MIGRATION TO GOA FROM OTHER INDIAN STATES – A TREND ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Goa, the smallest state of India, attracts a number of migrants from other states of India. In fact, the proportion of migrants from other states to total population is highest for Goa among all states at 18.5%. This paper seeks to study the trends in migration for the period, 1971 to 2011. Based on secondary data sourced from the migration tables from Census Reports, it examines the reasons for migration and the trends in male-female and rural-urban migration. The findings are presented in percentages, using tables and graphs. It is found that in Goa, the male migrants outnumber the females. Economic reasons for migration, i.e. work/employment and business, are more important than marriage whereas at the national level, marriage is the single most important for migration. In 1971, urban males constituted the highest group among male-female, rural-urban migrants. By 2011, rural males were highest in number.

KEYWORDS

Goa, migration from other states, male-female, rural-urban, reasons for migration.
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INTRODUCTION

With an area of 3702 km², Goa is the smallest state of India. Ruled by the Portuguese for over four hundred and fifty years, it attained Liberation only in December, 1961. Given its history, there has been a unique blending of Indian and Western cultures that has resulted in an amiable and laidback atmosphere. This, coupled with sound performance on socio-economic indicators attracts people from within the country and outside. According to recently released data from the National Crime Records Bureau, Goa is among the safest states in India and reports only 0.1% of the crimes committed in the country. A wealthy state with the highest per capita income in the country, it offers plenty of economic opportunities to those seeking work. People from other states have been migrating to Goa for various purposes since Liberation. Migration data from Census, 2011, reveal that Goa has a high inflow of population from various states with the largest numbers coming from the neighbouring states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. It has the highest proportion of migrants from other states as a percentage to total population. The density of population in the state increased from 364 to 394 during the decade 2001 to 2011. Given its small size, this has important planning and policy implications for the state. This paper attempts to study the trends in migration to Goa from other states for the period 1971-2011 on the basis of migration data from Census Reports.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this study is to examine the trends in migration of people from states in India beyond the state of enumeration, i.e., Goa, for the period 1971 to 2011. It seeks to understand the changes that have taken place during this period. The study is based on secondary data obtained from the migration tables in the Goa Census Reports, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In India too, like in most developing nations, agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy. The British introduced commercial farming in India and subsistence agriculture was sought to be replaced by the cultivation of cash crops and plantation farming. Post-independence, the State introduced scientific agricultural practices to meet the ever-rising demand for food due to a rapidly growing population. However agriculture continues to remain an unviable economic activity due to factors such as non-remunerative prices, mounting debts, seasonal rainfall, droughts and floods, uneconomic size of land holdings, and in certain cases, modern technology which reduces the demand for labour. The near absence of rural industrialization and alternative employment opportunities have led to massive outflows of population to other rural and urban areas within and outside the state.

In their studies on rural migration, Korra (2011), Mishra (2016), and Singh (2016), find that cities offer new opportunities for the rural poor. Short term migration which is especially common among the lower castes leads to individual, family as well as group migrations. In
case of Punjab, as agriculture thrived due to the success of the Green Revolution, local labour had to be supplemented by migrant labour. Long hours of work, risky conditions, wage discrimination and poor living conditions are seen in case of rural to urban migration. In case of rural to rural migration, though these features may be absent, wages are much lower. Vijay (2016) observes that when labour migrates from villages with low growth to villages with higher rates of growth, productivity differences are equalised.

Structural adjustment programmes with their focus on downsizing and rationalization fail to create adequate jobs in the public sector. The use of technologies unsuited to local conditions poses a further challenge. The fall in the employment potential of agriculture is not matched by an increase in industrial jobs (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005).

Increasing labour migration is observed from the North Eastern region due to the lack of physical and social infrastructure that is necessary for development. Lack of private investment from outside due to restrictive laws adds to their woes and migration is often the only way out. They move out for education, secure jobs and prefer to stay permanently. (Rajan & Chyrmang, 2016; Remesh, 2016). A similar feature is observed in Ladakh where students move out to gain access to quality higher education. (Williams-Oerberg, 2016). Sometimes, violence is a motive for moving out. In a case study of Jamia Nagar, Delhi, Thapan et al (2016), find that the influx of population is higher during times of communal conflict. Victims of domestic violence also move here in their quest for independence and financial security.

The major net sending states are the poorest states of India like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Odisha. Mumbai, Delhi, Gujarat and Punjab are the major receiving regions. As small states and union territories receive migrants in large numbers, their population is characterised by high levels of instability. Mallya and Shrinivas (2011), use the population turnover rate and changes in the composition of population to measure instability.

The role of remittances in poverty reduction has been reiterated by various researchers. Remittances work as a multiplier and help families and communities to break out of the vicious circle of poverty (Tumbe, 2011; Zachariah & Rajan, 2011). Parida and Madheswaram (2011) also note the role of remittances in promoting family welfare which is primarily used for household consumption. Datta (2016) finds that in Bihar, there is an attempt to increase family incomes by migrating to other rural and urban labour markets. The diversification in income portfolios of the household serves as social insurance for the family in precarious times.

According to Tumbe (2018), though remittances help to reduce poverty, they also increase economic inequalities through wide gaps in consumption expenditure. However social inequalities may be narrowed down with an escape to big cities where one can try out new jobs and live in new places. He concludes that in the 21st century, the major ideological battle will be between cosmopolitanism and nativism.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

A perusal of migration data reveals that of the three types of migration data collected by the Census (last residence within the state of enumeration; states in India beyond the state of enumeration and last residence outside India), the volume of intra-distict and inter-distict movement within the state of enumeration, i.e. Goa, has been consistently increasing. On the
other hand, though the volume of migration from states beyond Goa has been increasing in absolute numbers, there has been a decline recorded in percentage terms. Migration from countries outside India is negligible.

Table 1: Number of Migrants from other States in Goa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>105261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>157481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>155576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>228869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>269689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Goa Census Reports

It is seen from Table 1 that the number of migrants from other states has more than doubled during the period 1971 to 2011. The number of migrants has been consistently rising except in 1991 when the number of migrants actually fell by 1905 compared to the preceding period. It increased from 105261 in 1971 to 269689 in 2011.

Graph 1: Nature of Migration

From Graph 1, we observe that migration within state has been generally increasing during the four-decade period except for a slight dip in 1981. It was at the same time that migration
from other states increased to 31.5%. Thereafter, it fell steadily and was only 23.6% in 2011. Migration from other countries is very low and was just 1.3% in 2011.

Graph 2: Migrants from other states as a percentage to total migrants

From Graph 2, it may be observed that Goa is among the top five states that have a high proportion of migrants from other states to total migrants. 23.6% of all migrants in Goa comprise of people from other states who reside here for a variety of reasons. The density of population in Goa has been rising steadily. Given the small size of the state and the high number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting the state annually, the state is now facing the problems of overcrowding, congestion, traffic woes, inadequate infrastructure and a general decline in the quality of life in the state. There is growing hostility among the locals with fears that outsiders are taking away their jobs and posing a threat to the unique culture of the state. Also as seen from Graph 3, Goa has the highest proportion of migrants from other states to total population among all Indian states. 18.5% of the state’s population comprise of people from other States.
Given the high percentage of people from other states coming to Goa for employment and other purposes, it becomes important to study the trends in this movement so that the state may formulate and implement suitable policies that will regulate the flow of people and ensure that the environmental and ecological balance are not disturbed and that resources are utilized prudently.

An important feature of migration from other states to Goa is that the percentage of male migrants is higher compared to female migrants whereas the figures for all-India as well as for most other states reveal that female migration is higher than male migration.
Graph 4: Male and Female Migrants

Though the percentage of male migrants is lesser than in 1971, it is seen in Graph 4, that the proportion of male to female migrants has always been higher and it was 52% in 2011 with the remaining 48% comprising of females. Since employment is an important factor influencing male migration, it implies that economic reasons are important for migration to Goa. This is further proved from the data presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Reasons for Migration*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>28.77%</td>
<td>31.90%</td>
<td>35.51%</td>
<td>30.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2.39%</td>
<td>1.80%</td>
<td>0.81%</td>
<td>0.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved with Household</td>
<td>36.16%</td>
<td>33.50%</td>
<td>26.30%</td>
<td>27.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>13.37%</td>
<td>17.50%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
<td>17.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19.30%</td>
<td>23.80%</td>
<td>20.68%</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Data on reasons for migration was collected by Census since 1981 only.

It is observed that during 1981 and 1991, the most important reason for migration was moving with the household. However since then during 2001 as well as in 2011, employment has emerged as the single most important reason for employment. It has to be noted that the figures however fell from 35.5% in 2001 to 30% in 2011. Moving with household remained the second important reason for migration. What is disappointing is that migration for education is very low. Though the percentage of migration due to marriage has been increasing, it is however very low when compared to all-India figures (see Graph 5). Marriage remains the most important reason for migration among females across all states. Given that female migration is much higher than male migration, it implies that along with moving with household, social reasons for migration are more important for the country as a whole. This is true in case of Goa also if the reasons: moved after birth, moved with household and marriage are added up.
The reasons for migration however show quite distinct features when the reasons for male and female migration are taken separately.

Table 3: Reasons for Male Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th></th>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
<th>Moved with family</th>
<th></th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th></th>
<th>Others</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>39005</td>
<td>47.60</td>
<td>2408</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>22272</td>
<td>27.17</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>18046</td>
<td>22.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>42321</td>
<td>53.24</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>21374</td>
<td>26.88</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>13544</td>
<td>17.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>71214</td>
<td>58.20</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>22736</td>
<td>18.58</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>26687</td>
<td>21.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>71064</td>
<td>50.59</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>28767</td>
<td>20.48</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>37249</td>
<td>26.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own calculations based on Census data

In case of males, work remains the most important reason for migration. While the extent of migration for work went up in absolute figures as well as in percentage terms from 1971 to 2001, there was a fall recorded in 2011 though it continued to be the single-most important reason. Hence it may be concluded that in case of male migration, economic reasons far outweigh social reasons as a cause for migration. This is followed by “others” and “moving with family”. Moving due to marriage is the least important reason. Migration for education fell continuously from 1971 to 2001 but thereafter showed a rise. It however stood at only 1.22% in 2011. The government and the Goa University must actively promote Goa as a favourable destination for higher education if we are to fulfil our aim of transforming to a knowledge-based economy.

Table 4: Reasons for Female Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th></th>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
<th>Moved with family</th>
<th></th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th></th>
<th>Others</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>6299</td>
<td>8.34</td>
<td>1356</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>34681</td>
<td>45.92</td>
<td>20827</td>
<td>27.58</td>
<td>12352</td>
<td>16.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>7358</td>
<td>9.67</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>30746</td>
<td>40.41</td>
<td>26795</td>
<td>35.22</td>
<td>10254</td>
<td>13.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10160</td>
<td>9.54</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>37486</td>
<td>35.20</td>
<td>37704</td>
<td>35.40</td>
<td>20600</td>
<td>19.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>9987</td>
<td>7.72</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>45570</td>
<td>35.26</td>
<td>45854</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>26868</td>
<td>20.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own calculations based on Census data

In case of female migration, in 1981 and 1991, moving with family constituted the most important reason. But in 2001 and 2011, marriage was the single-most important reason. This is in direct contrast with male migration where marriage as a reason for movement is negligible. A worrying trend is that migration for work among women has always been below 10% and after rising in 1991, it fell subsequently and was only 7.7% in 2011. Similarly, the figures for education are disheartening and were below 1% in 2001 and 2011. This only reiterates the fact that there is little agency exerted by woman in her choice to migrate and is dictated more by social factors like marriage and the family decision to move.
While around 23% moved for work-related purposes at the all-India level, the corresponding figure for Goa is 30%. On the other hand, marriage as a reason for migration was more than 31% for India while it was only 17.6% for Goa. With the exception of migration for education and marriage, the percentages of all other reasons are higher for Goa as compared to all-India averages.

Table 5: Proportion of Rural-Urban Male-Female Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rural Male</th>
<th>Rural Female</th>
<th>Urban Male</th>
<th>Urban Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>26.97%</td>
<td>27.00%</td>
<td>27.81%</td>
<td>18.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>22.72%</td>
<td>21.82%</td>
<td>29.31%</td>
<td>26.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>22.69%</td>
<td>21.99%</td>
<td>28.38%</td>
<td>26.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>29.88%</td>
<td>24.89%</td>
<td>23.58%</td>
<td>21.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>27.10%</td>
<td>22.61%</td>
<td>24.96%</td>
<td>25.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own calculations based on Census data

Table 5 shows the proportion of rural-urban and male-female migrants in the state. While no distinct trends can be observed, it is seen that while urban males constituted the highest group in 1971, by 2011, rural males were in the majority. On the other hand, while the percentage of rural females was higher in 1971, the percentage of urban females was higher by 2011. This is also depicted in the following graphs.
While rural migrants were higher in 1971, it is seen from Graph 6 that during the next two decades, urban migrants showed a rising trend. However this trend was once again reversed in 2001 and in 2011, both the proportions were more or less similar. What is interesting is that the proportion of unclassifiable migrants has been steadily increasing since 1971 when it was only 0.4% to 8.7% in 2011. Various studies on internal migration in India point out that short term migration streams are today much more predominant than long-term migration. When migrants move very often to multiple locations from rural to urban areas and vice-versa and also from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations depending on the season, perhaps it becomes difficult to pin down the place of last residence with certainty. It may imply that for the poor masses, there is no permanent place to call home and that they move as per season and availability of jobs resulting in multiple livelihoods and multi-local residences, denoting a higher degree of vulnerability both in employment and residence.

Graph 7: Rural-Urban Male Migration
As shown in Graph 7, while the proportion of urban males showed a rising trend till 1991, it fell by more than 10 percentage points in 2001 and rose slightly in 2011 to stand at nearly 48%. On the other hand, while the percentage of rural males fell continuously till 1991, it grew by more than 10 per cent in 2001 to nearly 56% and fell again in 2011 to 52%. But it remains higher than the percentage of urban males. This may perhaps be interpreted as a rise in rural distress over the past three decades. State apathy and inadequate private capital investment in agriculture make jobs in the industrial sector more attractive. The effects of climate change may also increase the uncertainty associated with agricultural incomes. They then choose to move to non-agricultural employment. Many of them come to Goa for employment in the construction industry. There is an assurance of round-the-year employment and regular incomes.

Graph 8: Rural-Urban Female Migration

From Graph 8, it is observed that among female migration, rural females comprised nearly 60% of all women migrants in 1971. This figure fell sharply during the next two decades and saw a subsequent rise in 2001 to 53.5%. However in 2011, the percentage of urban women was higher at nearly 53%. The two most important reasons for female migration are marriage and moving with the family with 71% of the total female migrants listing these two factors. Unless women move voluntarily for education or employment, female migration cannot be viewed as empowering. Restrictive social structures and patriarchy may continue to exist at the new destination too.

Findings and Conclusion

Goa attracts a great number of migrants from other states of India. Migrants from other states constituted 23.6% of the total migrants in Goa in 2011. When these migrants are measured as a percentage of total population, Goa ranks highest among all states at 18.5%.

It is interesting to note that in Goa, unlike most other Indian states and the national average, the number of male migrants is higher than that of female migrants, though the gap has been narrowing over the years. The main reason for male migration is employment. For women, marriage was cited as the main reason for migration in 2001 and 2011 and replaced ‘moving with family’. While less than 25% of migrants from other states report work/employment or business as the reason for migration at the all-India level, the corresponding figure for Goa is
30%. Only 17.6% of migrants from other states cited marriage as a reason for migration in case of Goa in contrast with 31% at the national level.

In case of males, while the difference in the number of rural and urban males was not significant in 1971, the gap kept growing in the subsequent two decades. What is noteworthy is that there was a complete reversal recorded in 2001 compared to 1991 with rural males in the majority, a clear departure from the trend before. In case of females, rural women were nearly 60% of the total women migrants from other states. In the next two decades, the proportion of urban women grew much faster to stand at 55% in 1991 but fell substantially to 46.5% in 2001. It once again increased to 53% in 2011.

To conclude, these migrants contribute immensely to the Goan economy in terms of skills and manpower as well as through their consumption expenditure. However Goa is a small state which can adequately support a limited population only. In addition, it has a huge floating population in terms of tourist arrivals every year. The pressure of population on resources is becoming visible and the conservation of the environment is an immediate priority. It is thus imperative that the government should have appropriate policies for regulating the inflows of population so as not to suffer from population instability as this may result in social conflicts and a rise in nativism.

Being a small state, it is easier to have good governance. The government should ensure that the migrants, especially those in the informal sector, are assured of decent living standards through the provision of affordable housing facilities, health, hygiene and education facilities and that they are not deprived of their entitlements which will provide them a secure future. It should also ensure that migrant workers are not exploited by employers and labour contractors. Safe working conditions, adequate wages and social security must be ensured through the effective implementation of labour laws.

Empirical evidence shows that in the long run, the gains of migration are reaped by both, the host as well as origin regions. Hence migration should be viewed not as a threat to local interests but as a mutually beneficial arrangement while ensuring that the carrying capacity of the state is not exceeded.

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