It was found that the women outnumber the men in each household.

Table 7.1
Sample compositions

Place	Case Histories/Interview	Questionnaires	Male	Female
Assolna	3	20	08	12
Velim	3	20	08	12
Cuncolim	4	30	11	19
Total	10	70	27	43

The study was undertaken especially among those households, where the elderly lived alone or with their spouse or grand children or daughter-in-law with the adult children being absent. A total of 174 households were examined. The table 7.2 provides the composition of the households.

Table 7.2
Composition of Households

Category	Frequency	Percent to the Population
Households with two elderly and other Family members	68	39.08
Households with one elderly and other family members	51	29.31
Households with single elderly living alone with no family member	18	10.34
House Holds with two Elderly living with no Family member	07	4.02
Households with no elderly	30	17.24
Total	**174**	**100**
Composition of Elderly to the Diaspora Household Population		
Elderly male	70	10.07
Elderly female	149	21.43
Total Population Sample	**695**	**100**

From the table 7.2 it is evident that the elderly make up 31 percent of the population, which means every third person in the diaspora household is an elderly. Out of these 31 percent it was found that the women elderly are more than double the male elderly i.e. 70 male elderly and 149 female elderly respectively. This is due to the fact that women were found to live much longer in a diaspora household. It was found that within the age group of 60 to 69 the frequency and percentage of male and female elderly was 40 (18percent male elderly) and 73 (33 percent elderly women), in the age group of 70 to 79 the frequency and percentage of male and female elderly was 22 (10 percent elderly men) and 47 (21 percent elderly women) , in the age group of 80 to 89 the percentage of male and female elderly was 8 (3.6 percent elderly men) and

24 (10.9 percent elderly women) , and in the age group of 90 to 99 the percentage of male and female elderly was 0 and 5 (2.2 percent elderly women). Thus, we can see that female elderly live longer than male elderly and therefore female elderly consisted twice the number of male elderly.

It was also found that 39 percent of the households had two elderly members living with other family members (this mainly consisted of Daughter-in-law and grand children). This was followed by 29 percent households having one elderly living with other family members, 14 percent of the households were found to have an elderly living alone or with their spouse. Out of these 14 percent, 10 percent of the households were single elderly household, whereby the elderly person lived all alone without any spouse or any other family members and lastly in 17 percent of the households there were no elderly found to be living. Further, 90% of the households that consisted of elderly living with other family members were households that had their sons working on the ship and the gulf. Whereas in the households that had elderly living all alone, 83 percent of these households were those households where their sons had settled with their family of procreation in the developed countries i.e.UK, Canada, U.S and the U.A.E etc.

7.2: THE IMPACT ON SOCIAL SUPPORT

In this study we first wanted to understand how does international migration of the adult children affect the aspect of social support? If we were to answer this question, we have to first try to understand what do we mean by social support?. Social support is a very subjective concept and therefore there are various ways of defining it, several scholars have defined it and presented varied dimension of this concept. We shall elaborate on a few of those out of the many more that the researcher has not adopted here for deliberations. According to Shumaker and

Brownell (1984) social support is defined as 'an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well being of the recipient' (Shumaker & Brownell 1984: 13). Cohen and Syme (1985) presented that the resources could stir a desirable or undesirable result. Social support was both a qualitative and a quantitative concept. Therefore, Lin (1986) defined social support as 'professed or definite active and or communicative requirements provided by the neighbourhood, societal arrangement and thrustworthy people' (Lin 1986: 18).

Having looked at the various dimensions of social support we wanted to measure what level of social support the elderly parents receive in the absence of adult children living with them due to international migration. We looked at a number of scales to measure and found that the Multidimensional scale of perceived social support was best suited in this study as the scale was a combination of subjective and objective aspects of social support. The MPSS as a scale to measure social support was designed on the basis of three significant parameters in the social support of the person, these three parameters included family, friends and significant other, on each of these aspects there were four questions.

7.2.1: Social Support from family

The Family in any society plays a significant role as an important source of coping with the various adversities that one has to face in one's life. Family support is very crucial in dealing with several emotional and social issues that one encounters in one's day to day life. In developing countries like India, which gives utmost importance to family, family bonds and family relationships, the familial bonds and relationships are based on love and respect for each family member. Traditional societies like India emphasize the respect, love and care for elders, which is looked by

the society as a value that all of the society should imbibe. However, in places like Goa (AVC) and especially among the Roman Catholics, where a large number of adult children are working outside India and the elderly are left behind to stay alone or with some family member, the question arises as to what amount of social support is provided by the family in the absence of the adult child or does the adult child's migration hinder family social support. The significant point here is the fact that large majority of the households were nuclear in nature in this case it would be interesting to see what is the level of social support from the family of the elderly left behind?. The table 7.3 presents the answer to this question;

Table 7.3
Perceived Social support from family members

Social support from Family	Response Frequencies		Total	Percentage		Total
	No	Yes		No%	Yes %	
My family really tries to help me	4	66	70	5.71	94.29	100
I get emotional help and support I need	5	65	70	7.14	92.86	100
I can talk about my problems with my family	10	60	70	14.29	85.71	100
My family is willing to help me make decisions	3	67	70	4.29	95.71	100
Total	22	258	280	7.85	92.14	100

The table 7.3 is based on four questions that seek to know the perceived social support of the family member of elderly in the absence of their adult children. What can be observed through this table is that in all the four questions more than 85 percent of the elderly respondents stated that they received the required social support pertaining to help, emotional help, discussion of problems and decision making. A look at the comprehensive picture of perceived social support by family members presents that an absolute majority of 92.14 percent answered in the affirmative with reference to

how they perceived social support from their family members. This proves that majority of the elderly received enough of attention from the other family members. However, one might debate this result as to how? Nevertheless, it was evident from the data that 82 percent of the elderly households consisted of households, where the elderly lived with other family members in AVC. This fact along with my empirical observation is the reason for 92 percent of the elderly affirming themselves to the social support received from the family members.

The researchers observation and interaction with the elderly from AVC also brings to light that when the elderly live with other family members in the same house, there is interaction with the other family members i.e. the daughter-in-law and grandchildren as well as one's relatives i.e. siblings and cousins who may visit them. The next question that arises here is, is this the case with the remaining 18 percent, who did not live with any family member except oneself or one's spouse?. The answer is a yes; the researcher was also able to find the reason for this answer. The reason arisen through the interaction's with the elderly and the researchers empirical observation is that even though the elderly lived alone or with the spouse, the elderly had visitors to their house in the form of their daughter's who were married in the nearby vicinity, nephews or nieces, cousins and siblings. When these members' of the family visited them they felt good and got ample of opportunities to share one's problems, to seek for any help and support and also to make any decisions if needed to be. However, the elderly also revealed that these visits were more frequent ten years ago, but now the visits are reducing in number. An elderly also stated that 'Only if I am sick then someone comes to visit'.

7.2.2: Social support from Friends

In the absence of the adult children, friends play a very important role in providing support. Friends are one group of people, who are a part and parcel of our life and help us to cope up in each of the stages of our development and role taking, whether it is adolescence or Old age, friends are an important agent of socialization. Thus, in this study friends were also an important component of social support. The table 7.4 illustrates social support by friends in AVC.

Table 7.4
Perceived Social support from Friends

Social support from Friends	Response Frequencies		Total	Percentage		Total
	No	Yes		No%	Yes %	
My friends really try to help me	23	47	70	32.86	67.14	100
I can count on my friends when things go wrong	26	44	70	37.14	62.86	100
I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows	23	47	70	32.86	67.14	100
I can talk about my problems with my friends	27	43	70	38.57	61.43	100
Total	99	181	280	35.35	64.64	100

Social support from friends as presented in the table 7.4 was found to be average, where in 64.64 percent stated that they received support from their friends on aspects i.e. help in times of trouble, sharing of happy, sorrowful moments and problems. In most of the aspects on social support from friends one could see only 67.14 percent of the elderly affirming that they got social support from friends. The researcher's interaction with the elderly and his empirical observation points out that, the elderly perceived social support from friends to a lesser extent as compared to family and significant other mainly because majority i.e. 82% of the elderly lived with a family member consisting of one's spouse or daughter-in-law or grandchildren. In

such a case, most of them shared their problems with their spouses if they were still living and occasionally they would share with their friends, whereas in the cases where the elderly had no spouse or daughter-in-law they would share with some close relative or a friend. The significant point here is that, the elderly felt less dependent on the friends to share with them. Another reason was the restriction on mobility, as some of the elderly can't ride a bike or drive a car they were immobile to go to their friend's house. An elderly when asked stated that 'My friend came to see me eight months back' when I said that he should share over the phone or mobile the elderly replied 'over the phone or mobile you cannot talk everything and there is no privacy in the house'.

Another issue during this age of digital was that on one hand the young generation easily uses watsapp and facebook to communicate, the elderly were not comfortable with mobile phones some were fine with landline connection but were worried about the telephone bill or whether someone is listening to them. The next reason put forth by two of the elderly men in their late seventies was that 'they had a friend who was close to them but passed away two years ago'. Thus in the case of AVC what can be observed is that dependency of friends is reduced due to restriction on mobility and the support received from the family and spouse, while in some cases the dependency could be reduced due to the loss of the friend.

7.1.3: Social support from significant other

According to the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology the concept of significant others refers to a those persons who are of sufficient importance in an individual's life to affect the individual's emotions, behavior, and sense of self. While in common parlance "significant other" has come to designate a romantic partner, sociologists' broader use of the term would include other relations such as family

members and close friends or mentors. Through interactions with significant others, and perceptions of their responses to one's behavior, an individual gains a sense of who he or she is, and comes to understand how to act in a given context and role. (http://www.blackwellreference.com)

In our study 'significant other' refers to a spouse or a special friend. We have limited the meaning of this concept to spouse or a special friend as the people of AVC wouldn't understanding its broader meaning and also in order to avoid confusion among the participants, we had to limit the use of this concept. The role of significant other or the support that significant other provide is commonly known to all. However, we wanted to understand, as to what extent social support was provided to the elderly by the significant other. Nevertheless, the significant other is an important component in the concept of social support, without examining the significant other's social support we couldn't clearly determine the level of social support in its totality. The table 7.5 presents the perceived social support from the significant other.

Table 7.5
Perceived social support from the significant other

Social support by Significant Other	Response Frequencies		Total	Percentage		Total
	No	Yes		No%	Yes %	
There is a special person who is around when I am in need.	3	67	70	4.29	95.71	100
There is a special person with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	3	67	70	4.29	95.71	100
I have a special person who is a real source of comfort to me.	7	63	70	10.00	90.00	100
There is a special person in my life who cares about my feelings	11	59	70	15.71	84.29	100
Total	24	256	280	8.57	91.44	100

From the table 7.5 it is clearly evident that the significant other is perceived as a high source of social support by the elderly. The average of all the four aspects i.e. being there when needed, to share joys and sorrows, to comfort and share feelings was a high 91.44 percent. This high perception of social support from the significant other was mainly due to the fact that 63 percent of the elderly among the diaspora households lived with their spouses, when we asked an elderly couple in their eighties 'Whom do they depend upon for emotional aspects?' there was a loud answer as 'on each other'. Another elderly said 'living together for so many years I can't imagine living without my husband, we fight till today but we cannot do without each other'. However, there were 23 percent elderly who did not have their spouses around as they had already passed away but they had a high perception of social support from the significant other, for them it their special friend was grandchild, daughter-in-law or a special friend from the vicinity who came everyday to talk to them.

7.2.4: Perceived Social support overall

We tried to grade the perceived social support as high, low and moderate. On the basis of the scale adopted from Zimet *et all* (1988). The table 7.6 presents the overall picture of the perceived social support among the elderly of disapora households in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim.

Table 7.6
Perceived Social support overall

Social Support Overall	Total	Percentage
High	45	64.28
Low	1	1.42
Moderate	24	34.28
Total	70	100

The table 7.6 highlights that a large majority of 64.28 percent perceived social support as high, followed by 34.28 percent who perceived social support as moderate and a very little 1.42 percent of the elderly perceived social support as low. Thus, what can be concluded here is that 98 percent of the elderly had a high or a moderate perceived social support,   although 91 percent of them lived in nuclear families. The reasons attributed based on my interactions and empirical observation was that majority i.e. 82 percent lived in households that had their spouse or other family members living with them. In such a case, most of them were content with the arrangements of their living conditions.

The physical proximity of friends, neighbors and family provided the ear to hear the elderly when it mattered the most. Though the friends, neighbors and other family members don't interact everyday in most cases, but if an elderly person was sick or needed help then people would reach out. It can however not be denied that some of elderly in these diaspora households do feel handicapped when it comes to mobility (moving around), as a result of which they could socialize or meet people when they want, they also found it difficult to share day to day problems and difficulties and also if they had to go to the doctor when sick, this was observed in cases especially if they lived alone and the elderly in such cases wished for the son or the family members to be present around them.

7.3: THE IMPACT ON ECONOMIC SUPPORT

The economic impact that the international migration of an adult child has on the elderly left behind have been studied across the globe. There are many a studies that show a positive economic impact of the international migration of the adult child on the elderly left behind. The remittances send by the adult children provides the elderly left behind with easy access to health care facilities, quality food, relaxation and living conditions, whose access was crucial for the elderly (Jensen & Richter 2004). In a study in Thailand by Adhikari *et al* (2011) it was seen that, there was 22 percent greater possibility of seeking professional help in times of physical ailments, among the elderly with migrant children as compared to elderly living with their children. Further, the economics of labour migration theory presents that, migration is a conscious decision taken collectively both by the migrant and the family left behind. The major goal of the migrant is to improvise the economic conditions of the left behind family members (Massey & Espinosa 1997, Stark & Bloom 1985, Castles 1998). Thus, what migration of the adult child does is that it mobilizes support of the immediate family members of the migrant left behind because the migrant contributes immensely to the increase in the family income, which allows the family members to easily access the various commodities and services.

Further, the international migration of the adult children lead to a feeling of economic security among the elderly parents left behind. Because, the remittances that the children send had always a positive bearing on the wellbeing of the elderly left behind (Huang 1997, Zhang & Wu 2003). On the other hand there are very few studies that reveal the negative economic impact of adult children's i.e. in rural Albania, where the elderly felt economically insecure due to the absence of their adult children (King & Vullnetari 2006).

Thus, in our study we were also interested in knowing the economic support as perceived by the elderly left behind due to the international migration of their adult child or child's family. The perceived economic support questionnaire had 10 questions. The table 7.7 provides us a glimpse of the perceived economic support by the elderly left behind.

Table 7.7
Perceived Economic support by the Elderly left behind.

Perceived Economic support	No	Yes	Total	No%	Yes %	100
13. My Child sends me money regularly	9	61	70	12.86	87.14	100
14. I have no problem in accessing the money send	6	64	70	8.57	91.43	100
15. The money send is sufficient for all my needs	8	61	69	11.43	87.14	99
16. The money send is enough for buying medicine	8	62	70	11.43	88.57	100
17. The money send is enough for buying groceries	6	64	70	8.57	91.43	100
18. The money send is enough for buying new clothes	6	64	70	8.57	91.43	100
19. The money send is enough for traveling	10	60	70	14.29	85.71	100
20. All facilities are provided for me in the house	2	68	70	2.86	97.14	100
21. Entertainment facilities are available to me	3	67	70	4.29	95.71	100
22. Sanitary facilities are available to me	2	68	70	2.86	97.14	100

For the purpose of analyses we have tried to demarcate certain questions under certain headings, i.e. receiving and accessing of remittances, use of remittances, and provision of facilities. We have presented them below.

7.3.1: Receiving and accessing of remittances

In our study it was found that 87.4 percent received remittances from their children residing abroad. This shows that a large majority of children felt obliged to send money regularly for the wellbeing of their elderly parents. Interaction with the elderly also revealed that initially when the child went abroad they would send the money in the parents account or through a friend directly to the parent, however after four to five years of marriage money would be send to the child's wife, if the wife resided with the parents of the son. Though this was reported by some of the elderly parents, this was not true for all the elderly parents, some elderly revealed that they still received money separately on their account. Nevertheless, in cases where the parents lived alone without any family member the money was send directly in their account. Thus, it is not surprising that 87.14 percent of the elderly parents received remittances either directly or indirectly.

Access to remittances was a questions purposively put forth to cross check, what percentage of the elderly who received the remittances had access to it. With reference to this question it was seen that 91.4 percent had access to remittances, which is more than the ones who receive the money regularly. The reason for this difference was mainly because some elderly did not directly receive the money, but they did have access to the money. It was also found that 9 percent of the elderly had no access to money and they were left to fend for themselves. One of the elderly lady from Assolna stated that 'my son has not returned home from Dubai for the last 18 years, initially he used to send money in the first five years but after that he stopped, from then on my life is miserable, I pray that he comes home someday'. The plight of these nine percent of elderly is a sorry state. However, 91 percent were pretty content with the remittances they received.

7.3.2: Uses of remittances

The elderly used remittances for various purposes, through my initial interaction at the begging of this study it was found that the remittances were used for buying medicine, groceries, clothes and travelling, though we have tried to elicit the response on needs , we wanted to probe further as to what needs are satisfied. Thus, a look at the table 7.7 above shows that 87.14 percent of the elderly stated that the money send took care of all their needs, whereas 12.86 percent reported that all their needs were not satisfied by the money that they received. It was seen that the money was sufficient in buying medicine for 88 percent elderly; this means that though a larger percent i.e.91 percent stated that the money was sufficient for buying groceries and clothes, only 88 percent of the elderly received money that was sufficient for buying medicines. Further, it can be seen that 85 percent reported that the money send was sufficient to fulfill their traveling needs. This shows that there is greater preference to use the money send on groceries and clothes, which contributed to the insufficiency of money with reference to traveling and buying medicines in greater number of elderly as compared to buying of groceries and clothes.

7.3.3: Provision of facilities

During ones old age two of the facilities that become very basic and must are sanitary and entertainment. These two facilities are very significant as during ones old age one experiences two types of limitation one is physical immobility and the other is limited socialization. Both of these limitation are interdependent and interrelated, mainly because if one is physical immobile then you can go around visiting other, which in turn limits your socialization and again if some else is immobile then that person can't come to visit you. Secondly, ones physical disability to climb up or walk may hinder the use of sanitary facility if it is too far or not accessible to the elderly.

Hence, providing adequate sanitary facilities is important to the elderly. Thirdly, with limited access to friends and neighbor life would be boring and so the elderly need some source of entertainment i.e. television and music etc. Thus in our study it was seen that 97 percent of the elderly stated that all their needs were satisfied but when it was asked whether entertainment needs were fulfilled 95 percent stated that entertainment facilities were available to them. This difference was mainly because some of the elderly stated that there was only one TV set and so when they want to see a programme they don't get as the grandchildren or the daughter in-law want to see their programmes. However, sanitary facilities were available to 97 percent of the elderly. In one of the cases in Cuncolim an elderly man couldn't walk, when probed as to what facility is provided to him, he stated that 'I have a potty and I sit on that, my wife cleans it for me, my toilet and bathroom is in my bedroom'. Whereas in another case a woman in Assolna reported that 'I have a toilet that is build by the government it is an Indian toilet and I find it difficult to sit on it, I wish my son builds a western toilet'.

7.3.4: Economic support overall

From the discussion above it is evident that roughly around 90 percent of the elderly were content with the economic support they received. The table below presents economic support as high, low and ,moderate. This demarcation is based on the scale, wherein 1-4 score was low, 5-7 score was moderate and 8-10 score was high. Thus in the table 7.8 it can been see that 90 percent of the elderly had a high perception of economic support, followed by 5.71 percent who had a low perception and 4.28 percent, reported that they had a moderate perception of economic support from their children abroad. A look a the table 7.8 provides us with the overall perception of social support.

Table 7.8
Perception of economic support

Perceived Economic Support	Total	Percentage
High	63	90
Low	4	5.71
Moderate	3	4.28
Total	**70**	**100**

7.4: LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT

From the two tables 7.9 and 7.10 it can be see that there was no major difference found in the social support and economic support of those who lived all alone or with their spouses and their children's family. Thus, irrespective of where the elderly is living a vast majority of 64.28 percent felt that they received high social support and an absolute majority of 90% felt that they receive a high economic support.

Table 7.9
Living arrangements and Social support

Social Support	4. With whom are you living with?			Total	Percentage
	Children's Family	Alone	Only with spouse		
High	27	4	14	45	64.28
Low	1	0	0	1	1.42
Moderate	16	1	7	24	34.28
Total	44	5	21	70	100

Table 7.10
Living arrangements and Economic support

Economical Support	4. With whom are you living with?			Total	Percentage
	Children's Family	Alone	Only with spouse		
High	39	5	19	63	90
Low	2	0	2	4	5.71
Moderate	3	0	0	3	4.28
Total	44	5	21	70	100

7.5: THE ELDERS PERSPECTIVE ON THE ABSENCE OF THEIR ADULT CHILDREN

The elders perspective on the absence of the adult children due to International migration is organized in to six major themes; these six themes are borrowed from a study undertaken in Moldova on a similar study by Grant, Falkingham and Evandrou (2009). The six major themes are: financial need, migration and remittances, the emotional costs of separation, concerns over care, increased responsibilities of older people, the emergence and impact of 'empty' villages, the wider impact on 'Goa'.

7.5.1: Financial need, migration and remittances

The respondents in our study unanimously stated that the need to migrate was mainly financial, with financial what they meant was that, the drive to migrate was related to certain push factors in Goa as well as pull factors. The push factors include lack of job opportunities relating to the educational level one has achieved, poor pay scales and heavy price paid (payment of bribes due to corruption) to procure government jobs. The pull factors that the elderly listed were job opportunities abroad, better life conditions and standard of living and good pay package. The financial motive to migrate was also related to the intrinsic motivation of a given family to flourish and 'come up in life'. Each family felt that they should have a better quality of life, a better standard of living, not only for oneself but also for one's family members and the future family. Because in most of the cases examined it was seen that the youth migrated as young as 17 years and the major motive was to improve one's status through earning money that would fuel them to climb up the social ladder. Two of the respondents stated that migration abroad was also driven by

the motive of maintaining certain status already achieved. Both of them belonged to the higher caste *Chardo.* One of them elaborated:

> 'During the Portuguese rule it was getting very difficult for my grandfather and other family members to sustain them in Cuncolim, due to the high taxes and limited source of income. During that time there were opportunities available on BI or P & O shipping my grandfather joined aboard in 1894, when he was only 16 years old. One did not need big qualification in those days. Only you had to have the will to work and good English speaking skill. My father also followed him in 1927. Though the salary in those days was not much it was enough to sustain our family and give us good education in St. Paul's- Belgaum (Karnataka state) (Interview-1: 75 year old man from Cuncolim).

Whereas, in another case the elderly man stated that his father migrated to improve his social condition so as to climb up the social ladder and do away with the discrimination at the hands of the higher caste in economic and religious activities. When probed further he revealed that:

> "My father was always fascinated by the upper caste *chardos* and their way of life, at the same time he felt belittle as my grandfather (his father) worked for high caste *chardo* as a *mundcar* ploughing their fields and doing all sorts of odd jobs. Nevertheless, my father was a good friend of a high caste man who worked as a chief steward, by requesting him he managed to get onboard as a utility boy in 1954 and then on our life changed. He bought the land by saving every single pie, educated me to become an engineer later and in 1970 I joined the ship as a deck cadet and retired in 2010 as an engineer, today my son is working as a software engineer in London (U.K)".

From the above excerpt it can be analyzed that the motive to migrate in some cases is not only financial. Though through improving one's financial condition, one can move up the social ladder, the motive to migrate is based on the theory of relative deprivation, in the case above it is clearly evident that certain caste groups within the caste hierarchy were deprived of several material and social aspects of life, it is in the context of deprivation that caste groups like the *shudras* migrated as they felt that they could improve their status by migrating.

The elderly irrespective of the caste presented that migration abroad had benefitted them in several ways. International migration brought financial gain for

each family, which in turn had contributed to the betterment of the standard of living. This financial gain had in turn provided the family an opportunity to improve one's status within the caste group that one belonged to. In the course of time international migration has become a means to an end. One of them belonging to the *shudra* caste elaborated:

> "What does a Goan man aspire in life? All that he wants is to earn enough of money to build a good house, have a good bank balance, have all the amenities i.e. car, LCD, DVD, A.C and all the modern gadgets needed in the house, have a good wife and have a good standing in the society, what else we need" (Interview No 6).

From the above excerpt one gets to understand the mindset of the Goan boys, most of them have observed those who have migrated and have seen that, most of them who have gone abroad are doing very well economically and socially.

Thus, what can be understood here is that, there is an emergence of the Goan dream, just as Merton talks of the American dream[1]. There is a similarity between the American dream and the Goan dream, though Merton presents five different ways of approaching the American dream. The majority of the Christian boys in AVC take the road of 'conformity' through International migration in order to achieve the Goan dream, the Goan dream has been manifested and perpetuated through the success stories of the fellow villagers, who have migrated. Hence, today the Goan society vis-à-vis *'AVCian'* society accepts International migration as a means to the end (The Goan dream).

The elderly interviewed also stated that they were quite happy with the remittances that they received. Though not all of them needed money every single month, they were more than happy to receive what their children send them. The amount received was spend in buying medicine, clothes, travelling and food (in cases where the elderly lived alone) topping up one's mobile phone and buying gifts for relatives and grandchildren as well as making gold ornaments and giving money as

blessings at the time of marriage. However, there were two of the elderly who brought to light that they had worked abroad before and that they don't need money from their children to support them, as they had enough of money. One of them a 72 year old man belonging to the *chardo* caste from Assolna, stated that:

> 'I used to work in Dubai for Emirates airlines; I worked for 35 years and earned enough of money. I sponsored my son's migration to the U.K three years ago, since he had to move with my daughter-in-law and grandchild the expenses are quite high, therefore I sent 500 pounds every month for them' (Interview No-4).

From the above response what can be seen is that the flow of money may not always be from the children to the elderly parents, but may be reverse. In AVC, it is significant to note that 8 out of the 10 respondents felt that, they were respected and cared by their children. Though they were not physically present they had compensated through the money send, which had made their life comfortable. Most of the respondents took pride in stating where the child or their children's family worked and settled. For example a respondent from Cuncolim stated that:

> '*Muge cheddo ani tege bail ani burgim Amerikak asai* (My son and his wife and children are in America, Interview No-7)

This was stated with great pride and prestige. Nevertheless, two elderly out of the 10 in-depth interviews felt that they were not happy at all with the absence of their sons. One of them, an elderly lady from Assolna, stated that 'my son has not come home for the last 15 years and he doesn't send any money, I have to depend on the government scheme that gives senior citizens two thousand per month, what a shame for me, a son who is a pilot and earns 4 lakhs a month has no money for his old mother, who is staying alone , I have no face in this village, my only trust is on God, I hope God will put in his mind to come home someday'

Thus, the general picture that emerges in AVC through the in-depth interviews and the questionnaires administered, is that the elderly have adjusted well to the

absence of their children, because some of them were themselves international migrants and their parents had to go through the same experience or some had observed their grandparents when their parents were abroad and hence they did not find it difficult to relate in the present context. Secondly, international migration presents a means of achieving security for themselves as well as their children. As the stable and high flow of income every month in to the household brings prosperity and security for the future. Thirdly, International migration of their children also helps them to achieve status in the society, through the place of migration or the material positions that are displayed it helps them to climb up the social ladder. Although in most cases it is the child that sends money to the elderly parent it may not be so in every case there could be exceptions. Fourthly, International migration of a child and the financial gain may not be transferred to the elderly left behind and they may be left to fend for themselves as seen in the case of the two ladies from Assolna. Lastly, it cannot be denied that International migration is driven by the financial need and it is this need that has contributed to financial gain of the individual family members.

7.5.2: The emotional costs of separation

The emotional cost that an elderly had to pay due to separation with their adult children varied from case to case. The elderly parents were comfortable with the absence of their children and had adjusted to their absence in eight out of the ten cases. More than the feeling of sadness there was this sense of achievement in the minds of the elderly parents, the sense of achievement was based on the financial gains that the family had made and the status that the family had able to achieve due to the long migration history of the family members. However, it cannot be denied that the elderly parents were emotionally connected to their children and missed them from time to time during several village and religious festivities and functions. The

elderly also felt anxious about the welfare and health of their children no matter where they were, the six elderly women in particular stated that they dedicated rosaries, special prayers and also went to the church for masses and prayed at different religious activities i.e. novenas, retreats/ healing services and prayer meetings.

There were several responses that were elicited from them during the interview ,One of the women interviewee from Cuncolim, who was a widower presented that 'she missed her son because she couldn't express certain day to day happenings with her daughter in-law and that she would have shared better with her son', while another elderly women aged 78 years stated that 'when you have your grand-children as your pass time, life is so beautiful and worth living and every day just passes by so nicely'. Another elderly women widower from Velim aged 74 years pointed out that 'she missed her sons who were working abroad because she had no one to talk to freely and that since she couldn't walk it became very difficult for her to do anything or go anywhere, because if her son's were present they would help her out'. Thus, it can be observed here from the several responses that the elderly did miss the physical presence of their children, though many of them did speak over the phone, speaking every day was not possible due to the cost factor and most of the time it was the children who called and so the elderly had to wait anxiously for the call. Six out of the ten elderly stated that they used mobiles to talk and send messages to their children. In one of the studies by Knodel and Saengtienchai (2007) they suggest that progress in technology and transport had reduced the geographical distance by enhancing the accessibility to communication thereby reducing the negative effects of migration. The same hold true in the case of AVC. Whereas an elderly women aged 76, who lived all alone in Velim stated that 'I am happy go lucky, I don't miss anyone. I am enjoying my life and I have nothing to worry'.

Whereas all the four men interviewed were not very vocal about missing their children. one of them however, did say that 'he longed to play with his grandchild and share issues of health with his son' while another stated that 'One really feels nice, when my grandchildren and my son and daughter-in-law comes home for holidays and we go for walks and picnics, I feel so proud'. Nevertheless, not all seemed to be good for two women from Assolna, who stated that they were longing to see their son's and their families and their life had become miserable. Thus, what can bee see from the several responses is that in each case there is an emotional cost involved due to the separation and the emotional costs are portrayed by the elderly parents concern for their children and need to talk to them and be able to do the things that they can't do in their absence.

All of the respondents unanimously stated that they missed their children's presence in one of the several family events i.e. Birth of a Child, Baptism, First Holy Communion and Marriage, village/religious celebration i.e. The Patron feast, Our Lady's visit (*saibin*), Christmas and Easter and family tragedies i.e. death of a family member and accident.

7.5.3: Concerns over care

The elderly in AVC (Goa) had several concerns over care, these concerns were related to two major aspects. The first aspect was care of themselves, seven of the ten elderly were worried what will happen if they are not able to walk. Most of them stated that so long as they can walk freely without any one's help or artificial support there wasn't a big problem. But wondered what would be their plight if they become immobile, who will take care of them, who will help them to do basic task i.e. bathing and going to toilet. One of the elderly women, who couldn't walk stated that 'I face a lot of hardships to have bath and go to the toilet, though my daughter-in-law

lives with me along with my grandchildren, I feel guilty to ask her to help me every time and sometimes if we quarrel then my daughter-in-law grumbles about it'. Whereas, another elderly man who lived alone without any help and used a walking stick to walk, said that 'I am scared of losing my balance and falling down, *maka mandrer poddpa naka* (I don't want to be bedridden) my son lives in UK with his family, how will he come to Goa leaving his job. Though my son has arranged for a servant in the house, who does the cooking and all the household work, I am worried what if this situation arises'. The elderly also put forth their health conditions, the most common health condition among six of the elderly was diabetes. Though all the six stated that they have adapted suitable eating habits and a life style that helps one cope up with the health condition of diabetes, one of the elderly women from Cuncolim narrated that 'One day when I had gone for mass, I collapsed and after that I didn't know what happened, I woke up only to see a doctor checking me, I learned that the parishnors had helped me to reach my home and bring in a doctor'. Another Elderly Mr. Elvin Mendes (name changed) stated that:

> 'Though I am not worried about my health I am more worried about my children's welfare and my wife's welfare. I can manage even if my wife is not well, as I know to drive the car and I can easily take her to the hospital, but the problem arises when I am ill as both my son's are not here there is no one in the family to help at the immediate moment, although my wife is there she is helpless as she can't drive and so we have to call for outside help'.

What we see here is that the elderly in AVC are not obsessed with their health but at the same time they do get worried about certain issues relating to care because they are not in a position, like they did when they were young. On the other hand seven of the elderly who lived either with their spouses or with their children's family were optimistic about living their life without worrying much about their health conditions as there was some family support, when it mattered the most. They were also happy about the fact that they need not worry about economic aspects, especially if they

were ill and that there was enough of support from their children, two of them went a step ahead in saying that at times they themselves helped the others around in coping with health issues. Studies in Thailand support this finding, wherein Abbas *et al.* (2009) presents that parents whose children were abroad were less likely to be disheartened as compared to those whose children did not migrate. On the other hand, the most disheartening aspect with regards to care and concern of the elderly was in the case of the two women from Assolna, both of these women complained that they felt abandoned. One of them even cried and stated that:

> 'what wrong have I done to my son? I gave him good education, clothes and everything that he wanted but what has he given me, I am old now, I haven't seen him for the last 15 years, I came to know that he has settled with his family in Dubai, he works as a pilot, I have no support financially nor emotionally, I hope he comes to see me before I die'.

What we see in these two cases is 'abandonment' hypothesis when offspring's migration negatively affected parents; this was found in a study undertaken by Antman (2010) in Mexico, where it was found that offspring's migration to the U.S amplified the probability of parents undergoing emotional turmoil of depression, loniness or sadness. On the whole five out of the ten elderly interviewed were content with the arrangements about care, as they lived with their children's family i.e. the daughter-in-law and grandchildren. Whereas among the other five who did not live with their children's family, one of the elderly who lived with the spouse and the other who lived alone with also content with the arrangement. But three of the elderly parents were not happy with the arrangements of care. One amongst them, who lived with his spouse stated that:

> 'what is the use of building such a big house, when your children and grandchildren are far away and will never come to stay here till we are alive or even dead'.

The second aspect of concern was safety of them especially if they lived alone. In the last ten years it has been observed that the number of migrants in Goa have increased, mainly due to the various opportunities of labour available to them. As per the 2011 census migrants make up for 25 percent of the state's population. Though most of these migrants are peace loving and hardworking, there are a few who come to Goa to rob houses and earn a quickly. These robbers are attracted to AVC and many other parts of Goa due to the better economic conditions of the households in Goa, especially those where the adult children are working abroad. These household are vulnerable to thefts due to the absence of youth especially men. The household composition in AVC mainly consists of elderly, children and women. In such a scenario, the elderly pointed out that they felt afraid to live alone, as they did not know when the robbers may attack. As there were many cases reported of elderly women being robbed of their gold when they were going for mass early in the morning. There have also been cases of robberies in the households, where robberies had taken place at the knife point. Thus, all the elderly though were cautious and vigilant felt threatened. This was one of the major concerns over care. However, all the ten elderly presented that International migration had no substitute in Goa, where pays and jobs were concerned and they have managed to mentally organize themselves to this condition of; living without children.

The 174 years of International migration in AVC had contributed to the socialization of the elderly in to expected roles that were played by their predecessors. Hence, it is observed that the elderly in eight of the ten cases examined, never really thought that care was a big concern in the real sense. As most of them felt that they had the capacity to cope up. Secondly, as most of the households had family support it became much easier for them to manage their health conditions. Thirdly, the villages

of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim being Church and community centric it provided the elderly ample of opportunities to interact with neighbours, friends and relatives , who showed concern for the elderly in times of distress and ill-health. The Church in particular was a great source of opportunity for interaction that helped not only in the spiritual wellbeing but also social well being of the elderly. It is at the Church that the elderly got an opportunity to meet others when they went for mass and interacted with each other, by asking about the wellbeing of each other.

The elderly especially women (with an exception of a few men), who were more than double of the elderly men , spend a lot of time in church activities of organizations related to the church i.e. legion of Mary, Parish council, Vincent de Paul and Charismatic group. The elderly who enjoyed mobility, were able socialize at several household family functions, which are more like community get-together i.e. Communion, christening, marriage, funeral, birthdays and anniversary of different types.

7.5.4: Increased responsibilities of older people

As most of the adult youth (children) have migrated abroad the question arises, does this arrangement increase the burden of responsibilities on the elderly parents left behind. Previous research conducted with the same question provides answers that, In places like Moldova as a large number of adult children had migrated to the cities or abroad the responsibility of looking after the grandchildren was entrusted to the grandparents (Biao 2007). When asked this same question to the elderly in AVC four elderly out of ten answered that taking care of the grandchildren was not a burden, but rather a delightful experience and all of them did not have to worry much as they had their daughter-in-law was staying with them. Whereas out of the remaining six, four of the elderly did not have their grandchildren living with

them, and the remaining two elderly did mention that taking care of the children in the absence of their parents was difficult but they enjoyed this responsibility[2] as the children were their own grand children.

Two of the Grandparents took up all the tasks of raising the children and provided the love and care to support the emotional needs of the child. They however, commented that when the children are small it was easy to take care of them, but as they grew up discipline became a problem and they felt that the children were out of control at times. They were also not very happy that the children were given a lot of material things to compensate the absence of their parents, including the pocket money that was given.

7.5.5: The emergence and impact of 'empty' villages

In the case of AVC the most unique aspect of International migration was that the 74 percent of the households had some or the other family member residing in the houses at the time of this study. However, the trend of empty house vis-à-vis empty villages is catching up slowly. At the time of this study the researcher discovered 12 percent of the households 'empty' or closed with a lock outside the door. And in another 14 percent households, the elderly lived either alone or with their spouses. Though this aspect of the emergence of 'empty' villages did not have a significant impact in our field of AVC as a whole, the emergence of 'empty' village' and its socio-cultural impact could be observed in one of the wards of Cuncolim that is Benncleamvaddo. The ward of Bencleamvaddo has only 37 households. But out of these 37 households, 30 households were having an International migrant, of which 12 houses were found to be closed and out of these 12 houses, four houses were in dilapidated condition. The remaining 18 households were again divided between those having elderly and children living with the daughter-in-law and those household

that had the elderly residing alone. The elderly living with the grandchildren and daughter-in-law was found in 11 of the 18 households and in 7 houses the elderly resided alone. In 27 of the 30 households there was no elderly male found to be alive and residing at the time of this study. Hence, in such a case scenario where 12 of the 30 houses were closed and 7 houses had no adult and children population, what would be the outcome of this on the ward in terms of social and cultural aspects? was an interesting question to investigate. As I belong to this ward I have observed this ward for the last 20 years. The findings here are based on the researcher's empirical observation (Photo 7.1 depicting an empty dilapidated house in the ward of Bencleamvaddo)

Photo 7.1: An Empty dilapidated house in Bencleamvaddo, Cuncolim

a) **Understanding the concept of 'Empty'**

The concept of 'empty' could be looked at from two different angles. The concept of 'empty' in our case is related to its literal meaning of 'unfilled' i.e. the *vaddo* had many vacant houses and so it could be referred to as an 'empty *vaddo*'. The second way of looking at the concept of 'empty' in our study, is that the village (*vaddo*) exists in reality but the lack of social activities due to the closed houses and lesser number of active members of the village as a result of international migration makes the *vaddo* an 'empty *vaddo*'. The *vaddo* has an empty feeling, the *vaddo* could also be referred to as lifeless village, the village is personified as lifeless due to the fact that the village has got disabled. As many of the active parts (villagers) have got dislocated to distant lands, making physical proximity difficult vis-avis the organization and performance of several village activities that contribute to the social element of the village. The *vaddo* of Bencleamvaddo has witness a paralysis of its social self as several socio-cultural aspects of the village are becoming an individual affair. The researcher was able to observe and identify five cultural aspects of the village that are fast moving away from the social character. The five aspects are marriage, funerals, christening, service to the church and disappearance of '*ganvbabponn*'

b) **The impact on the socio-cultural aspects**

1. **Marriage:** The marriage as a cultural aspect of the Roman Catholics has undergone transformation within the ward of Bencleamvaddo within a span of 20 years. Marriage was not merely a ritualistic ceremony that took place in the church, but it was also a social ceremony, a ceremony that played a significant role in the unification of the entire ward or village. The whole village came together to organize and celebrate the marriage of a given member from the

ward. Marriage not only brought the several families together but also brought families of the nearby village and relatives to the household of the person getting married. The whole village would come alive, as there was mass involvement of the villagers in the marriage. The villagers, especially women would help in making the *'Dosh'* (A sweet made of coconut and gram flour) this sweet was then distributed to the respected villages of the to be married partners. When the sweet was distributed in the village it would be called '*ojen'*. The men of the village would come together to kill a pig early in the morning, the meat of which would be cooked, along with the several dishes that one would make on the day called as the 'bikrean jevonn' (Beggers lunch). The women and men would also be involved a day prior to the *bikream jevonn* in making the '*Daadd*' (a sweet dish to be served as desert for the 'bekrean jevonn'. The bikream jevonn was given in the village in memory of the dead. The whole village would be involved in some way or the other. The making of *dosh*, preparing the '*daadd*' or the preparation of the *bikream jevonn* was possible because of the villagers. However, today with more and more houses remaining closed in Bencleamvaddo, and majority of the active youth members working abroad it is not possible to do all these activities that brought the people together at the time of marriage. Today in Bencleamvaddo, the preparation of the *dosh*, the preparation of the *daadd* and the preparation of the several dishes for the bikream jevonn is outsourced to a caterer. The villagers just come and join in the lunch, the *dosh* is bought and distributed in the village. Thus, the village involvement is limited only to the level of partaking in the *bikream jevonn* and the marriage celebration in the wedding hall. Thereby reducing the involvement of the villagers of

Bencleamvaddo. However, in the several other wards of Cuncolim, Assolna and Velim the involvement of the villagers was still strong especially for making *dosh* and *daadd* during the time of marriage.

2. **Funerals:** Funerals was another function, though a sad moment that brought the villagers together. In several wards of Baga, Zaino, Cumia bhatt, Bairo Premier, Bandha, Sanvorcotto, Salemadem, Dandora and Comba the researcher observed the villagers actively involved in the funeral of a given person of the ward. The Villagers assembled to the house of the deceased and prayed, dressed the dead person, prepared breakfast and lunch at the house of the deceased and actively took part in the funeral procession and the funeral service at the church. However, in the ward of Bencleamvaddo all of these activities were undertaken by the villagers twenty to fifteen years ago, but today except for offering prayers at the deceased house and taking part in the funeral, the villagers are not involved in the other activities as more than half of the villagers are not present in the village due to international migration and the prevalence of individualistic life style.

3. **Christening:** Christening was an occasion that again brought the people of the village together. As no occasion was complete without a lunch, most of the villagers and relatives would come together and cook food at the residence of the child. There was invitation for all the villagers and relatives to partake in the lunch. However, today in Bencleamvaddo and many other wards in AVC the people participate in the celebration only by going to the hall, which can accommodate large number of people. The food is catered by a caterer, who is paid for the services. Therefore, the people from the ward no longer cook the food together as they did twenty years ago.

4. **Service to the Church:** Every ward of the village is supposed to provide service to the church by organizing the liturgy for the mass on a Sunday. In addition to this, the ward is expected to clean the church on the Saturday. However, with the limited number of people in Bencleamvaddo, due to the closure of houses and the large scale international migration this service to the church is performed with great difficulty by the existing members from the ward. At times the people from the ward grumble about performing this service.

5. **The disappearance of *'Ganvbabponn'* (Village brotherhood):** The most significant impact of the large scale international migration and closure of houses has been the slow disappearance of the '*ganvbabponn*'. There was a time in Bencleamvaddo, where all the villagers were united together, who stood by each other in good times and bad. If there was a neighbor who was ill, then people would visit each other. If there was a quarrel people would try to solve the problem. There was a bond of we feeling, a feeling of brotherhood. Today in Bencleamvaddo, this *'Ganvbabponn'* is slowly disappearing. The village brotherhood would organize activities i.e. Christmas tree and other programs at the cross feast. With the limited number of people already involved with their respective occupations and least activeness of other members, it becomes difficult to organize many of the activities of the past. It was the several activities listed above that contributed in the feeling of oneness and brotherhood. However, with the numbers in the *vaddo* are decreasing there is no one to revive many of the social aspects of the ward, as many are elderly women and children.

7.5.6: The wider impact for the state of Goa

The elderly also discussed and raised several issues relating to Goa as a whole. As stated above under the aspect of remittances, the elderly unanimously agreed upon the economic benefits of International migration. One of them stated that 'if it wasn't for migration, our youth would have been unemployed and if they were not employed our standard of living and this comfortable lifestyle wouldn't have been possible, most of the catholic Goan youth and their dependent families are doing well only because of International migration'. At the same time the elderly raised concerns on the large scale migration as a means to sustain families and households. They were concern of the fact that most of the Roman Catholic youth were going abroad and wondered even after 50 years of liberation, why the government had not done much to provide gainful employment for the youth.

The elderly also were concerned that the large scale migration was followed by all the caste groups within Christianity and that Hindus and Muslims were also following the Christians. This in turn was reducing the number of Goans in Goa and providing opportunities for non-Goans to fill up all sorts of work that needed labour force. With the reducing fertility rates of Goans due to education, large scale migration and equal number of in migrants, there were issues raised about the dwindling number of Goans and threats to the Goan identity. One of the elderly noted that 'if this trend continued than a day will arise were Goans will have a *Ghanti*[3] Chief Minister' and the Mother tongue of Konkani will be replaced by Kannada or Hindi'. Thus, these have been the issues raised due to international migration that the elderly perceive that if the Government does not take appropriate steps to improve employment of the youth and increase the pay scales then Goa would lose its identity one day in the near future.

End Notes

1. Robert King Merton (1968) in his book 'Social Theory and Social Structure' presents his theory of Anomie or Deviance, in this theory Merton presents that in the American society, there exists an American dream, the American dream is to achieve success based on money, power, prestige, name and fame. He elucidates in his theory that the American society may respond to this goal through five ways conformist, innovator, ritualist, retreatist and rebel.

2. The grandparent in this case (elderly) found the responsibility of taking care of the grandchild as a burden in the absence of help, this was evident through the body language of the grandparent, but did not reveal it verbally.

3. A derogatory term used to denote people from outside Goa.

CHAPTER 8

DIASPORA AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS

IN THE VILLAGE

In this chapter the argument is centred on the structuration theory of Anthony Gidden, in order to analyses the changes in the institutions of caste, family and marriage within the field. The chapter presents how the upward social mobility brought about due to diaspora and the socio-economic linkages of the diaspora with the sending society, contributes to the structuration of the caste structured society in to a class structured one, thereby leading to a new structure of the village. The chapter also argues that how the new village society contributes in the dynamics of the institution of family and marriage. Special emphasis is laid on analysing marriage celebration as a status enhancing ritual among diaspora household. Marriage celebration also sets the bench mark for the other celebration among diaspora households that further contributes as a means to enhance one's status. The entire process of change from caste based society to a class based society is deliberated with the help of seven hallmarks of the diaspora households in AVC. Out of seven aspects some are traditional aspects of the Roman Catholics in AVC. However, it is the alterations and magnitude of performing these acts that have contributed to the emergence of 'dominant class'. The 'Dominant class' which comprises of the diaspora households, influences the rest of the Christian households with reference to the seven hallmarks, it is these seven hallmarks that contribute to the motivation to migrate, thereby resulting in a culture of migration in AVC.

8.1: CASTE DYNAMICS

A total number of eight respondents belonging to the Mundcars/Sudra caste and the Poor from the dominant caste were interviewed. They all belonged to different age groups. Elano and Jokim were 80 years old their sons were (Samuael and Edwin respectively), Immaculade and Ivor were 60 years old their sons were (Richard and Keegan respectively), Samuel and Edwin were 50 years old and Richard and Keegan were 30 years old. This was done to get a comprehensive picture of the phenomena. Therefore one can clearly see here the involvement of three generation in the diaspora process. On the basis of the detailed interview with them the researcher has tried to provide with an analysis of the process of Social Mobility among the Mundcars and Sudras and the poor from the dominant caste in the wards of Comba/AVC, Banda/Assolna and Zaino/Velim. The caste dynamics is based on six factors i.e. international migration, Change from agricultural and traditional occupational dependency to service dependency, *Sanskritization*, Intergenerational upward social mobility, diminishing rigidity of case based occupation and diminishing caste endogamy.

a) **International Migration**

Elano and Jokim stated that in the 1952 both of them got an opportunity to join the BI fleet. They both were good friends of Butler Ramos Coutinho. Butler Ramos Coutinho used to come home after spending 10 to 12 months on the ship. In the month of August 1952, when Butler Ramos came to AVC. He asked both his friends whether they were interested in joining as storekeeper and utility. Both of them had never heard about 'utility' and 'storekeeper' as both of them worked in the fields of the *bhatcar* and also plucked coconuts (*Render*). Both of them being from the low caste saw this as a great opportunity. In fact they always wanted to go on the

ship but lacked the education to do so. But here there was a golden opportunity and so both of them agreed. They both joined the ship in the month of November 1952. From then there was no looking back, they continued there till they retired in 1993. They both served for 41 years.

Further, Butler Ramos Coutinho also helped two more villagers from Assolna and Velim one a poor man belonging to the upper caste namely Immaculade, who was a baker and the other a lower caste *sudra* namely Ivor who was a carpenter. Butler Ramos Coutinho was about to retire in December 1973. When he came for vacation in the month of January 1973, there were two positions vacant on the ship for stewards. Both of these positions were offered to Immaculade and Ivor. Immaculade and Ivor joined in 1973 and will retire this year.

Later Elano and Jokim also got their sons on the ship namely Samuael and Edwin and the same happened with Richard and Keegan the sons of Immaculade and Ivor, who were also on the ship through their father's Immaculade and Ivor efforts. But both Richard and Keegan used the shipping experience as a launching pad. Richard invested the money by applying for immigration to Canada, whereas Keegan invested his money in making a Portuguese passport. Richard has already migrated with his wife and children to Canada, while Keegan is awaiting the Portuguese passport to move to settle in U.K. The migration to the ship for employment contributed to several changes in the life styles of these eight families, which have been discussed below

b) **Change from agricultural and traditional occupational dependency to service dependency**

The Remittances that were send by Elano, Jokim, Immaculade and Ivor contributed to the several changes in their life styles. The first thing what Elano did

was that he brought the land on which he was a tenant from the landlord. Jokim being a close friend of Elano also did the same. Both of them then build a house on the land that they had purchased from the landlord. They then got married and had children. They both send their children to the Church school of Our Lady of Health. As they were working on the ship they were no longer involved with agriculture, they had stopped going to the fields of the *Bhatcar*. At the same time there was no need to provide with the services that their parents traditionally provided to the *Bhatcars* or (*Chaddos*), as both of them had other source of income, which was good enough to provide for their families. Soon both of their children Samuael and Edwin grew up and as they were growing up they had already seen their father's doing well in life. So when they finished with their education. The next thing what Elano and Jokim did was they requested the company to employ their children. Seeing a good track record of both of them the company employed Samuel and Edwin. Samuel works as Captian (A high steward rank) and Edwin was working as a cook, but seeing a good opportunity in the Cayman Islands he migrated there with his wife and children leaving behind his parents.

Immaculade and Ivor who were also on the ship did the same thing like Elano and Jokim with reference to the land and building of house. Though Immaculade belonged to the higher caste chardo, he was financial instable where as his elder brother was well off as he worked in the gulf. Immaculade always wanted to have his own house, as the one in which he lived was a ancestral one and there were conflicts arising from it. As years progressed Immaculade and Ivor's son's Richard and Keegan did well in studies. After finishing their 12th Science, Richard joined the Engineering College at Farmagudi and Keegan joined on the Ship as a cadet. Richard completed his engineering and joined the ship as a third Engineer, where as Keegan started

answering exams for being an officer on the ship and is presently a second officer. In the mean while Keegan has done a Portuguese passport and is looking out for a job in U.K, he also intends to get married after migrating to U.K and then take his family there. Thus one gets to see the change in the livelihood through the generations and a shift from agricultural and traditional occupational dependency to service dependency. This shift has contributed to fallowness of 1000's of hectors of land in AVC see Photo 8.1.

c) **Sanskritization**

M.N Srinivas, who coined the word Sanskritization referred to Sanskritization as "a process by which a low caste or a tribe or other group changes its, customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, twice born caste" (Srinivas 1962). In the villages of Assolna, Velim and AVC one see's the Mundcars/Sudras as well as the poor getting Sanskritized. To elaborate on this further, let me make known about Elano and Jokim, whose parents were traditionally 'Mundcars' (tenants) and who worked for the 'Bhatcars' in their fields and in their houses had discontinued to work, when their sons (Elano and Jokim) went on the ship. Apart from this discontinuation, Elano and Jokim send their children to school, they brought some lands from the 'Bhatcar' and they also became a 'Bhatcar' in doing so. They began to have celebration on occasions i.e. Christenings, Communions and Marriages just like the Chaddis performed these celebrations in AVC. They also built a chapel for themselves just like most of the Chaddis had one in their respective '*Vaddo*'s (see Photo 8.2).

Photo 8.1: Fallow land in Sanvorcotto, Cuncolim

Photo 8.2: The Holy Cross Chapel at Comba Paricoto

Thus, what one can see here is that the international migration and the remittances that the Goan diaspora sent regularly contributed to the speeding up of the process of *sanskritization*. Few of the counterparts of Elano and Jokim, who did not go on the ship and who had remained in Goa did not see much change in their lifestyles and livelihood. They were still tenants and dependent on the *Bhatcar*. Whereas, the Mundcars like Elano and Jokim progressed and slowly began to move up the ladder.

The same can be seen in the case of Immaculade and Ivor, whose parents were bakers and carpenters. Immaculade and Ivor's parents continued for some time with their traditional occupation but as there was no help from their son's they also discontinued with their occupation. Immaculade and Ivor also joined their fellow villagers in living a lifestyle mentioned in the cases of Elano and Jokim, this way of life among the diaspora households in AVC contributed to the progress of all the four cases belong in the villages of AVC. Thus Elano, Jokim, Immaculade and Ivor were successful in achieving the upward mobility for their families.

d) **Intergenerational upward social mobility**

The upward social mobility can be clearly seen in the cases of Samuel, Edwin, Richard and Keegan. First let us dwell on Samuel and Edwin the son's of Elano and Jokim. Both of them did not see their father's work as a low caste member within the village. Secondly, by the time they went on the ship they themselves were owners and not tenants. When they were employed, there was further improvement in the standards of living vis-a-vis their status. They also contributed for their parent's pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Both Samuel and Edwin have invested in lands and are on par with the Chaddis in all respect except for religious aspect, as in the church of Cuncolim there is a strong resistance from the Chaddis in providing the same

privileges and rights like themselves to other lower caste. However, in the case of Immaculade (Assolna) and Ivor (Velim) the resistance in the Church from the chardo's is not as explicit as in the case of Cuncolim. Thus, when one compares Samuel and Edwin to their father's (Elano and Jokim) one can clearly see an intergenerational mobility, which has further contributed in enhancing their status.

Further, when one compares Immaculade and Ivor to their children one sees that both of their children have further enhanced their status (Richard) by becoming an Engineer on the ship and (Keegan) an officer. These two like many other's in the village sponsors 'Tiatrs' plays to be staged at their respective villages and Churches. They also sponsor football tournaments and other Church activities and do this as a matter of status enhancing exercise. (see also Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011:186-198)

e) **Diminishing rigidity of Caste endogamy**

Parents in AVC diaspora households have been relaxing the rigidity of marrying within the caste, the most important condition of marriage in the past was caste, however; in the present context parents are fine with alliances if the boy is earning well. There has been a gradual shift from caste endogamy to class endogamy (marriage within a stipulated class), a member of this class is affluent and has a secured financial future with the addition of having a good house with all the amenities. Thus, the financial status is become a necessary condition for marriages in AVC. Though there are many who still prefer to get their children married within their caste or higher caste, they have been compromising in cases where the son-in-law or daughter-in-law came from affluent families. This shift has been confirmed in the case of Keegan, who got married in January 2015 to a *Chaddo* girl, who he was in love for the last seven years.

Apart from Keegan, in several other cases in AVC, the man have married women of other nationalities, this is mainly due to the fact that majority of the men go abroad between the age of 20-25 years. The men being bachelors and working in distant lands are emotionally deprived of love and affection; it is quite natural that some of them would fall in love with colleagues in the place of work. Thus, men in AVC have wife's from various nationalities i.e. Philippines, China, England, Poland, America, Portugal, Australia and New-Zealand[1]. Philippines with nineteen women married to Goan men tops the list of wife's of other nationalities, followed by two each from England, Portugal and Australia and one each from China, New-Zealand, America and Poland.

Thus, one can see that in cases were the low caste families are doing well the parents of high caste Chaddo don't mind giving their children in marriage to them, Secondly, many of the parents who have worked abroad in the past or are still working, have undergone a gradual change in the mind set. Twenty years back marrying within the caste was the major rule that was followed. However, today in 2015 we see a different scenario, where men are also marrying women of other nationalities and it is being accepted in the AVCian society although with some resistance. The rules and dynamics in marriage shall be elaborated on in 7.3. Thus, one might question that is it merely the occupation that results in the upward mobility or not? In this case it is not merely the occupation but the Goan diaspora and the new age thinking that has contributed to the upward mobility among the low caste *Mundcars /Sudras* and the poor Catholic Goans in Comba/AVC, Banda/Assolna and Zaino/Velim.

f) Diminishing caste based occupation

Occupations that were caste centric have seen a gradual decline due education and international migration. International migration for many Roman Catholic Goan families provided with the required money to be invested in education. When the money was invested in education, the motive of the family was to see that the family progresses. Most of the children were send to English medium schools with a motive of international migration. Thus, as many from the lower caste began to migrate all across AVC to different parts of the globe, the traditional caste based occupation began to have no takers. Bakers, carpenters, agricultural labourers, coconut pluckers, liquor distillers, black smiths, grave diggers and labourers have all migrated abroad or a few due to education are employed in Goa. Every year the number of people involved with these occupations is dwindling some of the occupation i.e. baking, carpentry, grave diggers and labourers have become extinct and taken over by the migrants from outside Goa. International migration and the remittances that the diaspora sends back to their respective families have contributed in the socialization of the youth of several generations in to the culture of migration. As a result the ascribed occupation that was based on the primordial identity of caste was and is being substituted by the achieved occupation. Thus, achieved occupation along with the status of being an international migrant has contributed in the emergence of class. This class of international migrants on the basis of their higher economic status as compared to the Roman Catholic Goans in AVC have become the dominant class. The process of structuration of caste structure to class structure has been elaborated in 8.1.1.

8.1.1: The process of Structuration of Caste structure to Class structure in AVCian society

In order to understand structuration it is essential to understand what is social structure? Social structure is a term that we use to refer to patterned social arrangements in the society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of individuals. According to Giddens structure refers to "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems...it exists in memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability instantiated in action" (Giddens 1984). A closer look at this definition presents several aspects to it, the most important being 'recursive'. When Giddens talks about recursiveness, it means that the action is practiced or repeated over and over again, which gives birth to social system. This means that, the structure is dually performing the role of being the source and the result of the social practice that amounts to the creation of social system (Gregory 1994: 110-112). Further, Lopez and Scott (2000) distinguished between institutional structure and relational structure. The former is seen as 'comprising those cultural or normative patterns that define the expectation of agents hold about each other's behaviour and that organize their enduring relations with each other (*ibid* 2000: 3), where as the latter; is seen as 'comprising the relationships themselves, understood as patterns of causal interconnections and interdependence among agents and their actions, as well as the positions that they occupy' (*ibid* 2000: 3).

However, in the case of AVC, we shall look at social structure as both institutional structure and relational structure. It is by looking at the social structure through both these concepts that the researcher intends to apply Gidden's concept of 'structuration' in the analyses and understanding of the transformation of the caste

centric villages of AVC to class centric in 7.5. At this juncture we shall descriptively elaborate on the process of structuration of caste structure to class structure.

In AVC, there has been a gradual change in the relationships of one member with another, due to the change in the patterns of their causal interconnections and interdependence inaugurated by the Goan diaspora due to their socio-economic linkages in the sending society of AVC, thereby altering the structure of the villages vis-a-vis their positions they occupy in the hierarchy of the village stratification. Thus, this brings us to the question as in what way there has been a transformation in the caste structure of AVC . In order to understand how? we will have to refer to the social structure of AVC discussed in 3.7.1 of chapter three. In the social structure one clearly saw how the society was stratified on the basis of caste. In AVC, we had caste groups like the *Chaddos/Chaddi* and the *Sudras/Mundcars/Kunbis.* The *Chaddi's* were the powerful and dominant caste. However, after almost 60 years that is from 1952 onwards one sees a transformation in the social structure. The *Sudras/Mundcars/Kunbis* as well as the poor from the dominant caste, who had migrated to work outside India, have changed their life styles and occupation due to their status enhancing motive, this has been possible due to their cosmopolitan exposure and huge sums of remittances that have been send to their families. This development has contributed in forming 'social clones' by social clone the researcher suggest that the subordinate caste's and the poor in general, have transformed itself into the social appearance of the *Chaddos* as seen in 8.1, as a result the system of caste has undergone a major transformation. The occupations traditionally undertaken by the subordinate caste i.e. the *mundcras/sudras* have no takers in the AVCian society due to the exodus of the subordinate caste abroad, this development especially in the last three decades have created a gap and demand for such occupations. This

gap has been filled by the migrants from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and also from Bihar and UP. There has been an infiltration of migrants in AVC involved with several occupation as discussed in chapter four, who now live as tenants in the premises of the *Mundcar/Sudra* as well as the *'Chaddos'* and the wives of these migrants work as maids or do some odd jobs in the premises of *'Patrao'* (literally meaning masters and comprising of the 'diaspora elite class' or the local Goan's homes). Whereas the men usually work as masons, painters, labourers, barbers, carpenters, plumbers and electricians, bakers and even grave diggers (see chapter four). These roles were once performed by the *Mundcars*/Tenants. Thus, one sees the emergence of a new subordinate class and that is the class of migrants. On the other hand, the Goan Diaspora and the family left behind in the sending society consist of all castes i.e. *Chaddos, Sudras*, Kunbis as well as the poorer families from the dominant caste. This group of international Goan migrants, have uplifted their status by going abroad. They have not only managed to be on par with traditional dominant caste, but have also managed to create a new class of 'Diaspora elite' who have become the 'dominant class' in AVC on the basis of a new life style that will be discussed in 8.4.

Analysing this transformation from caste structure to a class structure in AVC, one sees that Diaspora has profoundly affected the stratification system by establishing better job opportunities abroad. In doing so they have remitted their incomes to the family members left behind thereby giving a lift to their status. For example, when somebody builds a house it not only has an economic values but also contributes to the acquisition of higher status. Likewise, when someone contributes money to the renovation or construction of Church and Chapel it not only performs the inherent religious function but also not only fulfil an intrinsic religious function, but also contributes to the prestige of the left behind family members (see Crawford

2001:21). The Goan Diaspora has also contributed to the fast paced bridging of the gaps between the upper castes and the lower castes that have existed since centuries. In fact, in most of AVC-Goa, the diaspora has been instrumental in the development of a new system of social stratification, in which they occupy the position of elite (see De Haas 2003). What can be noticed in AVC-Goa is the emergence of an 'elite class', a class that is born out of international migration and it is this class that helps us to conceive the idea of the haves (diaspora elite) and they have not's (Non-diaspora Goans). This finding may support our thesis that diaspora and the remittances they send contribute to inequality among the members of the Goan society. However, this finding is not universal and may not be applicable to the entire Goan society. Therefore, we should be prudent not to over generalize, but this finding can be generalized for the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim.

Furthermore, this does not mean that international migration has divided the society in to haves and have not's. But the point is that due to the access of resources new classes vis-a-vis new criteria for stratification has emerged. It is interesting to note here that positive impact of international migration in the socio-cultural aspects motivates many other non-migrants to also migrate (McMurry 2001).

Thus, Diaspora and remittances have enabled the (at least partial) emancipation of individuals belonging to former socially subaltern groups i.e. *Mundcars/Sudras/Kunbis* in our case. Throughout AVC, international migration and the access to resources by the members of the sending society has challenged the established structure of society that was based on hereditary, kinship, race and ownership of land (Ensel 1999). The emergence of new 'migrant elite' class has led to the death of the traditional elites, and the money power they command helps them to control the local affairs in the society (Crawford 2001). Therefore, in AVC a low

status caste group i.e *Mundcar/sudras/kunbis* and poorer sections from the dominant

high caste, have been able to acquire a higher social status through their new financial

resources. This development has prompted the dominant caste who did not feel the

need to migrate to migrate, the reason is that the diaspora has been successful in

forcing a change in the social stratification that is desired by the non-migrant class.

Consequently, positive impact of the diaspora on the socio-cultural aspects motivates

many other non-migrants to also migrate (McMurry 2001).

The restructuring of the village of AVC, due to the international migration of

the subaltern groups i.e. *Mundcars/Sudras/Kunbis* has contributed to the

transformation of the traditional social structure. The traditional social structure that

was based on caste consisted of the *Bamonn's, Chaddos/Chaddi's* and the

Sudras/Mundcars and *Kunbis* as already seen in chapter three. However after

international migration of the *Sudras/Mundcars/Kunbis* and the poor Goan Catholics

and the Sanskritization process that they underwent. They have become one with the

dominant higher caste. Thus, AVC today consist of a new class of migrants (those

whose family members have migrated abroad) and this class is made up of all the

caste groups. Hence, the lowest position which was vacant has been taken over by the

migrants from outside Goa, who the serve the two upper classes consisting of the

'class of 'Diaspora elite' and 'non-migrant Goan' (see Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1
Structuration from Caste to Class

1.Goan International Migrants
(Diaspora)

a) Europe, US, Canada, Austriallia
etc.

b) Shippies

C) Gulf and Africa

d) Bussiness Men

2. Goans

a) Chardo

b) Gauddo

c) Sudir

3. Non-Goans

a) Bussinessmen

b) Professionals

c) Skilled Workers

d) Unskilled Workers
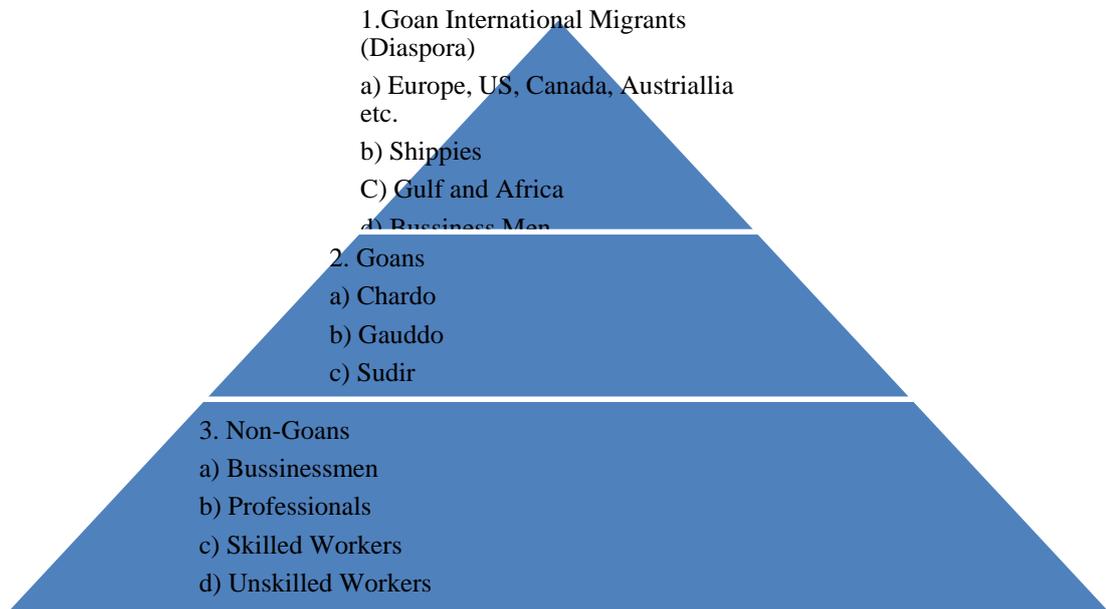
8.2: FAMILY DYNAMICS

Family is the basic unit of society, family in the diaspora household has undergone a slow and gradual transformation across time especially from 1961 till day. There are various aspects of the family that have changed due to the linkages of the agents (Goan diaspora), who are knowledgeable and capable subjects according to Giddens (1984).

8.2.1: Nuclearisation of Families

The process of nuclearisation has been slow and gradual; we could refer to this process as an evolutionary one. The evolution of families from joint-family to nuclear-family is a dual process. The process is therefore a duality in nature, on one hand it involves a change in the thinking process and on the other it involves a change in the economic status. The Goan diaspora with its interaction with the west especially in the last five decades in particular have undergone a change in their thinking with reference to joint family. This interaction with the west has contributed to philosophy

behind the transformation from joint family to nuclear family. As one of the women interviewee stated that 'In nuclear family there is greater privacy and freedom'. However, if these thoughts needed to be materialized in reality then along with the thought, the means and resources to objectify this thought was essential. The diaspora household as we have seen in chapter four earn three to four times more than the non-diaspora households. Thus, the economic exchanges in the form of remittances that have been pumped in to the diaspora household made the thought of nuclearization of family a reality among diaspora household. Therefore, as per our findings of the study it was seen that 85.06 percent of the diaspora households were nuclear families and only 14.94 percent of the households stated that they lived in the joint family.

The nuclear family in our study lived in a separate residence, a separate house built with the help of the hard work and sacrifices of all family members. This finding is also supported by a study in Morocco, wherein it was seen that diaspora and remittances tend to encourage and facilitate migrant's spouses to set up autonomous homes in the newly-constructed houses so as to do away with the power of in-laws (see De Haas 2005b). However, in AVC and in Goa the motive was mainly centred on privacy and greater freedom, it was also subtly related to escaping control of the in-laws. Though majority of the households in our study could not totally escape the control by the in-laws, the women in these households did enjoy greater freedom and privacy. Thus, the thought process in the nuclearization of the family in AVC is rooted in the western thought of freedom. It is this same thought that has contributed to the freedom of women in the diaspora households that has empowered them to head the households. Further, this empowered feeling that has been already discussed in greater length in chapter five, among the women in our study is a product of generations of international migration.

8.2.2: Female Autonomy and Empowerment

The study found a gender difference in the number of Goan diaspora. Seventy One percent of the Goan Diaspora comprised of males, whereas only 29 percent of the Goan diaspora in our study comprised of females. This difference has had an inadvertent consequence, whereby majority of the households in AVC were headed by women in the absence of the men (see also Fadloullah *et al* 2000: 130). The men among the Goan diaspora repose great faith and trust in their spouses, wherein most of them send them their entire salaries and allow their wives to handle the finances.

The women not only manage the finances but also administer all other roles in the household i.e. taking care of in-laws and caring, disciplining and education of children. While a few women did not step behind in making their own individual careers, there were many of them who choose not to work by their own free will, so as to manage the household with perfection. Thus, the additional responsibilities made the women to achieve autonomy and power within their families (Zachariah and Rajan 2001, Gulati 1993, Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011). As in the Diaspora's household great emphasis is placed on being an ideal woman.

The ideal women according to the researcher, cannot be equated to what Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) refers to as 'progressive motherhood'[2] but rather is a much wider concept that includes progressive mother within it along with being a progressive wife, daughter, daughter-in-law and progressive women. One of the factors that contributed to female autonomy and empowerment was mobility. It was seen that 67 percent of the women knew to ride a bike, and 19 percent out of these knew to drive a car. Thus, majority were physically mobile and independent to go wherever they wanted, visits to their parent's home and also residing there for some

days especially when the husband is not around was a normal aspect in Diaspora households.

The second aspect that contributed to female autonomy and empowerment was decision making. Most of the decisions relating to household affairs, children affairs and to a certain extent medical attention of their in-laws were taken independently by the women and only major decisions i.e. various celebration, money investments, construction activities, buying of car, bike and other household appliances were taken in consultation with the husband; the consultations took place either over the mobile phone through calls over 'Viber' and 'Skype' and chats using free social networking sites i.e. Facebook and Whatsapp or when the husband was back home for a holiday (see also Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011: 257-258). However, in a few cases women independently managed all the above major decisions. All minor issues relating to the family and household were not shared, so as to avoid unnecessary conflict and uncomfortable tense feeling with the husband.

The majority of the women in our study felt highly empowered, this feeling of empowerment came at a cost, and the cost involved compromising their own careers in some cases and their emotional, psychological and physical well being (see Van Rooij 2000). This eventually contributed to their empowered feeling after ten years of marriage. As after ten years of marriage the women felt that they had a control over the home. The economic benefits and the co-operation of women have been important factors for the success and reinforcement of male migration among the Catholics in AVC. The women did not find cooperating and performing the expected roles difficult as Mascarenhas-Keyes (2011: 257) aptly states:

> 'In a diaspora-oriented society from the cradle, individuals in Goa have personal and vicarious experience of marriage through separation, this in turn serves as an anticipatory socialization, conditioning the expectation and acceptance of conjugal separation. For many women, the absence of husbands is a replication of separation from their father's as well as other kin, such separation has necessitated the development of a greater degree of independence and self-reliance'.

Thus, it can be see that the women experience empowerment on the basis of easiness in which they manage the home, this is due to the anticipatory socialization process that they undergo during their childhood days due to the absence of their father's abroad. As in our study it was found that 67 percent of the women stated that their father or their uncle was working abroad during their childhood

8.2.3: Change in Family composition

As families have transformed in to nuclear units, as elaborated in 8.1.1., in our study adult males made up only 11.36 percent of the household, where as adult females were far more than male with 19.56 percent. The same was true for the elderly; elderly females were double of that of elderly male with 21.43 percent as compared to only 10.07 percent elderly males. This contributed to the male-female ratio imbalance, in the sense for every two woman there is one man; hence the ratio is 2:1. The majority of the households were headed by women, which has been elaborated in 8.1.2. Another striking feature of the family composition among the Disapora household is that children and elderly make up 69.05% of the household. This is almost two third of the total number and the implication of this striking aspect of Diaspora household was dealt with in the sixth chapter, in which one could see that all major social activities had women playing major role. In the absence of men, the boys in particular did not have a good male role model, when it mattered the most. The only form of role modelling was to following the father's footsteps and go abroad at the first available opportunity. It was also seen that the average size of the family was 3.9 which is lesser than the state average of 4.2 as per the 2011 census.

The emergence of single or double member family household

The large scale international migration in AVC and the nuclearizaton of families have also contributed in single or double member households. The significant aspect about the single or double member family household is that, it consists mainly of the elderly. The single elderly family household makes up for 6.35 percent of the total left behind families, while the double elderly family household makes up for 16.66 percent. The total number of elderly leaving as the only member in the household or with one's spouse accounts for 22.98 percent of the total left behind diaspora households in AVC. The elderly who live all by themselves in these households have a very positive mind set. Though they don't have their children or grand-children around they manage to live their lives by adopting to the situation in the best possible way. The elderly live alone feeling extremely lonely but manage to keep themselves busy by going to the church and involving in church activities. Some of the elderly in single or double member family households are provided with a servant/maid to take care of them and do all the household chores.

The servants up till the 1990s were readily available; these servants/maids belonged to the lower caste from the vicinity. The servants would either work durimg the day or reside in the house of the elderly. However, with the mass international migration post 1990s among the lower caste, women from the lower caste don't feel the need to go to the homes of the higher caste. Thus, with the limit in the number of servants and the ever increasing demand from not only the higher caste but all the caste, the servants are hired from other states of India. The servants are arranged with the help of an agent, who charge between five to ten thousand rupees. As most of the families left behind are economically well to do, they don't mind paying this sum.

However, though the elderly live alone or with their spouse they are not fully isolated from the society. Relatives and friends keep visiting them. Apart from the relatives and friends religious groups also visit them or they are a part of several religious group in the church. Though the elderly living alone do feel lonely and feel the need of their children and grandchildren at times. They feel proud of the achievements of their children and are content with their life and what they have given to their children. Visits by their children during holidays and certain family get-togethers rejuvenate the elderly (see also Masrenhas-Keyes 2011: 248-249).

8.2.4: Transformation from family centric occupation to individual centric occupation

The success of the Goan diaspora in certain occupations and the network of Goan diaspora has encouraged the young generation within the diaspora households to take up similar occupation or those occupation that are in demand abroad (see Putnam 1993:35). This in turn has contributed to the drastic change in family centric occupation especially among the low caste *sudras*. Various family centric occupation i.e. agriculture, toddy tapping, carpentry, coconut plucking, bakery, distillers, salt makers and labourers are dying a slow death. The access to education post -liberation of formerly subaltern groups has led to the change from ascribed family occupation to an achieved individual merit centric occupation.

The study undertaken presents that there was no caste distinction or family distinction with regards to taking up of occupation, as anyone in the diaspora household could take up occupations of their own choice and aptitude. However, the occupation were mainly limited to those that were in demand abroad especially for boys, these occupation included hospitality, captain, officer, engineer, I.T professional and other skilled profession, whereas for girls it involved those occupation that were

in demand in Goa as well as abroad, these included teaching, nursing, IT and white collared government jobs. As for the girls if they were to accompany their husbands abroad in the future, then again these jobs were in demand in certain foreign countries.

8.2.5: Specialized division of labour

Since international migration in AVC is not an individual decision but rather a family decision. The entire family has a clear cut role to be performed within the family. The tasks and the ways of performing these tasks are learned during the process of anticipatory socialization. As we know that international migration is a phenomenon in AVC for the past 174 years. In these 174 years there are certain expected roles that have been evolved over this long period of time. We shall, now elaborate on the roles to be performed by each of the member of the family. Apart from the role of procreation that is universal for parents and for the children, when they become parents. Parents, children and grand-parents in the Diaspora household in AVC have specific roles that help in the maintenance of the family as a whole.

a) **Father**

The role of the father is to fulfil all the economic needs of the family. The father in the AVC family has to work and fulfil this need. Thus, in 96 percent of the households in AVC it was the father that was working abroad. Ideally the father had to send home remittances for the upkeep of the family. The father also was required to perform the role of status enhancement or status maintenance, the remittances send by the father are used for the household, education of the children, investments and for various celebration i.e. Birthdays, Christenings, First holy communion, silver jubilee, our lady and contribution to the church and chapel as and when needed in doing so the

status is either maintained or enhanced. Since the role of the father is minimal in the diaspora family household. The father is merely a de jure head of the family.

b) **Mother**

The role of the mother is to fulfil all the social, cultural, emotional and religious needs of the family. In 72 percent of the families, the women stated that they were house-wives. The decision to work within the four walls of a house or outside the house was again a family decision. Most of the women stated that they choose not to work outside the house as fulfilling various needs of the family was of utmost importance. The mother's role was to provide for nutritious food by cooking and also taking care of health and hygiene of the members in the family. Inculcation of good traditional and religious values, along with the basic role of love, care and affection for the children and in-laws if they were residing in the same house was also important. The role of the mother also involved performing various out of the house task i.e. financial management through banking and investments, paying of bill, fees of children, marketing, buying of clothes, appliances and things during various family functions and celebrations, religious duties and obligation in the *vaddo* and the church and also managing the construction of a house. Apart from this the mother also undertook minor decisions by herself and major in consultation of her husband. All of these roles performed by the mother/women makes her the de facto head of the family (see also Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011: 258).

c) **Son**

The role of the son was to study and complete his basic education at least up to12th standard by getting satisfactory grades and learn some skill, so as to migrate abroad at the first available opportunity and contribute in the maintenance of the acquired status of the family. The son is also expected to do a better job as compared to the father,

thus the son would be socialized by the family and friends to take up a job that had better earning potential than the father.

d) **Daughter**

The role of the daughter is to study and help her mother in various household activities. The daughter is expected to study as much as she can, getting a daughter educated up till the graduation level is a common goal of the family. The level of education of the daughter contributes to the status of the family and gives the family a bargaining power at the time of marriage if the marriage is an arranged one. Taking care of the parents post marriage is also an expected role in the diaspora household, as in the absence of the son the daughter performs this role. This role is learned, through socialization when she sees's her mother performing the same role with reference to her parents.

e) **Grand-Parents**

The role of the Grand-parents was to assist the daughter-in-law in performing the several duties entrusted to her in the family. The grandparents also performed advisory roles especially concerning grandchildren. The grandparents also provided with an advisory role for the daughter-in-law as an when the situation demanded. The grandparents were also entrusted with the duty of taking care of grandchildren especially if the family had a daughter-in-law that was working or if the son and the daughter-in-law were both abroad.

8.2.6: Transformation to the 'Global family'

The Goan diaspora family is not a family in the true sense as defined by several scholars. The family having inherited the social genes of international migration has become 'diasporic' (which means dispersed) the family does not reside within the four walls of the house, which is one of the necessary conditions in the

definition of the family and neither do the parents live with their children. When the children are young the parents are on the move, when the parents are old the children are on the move. The family exist in mind and heart, but disintegrated through geographical divide, it is this geographical division between the family members that makes the families in AVC as 'global families'. The researcher found the family to be global on the basis of dispersed nature of the families. For example, it was quite common in AVC to have one brother staying in U.K, the other in the Gulf and the father on the ship, whereas in many cases it was common to have the sister settled in Canada or Dubai and the parents in Goa or the son settled abroad and the parents in Goa. Hence, what we see in the families of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim is that the family members are dispersed across the globe. The global family is not global only on the basis of geographic sense, but the cultural sense as well. Thus, when one happens to glance through obituary's one can easily identify the global nature of the family (see appendix-8)

The families in AVC depicted a global culture, though one could refute this aspect of the Goan family in AVC by stating that in many parts of cosmopolitan India and Goa, global culture is depicted. However, in the case of AVC the global culture dates back to 1935[3], whereas for the many parts of India globalization began post 1991 economic reforms. The families in AVC used various things in their daily life, that were bought from different parts of the world, during the voyages of the men to the different ports or when they returned for holidays from the distant land where they worked. For example a man stitched his suit in Germany in 1935 as the cost of the suit was cheap and also bought a dress for his wife and mother, when there was no electricity the 'Alladin Lamp' was a common feature of many homes in AVC from 1950s to 1960s. Many families in AVC used German and Japanese made cycles, radio

and torches, whereas perfumes were brought from France. For Example when a lady in Velim was getting married in 1950 she was given the perfume channel 65 to be worn on her marriage day. Fathers also brought dresses, t-shirts and jeans for their children in the 1950s, which continues till day. By the 1970s the diaspora family in AVC used different brands in their daily life i.e. Nestle (Maggie cubes for cooking, coffee, chocolate, milk powder), Kraft (Cheese and Tang), Mackintosh, KitKat (Chocolate), Soaps (Dove, Camey, Fa,) Jeans (Levis and Lee), Sunglasses (Rayban), Watches (Citizen, Seiko, Omega and Casio), Varied brands of tinned foods, Talcum powder (Yardley), Body cream (Nivia), Washing powder (Areal), Beverages (Coca-Cola, Pepsi), Beer (Heineken) Alcohol (Johnny Walker and Jack Daniels) and Pompey and Channel No 5 (Perfumes). Therefore, the use of various things by the Goan Diaspora Catholic families in AVC from various parts of the world makes Goan Catholic families in Diaspora household of AVC as families with Global culture. It is for these two reason i.e. global residency and global culture that Goan Catholic family of diaspora households in AVC can be referred to as Global Family.

8.3: THE GOAN DIASPORA AND THE DYNAMICS IN MARRIAGE (1961-2015)

Marriage is a 'social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society, determined by parenthood in the social sense....' (Brown1921:26). The Goan Diaspora has played a major role in bringing about changes in the marriage rules and celebration. The Goan Catholic marriages have several social functions. The marriage is a sacrament among the Christians and therefore has a religio-ritualistic function, marriage serves as a means of perpetuating caste hierarchies, marriage brings families and people together, marriage celebration functions as a means of status enhancement and marriage celebrations sets the

benchmark for all other celebration in diaspora families in AVC. We shall try to analyse the changes in each of these five functions pertaining to marriage.

8.3.1: Marriage as a religious ritual/sacrament

Marriage among Roman Catholics Christians in AVC is the seventh sacrament. In the AVCian Roman Catholic society marriage plays a vital role in the formation of the family, without the marriage being solemnized in the church a couple cannot stay together and establish the family of procreation. The Marriage among the RCC in AVC is a very important sacrament, along with the ordination of a priest especially where status of the family is concerned. The marriage in the church also gives the couple the official status of being married, though a couple may choose to get married in the court, such marriages offer little religious and social value to the family to which the couple belongs to. However, Marriage as a religious ritual and sacrament has undergone several changes. These changes bare an imprint of the Goan diaspora and their linkages.

a) **Marriages in the church from 1961-1991**

Marriages in the church during the sixties and early seventies were solemnized in the morning and the church was occupied with people from the village and relatives from around AVC who came to partake in the Eucharistic celebration. The marriage ritual began with the priest welcoming the bride and the groom in to the church. The choir which consisted of a violinist (*mistry*) and two or more singers from the village sang the entrance hymn, followed by the '*survatechin utram*' (Introduction). The mass then continued as usual along with the readings, the homely, blessing of the rings, taking of the vows, the prayer of the faithful, the offertory, communion and then the final blessings. After the mass, people wished the couple and were served with tea and biscuits (cheese or any other type). The same continued in the later

seventies and eighties, with the only difference being that the Eucharistic celebration was now in the evening. This change came about because some families, who had family members working abroad and were economically well to do, began to have their marriage reception in the evening on grandeur scale. This prompted many others to follow them, as it became a status statement and a fashion. This practice of having the reception in the night was adopted by the economically well off diasporic shudra families as well. Thus, as majority of the people in AVC wanted to have their reception in the night, the Eucharistic celebration was shifted in the evening from the late seventies onwards. However the churches were hardly decorated with flowers, carpet and arcs from the 1960s to 1990s. Very rarely one would find such decoration that one gets to see today. Thus, in the next paragraph we shall see the changes in the Eucharistic celebration post 1990s.

b) Marriages in the church from 1991-2015

As the number of those working abroad increased dramatically around the 1990s, Marriages around this time underwent significant changes in the church celebration. The changes were mainly in the external aspect of the Eucharistic celebration. The whole Eucharistic celebration remained the same like the 1960s where the rituals were concerned. The changes could be termed as cosmetic. The families from diaspora household were instrumental in bringing about these cosmetic changes, which were introduction of grandeur to the church celebration. This was due to two main reasons, one was new ideas that one came across while travelling to other parts of the world and other was remittances that allowed these ideas to become a reality in the church celebration. The introduction of grandeur in church celebration provided the family with a means of status enhancement. The grandeur introduced in the Eucharistic celebration in the church were; the use of professional choir groups to

sing hymns, decoration of benches, alter and the entrance of the church, the printing of the mass in the form of a booklet, the use of caterers.

1. The use of professional choir groups

During the 1960s, 70s and 80s the choir usually consisted of good singers from the village or family or the *mistry*. Exchange of cash for this activity was not seen. Singing in the church for a wedding was a privilege. Though certain well to do families from the diaspora household brought in good singers and musicians for their Eucharistic celebration of the marriage in the church, it was on a very limited scale. However, from 1991 onwards there emerged a new trend of having professional choirs sing for the Eucharistic celebration of marriages. Every person planning to get married felt it important to have a choir for the mass. As the number of Goans migrating kept on increasing and more and more people could afford choirs, having a choir for the mass became a necessity. Thus choir groups had a good demand, which made this service as a secondary profession. The choir was paid in cash. During the 1990s the charges of the choir were between Rupees 500 to Rupees 1000. This price doubled in the year 2000 and from then on the prices have regularly kept on increasing. In 2010 some choir groups charged 5000 to 6000 Rupees, which has increased to 8000 as of 2015. There is great emphasis placed on the use of choir in the Eucharistic celebration, mainly due to the fact that the priest in particular and the families as well believe that the Eucharistic celebration should be good.

2. Decoration of the church

Churches began to be decorated only after the 1990, during the early nineties only the alter of the church was decorated with baskets of flowers. This practice was introduced by the diaspora goans (*tarvotis, gulfies*, and those settled in the developed countries) irrespective of caste. The manifest reason was to have a nice Eucharistic

celebration. While, the latent reason was the costlier the flowers, the more the family earned status. This practice of decorating the alter among the diaspora goans in AVC prompted the others who lived in AVC to follow suit. As everyone started decorating the alter, the next thing was to decorate the benches, lay a carpet and also decorate the entrance of the church with an arc. This was also introduced from the year 2000 onwards, by the diaspora Goan families residing in AVC, with the same manifest and latent reason in mind. The Photo 8.3, depicts the decorated entrance of the church

3. Printing of booklets

The diaspora Goan families in AVC also started printing of booklets, the booklet consisted of the entire liturgy which included the hymns, responses of the people, introduction, prayer of the faithful, readings, offertory and thanks giving. The booklets ranged from simple A4 size papers that were photocopied (XEROX) to specially designed one's that were bounded, if the booklets were expensive it brought more status to the family. The introduction of booklets in the Eucharistic celebration of the marriage again had the manifest and latent reasons to it (See the photo 8.4.)

Photo 8.3: Decoration at the entrance of the Church

Photo 8.4: Booklet for the Eucharistic Celebration

4. Use of caterers

By the 1990 onwards there emerged the growth of individualism, especially among the diaspora Roman Catholic Christian (RCC) in AVC. The growing individualism prevented families from asking favours from friends, neighbours and relatives to make tea/coffee. As the diaspora RCC in AVC were economically sound they could afford to hire the services to prepare the snacks, that were to be given at the end of the Eucharistic celebration after the people wished the couple. The diaspora RCC in AVC hired the services of caterers, who prepared varied snacks i.e. *samosa,* pattice and cake. These snacks were supplemented with a locally made aerated cold drink. This practice of offering such snacks and drink was seen up till the year 2000, from 2000 onwards better and costlier snacks and drinks were offered. These included chicken roll, burger, prawn pattice and sausage roll. The chicken roll along with aerated international drinks or a tetra pack drink is the most commonly seen snack combination in AVC as of 2015. The snacks and the type of snacks again depict the status of the family.

8.3.2: Changes in marriage as a means of perpetuating caste hierarchies

Marriage as an institution in AVC always served as a means to perpetuate caste hierarchy. Caste endogamy was of great significance until the 1990s. The great Indian sociologist G.S.Ghurye presented caste endogamy as one of the important characteristic of a society based on caste stratification. Marriages outside the caste had overt family sanctions, as marriages outside the caste diluted the purity of the twice-born higher caste. For example, when a boy belonging to the *Chardo* caste from Cuncolim got married to a girl from *sudra* caste in 1984, he was thrown out of the house. This harsh family sanction only served as a means to regain the lost status of the family due to the bad name arising to the family by getting married outside the

caste. However, such instances were on the rise among the RCC diaspora households in AVC. The reason for the rise in inter-caste marriages from the 1980's onwards was mainly due to the shift in the thought process of some of the families among the RCC in AVC. These families mainly consist of those, who had the international experience in their families. The marriage patterns existing in among the diaspora families of AVC can be best explained with the help of Stella Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) adaptation of Kurian's (1961) four types of marriage pattern in explaining the marriage patterns among the international catholic Goan community. According to her out of the four types of marriages i.e. Marriage according to the ideas of parents, Marriage according to the ideas of parents with consent of son/daughter, son/daughter own choice with consent of parents, son/daughter own choice without consent of parents, only the last three types of marriage patterns were seen among the ICG's. In the marriage pattern concerning, marriage according to the ideas of parents with consent of son/daughter and son/daughter own choice with consent of parents', caste endogamy was the most important factor in the marriage alliance. Whereas in the marriage pattern concerning son/daughter own choice without consent of parents, caste exogamy was the most important reason to go against the consent of the parents. These three types of marriage pattern are present even today among the diaspora families in AVC.

Apparently post 1980s one can find an upsurge in the marriage pattern of son/daughter own choice with consent from parents. The son/daughter own choice with consent were of two types, one; wherein the parents initiated it and then the children took over and the other the children initiated with the parents consent. The latter type is popularly known as 'love marriage'. These two types of marriages within the form of the son/daughter own choice with consent have emerged has the most

common form of marriage post 1980s. The reason behind this is occupational mobility that is achieved through education, hard work and international migration. Another important change that has occurred is that caste endogamy is relaxed in certain cases were the occupational status is high, for example if a boy is an engineer, officer, captain or earning well abroad and if the girl is well educated and qualified then in such situations inter-caste marriages are permitted. This change has occurred because some of the families among the diaspora households in AVC have realized that inter-castes marriages are a necessity to secure suitable spouses. They have also realized that if the spouses are well educated and respected, having a decent job and earning well then there is no harm in the inter-caste marriage alliance. Mascarenhas-Keys (2011) points out another reason and that is 'the economic independence enjoyed by young adults, who were in equivalent and superior jobs to their fathers, made it less likely for them to heed to the dictates of parents in the choice of marriage partners. This applied not only to young men but young women (Mascarenhas-Keyes 2011: 229). Thus, what the researcher has observed in AVC at the time of this research is that the youth, both girls and boys are independent in decision making. A greater number of boys as compared to girls were also found to be economically independent. Therefore, when a girl/boy states at home that she/he is in love with a boy/girl, the next step the parents take is to check for his/her family background and social upkeep, if the boy/girl is from the same caste there is no much resistance from the parents, if he/she is from another caste especially lower one then there is resistance, nevertheless in many cases the parents finally approve the marriage in order to fulfil the wishes of the daughter/son. The greater number of love marriages along with economic independence of the children can also be attributed to the several

co-educational, mixed-occupational and mix-leisure opportunities that the children and youth get in the diaspora AVC families (see also Kapadia 1955: 123).

8.3.3: Marriage as a means of social gathering

Marriage can be regarded as greatest activity in the family that brings the entire family and villagers together. Marriage is therefore not merely a union of two people becoming one, but rather the union of families. The various traditions associated with marriage have undergone change in the diaspora families in AVC. The traditions associated with marriage always had a social character but over a period of five decades marriage is slowly transforming in to an individual character. The Goan diaspora that is spread across the globe have been the force behind these changes. The Goan Diaspora has contributed in modernizing the marriage. This has been possible due the various experiences that the Goan diaspora have had across the globe. The ideas and experiences that have been best suited in the marriage have been introduced, at certain point in time. There are no written records as to when such modern practices got introduced and therefore the researcher had to rely on the interviews with the older people from the diaspora families in AVC. The important point to note is that the researcher has not analyzed each and every marriage tradition, and the analysis of change is mainly limited to those marriage traditions that have become modern due to the influence of the Goan diaspora. Thus, each of these traditions and the changes with reference to marriage has been brought out in the following aspects of marriage in among the Catholics in AVC. The title of these aspects are borrowed from Gomes (1996)

a) **Ways of procuring a mate (groom/bride)**

Traditional (1961-1990)

In the traditional marriage among the AVC Catholics, the parents chose the partner with the consent of the children or the children chose with the parents consent. However, the former choice of marriage was the most prevalent form of marriage until 1990. This form of marriage where parents selected with children's consent involved several steps. The first step was to inquire about prospective partners; the inquiry involved checking for whether the partner was from the same caste, had a good family background and had a good character. There were separate expectations for the bride and groom. If one was looking out for the bride then one would see if the girl is from the same caste, looks in terms of beauty and complexion, feminine arts i.e. cooking, stitching and house management. Apart from this the most important was good character, which meant being a virgin and without any involvement with other men. Whereas for the groom one would see if the boy is from the same caste, working and earning good enough to support a family in the future and good charcter. Once the prospective partner was selected the parents would then send a middle person referred to as *'raibari'* to seek for the alliance, the *raibari* would be a neutral person known to both the parties or unknown to either one of the parties, it could also be a relative . After the meeting of the '*raibari*' with the prospective partner's family, the *raibari* would give the news of the acceptance or rejection of the proposal. The next step would be the follow-up by the parents, who send or initiated the proposal.

Modern (1991 till day)

The modern way of procuring the partner has been possible due to education, occupational choice of the partner and international migration. International migration has given the youth of marriageable age ample of freedom to choose a partner they want, International migration and the remittances arising out of it have assured the youth of marriageable age a partner of their choice. It is for this reason that one sees a change in the criteria of marriage for the partners. The change are different for the bride and groom. In the case of the bride the most important criteria for marriage is beauty, personality, education and love and care for the groom and groom's family members. In the case of the groom the most important criteria for marriage is earning potential, occupation, place of work and own house. Thus, one sees relaxation in terms of caste, family background and character for both the bride and groom. This relaxation has come about because the parent's mind-set has changed by working abroad. The parents have realized that in the modern world caste is secondary; on the other hand children being educated and economically independent have the freedom to decide their own choice of partners. These thoughts of both the parents and children have contributed to the dominance of marriage with son/daughter's own choice with parents consent, also referred to as 'love marriage'. Thus, post 1990s one sees an increase in love marriages among the diaspora families in AVC.

b) Dowry settlement

Traditional

The traditional dowry settlement had three concepts associated with it, one was *dorr* (dowry), two *dennen* (gift) three *tamonn* (metal gifts). Once the alliance was fixed, the parents and a few relatives of the girl would visit the boys place and discuss about the *dorr, dennen* and *tamonn*. The *dorr* were the items that were asked by the parents of the groom to that of the bride, whatever was possible by the bride's parents was conveyed to the groom's parents and accomplices. The parents of the bride would also state about the *dennen*, that they would be giving this included mainly cash, gold and other valuable items i.e. cupboard, bed, dressing table etc. Apart from the *dennen* the parents would also discuss about the *tamonn* this included kitchen items made of copper and brass. These decisions once taken had to be obliged and were referred to as *Uttor* (Promise of offerings).

Modern

In the modern dowry settlement only *dennen* and *dorr* have been significant. However, post the year 2000 the *dorr* is almost become insignificant in diaspora families of AVC. This is mainly due to the fact that, the house of the diaspora family in AVC has all the modern day requirements much before marriage. The house contains all the appliances and furniture needed i.e. microwave owen, fridge, gas stove, mixer and toaster, bed, cupboards, dressing table, wardrobes , air-conditioned, television, laptop, mobiles etc. Along with these entire things one will find bikes and cars in the diaspora house in AVC. Therefore, the parents of the groom generally don't ask for *dorr*, but however they state to the parents of the bride that 'if you

want to give anything, you can by your own free will'. Thus, only *dennen* is become significant as of 2015. The *dennen* now consists of gold, cash, car, flats and property. What gift the family of the bride gives contributes to the status of the family (see Photo 8.5).

Photo 8.5: A family gifting the daughter *dennem* (Gifts)

Photo 8.6: The Modern day Bikream Jevonn or Traditional Lunch

c) **The *Bikream-jevonn* (beggars lunch)**

Traditional

A day prior to the *bikream-jevonn*, a group of villagers would come together to help in making of *daad* (a sweet dish made out of gram dal, soji and jaggary. The group of villagers along with maids from the lower caste (*sudras* or *kunbis*) would help in the making of the lunch on the day of the *bikream jevonn*. This lunch was held at the respective partner's residences few days prior to the wedding day. As the name suggest, the family of the bride and groom had to offer lunch to the beggars or those who were poor from the nearby vicinity of the village. The beggars' lunch was also symbolic, as it symbolized the lunch for the poor or to the dead and departed souls from the family. The beggars were taken as representatives of these departed souls from the family. The beggars were chosen of a particular age, sex and number so as to represent the dead in the family. Along with these beggars or the poor, the members from the village would also be invited for the lunch. The lunch for the beggars consisted of pork, beef, fish, curry, rice and vegetable i.e. *doodhi* (gourd) or pumpkin prepared with the juice of coconut called as *veddoor*. The beggars were served with 13 large equal pieces of pork, beef, fish and *veddoor*. The beggars would sit on the coconut rafters placed on the floor and the food would be served on the *patravodi* (plate made of jackfruit leaves), the *patrovodi* was kept on the bamboo knitted mat. The other invited relatives and villagers would also sit on the coconut rafters in a line and eat in the plates made of jackfruit leaves placed on the bamboo mat. At the end of the lunch, all would be served the *'daad'*. The beggars or the poor on their

departure would be given a *bidi* (a type of cigarette made out of tobacco and jackfruit leaves) and *madacho* (coconut liquor).

Modern

The *bikream-jevonn* has undergone several changes post 1990s, since most of the families in AVC have one or more members of their family working abroad. The families in AVC are economically sound and therefore beggars and poor are difficult to find in the true sense of the term. Many rational thinking families have started a new practice, and that is of offering food to the old age home or an orphanage. Though the *bikream-jevonn* continues today, as of 2015 the *bikream-jevonn* is mearly a formality in AVC, it has lost its social and symbolic character. The *bikream-jevonn* has become more of a status statement, no longer the villagers, friends and relatives are involved in the preparation of the food and *daad*. The number of families that are doing the *bikream-jevonn* in the true sense are hardly 10 to 15 percent. Therefore the question arises who prepares the food for this lunch?

The lunch is prepared by the caterers, who cater to 200 to 300 people invited. The services of the caterers are hired for two reasons one, most of the families prefer an obligation free lunch rather then being obligated by asking help from others, because if help is asked then next time they have to help others and two, the numbers of members from the lower caste i.e. *sudras* and *kunbis* who helped in cooking and other work has drastically declined due to the international migration of *sudras* and *kunbis*. As a result, the role of the people has been limited in only partaking of the lunch, which is a buffet. There are several dishes served in the bowls consisting of salads, fish, beef, pork, vegetables, pulav, rice, chow-chow, fried rice, chicken xacuti, chicken fry,

sannah, sorpotel, ice-cream, custard, jelly and fruits. The more the dishes served depicts, the status of the family or by giving a lavish lunch the family claims a higher status for itself. Thus, the bikream jevonn is now called the traditional lunch (see Photo 8.6).

d) **Roce** (Application of coconut pulp juice mixed with saffron powder)

Traditional

On the eve of the wedding day, the couple at their respective homes would have body cleansing and pampering ceremony called as *'roce'*. The word *roce* means juice in English, just as the Hindus across India have the *'Haldi'* ceremony a day prior to the wedding day, wherein the bride and the groom were applied with saffron powder on their face for better glow and complexion of the face. In AVC and in Goa, the Catholics had the *roce* ceremony. The *roce* ceremony was made successful by the collaborative efforts of the relatives, villagers and friends, who would ask the maids to grate the coconut and grind it to make the coconut juice or they themselves would do it, simultaneously a few members from the family would heat the water that would be required for bathing post the *roce* ceremony. The central person of the roce ceremony was the bride along with her brides mate and the groom along with the best man. The relatives, villagers and friends then took turns to apply the roce that was placed in a bowl on the face/ head and hands of the bride/groom and the bride's maid/best man. The initial order of who could apply first was the grand-parents followed by parents, uncles, aunties, brothers, sisters, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, cousins, followed by the villagers and friends in any order. After applying the roce the people were

given water to wash their hands, when they came to wash their hands they had to drop a coin in the bowl containing the water.

The application of the *roce* also symbolized the virginity of the, to be married (Braganza 1964: 43). During the ceremony *'zotis'* were sung, *zotis* refer to special verses that were traditionally composed for the occasion and were sung by the women from the lower caste, who knew these verses (see also Gomes 1996: 141). After all had finished applying, the next ceremony involved bathing with the hot water, when the groom or the bride was bathing in the bathroom, the people would continue singing. Once the bride or the groom was done with their bath, the coins from the bowl were collected by the maids as tips.

Modern

Post 1990s the roce ceremony has undergone certain changes, the roce ceremony is the most liked by the youth, who look at the ceremony as a fun filled activity. The tradition of *roce* is a mere formality, the symbolic meaning of cleansing and purity is unknown to most of the people and therefore the meaning attached to the ceremony of *roce* is being lost. It all began from the early 1990s were some families started using eggs during the *roce* ceremony, the rational behind using eggs was that it was a natural conditioner and ones hair would become smooth, then in the late 1990s certain families began using beer to be poured on the head for the same reason of making the hair smooth. The use of eggs and beer is liked by the youth, as the use of these things adds up to the fun quotient of the *roce* ceremony. From the year 2010 onwards one also finds the use of tomatoes in the *roce* ceremony, no one knows why tomatoes are needed but over a period of ten years, these three items i.e. eggs,

beer and tomatoes would be the new items to be associated with *roce*. The use of beer can be attributed as a western custom, where beer or champagne is sprayed on each other to mark a joyous occasion, the use of egg is again a western influence along with tomato that is widely used in Spain (La Tomatina festival that attracts tourists from world over). Thus, the next generation of children would use beer, eggs and tomatoes for the *roce* ceremony (see Photo 8.7)

e) Getting ready for the wedding day and the wedding day

Traditional

A few months prior to the wedding day, the parent along with a friend and relative would go to Margao or those who could afford to go to Bombay would travel, in order to buy clothes for the purpose of stitching a gown for the bride, flower girls, brides maids, groom, best men and page boys. Cloth was also purchased in order to distribute among various close relatives. If someone was excluded then the family had to face the ire of the person. Once the cloth was bought, a tailor was employed to stitch the clothes of the entire entourage along with some close relatives. The tailor would stay in the wedding house till the assignment was over and was paid in cash and kind; the entire cost was paid by the groom from the *dorr* received by the groom's family. Once the clothes were ready everyone would wait for the wedding day.

The wedding day during the sixties and seventies was spread across two days with both the families of the bride and groom equally involved. The first day of the wedding had two parts, the first part involved the Eucharistic celebration and the other was the reception at the grooms' house. During the sixties and early seventies the Eucharistic celebration was held in the morning

around 10.30 a.m or 11.00 a.m. A procession of villagers, relatives and friends would proceed to the church for the nuptials. The groom and the bride would come separately in a common car, specially hired for the wedding day. Post the church rituals, the couple with the villagers, relatives and friends would come to the grooms' house for the lunch reception. The lunch reception would begin with prayers followed by songs sung by the people. Homemade cold drink made of flavoured powder mixed with soda was given to all, along with country made liquor. Then the couple would march around, to the beats of a brass band, the M.C (master of ceremony) would usher the couple to cut the cake followed by the toast raising ceremony. Soon after the band would be playing popular songs and the people would dance to the tunes of the band. As people danced simultaneously, lunch was served on the floor with plates made of jackfruit leaves placed on the bamboo knitted mats. The lunch consisted of *pulav* (dish made of basmati rice) *sorpotel* or stew and fruits. This practice continued till the late seventies. The above practice was mainly seen among the high caste *chardos*. The lower caste *sudras* had a separate style of reception at their residence in the open under the *mato* (place consisting of an open ground decorated with bamboo and coconut knitted mats, it is here that they sang songs and danced. The lower caste always desired to have their wedding like the higher caste *chardos.* After the reception the couple stayed at the groom's house that night and the next morning after the bangle ceremony the relatives and villagers from the groom's side proceeded to the bride's place for the *portovnean* (return). The same lunch, songs and dance was repeated at the brides place. The *portovnean* as a tradition was undertaken so that the groom's family could acquaint themselves with the family of the bride. This

ceremony was also referred to as the '*doosrea dis*' (second day). As it was very much the part of the wedding celebration, hence we see wedding celebration in the sixties and up till the later seventies lasted for two full days in the real true sense.

However, during the 80s there emerged a new practice of having the wedding reception in the hall, this practice was started by the economically well to do diaspora *sudras*. The main reason for this was that, the lower caste *sudras* lacked place at their residence and therefore felt the need to have their celebration in the hall so as to match with the higher caste chardos. The wedding reception at the hall looked better and grander as compared to one's residence and also reduced the pains of erecting a pavilion meant for the wedding. As the halls were away from the residences of the married couple, the villagers and the relatives had to travel in a bus that was hired, while the couple travelled with a car. During the travel by the bus the villagers sang *mando's* and *dulpods* (traditional Goan songs). The food served in the hall was the same like the sixties and seventies with a minor addition of chicken *xacuti* (traditional chicken curry), however the food was served in steel plates. This style of having the marriage reception was liked by all the people including the higher caste. Soon some of the higher caste adopted this practice and then many followed. Within a span of five to ten years there was an increase in the demand for such style of reception and therefore there emerged a number of halls in and around AVC, these halls were The White hall in Cuncolim, S.P hall in Velim and the Regina hall in Assolna. People intending to get married also fixed their reception in city halls i.e. Harmonia and Holy Spirit in Margao

and Rosary hall in Navelim. Further, marriage celebration in city halls contributed to the status of the family.

The emergence of hall as a place for the wedding reception brought in competition among the Goan diaspora family members in AVC. Each family wanted to have a similar or a grander wedding reception then the other. The grander the reception earned the family a higher status in the eyes of the people from the society. Thus, the emergence of halls in the 1980s marked the disappearance of the *mato* (pavilion erected for the marriage celebration at the brides and grooms residences). The significance of *mato* as a social creation lost its importance, which in turn reduced the involvement of people in the wedding celebration. The *sudras* and *kunbis* in AVC began to give second preference to their marriage reception in the *'mato'*. These developments of the 80's had an impact on the tradition of *'Portovnne'* (The second day or return). As the emphasis of the marriage celebration shifted to the halls, all the resources were channelized for the first day marriage celebration at the hall. Thus, it is around the 80's that the '*portovnne*' (the second day marriage at the bride's residence) lost it s significance and turned in to a mere formality. As it was not only the Goan diaspora families in AVC that had their marriage celebration in the hall, but the other Roman Catholic Goans also began to have their marriage celebration in the halls. (see Photo 8.8 for modern day *Portovnne* or second day)

Photo 8.7: The Modern *Roce* Ceremony

Photo 8.8: *Portovnne* in Contemporary Times

Modern

The modern day marriage celebration has been further revolutionized by the Goan diaspora in AVC. Within a span of 25 years .i.e. from 1991 to 2015 there have been several changes brought about in the wedding day celebration. The biggest change has been 'rentalism in marriage'; rentalism is a western custom, whereby people who get married hire every single service. The same holds true in the marriage receptions in AVC. Post 1990s one sees the emergence of rentalism, wherein the families of Goan diaspora's started hiring services of all types. The church decoration and the hall decoration was done by a professional decorator, the choir was also hired. The entire catering of food and beverages was handled by the caterers, the wedding began with snacks and drinks and there after three sets of dance, the dinner was served in plates which consisted of pulav, sorpatel, salad, a chicken fry piece and chicken curry. This plate was referred to as 'dinner plate'. No longer had one to hire tailors at ones place as there were special tailors who began to stitch the clothes for the wedding, with separate tailors for men and women, by the year 1997 some of the tailors began to call themselves as designers. A tailoring shop in Margao was also named as 'Designers'. These designers today offer packages to the bride and the groom and the clothes of the entire bridal entourage is stitched by one or two designers. The marriage gown worn by the bride is an expensive affair the cost ranges from rupees 15,000 to 80,000, the costlier the gown and the designer the greater is your prestige (see Photo 8.9).

Photo 8.9: The Bridal Gown

Photo 8.10: The Bridal Entourage

Further, the number of bride's maid, best man, page boys and flower girls depicts your status, the more the number the better (see Photo 8.10). Through the photo 8.10, one can also see that in the present day AVC, Goa professional photographers and videographers are hired. The car meant to ferry the couple is also decorated by the person who handles the church and hall decorations. The bigger and costlier the car the higher was the status of the one getting married.   However, the practice of singing *mandos* and *dulpods* in the bus continued until the year 2000 (see Photo 8.11 depicting the type of car with the decoration post 2000)

Post 2000s

There were other changes that got introduced in to the wedding celebration; these changes can be referred to as cosmetic changes or the adding of grandeur. The major change was of having the marriage reception in the open air halls. The first open air hall in Salcete was Kesarval Garden Retreat located at Verna near Kesarval springs followed by Bluberry also located at Verna. In the late 1990s having one's marriage celebration in the open air hall was the monopoly of the rich and powerful though a few families from the Goan diaspora households got their children's marriage reception organized in the open air hall, it was a novelty then. For example a person in his interview from Assolna, when talking about his neighbours wedding stated that *'tege kazar kesravalan zalolem te tempar kesarvalan kazar korop mullear tun grest'* (His wedding reception was at Keserval, in those days getting married at Kesarval meant you are rich). However, between the years 2000 to 2010 there emerged several open air halls in AVC and in Salcette to cater to the ever increasing demand of having marriage reception in the open air hall.

The open air halls that sprung up in AVC were Soco's creative farm, Seagull and the Green world, whereas a dozen halls sprung up in Salcete to name a few, these included Bera Mar (Benaulim), Longhinos (Colva), Woodborne (Verna), Dr.Nevelle's (Guddi), Narrow Gate (Curtorim) Royal Paradise (Curtorim) Little Hearts (Curtorim), Blascos (Navelim) and the most recent open air halls to come up between 2011 to 2015 have been The Village (Nuvem), Quinta de Valadares (Verna) and Confetti (Velim). The need for open air halls was status driven. The families of the Goan diaspora household began to compete with each other so as to preserve their status or claim a higher status. This practice of having the marriage celebration in a grand open air hall began to be followed by all the families irrespective of caste (see Photo 8.12 depicting the open air hall in its full grandeur).

The open air halls were well decorated with custom made decoration and decorated bridal seating arrangement, the more elaborate and precise decoration the better was one's status. There was on an external pressure on the non-migrant families to confirm their marriage celebration in the open air halls so as to match with the International migrant households in AVC (see Photo 8.13 for the Grand seating arrangement)

Photo 8.11: The Wedding car

Photo 8.12: The Open Air Hall with the Bridal throne

Photo 8.13: The Grand seating arrangement of the Bridal couple

Photo 8.14: Food display
Photo Source: Menezes Caterers
https://www.facebook.com/16805588403286/photos/pb.16805588403286.-
2207520000.1448865945./393056584236547/?type=3&theater

The decoration's of the car, open air hall and the church was managed by the professional decorator. The professional decorator replaced the villagers and other lower caste who erected the pavilion for the marriage.

The other cosmetic change was the emergence of the custom of having a buffet for the dinner. As the open air halls emerged, so did the custom of buffet. More and more families in AVC diaspora households began to have an elaborate buffet post the year 2000. The buffet comprised of a 14 to 16 course meal consisting of preparations made of fruits (fruit salad) vegetables (vegetable salads), sea food, beef, pork, chicken, rice, noodles, cakes, ice-cream, jelly, custard , pudding. Along with these dishes elaborately displayed the buffet table was decorated with ice carvings, vegetable carvings and a display of fruits. Along with the buffet there emerged appropriate use of crockery i.e. forks and spoons and glass or plastic plates. All types of international drinks i.e. Coke and Pepsi products along with beer and whiskey was served in appropriate glasses. Initially in the 90s local made cold drinks were served, but with the establishment of the M.N.C people began to prefer these drinks as the serving of these drinks reflected the status of the family. Such types of practice of a grand dinner consisting of hundreds of invitees is also seen among the Gulf migrant families in Kerala. The lavish display of food and serving of alcohol is referred to as conspicuous consumption (see Gulati 1998: 195, Ravindrav 1987: 114). The entire food and beverage arrangement was handled by the professional caterers (see Photo 8.14 depicting food display and arrangement).

The other traditional elements of the wedding celebration i.e. wedding march, the toast and dances remained the same. In addition to these customs

during the wedding celebration, two new customs have got added the throwing of the bridal bouquet and the writing of the message book. The former refers to an act where the bride is blindfolded and she has to throw the bouquet towards a group of eligible spinsters, to whomever the bouquet lands it means that, she is the next in line to get married; whereas the latter involves the invitees writing messages on the message book, which is either placed on the table at the entrance or passed around the tables where the guest are seated. These two new customs are borrowed from the western countries the throwing of the bridal bouquet is practice widely across Europe and North America (George 2004).

The several changes in the wedding celebration initiated by the Goan diaspora and which have been discussed above have now become customary for marriages among the Roman Catholic in AVC. All the cosmetic changes brought about by the Goan diaspora in AVC is based on the fundamental reason and that is, through marriage alliance and marriage celebration different caste groups among the Goan diaspora from AVC have tried to uplift their status in the caste that they belong to. By bringing in grandeur and certain western elements in the wedding celebration, the Goan diaspora families in AVC have succeeded in the upward social mobility. The granduerization of the marriage both in the religious and cultural sphere has been made possible due to the remittances that the Goan diaspora sends to the families that are left behind in AVC. This process of granduerization of marriage celebration has been adopted by the non-diaspora families in AVC, thereby forming a transformed culture of marriage that is the product of the Goan diaspora families in AVC. We shall elaborate in 8.3.4, how marriage

celebration has a dual function of status enrichment and motivation for migration? And how *'grandeurization'* contributes to status enhancement?

8.3.4: Marriage celebration a means of status enhancing and a drive for International migration & The concept of *'Grandeurization'* and its usage

The word 'Grandeur' is of French origin from the word *'grand'* which means great http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/grandeur. According to the oxford dictionary the word 'Grandeur' means 'splendor' and impressiveness especially appearance and style http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/grandeur. The word 'Grandeur' is used to describe things that are distinguished, extraordinary, and impressive in scope; it is the quality of being magnificent or grand. http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/grandeur. Whereas, 'ization' refers to a process, action or a result of making http://www.thefreedictionary.com/-ization (see also http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/ization). Thus, according to the author 'Grandeurization' refers to a process of creating splendor or magnificence thereby contributing to the impressiveness of any social practice or material culture recurring across time and space that enables the agents/actors to climb up the social ladder in a given society.

In this study the author conceptualizes 'Grandeurization' in the context of various social practices and material advancements made in the Roman Catholic Society through the linkages of the Goan diaspora in the left behind family and households in the villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim. 'Grandeurization' is a process recurring across time and space in the varied social practices of the Roman Catholics Goans i.e. Marriage, Christening, First Birthday, First Holy Communion, Confirmation and Funeral. Each of these social practices have been 'grandeurized'. 'Grandeurization' also occurs in the several material aspects of the culture i.e. type of

house build, owning of land, cars and bykes, furniture and the furnishings in the house, raw materials used in the construction of house, clothing, jewelry, consumption of daily food, cutlery etc. 'Grandeurization' as a process is of social significance, as the process denotes the quest for Roman Catholics Goans in AVC to enhance their status and positions within the newly emerged class based stratification of the AVCian Roman Catholic Society. The Class based stratification is based on the process of 'grandeurization', whereby the Roman Catholic Goans grandeurize every aspect of their life so as to claim a higher ranking in the class based society. The Roman Catholic Goan diaspora is not caste centric, caste as an identity is losing its significance to class.

The emergence of the diaspora elite class is based on the grandeurized way of life, this gradueurized way of life exerts pressure or coerces the entire Roman Catholic Goan community that consists of the Goan Diaspora and the non-migrant Roman Catholic Goan to also strive for 'Grandeurization'. In the process of this quest for a 'grandeurized' way of life, so as to to fit in to the elite class status, there is an erosion of the traditional caste status and the way of life observed by the higher caste. This means that the Chardos as well as the Sudras among the Roman Catholics in Goa, want to strive for the 'grandeurized' way of life of the 'diaspora elite class'. Thus, through this concept we can see that it is not only the low caste that follows the practices of the 'elite class' but it is also the high caste that follow the practices of the 'elite class'. The 'elite class' consist of both the caste groups who are International migrants (Diaspora). Therefore, this concept is of sociological significance in understanding the process of change in a class based society. The concept of Grandeurization is different from several other concepts that denote change, that have

been discussed in the paragraphs below i.e. sanskritization, modernization and conspicuous consumption.

The concept of 'grandeurization' is different from sanskritization. Srinivas defined sanskritization as a process by which 'a low or middle Hindu caste, or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently twice-born caste' (Srinivas 1962: 48) . 'Grandeurization' is different from sanskritization as it is not caste centric, it is beyond caste. Granduerization is applicable to caste, class or any other group. In Grandeurization, you create grandeur in your respective group, so as to climb up the social ladder of a class based society. Therefore, a Brahmin may create grandeur within his caste group to become like the 'diaspora elite class' or simply to become like the elite class. In the case of AVC the elite class is the 'diaspora' followed by the Goans in Goa and lastly the non-goans. Secondly, in the process of sanskritization only horizontal mobility is possible, whereas through 'grandeurization' both horizontal and vertical mobility can be achieved. Grandeurization is therefore not a rigid process, it is a process that varies across time and space. What is grandeur today may be common after some years. Whereas, what is grandeur in AVC may not be considered grandeur in Mumbai. However, the concept could be applied universally to explain change in a given society relating to social stratification.

Further, 'Grandeurization' does not mean modernization, acccording to the encyclopedia Britannica, modernization refers to 'the transformation from a traditional, rural agrarian society to secular, urban, industrial society' http://www.britannica.com/topic/modernization. Daniel Lerner (1958) refers to modernization as "Modernization is the current term for an old process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more

developed societies". Thus, we see that modernization denotes change in the traditions by adopting characteristics of the more developed societies. However, the concept of grandeurization does not reflect change in the tradition. But the change is seen in the practice of that tradition. For, example it is a tradition to have the *'roce'* a day prior to marriage among the Roman Catholics Goans, but the ways of performing the '*roce'* as a traditional practice has undergone changes which are materially significant and influence the ideology behind future practice of the tradition of *'roce'*. Thus, the tradition of '*roce'* is grandeurized. This process of grandeurization further contributes to the enhanced status of the family. Thus, granduerization takes place within the tradition without changing the tradition of 'roce'.

The concept of 'grandeurization' comes close to the concept of 'conspicuous consumption' which was introduced by Thorstein Veblen in 1899. However, the concept of 'grandeurization' is different from conspicuous consumption. Conspicuous consumption according to the Logman's American dictionary refers to 'the act of buying things, especially expensive things that are not necessary to one's life, done in a way that makes people notice the purchases' http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/conspicuous-consumption.

In the Journal of Economic Issues article 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption' (2001), Trig defined conspicuous consumption as a behaviour involving the display of wealth by a man and women through the means of laziness and pleasure'. Veblem further presents that conspicuous consumption is the psychological orientation towards the need of acquiring the goods and services that provide a sense of satisfaction in the lives of people and was a means to an end to which the consumers claimed a higher status https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conspicuous_consumption. Conspicuous consumption

as seen in the above discussion is based on the idea of consumerism. The concept is hence limited only to the material consumption and the end result of that consumption is to improve one's status. On the other hand the concept of 'grandeurization' is a process that is extended to a broader aspect of social life that is culture, which includes both the material and non-material aspects.

We could also say that conspicuous consumption adds to the process of 'grandeurization', wherein conspicuous consumption of material goods and services contributes to the process of 'grandeurization' of material culture, through which people try to claim prestige and status. We can further say that conspicuous consumption is a means towards the end of 'grandeurization' of material culture that helps the people of a particular class to maintain a status quo or claim a higher ranking. Further, Grandeurization as a concept is not limited to the material culture, but also to the varied traditions among the Roman Catholic Goans in AVC. The 'grandeurization' of the traditions contribute to the emergence of a 'grandeurized culture' of the new elite class that becomes a reference group for the other class groups in Goa to emulate. When the other class groups emulate this composite 'grandeurized culture' of the elite class of 'diaspora' it eventually contributes to the 'grandeurized culture' among the entire Roman Catholic Goans, who then become the reference group for the people of Goa belonging to the other religious groups.

Finally, the concept of conspicuous consumption does not depict change or does relate to the process of change as it is used just to describe the need to consume material goods and services, whether this need actually contributes to a higher ranking and how it happens is not clear, but the concept of 'grandeurization' is a process that describes change within a class based society by grandeurizing their varied social and individual social practices, which keeps changing from time to time in order to claim

a higher ranking in the class hierarchy. Thus, in this study we have applied this concept to the analysing marriage ceremony among the Roman Catholics in AVC.

The grandeur that is added to the marriage celebration in the religious and cultural sphere helps in the enhancement of status. The grandeur to the several marriage practices i.e. The *Bikream Jevon*, The *Roce*, The Eucharistic celebration in the church and The marriage reception at the hall along with the westernization of selection of mate and certain practices in the wedding hall have been made possible due to the cultural and economic exchanges of the Goan diaspora with its family in AVC. The grandeurization and westernization of marriage has uplifted the status of the families left behind in AVC. This process of uplifting one's status through the marriage celebration is been observed in the Goan diaspora's families in AVC irrespective of caste. Therefore as all caste group i.e. the *chardos*, the *sudras* and the *kunbis* from the diaspora family households follow the same practices in the marriage celebration, such practices by the family of Goa diaspora left behind in AVC has contributed not only to the enhancement of status but also the establishment of the 'grandurization of marriage' that has become the dominant practice among both the diaspora family left behind in AVC and the Catholics in AVC.

There are several cosmetic developments that have added the grandeur to the marriage *vis-a-vis* the enhancement of status of the families left behind in AVC, these cosmetic changes have also become an external motivation for those who have not migrated in AVC, thereby influencing the decision to migrate abroad among the non-diaspora families. This is mainly due to the fact the many non-diaspora family members in AVC take loans or save every single rupee to have their daughter's or son's wedding on the same grand scale like the diaspora families in AVC. Thus, many youth are motivated to migrate at the thought of marriage and marriage celebration.

The family and the youth want to have their marriage celebration on the same grand scale like the diaspora families in AVC. Each marriage celebration on an average cost a minimum of five to eight lakhs for the couple, thus one has to work abroad to fulfil this demand. Marriage also serves as a motivation to build a house and furnish it, as the norm after marriage is of nuclear family. It becomes essential for the youth to build their own houses and furnish the same before the marriage, as after marriage they would live in the newly built house. Thus, if the youth want to get married, they have to have a separate house and if they want a separate house it would cost them fourty to sixty lakh rupees as this sum is too huge it cannot be obtained by working in Goa or India and therefore the only way to earn that money is to work abroad. Once the house is built, it contributes to the status of the family. Thus, marriage serves as a motivation for migration vis-a-vis status enhancement.

8.3.5: Marriage celebration as a benchmark for other celebration

The grandeurization process does not stop with the culmination of marriage, but its the beginning or a benchmark for the other celebration that will follow, once the couple establishes the family of procreation. The first celebration in the new family is the birth of the newborn. The religious ceremony that is performed is known as baptism or christening, a small ritual or a Eucharistic celebration takes place in the church and then there is a grand scale lunch or dinner organized for the relatives and villagers in the same manner in which the wedding reception happens (see Photo 8.15

Photo 8.15: The Grand celebration of Christening in the Hall

Photo 8.16: The Grand First Holy Communion celebration in the Hall

Once the child is seven or eight years the next celebration is the first holy-communion, a Eucharistic celebration takes place in the church followed by a grand lunch or dinner in the same manner in which the wedding reception happens (see Photo 8.16). Again when the child turns 21 years old there is a Eucharistic celebration in the church followed by a grand lunch or dinner in the same manner in which the wedding reception happens (see Photo 6.1).

Finally, the Goan diaspora families in AVC have extended the grandeur of wedding day celebration to other celebration i.e. Silver and Golden wedding jubilee celebration. Thus, the marriage celebration has become a benchmark for other celebration among the Goan diaspora families in AVC, which is being followed by the non-diaspora families as well. Further, it is through the grandueriztion of these varied celebrations that the Catholic families in AVC try to maintain or gain status vis-a-vis the upward social mobility in AVC.

8.4: THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW CULTURE VIZ-AVIZ THE 'ELITE CLASS'

The emergence of the of the new culture among the left behind families of the Goan diaspora in AVC has been possible due to the cultural and economic exchanges maintained by the Goan diapsora with the families left behind in AVC. The new culture among Goan diaspora families in AVC has emerged due to the evolution of hallmarks that have come to characterize the left behind families of the Goan diaspora in AVC. These hallmarks and its impact on the rest of the Catholic Goan society in AVC have been analyzed with the help of the subsequent aspects listed below.

1. **International migration**

The international migration is become the hallmark of the Roman Catholics in AVC, thereby contributing to the increasing numbers of Goan diaspora. The

International migration of Roman Catholics and the positive ripple effect it has had on the economic and social aspects on the AVCian society has contributed to the development of a culture of migration. The exposure of the non-migrant Goans to the Goan diaspora's success, wealth and statuses that have been enhanced in the sending AVCian society motivates many non-migrant Goans to migrate. International migration in AVC is perceived as the main or the only avenue of upwards social mobility among the youth, as many of them in AVC feel that there are no opportunities in Goa or even if there are, the salaries are too low and thus they are unwilling to work and invest their time in AVC or Goa (see also Schoorl *et al* 2000:16 and Fadloullah *et al* 2000:132-146). Thus, the success of Goan diaspora enhances the aspiration, ambitions, life projects and dreams of thousands of educated unemployed Roman Catholic Goans in AVC to the decision to migrate abroad, thereby forming a culture of migration in AVC (Hajjarabi 1988).

2. **Remittances and development**

The Goan diaspora have contributed immensely to the culture of remittances. It has become a tradition among the Goan diaspora to remit the money to their country of origin. The remittances are send due to various reasons i.e. love of the family, moral obligation towards parent, maintenance of the family and to improve one's status in the society. The remittances transferred by the Goan diaspora have contributed to the improved standard of living among the Goan diaspora families left behind. The remittances have fuelled an increase in the purchase of various consumer durables and means of transportation i.e. bikes and cars that have been discussed in chapter four. This has been possible due to the high variance in the salaries in Goa and abroad. The remittances send by the Goan diaspora also helps the families left behind to upgrade their wardrobe by buying new clothes for every single celebration. The remittances

send have propelled consumerism in AVC, in the west consumerism was born due to industrialization but in AVC it is due to the Diasporas exposure with the west that has contributed to it, as it can be seen in another Indian state of Kerala 'It has been found that Keralites spend a large share of their income to the consumption of consumer durables and luxuries. A still interesting thing is that this consumption is not to satisfy any basic human needs but to quench some of the hidden social needs and that is vertical social mobility' (Murthy 1994:15).

Families left behind also use the remittances for the up gradation of the living arrangements by either renovating their existing houses or by building new ones. The building of a huge house or renovating an existing one with all the modern amenities contributes in the enhancement of the family status in the village, the larger and well furnished is the house the better is the status of that family. Thus, the status of the family is not dependent on birth but rather the material prosperity one acquires through hard work and taking risks by migrating abroad. The non-migrant Goan in AVC aspires to have an economically secured life, which will help them to achieve those things or aspects that they feel relatively deprived when compared to the Diaspora families in AVC. Nevertheless, it seems not only material factors that incite people to leave. Migrating tends also to be associated to the idea of personal liberty (Ossman 1997). Further, the building of new houses helps in the nuclearization of families.

3. **Nuclearization of families**

The nuclear family is become a hallmark of the left behind members of the diaspora family in AVC. The nuclear family emerged in AVC in the early 50's among the diaspora family members left behind. Therefore the phenomenon of nuclearization of family is not a new one when compared to the rest of India. The benefit of the

nuclear family which is strongly associated to liberty has motivated the people to migrate abroad and send remittances for the building of a house. The building of the house, the improved status and the success of the nuclear family has further motivated the non-migrant Goans to migrate.

4. Education

The Goa diaspora has contributed immensely to the education of the left behind family members. Education especially English education of the children is given top most priority when the Goan diaspora establishes the family of procreation. Going to English medium schools has always been the hallmark of the families of Goan diapora in AVC from the 20th century, this tradition is evident from the fact that many Goan families in the early 20th century migrated to British India in places i.e. Poona, Bombay, Calcutta, Karwar and Belgaum in order to get their children educated in English medium schools. The focus on English education was based on the motive of international migration. The educational skills that the children acquire is based on the role expectations of the children in the AVCian society, with boys generally acquiring those skills that are in demand abroad and girls acquiring those skills and knowledge that are essential for seeking a job abroad or in Goa as seen in chapter six. Thus, one's sees a disparity in the types of skills learned or acquired by the boys and girls. The Goan diaspora's family culture in AVC influences the choices of both boys and girls in AVC.

5. Sponsoring of village tournaments and cultural events

Another characteristic that has emerged as a hallmark of Goan diaspora family in AVC is the tradition of sponsoring village tournaments and cultural events. When the International Goan returns to his village for holidays or various other celebration in the family or village, the villagers expected them to make contributions in

organizing village tournaments i.e. football or volleyball, which were quite popular in the villages of AVC. These tournaments served as a means of entertainment to the villagers and still continue to excite the villagers. The International Goan on their return from abroad would not mind sponsoring a few hundred or a thousand rupees for organizing such tournaments. As in doing so their names would be announced and through which they would gain in the hierarchy of status in the village.

The international Goan would also sponsor cultural events i.e. the *khell tiatr* during carnival, the *tiatr* during important village church or chapel feast and the Christmas tree party in the church or their respective *vaddo* (ward). The one who sponsored the cultural function would then boast to his friends and relatives or the friends, relatives and villagers would talk about him/her to others. These gossips of who sponsored the tournament brought good name and status to the family of the one who sponsored the event. Thus, many international Goan's on their return would sponsor's such tournaments and cultural events as they knew that through such contribution they were gaining by improving their status in the eyes of the villagers. Therefore, in the present day this practice still continues among the diaspora Goans and their families, however many non-migrant Goans in AVC also feel the need to sponsor such activities in the village so as to keep up with their status or to improve upon the status and be on par with the diaspora family left behind in AVC (see Photo 8. 17).

Photo 8.17: Series of Village *Tiatr* in Savorcotto, Cuncolim

Photo 8.18: Names of Benefactors in the Chapel

6. Contribution to the development of the church, chapel and its feasts

The Goan diaspora have a strong sense of attachment to their churches, chapel and feats. Whenever the church or the chapel is being renovated or if a new chapel was to be built. The Goan diaspora have contributed a lot of money in the development of churches and chapels. The churches and chapels administration acknowledge the contribution by announcing the same for the obligatory Sunday mass and by also inscribing the names of the benefactors on the stone that is built inside the walls of the church and chapel (see Photo 8.18).

The Goan diaspora not only contributed money for the developmental works of the church and chapel but also sponsored several useful things in the church and chapel i.e. fans, benches, porticos, hymn books, organ, sound system, chalice, candle stands, statues of various religious figure and painting of the church or chapel etc. The families of Goan diaspora also sponsor the chapel feast in their respective *vaddo*. All such contribution helps the left behind family of the Goan diaspora to acquire social prestige and therefore succeed in upgrading their status or maintain their status. When the members of the Goan Diaspora family in AVC, does these acts of contribution, it creates a sense of inferiority among the non migrating Goan catholic families in AVC. The non-migrating Goan catholic families also follow this practice of contributing towards the development of the church and chapel or the celebration of the feast, because if they don't do so then they would be losing on their status. Thus, in order to maintain or gain social prestige the non-migrating Goan families also try to contribute. However, at times it becomes difficult for such families to keep pace with the Diaspora families left behind in AVC, thereby prompting them to also think of migration.

7. **Granduerization of various celebration**

The Granduerization of the marriage celebration introduced by the Goan diaspora post 1990 as seen in 8.3.3 and 8.3.4 has led to the claiming of higher status among the families left behind of the Goan diaspora. The granduerization of marriage celebration has had a profound impact on the various other Roman Catholics and their religious and family celebration .i.e. Baptism, 1st Birthday, 1st Holy Communion, 21st Birthday, Silver Wedding jubilee, Golden Wedding jubilee. All these celebration have taken the shape and form of wedding day celebration. Hence, various celebration have been 'grandeurized' on the model of marriage celebration. Which means that all the Roman Catholic celebration both religious and secular follow a structured pattern, which involves the religious ritual first and then a grand reception consisting of a march, cutting of the cake, toast raising ceremony, serving of snacks, playing of songs by a band, participation of people in dance, partaking in the buffet lunch or dinner prepared by the professional caterers, the whole function is organized by a Master of Ceremony (M.C) and captured by videographers and photographers. This practice of adding grandeur to all celebration has become the hallmark of the left behind families of the Goan diaspora in AVC. The grandeurization of various celebrations listed above is possible due to the remittances that the left behind families receive. By granduerizing the various celebrations, the left behind families acquire social prestige and hence claim a higher status compared to the non-diaspora families in AVC. The non-diaspora families in turn feel inferior and deprived in comparison to the diaspora family in AVC. This inferiority complex pushes the non-diaspora families in AVC to imitate the grandeur in the various celebrations as observed in the diaspora families left behind in AVC. This act of granduerizing various celebrations are undertaken, so as to be on par with the diaspora family in AVC.

However, the granduerization of various celebrations comes at a cost, in this race for superiority, dominance, power, prestige and status; the diaspora family left behind as well as the non diaspora family in AVC borrow money from their family, friends and even take loans from the bank. This has put pressure especially on the non-diaspora family in AVC, who find it difficult to pay the loans or return the money.

Thus, all the seven hallmarks of the diaspora family in AVC have contributed in the emergence of a new culture among the diaspora family in AVC. These cultural characteristics have become the common markers of the Diaspora family in AVC. The diaspora family through these cultural characteristics have managed to establish a dominant position in the AVCian society. The distinct cultural characteristics fuelled by the economic affluence of the diaspora families have ultimately led to the emergence of a new social class 'the diaspora elites' (see also De Haas 2003). It is the diaspora elites of AVC and the families left behind that have contributed to this new culture of granduerization of not only celebration but also religious events i.e. litany, *saibin* (our lady) and housing activity i.e. building and renovation of houses along with the practice of house warming (inauguration of the house). Thus, these common practices among the left behind families of the diaspora elite have contributed to the emergence of a class that is not only distinct from the non-migrant Goan but also drives these practices thereby forming the 'dominant class'. It is the practices of the new 'dominant class' that the non-diaspora families try to ape in order to match them, as if they don't follow these practices they would feel isolated alienated from their social self.

8.5: ANALYIS OF DIASPORA AND CHANGE IN THE SENDING SOCIETY: TOWARDS A STRUCTURATION APPROACH

Before attempting any study relating to diaspora, it is important to look the distinct factors in the sending society and receiving societies that contributes to the genesis of any Diaspora. This consideration gathers significance when the sending societies have undergone transformation due to the process of colonization. As in such societies the historical and geographical factors helps us in comprehending the contemporary socio-political and economic changes. In our study we already seen in chapter three, that how colonization of Goa by the Portuguese from the 16th century, led to the development of the phenomena of migration both pre-liberation and post-liberation Goa. Drawing upon the theory of structuration, the distinctive character of the sending society and the process of migration helps us to believe that varying motives of migration contributes to varying diasporas. Therefore, there cannot be a universal thought with reference to Diaspora, as each place through which the diaspora emerges is distinct and the same holds true for AVC and Goa. Though, there could be similarities among different countries with reference to the factors that contribute to the genesis of international migration, having a grand universal theory of migration is problematic as every country is distinct. Therefore, Gidden's structuration theory in understanding the role of diaspora in the dynamics of the Catholic AVCian society is not an attempt to present a grand universal theory of migration and diaspora, but rather a humble attempt in having an in depth understanding of the phenomena of international migration and the socio-cultural structuration brought about by the diaspora on the sending society.

Figure 8.2
Structuration Process contributing to the Dynamics of AVCian Society

STRUCTURE	
Push/Pull	Dual Market Labour

AGENTS/AGENCY			
Relative Deprivation	Social and Thrust Networks	The cost and returns of human migration	Social Capital

DUALITY OF STRUCTURE		
Dialectics of Control	Institutions	Time and Space
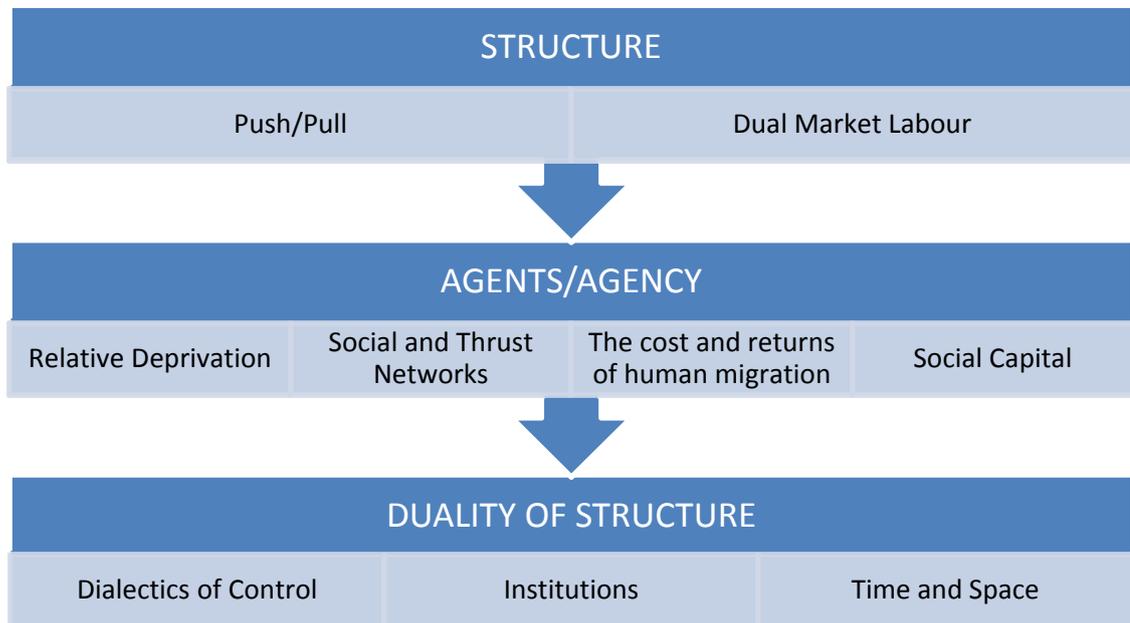
A look at the figure 8.2 contributes to the curiosity in knowing what does the figure mean? The figure is the theoretical framework on which this study is based. Let us have a closer look to clear our ambiguities. The word 'structure' as per Giddens refers to as, "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems...it exists in memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability instantiated in action" (Giddens 1984). A closer look at this definition presents several aspects to it, the most important being 'recursive'. In our study taking into account the historical perspective as seen in chapter three, the structure refers to the caste system, the system of administration, family, religious and economic system in the village, where in the five as a whole makes up the structure and helps us in understanding why do people migrate at the macro-level. The reasons for diaspora at the macro-level as explained in chapter four involved Lee's push and pull factors and the dual labour market theory. When we think of who migrates, we reach to the level of agents/agency. The agent is 'knowledgeable and capable subject' (Cloke 1991:97).

In this theory Giddens presents that the agents perform actions that have certain meaning or intention, as the agent is completely aware of the goal of the actions. Giddens states that every single action is 'intentional' (Giddens 1979). Thus, under the structuration project of Giddens, agents are of great prominence because they are knowledgeable and the actions that they perform have well defined purpose. In our study the 'agents' refers to Goan Diaspora. The Goan diaspora refers to people who are of Goan origin who have migrated, settled or scattered away from their established or ancestral homeland that is Goa and who maintain their links with their families, villages, socio-cultural organization and institutions and have thoughts of returning and who keep coming to Goa either to reunite with their family members or just for the love of the mother land. These knowledgeable and capable subjects migrate for various individual reasons. At the micro level the reasons for diaspora were explained in chapter four, with the help of the relative deprivation theory and the social capital theory, wherein it was seen how Catholic Goans in AVC irrespective of caste migrated to different regions of the world, this need to migrate emerged only when they felt relatively deprived to a reference group within the AVCian society, the need to migrate also emerged out of the need develop individual merit by investing in education. The outcome and risk involved with diaspora were explained with the help of Social network and thrust theory and the cost and returns of human diaspora. These theories point out to us that the cost of diaspora comes at a price which may be high or low. The high price would be the issues associated with diaspora and the left behind as discussed in chapter five (women), six (Children) and seven (elderly) and the low price would mean the gains as a result of diaspora and their linkages as discussed in chapter four and eight .

In Giddens structuration theory and its application to our migration theory we find next the concept of 'duality of structure' According to Giddens (1979), the duality of structure, "relates to the basic recursive character of social life, that shows the mutual dependence of structure and agency" (Giddens 1979: 69). This mutual dependence of structure and agency further contributes to the changes in the society through the dialectical relationship between the structure and agency.

Thus, in our study the process of diaspora stems from the structure and the agency. This interaction between the structure that pushes (agents to migrate) and agency that decides to (migrate) influences change in the sending society, the society of the diasporas origin. This change has been discussed elaborately under the institution of caste, family and marriage. We see that in each of these institution changes have been inflicted by the agents (Goan diaspora) in dual process. This dual process involves the changes that have been initiated by the Goan diaspora in the recursive character of social life i.e. caste, family and marriage, which has contributed to the establishment of the seven hallmarks within the left behind families of the diaspora. When certain practices with the institution of caste, family nad marriage has been changed due to the influence of Goan diaspora, these practices as discussed under caste, family and marriage have become recursive over a period of time, this recursive nature of the new practices initiated by the Goan diaspora in the institution of caste, family and marriage have formed a pattern, thereby forming a new structure.

The change in the societal structure is related to the 'dialectics of control' which refers to "every actor has the power to persuade the structuration of the society". The actor who has no power is not an agent. (Giddens 1984: 70-74). In our study, the diaspora who are the actors influence the structuration of their society of origin. These actors use certain 'social institution' which according to Cohen (1989)

refers 'regular practices that form a routine and are widely held and recognized collectively" (Cohen 1989: 39). The agents in the given society make use of these 'routinised practices' to institutionalise them and contribute to change. In our study we seen how the routine practices of caste, family and especially marriage have been changed by the influence of Goan diaspora, the change in these practices have influenced the other Roman Catholic Goans of AVC in general. Thus, these practices are now carried out and recognized by majority of the members belonging to AVC. Thereby, contributing the structuration of the caste based structure to class based structure in AVC.

The structuration process does not take place in space or in quick time. The process of change is gradual; the change is to be understood with reference to' time and space relations'. Thus, the constitution, or development, of society is bound not only into the people and the structure of the society, but the structuration of society is also influenced by the historical and geographical processes that influence a society that we saw in detail in chapter three.

Notes

1. As per the survey and empirical observation and interviews with the locals of AVC in 2014.

2. Mascarenhas-Keyes (2011:251) borrows the concept of 'progressive mother' from Rosen (1956), wherein she substantiates 'that in Catholic Goan families, progressive motherhood is closely aligned with a strong commitment, by both husband and wife, to a relative subjugation of self interest and correlatively a predominant focus on 'children and their future'.

3. Based on an interview with an elderly man in Cuncolim village.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1: INTRODUCTION

Contemporary research on 'diaspora and the sending society' reflects that the diaspora maintain several linkages with the sending society. The most significant and the most researched linkages have been the economic exchanges. The economic exchange in the form of remittances not only plays a vital role for the development of the micro/individual family but also the macro/village-state and country as a whole. However, there appeared gaps in research on how the linkages either economic or emotional and cultural exchanges could contribute in the dynamics of the socio-cultural aspects of the sending village society. This doctoral study was an attempt to understand 'What are the changes brought about by linkages of the Goan Diaspora on the Socio-Cultural aspects of the sending (Goan) Society? This question was operationalized with the help of five inter-related objectives.

The five inter-related objectives and the findings on the basis of these objectives were presented separately in chapters four, five, six, seven and eight. The conclusions that have been presented is based on the axial research question that seeks to understand the socio-cultural dynamics inaugurated by Goan diaspora. The socio-cultural dynamics is a composite whole and therefore, the researcher felt it best to analyze the conclusions as a composite whole. Thus, the conclusion elaborated in 9.2 would criss-cross the findings from several chapters. The chapter also proposes areas for future research within the larger area of migration and diaspora studies.

9.2. THE GOAN DIASPORA AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN GOA: A CONCLUSION

For any study on Diaspora, analyzing the genesis of Diaspora is significant in the understanding of the contemporary dynamics in the social and cultural sphere. In AVC and in Goa, the origin of Goan diaspora lies in the transformations brought about due to colonization of Goa from the 16th century till the 20th century. The people of AVC and Goa in general were largely dependent on subsistence agriculture and the AVCian society was characterized by a system that encompassed the socio-religio-economic aspect of the society in the form of the *'Gaonkari system'*. The 'Goankari system' as seen in Chapter three was a socialist system, in which all aspects of the society was governed by the people themselves.

The colonization of Goa and AVC by the Portuguese led to the transformation of Gaonkari to Communadade thereby reducing the system to the economic aspect. Further, the transfer of control of land from the villagers to the Portuguese administration disrupted the livelihood strategies of the people thereby contributing to poverty like condition. The colonization by the Portuguese also transformed the religious beliefs and culture of the people, which forced some to migrate to distant lands and some accepted conversion to Christianity. However, large majority in AVC lived a marginal life. In-order to cope with such a situation, the people had to look for every available opportunity elsewhere. Thus, the Roman Catholics in AVC found a great opportunity during the Napolic wars in the 19th century, as the new way of life that was enforced and adopted by the converts made it easier for Roman Catholics to migrate across the seas during the 19th century, as there was no food restriction as compared to the Hindus. This process of international migration that began in the 19th century in AVC radically reshaped the social, cultural and economic context in which

migration took place in the future generation. The 'mobility transition' (Zelinsky 1971) in AVC began as a consequence of colonization in AVC. Consequently at the macro level, international migration has increasingly enabled the Roman Catholics in AVC to earn an additional income. The additional income have triggered socio-cultural changes in AVC due to the diaspora's exposure abroad, the changes being desirable have mobilized the mind sets of ACVian Roman Catholics to increase their propensity to migrate.

In the 21st century every able bodied youth in AVC thinks international migration is the fastest means to success. Hence, in the present day scenario the diapsora's family in AVC is well to do due to the generations involved in international migration, yet the youth think of migration as the best option. This refutes the popular view that poverty is the root cause of labour migration. Hein de Haas (2003) in his PhD thesis uses the transitional migration theory and states that 'the theory predicts that development, in its initial stages, tends to lead to an increase of out-migration instead of reverse'. He further states that 'migration as a means of development shouldn't be seen strictly from the material dimension, rather educational development and knowledge of other societies also contributes to capabilities of a human and thus contributes to development'. He further reiterates that 'such type of development also tend to increase the aspiration of people, leading them to migrate in order to fulfill these aspiration. Thus, in AVC people migrate for both the aspects of development i.e. economic and social. The Roman Catholics in AVC have been migrating for the past 175 years and the Goan AVCian diaspora have maintained close links with AVC contributing immensely to the development.

The Goan diaspora and its linkages with the sending society have contributed to the dynamics of the social and cultural aspects in the villages of AVC. The

dynamics in the socio-cultural aspects have been powered by the remittances and the ideas that the left behind family members receive from the Goan diaspora. The dynamics in the socio-cultural sphere in AVC can be observed in the institutions of caste, family and marriage, which have been elaborated in chapter eight.

The changes in the institution of caste, family and marriage can be attributed to the new way of life that the diasporic family households in AVC portray. This new way of life is characterized by the 'grandeurization' of some of the seven hallmarks of the diaspora households in AVC and the improved standard of living as discussed in chapter four. The grandeurization of some of the hallmarks and the improved standard of living *vis-a-vis* status and power propels the non-migrant Roman Catholics to adopt the same way of practicing and organizing the seven hallmarks as seen among the diaspora family households in AVC in chapter eight. They also aspire for a similar standard of living (see chapter four) and the 'statuses achieved' like the diaspora family in AVC. The way of life seen among the diaspora family households in AVC is not caste based or caste driven, which means that all diaspora family households irrespective of caste undertake the performance of the seven hallmarks by displaying grandeur. The non-migrant family households ape these seven hallmarks of the diaspora households thereby reaffirming the status of the Goan diaspora and the family members left behind. The achieved higher status elevates the class of Goan diaspora and their family members to the establishment of a new hybrid class of 'diaspora elites' or 'migrant elites' as proposed by De Haas (2003). The new hybrid elite class of migrant/diaspora is hybrid as it consists of all the caste groups. Thus, what this means is that Roman Catholics in AVC migrate irrespective of caste. This class group occupies the highest status in AVCian society followed by the non-migrant Goan and right at the bottom are the migrants from other states. Thus, the

phenomena of international migration, the goan diaspora and its linkages have managed to transform the social caste structure to the class structure.

The distinctive, successful and the dominant way of life of the 'Diaspora elite class' has become the ' Roman Catholic Goan dream' it is this 'dream' that motivates and inspires the non-migrant family members to also migrate and become like the 'diaspora elite class' (De Haas 2003). The majority of the Roman Catholics migrate between twenty to thirty five years. The diaspora elite have become the reference group for those who feel relatively deprived and the people from AVC measure the psychic cost and gains of migration (see Sjastaad 1962: 77). The historical conditions and the contemporary developments in the economy and wages in the sending society pushes the Roman Catholics from AVC towards different parts of the world (see Lee 1966), where the wages are three to four times for the same job they would have done in the country of origin (see Lee 1966, Piore 1979). The process of migrating and becoming a 'diaspora elite' contributes to the 'structuration' (see Giddens 1984) of caste to 'class' endangering the rigid nature of caste, which in turn has its implication in the choice of marriage partners and the practice of marriage as a religio-social ceremony, thereby contributing to the emergence of nuclear, autonomous and independent family. The transformation from caste to class is powered by the accelerated income generation that the diaspora remit to their families left behind. The change from caste to class and the egalitarian outlook of the society brought about due to the Goan diaspora and its linkages with the family members in AVC presents several challenges to its members.

The absence of the Goan diaspora creates a vaccum at the personal, family and the village-social level. The absence at the personal level of various categories of left behind i.e. women, children and elderly feel lonely and emotionally weak at times.

The absence also creates a longing-ness of family unification and deprivation of the emotional needs of certain family members in some cases. However, the general majority have adopted well to the absence of the dear ones. Since majority of the Goan diaspora consists of males, larger numbers of females were found to be residing in AVC. The decision to marry a diasporic man is taken by the own free will of the women, as seen in AVC majority of the marriages takes place with the consent and choice of the children   (also see Mascarenhas 2011). The women in the diaspora household family have responded well to the migration of their men due to the anticipatory socialization they undergo with the help of the family and the AVCian society (see Mascarenhas 2011). The women have been enterprising in the management of the house and family. They feel empowered and use the autonomy in the decision making, financial management, and the upbringing of their children and care of the elderly (see Mascarenhas 2011, Gulati 1993, Zachariah & Rajan 2001) in their quest for being an ideal woman. The women in particular are responsible for the success of international migration in AVC. The children are the greatest beneficiaries as the remittances send have been invested in their welfare i.e. education, talent development, food, clothing and leisure (see Acousta 2006, Hanson & Woodruff 2003). On the other hand, when one compares the children with the elderly, we see that the elderly have lived with this experience through their parents and relatives, and have anticipated well to their turn of the similar experience. The elderly also gain through economic security and the village social network especially the church and the grand children that provide opportunities to avert the loneliness of the elderly (also see Becker *et al.* 2003, Chen and Silverstein 2000). The elderly face hardships only if they are abandoned and immobile. The family as a whole gains in the status. Thus, on the whole the family gains are more than the losses as seen in chapters four,

five, six and seven. It is the many family gains that propels every able bodied young youth to earn money faster by migrating. The family as a whole helps in the socialization of every member in their respected roles as discussed in chapter eight. The individual/family and the society at large manages to instills the culture of migration in the youth through the success and experience of the elders in the family. Hence, international migration in AVC is not an individual decision but a family decision.

The Goan diaspora is not caste centric, as varied caste groups have migrated, this nature has affected the family and the caste to which the family belonged. The caste of the family was determined by the family's occupation. As the Goan diaspora is involved in occupations that are different from the family occupation. The family occupations have been dying a slow death in AVC. In other words there are no takers for the traditional occupations including agriculture and the other occupation relating to industries. Therefore, there is a vacuum created and which is being filled by the migrants from various states of India. This has contributed to the change in the demographic structure of AVC as seen in Chapter four. The change in the demographic structure in the villages of AVC is magnified by the fact that 25 percent of the population consists of migrants from various states that are gainfully employed in both the organized and the unorganized sector. The vacuum created by the large scale international migration of Roman Catholics, which is the majority religious community in AVC and the in-migration of people from the various states of India have contributed to the feeling that the 'Goan identity is at stake'.

The large scale international migration in the villages of AVC has not deterred the practice of the several socio-cultural activities and the social character of these several activities. However, in certain cases i.e. the ward of Bencleamvaddo in

Cuncolim. The large scale international migration and the dwindling numbers of the members in the *Vaddo* (Ward) have resulted in the disappearance of the social character of the several socio-religio-cultural activities thereby contributing to the emergence of 'empty village' as discussed in chapter seven.

The picture that emerges out of the international migration of Roman Catholic Goans and the linkages that the Goan diaspora continue with the sending society helps in the development of various caste/class groups in AVC. The development is both economic and social. The phenomenon of international migration has contributed to the egalitarian outlook of the AVCian society. The economic and socio-cultural linkage that the Goan diaspora maintain with their family members in AVC has resulted in the development of various caste/class groups in AVC. The economic gain and the resultant way of life of the family members left behind has bridged the gap between the rich and the poor and also the gap between the formerly subaltern caste and the dominant caste. The gaps between caste/class that have been bridged have come at a price. This price involves family disruption, however the anticipatory socialization process that the members of the family undergo at various stages of the physical, emotional and social development helps them to adjust well to the challenges that one has to face in the absence of the near and dear ones. The families and the AVCian society as a whole have a history of international migration that ranges from one to five generation, which makes the phenomena of international migration a manageable aspect in the AVCian society. It is this experience and success of several generations that have contributed to the ever growing numbers of Goan diaspora. Further, Giddens theory of structuration helps us to analyse the socio-cultural dynamics in Goa.

Through Gidden's theory in chapter eight we have seen that the structuration of caste to class and the emergence of the distinct culture among the dispora families in AVC is possible to due international migration, it is the distinct culture that provides motivation to migrate and it is migration that creates a distinct culture. Therefore, culture and migration are both dualities that contribute to the dynamics of Caste in to class and it is this class that adopts migration as a culture to form a distinct culture. The international migration of Roman Catholics in AVC stems from the structure, that refers to the caste system in particular, and the history of the system of administration, family, religious and economic system in the village, where in the five as a whole makes up the structure, it is the structure that and helps us in understanding why do people migrate at the macro-level in AVC. The migration of the agents (Goan diaspora), who are capable and knowledgeable beings, takes place due to the feeling of relative deprivation to a reference group (caste/class). The migration of the agents and the diaspora's socio-economic linkages with their family vis-à-vis society contributes to the duality of the structure or the structuration of the structure.

The relationship between structure and agency is a dialectical relationship in which both structure and agency interact with each other to influence change in society. Thus, through this we see that the process of structuration stems from the structure and the agency. This interaction between the structure that pushes (agents to migrate) and agency that decides to (migrate) influences change in the sending society, the society of the diasporas origin. This change has been discussed elaborately under the institution of caste, family and marriage. We see that in each of these institution changes have been inflicted by the agents (Goan diaspora) in dual process. This dual process involves the changes that have been initiated by the Goan diaspora in the recursive character of social life i.e. caste, family and marriage, which

has contributed to the establishment of the seven hallmarks within the left behind families of the diaspora. When certain practices in institution of caste, family and marriage has been changed, the changed practices becomes recursive over a period of time, this recursive nature of the new practices initiated by the Goan diaspora in the institution of caste, family and marriage have formed a pattern, thereby forming a new structure.

The structuration process does not take place in space or in quick time. The process of change is gradual; the change is to be understood with reference to' time and space relations'. Thus, the constitution, or development, of society is bound not only into the people and the structure of the society, but the structuration of society is also influenced by the historical and geographical processes that influence a society that we saw in detail in chapter three.

Thus, to conclude before embarking on any study relating to diaspora, it is important to look the distinct factors in the sending society and receiving societies that contributes to the genesis of any Diaspora. This consideration gathers significance when the sending societies have undergone transformation due to the process of colonization. As in such societies the historical and geographical factors helps us in comprehending the contemporary socio-political and economic changes. In our study we already seen in chapter three, that how colonization of Goa by the Portuguese from the 16th century, led to the development of the phenomena of migration both pre-liberation and post-liberation Goa. Drawing upon the theory of structuration, the distinctive character of the sending society and the process of migration helps us to believe that varying motives of migration contributes to varying diasporas. Therefore, there cannot be a universal thought with reference to Diaspora, as each place through which the diaspora emerges is distinct and the same holds true

for AVC and Goa. Though, there could be similarities among different countries with reference to the factors that contribute to the genesis of international migration, having a grand universal theory of migration is problematic as every country is distinct. Therefore, Gidden's structuration theory in understanding the role of diaspora in the dynamics of the Catholic AVCian society is not an attempt to present a grand universal theory of migration and diaspora, but rather a humble attempt in having an in depth understanding of the phenomena of international migration and the socio-cultural structuration brought about by the diaspora on the sending society.

9.3 : AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Any diaspora study cannot be undertaken by a single discipline; therefore a multi-disciplinary approach is a must in the comprehensive understanding of the impact of diaspora and its linkages on the sending society. The researcher did make use of a multi-disciplinary approach, as the axial research question demanded the same. The research tried to uncover the socio-cultural dynamics inaugurated due to the Goan diaspora. The socio-cultural dynamics were unearthed on the basis of the five inter-related objectives. The five objectives listed above and the areas to which the objective is related to can be easily undertaken as a full fledged PhD research or a Major research. Therefore, we shall try to bring out the areas of future research with the help of the objectives.

The first of the objective was to understand the relationship between International Migration and the demographic structuring of the village. This study was limited to Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim, hence future research could include other areas of Goa with sizable international migration i.e. Agasaim, Goa Velha and Siridao so that generalization can be made for the whole of Goa. When the researcher undertook this study there was no data available on the actual numbers of Goan

diaspora in AVC or for any other place in Goa. The data on numbers available through a study undertaken by centre for development studies under the banner of Goa Migration Study (2008) is based on a sample that was inadequate. As the number of diaspora population was based on mere calculations. Therefore, there is a need to investigate the actual numbers by undertaking a census of international migration in Goa. The various demographic indicators that were researched may also be included in the census of international migration. As when the researcher undertook the study there was no data available on the demographic aspects of the diaspora households. The data on demographic indicators becomes important when one is comparing the diaspora household to the non-diaspora household. The study did not face sampling problems as it was an exploratory and analytical study for which a purposive sampling method was used. However, if one is purely pursuing a quantitative study then having the list of diaspora households becomes important in order to have adequate representation of the sample, as the adequate representation of the sample can help us to generalize better.

The second objective to know the role of Diaspora in Family dynamics was based on the question that what happens to the family, when majority of the male's are absent leaving the women behind?. Thus, the study was limited to the changes in the structure and function of the family with the focus of understanding empowerment of women brought about due to the absence of the men. There is a need for future research with reference to How do men manage their lives in the absence of their families? This question is of significance to the gendered dimension of migration as the concept of gender is not limited to women alone and therefore future research on family dynamics can also incorporate the men's perspective in understanding the family dynamics with regards to what propels men to migrate to a greater extent as

compared to women. The men in the absence of their families may have varied experiences which are never unravelled nor do the boys in their adolescence know, yet every able youth thinks of migrating at the first opportunity. A research in this direction in seeking to understand the experience of men in the absence of their family could shed light in this direction.

The third objective that seeks to understand the impact of the Diaspora on the Children left behind was limited to their perception and achievements in educational attainment, future occupation, and preference of marriage partners, social wellbeing and their relationship with their parents. The study could have extended to seeking understanding of the emotional and psychological wellbeing of the children in the absence of their parents as research across the globe shows that varied results depending on weather the father migrates or the mother migrates. Research also indicates a relationship between grades of the child and the absence of the parents, which could be explored in future research on diaspora and children in Goa.

As Goa like India and many other Asian countries is a state, that values the old and gives importance to the social and monetary support of the old by the children in the old age. This study aimed at understanding the role of the of Diaspora in the dynamics of monetary and social support of older parents. However, in what way the absence can affect the psycho-social being could be investigated in the future studies. Further, the study focused on the elderly left behind as one single group and did not differentiate between men and women, elderly mobile or immobile, elderly living completely alone, elderly living with spouse and elderly living with grandchildren in order to analyse their experience. Therefore, there is a need to undertake a comparative study between all the five categories of elderly to find out whether there are differences in experiences pertaining to psycho-social being.

Lastly, the objective to discern the role of Diaspora in the 'structuration' of the Village was limited to the understanding of the changes in the institution of caste, family and marriage brought about by the diaspora, which together have contributed in the structuration of the village. However, the study could also include the changes in the political, educational and economic institutions. Thus, future studies could focus on trying to discover the extent of change brought about by the Goan diaspora in the political, educational and economic institutions in Goa. Areas of research could also include the role of diaspora in reviving Goan cultural aspects i.e. Tiatr and Konkani cinema.

Appendix-1: Questionnaire on Demographic Profile

THE GOAN DISAPORA: A STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN GOA

- Kindly note, I am undertaking a study on the Socio-cultural changes in the village brought about due to International migration of Goans and their linkages. I kindly request you to cooperate with me in filling this questionnaire. The information in this Questionnaire shall remain confidential.

I have no issues in providing you with the information

                                                    Signature of Respondent:

Name of the Village:_____

1. Religion
    1. Hindu [   ]   2.Christian [   ]

2. Caste
    1. Bamon [   ]   2.Chardo [   ]   3.Gauddo [   ]   4.Sudir [   ]

    5.Mahar/Chamar [   ]

3.Total Number of Member's in the family___   No of males:___   No of females:___

4.Type of Family: 1. Joint [   ]   2. Nuclear [   ]   3.Extended [   ]

5.Total Number of children in the family: [   ]

6.No of Adult Males presently living in the family [   ]

7.No of Adult Females presently living in the Family [   ]

8.No of Elderly in the family: [   ]   female elderly [   ]   male elderly [   ]

9.Education level : Kindly tick what is applicable.

Sr. No	Educational Level	Your's	Son (Note only if working)	Husband
1	Below 10th			
2	10 with certificate Course/ITI			
3	10+2 with certificate Course/Diploma			
4	Graduation with course			
5	Post Graduation with course			
6	Ph.D			

10. Occupation (**Encircle**)

Yours: 1. Teacher   2.Service Private   3.Service Government   4.Doctor
        5.Engineer   6.Lawyer   7.House-wife   8.Own-Bussiness   9.Maid
        10.Worker (Farm/construction) 11. Any other

11. Occupation: Son and Husband

Sr. No	Occupation	Son	Husband
1	Cook		
2	Waiter		
3	Officer		
4	Engineer		
5	Utility		
6	Barmen		
7	Doctor		
8	Mechanic		
9	Manager Hospitality		
10	Factory Worker		
11	Manager		
12	Own Business		
13	Any other Manager		
14	Any other (Please fill the Blank)		

12.Number of years in service abroad

1. 0-5 yrs [ ]   2.6-10 yrs [ ]   3.11-20 yrs [ ]   4.20yrs above [ ]

13.Frequency of visits

1. Once Yearr [ ]   2.Twice a Year [ ]   3.Once in Two years [ ]

4.Once in Five Years [ ]

14.Age at which he/she migrated

1. 18-25 yrs [ ]   2.25-30 yrs [ ]   3.30-35 yrs [ ]   4.35-40 yrs [ ]

15.Do you own the house

1. Yes   2.No

16.Do you own the property

1. Yes   2.No

17.Do you have tenants

1. Yes   2.No

18.Total number of tenants living in your premises or neighbor's premises

19. What type of work they are involved with? Please put in the number under each category.

Sr. No	Type of Work	No of Tenants in the work
1	Cook	
2	Own Business	
3	Electrician	
4	Plumbing	
5	Mason	
6	Painter	
7	Laborer	
8	Agriculture	
9	Waiters	
10	Service Private	
11	Factory Worker	
12	Service Government	
13	Utility	
14	Baker	
15	Black Smith	

20. Total monthly income of the Household (Please Tick)

1. Rs 20 -40K ☐   2.Rs 41-60K ☐   3.Rs 61-80K ☐   4. Rs 81100K ☐

5.Above 100k ☐

21. Type of house

1. Mud House with Tiled roof
2. Traditional House (Small) (With 2 Bedrooms)
3. Traditional House (Medium) (With 3 to 5 Bedrooms)
4. Traditional House (Big) (With more than 5 Bedrooms)
5. Modern House (Small) (With less than 3 bedrooms)
6. Modern House (Medium) (With With 3 to 5 Bedrooms
7. Modern House (Big) (With more than 5 Bedrooms)

22. Basic appliances in the house

1. LCD/LED/ TV 2.GAS STOVE 3.Refrigerator   4.WASHING MACHINE 5.GEYSER

6.LAPTOP/PC   7.CAR   8.Motorcycle   9.SMARTPHONE 10. MIXER 11. A.C

23.Number of Toilets :____ 24. Type of Toilet   1.Western   2.Indian   3.Both

25.Type of Water supply

1. Government ☐ 2.Well ☐

26.Reasons for Migration

1. Better Standard of Living Status   2. Caste discrimination   3.Improvement in
4. Maintaining status   5. Better income   6.See the Globe

27. Do you agree with the model of Hierarchy given below in your Village?

1.Goan International Migrants (Diaspora)
a) Europe, US, Canada, Austriallia etc.
b) Shippies
C) Gulf and Africa

2. Goans
a) Bamon
b) Chardo
c) Gauddo
d) Sudir
e) Mahar/Chamar

3. Non-Goans
a) Bussinessmen
b) Professionals
c) Skilled Workers
d) Unskilled Workers
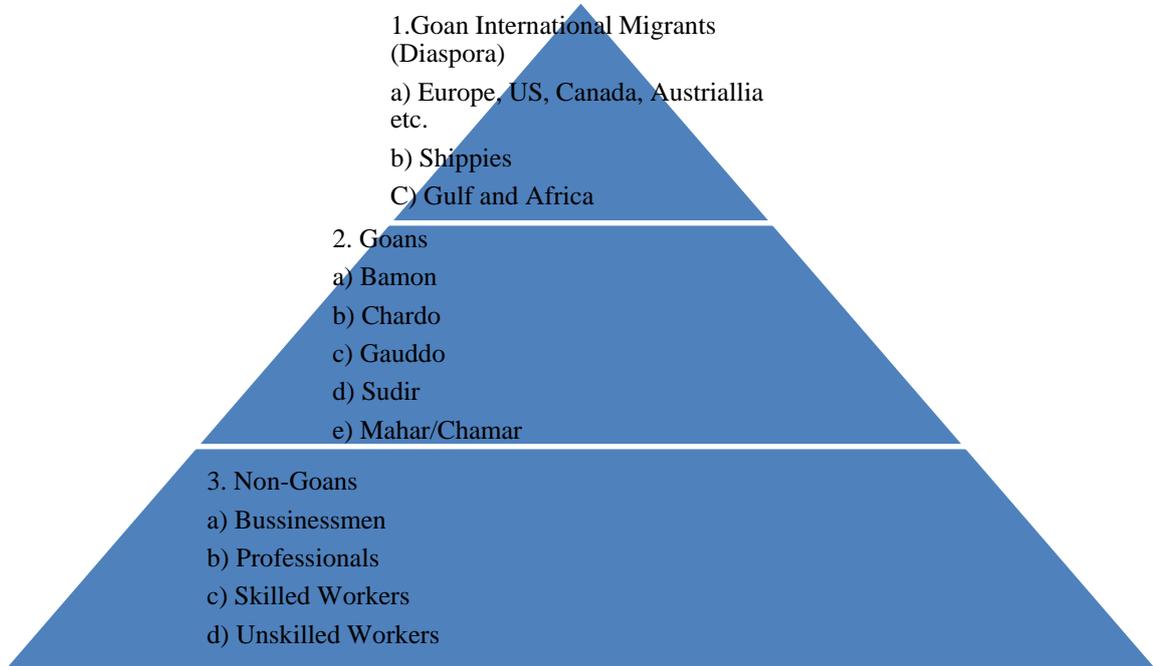
YES [ ]   NO [ ]

28. If no do you have an alternative?, you can change the order.

a) 2, 1, 3   b) 2, 3, 1   c) 3, 2, 1   d) 3, 1, 2

Appendix-2: Questionnaire on Women and Diaspora

THE GOAN DIASPORA: A STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN GOA

Introduction: This part of the questionnaire addresses the issue relating to the Diaspora (Goan's abroad) and their wives' in Goa.

- Note: All information provided here shall remain confidential.
- Please tick on the options provided to you

I have no problem in providing you with information: _____

                                                            Signature

1. How long have you been married
a. Below 3 years
b. Above 3 below 5 years
c. Above 5 below 10 years
d. 10 years above

2. Do you have children
     a. Yes   b. No
3. Do you go to work?
     a. Yes   b. No

4. Did your father work abroad?
a. Yes   b. No

5. If yes was it easier to choose your partner because you already had the experience of your father being away from you?
a. Yes   b. No

6. Has you experience from your family of initiation helped you to cope up with the challenges of the family of procreation?
a. Yes   b. No

7. Did your mother guide you before your marriage on the challenges of living without a husband around you?
a. Yes   b. No

8. What was your greatest attraction towards this marriage partner?
a. Love   b. Security   c. Status   d. Independence

8. Do you go to the market all by yourself? Yes/No
9. Do you go to the doctor all by yourself? Yes/No
10.   Do you know to ride a bike? Yes/No
11.   Do you go wherever you want to? Yes/No
12.   Do you go out for parties and functions during the day? Yes/No
13.   Do you go out for parties and functions during the night? Yes/No

14.   Are you involved in activities outside your home? Yes/No
15.   Do you participate in religious activities? Yes/No
16.   Do you go to your parent's house whenever you want to or whenever there is a need? Yes/No
17.   Do you have an account in the bank? Yes/No
18.   Do you have a joint account with your husband? Yes/No
19.   Do you have a bank balance of more than 5 Lakhs? Yes/No
20.   Do you have saving certificates in your name or jointly in your husband's name Yes/No
21.   Do you have a house/flat which is in your name or jointly in your husband's name Yes/No
22.   Do you have a property in your name or jointly with your husband's name
23.   Do you feel your status has been enhanced due to your husband's migration abroad? Yes/No

24.   I decide what to buy from the market Agree/Disagree
25.   I decide buying of clothes for me and my children Agree/Disagree
26.   Which school my child will go is decided by me or jointly with my husband Agree/Disagree
27.   How many children I should bear is decided by me or jointly by my husband Agree/Disagree
28.   I decide or jointly decide about any type of renovation of my house Agree/Disagree
29.   I decide or jointly decide about how much money to save and how much to spend Agree/Disagree
30.   I decide or jointly decide about investing in property or real estate Agree/Disagree
31.   I decide or jointly decide about how to organize celebrations relating to the family members Agree/Disagree
32.   I decide on how much money should be spent for celebration and family functions Agree/Disagree
33.   I decide or jointly decide whether I should work or not Agree/Disagree
34.   I decide or Jointly decide on the buying of the type of household appliances required in the house Agree/Disagree
35.   I am content with my life Agree/Disagree
36.   I am happy the way I am Agree/Disagree
37.   I feel nice about myself Agree/Disagree
38.   People respect me   Agree/Disagree
39.   My family respects me Agree/Disagree
40.   I am a good mother Agree/Disagree
41.   I am a good wife Agree/Disagree
42.   I am a good daughter-in-law   Agree/Disagree
43.   I am a good daughter   Agree/Disagree
44.   I am a successful women Agree/Disagree
45.   My Greatest challenge is
a) Children care and education

b) Coping with in-laws
c) Coping with the absence of my husband
d) Child Disciplining
e) All of the above
f) Any other

46.   What is your greatest gain?
a) Status
b) Independence
c) Economic Security
d) Better Standard of living
e) All of the above
f) Any other

47.   What is your greatest loss?
a) Self Identity
b) Economic Independence
c) Emotional Insecurity
d) Love
e) All of the above
f) Any other

48.   In the absence of my husband I feel……..
a) I can cope up
b) Lonely
c) Empowered
d) Useless
e) Independent
f) Dependent

49.   Do you feel the advantage of International migration of your husband out-weighs the disadvantages? Yes/No

Appendix-3: Interview Guide for Women and Diaspora

The Goan Diaspora: A study of Socio-Cultural Dynamics in Goa

Family Background

a) Migration history, who was the first to migrate in your family and when did it happen?
b) If the parents migrated did their experience help you to socialize appropriately with references to your future?

1. Migration and Remittances
   - What was the cause or need for migration?
   - How much did it cost?
   - How does one migrate? Please elaborate the whole process
   - What have you gained and how have you gained from migration (due to the foreign income) please elaborate.
   - What have you gained from yours or your partners foreign exposure

2. The emotional costs of separation
   - How has the experience been living without your partner
   - How has the experience been living without your children/ alone with children
   - What are the major difficulties you face? Can you list each of them with examples and elaborate
   - What are the major challenges you face? Can you list each of them with examples and elaborate

3. Concerns over care
   - What are you concerns relating to your care? Please elaborate
   - How do you find it to mend for yourself and your child (medical attention) can you give a few instances of the difficulties you faced and how you managed
   - How has your experience been with the your in-law and their care, what are the challenges you face, how do you manage

4. Increased responsibilities (Empowerment)
   - What do you feel about the increased responsibilities, are you happy about it, are you enjoying it?
   - List out the several responsibilities that you undertake with appropriate examples
   - Do you think it has empowered you if yes how and if no why?

5. Changes in the family
   - What significant change you find in the family of the past and today? Please elaborate i.e status, type of family, place of residence, the role of caste,
   - How does family status get enhanced give examples to support.

Eg House, sponsoring cultural events (Tiatr), sports events, church/temple activities, investment in land/homes, education, building of community buildings, visit to places across the globe etc.

- Do you feel migration has a role in the changes in the family, if so how please elaborate how?

Appendix-4: Questionnaire on Children and Diaspora (Parents)

THE GOAN DIASPORA: A STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN GOA

Introduction: This part of the questionnaire addresses the issue relating to the Diaspora (Goan's abroad) and their children in Goa.

- Note: All information provided here shall remain confidential.
- Please tick on the options provided to you

I have no problem in providing you with information: _____

                                                     Signature

A. **Personal Information**

1. Age:

2. Village:

3. Sex: Please Tick, Male ☐   Female ☐

4. Caste ☐

5. Are both your parents staying with you? Please tick YES ☐   NO ☐

6. If No, Who is not staying with you? Please tick Father ☐   Mother ☐

7. Where is he or she? Please tick

1. Ship ☐   2. Gulf ☐   3. America ☐   4. Europe ☐

Specify if any other:_____

8. How long has your parent been abroad?

(I) More than 15 years   (II) More than 10 years   (III) More than 5 years

9. Who takes care of you?
(I) Mother
(II) Father
(III) Family member from mothers' family
(IV) Family member from father's family

10. If your mother is living abroad how often do you speak with her?
(I) Never   (II) 1 to 2 times a month   (III) Every week   (IV) Not applicable

11. If your father is living abroad how often do you speak with her?
(I) Never   (II) 1 to 2 times a month   (III) Every week   (IV) Not applicable

b. Opinions on future education, occupation and marriage

12. What level of education would you like to achieve in life or have achieved?
(I) Higher Secondary School level
(II) Vocational (ITI, Course, Polytechnic)
(III) College level (Professional, Teachers training College etc.)
(IV) University (Masters Degree, Ph.d)

13. What do you aspire to be?
(I). Doctor   (II) Engineer   (III) Musician (IV) Teacher   (V) Government Servant
VI) Businessmen/women (VII) Defence Personal (VIII) Administrative Services (IX)
Manager in a Company (X) Sportsmen/women (XI) Officer (XII) Any other specify

14. Where would you like to work?
(I) Goa
(II) Elsewhere in India
(III) Abroad (Gulf, US, Canada, Australia or Any other country)
(IV) Ship

15. Why would you like to work in the place ticked above?
I) Poor Pay Scales in Goa
II) Corruption in Goa/India
III) Love of my family
IV) Better opportunities in India
V) Better opportunities abroad
VI) Like to see the world

16. Would you also migrate like your parent(s)?
(I) YES   (II) NO

17. Would you like to leave back your child?
(I) YES   (II) NO

18 a).My marriage partner should be preferably
I) Working in Goa with Government Job
II) Working Abroad
III) Working On the ship
IV) Working in Goa with own business
V) Working in India not Goa
VI) Not working

18 b).My marriage partner should be
I) Religious
II) From the same caste
III) Well educated (At least Graduate)
IV) Good looking
V) Homely
VI) Earning Handsomely

C. Opinions on the absence of parent(s) and their relationship with them

19. Do you feel sad that a parent of yours is not there?
(I) Yes   (II) No

20. Do you feel you would have made better decisions if both your parents were at home?
(I) Yes   (II) No

21. Do you feel people do not like you?
(I) Yes   (II) No

22. Do you feel shy talking to your father?
(I) Yes   (II) No

23. Do you feel shy talking to your mother?
(I) Yes   (II) Yes

24. Do you miss your parent(s)
(I) Yes   (II) No

25. Do you share your personal problems with your parent?
(I) YES   (II) NO

26. Are you comfortable sharing issues relating to your bodily changes with the parent/care taker you reside with?
(I) Yes   (II) NO

27. Are you comfortable sharing issues relating to relationships pertaining boyfriend-girlfriend with your parent(s)
(I) YES   (II) NO

28. Do you share this with your mother?
(I) YES   (II) NO

29. Do you share this with your father?
(I) YES   (II) NO

30. Do you understand the reason for the absence of your parent(s)?
(I) YES   (II) NO

D. Use of Remittances

31. Do you get more pocket money than your friends whose parents are not working abroad?
(I) Yes   (II) No

32. What is the money sent to you by your parent(s) used for most of the time? Please choose one of the following:

(I) School fees and supply (books)
(II) Food
(III) Clothing
(IV) Leisure
(IV) All of the above

33. When your parents send you money from abroad who decides how to spend it?
(I) Yourself
(II) Your parent(s)
(III) The person that takes care of you.
(IV) Another family member. Please specify your relations with this person........

34. Do you demand for things from your parent(s)?
(I) YES   (II) NO

35. Does your parent(s) satisfy your demands?
(I) YES   (II) NO

36. Is there any money spent for developing your talents?
(I) YES   (II) NO

37. Are you happy with the things that are bought for you?
(I) YES   (II) NO

38. Is money spent on celebration/parties?
(I) YES   (II) NO

39. Is money spent on tuitions?
(I) Yes   (II) No

40. Do you think money can substitute love
I) No   (II) Yes

41. My parent(s) migration has lifted my status in the village
I) Yes   (II) No

Appendix-5: Interview Guide for Children and Diaspora

The Goan Diaspora: A study of Socio-cultural Dynamics in Goa

1. The youth's background: Family-Where was he/she born, How long the parent has migrated, caste of the family.

2. The emotional cost of separation: Are both your parents abroad? If no who is with you? If yes or no then tell me how has your experience been of not having a parent/parents around you? Tell me about your experience from childhood till day. What have been your difficulties/challenges? (you can talk of anything emotional aspects, physical aspects, educational aspects etc)

3. Migration and Remittance: What do you feel about the pocket money you receive? Are you happy with the things you get from your parent who is abroad? Are all your needs satisfied? if so can you please elaborate how?. Is enough of money invested in your development of talents/skills can you elaborate with examples about this? What type of food you eat, what type of food you like, Do you have food at restaurants, how often, Do you have a bike/Car? Do you feel that money and the things you have access to substitutes for the absence of your parent/parents please elaborate on this.

4. Socialization: Do you understand the reason of the absence of your parent? How did you reach to this conclusion, who told you about this, Is it justified or are you Okay with the understanding you have? So what is the role of a mother? What is the role of a father? Who told you about this? Does your caretaker ever tell you about marriage and challenges of marriage in the absence of a spouse? Does you caretaker speak to you about in-laws/what is your opinion about in-laws.

5. Future views on Education, Occupation and Marriage: Which school did you study? Why were you put in that school, which college and why? What level of education you want to achieve and why? What type of occupation you would like to be a part of and why? Where would you like to work and why? What type of marriage you want? what type of marriage partner would you prefer and why? what are your wishes that your to be partner should fulfill before your marriage? (Eg-House/clothes etc.

6. Opinion of International migration: What can you say of international migration?

Appendix-6: Questionnaire on Elderly and Diaspora

The Goan Diaspora: A study of Socio-cultural Dynamics in Goa

Introduction: This part of the questionnaire addresses the issue relating to the Diaspora (Goan's abroad) and their elderly parents in Goa.

- Note: All information provided here shall remain confidential.
- Please tick on the options provided to you

I have no problem in providing you with information: _____

Signature

1. Name: (Optional)

2. Age:

3. Sex: MALE: FEMALE:

4. Village:

5. Caste:

6. With whom are you living with?
1) Children's Family
2) Alone
3) Only Spouse
4) Home for Aged

7. Where you working abroad before? Yes/No

Instructions: We are interested in how you feel about the following statements.
Read each statement carefully. Indicate how you feel about each statement.

Circle the "1" if you **Agree**
Circle the "2" if you **Don't Agree**

1.	There is a special person who is around when I am in need.	1	2
2.	There is a special person with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	1	2
3.	My family really tries to help me.	1	2
4.	I get the emotional help and support I need from my family.	1	2
5.	I have a special person who is a real source of comfort to me.	1	2

6.	My friends really try to help me.	1	2
7.	I can count on my friends when things go wrong.	1	2
8.	I can talk about my problems with my family.	1	2
9.	I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	1	2
10.	There is a special person in my life who cares about my feelings.	1	2
11.	My family is willing to help me make decisions.	1	2
12.	I can talk about my problems with my friends.	1	2

Economic support

13. My Child sends me money regularly	1	2
14. I have no problem in accessing the money send	1	2
15. The money send is sufficient for all my needs	1	2
16. The money send is enough for buying medicine	1	2
17. The money send is enough for buying groceries	1	2
18. The money send is enough for buying new clothes	1	2
19. The money send is enough for traveling	1	2
20. All facilities are provided for me in the house	1	2
21. Entertainment facilities are available to me	1	2
22. Sanitary facilities are available to me	1	2

23. What is your opinion about old age homes?

Appendix-7: Interview Guide for Elderly and Diaspora

The Goan Diaspora: A study of Socio-Cultural Dynamics in Goa

Family Background

With reference to village, caste, and family status

a) Migration history, who was the first to migrate in your family and when did it happen?
1. Migration and Remittances
   - What was the cause or need for migration?
   - How much did it cost?
   - What level of education was needed initially?
   - How does one migrate? Please elaborate the whole process
   - What have you gained and how have you gained from migration (due to the foreign income) please elaborate.
   - What have you gained from your children's migration abroad

2. The emotional costs of separation
   - How has the experience been living without your children/ alone with children
   - What are the major difficulties you face? Can you list each of them with examples and elaborate
   - What are the major challenges you face? Can you list each of them with examples and elaborate
3. Concerns over care
   - What are you concerns relating to your care? Please elaborate
   - How do you find it to mend for yourself and your partner (medical attention) can you give a few instances of the difficulties you faced and how you managed
   - How has your experience been with the your daughter-in-law and their care, what are the challenges you face, how do you manage
4. Increased responsibilities
   - What do you feel about the increased responsibilities, are you happy about it, are you enjoying it? Cite some examples, How do you manage?
5. The emergence and impact of 'empty' villages
   - What do you feel about your village, with reference to life in the village, togetherness, oneness,
   - What do you feel about people from outside the state living in villages
   - What has been the role of migration in this?

6. Changes in the village with reference to

a) Caste
- Has caste undergone any change, if yes how
- What caste do you belong to? do you see any change in your own caste status if so how
- Does caste still hold a significant position in the village if no why if yes please elaborate with examples
- What is the role of migration in relation to caste?
- Does migration help in changing ones thinking towards caste

b) Marriage
- How were marriages undertaken before , can you elaborate the whole marriage from the 1st step to the last
- What changes do you see in the marriage traditions/ rituals
- Marriage rules (Who can marry and not)
- Do you feel migration has a role in the changes in the marriage tradition
- Do you feel that people having migrated to the west have infused ideas from abroad? If yes please elaborate with examples

c) Family
- What significant change you find in the family of the past and today? Please elaborate i.e status, type of family, place of residence, the role of caste,
- How does family status get enhanced give examples to support.
  Eg House, sponsoring cultural events (Tiatr), sports events, church/temple activities, investment in land/homes, education, building of community buildings, visit to places across the globe etc.
- Do you feel migration has a role in the changes in the family, if so how please elaborate how?

Appendix-8: Selected Photos from the Field

8.1: An Interview with the Youth

8.2: An Elderly interviewee with his Grandson

8.3: The Researcher in the ward of Bencleamvaddo-Cuncolim with a Portuguese house sold to an outsider.

8.4: The Chardo's in Cuncolim during the feast of Our Lady of Health.

8.5: A Chapel in Baga-Velim

8.6: A dilapidated 'empty' house in all sense in Cuncolim

8.7: A dilapidated 'empty' house in all sense in Baga-Velim

8.8: A Closed 'empty' house in Assolna

8.9: A C.D.C of a Seamen dating to 17th Novemember 1925.

8.10: Remittances and Development, A ward Bairo Permeir in Assolna.

8.11: A Chapel in Banda-Assolna

8.12: Migrants on a Sunday morning in Cuncolim

8.13: A Global Family

Appendix-9: News Paper Reports

GOANS...GOING...GONE

OCI CARD

Portugal allows dual nationality, but, since India doesn't, Goans can apply for an Overseas Citizen of India card which provides a multiple entry, multipurpose life-long visa to India, granting them exemption from reporting to the police for any length of stay in India. With this, they are allowed to work, file returns and enjoy all benefits that Indian citizens do, except vote and buy agricultural land

Turning Portuguese

People born in Goa, Daman and Diu, prior to Liberation on December 19, 1961, and in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, prior to August 21, 1954, can avail of Portuguese citizenship

Their descendents up to the third generation are also eligible

Little Goa

In the UK, Goans have settled in large numbers in Swindon, a manufacturing town in southwest England

A 2013 UK report puts the number of Goans living in Swindon at 9,000

EN ROUTE TO EUROPE

➤ A Portuguese passport consultant estimates there are over two lakh Goans living in Goa who have got their births transcribed in the Conservatoria dos Registos Centrais (Central Registry of Births) in Lisbon

➤ A large number of elderly Goans are now transcribing their births so that their children can go ahead and

avail of Portuguese nationality and subsequently, a passport

➤ After recording one's birth in the registry, one has to apply for the Cartao do Cidadao, a Portuguese citizen card (photo identity card issued by

the Portuguese administration in Lisbon). The most important card as far as Portuguese citizenship is concerned, the Cartao do Cidadao replaced the earlier Bilhete de Identidade. One can apply for a Portuguese passport only after obtaining a Cartao do Cidadao

Source: Times of India, Panjim, 25th October 2015

NRG remittances cross ₹10k-cr mark

SHOMA PATNAIK | NT
Principal correspondent

PANAJI

Deposits of non-residents Goans (NRGs) in Goa's banks have crossed Rs 10,500 crore, said sources in a leading bank on Tuesday. Speaking to 'The Navhind Times,' sources said that the Rs 10,000-crore mark was crossed in December 2014 and tentative estimates indicate a figure of Rs 10,700 crore in the fiscal year 2014-15.

The quarterly state-level bankers' committee (SLBC) meeting is due shortly and

final numbers will be released then. Several banks said that they had robust remittances from NRIs throughout 2014-15 with money flowing steadily into the NRE (Non-resident External) accounts. Remittances were primarily from Gulf countries

Year	NRE Deposits	Domestic Deposits
2013-14	8,494.8	39,305.5
2012-13	5,537.5	34,123.9
2011-12	4,912.3	36,186.3

Amount in crores

Only 159 NRGs listed

Source: Navhind Times, Panjim, 24th June 2015

GLOSSARY

Bamonn	: A first ranking caste; in the four fold classification of caste, a local name for Brahmin caste.
Bhatcar	: Landlord, usually the high castes
Bidi	: a type of country made cigarette made out of tobacco and jackfruit leaves
Bikrean Jevonn	: Literally meaning beggars' lunch, a lunch given to the poor in honour of the dead certain days prior to the wedding.
Boomika	: The name used to refer to the Mother Goddess during the *Gaonkari* System.
Botler	: The chief steward working on the ship and having a high social ranking in AVC
Chaddi/Chardo	: A second ranking caste; in the four fold classification of caste, a local name for Kshatriya caste.
Chambars	: The last caste group, usually clubbed with the Sudras in the case of AVC
Communidade	: Economic village co-operatives during the Portuguese rule
Conndade	: An attorney appointed by the Portuguese
Daadd	: A sweet dish to be served as desert for the '*bikrean jevonn*'
Devi	: Mother Goddess
Dennem	: Gift
Dorr	: Dowry
Dosh	: A sweet made out of gram flour and distributed at the time of marriage
Ganvponn	: Brotherhood
Ganvbabponn	: Village Brotherhood
Ganv or Gaon	: Village
Ganvkar/Gaonkar	: Villagers
Ghantti	: A derogatory term used to denote people of non-Goan origin.
Gulfkar	: The one who worked in the Gulf region

Madacho	: Liquor made of coconut toddy
Mahars	: The last caste group, usually clubbed with the Sudras in the case of AVC.
Maand	: Sacred Place consisting of an open ground in the heart of the vaddo or village
Mato	: A canopy decorated with bamboo and coconut knitted mats
Mistry	: The person who played violin or the leader of the choir
Mundkar	: Landless laborer under an agreement, usually the low castes
Kharvis	: The fishing community
Kunbis	: One of the aboriginal groups of Goa
Ojenm	: When the *dosh* is distributed in the village it is called as '*ojenm*'
Patrao	: literally meaning master
Patravodi	: Plate made of Jackfruit leaves.
Portovnean	: The return of the bride and groom to the bride's residence
Raibari	: Once the prospective partner was selected the parents would then send a middle person referred to as *'raibari'* to seek for the alliance.
Render	: A caste group involved in plucking coconuts and Toddy tapping
Roce	: Application of coconut pulp juice mixed with saffron powder
Saibin	: A religious procession and a ritual involving the exchange of the statue of the mother of Jesus (Mary) among the Roman Catholics in AVC, Goa. The practice involves keeping the statue for a day at ones house and passes on to the next house the next day.
Santeri	: The name used to refer to Mother Goddess during the *Gaonkari* System
Shudra/Sudra	: The fourth ranking caste; in the four fold classification of caste
Sim	: The ritual borders/boundaries during the *Gankari* System

Survatechim Utram : Introduction at the beginning of the Eucharistic celebration

Tamonn : Metal gift given at the time of marriage.

Tarvotti : The one who worked on the ship, also called as 'shippie'

Uttor : Literally meaning word, a word or a promise made at the time of marriage

Vangods : Patrilineages of original settlers

Vaddo : A ward in the village or a sub-village

Vodil : Village Elder

Zonn : A share in the profits of the *communidade*

Zotis : Refer to special *verses* that were traditionally composed for the occasion and were sung by the women from the lower caste, who knew these verses.

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