A STUDY ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION TO GOA

THESIS SUBMITTED TO

GOA UNIVERSITY

FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ECONOMICS

BY

P.S. DEVI

RESEARCH GUIDE

PROFESSOR P.K. SUDARSAN

GOA BUSINESS SCHOOL

GOA UNIVERSITY

TALEIGAO, GOA

2020

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled **"A Study on the Economic Impact of Migration to Goa"** for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics at Goa University, is a bonafide record of the research work done by **Ms. P.S. Devi** during the period of study under my supervision and that the thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar titles of this or any other University.

Professor P.K. Sudarsan

Research Guide

Vice-Dean (Academics)

Goa Business School

Goa University

DECLARATION

I, Ms. P.S. Devi, hereby declare that the thesis titled **"A Study on the Economic Impact of Migration to Goa"** submitted to the Goa University, for the award of the degree of Doctor in Philosophy in Economics, is the outcome of my own research work done under the guidance of **Professor P.K. Sudarsan**, Vice-Dean (Academics), Goa Business School, Goa University, and also that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar titles of this or any other University.

P.S. Devi

Assistant Professor

S.V.'s Sridora Caculo College of Commerce and Management Studies

Mapusa, Goa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

"Gratitude is the memory of the heart." As this journey finally reaches its culmination, I take a moment to pause and remember each one of you who helped me complete it.

Professor P.K. Sudarsan, guide, mentor and role model – you taught me so much, not only about research and economics but life skills, not just to survive but to flourish. You have an intuitive understanding of what the student needs, whether encouragement, a gentle nudge or just a fresh perspective. Your calm and unruffled manner made light of many a burden I carried. Systematic, meticulous and uncompromising on your principles, I consider it a privilege for having the good fortune to work under your guidance. Thank you, Sir.

I express my sincere gratitude to Professor K.G. Shankaranarayanan of Zantye College of Commerce, Bicholim, for convincing me to pursue my doctoral studies. Without your encouragement, perhaps this pursuit would have remained a pipe dream. I also thank you for the guidance provided in choosing my area of study.

My deepest gratitude is due to Professor Subhash, Professor Sylvia and Professor Pranab for all the valuable feedback and suggestions. By taking the time to listen and offer a critical review of the work, you have shared your expertise and knowledge selflessly.

This being a field-based study, I owe my gratitude to each and every of the 423 respondents who participated in the survey. This work would not have been possible without your co-operation. Many a times, I disturbed you at your work place, asked intrusive questions and expected you to patiently respond to my queries. You did so even though there was no quid pro quo and for that, please accept my thanks.

It seemed like such a daunting task to complete the survey. But it got completed and I received help from so many: friends, friends of friends, colleagues, students - past and present, acquaintances and even complete strangers. Henrique, Prakash, Smita, Manjula, Raju, Sangeetha, Deepa, Shenia, John, Namita, Manthan, Rajkumar, Rahul, Veena, Kishore, Divya, Ujwala and Gaurav, Prakashan Uncle and Usha Aunty, I am indebted to each one of you.

I thank the staff of the Directorate of Census Operations, Goa, for providing me with access to the relevant documents, especially, Mr. Gaurav Pandey, Mr. Rakesh Kumar Singh and Ms. Ratna More. I also thank the staff of the Central Library and Goa University Library for all the help rendered during the course of study.

I also place on record my deep thanks to my Principal, Professor Santosh Patkar, for the constant support and motivation. You always granted me duty leave to attend workshops and seminars and motivated me to put in my best efforts. I thank all members of the Management, specially the Chairman, Shri Ashok Kenkre, and the Secretary, Dr. Deepak Gaitonde, for enabling me to avail of study leave for a period of two years in order to complete my work. My sincere thanks to the officials at the Department of Higher Education for granting me study leave.

I thank my friends, Sterol, Neal, Denis, Vishranti, Nisha, Sulochana, Geeta, Siya, Nishta and Prajna for your encouragement and constant support.

A big thank you to my family, Deepa, Tamanna, Tarini and Prajith for patiently enduring my ‘highs’ and ‘lows’ and my cousins, Shiva and Krishna, to whom I owe so much for all the technical support. You made my life so much easier. And finally, my eternal gratitude to my parents, the wind beneath my wings.

P.S. Devi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER VI

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

"*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*" – The world is one family. This principle of universalism espoused in the Maha Upanishad brings out the interconnectedness of humankind. In an ideal society, this would be the bedrock that guided human activity and development. But as time passed and man moved from the ideal to the practical to the imperfect, all the while crossing new frontiers, physical, natural and technological, he became more and more 'civilised' and 'evolved'. A mark of this evolution is the creation of artificial barriers: political territories and borders, social hierarchies, economic inequalities, religious divides and gender disparities. These boundaries are strengthened and reinforced by those in positions of power – politicians, officials, capitalists, and an apathetic middle-class who believes in looking away so long as their rights are not encroached upon.

One of the most important responses to these blatant inequalities is human migration. "Throughout human history, migration has been a courageous expression of the individual's will to overcome adversity and to live a better life", stated the UN on International Migrants Day celebrated on 18th December. Globalization envisages the free movement of goods and services, capital, technology and labour. However, developed nations in their infinite wisdom, interpret globalization as the free movement of goods and services, capital and technology only. The free movement of labour is stonewalled and instead, they come up with newer forms of restrictions every time. In India too, despite the Constitution guaranteeing the fundamental right to move anywhere in the country for employment, state governments restrict inter-state movement for employment through requirements of domicile and other covert and overt measures.

Some of the most heart-breaking images of the Covid-19 pandemic to come out from India will be that of tens of thousands of migrants walking hundreds of miles to reach the relative safety of their homes, despite knowing that more hardships await them there. In spite of the repeated exhortations of the Central and state governments requesting them to stay where they are, they preferred to go. Why did they show so little faith in the government? Was it the bitter experiences of the past and lessons well learned? These unsung heroes who work tirelessly and ceaselessly to create a better India, living in sub-human conditions, earning less

than minimum wages, prone to exploitation and subject to humiliation on a daily basis, deserve better.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development acknowledges the role played by migration towards sustainable development. Target 10.7 talks about the need "to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies". It recognizes the potential of migration to reduce inequalities within and across countries. The inequalities reinforced due to lopsided growth can be corrected through migration as people leave distressed regions and move to more economically thriving regions that offer them better employment and higher wages. Hence governments must visualize and frame migration-friendly policies and practices, pass appropriate legislation and regulate flows to ensure that all stakeholders benefit.

It then becomes important for academicians and researchers to focus attention on migration studies, to convince governments and people of the benefits of migration for all: the migrant and his family, the locals at the destination, the sending region and importantly, the host region. Every country/region is different and the implications of migration are different for different regions. While it is important to look at aggregate flows and study broad trends and their implications, it is equally important to have studies that look at region-specific migration and their consequences. This will aid governments and bureaucrats to design appropriate policies and strategies that will maximise the benefits of migration through proper regulation and management while minimising its ill-effects. In a global village, there ought not to be any place for nativism and narrow parochial sentiments. Instead, these should be replaced by the spirit of cosmopolitanism and interdependence. After all, the idea of a global village is that we belong to the same single family.

1.2 Migration and Economic Growth

Among various theories on migration, one classification is on the basis of the level of focus of the study. Micro-level studies look at individual motivations for migration whereas macro level studies focus on aggregate migration trends and give macro-level explanations. On the other hand, meso-level studies are concerned with the role of the household and community. All three types of studies provide important information about migration and go a long way in improving our understanding of migration in a holistic manner.

Classical economists view migration as a consequence of the mismatch between demand for and supply of factors of production. Neo-Classical theorists believe it to be a natural occurrence in the process of economic transformation. The decline of agriculture, growth of urban manufacturing sector, wage differentials and employment conditions across regions are important causal factors.

From Ravenstein's laws of migration to Lee's push-pull theory, a lot of explanations are as relevant today as when they were first put forth. In the human capital approach, migration is viewed as an investment that enhances human productivity. An evaluation of present and potential destinations and the expected outcomes decide whether to migrate or not. Individual traits as well as larger community factors influence migration.

In case of internal migration in India, rural distress and decline in agricultural productivity force people to move out in search of short-term employment during part of the year. Poverty and landlessness spur individual, family and group migrations. Intra district and inter-district migration are the most common streams of migration observed. In case of inter-state migration, male migration is higher than female migration. In female migration, marriage remains the most important reason for movement. For the regions of the North-East and Leh and Ladakh, the lack of infrastructure leaves the youth with no option but to move out.

When there is large-scale migration in a region, there are important consequences for those groups that are left behind. They now have options that were not available previously. Land is available for leasing which enables them to undertake farming. There is a tendency towards wage equalisation. Those who migrate send remittances that lift families out of poverty and improve living standards. It is observed that some large states are major sending states whereas smaller states and union territories are popular destinations. This may lead to population instability in these areas with disastrous consequences.

Economic growth is accompanied by faster urbanization. This is true for the Southern states and some small states. Urban population is growing faster than rural population currently. Migration leads to further over-crowding in cities. This adds to the pressure on already constrained resources. While cities are flourishing due to the vast pool of cheap labour provided by the migrants, urban spaces in India are becoming increasingly intolerant of this poor and vulnerable class. Homelessness is a grim reality in congested cities where luxury and squalor co-exist.

The benefits of migration are garnered by the highly educated and skilled people who more often than not, belong to high income, high caste families. While poor families have been able to have some sort of protection against economic exigencies, they usually live in horrific conditions in urban areas. Urban poverty poses an important challenge to planners in their endeavours to create smart cities.

Gravity model approach towards studying migration trends looks at macro factors influencing migration such as population and distance. Various empirical studies prove that the size of population is directly related to out-migration while distance is inversely related to migration. Many researchers today incorporate various additional variables including behavioural content that improves our understanding of gross migration flows between any two given locations. Though used primarily in international migration studies, it is also an important tool to understand inter-state migration flows in a country as vast and diverse as India.

The recognition that while migration may largely be motivated by economic considerations, it continues to remain an important social phenomenon, has led to the study of social networks and their influence on migration. The existence of networks at the destination, whether in case of international or internal migration, spurs migration and makes it self-sustaining over a period of time. Various studies have tried to estimate the exact increase in migration as a function of networks. It is found that while weak ties play an important role in international migration, it is strong ties that are more important in internal migration. It is but natural that networks go a long way in helping the migrant to adjust to life in a new region and fulfil his aspirations.

1.3 The Research Problem

This study is based in Goa, the 25th state of India. Popular throughout the country and abroad as a friendly laid-back state, Goa has attracted a good number of migrants since 1961 when it attained Liberation from Portuguese colonial rule. With an area of 3702 square kilometres, Goa is also the smallest state in India. Hence in case of any influx of population, the authorities have to take into account, the sustainability of these human movements.

While migrants from other states constituted 11.9% of total migrants for India according to migration data from Census 2011, the corresponding figure for Goa at 23.6% is almost double that of the national figures. A wealthy and prosperous state with the highest per capita income in the country, almost three times that of the national average, it attracts many

economic migrants. Given the small size of the state and the growing density of population which increased from 163 in 1961 to 394 persons per square kilometre in 2011, it is imperative that these inflows must be managed effectively to ensure that the benefits from migration outweigh the costs of migration to the state.

Goa while being an attractive and popular destination for migrants from other parts of the country, at the same time reports a high degree of out-migration too. Many youth work in Gulf countries and on foreign ships. There are others who go to European nations, particularly to the U.K., on a Portuguese passport. Studies on migration in Goa are generally restricted to out-migration and there are very few studies on in-migration and these are mostly confined to the construction industry.

Inter-state migration is an important component of internal migration, the other being intra-state migration. It is important to study migration to Goa from other Indian states. An understanding of the overall position of Goa in comparison with national trends, as well as with other comparable states, assumes significance. Identifying the determinants of migration from a macro perspective would enable one to understand why Goa is an attractive migration destination for people from the rest of India.

As most of the studies on migration to Goa from other Indian states focus on the construction industry alone, there is a need to study migrants engaged in other sectors too. In case of Goa, economic reasons for migration are very important. While it is obvious that the proportion of labour in the construction industry is highly skewed in favour of non-locals, it is a fact that many other sectors also report a high proportion of labour from out-of-state. A study based on a heterogeneous group of economic migrants employed in various spheres of the economy will throw light on the broad similarities and dissimilarities of their migration experiences. It will improve our understanding about the differences, if any, in case of migration of skilled professionals vis-a-vis that of unskilled or lesser skilled workers.

While acknowledging the economic compulsions that drive migration, it is useful to also look at secondary influences that shape migration decisions. Once the decision to migrate is made, social factors assume importance. “Where to go” is influenced as much by employment potential, wage levels and working conditions at the destination as it is by the expected reception there. This is in turn determined by the existence of social networks at the destination. There have been some studies on networks in Goa but again, these are confined to the construction industry. While exploring the role of networks in promoting migration,

their significance may be better understood if they are analysed based on the nature of employment. This will provide useful insights into the relative importance of networks for different economic activities.

Being a small state, it naturally follows that the effects of migration will be felt more keenly in Goa. From being a friendly host to migrants in the 1960s and 1970s to feelings of ambivalence that gradually shifted to open hostility from the mid-1980s onwards and coincided with Goa acquiring statehood, the state's reception of migrants has undergone a sea change. This is as much a reflection of the tough economic realities in Goa today, as it is a social phenomenon. This is similar to what is happening in other parts of the country as also across the world. As human population grows exponentially, the competition for scarce resources becomes fiercer. It then becomes interesting to study the perceptions of migrants about their adopted state: whether there are any marked differences in their attitudes towards their adopted state based on the duration of their stay here, or based on the nature of their employment and whether they have ever encountered discrimination at the place of work or elsewhere because of their 'outsider status'.

Given the small size of the state and its limited population, Goa is dependent on many imports to satisfy its domestic requirements. This is true in case of labour too. But the ability of the state to support population influxes, whether through migration or tourism, is under severe stress. Hence it is important to study the benefits received from migration and assess whether these benefits justify the cost of migration. The impact of migration may be better understood when the direct benefits and costs as also the indirect benefits and costs of migration are evaluated.

When these different aspects are examined in a holistic manner, it will provide a comprehensive picture of migration to Goa from other states, a study that looks at individual motivations as also aggregate forces that are responsible for the choice of destination and the impact of migration on the state.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to understand the nature of migration from other states to Goa and its impact on the Goan economy. The specific objectives of the study are as stated below:

1. To study various facets of in-migration to Goa from other Indian states.

2. To analyse the factors that influence migration to Goa.
3. To understand the role of networks in aiding migration to Goa.
4. To examine the nature of migrant employment and its impact on the Goan economy.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study is based on both, secondary sources of data as well as primary sources. The secondary resources have been obtained from Census data on migration, various reports on migration and published material of independent researchers in the field. Census reports for the period, 1971-2011 have been examined in order to understand gross migration flows to the state from the rest of the country. This information has been utilised to present a macro picture of the status of in-migration to Goa from the rest of India. The primary resources have been gained from a survey conducted which covered 423 respondents from North Goa and South Goa. They hail from 27 different states in the country and are variously employed in the unorganized, self-employed, private and government sectors in Goa. The inputs obtained from the field work have been analysed to understand migration from a micro perspective.

The statistical tools used for the analysis of data include descriptive analysis using figures, percentages and graphs to study in-migration to Goa and through the construction of gravity models to understand the determinants of migration that explains aggregate migrant in-flows into the state. The role of networks in promoting migration has been studied with the help of social network analysis which used percentages and descriptive analysis that provide insights on the extent to which the respondents rely on networks during the different phases of migration, how they ease the process of adjustment, how links are maintained with the place of origin through which the process of migration is further perpetuated. The benefits of migration for the household through remittances have also been studied. This information is visually depicted through figures called sociograms which have been drawn using the tool, Netdraw, from UCINET.

In order to understand the nature, composition and structure of migration to Goa and its impact on the state economy, the relationship between pertinent variables has been analysed using cross-tabulations and the chi-square test. Logistic regression has been used for predicting the likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle permanently in Goa on the basis of relevant variables.

1.6 Hypotheses of the Study

The present study uses both, secondary data as well as primary data. The hypotheses of the study based on its objectives are as follows:

1. In-migration to Goa is high compared to other states and it has certain unique features.
2. Migration to Goa from other states is influenced mainly by economic variables like GDP, population, literacy and distance.
3. Social networks play an important role in migration to Goa and the relative importance of networks for migrants depends on the nature of their employment.
4. The migration experiences of the people, whether favourable or unfavourable, are determined by the nature of their employment.
5. Migrants contribute positively to the growth of the economy.

These and other related hypotheses are tested using appropriate statistical tools and descriptive analyses.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The two main forms of migration are international migration and internal migration. Internal migration is further classified as migration within the state of enumeration and migration from states in India beyond the state of enumeration. This study is limited to internal migration in the state of Goa, specifically to the study of migration to Goa from states in India beyond Goa.

The secondary data on migration has been mostly sourced from the migration series in Census reports. Though migration data collected by Census includes migration by place of birth and migration by place of last residence, in this study, data on migration by place of last residence only has been used. Data on migration based on place of last residence has been collected only since 1971. Hence the study incorporates data since 1971 only. Additionally, reasons for migration have been collected by Census since 1991 only. Hence the trends observed in the reasons for migration have been studied for the Census years from 1991 onwards.

A primary study was conducted through a survey. The survey involved 423 respondents whose place of last residence was any state in India beyond Goa. Using purposive and convenience sampling, the study looks at economic migrants, those who are gainfully

employed in Goa, though the initial motivation for migration may not have been purely economic. The study thus covers only that type of migration where the respondents' place of last residence is a state in India beyond Goa.

1.8 Scheme of Chapters

The study has eight main chapters. These are as follows:

Chapter 1 - Introduction: This chapter contains the research problem, objectives of the study and the main hypotheses of the study. It also touches upon the research methodology and literature overview.

Chapter 2 - Review of Literature: In this chapter, literature has been reviewed under the following areas – theories of migration, determinants and impact of migration, urbanisation and trends in migration, gravity models of migration and the role of social networks in migration.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology: The techniques used for data analysis have been described in this chapter. For secondary data analysis, descriptive analysis and gravity models have been used. In case of primary data, the tools of analysis include gravity models, binomial logistic regression, cross tabulations and the chi-square test and social network analysis.

Chapter 4 - In-migration to Goa from other Indian States - An Overview: This chapter presents the important features of migration to Goa from the rest of India. It highlights the distinctive characteristics of this kind of migration in case of Goa.

Chapter 5 - Determinants of Migration: This chapter is divided into two parts, the first deals with secondary data and the second part deals with primary data. Gravity models have been constructed to understand the determinants of gross migration flows.

Chapter 6 - Social Networks and Migration to Goa: This chapter looks at the important role played by networks in facilitating the process of migration. It looks at the influence of networks in determining the choice of destination, in obtaining employment, in easing the process of adjustment and assimilation post-migration, the assistance and support rendered by networks, social relationships formed post-migration, links maintained with the place of origin and perpetuation of migration through networks.

Chapter 7 – Migration to Goa - Nature of Employment and Impact on the Economy: The insights gained from the field work are presented here using cross tabs and chi-square test. The broad similarities and dissimilarities in the migration experience among different groups of migrants have been discussed in this chapter. Using logistic regression, an attempt has been made to predict the likelihood of the individual choosing to settle permanently in Goa.

Chapter 8 - Findings and Conclusions: In the final chapter, the summary of the previous chapters is presented, followed by the major findings and conclusion. The implications of the research study are highlighted and suggestions for future research have been provided. The limitations of the study have also been stated.

This study uses macro as well as micro approaches to understand the migration phenomenon in Goa. It is hoped that this will provide a holistic understanding of migration to Goa from other states in India. Since Goa is a small state in terms of size, there are important implications of migration here. The fear that unregulated flows of migration may lead to drastic changes in demographic characteristics in the state is not entirely unfounded. At the same time, it cannot be denied that migrant labour provides valuable service to the economy. Casual labour in the unorganized sector is almost entirely made up of workers of non-Goan origin. They are in the majority in the construction industry which creates important infrastructure for rapid growth and development within the state. Also, highly skilled professionals have a strong presence in various spheres here. It is imperative to manage these flows such that the benefits of having a vast source of labour - unskilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled - accrue to the state while at the same time, do not exceed the carrying capacity of the region. The migrants that come from beyond Goa, along with the locals, should be equally committed partners in the development process that will make the state an ideal one, well-equipped to face the challenges of modernity while preserving the important traditional values of conservation and sustainability.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Modern economic systems have created unimaginable wealth for individuals, groups, corporations and nations. But the downside is that this wealth is not uniformly distributed among the citizenry. As a result, we observe great inequalities in income and wealth distribution, asset ownership and access to opportunities that will influence the wealth creating potential of future generations. On the basis of a study conducted in China, U.S. and Europe, the World Inequality Report (2018) estimates that the top 10% owns more than 70% of the wealth and the bottom 50% owns less than 2%. Migration remains the most important response to this state of affairs, both as a validation of higher aspiration levels on the one hand, and as a means to mitigate the growing precariousness of employment, on the other.

Migrations have occurred throughout human history with homo-sapiens being able to trace their origins to Africa, whatever their current locations may be (Das, 2019). The causes of migration may be varied: economic, environmental, social, political or a combination of these factors. Early studies on migration examined aggregate data and attempted to analyse broad trends that link certain regions together. This was followed by a shift to microeconomic models that sought to understand individual motivations for migration. The spotlight was also on structural and community level factors such as poverty. Since then new factors such as social capital and networks have gained popularity in seeking to understand this complex phenomenon.

According to one classification, migration theories may be divided according to the unit of study, whether aggregate flows are taken into consideration or the individual migrant. Macro-level theories study broad migration trends and come up with macro-level explanations. Micro-level studies seek to understand individual migration decisions. In between these two levels lies the meso-level approach. This approach focuses on the role of the household and the community. According to the Classical economists, when there is a mismatch between the demand for and supply of factors of production, migration acts as an equilibrating mechanism. While some studies examine the causes that initiate migration, others focus on the factors that perpetuate migration.

According to Neo-classical theories, migration is treated as a natural phenomenon that occurs during the process of economic development. The migration decision is influenced by wage

differentials and employment conditions across regions. The decline of the rural agricultural sector is accompanied by the growth of the urban manufacturing sector. Given the assumption of perfect markets, Lewis (1954) and Ranis & Fei (1961) find that the labour surplus that now exists in the agricultural sector is absorbed by the modern urban sector. The wage differentials are substantial enough to induce workers to shift to the urban areas and the process continues till wage equalisation is achieved.

There is significant urban unemployment in lesser developed countries. This may be attributed to the risks inherent in the migration process as there is no assurance that a villager will be gainfully employed in the city. According to Todaro and Harris (1970) the probability of finding a job is also a function of the networks of the migrants. Migration will increase if the urban employment rate increases and/or if there is a rise in urban wages. Lee (1966) opines that greater diversity among people means more migration. The migration decision is impacted by pull and push forces that exist at the destination and origin respectively, that may be sometimes be hindered by intervening forces and also affected by personal factors.

While traditional approaches focused either on aggregate migration movements or decision making at the individual level, today migration literature includes a wider framework as seen in Harbison's (1981) work on the role of the family structure and family strategy in decision making. Family structure can, in particular, affect the migration decisions of women. Women migrate for marriage, economic reasons, and also due to social restrictions, low rights and for protection against domestic violence (Morokvasic, 1984). The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) again emphasizes the role of the family in decision making. Market and governmental failures induce one or more members to migrate to a market that is negatively or non-correlated to the local labour market. The decision to migrate is made jointly by family members as an insurance strategy in the absence of any social security. In diversifying their labour portfolio through migration, individuals seek to promote the welfare of the entire family.

In other meso-level studies of migration, Faist (1997, 2000) attempts to link individual models of migration with macro models. He throws light on the role of social capital and social relations within households, neighbourhoods, communities and other more formal organizations that help individuals to migrate and adapt to less familiar environments. Migration networks can be a useful source of information that increases the certainty of returns in the potential destination places (Taylor, 1986). According to Massey (1990), it is

important to make a distinction between the factors responsible for pioneer migration and the conditions that make migration self-sustaining over time as more and more people follow the first migrants. Bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin create important networks among migrants and potential migrants at source that decreases the economic, social and psychological costs of migration (Massey et al, 1993). Bocker (1994) uses the term 'bridgeheads' to highlight the role played by already-settled migrants in promoting the likelihood of migration to the same place,. This also ensures the reduction of risks and costs of subsequent migration.

It is thus seen that the approach towards migration studies have undergone considerable change over time. Studies may differ according to the level they focus on: micro, meso or macro, with due importance given to individual inclinations, household and community factors and aggregate features. Analyses may try to uncover the causes leading to pioneer migration and the features that make it self-perpetuating over time. From the initial studies looking at migration as an economic phenomenon, today the scope of study has vastly increased and uses an inter-disciplinary approach to make sense of this complex phenomenon.

2.2 Theories of Migration

Ravenstein's Laws of Migration: Ravenstein (1885) is one of the earliest writers who attempted to study modern migration. The 'Laws of Migration' that he subsequently proposed continue to be applicable even in the present changed world. According to him, men mainly migrate due to economic compulsions. They migrate across short distances and the gaps they leave behind when they move to economically robust regions are filled by people from more remote areas. These movements produce currents and counter currents. As communication facilities improve, the disadvantages of distance may be overcome. While inhabitants of towns may be less mobile than those of rural regions, females tend to show a higher propensity to migrate compared to males. The features he highlighted are largely prevalent in the context of migration in India.

Lee's Push-Pull Theory: Lee (1996) explained migration within a push-pull framework taking into account both, demand and supply sides. He speaks about the forces of attraction and repulsion associated with different regions. While there may be factors that push a person from his place of origin and propel him to a new destination, there will also be intervening obstacles that hinder this movement. The personal attributes of the individual then facilitates

migration. It is important to note that it is not the actual factors but the perception of these factors whether at origin or destination or both, that leads to migration.

The Human Capital Approach: In this neoclassical micro-level theory, migration is looked at as an individual investment decision that increases the productivity of human capital. It assumes that individuals are rational agents and there is complete information. They then make a cost-benefit analysis and choose to migrate only if the expected returns are positive. The first phase of migration is peopled by the young and educated. Due to occupational upgrading, the human capital of the migrant increases post migration. Though this theory tries to link the migration decision to potential returns, the assumptions of perfect knowledge and rationality are problematic.

Stress-Threshold Model: In this behavioural model of internal migration, Wolpert (1965) assumes that while individuals are rational ex-ante, they are not necessarily so ex-post. Knowledge being subjective and incomplete, rationality is bounded. Individuals have a threshold level of utility they aspire to attain. The decision to migrate is based on the place utilities of current and potential destinations and the anticipated awards in the event of migration taking place. The decision is influenced by the personal characteristics of the individual, his life-stage and the environment and may not necessarily provide optimal outcomes. This theory is an improvement over the human capital approach as it does away with the assumption of perfect knowledge.

The Value Expectancy Model: In this cognitive model, Crawford (1973) proposes that the decision to migrate is not based solely on economic factors. Values like security, self-fulfilment and autonomy may be equally important. The individual's expectations that migration will lead to the realization of outcomes which may include specific goals such as wealth will influence his decision. Factors like education level, societal norms, constraints and facilitators also determine the strength of migration intentions. This theory is important as it recognizes that not all migration decisions are influenced by economic considerations alone and it paved the way for the introduction of other important variables that explains the choice to migrate.

The Social Network Theory: A social network is made up of individuals and organizations called nodes that are connected by relationships of friendship, common interests and mutual benefit. An individual has ties to his family, relatives, neighbours, schoolmates and colleagues. He may also be associated with educational, cultural, political and other

organizations that provide pertinent information. A social connection with a migrant at a particular destination creates an information mechanism for potential migrants and over time, creates a dense web of contacts. These networks, once established, makes the migration process self-sustaining and impervious to short term changes in economic incentives (Portes, 1995).

2.3 Determinants of Migration

Human migration is as old as human civilization itself and man has always moved in search of sustenance, safety and the hope for a better life. Traditional, classical theories study migration within a "push-pull" framework. There exists certain forces of compulsion at the place of origin that may be overcome by the opportunities offered at the place of destination. This serves as an inducement for the individual to leave home and go in search of greener pastures. With the passage of time, the world has been witness to monumental changes: in systems of production, distribution processes, consumption patterns and the very nature of employment itself. While the forces of capitalism have succeeded in creating great wealth, it has also paradoxically caused greater insecurities and vulnerabilities, especially among the socially and economically disadvantaged. And thus in modern times, migration has evolved into a highly complex phenomenon.

In India, as in most of the developing world, agriculture has remained the mainstay of the rural economy. While subsistence agriculture gave way to commercial farming with the introduction of cash crops and plantation farming under the British rule followed by the decision to adopt scientific agricultural practises to feed a rapidly growing population in independent India, the fact remains that agriculture continues to be a non-remunerative and largely underproductive activity in rural India. Factors such as seasonal rainfall, droughts and floods, fragmentation of land holdings, and in some cases, the adoption of modern technologies have resulted in less demand for agricultural labour. Mounting debts have led to an increasing number of suicides among small and marginal farmers. The near absence of rural industrialization and alternate employment options thus leads to large scale migration from rural to urban areas within the state and outside.

In his study on seasonal migration in Odisha, Mishra (2016) using NSS 64th Round data, examines the contention that labour migration to the expanding cities of India has opened up new channels of opportunities for the rural poor. The southern districts which are among the poorest areas of India, report the highest percentage of short term migration. Members of the

scheduled tribes followed by the scheduled castes and other backward castes move in large proportions. A gendered pattern is also observed as males move to urban areas within and outside Odisha whereas females largely move to rural areas closer home. Labour contractors and agents provide loans to these illiterate, vulnerable people and compel them to migrate, thus creating a pool of cheap labour. These debts are generated every year and they are repaid through the earnings from seasonal migration. While programs like MGNREGA provide some relief, they do not provide year round employment. Thus seasonal migration is largely distress induced. A similar study by Korra (2011) in Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh, attempts to study seasonal and cyclical migration. While the primary reason for migration may vary from survival, unemployment, landlessness, repayment of debt, the need to augment earnings for celebration of social events such as marriage, the underlying common thread remains poverty and distress. There are individual and family as well as group migrations. While the individual and family generally migrate to Hyderabad, the biggest city in the state, the group generally proceeds to rural destinations. While urban migration is characterised by long hours of exhausting work in risky conditions, wage discrimination among the male and female workers and pathetic living conditions in slums, in case of rural migration, these features are largely absent though the wages are lower. What is unfortunate is that the earnings are not sufficiently large to be invested in productive activities and are generally spent in repaying debts, for consumption and social events. This study throws light on why households may not succeed in breaking the shackles of poverty in spite of having regular work and a higher wage.

In contrast to the rural-to-urban movement, Vijay (2011) studies rural to rural migration in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh and Krishna-Godavari delta region. Srikakulam is characterised by low growth while the Krishna-Godavari belt is more prosperous. When labour migrates to high growth areas with higher wages, productivity differences are equalised. Labour moves from an inactive labour market to a more active one. In this process the supply of labour goes up, there is a reduction in wages and an increase in aggregate employment. Peasants, on the other hand, move to less developed areas as land prices are lower there. This movement tends to equalise land productivity differences. They introduce new crops and cropping patterns which facilitate greater market interactions and bring growth and development in the region. What comes through in these studies is that structurally embedded factors like poverty provide the explanation for migration among the socially and economically disadvantaged.

Migration decisions are generally made at the household level as an insurance against the exigencies of life. This is achieved by diversifying the income portfolio of the household. In a study of migration behaviour among internal migrants in India, Parida and Madheswaran (2011), through a joint utility maximisation model combine Todaro's individual utility maximising behaviour with Stark's household approach to understand migration behaviour. The migrant and his family members seek to maximise their utility in both the situations – when the migrant moves out and when he returns home. Who moves out is determined by individual traits like age, marital status and human capital resources as well as household characteristics like size of the household, land possession and caste. The possibility of earning higher wages makes migration worthwhile. Family welfare is enhanced through the flow of remittances. This study is important because it recognizes the influence exerted by the household in the individual's decision to move.

The state of Punjab blessed with nature's bounty reaped the success of the Green Revolution. As agriculture flourished, local labour needed to be supplemented by migrant labour which led to a labour movement from the eastern parts of the country. Singh (2016) studied this phenomenon and found that climatic uncertainties, indebtedness, poverty and unemployment in the home states also fuelled this movement. Income differentials between the destination and the sending states were an important consideration too. The period from 1981 to 2001 witnessed a high movement of labour from Bihar, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan to Punjab. At the same time, the state also experiences a high volume of out-migration with a high proportion of permanent migrants. While males migrate for work/employment, the main reason for migration among females continues to be marriage.

Datta (2016) views migration as an important survival strategy for families engaged in agriculture. In a longitudinal study covering seven districts in rural Bihar, she observes that households seek to transfer some of their productive labour to other rural and urban labour markets in order to enhance and diversify their incomes. While 45 per cent households had at least one migrant member in 1998-99, this figure stood at 62 per cent in 2011. Agrarian distress, low industrialisation and structural imbalances result in a mass exodus of young able-bodied males. A gendered pattern is once again observed as male migration is about 55 per cent and female migration is less than 10 per cent. While Bihari migrants contribute significantly to the growth process in the receiving state, they are excluded from enjoying any benefits or entitlements. During the recent years, the state has witnessed high growth.

However this is associated with more, not less, mobility. As aspirations and capabilities increase, there is also substantial out-migration for education and skill development.

The last three decades have also seen increasing labour migration from the North Eastern region. The region lacks the necessary physical and social infrastructure for economic development and the growth process has been lopsided (Rajan & Chyrmang, 2016). There is high influx of population into virgin land which adversely impacts the ecology and the environment. While the states often reported negative growth rates accompanied by rising unemployment and underemployment, the wage rate was higher than the national average. This along with local regulations that restrict the free inflow of labour keeps away private investment. This is corroborated by a study of North Eastern working migrants to the Delhi region by Remesh (2016). The lack of adequate educational infrastructure coupled with the disruption of normal life in the region due to insurgency, ethnic clashes and the presence of the army, means that very often migration is the only way out. Fluency in English and their tribal status help them to get central government jobs. Often they come as single migrants for education; they then secure jobs and prefer to stay permanently, but are targeted and discriminated due to their ethnicities.

Ladakh also faces similar problems as it is one of the most isolated parts of the country. Migration here is primarily to access quality higher education. The vicious circle of economic backwardness and lack of quality educational facilities ensures that the region continues to remain underdeveloped. But there is a general awareness of the role of education in spurring development (Williams-Oerberg, 2016). Children of the rich pursue education in private schools outside Ladakh which gives them an edge over their local contemporaries in securing admissions to the prestigious universities in Delhi, Chandigarh and Srinagar. Being a soft target for discrimination, these students view themselves as educational refugees. An underlying fear among the older generation is the threat to Ladakhi culture and identity due to large scale migration.

Violence continues to be an important reason for migration especially among women and children. Jamia Nagar in Delhi is considered to be a Muslim ghetto where the influx of population becomes higher during times of communal conflict. Thapan et al (2016) studied the attempts of Muslim women to recreate a fresh life at this new place. While there is a feeling of ‘safety in numbers’, women abandoned by their husbands or facing domestic violence also move here in a quest for independence and financial security. Moving to Delhi

after marriage also gives them a sense of empowerment as it frees them from restrictive religious and cultural customs. Though these women largely have family support in their decision to move, they exercise their agency in the decision to continue living here. However all migration to Jamia Nagar is not voluntary. Many upwardly mobile young families who wish to move to better neighbourhoods find themselves continuing to live in the ghetto due to the reluctance of Hindu landlords to keep Muslim tenants.

When structural adjustment programs are imposed on developing nations, the public sector fails to create adequate jobs due to downsizing and rationalization. Adoption of capital intensive technologies unsuited to local conditions pose a limit on the extent of job creation in the formal sector. Industrial jobs are not increasing proportionally to the declining employment potential of agriculture (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2005). The steady stream of rural-urban migration then transforms urban spaces into clusters of unemployed people. This study makes important contributions to the understanding of internal migration in developing economies and provides new insights that may be effectively employed in policy making.

To sum up, it is observed migration from rural areas is largely distress-induced. Due to low productivity in agriculture, uneven industrialization and economic stagnation, short term seasonal and circular migration is increasingly being observed in India. Lack of adequate economic, physical and educational infrastructure also spurs migration. Communal tensions and violence prompts the vulnerable to flee from their homes and look for safety among their own.

2.4 Impact of Migration

In a vast country like India, there are bound to be differences in development rates across and within regions. An important way to overcome the consequent disparities in opportunities, incomes and standards of living is by facilitating the movement of labour from less developed to more developed areas. Exposure to urban lifestyles may help loosen restrictive conditions back home and enable value systems that nurture ambition and entrepreneurship. Fears of urban settlements being unable to cope with a huge influx of migrants due to infrastructural lacunae must be addressed through proper planning and policy and not by restricting or discouraging these flows. Policy should instead concern itself with ways of maximizing the potential benefits of migration to all stakeholders (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005).

When migration takes place within agriculture, there are consequences for other groups. Through a village level empirical study in Andhra Pradesh, Vijay (2016) studies households that have land but do not cultivate. They desire to invest their agrarian surplus in the non-agricultural sector. With land being an important asset in the rural economy, these households do not sell the land. If they choose not to keep the land idle, there is now an opportunity for those who do not migrate to rent this land. This reallocation of resources may lead to occupational mobility among different classes in the village.

The role of remittances in poverty reduction has been amply documented by researchers. Estimated to be within the range of Rs. 45000–50000 crores (or $10 billion) by the NSS survey of 2007-08, it can work as a multiplier for lifting families and communities out of poverty. Based on data from NSS, RBI and Census, Tumbe (2011) finds that 80 per cent of the remittances are received by poor rural households in India's poorest states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Odisha. These remittances finance household consumption expenditure like food, education, social events and health care. Renovation of house, debt repayment, savings and investment are also financed through remittances. However with better off households also receiving substantial remittances, it may end up increasing existing inequalities. A worrying aspect is that in India, the formal sector handles only 30 per cent of the remittance market compared to 75 per cent in China. This anomaly needs to be urgently addressed. At the global level too, India remains the highest recipient of international remittances with the states of Kerala, Punjab and Goa reportedly being the top remittance dependent households in the world. This is supported by evidence from field surveys conducted in Kerala as part of the Migration Monitoring Study (Zachariah & Rajan, 2011). With remittances received by the state being 5.5 times higher than the finance received from the Central Government, its ability to improve living standards must be acknowledged.

According to Mallya & Shrinivas (2011), the major net sending states are Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Odisha which are also the poorest states in the country. This indicates that migration is used as a survival strategy by poor households when rural options are limited or absent. Maharashtra, Delhi, Gujarat and Punjab unsurprisingly emerge as the major net receiving states. The eastern, north-eastern and southern regions in the country have negative net migration rates. An important aspect of migration is its impact on local population size. Small states and union territories attract migrants in large numbers and their population is characterized by higher levels of instability, measured by the

population turnover rate and changes in the composition of population. This may result in social tensions and conflicts and has important policy ramifications.

Kundu (2009) examines the proposition that rural-urban migration is high in Asia and has accelerated in recent decades. He however finds that the real acceleration took place in the second half of the 1970s. The urban-rural growth differential actually came down in the 1990s for 36 of 50 Asian nations compared to the preceding two decades. The focus of governments in strengthening the rural economy through various policies and programs may have slowed down this particular migration stream. Processes of selective migration in an effort to sanitise cities may restrict the entry of poor and unskilled migrants.

Bihar reports very high levels of out-migration. But migration here is sex-selective as men generally leave the womenfolk behind to take care of the fields, the elderly and the children. Datta & Mishra (2011) conducts an empirical study to examine the impact on women's lives due to male migration, an aspect that official statistics fail to capture. The women face an increasing burden of work, especially those who work as sharecroppers or have family farms. Though there is greater mobility, their contact with the market remains minimal. They exercise agency in decision-making in the absence of the males and manage finances and remittances. However in some cases, higher incomes have meant 'sanskritisation' with lower caste women who were always fairly mobile now remaining confined to the home. While there are some notable positive changes, patriarchy and caste continue to thrive.

A similar study by Bhaskaran (2011) in Bihar reveals that there is a shift from agricultural to non-agricultural work. The better educated adjust easily in the changed environments and look for newer, more remunerative destinations. While caste rigidities in urban areas may have weakened, they continue to prevail in the village. However cultural norms and taboos are being slowly challenged as young girls enter the job market and aspiration levels rise.

It may thus be surmised that rural-urban migration flows have far-reaching implications on poverty reduction and the correction of regional imbalances. When the economically and socially deprived sections are able to improve their living condition, it may help to loosen social strangleholds that keep development at bay. Remittances are a double-edged sword as on the one hand, they improve income levels of households but on the other hand, they may also increase existing economic inequalities as the benefits of migration are disproportionately higher for the higher income and upper caste households.

2.5 Migration and Urbanization

Urbanization is measured as the percentage of population residing in urban areas. Urban areas in India may either be statutory/ municipal towns or census towns. The latter classification is applicable when a settlement does not have an urban civic status but has a population above 5000, a density of 400 persons per square kilometre with 75 per cent of its workforce engaged in the non-agricultural sector. Thus new towns are added over time and conversely, existing towns may revert to rural status, making it a dynamic process. According to Bhagat (2011), high economic growth is accompanied by faster urbanisation as seen in India post economic reforms. Smaller states like Goa and Mizoram along with the Southern states and Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab and Haryana show higher levels of urbanization while the backward states of Bihar, Assam and Odisha lag behind. For the first time in 2011, urban population growth was higher than rural population growth. Urban infrastructure and the provision of civic amenities must now keep pace with this trend.

The relationship between labour and urban space creates new social schisms and the poor migrant labour is marginalised. As the modern city shifts to a knowledge-based economy, work gets fragmented recreating the old social order (Samaddar, 2016). The rent economy that now begins to flourish creates greater insecurity and people fight for resources, rights, claims and justice with the neo-liberal city thus becoming an extraction site. Mitra (2016) examines the issues of labour migration and displacement in Kolkata and finds that migrants tend to group themselves on commonalities like language, religion, caste and occupation. While poor migrants live in slums and bustees, attempts at ‘gentrification’ promote recycling of urban land and speculation in the real estate sector. The distinction between legal and illegal squatter colonies makes non-permanence a permanent feature of migration today.

The chauvinist and nativist forces promoted by some political parties in Mumbai ensure that while the migrant is able to secure some form of employment in the city, however precarious, he is deliberately kept out of its physical, social, political and cultural spaces. Vyas (2016) looks at this contradiction in a study based on elderly migrant labour in the private security provision industry. The absence of any meaningful social security prompts these men to take up such jobs. With no bargaining power they are denied even the minimum wage. The failure of the state in securing the rights of the marginalized indicates its apathy towards informal labour.

Jha & Kumar (2016) studies the experiences of homelessness in Mumbai. With 47.3 per cent of the city's population estimated to be migrants, the scramble for space is evident from the sprawling slums and pavement dwellings. Forced to carry out their private lives in public spaces, these so-called illegal encroachers face daily indignities, humiliation and insecurity under the public gaze. The apathy and callousness of the State ensures that the status quo remains unchanged.

Migrant waste pickers in Kolkata, generally women and children, are either homeless or pavement dwellers. Tracing their lives and work, Bagchi (2016) finds that they have been part of the city for two to three generations. Their access to garbage vats determines their incomes thereby making it necessary to live nearby. Village networks that have withstood the pressures of time ensure that the work is highly territorial. Many women prefer this work to working as domestic help as it offers them freedom from physical violence and humiliation associated with the latter. Due to increasing interventions by the municipality and the mechanization of waste collection processes, they are facing the threat of redundancy. Programs initiated by various NGOs are slowly transforming their lives with instances of some women completing their education, securing other jobs and 'sanitising' their lives.

Thus while the poor, uneducated and unskilled migrant may secure a job in the city, it is mostly in the informal sector which is largely unregulated. The denial of minimum wages, poor bargaining power and absence of social security increases the precarious nature of their jobs. While they are indispensable in providing cheap labour in the development process, they are expected to remain invisible otherwise. With cities becoming more and more unaffordable, these growing inequalities in the face of conspicuous wealth will result in social conflicts and violence. An indifferent State, an apathetic bureaucracy and the wilful neglect of the better-off ensure that this problem remains largely unaddressed. What is disturbing is that the ambitious "Smart City" project does not make any provisions for these marginalised sections and the cities will be even more unfriendly in accommodating them.

2.6 Trends in Migration

The growing informalisation and casualization of the labour market has resulted in widening inequalities. Fast growing economies demand more labour, both skilled and unskilled. And when the supply of local labour falls short, the deficit is made good through migrant labour. But this mobile workforce acquires highly dualistic characteristics (Srivastava, 2011). While the highly qualified, skilled labour get absorbed in high paying jobs and have good

bargaining power, there is also an ever-growing demand for cheap unskilled flexible labour with no bargaining power whatsoever. This capitalist strategy has the tacit approval of the State and the poor migrant labour and his family are subject to extreme exploitation.

The extent of industrialization has not been uniform across regions and hence the demand for labour is uneven which leads to spatial mobility among labour. According to Mishra (2016), at the national level migration has not kept pace with the high economic growth recorded by the country post economic reforms. This paradox may be attributed to the social mores in our country such as caste, joint family system, high illiteracy, etc. While new economic opportunities have raised aspirations, it has also led to new anxieties and vulnerabilities due to the growing anti-migrant and nativity tendencies. With an agricultural crisis looming large, labour has moved away from agriculture to industry and from rural areas to the urban areas. But this movement has not been a smooth process. The formal sector too has been informalized through sub-contracting giving rise to new types of "unfreedom and bondage". Migrants thus begin to depend on multi-local, multiple livelihoods as a means to cope with the precarious nature of employment.

Kundu & Gupta (1996) use Census data to assess the population mobility of male migrants post-Independence. During the period 1961-1981, there has been a decline in mobility both in rural as well as urban areas and especially in the rural to rural stream. A similar trend is observed among lifetime migrants too. The authors attribute this trend to the "growing assertion of regional identity, education in regional languages, adoption of master plans and land use restrictions at the city level".

With Census and NSS data, Bhagat (2016) analyses the present streams of migration in order to understand the process of urbanization in India. Historically, people moved for religious, trade and military purposes. With deindustrialization under the British rule and the loss of traditional livelihoods, artisans moved to the rural areas, thus leading to a rural-to-urban movement. With the introduction of plantation agriculture, mining, quarrying, and the development of ports and railways, internal migration flourished. In present times, rural to rural migration is the predominant stream, observed mainly among females due to marriage. About one-fifth of the movement is from rural to urban areas. The weakest stream is urban to rural movement which is less than 6 per cent. Inter-state migrants constitute only about 15 per cent of total migrants. The contribution of the migrants in the cities remains unacknowledged and they face huge deprivations. It is estimated that during 2001 to 2011,

urbanization in India has been largely due to rural to urban classification rather than rural to urban migration.

Using a similar dataset, de Haan (2011) looks at the broad trends in internal migration in India. Seasonal and circular migration is observed in the rural areas. Though out-migration is higher for females mainly due to marriage, there is a sharp increase in labour force participation among them post-migration. The better educated reap more benefits from migration while poor, illiterate women and children stagnate in the informal sector. The author points out the macro-micro paradox and observes that macro data tends to focus on better-off groups while micro studies reveal high migration among the poor, socially marginalised groups. While migration is an important survival mechanism for poor families, structural change cannot be automatically assumed and access to opportunities continues to be determined by initial socio-economic conditions leading to widening inequalities and exploitation in the origin areas.

Similar results are reported by Srivastava (2011) when he states that around 30 per cent of India's population are migrants and the majority are women. Rural to urban migration constitutes the largest stream. Short duration out-migration for work is increasingly observed among the lesser educated, economically and socially disadvantaged groups. Inter-state migration is higher among males with the highest percentage of workers employed in the construction industry, followed by agro-based industries and manufacturing. There is greater informalisation observed in labour markets.

The findings of a longitudinal study in Bihar reveal that out-migration for work continue to remain high despite the high growth experienced by the state in recent years. The movement is from rural to urban destinations and from agricultural to non-agricultural work. Reinforcing the findings of the studies mentioned above, Datta (2016) observes that it is the SCs, OBCs and Muslims who are likely to move for the short term in casual and precarious employment while the upper caste, better off migrants move for longer durations and have regular, salaried jobs. Women show restricted movement for employment and are mostly engaged as casual labour in agriculture. Remittances go a long way in supplementing family incomes and are used primarily for subsistence and consumption needs. While migration results in some economic improvement, integration into the mainstream remains an uphill task.

At the global level too, nationalist and xenophobic tendencies are observed, especially in case of refugee migrations. As refugee rights come into force only when the refugee lands in a foreign country, many governments seek to deny entry. According to Harris (2016), a global economy requires all states to maintain open borders as a condition for economic survival. But the threat to internal sovereignty inherent in globalisation ensures that countries defend their territorial borders more stringently. In fact, the problem of ageing population and the subsequent decline in the labour force may be offset through migration.

Thus according to Census data, it may be concluded that India is not a highly mobile country, and only around 30 per cent of its population are migrants. But field studies by independent researchers using novel methodologies disprove this with their findings that in the last decade, seasonal circular migration has grown exponentially. Short-term migration streams are dominant with rural-rural and intra-district movements being high. With the better-off and the higher educated benefiting more from migration, this may, in turn increase existing inequalities at the origin. Anti-migrant, nativist forces are on the rise both at the national and international level.

2.7 Gravity Models of Migration

Greenwood (20015) describes migration as a spatial phenomenon which involves at least two regions and focuses attention on the relationship of distance with migration as also population sizes at the origin and destination with migration. Observing that the distance to his students' hometowns followed Newton's law of gravity, Princeton astronomer, Stewart, came up with the following gravity law of spatial interaction: $F = GP_iP_j/D^2_{ij}$, where F is the demographic force, G is the constant, P_i is the population of origin i and P_j is the population of destination j and D_{ij} is the distance between i and j. While the gravitational force is directly related to the population sizes at the origin and destination, it is inversely related to the square of the distance between them. Since the 1960s, gravity models incorporated additional variables that have a bearing on the migration decision.

In a study on student migration flows to higher education institutions in Ireland, Cullinan and Duggan (2016), observe that while geographical distance is an important variable that explains the direction of student flows, its importance as a determinant tends to decrease as the factors of institutional quality and specialization gain importance. YiFan and Kunfeng (2014) studied inter-city migration of Chinese migrants within a gravity framework. The per capita GDP of a city positively influences this movement which implies that economically

developed regions offer more employment opportunities. More often than not, students prefer to seek work and continue to reside in the same city where they did their higher studies. As the level of educational attainment increases, study location has a greater influence as compared to the economic condition of the destination city.

Using an extended gravity model, Jandova & Paleta (2015), studied international migration flows within the Czech Republic and found that wage differences, unemployment differences and differences in job vacancies have a profound effect on migration. While an increase in unemployment at the source induces migration, a decrease in unemployment in the destination also spurs migration. Similarly, an increase in wage rate in the host region exerts a highly positive effect on migration. Gravity as a combined variable of size and distance is an important determinant of international migration.

Examining the influence of productivity differences on destination choices, Chakrabarti and Sengupta (2017) sees labour as a mobile input that responds to regional and sectoral productivity shocks through migration across regions. The subsequent migration flows then follow a gravity equation. According to the authors, about 63 per cent of inter-state migration in the United States is due to variations in industrial and productivity shocks. However the adoption of highly capital intensive technology may negatively impact migration flows.

An important concern today is climate change, the effects of which are already visible. Backhauss et al (2015) studied 142 origin and 19 destination countries with data from OECD's International Migration Database using gravity modelling. Their findings reveal a positive correlation between the climate variables of temperature and precipitation and migration flows. There is a 1.9 per cent increase in bilateral migration flows due to an increase of 1 degree Celsius in temperature. Similarly an increase in precipitation by a millimetre increases migration by 0.5 per cent. This has special significance for countries where agrarian economies.

An urgent problem faced by the European Union is an ageing population and low birth rates which may require it to import labour from the ENC countries that are more densely populated. Studying bilateral migration flows from ENC-EU, Ramos and Surinach (2017) forecast an increase in migration to about 2.8 per cent (200,000 migrants) in the medium run. Factors like distance and other socio-economic, political and historical ties determine the direction of these flows.

Tubadji and Nijkamp (2015) introduced the concept of 'cultural gravity' to test the geographical concentration and human capital productivity of immigrants in the EU15 countries. Cultural distance is the incompatibility between the cultures at the origin and destination that creates a cultural risk. This impacts productivity and the ability to adjust to a different milieu. The differences in the contributions of different immigrant groups to local productivity may be accounted to cultural gravity. Thus it may safely assumed that regions that are geographically located closer will have similar language, customs and lifestyles and this will facilitate easy adjustment post-migration.

In a study on skilled migration in China, Ye and Jianfa (2014) find that skilled migrants tend to be more spatially concentrated in regions of high growth. Conversely, economically backward regions fail to retain skilled labour. Though distance is still a deterrent to skilled migration, wage differentials may negate this effect. Career considerations, availability of quality medical services and social networks also influence destination choices while high cost of living and unemployment act as push factors.

Orefice (2015) studies the impact of Preferential Trade Agreements on bilateral migration flows using a PTA dummy as the main explanatory variable in a structural gravity model. He finds that signing a mutual PTA increases migration by nearly 26 per cent. This may be attributed to the reduction of information cost that is the result of closer diplomatic ties. However it is to be noted that the contents of the agreement also play an important role, especially the provisions on visa, asylum and the labour market. In a similar study, Figueiredo (2016) finds that signing Regional Trade Agreements provides easy access to pertinent information and potential migrants can make comparisons of income differentials and utility differences among different countries. While distance may hamper migration flows, common borders, common language and past migration stocks stimulate migration. If bureaucratic controls on visa and asylum are eased due to the signing of an RTA, bilateral flows rise quite substantially.

Thus it may be concluded that while distance may cause friction in labour movements, other positive developments can lower the influence of this variable. The probability of earning higher wages, access to quality services, commonalities like language, culture and a shared history promote migration flows. PTAs and RTAs by reducing the cost of information and easing of previously restrictive controls on movement also stimulate migration.

2.8 The Social Network Theory

A network may be defined as a set of relationships between persons, referred to as nodes that may be directional or non-directional, connected by propinquity or homophily. The number of nodes in the network determines the opportunities that the members can avail. Naturally the higher the number of nodes, the more will be the information available (Kadushin, 2004). A network has two types of relationships, kinship and generic. Studies on migration, especially international migration, now analyse the role of these networks in initiating and perpetuating migration in particular regions and occupations.

There are three choices that an individual can exercise: move within a country, move to another country or not move at all. While studying decision making among individuals, Liang and Chunyu (2013) found that migrant networks work differently for internal and international migration due to differing cost structures. Due to high costs, families in China find it difficult to send more than one member abroad within a short time period. In regions where migration is high, the likelihood of having a relative who has migrated earlier is higher. While the possibility of international migration is lesser among internal migrants, international migration reduces the possibility of internal migration. It is unlikely that people become both internal and international migrants.

In a study on rural landed households in Mexico, Davis et al (2002) examine the impact of migrant networks on rural to rural, rural to urban and rural to international migration. Agricultural workers are mostly less educated; they are indigenous and live in greater isolation. Migrant networks positively influence the decision to migrate within Mexico. The composition of the network also plays an important role in the migration decision. This impact is determined by the type of migration asset and the destination chosen. Decisions about location within the destination are affected by the location of the network.

It is observed that migration from rural and urban areas to international destinations display different characteristics. On the basis of case studies of individuals migrating from Mexico to the United States, Wilson (2009) puts forth the following principles – transnational networks keep on expanding as more and more members get included whenever an internal migrant leaves his community of origin. There are various points of contact in the network such as at the place of origin or actual or prior place of residence of the individual or his kin. Women facilitate the migration of other women as well as of men. Through marriage, women bring other families into the network either in Mexico or in the USA or both. In a further study,

Wilson (2012) debunks the assumption that there exists a saturation point from which there may be no more migration in a community. Internal migration to more robust rural areas or networks in nearby or distant communities may be tapped by the potential migrant. Through marriage, people without contacts come in touch with those who have ties in the USA. Internal migrants who lack transnational network resources may have access to these networks in the future. The expansion of local networks to include members of peripheral communities ensures that migration streams do not “dry up”.

Liu (2013) tests the strength of tie theory in a study on migration between Senegal and Europe. Access to network resources determines the likelihood of migration. For first-time migration, weak ties play an important role. A gendered pattern can be observed in the network theory too. Male migrants benefit more from the weakest ties whereas female migration is highly dependent on strong ties.

Migration flows between countries are influenced by migrant networks and family immigration policies. Beine (2016) finds that the existence of Diasporas facilitates potential migration through reduced costs and better adaptability to a foreign environment. There is easier access to job markets with information forthcoming on job availability and working conditions. Specific segments in the labour market may be concentrated with workers from a certain country which may however have the unintended effect of occupational downgrading, especially among unskilled migrants. Family reunification policies have increased the network effect. Networks however may not be very important in advanced countries as they attract more skilled labour that does not need to rely on networks.

In a study on the role of migrant social networks in bilateral migration flows, Fagiolo and Santoni (2016) find that a 10 per cent increase in the stock of migrants at the destination country leads to a 4 per cent increase in bilateral migration flows on an average. While income at destination positively affects migration, distance is becoming less important. Factors like common borders, a shared language and history and increase in population or violence at the origin promote emigration. But the impact of networks may decrease with the passage of time.

According to Massey (1990), it is the process of migration itself that creates migrant networks. The reduction in the cost of information enhances access to urban and foreign labour markets. With redistribution of wealth and income at the origin, new patterns of investment are observed. Migration may be seen as both the cause and consequence of

migration but which is the greater effect has to be determined. With the collapse of traditional community structures in developing nations, recruitment policies lead to migration that becomes self-reinforcing over time.

In the case of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants from Algeria, Collyer (2005) observes that social networks are used differently. European countries are now experiencing in-migrations from countries whose inhabitants have previously never settled there. They have responded to this onslaught by putting in place greater restrictions on cross-border movements. This in turn has led to the problems of clandestine entry and overstaying. However these illegal (undocumented) migrants are aware that they pose a severe threat to their relatives and cannot depend on traditional social networks for support. They then turn to paid agents and smugglers for assistance. And so 'weak ties' now become more important than 'strong ties'. The new information received leads to entry into non-traditional destinations.

There is an element of 'uprooting' evident even in voluntary migration. Any psychological impairment that consequently occurs may be relieved with the help of social networks that create an atmosphere of familiarity. Alien social conditions impose some psychological distress that may be addressed through the social support they receive via the networks. Kuo and Tsai (1986) find that factors such as not knowing English, homesickness, differing ethnicities and problems in adjusting to new lifestyles can cause severe stress. The willingness to take risks and the ability to adapt to differences coupled with self-esteem and competency may help the migrants' combat social isolation.

The social psychological approach looks at macro influences on micro migration decision making of individuals. Boyd (1989) examines the links between the family unit, personal networks and the structural features of sending and receiving countries. Chain migration is promoted through family reunification policies. Through the provision of information and resources, return migration creates links between sending and receiving areas. Kin and friendship ties and networks aid in settlement and integration, with weak ties providing greater support than strong ties in certain situations. It is also pertinent to understand gender and networks. With the expansion of manufacturing units, especially in the export sector, there is a great demand for a cheap, flexible labour force that can be easily controlled. This encourages female employment thereby promoting gendered division of labour.

Gendered recruitment policies tend to create different employment niches for male and female workers. The assumption was that women migrate only to accompany or reunite with their spouses and hence there were serious gaps in research in this area. Mahler and Pessar (2006) make a case for incorporating gender in migration research and thus provide "the explanatory power that it merits". There is a near complete exclusion of the role of females in shaping migration, its policies, the forms of employment and citizenship in migration research which may have been due to methodological and ideological constraints.

In the migration of ethnic Germans in post-World War II Germany, Bauer and Zimmerman (1997) found a significant relationship between age and the probability of settling close to friends and family. Older people are more likely to settle close to relatives and friends. However it was observed that highly educated people are less dependent on networks. Similarly when public amenities are provided by the government, the dependence on relatives and friends for support is reduced.

Thus it may be concluded that migrant social networks play an important role in the initial phase of migration. The cost of information is reduced and linkages are developed between the sending and receiving regions. Adaption to alien societies is easier when a migrant corridor exists. These networks continue to expand as new members from the periphery join it. However the networks and ties may be more important for unskilled labour as compared to skilled labour. Gender also plays an important role in understanding social ties.

2.9 Summary and Research Gap

In India as in other parts of the world, the volume of internal migration is much higher than that of international migration. But studies on migration tend to focus largely on international migration. This has changed in recent times with a great deal of research being generated on internal migration too.

The two main sources of secondary data on migration in India are the Census and the National Sample Survey. However, these sources may underestimate the extent of migration due to conceptual and empirical difficulties. When migration is studied with reference to place of birth and place of last residence, there is a possibility that the huge magnitude of temporary, seasonal and circular migration may be under-reported. When only one reason for migration is reported, important secondary factors influencing migration may remain unexplored. Of course, these problems are being overcome with improvements in

methodology due to the recognition that short-term migration is more prevalent than long-term migration in India today.

Studies on internal migration in India are mostly related to the states of Maharashtra, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Kerala, Bihar and Odisha. The focus is mostly on the big states, either in terms of net in-migrants, i.e. receiving states, or in terms of net out-migrants, i.e. the sending states. These studies generally look at the trends, causes and consequences of migration. The focus group may be homogeneous in nature such as rural landless labourers, peasant farmers, brick kiln workers or construction workers.

Small states and union territories have always attracted a good number of in-migrants from the rest of the country. Migration in these areas may exhibit some distinctive characteristics as a result of their small size, both in terms of their geographical area and population-wise. The consequences here may be quite different from what it is for big states and so it is important that policy making should take into account these differences. The pressure of population on resources and infrastructure may be more severe due to their limited availability. The carrying capacity of the region may be breached much earlier which in turn may lead to environmental damage and social discontent. Hence it is necessary that there has to be many more studies focusing on these regions that will improve our understanding and lead to the adoption of appropriate policies and strategies.

The present study is located in Goa, the smallest state of India with an area of only 3702^2 km. There are limited studies on migration in Goa. And among the studies that have been undertaken, the focus is mostly on out-migration. Many Goans migrate to the Gulf countries for employment. A fair number also work on foreign ships. The Goan Diaspora is spread all over the world. Goans who have an ancestor born during the Portuguese rule are eligible for a Portuguese passport which gives them access to European countries and many choose to move to the UK for better prospects. Studies on Goan migration usually focus on these groups with very little literature available on migration into Goa from other states and countries.

Studies on in-migration to Goa have largely been centred on the construction industry which has a disproportionately large share of labour imported from other states. There have been hardly any studies that look at migration in other sectors. Goa attracts all kinds of economic migrants, from the manual scavenger who has never been to school to the scientist with his impressive list of credentials. A holistic understanding of the migration phenomenon will be

forthcoming only when there are studies based on heterogeneous groups of individuals. The migrant community in Goa is a diverse lot: they hail from different states, belong to different religions and castes, have varying educational attainments and skill-sets and are employed in almost every sphere of the economy. However studies that take these differences into account are severely lacking.

A study that incorporates both, secondary data analysis and insights gained from field work will provide an all-round picture of migration. Secondary data analysis improves our understanding of the broad trends observed in migration and helps us identify macro-level determinants of migration. Such studies will provide valuable data for experts to construct forecasting models which in turn will help planners devise appropriate measures to regulate migrant inflows.

Studies that show the extent and nature of migration in Goa vis-a-vis national averages and other states have not been undertaken. This will provide important information about the status of migration in the state. Also, there have been no attempts to identify the determinants of migration using gravity model analysis in case of Goa state. Traditionally, gravity modelling in migration used size of population and distance between the two locations, the place of origin and the destination, to examine aggregate migrant flows. According to Professor Irudayaraja (2020), the importance of distance as a determinant in choice of destination in case of internal migration will assume a much higher level of significance in post-pandemic India. Thus it is imperative to assess the impact of distance on migration flows.

Important insights may also be obtained through primary studies based on field work. A micro level approach can provide useful information that may be missed out in studies based entirely on secondary data as such studies have the tendency to reduce humans to mere statistics. Though there is a tacit acceptance that migrant labour is integral to the process of economic development in Goa, there is growing antagonism among the locals towards them. There have been no studies that look at the discrimination that they face as they go about their day-to-day activities. It is necessary to understand which categories of workers are more vulnerable to discrimination and what forms they assume. Government authorities may accordingly take appropriate measures to prevent the problem from growing into unmanageable proportions. Goa remains a preferred destination among inter-state migrants as instances of discrimination that take violent forms are not commonplace here. The authorities

can implement programmes that promote the integration of migrants into the mainstream, something similar to the lines of "Roshni", a project in Kerala that helps migrant workers' children continue in school by helping them become proficient in the native language, Malayalam; and "Apna Ghar", a project that provides housing with decent facilities at subsidised rents to migrant workers, initiated by the Kerala Government.

Today there is growing interest in the role of social capital in promoting migration. While pioneer research on social networks in Goa has been carried out by Fernandes (2011), it remains confined to the construction industry. If the role of networks in case of different employment groups is assessed, it will help to arrive at conclusions about the relative significance of networks in different occupations. This is important because even in case of economic migrants where economic compulsions are the prime reason for moving out, social influences play an important secondary role in determining the choice of destination. Once a migration corridor is created, the process of migration becomes self-sustaining. Studies that look at this particular aspect of reinforcement of migratory forces have not been attempted in case of Goa. It is a well-known fact that actual migration facilitates potential migration. Hence there is a need to have more studies that look into this aspect.

Studies that assess the impact of migration on the local economy will help to conduct a cost-benefit analysis. These studies have to take into account both, the direct as well as indirect benefits and costs of migration. Through their consumption, savings and investment activities, migrants raise the levels of aggregate demand in the economy. The multiplier effect that this brings about is observed in different sectors of the economy. Such impact studies based on field work have not been attempted in case of Goa.

The sustainability of migration flows may be assessed on the basis of their duration of stay. Migrants may be classified as short term and long term migrants. Among long term migrants, there are those that stay here for the duration of their working life and then return home. There are others who put down roots in their adopted land and settle here permanently, calling Goa their home. It is important to estimate the extent of migrants who choose to live here permanently as this has important implications on land use and resource utilization for Goa. Studies that attempt to calculate the likelihood of the migrant settling down in Goa on the basis of relevant variables will help the government to come up with appropriate policies to ensure that the carrying capacity of the state is not breached.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main aim of the study is to understand the nature and characteristics of migration to Goa from other states of India. In order to understand gross migration flows to Goa, use of secondary data has been made, mainly, Census reports. In order to understand migration from a micro perspective, primary resources obtained from field work have been utilised. The study thus makes use of both, secondary as well as primary data, given the objectives.

The Census collects information on two types of migration: migration by place of birth and migration by place of last residence. When a person is enumerated in Census at a place, i.e. village or town, different from her/his place of birth, she/he would be considered a migrant by place of birth. On the other hand, a person would be considered a migrant by place of last residence if she/he had last resided at a place other than her/his place of enumeration. This study is based on the latter type, i.e. it studies migration on the basis of place of last residence only.

The nature of migration is further classified as follows:

A. Last residence elsewhere in India

1. Within the state of enumeration
2. States in India beyond the state of enumeration

B. Last residence outside India

C. Unclassifiable

This study concerns itself with only A.2. – Migrants from states in India beyond the state of enumeration, i.e. Goa.

Historically, information on migration has been collected by the Census since 1871. But it was limited to seeking information only on place of birth till 1961. The scope of collecting information on migration was enlarged by including the rural/urban status of the place of birth and duration of residence at the place of residence in 1961. Thereafter, since 1971, data is collected on place of last residence in addition to place of birth. Reasons for migration began to be collected since 1981 onwards. This has been continued in 1991, 2001 and 2011.

‘Natural calamities’ as a reason for migration has been excluded and instead, ‘moved at birth’ has been added since 2001.

3.2 Operational Definitions

In the present study, an attempt is made to understand the nature and structure of migration to Goa from the rest of India. The individual who migrated from his state of origin to the destination, i.e. Goa, is the basic unit of analysis in the study. The definitions of the main concepts used in the study are given below:

1. Migrant: According to Census, a labour migrant is one residing in a place other than his or her place of birth or one who has changed his or her usual place of residence (residence for six months or more), having moved primarily for economic reasons.

According to the National Sample Survey Organization, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, a migrant is a person whose place of enumeration is different from his/her last usual place of residence. The usual place of residence is the place where the person stayed continuously for at least six months immediately prior to moving to the place (village/town) of enumeration.

2. Unorganized sector: The definition of the unorganized sector has been taken from the Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector, National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS).

“The unorganized sector consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale or production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers.”

3. Self-employed: Persons who operate their own farm or non-farm enterprises or are engaged independently in a profession or trade on own-account or with one or a few partners are deemed to be self-employed. The essential feature of the self-employed is that they have autonomy, (i.e. how and where and when to produce) and economic independence (i.e. market, scale of operation and money) for carrying out their operations.

The remuneration of the self-employed consists of a non-separable combination of two parts: a reward for their labour and profit of their enterprise. The combined remuneration is given by the revenue from sale of output produced by the self-employed persons minus the cost of purchased inputs in production.

The self-employed persons may again be categorised into:

a) Own-account workers: They are the self-employed who operate their enterprises on their own account or with one or a few partners and who during the reference period, by and large, run their enterprises without having any labour. They may, however, have unpaid helpers to assist them in the activity of their enterprise.

b) Employers: The self-employed persons who work on their own account or with one or a few partners and by and large, run their enterprises by hiring labour are the employers.

4. Private sector enterprise: A private enterprise is an entity that operates under the ownership and management of individuals free from government intervention. It is a business unit established, owned and operated by private individuals for profit, instead of by or for any government or its agencies.

5. Government/ Public sector enterprise: It consists of enterprises that are wholly owned/ run/ managed by central or state governments, quasi government institutions, local bodies like universities, education boards, municipalities, etc. An enterprise should not be treated as a public sector enterprise if it is run on a loan granted by government, local body, etc.

6. Native place: The native place of a person is defined as the place where his/her parents or forefathers reside or resided more or less permanently and with which the person has or had at least some occasional contact.

3.3 Data and Variables

3.3.1 Secondary Data

In order to understand the overall position of Goa with respect to migration from other states into the state, data has been sourced from the Census Reports. Since 1872, the Indian Census is carried out every ten years. It is the largest and most credible source of statistical information on various characteristics of the Indian population. It is an important source of data for researchers and scholars in various fields such as demography, economics, anthropology, sociology and statistics. The responsibility of conducting the decennial Census is with the Office of the Registrar General and the Census Commissioner, India, under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Migration data is provided under the D-Series which consisted of tables D1 to D13 in the 2011 Census.

The data has been presented for the period, 1971 – 2011. Data has been obtained from the following tables:

- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, Goa Census 1971
- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, Goa Census 1981
- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, Goa Census 1991
- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, Goa Census 2001
- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, Goa Census 2011
- D-3 Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration, India Census 2011

Migration to Goa from the rest of India has been studied under the following aspects: extent of migration to Goa for the period, 1971 to 2011; proportion of male-female migration, reasons for migration; rural-urban migration, duration of migration and top sending states. The findings have been presented using graphs, tables and percentages. It highlights some of the interesting features of migration in case of Goa vis-a-vis other states and the national averages.

3.3.2 Primary Data

The present study is empirical in nature. The location of the study is the state of Goa. Goa has two main districts, North Goa and South Goa. North Goa with 8, 18,008 residents (Census, 2011), is more densely populated than South Goa with 6, 40,537 residents. 56.1 per cent of Goa's population resides in North Goa and 43.9 per cent reside in South Goa.

A survey of 423 respondents was conducted covering both the districts of the state. It includes respondents from five talukas in North Goa: Bardez, Bicholim, Ponda, Sattari and Tiswadi and three talukas in South Goa: Mormugao, Quepem and Salcette. 237 respondents (56%) are from North Goa and 186 respondents (44%) are from South Goa. The respondents were chosen on the basis of purposive sampling and to some extent, through snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling is also known as judgemental, selective or subjective sampling. This is a type of non-probability sampling in which the researcher relies on his own judgement while selecting members of the population to participate in the study. One important attraction of this method is that it is both, cost effective and time effective. The intention was to identify and select in a non-random manner, a sample of migrants that represent a cross-section of the population which would logically be representative of the population. This is because there is no comprehensive list of migrants available with government agencies. Given that the proportion of short-term seasonal migration is increasing, it is next to impossible to have an updated list of migrants from other states. A maximum variation purposive sample or heterogeneous purposive sample has been used to examine a diverse range of cases that are relevant to the understanding of the migration phenomenon. This approach would give insights from various angles. Sampling for proportionality was not important as it would be possible for the findings from the sample selected to be generalised qualitatively, even if they may not be statistically representative of the greater population.

Snowball sampling or chain referral sampling has also been used wherever possible. Referrals from initial respondents helped to meet potential respondents. The selected sample represents a subset of the population intended to provide depth of understanding. The survey covered 423 respondents, each one gainfully employed in the state. The individuals are either employed in the unorganized, private and government sectors or are self-employed. Being a heterogeneous group, it will provide insights into the migration experiences of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled economic migrants working in different spheres. The survey was conducted with the help of a structured questionnaire that covered various aspects such as the demographic profile of the respondents, push-pull factors that influenced migration, work environment in Goa, economic impact of migration on the Goan economy and the perceptions of the respondents about Goa, their chosen destination. It also looked at the role played by social networks in promoting and encouraging migration.

Table 3. 1: Number of Respondents in the Sample from various States

Sr. No.	Name of the State	Respondents	Sr. No.	Name of the State	Respondents
1	Karnataka	99	15	Punjab	7
2	Uttar Pradesh	51	16	Madhya Pradesh	6

3	Maharashtra	43	17	Telangana	5
4	Kerala	36	18	Delhi	4
5	Rajasthan	26	19	Kashmir	4
6	Bihar	24	20	Himachal Pradesh	3
7	Andhra Pradesh	18	21	Uttarakhand	2
8	Odisha	14	22	Haryana	2
9	Gujarat	12	23	Meghalaya	3
10	Assam	10	24	Manipur	3
11	Chattisgarh	10	25	Mizoram	13
12	Jharkhand	9	26	Arunachal Pradesh	1
13	West Bengal	9	27	Nagaland	1
14	Tamil Nadu	8		Total	423

3.4 Models and Data Analysis Tools

3.4.1 Gravity Models

The migration decision is assumed to be a rational choice exerted by individuals and households in order to achieve some predetermined goals. It is undertaken after a cost-benefit analysis, however rudimentary, taking into account the expected outcomes after weighing in the cost of migration. The individual, after deciding to migrate, has to decide where to migrate. The former is a microeconomic approach that studies individual behaviour and the factors that influence the migration decision. The latter is a macroeconomic approach that studies places rather than people and aggregate flows of migrants rather than individual ones.

In the statistical form, the gravity model is expressed as:

$$M_{ij} = p * \log(g) + \ a * \log(P_i) + \ \beta * \log(P_j) + X * \log(D_{ij}) + \ e_{ij} \text{..... (3.1)}$$

That is,

$$M_{ij} = \beta_0 * \log(g) + \beta_1 * \log(P_i) + * \log(P_j) + \beta_3 * \log(X_i) + \beta_4 * \log(X_j) + \beta_5 * \log(D_{ij}) + \ e_{ij}$$

Where, X_i is a vector of explanatory variables.

In order to construct the gravity models, multiple regression model estimation using the method of ordinary least squares has been employed. The simplest multiple regression model is three-variable regression, with one dependent variable and two explanatory variables. This model is linear in the parameters and may or may not be linear in the variables.

The multiple regression function may be written as:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \cdots + \beta_n X_{ni} + u_i \quad \text{..... (3.2)}$$

Where, Y is the dependent variable, X_1, X_2,...X_n are the explanatory variables or regressors, β_1, β_2,...β_n are the parameters to be estimated from the data, u is the stochastic disturbance term, and i is the i^{th} observation.

In equation 3.2, β_0 is the intercept term. It gives the mean or average effect on Y of all the variables excluded from the model, although its mechanical interpretation is the average value of Y when X_1 and X_2 are set equal to zero. The coefficients β_1 and β_2 are called the partial regression coefficients. β_1 measures the change in the mean value of Y, E(Y), per unit change in X_1, holding the value of X_2 constant, i.e. it gives the "direct" or "net" effect of a unit change in X_1 on the mean value of Y, net of any effect that X_2 may have on mean Y. Similarly, β_2 measures the change in the mean value of Y per unit change in X_2, holding the value of X_1 constant. In other words, it gives the "direct" or "net" effect of a unit change in X_2 on the mean value of Y, net of any effect that X_1 may have on mean Y.

In order to identify the factors influencing migration to Goa from other states in India, the number of migrants, Y, is regressed over variables, population, distance, literacy rate, gross state domestic product and per capital net state domestic product. A log log regression model is used which gives the percentage change in Y due to percentage change in the variables. The data on population has been obtained from the respective Census Reports. In case of distance, for the gravity models based on secondary data, it has been calculated as the distance between the capital cities of the respective states and the capital city of Goa, i.e. Panjim, as given by Google maps. And again in case of primary data, it has been calculated as the distance between the capital cities of the respective states and the capital city of Goa, i.e. Panjim, with an exception being made in case of the states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. These states share common borders with Goa and during the course of the field work, it was

realised that most of the respondents from these states who have come to Goa live in areas close to the border with very few coming from the hinterland. As such it was felt appropriate to calculate the distance differently in this case. Hence, distance has been measured as the distance between Belgaum and Panjim in case of Karnataka and the distance between Kolhapur and Panjim in case of Maharashtra. The data on gross state domestic product figures of 2016-17 at current prices expressed in Rs. crores has been sourced from the reports of the Economic Survey and the Central Statistics Office for the gravity model based on primary data. Data on GDP of states in case of secondary data has been taken from government publications of the Directorates of Economics and Statistics of respective state governments and CSO, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. Data on literacy was sourced from the reports of Office of Registrar General, Ministry of Home Affairs and National Commission on Population, Government of India.

It is hypothesised that as the size of population of the origin state increases, there will be more out-migration from there. On the other hand, in case of distance it is hypothesised that the volume of migration is inversely related to distance. With regard to state domestic product, it is expected that higher the state domestic product, lesser will the out-migration as it is assumed that high growth also implies creation of employment opportunities. In case of literacy rate, it is hypothesised that an increase in literacy is associated with higher movement.

3.4.2 Role of Networks

Though migration may be initially induced by various factors such as economic, social, political or environmental reasons or a combination of these factors, human migration is essentially a social phenomenon. The decision to migrate, choice of destination, ease with which employment is obtained, terms and conditions of work in certain cases, adaptation to the new place, assimilation in the mainstream, circle of friends and perpetuation of migration through the creation of a migration corridor, are all influenced highly by the creation of social networks. Networks provide a foundation for the dissemination of information as well as for patronage or assistance. Personal relations which connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants with each other in the places of origin and destination increase the probability of labour migration in connection with circular migration and chain migration processes.

A social network consists of a set of actors (nodes) and the relations (ties or edges) between these actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Nodes may be individuals, groups, organizations or

societies. The ties may fall within a level of analysis – individual to individual ties – or may cross levels of analysis – individual to group ties.

The original work on network theory can be traced back to the 1930s to a group of German psychologists who specialized in "Gestalt Psychology". It was considered to be a social science tool till the 1950s. Jacob Moreno (1937) invented the sociogram, a diagrammatic representation of the relationships between people in a social group. The sociogram is made up of dots or 'nodes' that represent people and the relations or connections between them are shown by lines. Thus began the measurement of social networks which finally became the "Social Network Analysis".

According to the theories of social exchange and dependency, people establish ties to others with whom they can exchange valued resources (Homans, 1950). Whether a relationship will be sustained over time will depend on the pay-offs to each of the two parties. Emerson (1972) examined exchanges and power dependencies at the inter-individual and inter-group levels. Here the individuals' motivation to create ties is based on their ability to minimize their dependence on others from whom they need resources and maximize the dependence of others who need resources they can offer. The network exchange theory is based on these dependencies that bind a group together. However, the main premise of the theories of mutual interest and collective action is that mutual interests and the possibility of benefits from co-ordinated action often outweigh individual self-interests.

In the present study, the sample is a heterogeneous group and the respondents have been chosen on the basis of convenience sampling. Hence the questions on the role of social networks in facilitating and promoting migration are general in nature and the information obtained does not lend itself to in-depth analysis. In spite of this obvious shortcoming, an attempt has been made to understand the role of networks in case of internal migration. It has been examined whether networks play a greater role in certain types of employment as compared to others. The ease of adjustment in the new place, the social circles formed post-migration, and the links maintained with the place of origin that in turn will encourage potential migration have been studied. The findings are presented in percentages separately for the four sectors and sociograms have been created by using Netdraw, a tool from UCINET.

3.4.3 Chi-Square Test

The Chi-Square statistic is commonly used for testing relationships between categorical variables. The null hypothesis of this test is that no relationship exists on the categorical variables in the population; they are independent. It is most commonly used to evaluate Tests of Independence when using a cross tabulation or bivariate table. Cross tabs present the distributions of two categorical variables simultaneously with the intersections of the categories of the variables appearing in the cells of the table. The test of independence assesses whether an association exists between the two variables by comparing the observed pattern of responses in the cells to the pattern that would be expected if the variables were truly independent of each other.

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e} \quad \text{..... (3.3)}$$

Where f_o is the observed No. of Persons and f_e is the expected No. of Persons if no relationship existed between the variables. The chi-square statistic is based on the difference between what is actually observed in the data and what would be expected if there was no relationship between the variables.

The chi-square goodness of fit test is used to test if the sample data fits the distribution from a certain population, i.e. a population with a normal distribution. It fits one categorical variable to a distribution. A very small chi-square test statistic means that the observed data fits the expected data extremely well. In other words, there is a relationship. A very large chi-square statistic means that the data does not fit very well, i.e. there is no relationship.

In this empirical study, the respondents of non-Goan origin work in four different sectors: unorganized, self-employed, private and government sectors. The questionnaire covered different aspects of their work and life in Goa such as their demographic profile, the push and pull factors that brought them here, the work environment here, their income-expenditure and savings habit, their perceptions about the destination and discrimination, if any, faced here. It is hypothesised that the nature of their job has a high correlation with the migration experiences of the respondents. The hypotheses are tested using cross tabs and the chi-square test.

3.4.4 Binomial Logit Model Estimation using the Maximum Likelihood Method

The logistic model is useful when the dependent variable takes values between 0 and 1 only or between 0 and 100 if it is in percentage form. In this study, the binomial logit model is estimated to explain the factors that determine the probability of the individual settling permanently in Goa. The binomial logit model is used to explain this likelihood on the basis

of variables such as distance, having own house in Goa, having family here in Goa. This is an estimation technique for equations with dummy dependent variables that avoids the unboundedness problem of the linear probability model by using a variable of the cumulative logistic function.

The logistic function which is a function of any random variable, z_i, may be expressed thus:

$$P_i = \frac{1}{1+e^{-(\beta_0+\beta_1 x_{1i}+ \ldots . .+\beta_n x_{ni}+U)}} \quad \text{..... (3.4)}$$

Where, P_i is the probability that the dependent variable takes the value of 1.

For ease of exposition, Eq.3.4 may be written as

$$P_i = \frac{1}{1+e^{-z_i}} = \frac{e^z}{1+e^z} \quad \text{..... (3.5)}$$

Where $Z_i = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_i$ and e is the exponential under the logit approach.

With the logistic model, 0 and 1 are asymptotes to the function. Thus the probabilities will never actually fall to zero or rise to one, although they may come infinitesimally close. As z_i tends to $+\infty$, e^{zi} tends to zero and $1/1+e^{-z_i}$ tends to 1. As z_i tends to $-\infty$, e^{zt} tends to infinity and $1/1+e^{-z_i}$ tends to zero.

The logistic model has the following functional form:

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1-P_i}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \cdots + \beta_n X_{ni} + u \quad \text{..... (3.6)}$$

Where, $\ln (P_i/1-P_i)$ refers to the "log of the odds" for the dummy dependent variable.

If the dependent variable is binary, then the logarithm of $P_i/1-P_i$ is undefined when the dependent variable is either zero or one. The procedure used in such a case is the maximum likelihood method, an iterative estimation technique that is especially used for equations that are non-linear in the coefficients. Maximum likelihood estimation chooses coefficient estimates that maximize the likelihood of the sample data being observed.

In this model, an attempt is made to estimate the probability of an individual choosing to settle permanently in the destination, i.e. Goa. The dependent variable here is choosing to settle here or choosing not to settle here. Thus the dependent variable takes the value of 0 if the respondent will not settle and 1 if he chooses to settle here. The probability is calculated on the basis of factors such as owning a house in Goa, having family in Goa and the distance between Goa and the place of origin. In case of distance, the estimation is done using three different measures of distance, 500 kilometres, 1234 kilometres and 2500 kilometres. The

average distance travelled by an individual from his place of origin to Goa for employment is 1234 km. 500 kilometres is taken as a proxy for short distance and 2500 kilometres as a proxy for long distance. It tries to understand whether the likelihood of settling permanently in Goa increases as distance decreases or vice-versa. Thus it is hypothesised that the probability of settling permanently here is higher if the individual owns a house in Goa, if his family is with him here and if the distance between the place of origin and the destination is not high.

3.5 Summary

The study uses both secondary and primary sources of data to provide a holistic picture of migration to Goa from other states of India. With the help of secondary data, the status of migration to Goa is given compared to that at the national level and other comparable states. Important determinants that explain gross migration flows have been identified through a gravity model analysis. While all the respondents included in the survey are gainfully employed in the state, the initial reasons for migration may not have been purely economic. Through the social network analysis, an attempt has been made to understand social factors that may have influenced the choice of destination and the role of networks in facilitating and perpetuating the process of migration. Finally an attempt has been made to understand the nature of migration and the contribution of the migrants to the Goan economy. Using cross tabulations and the chi-square test, it is analysed if the experiences of migration are influenced by the nature of employment. With the use of appropriate variables, the likelihood of the migrant settling in Goa for the long-term has been predicted as this will have important implications for the state.

CHAPTER IV: IN-MIGRATION TO GOA FROM OTHER INDIAN STATES: AN OVERVIEW

4.1 Introduction

Goa, a former colony, attained liberation after more than four hundred and fifty years of Portuguese rule in December 1961. Post-liberation, Goa was formed as a union territory along with Daman and Diu. It attained statehood in 1987. With an area of 3702 square kilometres, it is the smallest state in India. In spite of its small size or perhaps because of it, the state of Goa is well-governed. An economically prosperous state, it has the highest per capita income at Rs. 420383, more than two and a half times that of the national average.

After Liberation, the state embarked on an ambitious programme of rapid economic development that threw open plenty of opportunities to Goans as well as to those from other parts of the country. With an amiable and laid-back atmosphere, Goa attracts in large numbers both, tourists as well as those who seek permanent or semi-permanent residence here. Its sound performance on various economic and social indicators of development is also an important pull factor.

According to the 2011 Census, Goa's population was 14, 58,545. The density of population had increased from 163 persons per square kilometre in 1961 to 394 persons per square kilometre in 2011. Migration is an important factor that has brought about demographic changes within the state. The state is characterised by high degrees of both, out-migration as well as in-migration. According to the 2008 Goa Migration Study which covered 6000 sample households in 11 talukas, 12 per cent of Goan households have a migrant living abroad and remittances comprise 6.3 per cent of the state domestic product. The Goan Diaspora is spread across forty three countries and many Goan youth are employed on foreign ships.

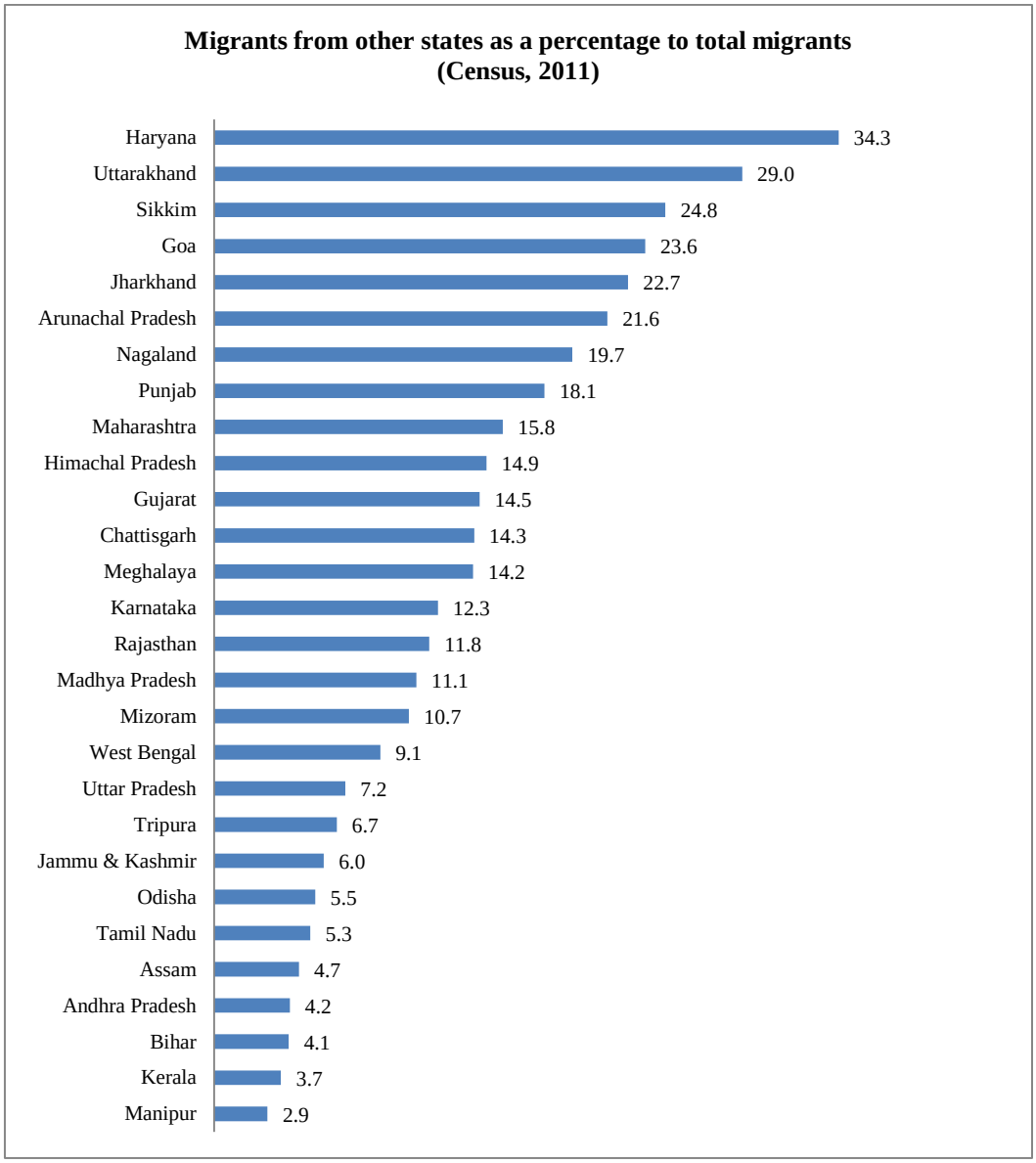
4.2 Extent of In-migration to Goa from other Indian States

Migration is an important choice made by many the world over in their quest for a better life. Within India, all types of migration, whether international or internal, show vast increases. Though international migration receives much attention from researchers, planners and policy makers, it is a fact that internal migration is far greater in volume than international migration and has turned out to be more useful in breaking the vicious circle of poverty for

the millions struggling to make ends meet. Within internal migration, intra-district and inter-district migration streams are the most commonly observed streams and grew at 45 per cent and 58 per cent respectively between the period of 2001 and 2011 respectively. Between the 1991 and 2001 Census period, the corresponding figures were 33 per cent and 30 per cent respectively. On the other hand, in case of inter-state migration, between 1991 and 2001 Census, the number of inter-state migrants grew at 55 per cent but it came down to 33 per cent between 2001 and 2011. It however increased in absolute numbers over the period from 27.3 million inter-state migrants to 42.3 million in 2001 and 56.3 million in 2011. The four states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh together accounted for 50 per cent of India's total inter-state migrants whereas Maharashtra, Delhi, Gujarat, UP and Haryana housed 50% of the country's inter-state migrants.

Goa's population is 14, 58,545, according to the 2011 Census. Out of this, 11, 40,690 persons have been classified as migrants on the basis of place of last residence, i.e., 78.2 per cent of the Goan population. Of this, 98.4 per cent are internal migrants and 1.3 per cent is international migrants. It should be noted that 0.2 per cent comes under the category 'unclassified'. Of the internal migrants, 76 per cent are migrants within Goa and 24 per cent are migrants from beyond the state of Goa. Of the migrants whose place of last residence is beyond the state of enumeration, i.e., Goa, it is observed that 52.1% are males and 47.9 per cent are females. When these migrants from other states are measured as a percentage to the total population of Goa, the figure stands at 18.5 per cent. In other words, one in 5 persons in Goa may be of non-Goan origin.

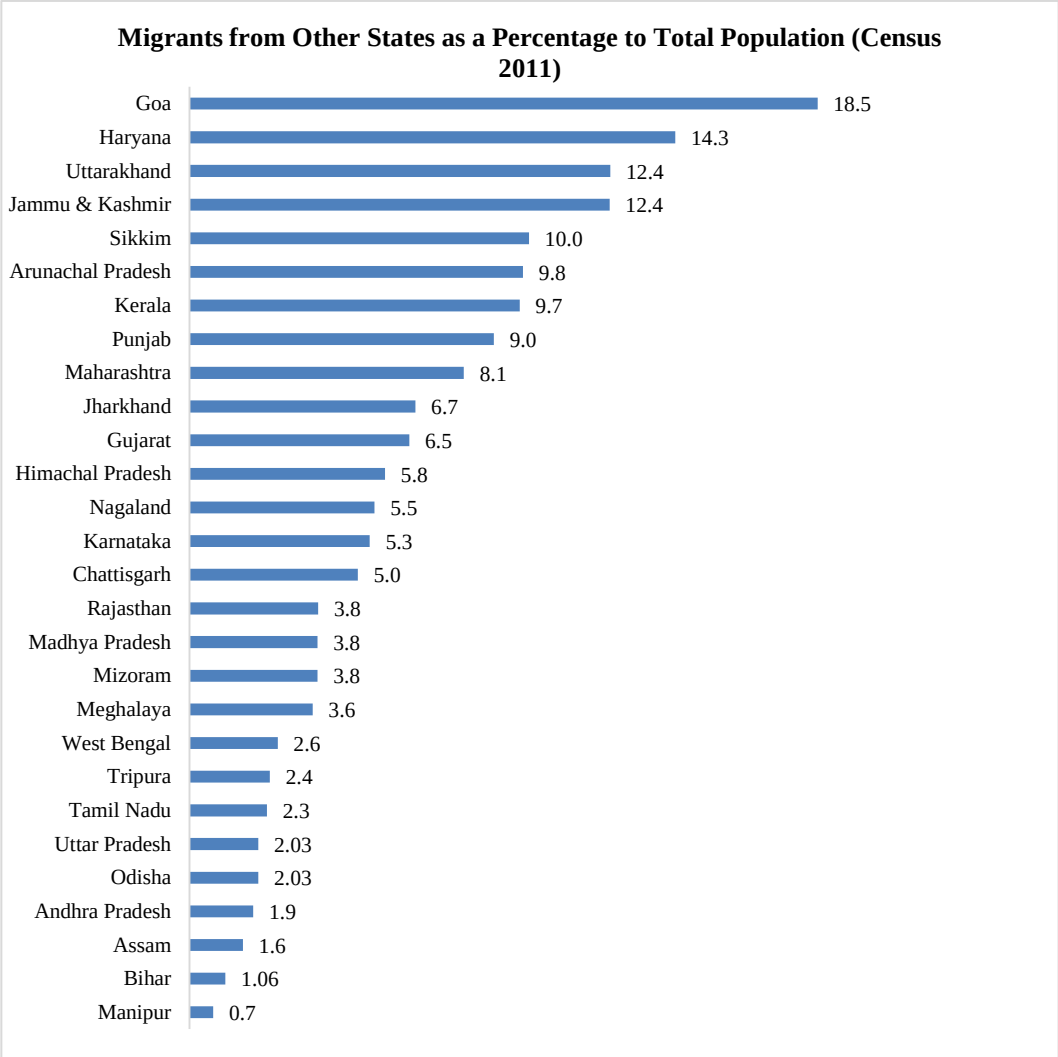
Figure 4.1: Migrants from other states as a percentage to total migrants



Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

As seen in Fig. 4.1, in case of migrants from other states measured as a percentage to total migrants, the state of Goa at 23.6% is preceded only by the states of Haryana, Uttarakhand and Sikkim. Compared to Haryana, the state with the highest percentage, Goa's figure is lesser by about 10%. On the other hand, for the bottom five states, the corresponding figures are below 5%. This brings out the importance of inter-state migration for the state.

Figure 4.2: Migrants from other states as a percentage to total population



Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

It is observed from Fig. 4.2, that Goa tops the list of states when migrants from other states are measured as a percentage to total population. This is of particular significance to the state given its small size and high density of population. It is pertinent to point out here that the corresponding figures for the bottom 13 states is less than five per cent and for Mizoram, the state with the lowest percentage, it is less than 1 per cent. This brings out the significance of migration in Goa and its implications for planning and policy making. It is therefore essential to understand the growth of migration to Goa from other Indian states.

Table 4.1: Volume of Migration from other States to Goa

Census Year	Number	Percentage to Total Migration	Percentage to Total Internal Migration	Percentage to Total Population
1971	105269	29.1	30.2	13.2
1981	157481	31.5	32.3	15.6
1991	155576	29.2	30.1	13.3
2001	228869	29.1	29.5	17.0
2011	269689	23.6	24.0	18.5

Source: Census Reports and author's calculations based on Census Data

Table 4.1 shows the extent of migration from other states to Goa. In terms of absolute numbers, it is observed that the volume of migration has more than doubled from 1971 to 2011, from 1, 05,269 in 1971 to 2, 69, 689 in 2011. In the year 1991, there was a slight dip in the numbers, following which it once again increased. In case of migration from other states as a percentage to total migration, it may be seen that with the exception of 1981, it was around 29 per cent for the other years. In 2011, the percentage share came down to 23.6 per cent. As a percentage to total internal migration, it stood at 24 per cent which means that migration from within the state, both intra-district and inter-district, continues to remain the dominant stream and stood at 76 per cent in 2011. However, when migration from other states is computed as a percentage to total population, it is found that it has been growing continuously except for a fall in 1991. It stood at 18.5 per cent in 2011. This may explain in part, the growing insecurity of locals towards non-Goans.

4.3 Proportion of Male-Female Migration

An interesting feature that emerges from the Census data on migration is that for the state of Goa, the proportion of male migrants is higher than the proportion of female migrants. According to Census 2011, the proportion of male migrants was 52.1% while that of female migrants was 47.9% for Goa whereas the corresponding figures for the country as a whole were 44% and 56% respectively. Further, it is pertinent to note that the number of male migrants has always been higher than that of female migrants for Goa. This is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Male and Female Migrants to Goa

Year	Males		Females	
	Number	%	Number	%
1971	57751	54.9	47518	45.1
1981	81967	52.0	75514	48.0
1991	79498	51.1	76078	48.9
2001	122365	53.5	106504	46.5
2011	140457	52.1	129232	47.9

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

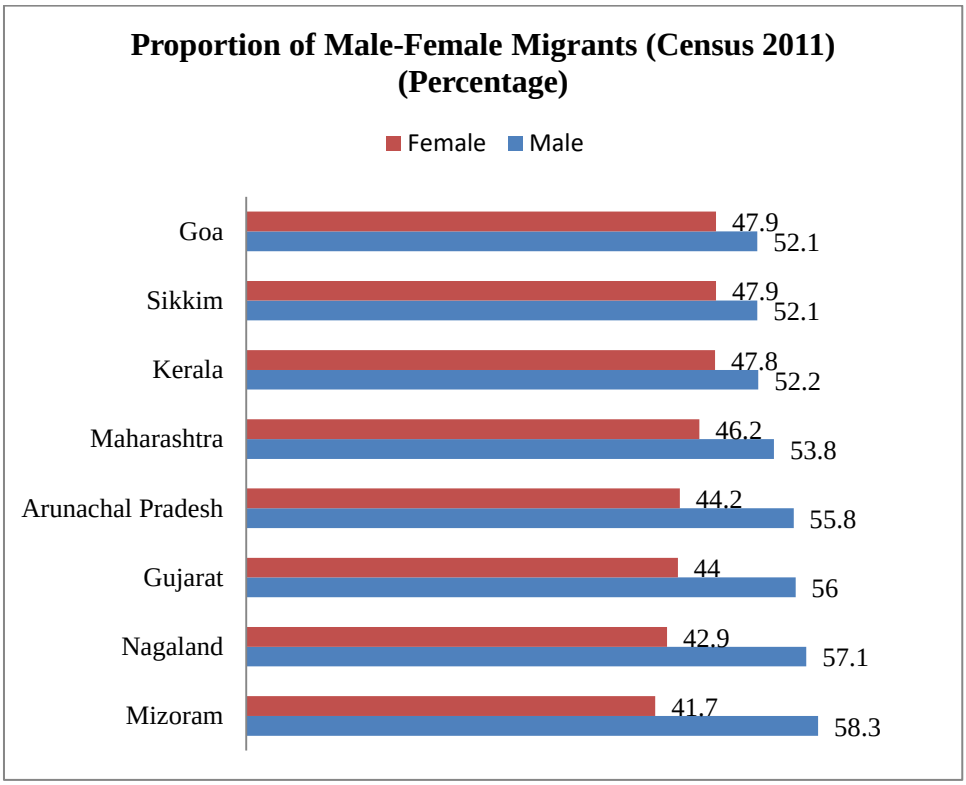
From Table 4.2, it may be noted that though the figures for both males and females have been fluctuating over the years, proportion-wise, males have always been higher than females. Compared to 1971, when male migrants were nearly 55% and female migrants only 45%, the gap has narrowed down and in 2011, male migrants comprised 52% and female migrants, nearly 48%, of total migrants. The gap was narrowest in 1991 but increased again in 2001. In 2011, the proportion of male migrants dipped slightly but continued to be higher than that of females.

It is important to point out here that for the country as a whole and for most other states, the proportion of female migrants is higher than that of male migrants. In fact, Goa is one among only eight other states that have a higher proportion of female migrants. The other states are namely: Mizoram, Nagaland, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Arunachal Pradesh, Kerala and Sikkim. Hence it will be interesting in trying to understand the factors that would explain this phenomenon.

Figure 4.3 illustrates the male-female percentages for the eight states that have a higher proportion of male migrants to that of female migrants. It is observed that four of the states are in the North-Eastern region of the country. Perhaps because of frequent ethnic conflicts which require the presence of the army and special laws applicable to this region, there may be social restrictions in case of mobility for women. On the other hand, Gujarat and Maharashtra are among the top industrialised states in the country. This implies that there may be plenty of job opportunities available here for both, highly skilled and low skilled

workers and these opportunities are generally availed more by the men folk. Kerala and Goa consistently perform well on human indicators of development. These two states also have a high rate of out-migration to foreign countries. This may throw open various employment opportunities for people from other parts of the country as local labour needs to be supplemented by migrant labour.

Figure 4.3: Proportion of Male-Female Migrants



Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

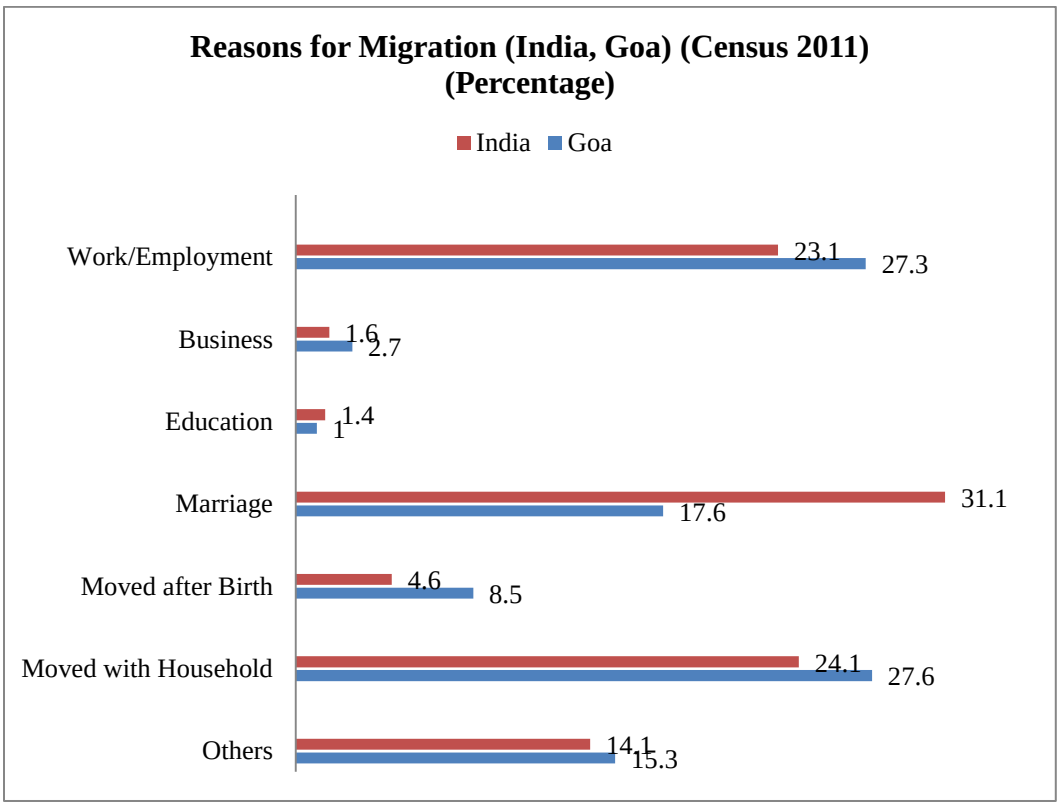
4.4 Reasons for Migration

Given the fact that Goa is among few states with a higher proportion of male migrants as compared to female migrants, it follows that there may be distinct trends observed in the reasons for migration to Goa as compared to the country as a whole. In order to analyse these trends, first a comparison is made between the reasons for migration for India vis-a-vis the reasons for migration to Goa.

It is seen from Figure 4.4 that for India as a whole, marriage is the single-most important reason for migration at 31.1%. On the other hand, for Goa this figure is at 17.6% only. 'Moved with household' is the most important reason for migration in Goa at 27.6%,

followed closely by ‘work/employment’ at 27.3%. In fact if work/employment and business are combined, the relevant figure is 30% for Goa and 24.7% for India. This implies that marriage is not a very significant factor affecting migration to Goa, unlike India and most other states. On the other hand, economic reasons seem to comprise an important pull factor influencing migration to Goa. Further, it also means that there will be quite distinct features in the reasons for migration among the males and females.

Figure 4.4: Reasons for Migration (All-India and Goa, 2011 Census)

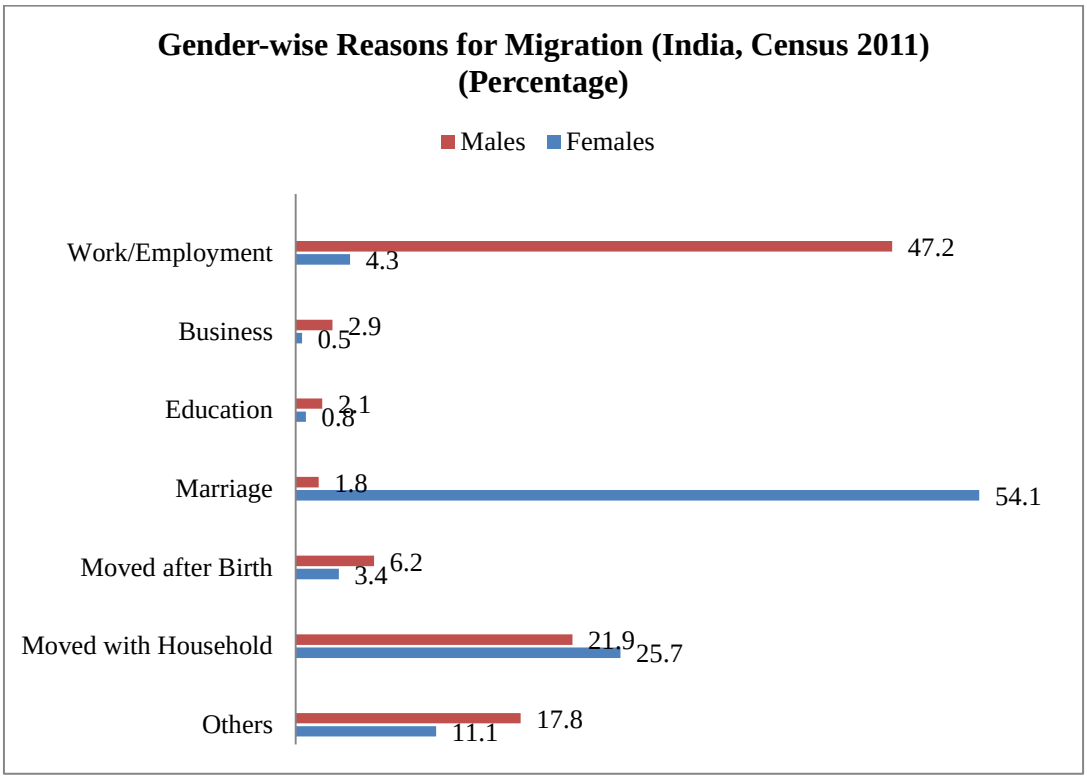


Source: Author’s calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

When these reasons are analysed separately for men and women, there emerges a gendered pattern in migration as can be seen in Fig. 4.5. For India as a whole, the figures show that the single most important reason for male migration is work/employment whereas for females, it is marriage. While 47.2% males move for employment purposes, only 4.3% females move for work. This is very disheartening as it shows that there is little agency exhibited by women in migration decisions. On the other hand, while 54.1% women move due to marriage, the corresponding figure for men is less than 2%. The second most important reason for migration for both men and women is ‘moved with household’. Here the percentage is higher for women at 25.7 as compared to men at 22%. While 6.2% males ‘moved after birth’, only

3.4% females did so for the same reason. 'Others' constitute the third highest reason for migration among both men and women. The percentage for men is higher at 17.8 as compared to women at 11.1%. What is discouraging is that migration for business is less than 3% for men and only 0.5% for women. Similarly, it is seen that very few in India migrate for the purpose of education, only 2.1% among males and 0.8% among females.

Figure 4.5: Gender-Wise Reasons for Migration for India (Census 2011)

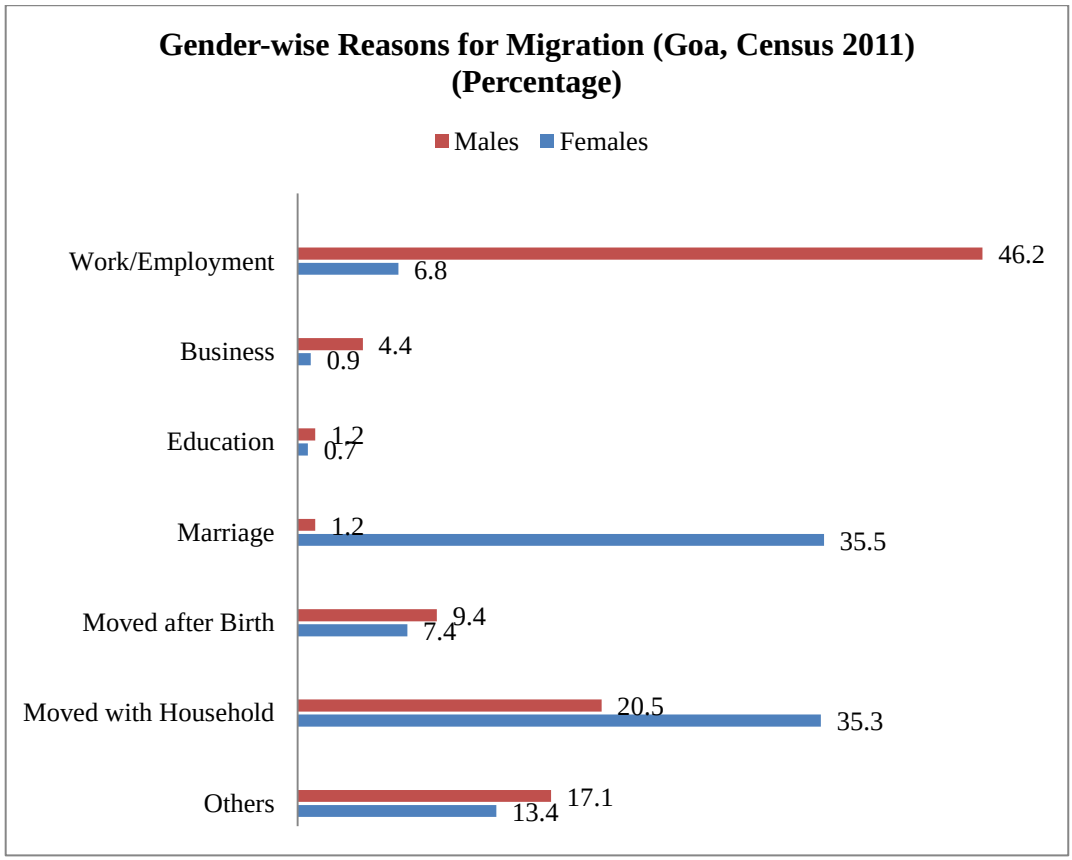


Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

From Fig. 4.6, it is seen that as in the case of all-India averages, for Goa too, distinct features in male-female migration are observed. Work is the most important reason for migration among men at 46.2%, less by 1% only compared to all-India figures. Though marriage is the single most important reason for migration among women in Goa too, the figures are much lower here. It is 35.5% only as compared to 54% at the national level. What is noteworthy is that the corresponding figure for men as far as marriage is concerned is 1.2%, lesser even than the national average of 1.8%. 'Moved with household' emerges as a close second reason for women in Goa at 35.3% whereas it is only 25.7% for all women in India, more by almost 10%. 'Others' is the third highest reason for both men and women at 17.1% and 13.4% respectively, more or less comparable to the all-India figures. 9.4% males and 7.4% females

'moved after birth'. The percentage share of migration for business is slightly better than the national averages at 4.4% and 0.9% for men and women respectively. Again, in the case of 'education', the figures are not encouraging with just 1.2% males and 0.7% females among all migrants coming to Goa for education. If Goa is serious about transforming to a knowledge economy, it needs to perform much better on this indicator. From attracting the best teaching talent from all over the country to establishing and managing institutions of higher learning and providing adequate infrastructure and support services like adequate transport and hostel facilities, there is much scope to increase these numbers.

Figure 4.6: Gender-Wise Reasons for Migration (Goa, Census 2011)



Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

An attempt has also been made to compare the reasons for migration among those eight states that have a higher proportion of male migration as compared to female migration from the rest of the country. The results are shown in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: Reasons for Migration (Census 2011) (In Percentage)

State	Work	Bus.	Edu.	Marr.	MaB*	MwH**	Others
Arunachal P.	36.4	7.1	1.1	14.2	1.5	25.3	14.4
Nagaland	30.5	10.1	2.7	14.6	1.1	24.1	16.9
Mizoram	28.6	3.6	0.5	16.5	5.1	26.3	19.4
Maharashtra	28.3	2.9	2.0	7.1	1.0	40.1	18.6
Kerala	30.7	1.5	1.3	20.9	7.8	20.9	16.9
Sikkim	23.6	1.3	1.5	18.6	9.0	29.5	16.5
Goa	32.0	4.7	2.7	24.7	1.9	16.4	17.7
Gujarat	27.3	2.7	1.0	17.6	8.5	27.6	15.3

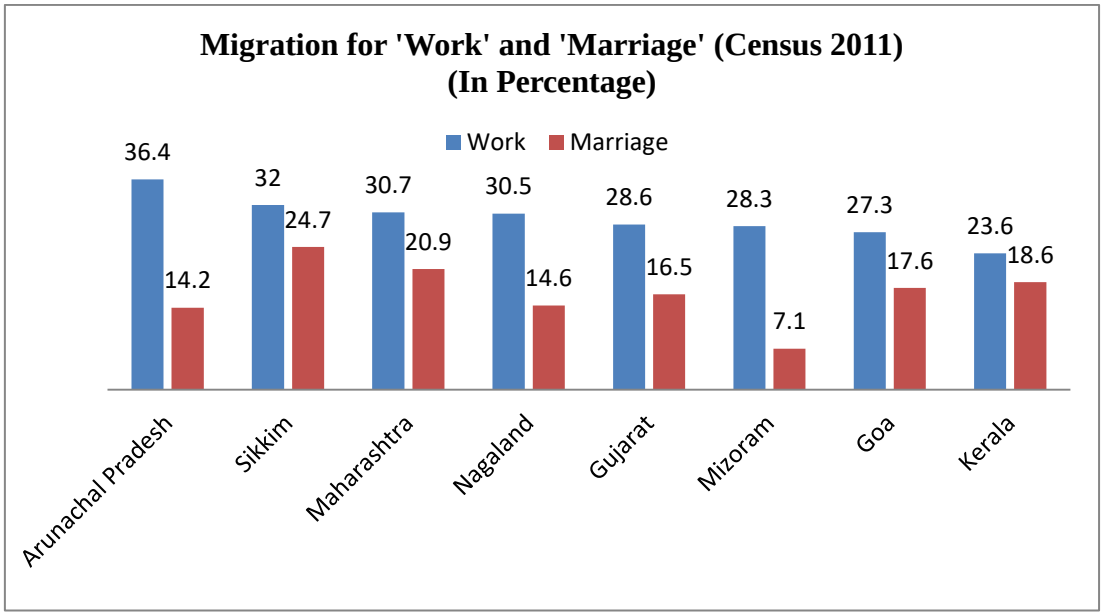
*MaB - Moved after Birth

**MwH - Moved with Household

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

It is observed from Table 4.3 that as male migration to these states is higher as compared to female migration, it naturally emerges that 'work/employment' emerges as a significant reason for migration. In fact, this is the single most important cause for migration in all but three states. Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Sikkim report work as the main cause for migration. In the case of Mizoram and Kerala, 'moved with household' is the main cause for migration. In case of Goa too, it is the same though at 27.6% it is only slightly higher than migration for work at 27.3%. For Mizoram and Kerala, 'work' comes at a clear second position. For the five states where work is the most important reason for migration, 'moved with household' is the second most important reason for moving. Another striking feature evident from the table is that 'marriage' as a cause of migration is not very significant and is less than 20% for all states with the exception of Sikkim and Maharashtra at 24.7% and 20.9% respectively. It is as low as 7.1% in Mizoram as compared to 31.1% for India as a whole.

Figure 4.7: Migration for Work and Marriage



Source: Author's calculations based on migration data from Census 2011

Figure 4.7 depicts the 'work-marriage' percentage share among the various causes for marriage. For all the eight states with a higher proportion of male migrants, it emerges that work/employment is a far more important cause for migration as compared to marriage. Though the percentage gap between the two reasons is higher for states like Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram and much lesser in the case of Kerala, what is noticeable is that for all these states, work is a far more significant driver of migration than marriage, in direct contrast to the scene at the all-India level and of other states with a higher proportion of female migrants.

Further, in order to analyse the differences in the motivations for migration among men and women, for the reasons 'work' and 'marriage', a gender-wise classification was made. Even a cursory glance at Table 4.4 reveals that the percentage share of 'work' for men is very high, more than 50% in case of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Maharashtra whereas in case of 'marriage', it is less than 2% for all states with the exception of Kerala where it is 5.8%. On the other hand, in case of women, migration for 'work' is less than 10% in case of all states except Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram whereas 'marriage' is a significant reason for migration. It is more than 50% in case of Sikkim and 14.6% in case of Mizoram. In case of Goa, while 46.2% males come here for employment purposes, less than 7% of women do so. On the contrary, while 35.5% of women come to Goa due to marriage, the corresponding

figure for men is 1.2%. This shows the gender disparity in migration drivers among men and women.

Table 4.4: Gender-wise Comparison of Migration for Work and Marriage (%)

State	Male		Female	
	Work	Marriage	Work	Marriage
Mizoram	41.1	1.8	10.4	14.6
Nagaland	46.3	0.8	9.5	33
Gujarat	47.8	0.8	4.4	36.4
Arunachal Pradesh	54.2	0.4	13.7	31.5
Maharashtra	51.9	1.4	5.9	43.7
Kerala	38	5.8	7.9	32.7
Sikkim	53.2	1.0	8.9	50.3
Goa	46.2	1.2	6.8	35.5

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

Table 4.5 shows the reasons for migration separately for males and females for the state of Goa for the period, 1981 to 2011. Data on reasons for migration started being collected only since 1981. In 1981, information was not collected under the category, 'business'. It is assumed that these figures were collated under the category of 'work/employment' itself as the numbers were so negligible that a separate category was not felt necessary. Also in 1981 and 1991, there was a single category 'family moved' which was subsequently further divided into 'moved after birth' and 'moved with household' since 2001. In the above table, the figures under these two categories have been summed up and presented under 'moved with household' for 2001 and 2011. An interesting point is that in 1991, information was also collected under the heading, 'natural calamities like drought, etc'. This data is not available prior to 1991 and thereafter. Hence the figures here have been added to that in 'others' for the year 1991. However given the looming threat of climate change and its serious consequences for mankind, especially for those in the developing countries, there is an urgent need to once again introduce this category. It will provide credible data on the volume of displacement of humans on account of adverse climatic effects on agriculture in particular, and life in general.

Table 4.5: Gender-wise Reasons for Migration (Goa) (In Percentage)

Reason for Migration	1981		1991		2001		2011	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Work/ Employment	47.6	8.3	39.7	7.0	54.8	9.1	46.2	6.8
Business	-	-	13.5	2.7	3.4	0.4	4.4	0.9
Education	2.9	1.8	2.3	1.2	1.1	0.5	1.2	0.7
Marriage	0.3	27.6	0.5	35.2	0.3	35.4	1.2	35.5
Moved with Household	27.2	45.9	26.9	40.4	27.6	43.5	29.9	42.7
Others	22.0	16.4	17.1	13.5	12.8	11.1	17.1	13.4

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

What stands out is that for the period, 1981 to 2011, 'work/employment' remains the single most important cause for migration among men coming to Goa from other states. The second important reason for movement among men is 'moved with household', followed by 'others'. An important feature that stands out is that migration for 'business' was as high as 13.5% in 1991 but subsequently registered a 10 percentage point fall in share to 3.4% in 2001. Thereafter it increased by 1% and stood at 4.4% in 2011. Migration for education has always been low in Goa, in keeping with the trend at the national level as also in case of other states. But what is disappointing is that the figures have fallen continuously since 1981 to 2001 from 2.9% to 1.1% and reported a marginal increase in 2011 to 1.2%. Hence it may be concluded that the main reason for migration among men coming to Goa are economic compulsions as 'work/employment' remains the primary motive.

Among females, the main cause for migration is 'moved with household', a distinct contrast to the national trend of 'marriage' being the main push factor for female migration. From 45.9% in 1981 to 42.7% in 2011, though there have been ups and downs seen in this category, 'moved with household' continues to remain the single most important reason for migration among women. This is followed by 'marriage' at second position. Since 1991, the percentage share of women coming to Goa from other states due to marriage has hovered around 35%. Thus social reasons seem far more important in the migration experiences of women as against men where economic reasons stand out as the main inducement to migrate. More than two-thirds of women who came to Goa during the same period have done so either because they came here along with their family or because the men they married were

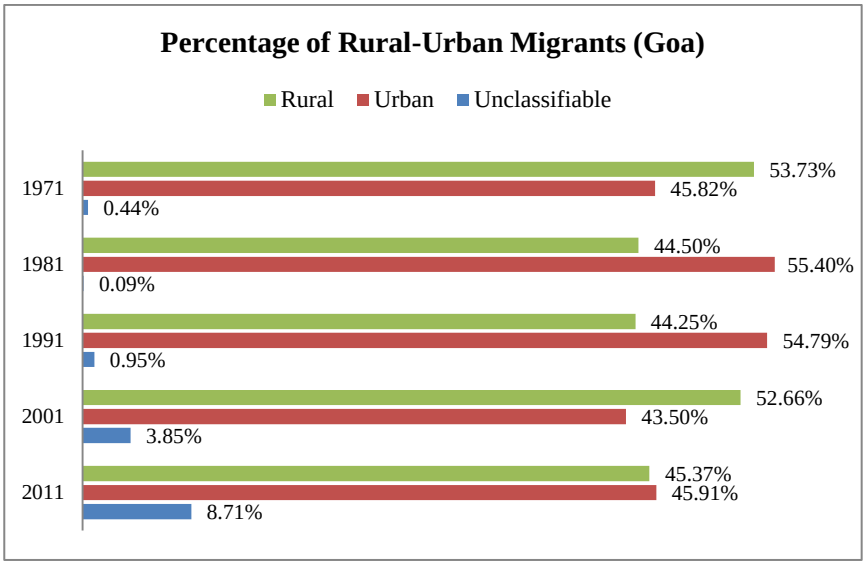
working here. This leads us to conclude that women migrate not because they choose to do so but because they have to. There may not be much exercise of agency exhibited in their migration decision. 'Others' constitute a distant third reason for migration among women. Less than 10% females have come to Goa for 'work/employment' during the period 1981 to 2011. From 8.3% in 1981, it stands at 6.8% only in 2011. This testifies to the national trend of falling labour force participation rates among females. The figures are even more depressing in case of migration for 'business'. The percentage share fell from 2.7% in 1991 to just 0.9% in 2011. In case of migration for 'education', the scene is dismal with 1.8% females coming to Goa for education in 1981 to just 0.7% females citing it as the reason for moving here in 2011.

Table 4.5 thus brings out the important features that distinguish the motives for migration among men and women coming to Goa from other states of the country.

4.5 Rural-Urban Migrants

In spite of growing hostility towards migration, it remains a fact that the volume of migration is continually increasing, both at the national level and at the international level. In order to frame appropriate policies that will ensure that migration is a win-win situation, both for the native region and the host region, it is important to understand migration flows and then take effective action to regulate these flows. One way to better understand the migration phenomenon is to analyse the origins of the migrant and the trends therein. The reasons for migration, duration of stay, literacy levels of the migrant, skill levels, their contribution to the host region, etc. will be determined, in part, by where they come from and what their expectations are. If it is felt that the process of development will be meaningful if individuals have the opportunity to be gainfully employed in their own place of origin without having to move out in search of employment, it is imperative that governments at all levels, national, state and local, should frame appropriate policies and devise suitable strategies to make all parts of the country, economically viable and self-reliant. However, over time, the goal of self-reliance has been forsaken for greater interdependence among regions.

Figure 4.8: Rural-Urban Migration to Goa



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

From Fig. 4.8, it is evident that there is no distinct trend that emerges as far as the rural-urban origins of the migrants are concerned. Of the total migration to Goa from the rest of India, it is observed that 53.7% of the migrants came from rural areas and only 45.8% came from urban areas in the year, 1971. In the subsequent decade, the exact opposite was witnessed with the majority of the migrants coming from the urban areas, 55.4%, whereas only 44.4% migrants were from the rural areas. In 1991 too, a similar pattern was observed with 54.7% migrants from urban areas and 44.3% from the rural areas. Then in 2001, this pattern was reversed and the figures were somewhat similar to those that existed in 1971. Once again, rural migrants (52.7%) exceeded urban migrants (43.5%). In 2011, the proportion of rural and urban migrants was more or less similar at 45.3% and 45.9% respectively.

What is interesting is that the proportion of unclassifiable migrants has been steadily increasing since 1971. It was less than 1% from 1971 to 1991. It rose from 3.9% in 2001 to 8.7% in 2011. Various studies on internal migration in India point out that short term migration streams are presently more prevalent 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 and accuracy. It may imply that for the poor masses, there is no permanent place to call home and that they move according

to season and availability of jobs resulting in multi-local, multiple livelihoods, denoting a higher degree of vulnerability both in employment and residence.

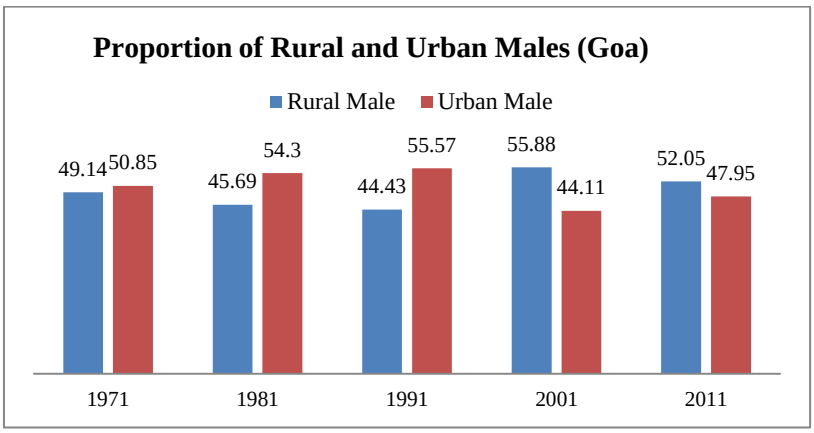
Table 4.6: Proportion of Rural-Urban Male-Female Migrants

Year	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
1971	26.97%	27.00%	27.81%	18.22%
1981	22.72%	21.82%	29.31%	26.15%
1991	22.69%	21.99%	28.38%	26.94%
2001	29.88%	24.89%	23.58%	21.65%
2011	27.10%	22.61%	24.96%	25.33%

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

Table 4.6 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 were the highest in 1971, in 2011, rural males were the highest in number. On the other hand, while rural females were higher in 1971, in 2011, the percentage of urban females was higher.

Figure 4.9: Rural-Urban Males



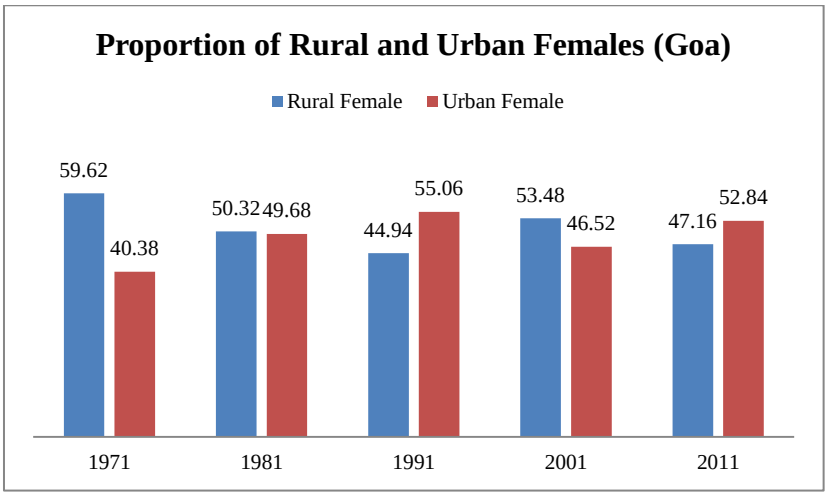
Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

In 1971, the proportions of rural and urban men were 49.1% and 50.9% respectively. While the proportion of urban males showed a rising trend till 1991, it fell by more than 10 percentage points in 2001 at 44.1% from 55.6% in the previous decade. It exhibited a slight increase in 2011 and stood at 48%. On the other hand, while the percentage of rural males fell continuously till 1991 from 49.1% to 44.4%, 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 number of urban males. This may be interpreted as a rise in rural distress over the past three decades. Non-

remunerative prices in agriculture, ever-decreasing size of land holdings and drought conditions may force people to seek jobs in the non-agricultural sector. Many of them come to Goa for employment in the construction industry. When we look at the overall rural-urban migrants, there does not seem to be a significant difference in the proportions of the two in 2011. However when only males are taken into account, it is noticed that rural males outnumbered urban males in 2011. This has been illustrated in Figure 4.9.

In case of female migration, it is observed from Fig. 4.10 that rural females comprised nearly 60% of all women migrants in 1971. This figure fell sharply during the next two decades to 50.3% and 44.9% respectively. It saw a subsequent rise in 2001 to 53.5%. However in 2011, it further fell to 47.2%. In case of urban women, their percentage share increased continuously from 40.4% in 1971 to 55.1% in 1991. However in 2001, it fell by nearly 10 percent to 46.5%. But it once again increased in 2011 to 52.8% and is higher than that of rural women.

Figure 4.10: Rural-Urban Females



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data

Previously, when the reasons for migration were analysed, it was clear that the two major reasons for women migration to Goa from other states is 'moved with household' and 'marriage', both of which may see minimal exercise of agency by the women in question. As families chose to come to Goa for various reasons, mainly economic compulsion, the females generally accompanied them and may not really have had much say either in the migration decision or in the choice of destination. Similarly, given the patriarchal nature of Indian society, it is unsure how many women had the freedom to choose their spouse as these decisions are generally made by the elders in the family, specially the male members. The

numbers of women coming to Goa for work/employment, business and education are woefully low. So unless these proportions change significantly, migration per se may not bring about much change in the woman's status quo.

From the above account, it is seen that though Goa is a small region, it still attracts a substantial number of migrants from other states, primarily for employment purposes. When the percentage of inter-state migrants to Goa is viewed as a percentage to total migrants and as a percentage to total population, it is observed that the figures are quite high as compared to other states in the country. At the same time, it must be remembered that Goa also records high out-migration. However net inflows are higher.

In spite of the important contribution that these migrants make towards the development of the Goan economy, there is a rising tide of hostility towards them among the natives. Thus it is imperative that government officials, planners and policy makers devise suitable policies that will make migration beneficial for all stakeholders, the migrants and their households, the host region and locals. The informal workers in Goa are usually migrant labour. They provide a vast pool of cheap labour and are in many ways, the backbone of the Goan economy. The government should ensure that adequate and affordable housing is made available to them. Safety and hygiene are also important considerations that need to be taken care of so that they are not to be looked at as carriers of disease and infections. There should also be efforts made to provide them with portable rights so that they are ensured of a decent standard of living. Additionally, Goa also attracts highly skilled and trained personnel in its research institutes, hospitals, the university and other institutions of higher learning. The state must make use of their expertise to take Goa into the next stage of economic transformation as a knowledge-based economy.

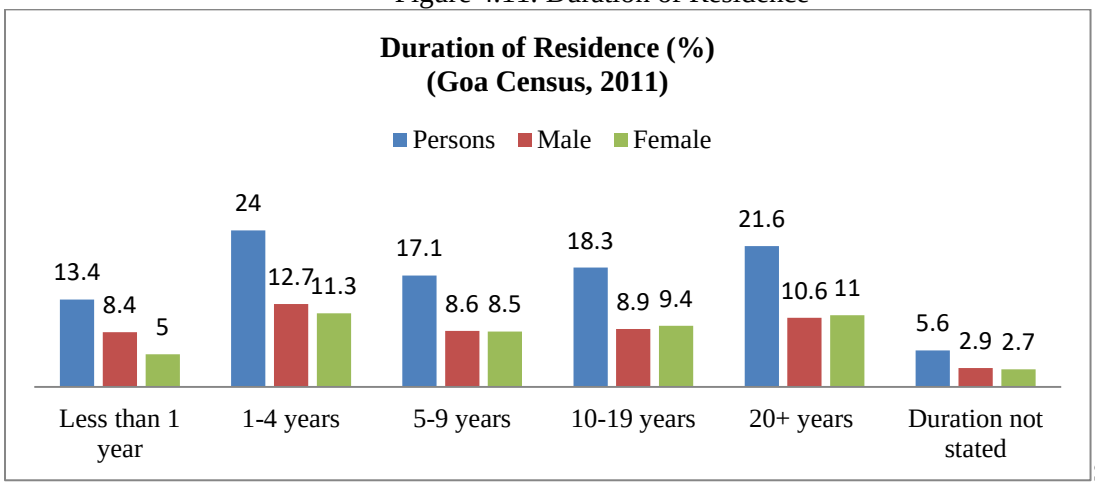
4.6 Duration of Residence

For a small state like Goa, it is essential to understand the duration of residence of migrants in the place of destination. The density of population is rising at an alarming rate in the state and influx of population through migration has the potential to change the demographic characteristics of the state. By studying the duration of residence, there can be an understanding of the length of stay of migrants and which type of migration is more prevalent, long-term or short-term. This in turn will help planners and policy makers to frame appropriate policies to deal with overcrowding and congestion and undue pressure on scarce resources.

The census collects data on duration of residence in the following categories: less than a year; 1-4 years; 5-9 years; 10-19 years; 20+ years and duration not specified. This information is useful to understand which stream of migration to the state, whether temporary, semi-permanent or permanent streams of migration are dominant.

From Figure 4.11, it is observed that 24% of migrants have been living in Goa for a period of 1-4 years. This is followed by 21.6% migrants stating the length of stay in Goa as more than 20 years, 18.3% migrants for a period of 10-19 years and 17.1% migrants for a period between 5 and 9 years. While 5.6% migrants did not state the duration of residence, only 13.4% migrants reported a stay of less than one year. Thus it is evident that while long-term migration is prevalent in the state, each year the inflows continue to grow as seen by the percentage of migrants in the 'less than a year' and '1-4 years' categories.

Figure 4.11: Duration of Residence



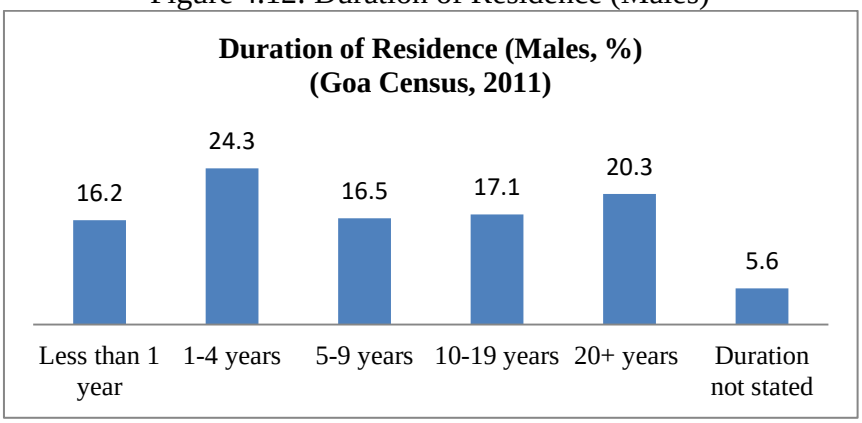
Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

When the duration of residence is analysed on the basis of gender, it is seen that the percentage of male migrants is higher in case of short durations whereas the percentage of female migrants is marginally higher in case of longer durations of stay. Since Goa has a higher proportion of male migrants as compared to female migrants and work/employment is the most important reason for migration, it seems safe to conclude that the flow of male migrants from other states coming here in search of gainful employment is growing steadily and the state must acknowledge that these short duration migrants may choose to stay on if they are satisfied with the work environment and living standards here.

The trends for male and female migrants are shown separately in Figures 4.12 and 4.13. Among the male migrants, 1-4 years of residence is the most observed as seen in Fig. 4.12

with 24.3% of total male migrants included in this category. This is followed by 20.3% males reporting more than 20 years of stay. There are somewhat similar percentages recorded of males in the 'less than 1 year' (16.2%) and '5-9 years' (16.5%) categories. 17.1% males belong to the '10-19 years' category. The state has to be prepared for the possibility that migrants who come for a short duration may, over time, choose to stay here for a longer duration. This has important implications for the use of resources like land, housing, public amenities as also for aggregate demand levels which in turn will affect the general price level and cost of living in the state. The state will have the difficult problem of finding a suitable medium between having a vast pool of labour resources to meet the needs of a growing economy and ensuring that the goal of sustainability is not sacrificed to achieve short term goals.

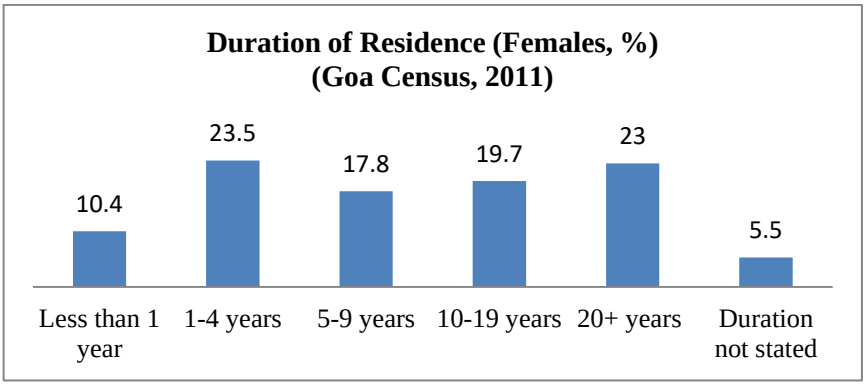
Figure 4.12: Duration of Residence (Males)



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

In case of females too, the trend is the same as observed in case of males, with the highest streams being for 1-4 years, followed by 20+ years. In case of women migrants, it is seen from Fig. 4.13 that the two most dominant durations of stay are 1-4 years (23.5%) and 20+ years (23%). This is followed by 10-19 years (19.7%) and 5-9 years (17.8%). Then comes 'less than one year' (10.4%) and duration not stated (5.5%). In case of women migrants too, it is noted that the tendency is to stay for longer durations here. This may be viewed as desirable or not, depending on the attitude of the state government. In case of long-term migration, the individuals will adopt the destination as their home and be committed towards the welfare of the state. A high proportion of floating population, on the other hand, may perhaps lead to issues of safety and security.

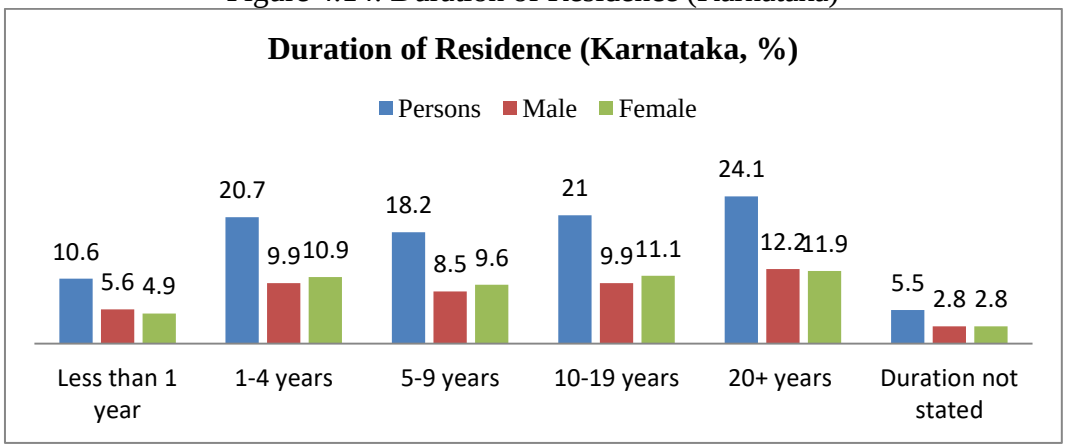
Figure 4.13: Duration of Residence (Females)



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

Duration of residence has been analysed separately in case of the top two sending states, Karnataka and Maharashtra, which according to Census 2011, together accounted for 70% of the total migrants from the rest of India to Goa. While Karnataka accounted for 43.3% of total migrants from other states, Maharashtra's share was 26.7%. This trend has been steady since 1971, when Maharashtra had a higher share at % and Karnataka was at second spot with %. Since distance seems to be an important determinant in the choice of destination, it would be interesting to see whether these migrants come to Goa for a short duration of time or whether they intend to make it their permanent residence.

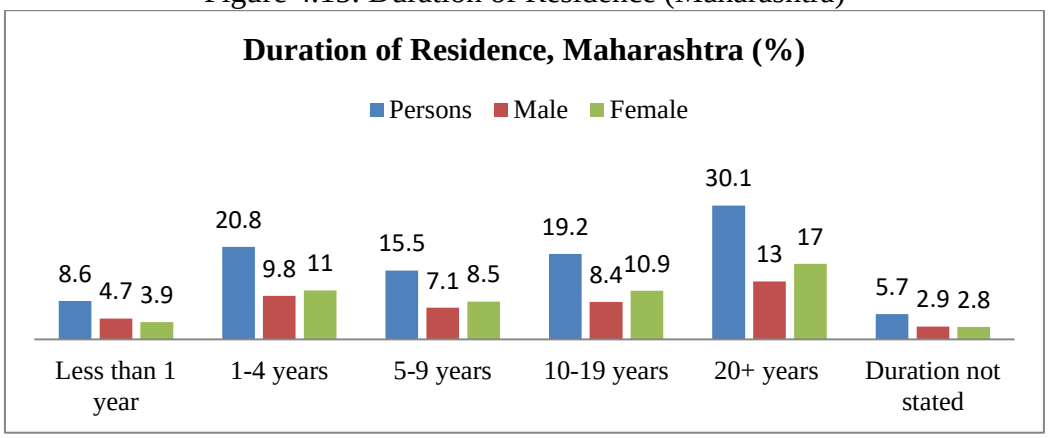
Figure 4.14: Duration of Residence (Karnataka)



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

In case of Karnataka, as seen in Figure 4.14, 24.1% of the total migrants have been living in Goa for more than 20 years. This reflects the fact that Goa is a preferred destination for many people in Karnataka for the long-term. It is indicative of the fact that people's expectations have been fulfilled and that Goa offers them a good quality of life.

Figure 4.15: Duration of Residence (Maharashtra)



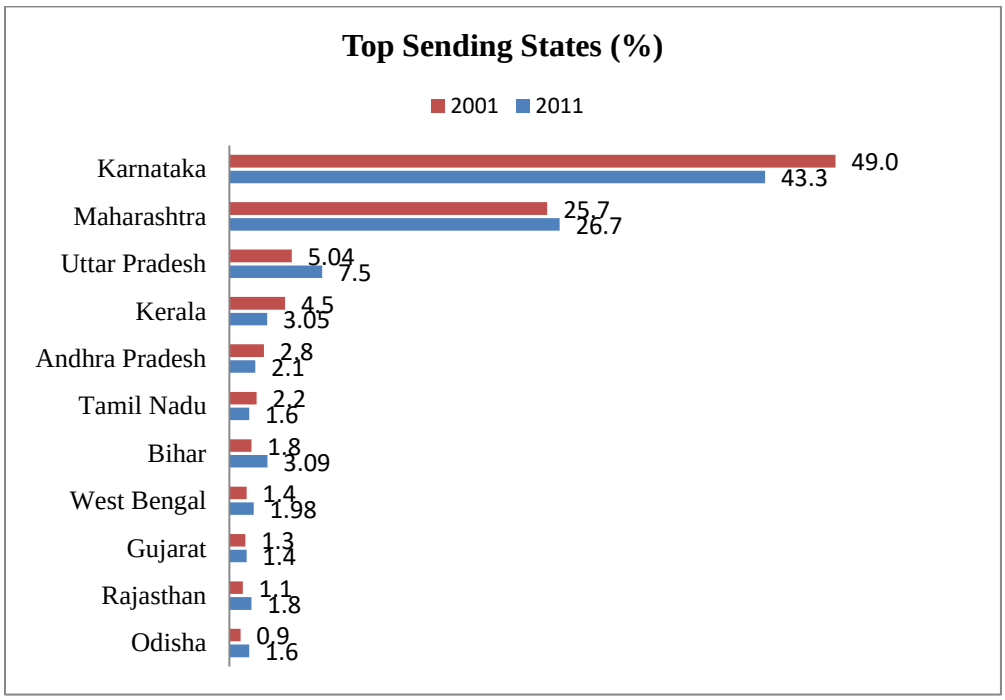
Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

As seen with Karnataka, Figure 4.15 shows that in case of Maharashtra too, the highest percentage of migrants to Goa (30.1%) has resided here for more than 20 years. 20.8% stated that they have lived here for a duration of 1-4 years, 19.2% have spent between 10 to 19 years and 15.5% have been in Goa for 5 to 9 years. 8.6% migrants from Maharashtra have been here for less than a year. This again has important policy implications as it is apparent that long-term migration seems to be more popular.

4.7 Top Sending States

While studying the features of migration to Goa from the rest of India, it is quite important to look at which are the major sending states. The trends seen in the volume of migration from different states across the country gives us important information about the migration flows from various parts of the country. It is unsurprising to note that Karnataka and Maharashtra are the two major sending states to Goa. These are the states which share common borders with Goa and as postulated in migration theory, prove that distance is an important determinant of migration flows. As seen in Fig. 4.16, while these two states accounted for 75% of total migrants to Goa in 2001, their share came down to 70% in 2011.

Figure 4.16: Top Sending States for Goa



Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

In the year 2001, the top five states, i.e. Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, together accounted for 87% of the total migrants in Goa. In the year 2011, the top five states comprising of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala sent 83.6% of Goa's migrants from other states. It is seen that Goa is a popular destination among the Southern states. However, the share of all these states came down in 2011 as compared to 2001. While Karnataka remains the top sending state, its share came down from 49% to 43.3%. Gujarat was in 9th place in 2001 but went down to 11th place in 2011. On the other hand, Odisha which was at 11th spot in 2001 came up to the 9th spot in 2011. The share

of states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Odisha has gone up during the same period. This implies that Goa is now becoming an attractive destination for workers from North India. Thus as migrants from traditional states are going down, migrants from other new states are showing an increase.

Table 4.7 presents the percentage shares of the states of Karnataka and Maharashtra for the period 1971 to 2011.

Table 4.7: Extent of Migration from Maharashtra and Karnataka

Census Year	Maharashtra	Karnataka	Total
1971	45.3%	28.4%	73.7%
1981	37.3%	39.6%	76.9%
1991	32.7%	49.2%	81.9%
2001	25.7%	49.0%	74.7%
2011	26.7%	43.3%	70.0%

Source: Author's calculations based on Census Data, 2011

From Table 4.7, it is evident that the highest number of migrants to Goa comes from Karnataka and Maharashtra. While Maharashtra was the top sending state in 1971, in subsequent periods, it was Karnataka that was the top sending state. Though their combined shares touched an all-time high in 1991 at 82%, it came down thereafter. From 74.7% in 2001, it stood at 70.0% in 2011. In spite of their share declining over time and new states emerging as important sending states, it is undeniable that these two states continue to retain their position as the top two sending states for Goa.

4.8 Summary

Migration is a very important facet of the Goan economy. The figures show that the proportion of migration is much higher in Goa than that for the country as a whole as well as for most other states. While 37.6% of India's population are classified as migrants, in Goa it is 78.2%. In Goa, migration within the state shows the highest proportion at 74.7%. This is followed by migration from out of state at 23.6% and finally migration from other countries is just 1.7%. As a percentage to total population, migrants from outside states are 18.5%, the highest percentage recorded by any state in the country. Though migration from other states has more than doubled in 2011 since 1971, in percentage terms, its share has declined.

Another important feature is that for Goa, the number of male migrants is higher than that of female migrants. This in turn has implications on the reasons for migration. While marriage is the most important reason for migration at the national level, in case of Goa, economic reasons for migration, i.e. work/employment and business form the main reason. Rural migrants were higher than urban migrants in 1971 but by 2011 both were more or less similar with urban migrants being marginally higher than rural migrants. While most of the migrants have resided in the state for a period of 1-4 years, the percentages in the longer periods, more than 5 years, is quite high. This indicates that long term migration streams are popular in the state. At the same time, the figures in the 'less than one year' and '1-4 years' indicate that more and more migrants are entering the state each year. Finally, it is noteworthy that the two major sending states, Karnataka and Maharashtra, together account for 70% of total migrants in Goa from the rest of India. While the number of migrants from the Southern states shows a decline over time, those from Northern states have been increasing.

CHAPTER V: DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

5.1 Introduction

The gravity model as an analytical tool for understanding migration flows between regions was popularly used in the previous century. These studies were innovative as the concept of applying a law of physics to the study of human movements between any two regions was unheard of till then. The law of gravity established by Newton in 1687 now had a novel application in migration studies and came to be known as 'the law of spatial interaction in human behaviour'.

That internal migration flows have properties similar to the law of gravity was first confirmed by Ravenstein as far back as in 1885. However this is not to say that population movements operate literally as stated by the gravity law in physics. In a study on inter-city movement of people in the U.S., Zipf (1946) found that these flows were negatively related to distance, rather than to distance squared. There is ample empirical evidence that conclusively establishes the fact that in any form of spatial interaction, whether migration, trade or exchange of any other kind, the flows are positively related to stocks whereas they are negatively related to distance. The importance of this application was underlined by Stewart (1950), when he established the "social physics" school.

According to Poot et al (2016), the success of this model in explaining the migration phenomenon is due to "its intuitive consistency with migration theories, ease of estimation in its simplest form and goodness of fit in most applications". However the 1980s witnessed a shift in approach as micro data analysis grew in popularity in migration studies. This trend gradually pushed out the gravity models of gross migration flows. Fortunately these models have had a successful revival with the increasing use of statistical theories in understanding spatial interactions.

The term 'migration' instantly conjures up a picture of at least two locations, the place of origin and the destination. There is a change in the individual's usual place of residence for a given period of time, which may differ from a purely temporary to a semi-permanent or permanent shift in residence. Thus while modelling migration it is essential that there must be at least two areas (Greenwood, 2005). The study may then be composed of various determinants of migration such as gravity variables, economic variables including labour market features and real estate variables as well as environmental and political variables.

According to Bunea (2012), “gravity models associate population sizes with positive influences and physical distance with negative influences”.

As gravity models continued to gain in popularity, economists began to introduce additional variables that influence the migration decision. These gravity models thus combine the macro approach that studies aggregate migration flows while also including variables that enable us to understand individual motivations for migration such as income differentials, unemployment rates at the two locations, the degree of urbanization, amenity variables such as climate, governance, taxes and public expenditure. Some models have been constructed by focusing on origin characteristics only such as median age or median number of years of schooling. This provides us with a better understanding of the characteristics of the migrants that are drawn from the native population.

Within a gravity model framework, the size of population of the respective locations and the distance between the two may be seen as the push-pull factors that guide migration. By adding socio-economic, environmental and other relevant demographic characteristics, the model may explain important secondary considerations that induce migration. This may be achieved by providing quantitative estimates of the importance or the lack of it, as the case may be, of the local characteristics that propel migration (Vanderkamp, 1977).

It is essential that the forces of attraction are relevant and remain reasonably constant so that they may be used for the purpose of forecasting flows. It has been shown that the gravity model is a suitable analytical tool in the study of internal migration as it fits the data very well. Hence it may be optimally used in sub-national population forecasting procedures. Further, its application is strengthened because though it is essentially a macro-economic approach that studies aggregate flows, it is possible to build the model on micro-economic foundations. When the worker is faced with a set of potential destination regions and differential wage rates, it is seen that migration flows are positively related to the size of the labour force in the home and host regions while being negatively related to the cost of migration from one to the other region (Poot, 1995).

According to Ramos (2016), gravity models of migration may be explained by constructing an appropriate random utility maximisation (RUM) model. An individual seeks to move to an alternative destination primarily because the utilities derived from living in different regions are different. Hence the decision to move will be preceded by a comparison of the utilities based on benefits and costs of the respective regions, i.e. the native region and the possible

destinations. Given that the individual is an economic migrant, an important comparison would be that of incomes, actual and potential, that exist at the origin and destination respectively. The greater the difference, the more attractive will be the destination. On the negative side, costs of moving due to distance and specific policies adopted by states and countries that hinder movement for employment have to be factored in. It is also important to understand that individual traits will determine the actual utility derived by the migrant, given his choice of destination.

It must be borne in mind that the RUM model does not consider the fact that the appeal of a particular destination may be affected over time by the process of migration itself. For example, in case of economic migrants, it may be safely assumed that a high unemployment rate at the origin will be an important push factor. And it naturally follows that the preferred destination will have higher employment potential. However if there are uncontrolled migrant inflows, it may have the effect of increasing unemployment at the destination in the future while the unemployment rate at the source region may actually decline.

Another important point to be considered is that the factors that influence the decision to move to a particular region/country may be different from the factors that affect the decision to continue to stay in that region. Hence it is essential that any analysis of migration within a gravity model framework should be based on 'dyadic data' that refer to the conditions that exist at the origin and at the destination.

With the growing popularity of gravity models as an analytical tool to explain gross bilateral flows, researchers keep including additional variables that seek to improve the explanatory and forecasting accuracy of these models. Improvement in the quality of data and availability of data over longer periods of time enables them to introduce dummy variables that account for the differences across regions.

An important drawback of the gravity model is the implicit assumption that costs are directly related to distance. This may not always be true as costs may sometimes be lesser while travelling to popular destinations situated further away from the origin compared to destinations located closer but which do not have established migration corridors. These factors have to be given due consideration while interpreting the results of the gravity models.

Migration in India is growing at a fast pace. Census records reveal that during the decade 1991 to 2001, labour migrants grew at an annual growth rate of 2.4 per cent. By the next decade, i.e. 2001 to 2011, this had increased to 4.5 per cent. Estimates according to a new cohort-based migration metric show that from 2001-2011, inter-state migrants grew between 5 to 6 million every year which means that India has about 60 million inter-state migrants and 80 million inter-district migrants which continues to remain the largest migration stream in the country. In order to calculate internal migration for work, railways data was used for the very first time for the period 2011-2016. According to these estimates, around 9 million people travel between states each year for employment purposes. Goa as a relatively developed state displays positive CMM values reflecting net in-migration.

According to Taldo (1970), "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things". There are various theories of migration that seek to explain the factors that influence the migration decision. Whether an individual moves before finding a job at the destination or he decides to move only after he has a secure job in hand, it stands to reason that he does some kind of a cost-benefit analysis, however rudimentary, and bases his decision on the expected outcome. The expected gains from moving should exceed the cost of moving making the decision a rational one. This assumes the availability of free and accurate information which may not always be the case. Information costs and lack of correct information may reduce the benefits from migration.

Whether the move was made due to economic considerations, social factors or political compulsions, or a combination of various factors, the individual/household will definitely take into account the employment potential, wage level and quality of life in the host region. This perhaps explains why migrants throng to certain regions that are characterised by high growth and high income. According to a World Economic Forum study, of the world's 100 fastest growing cities, 25 cities are in India and the reason for the growth is mainly attributed to rapid inter-state migration. Pune and Surat are counted among 22 of the most affected cities in Asia by in-migration. 58 per cent of Surat's population are migrants and it reported a floating population of 100,000 in 2015. Odisha alone sent 600,000 out-migrants to Surat to work in the textile and diamond industries. Over 55% of the population of Faridabad and Ludhiana comprise of migrants. It has been observed that migration is overtaking fertility as the main driver of population growth in some regions of the developing countries.

According to Census data, urban growth in India has been due to net rural-urban classification and rural to urban migration. For the first time in 2011, urban population registered a larger increase compared to the rural population increment. Not surprisingly, at the state level, economically better-off states like the Southern states including Goa, and Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Maharashtra show higher rates of urbanisation whereas Himachal Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Odisha and other backward states lag behind. It is no coincidence that states with high rates of urbanisation also have high rates of in-migration while the laggard states have high rates of out-migration.

Against this background, it will be examined whether the migrant flows between the places of origin and the place of destination (Goa) is directly related to the size of population of the origin state and inversely related to the distance between the two regions. The main objective here is to study the variables that may have influenced the choice of destination of the migrants from other states to Goa. Through a gravity model framework, determinants such as population, distance, GDP and literacy are examined for the role they played in influencing the choice of destination. According to migration data from Census 2011, the maximum number of migrants to Goa from other Indian states hails from the two states of Karnataka (116865) and Maharashtra (71943). These are states that share common borders with Goa highlighting the important role played by distance even today. The next important sending state is Uttar Pradesh (20136), the most highly populated state of India. This underlines the importance of population size in explaining aggregate migration flows.

The gravity models have been constructed using both, secondary data and primary data. The secondary data on migration flows have been sourced from Census Reports whereas the primary data has been collected through a field study that covered 423 respondents from different states of the country who came to Goa primarily for employment purposes.

5.2 Gravity Models based on Secondary Data

A traditional gravity model has been constructed with two independent variables: the size of population of the origin states and the distance from the origin to the destination. A log-log regression model has been used to test the various hypotheses. The dependent variable is the number of in-migrants to Goa from other Indian states. Population of the states has been derived from Census Reports and distance has been calculated as the distance between the capital of the respective states and Panjim, the capital of the state of Goa.

In order to study the effects of some determinants on gross migration flows, gravity models have been constructed. The hypotheses for these gravity models are given below:

1. Population: The effect of the size of population of the source state on migration outflows has been assessed. The hypothesis states that the volume of population of the source state is directly related to the quantum of migrant outflows, i.e., higher the population of a state, higher will be out-migration from the state.

2. Distance: In case of distance as a variable that affects the volume of migration, it is hypothesised that as distance between the place of origin and the destination increases, the extent of migration diminishes and vice-versa.

3. Literacy level: In this case, the hypothesis is that higher the literacy rate of a state, higher will be out-migration. It is assumed that higher educational attainment is associated with greater mobility as individuals aspire to fulfil their expectations of a well-paying job and show willingness to move to the region that offers them the best terms of work.

4. Gross domestic product of the state: As far as GDP of the source state is concerned, it is hypothesised that higher the GDP of a state, lesser will be out-migration. It is assumed that high growth rates will be accompanied by additional employment generation. Hence the local population will find suitable employment in their own home state and there is no need to move out in search of gainful employment.

5. Per capita net state domestic product: The gravity model is tested using per capita income in order to find out the correlation between income levels and out-migration. It is hypothesised that higher the NSDP per capita of the state, lesser will be the volume of out-migration. In this case the assumption is that people generally move out due to economic compulsions. If the individual is able to earn a decent wage/salary in his native place, there will be no incentive to move out in search of better employment prospects.

5.2.1 Data and Variables

The secondary data has been sourced from the Census Reports of India, 1971 - 2011. The Census collects information on migration on the basis of: A. Last residence elsewhere in India, and B. Last residence outside India. The former category is further split into: 1) within the state of enumeration and 2) states in India beyond the state of enumeration. The relevant data used for the gravity models is from A. 2).

Here, a traditional gravity model has been constructed using the independent variables of population and distance. The dependent variable is the number of migrants from the rest of India that came to Goa from elsewhere in India, i.e., those whose place of last residence is in a state in India beyond the state of enumeration, i.e. Goa. The data has been taken from the migration tables, specifically, Table D-3, Migrants by Place of Last Residence, Duration of Residence and Reason for Migration.

The size of population of the respective states is as per the data provided by the Census, 1971-2011. In case of distance, it has been calculated as the distance between the capital city of the respective states and the capital city of Goa, i.e., Panjim, expressed in kilometres as per Google maps. According to migration theory, it is expected that the extent of migration will be directly proportional to the size of population of the origin state and inversely proportional to the distance between the origin state and the destination state, Goa.

Gravity Models and Results:

Model 1: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{Population}_i + \beta_2 \ln \text{Distance}_i + u_i$

$\ln M_i$ = Log of immigrants from various states to Goa (as per Census data)

$\ln Pop_i$ = Log of population of other states

$\ln Dist_i$ = Log of distance of other states to Goa

It is hypothesised that population is positively related to migration and distance is negatively related to migration.

Hypothesis 1: Population

$H_o : \beta \leq 0$

$H_A : \beta > 0$

Hypothesis 2: Distance

$H_o : \beta \geq 0$

$H_A : \beta < 0$

A log-log regression analysis was run to test the hypotheses, the results of which are given below. This has been done separately for the different Census years in order to understand the changes in trends, if any. For instance, in case of distance, it can be gauged whether the importance of this determinant has been declining over time as improvements in transport technology make travel faster and more economical.

Table 5.1: Results of Gravity Model 1(Census, 1971)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	12.9971	3.93789	3.301	0.0029 ***
l_Population	0.675998	0.104136	6.492	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−2.38963	0.406208	−5.883	<0.0001 ***
Adjusted R-squared 0.818607				
F(2, 25) 61.92423				

It is seen from table 5.1 that the coefficients of population and distance are statistically significant at 1%. The sign of the coefficient of population is positive, indicating that higher the population of a state, higher will be out-migration from the state. On the other hand, the coefficient of distance has a negative sign. This implies that migration is greater over shorter distances than over long distances. This being a log-log model, it indicates that for a 1 per cent increase in population, migration increases by 0.68 per cent and for a 1 per cent increase in distance, migration falls by 2.39 per cent. R-square at 0.818 is good. It explains 82% variation in migration due to changes in population and distance. It may be implied that then transport facilities were not as adequate and affordable as it is today and hence distance was an important deterrent to migration in the 1960s.

Table 5.2: Results of Gravity Model 1(Census, 1981)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	7.12717	3.11746	2.286	0.0303 **
l_Population	0.880450	0.0920239	9.568	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−2.02814	0.335715	−6.041	<0.0001 ***
Adjusted R-squared 0.842019				
F(2, 27) 78.28320				

From Table 5.2, it is evident that again, the coefficients of population and distance are statistically significant at 1 per cent in both cases. The sign of the coefficient for population is positive, indicating that larger the volume of population of the home state, higher will be the out-migration. In the above case, it is observed that for a 1 per cent increase in population, migration increases by 0.88 per cent. This is higher than that of the previous decade. It may

perhaps signify that as populations of states start increasing, resources become scarce and opportunities within the state will be less than optimal. Hence migration may be seen as a viable alternative to ease the situation back home. In the case of distance, its coefficient is negative but at 2.03 per cent, it is marginally lesser than that in the previous decade. This implies that distance continues to discourage movement and people prefer to migrate in larger numbers over shorter distances. However the strength of distance as a deterrent seems to be waning. Adjusted R-squared at 0.842 is quite good. It explains 84 per cent variation in migration due to changes in population and distance.

Table 5.3: Results of Gravity Model 1(Census, 1991)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	1.54828	2.78395	0.5561	0.5827
l_Population	0.858078	0.0832877	10.30	<0.000 ***
l_Distance	−1.23487	0.297619	−4.149	0.0003***
Adjusted R-squared 0.830695				
F(2, 27) 72.14402				

Table 5.3 gives the findings from the migration data of Census 1991. It is seen that the coefficients of population and distance continue to be statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. Being a log-log model, it explains percentage changes in migration due to a one per cent change in population and distance. The signs of the coefficients of population and distance are as hypothesised, it is positive for population while it is negative in case of distance. When there is a one per cent increase in the size of population of a state, it increases migration by 0.86 per cent. There is a slight decline as compared to that in the previous decade. This may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the process of easing controls and regulations that began in the previous decade has resulted in more opportunities in the home state. In case of distance, it is observed that a one per cent increase in distance tends to reduce migration by 1.23 per cent. So while distance continues to have a dampening effect on movement, its negative force continues to diminish, implying that with improvements in transport and communication facilities, people do not consider it strong impediment to

movement. R-squared at 0.831 is good and explains 83 per cent of the variations in migration due to variations in population size and distance.

Table 5.4: Results of Gravity Model 1(Census, 2001)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	5.53431	3.31126	1.671	0.1066
l_Population	0.870867	0.0949371	9.173	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−1.74908	0.320698	−5.454	<0.0001 ***
Adjusted R-squared 0.863062				
F(2, 26) 89.23614				

Table 5.4 presents the findings of the estimated gravity model based on census data, 2001. The coefficients of both, population and distance are statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. The coefficient of population has the expected positive sign, showing that as the volume of population of a region increases, out-migration also increases correspondingly. In this case, a 1 per cent increase in population increases migration by 0.87 per cent, quite similar to that in the previous decade. As far as distance is concerned, its coefficient has a negative sign. It is seen that a one per cent increase in distance decreases migration by 1.75 per cent. This is slightly greater than that in the previous decade. Various field studies conducted in different states of the country point to the fact that people prefer to travel shorter distances in search of gainful employment. In fact, inter-state migration streams are much lower than intra-state migration flows. This may be interpreted as the preference of people to migrate to neighbouring states rather than distant states, given a choice and the availability of employment opportunities. R-squared at 0.863 is very good and explains 86 per cent variation in migration due to changes in the size of population and distance.

Table 5.5: Results of Gravity Model 1(Census, 2011)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	−0.662649	2.80035	−0.2366	0.8147
l_Population	0.983396	0.0840868	11.70	<0.0001***
l_Distance	−1.14885	0.297031	−3.868	0.0006 ***
Adjusted R-squared 0.855554				
F(2, 27) 86.88357				

From table 5.5, it is observed that the coefficients of population and distance are statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. The coefficient of population bears a positive sign. A one per cent increase in population brings about a nearly one per cent increase in out-migration (0.98%). This may be interpreted as the growing precariousness in employment. As systems of production and distribution change radically, old forms of employment may cease to exist. Perhaps, some groups of people may be more vulnerable than others, leaving them with no choice but to migrate in search of greener pastures. On the other hand, though the coefficient of distance still has a negative sign, its importance has declined by quite an extent. A one per cent increase in distance reduces migration by 1.15 per cent only. The corresponding figure in 1971 was 2.39 per cent. It may be predicted that as time passes and advances in transport and communication translate into more affordable options and quicker travel, distance will cease to be an important deterrent to migration. There may be other factors that negatively affect migration over long distances like differences in language, food, climate, customs and religious practices and covert and overt policies of state governments to prevent in-migration that may continue to make migration over long distances unattractive as compared to nearby regions where the differences may not be as sharp. Adjusted R^2 at 0.855 is quite good and explains 86 per cent variations in migration due to changes in size of population and distance.

Table 5.6: Results of Gravity Model 1(Pooled Data: 1971- 2011)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	18.0736	2.24726	8.042	<0.0001***
l_Population	0.287943	0.0474261	6.071	<0.0001***
l_Distance	−2.17316	0.269930	−8.051	<0.0001***
Adjusted R-squared	0.455179			
F(2, 144)	61.98908			

In table 5.6, migration data of the five Census periods – 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 – have been pooled together in order to understand the effect that the variables of population and distance respectively have on migration. It is observed that both these variables are statistically significant at the one per cent level. While the coefficients of population and distance have the expected signs and prove the hypothesis right, it is seen that the strength of these variables differ considerably. In this case, a one per cent increase in population

increases migration by 0.29 per cent only. On the other hand, a one per cent increase in distance reduces migration by 2.17 per cent. The negative sign of the coefficient of distance underlies the inverse relation between the two. Hence it may be concluded that in spite of all the advances made in the field of transport and communication, distance continues to be an important consideration in migration decisions and this is reiterated by the fact that throughout the period under study, i.e. 1971 to 2011, the maximum number of in-migrants into Goa has been from Maharashtra and Karnataka, the two states that share a common border with Goa whereas in-migrants from more distant lands such as the North-Eastern states, Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, etc. are much lesser in comparison. A distant third place is occupied by Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state in the country, as a major sending state and thus lends credence to the fact that higher the population of a state, higher will the rate of out-migration. Adjusted R-squared is 0.462. It explains only 46% changes in migration due to changes in population and distance.

Model 2: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{Population}_i + \beta_2 \ln \text{Distance}_i + \beta_3 \ln \text{Literacy}_i + u_i$

$\ln Lit_i$ = Log of literacy rates of states

It is hypothesised that literacy is positively related to migration.

Hypothesis 3: Literacy

$H_o : \beta \leq 0$

$H_A : \beta > 0$

Table 5.7: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Census 1971)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	15.1069	4.57583	3.301	0.0030 ***
l_Population	0.680694	0.105003	6.483	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−2.47546	0.418240	−5.919	<0.0001 ***
l_Literacy	−0.463488	0.550742	−0.8416	0.4083
Adjusted R-squared	0.816874			
F(3, 24)	41.14656			

Table 5.8: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Census 1981)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	6.87383	4.66423	1.474	0.1526
l_Population	0.882474	0.0973074	9.069	<0.000 ***
l_Distance	−2.03942	0.351065	−5.809	<0.0001***
l_Literacy	0.0785457	0.687605	0.1142	0.9099
Adjusted R-squared 0.835947 F(3, 26) 50.25755				

Table 5.9: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Census 1991)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	8.31152	6.43050	1.293	0.2080
l_Population	0.887272	0.101329	8.756	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−1.73651	0.332525	−5.222	<0.0001 ***
l_Literacy	0.705782	1.19179	0.5922	0.5590
Adjusted R-squared 0.859692 F(3, 25) 58.18707				

Table 5.10: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Census 2001)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	8.31152	6.43050	1.293	0.2080
l_Population	0.887272	0.101329	8.756	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−1.73651	0.332525	−5.222	<0.0001 ***
l_Literacy	0.705782	1.19179	0.5922	0.5590
Adjusted R-squared 0.859692 F(3, 25) 58.18707				

Table 5.11: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Census 2011)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	−4.38427	12.2850	−0.3569	0.7240
l_Population	0.958563	0.142159	6.743	<0.0001***
l_Distance	−1.26197	0.411685	−3.065	0.0049 ***
l_Literacy	1.14999	2.09018	0.5502	0.5867
Adjusted R-squared 0.831195 F(3, 27) 50.24007				

Table 5.12: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Pooled data – 1971-2011)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	13.4359	2.86104	4.696	<0.0001 ***
l_Population	0.319432	0.0481652	6.632	<0.0001 ***
l_Distance	−2.09234	0.266835	−7.841	<0.0001 ***
l_Literacy	0.909324	0.357288	2.545	0.0120 **
Adjusted R-squared 0.475144 F(3, 143) 45.05713				

In the second gravity model, literacy has been included as an additional variable. It is hypothesised that higher the rate of literacy of a state, higher will be out-migration from that state. It is observed from Tables 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 for the Census years, 1971 to 2011 respectively that literacy does not seem to be a significant driver of migration. This may perhaps be interpreted as implying that migration took place not only among the educated but also among the uneducated. It means that even for the uneducated, it was difficult to find suitable jobs of unskilled or semi-skilled nature and hence they too moved out in great numbers for gainful employment to other parts. Except in 1971, the literacy coefficients are positive for all other years. Adjusted r-squared is also good and explains more than 80% of out-migration due to these three factors, population, distance and literacy.

However, when the pooled data for all Census years, 1971 to 2011, are taken together, it is evident as seen in Table 5.12 that literacy exerts a significant influence on out-migration. The

coefficient of literacy is 0.909 which implies that for every 1% increase in literacy, out-migration increases by 0.91%. P-value is 0.0120 and is significant at 5%. However, adjusted r-squared is only 0.475 and explains only 48% of out-migration due to these factors.

Model 3: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{Population}_i + \beta_2 \ln \text{Distance}_i + \beta_3 \ln \text{Literacy}_i \; \beta_4 \text{GSDP}_i + u_i$

$\ln \text{GSDP}_i$ = Log of gross domestic product of the states

It is hypothesised that GSDP is negatively related to migration.

Hypothesis 4: GSDP

$H_o : \beta > 0$

$H_A : \beta \leq 0$

Table 5.13: Results of Gravity Model 3 (Census 2001)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
const	8.14786	6.59579	1.235	0.2287
l_Population	1.02746	0.627484	1.637	0.1146
l_Distance	−1.76601	0.363171	−4.863	<0.0001 ***
l_Literacy	1.01717	1.83474	0.5544	0.5844
l_GSDP	−0.152645	0.673899	−0.2265	0.8227
Adjusted R-squared 0.854158 F(4, 24) 41.99708				

Table 5.14: Results of Gravity Model 3 (Census 2011)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
const	−4.18550	14.2062	−0.2946	0.7709
l_Population	1.02092	0.527730	1.935	0.0654 *
l_Distance	−1.36099	0.519250	−2.621	0.0153 **
l_Literacy	1.26018	2.57420	0.4895	0.6291
l_GSDP	−0.0849031	0.582358	−0.1458	0.8854
Adjusted R-squared 0.829836 F(4, 23) 33.91756				

From Tables 5.13 and 5.14, it may be seen that the gross domestic product of the states do not exert a significant influence on out-migration. Though the coefficients are negative, they are not statistically significant. This may be explained by the fact that in the post-liberalisation, the country has been experiencing jobless growth. A higher rate of economic growth does not automatically translate into job creation. Thus migration may be experienced by states that have high rates of economic growth but with insufficient employment opportunities.

5.3 Gravity Models based on Primary Data

5.3.1 Data and Variables

An attempt has been made to construct gravity models with the use of primary data collected through a field study conducted in Goa state covering 423 respondents using convenience and purposive sampling. The place of last residence of these respondents includes 27 states in India, ranging from neighbouring Karnataka and Maharashtra to Jammu and Kashmir.

The independent variables are population of the origin state and distance. Population figures of the respective states are as per the 2011 Census. Distance has been calculated as the distance between the capital city of the respective states and the capital city of Goa, Panjim, expressed in kilometres as given by Google maps. An exception has been made in the case of calculation of distance between Goa and the states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. It was observed during the course of the field work that while a large number of respondents hailed from these two states that share a common border with Goa, most of them lived close to the border areas whereas very few came from regions located further away. Hence in the case of these two states, instead of calculating distance from the capital cities, distance was calculated between Panjim and Belgaum in case of Karnataka and between Panjim and Kolhapur in case of Maharashtra. This was considered as a more appropriate measure.

Extended gravity models have also been constructed with the additional variables of GSDP and literacy. GSDP figures have been accessed from the publications of Central Statistical Organization and Economic Statistical Organization. Literacy figures have been taken from Census, 2011.

The dependent variable is the number of in-migrants from the 27 states. The gravity model is a macro approach towards the study of gross migration flows across regions. Hence though the migrants have been further classified according to the nature of their employment, in case

of gravity model analysis, the total number of respondents has been taken as the dependent variable. This will give us insights into the role of various variables in influencing migration flows, regardless of where they are employed. Table 3.1 gives the number of respondents from each state and Table 5.8 provides the summary statistics of the variables used in the gravity models.

Table 5.15: Summary Statistics of the Model Variables

Variable	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	C.V.	Skewness	Ex. kurtosis
Migrants	15.667	9.0000	21.131	1.3488	2.6102	7.1843
Population	45796000	32988000	45427000	0.99193	1.5629	2.8775
Distance	1979.9	2010.2	1046.5	0.52855	0.059478	-0.85996
Literacy	74.846	75.370	8.0231	0.10719	0.59605	-0.13884
GDP	579510	429670	539350	0.93068	1.2151	1.4563

Model 1: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{Population}_i + \beta_2 \ln \text{Distance}_i + u_i$

$\ln M_i$ = Natural log of immigrants from various states

$\ln \text{Population}_i$ = Log of population of other states

$\ln \text{Distance}_i$ = Log of distance of other states to Goa

Hypothesis 1: Population

$H_o : \beta \leq 0$

$H_A : \beta > 0$

Hypothesis 2: Distance

$H_o : \beta \geq 0$

$H_A : \beta < 0$

In Model 1, the alternate hypothesis states that the population of a state is directly related to the volume of out-migration and in the case of distance, the relation between the two is negative. As was done previously, log-log regression analysis was run to test the hypotheses, the results of which are given below:

Table 5.16: Results of Gravity Model 1 (Primary Data)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	−1.02465	4.06025	−0.2524	0.8029
Ln Population	0.403141	0.173886	2.318	0.0293 **
Ln Distance	−0.504456	0.210260	−2.399	0.0246 **
Adjusted R-squared	0.531972			
F(2, 24)	12.49037			

* Standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust standard errors

From Table 5.16 it is seen that the coefficients of population and distance have the expected signs. The coefficients of population and distance are significant at the 5% level. As the coefficient of population is positive, it indicates that when the population of a state is high, it will be characterised by a high volume of out-migration. On the other hand, the coefficient of distance has a negative sign. This shows that the volume of migration is usually higher to regions located nearby rather than to regions located further away. This is a log-log model, which means that for every 1 per cent increase in population, out-migration increases by 0.40 per cent and for each 1 per cent increase in distance, migration drops by 0.5 per cent. Adjusted R-squared at 0.531 is satisfactory which implies that 53% variation in migration may be attributed to changes in population and distance.

Model 2: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{Population}_i + \beta_2 \ln \text{Distance}_i + \beta_3 \ln \text{GSDP}_i + u_i$

ln GSDP = Log of gross state domestic product

Hypothesis 3: GSDP

$H_o : \beta > 0$

$H_A : \beta \leq 0$

In Model 2, an additional variable is included, that is, the gross domestic product of the home state. According to the hypothesis in this model, there exists a negative relationship between GSDP of the source state and the extent of out-migration, implying that when the gross domestic product of the state increases, it will be accompanied by lesser out-migration.

Table 5. 17: Results of Gravity Model 2 (Primary Data)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	0.00618185	3.77455	0.0016	0.9987
l_Population	0.880457	0.276354	3.186	0.0041 ***
l_Distance	−0.712176	0.912651	−3.697	0.0012 ***
l_GSDP	−0.612864	0.268679	−2.281	0.0321 **
Adjusted R-squared 0.560443				
F(3, 23) 11.42346				

* Standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust standard errors

From table 5.17 it may be observed that the coefficients of population and distance are now found to be statistically significant at 1% and that of GSDP, at 5% respectively. The negative sign of the coefficient of GSDP is in keeping with the hypothesis. The underlying assumption of this model is that a high rate of growth of GDP implies that sufficient job opportunities are created by the state and hence the need to migrate elsewhere in search of gainful employment may not be as urgent as this can be satisfied domestically. It is noteworthy that when the variables of population and distance are taken along with the GDP of the home state, these variables act more strongly to influence population: positively in case of population and negatively in case of distance. Migration increases by 0.88% for a 1% increase in size of population of source state and it decreases by 0.71% for every 1% increase in distance. When the GDP of the source state rises by 1%, it has the effect of reducing out-migration by 0.61%. Adjusted R-squared is 0.560 and it explains 56% change in migration due to changes in the volume of population, distance and GDP of home state.

Model 3: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln Pop_i + \beta_2 \ln Dist_i + \beta_3 \ln Lit_i + \beta_4 \ln GSDP_i + u_i$

$\ln Literacy_i$ = Log of Literacy

Hypothesis 4: Literacy

$H_o : \beta \leq 0$

$H_A : \beta > 0$

In Model 3, literacy is introduced as an additional variable. An attempt is made to understand the effect of literacy along with the variables of population, distance and GSDP on the

volume of out-migration. According to the alternate hypothesis, higher the literacy rate, more will be the volume of out-migration.

Table 5.18: Results of Gravity Model 3 (Primary Data)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	−25.1741	8.22053	−3.062	0.0057 ***
l_Population	1.60359	0.298203	5.378	2.12e-05 ***
l_Distance	−0.791653	0.197098	−4.017	0.0006 ***
l_Literacy	5.17985	1.94227	2.667	0.0141 **
l_GSDP	−1.32990	0.372404	−3.571	0.0017 ***
Adjusted R-squared	0.669295			
F(4, 22)	20.84879			

* Standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust standard errors

All the variables included in this model are found to be statistically significant at 1% as evident from Table 5.18. The coefficients of population and literacy display positive signs, indicating that these two variables have a direct effect on the volume of migration. On the other hand, the coefficients of distance and GSDP have negative signs which imply that they have a negative influence on out-migration. It is again observed that with the introduction of an additional variable, the influence of the existing variables on migration is stronger. In case of population, migration goes up by 1.60% for every 1% increase in population. For every 1% increase in distance, migration comes down by 0.79%. When the GDP of the source state increases by 1%, migration falls by 1.32%. Every 1% increase in literacy rate increases migration by 5.18%. Thus it is seen that literacy encourages mobility. People are motivated to move in search of suitable employment and higher standards of living. Adjusted R-squared at 0.669 is good and explains 67% variation in migration due to changes in these four factors.

Model 4: $\ln M_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln Pop_i + \beta_2 \ln Dist_i + \beta_3 \ln Lit_i + \beta_4 \ln PCNSDP_i + u_i$

$\ln PCNSDP_i$ = Log of Per Capita Net State Domestic Product

Hypothesis 5: PCNSDP

$H_o : \beta > 0$

$H_A : \beta \leq 0$

In this model, GSDP is replaced by per capita NSDP in order to understand the changes in migration due to increase in per capita incomes. This is measured along with the variables of population, distance and literacy.

According to Table 5.19, it is found that all four variables are statistically significant. The coefficients of population and literacy are positive and are significant at 1% and 5% respectively whereas the coefficients of distance and per capita NSDP are negative and are significant at 1%. When population grows by 1%, it increases migration by 0.37% and when distance between the two locations increase by 1%, migration comes down by 0.71%. For every 1% improvement in literacy rate, migration increases by 2.99% and for every increase in per capita NSDP by one percentage point, migration comes down by 0.94%. Adjusted R-squared is 0.698 and explains 69% variations in migration flows due to changes in the four variables included.

Table 5.19: Results of Gravity Model 4 (Primary Data)

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value
Constant	−1.59316	6.01348	−0.2649	0.7935
l_Population	0.366607	0.120962	3.031	0.0061 ***
l_Distance	−0.710458	0.124784	−5.694	1.00e-05 ***
l_Literacy	2.98983	1.49576	1.999	0.0581 *
l_PCNSDP	−0.942098	0.218033	−4.321	0.0003 ***
Adjusted R-squared	0.698589			
F(4, 22)	27.41577			

* Standard errors are heteroskedasticity robust standard errors

Thus it may be surmised that when studying the choice of destination, factors such as size of population, distance between the two regions, GSDP /NSDP per capita of the state and literacy levels explain aggregate migration flows. While population and literacy are positively related to migration, distance and GSDP/NSDP per capita of the home state are negatively correlated to migration.

5.4 Summary

It is evident that the direction of gross migration flows may be understood on the basis of certain variables that explain the popularity or pull factor of certain regions as compared to

others. Migration may be initiated due to different reasons: economic, social, political or environmental or due to some combination of these factors. However whatever may be the overriding reason that spurred migration, it remains a fact that the region one chooses to move to must offer the individual good enough economic opportunities.

Traditional gravity models studied the influence of population and distance on migration. Even today, these variables are relevant in understanding the direction of migration. It is seen from the various models that states with high population have a high rate of out-migration. This may be attributed to the fact that a large and growing population exerts immense pressure on scarce resources, leading to low wages and unemployment or underemployment. In spite of the giant strides taken in the field of transport and communication and the subsequent reduction in the cost of travel, it is found that individuals prefer to move to locations closer to the home state rather than those located further away. This is in keeping with the findings that the dominant migration streams observed in the country are intra-district and inter-district migration, followed by inter-state migration. It seems that even in case of inter-state migration, people prefer to move to neighbouring states rather than far off states, given a choice. According to Census data, the highest number of migrants to Goa is from Karnataka and Maharashtra, our neighbours. Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state of India has emerged as the third most important sending state.

Literacy rate is positively associated with out-migration. This means that it is not only the marginalised sections of society but also increasingly, well-educated and highly skilled individuals that view migration as a means of achieving higher standards of living and fulfilling their aspirations. As highly specialised fields of knowledge are introduced in education, people move to those places that offer them the best career opportunities, given their training and skill sets. But it has to be noted that while literacy is positively related to migration in case of primary data, it is observed that in case of secondary data, literacy for each census year does not seem to be an important determinant of migration. Thus it may be interpreted that migration among the non-literate and lesser educated is very high. But when the data for all census years under study are pooled together, it is found that literacy acts as an important determinant.

The gross domestic product of states is negatively related to migration. This is because high rates of economic growth create abundant opportunities for gainful employment in the home state. When there are sufficient economic opportunities available within the state, it may

witness lower rates of out-migration. However it has to be borne in mind that GDP shows different results for secondary and primary data. While it is significant in case of primary data, it is not so in case of secondary data. This means that high economic growth may not prevent people of a state from leaving. This could be attributed to the fact that it is only when growth is accompanied by creation of jobs in adequate numbers that people will not need to move out in search of gainful employment opportunities. It means that economic growth is not automatically associated with distributive justice.

The per capita net state domestic product is also inversely related to migration. This once again reiterates the fact that when income levels in the source state are adequately high, the need for natives to venture to other regions in search of employment opportunities is no longer urgent. This variable indicates the relative prosperity of the individuals in the state and naturally, the better-off the inhabitants of a state, the less likely it is that they will migrate elsewhere for employment.

CHAPTER VI: NETWORKS AND MIGRATION TO GOA

6.1 Introduction

Human behaviour is rarely if ever, truly autonomous. It is influenced by various factors and interactions. Thus while studying the nature of human behaviour, it is important to take into account these influences and their effects on choices and decision making. Hence in this context an attempt has been made to study the influence of networks in aiding migration during the different phases of migration. The relative significance of networks for people employed in the different sectors is assumed to be different. The role of networks in the choice of destination, obtaining employment, facilitating adjustment in the destination through various forms of support and finally how it can motivate potential migrants to come thus perpetuating the process of migration have been studied here.

There is growing interest in the study of migration chains or social networks and how these networks determine the direction of migration and provide support facilities, tangible and intangible, that make the migration experience easier than it would otherwise have been. A network within the context of migration may consist of an extended group of people with common interests who may create formal groups or remain in informal contact and provide mutual assistance and support (Borgatti et al, 2018). The relationships and ties among the actors, also called nodes, make up the social network. The focus of study is on the relationships among the group members and the patterns that arise through their interactions. An attempt is made to explain a particular process by including concepts that provide information on relationships among various units.

Migrants are looked at as interdependent units as their choice to migrate is rarely an autonomous decision. The ties or links that exist or are newly formed between these actors facilitate the transfer of resources. Thus within the network, opportunities are provided that facilitate movement from the origin to the destination. However it must be noted that sometimes these interactions may pose some constraints to movement too. Thus in network analysis, the unit of study is not the individual but a collection of individuals and the linkages between them (Scott, 2000). The social network perspective does not focus on the individual and his attributes; instead it studies the characteristics of the network that arises out of the relationships that link the actors together.

The ties that exist between the units facilitate the flow of information. Generally, the move is to an unknown or unfamiliar destination. The presence of an actor who has previously made

this move will provide useful information on various aspects such as employment opportunities, wage rates, work environment, housing, etc. In the initial phase of migration, the migrant is especially vulnerable as he suddenly finds himself in an alien environment. At this time, the network can provide specific forms of support and valuable resources.

The creation of ties is thus a form of investment that will translate into social capital. When the individual or group is part of a complex web of relationships based on mutual recognition and needs, the resources that are now more easily available will determine in large part the ease with which he will adapt and flourish in the new environment. In addition to the motivations, attitudes and other personal traits of the individual, the network made up of relationships with other like-minded people will have a bearing on his behavioural patterns. There is now a flow of information and other resources between two actors in the network. What is pertinent is that this flow is determined not only by their relationship with each other but also by their relationships with others. This shows that the network does not have impermeable boundaries – as new members come in, the group continues to grow and expand. In fact, an individual can be part of more than one network thus building bridges across networks and facilitating contacts across diverse groups (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Social networks may function either as a pull factor or push factor or both in case of the migration decisions of individuals and families. The significance of the social context in migration decisions may be examined on the basis of the following hypotheses:

Affinity hypothesis: A close-knit family and good ties with relatives and neighbours at the place of residence may actually hinder movement. Thus strong social ties at the place of origin tend to discourage migration to new destinations.

Information hypothesis: When the individual has friends and relations who are already settled in different places, the motive to migrate is much stronger as he has useful information about job possibilities and living conditions in new locations.

Facilitating hypothesis: When there is someone familiar already at the destination, this serves as a pull factor. Friends and relatives ease the process of adjustment and provide encouragement and material support and also help forge new ties.

Encouraging hypothesis: When the prevailing atmosphere at the place of residence is not very optimistic and hopeful, the family may encourage a member to move out in search of gainful employment in order to ensure a fixed, regular income that will supplement the household income. In this instance, the network at the residence works as a push factor.

Thus it is seen that networks perform a variety of roles, from encouraging or discouraging migration to helping the individual and his family adapt to the new place by providing useful information and material support and making migration self-sustaining over time.

Given below is an account of the role of networks in promoting the mobility of people from the rest of India to Goa in their search for a decent job and a living wage and their subsequent adaptation here. Further, it is interesting to examine the ways in which migratory forces are perpetuated as more people come in through the network and how they continue to maintain links with their areas of origin. Sociograms have been used only for the purpose of visual depiction of data.

6.2 Role of Networks in Choice of Destination

The decision to migrate means that an individual, either accompanied by his family or not, leaves the place of origin and chooses to move to an unfamiliar place, i.e., the destination. It implies a literal uprooting of the migrant to an alien region where the language, food, climate and cultural norms may be quite different from those at home. In this process, he may choose to move to a place where there is someone known and familiar: a family member, relative or friend which then acts as a pull factor. Also known as the facilitating hypothesis, the presence of somebody known can encourage the individual to take the decision to move. Among the respondents interviewed, 288 respondents out of a total 423 respondents, i.e., 68 per cent, stated that they knew somebody in Goa. However not all of them cited it as a reason for friends had a direct impact on their decision to move here. This is depicted in Fig. 6.1.

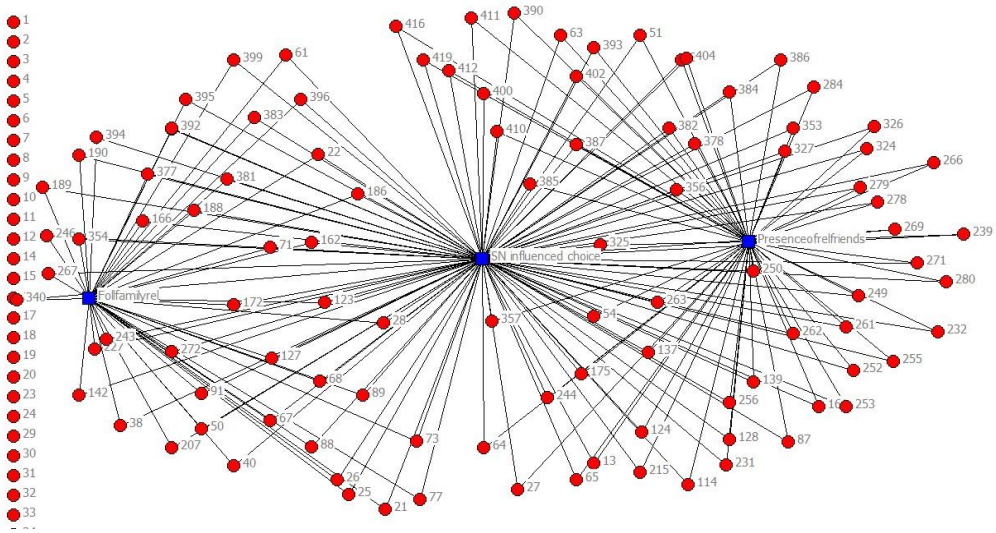


Figure 6.1: Influence on Choice of Destination

Figure 6.1 depicts the role of networks in influencing the choice of destination. As stated earlier, though 288 respondents knew someone already living in Goa, only 106 respondents stated that this directly influenced their decision to come here. The respondents who did not base their decision to move here due to the presence of someone known are shown in a vertical line on the left side of the graph whereas all the actors converging to the central point are those that came here specifically because of the 'someone known' already living here. This is further divided into two: family and relatives who influenced the choice of destination and friends who played a pivotal role in bringing the respondents here. It is seen that the number of nodes are denser in case of friends who influenced choice as compared to those following family and relatives who had come here earlier. Of the respondents who came to Goa because of the presence of someone familiar already here, 57% (60 respondents) were attracted to come here because of a friend and 43% (46 respondents) because a family member or relative was here.

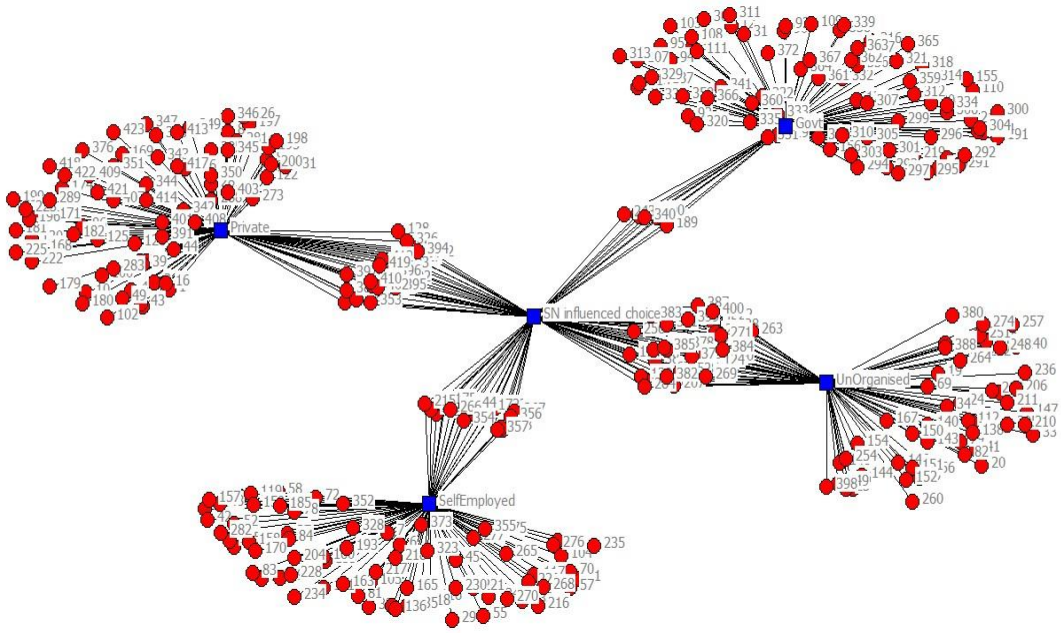


Figure 6.2: Influence of Networks on Choice of Destination (By Sector)

Fig. 6.2 shows the influence of networks on choice of destination sector-wise. Of the 25% respondents who chose to come to Goa because of the presence of a network, the sociogram depicts the numbers sector-wise. The nodes converging to the central point represent according to nature of job, those that came here because someone they knew was already settled here. As seen above, the numbers are highest in the unorganized sector while it is least in the case of the government sector. This is not surprising as unskilled workers generally secure employment through word-of-mouth information passed along whereas in case of the government sector, especially central government, there are recruitment exams and all-India deputation and hence these employees have less choice in determining where they are placed. 42 respondents in the unorganized sector, 31 in the private sector, 22 among the self-employed and only 11 of those employed in the government sector stated that the decision to come to Goa was influenced by someone known who was already working here. The nodes at the outside not connected to the central point are those that chose Goa as a destination due to reasons other than the presence of someone known.

6.3 Role of Networks in Getting Employment

While some of the respondents came to Goa for education or following family and/or relatives who came earlier, the majority came to Goa in search of employment. Agricultural distress and lack of viable employment options in the place of origin led them to leave their

homes and seek employment in Goa. For some, Goa was not the first choice of destination but eventually they made their way here.

As employment is the primary reason for their move here, it is important to see how they secured employment. It is pertinent to note that 47.8 per cent of the respondents obtained employment through social networks. It was either through family, relatives or friends from the same native village that they received important information about the availability of work and sought their assistance in successfully obtaining jobs. This is the information hypothesis of network theory.

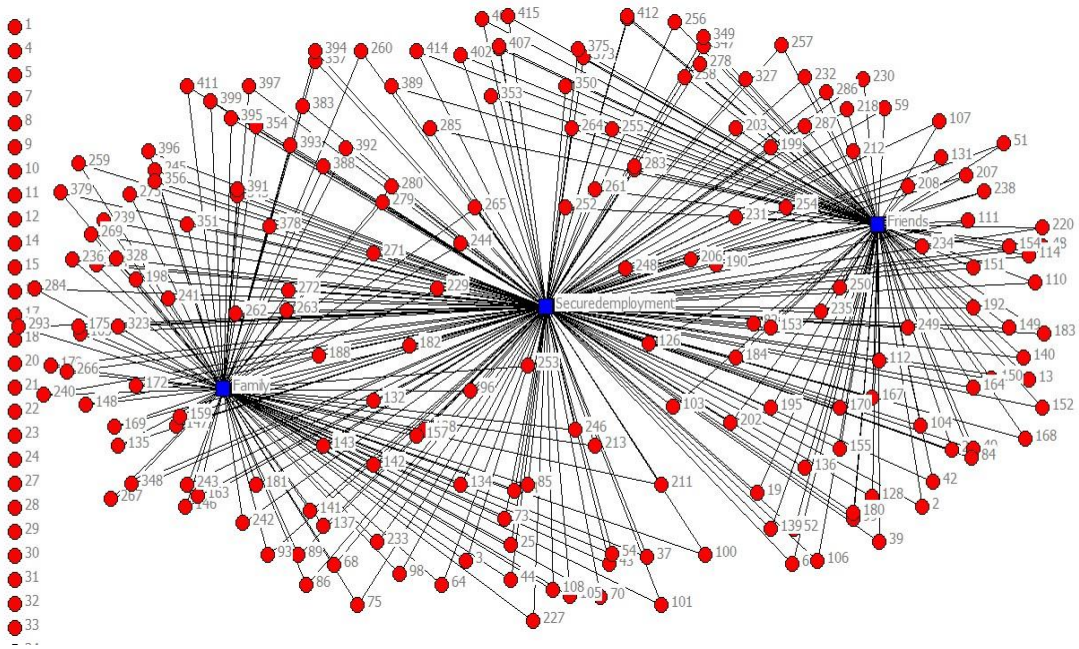


Figure 6.3: Employment obtained through Networks

Fig. 6.3 illustrates the role of social in obtaining gainful employment. Those that didn't secure employment through networks are shown in a vertical line towards the left of the graph. A total of 202 migrants obtained employment because of the information and assistance provided either by family and relatives or friends from the same native village. These nodes are shown with links to the central point, i.e. the network. This is further classified into family and friends. The density of ties is more in case of family than friends. 104 migrants (51.5%) took help of family and relatives and 98 migrants (48.5%) received assistance from friends.

While it is obvious that networks will not be equally useful in helping to secure employment in different sectors, it is important to find out the relative importance of networks for

different types of jobs. While it may be natural to assume that highly educated and skilled persons will be able to find jobs easily on the basis of their credentials and merit may be an important factor that determines their employability, those with lesser or no education and unskilled workers may need some help in securing suitable employment.

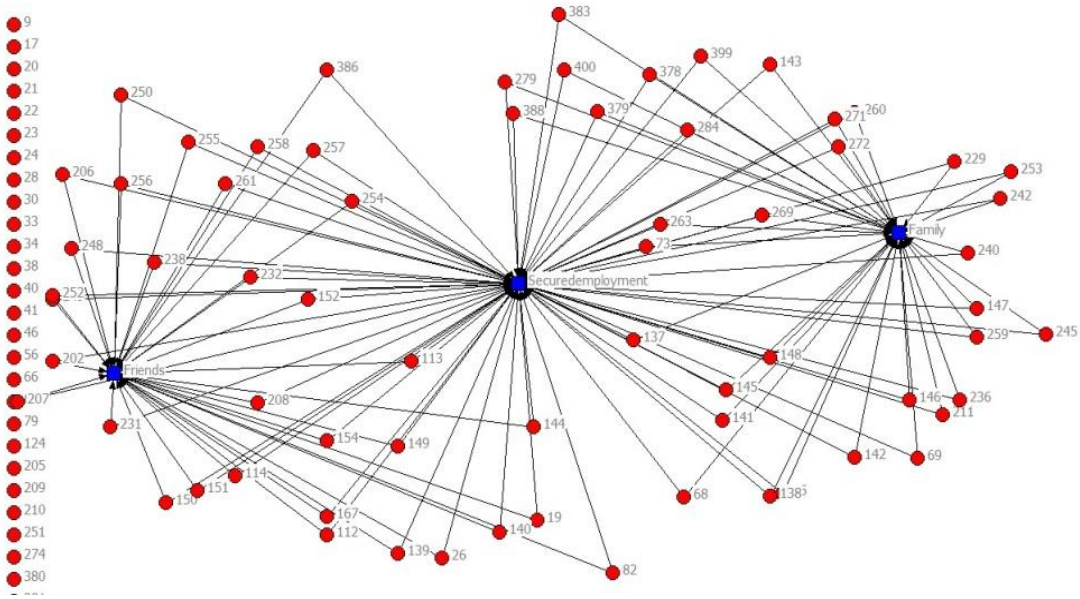


Figure 6.4: The Unorganized Sector

Fig. 6.4 illustrates the role of social networks in obtaining employment for the unorganized sector. 32 respondents who got employment without making use of contacts are shown in a vertical line at the left hand side of the graph. Of the 68 per cent of the migrants in the unorganized sector that used their networks in Goa to secure employment, it is seen that friends and family have played a similar role. 34% were placed in jobs by friends and another 34%, by family members. Thus it is seen that in the unorganized sector, it is advantageous to know someone already working in a similar occupation as it ensures easy entry into the job market. The majority respondents have used social networks productively to gain employment.

In the case of the self-employed and those employed in the private sector, a little more than 50 per cent of the respondents reported that they were able to set up business or get jobs, as the case may be, due to useful information received and help rendered by their family members, relatives and friends already settled in Goa.

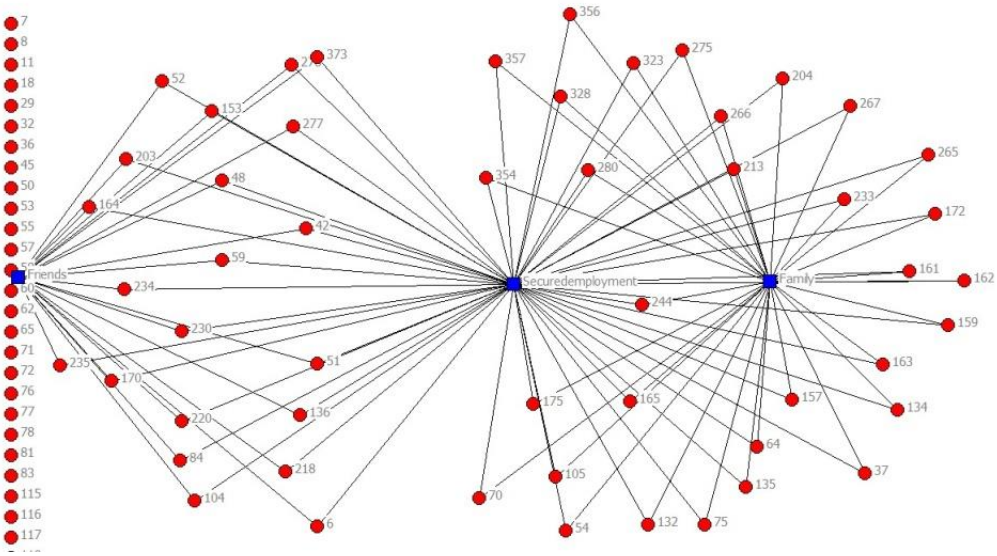


Figure 6.5: The Self-Employed

From Fig. 6.5, we can see the role of networks in providing support to set up business among the self-employed. Social networks provided openings that may otherwise have not been available to them or the process may perhaps not have been as easy. The 48 respondents who did not gain employment through networks are shown in a vertical line to the left in the sociogram. The 52 respondents that depended on networks for setting up business are seen as converging to the centre which is again divided into family and friends. Of this, 31 respondents took help from family and relatives and 21 respondents were helped by friends who were already in a similar line of work. This is especially true in case of the respondents from Rajasthan and Gujarat. It is seen that family plays a bigger role here. Initially, some of them worked for their relatives and friends and after gaining sufficient experience, moved on to set up their own independent business.

In case of the private sector, for 63 respondents out of 123 (51%), networks have played an important role in providing jobs as shown in Fig.6.6. While 51 per cent of the respondents depended on their family and friends for securing employment, 49 per cent of the respondents obtained jobs through other means. The actors who secured employment on their own are shown in a straight line on the left in the graph. Those who depended on networks for employment are shown separately as having obtained a job with the help of a friend or a family member. Converse to the case of the self-employed, in the private sector, friends have been more instrumental in helping the individuals to secure a job (in case of 34 respondents) as compared to family members (29 respondents). These are usually the shop floor workers

who are not highly educated and skilled. While there is a high demand for skilled workers, employers also seek cheap labour for machine operators and other blue-collar workers.

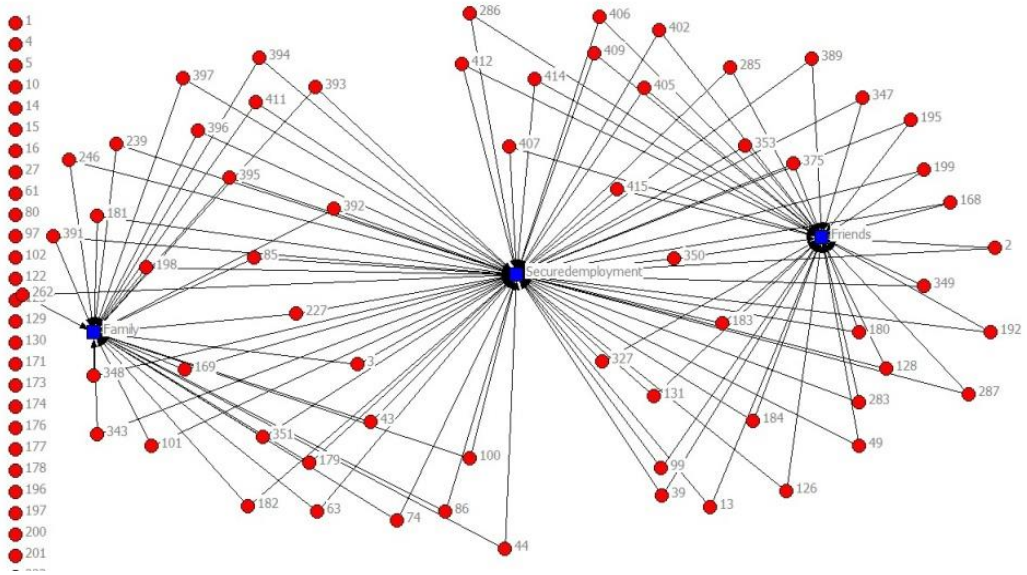


Figure 6.6: The Private Sector

Fig. 6.7 clearly brings out the fact that social networks do not play as important a role in facilitating employment in the government sector as in other sectors. Among those government employees who did receive help from their social contacts in obtaining employment are those who came to Goa in the 1960s and 1970s. They received useful information about job vacancies and openings from their friends and family already settled here. Since obtaining statehood, it has become increasingly difficult for people of non-Goan origin to get employment in state government offices and departments. Only 19 respondents in the government sector report having got jobs due to information received about vacancies from friends (9) and relatives (10). In case of Central Government employees, most have been recruited through the Staff Selection Commission. Others have come here on getting transfers or deputation. They are shown in a straight line on the left, not linked to networks.

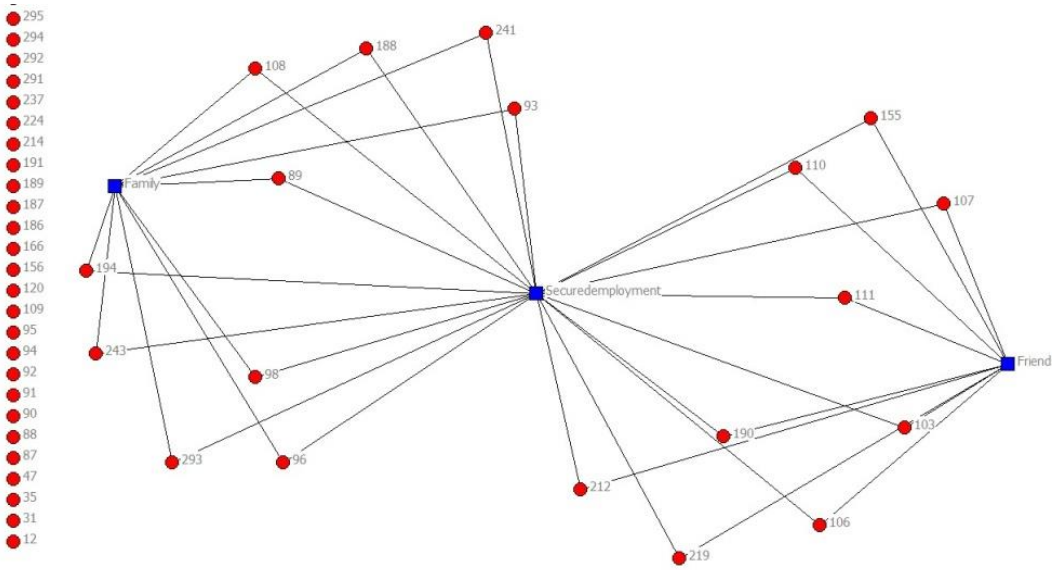


Figure 6.7: The Government Sector

6.4 Networks and the Relative Ease of Adaptation

The decision to move marks the beginning of what may be and often is an arduous and insecure journey. The initial phase of adjustment can be fraught with difficulties. It is here that social networks provide invaluable support and assistance to ease the process of transition. Knowing someone in the destination goes a long way in facilitating adaptation to a new place. This is also known as the facilitating principle which hypothesizes that the presence of family and friends at a particular destination will act as a pull factor and encourage potential migrants to move to the region where migration has already taken place by people from the same place of origin. This is because there is now a robust network that will provide important information and resources that will ease the process of migration and subsequent adaptation to the destination. Material and non-material support that is so important during the initial phase of migration is more easily forthcoming.

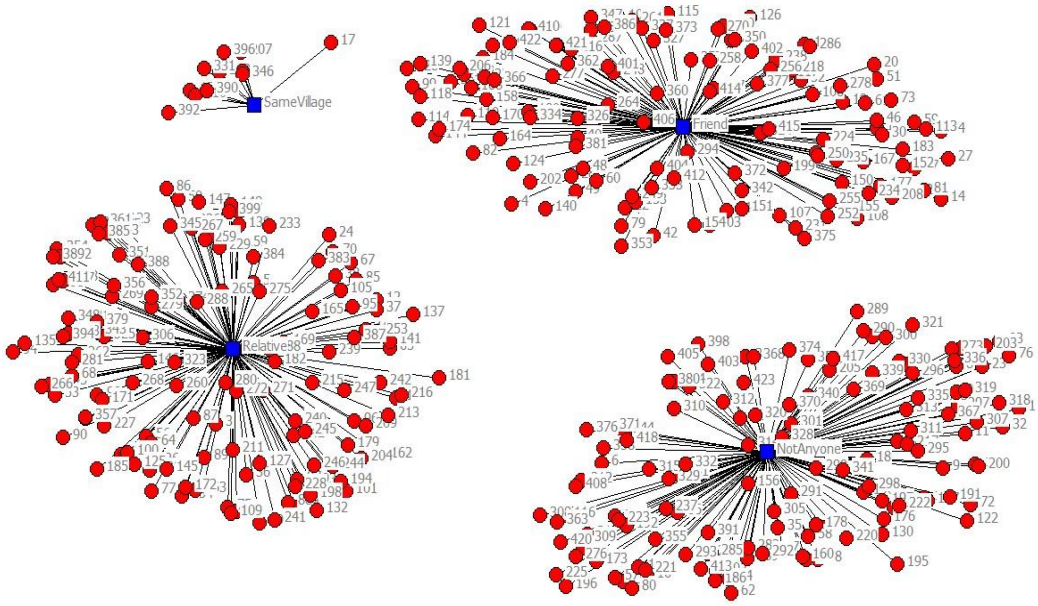


Figure 6.8: Known Person in Destination

The sociogram shown in Fig. 6.8 depicts whether the respondents knew anyone in Goa before they came here. These are classified as a relative, friend, or acquaintance from the same village. Around 135 respondents said they did not know anyone in Goa whereas 288 respondents knew someone here. Most respondents (147) had a family member here and followed them. 131 respondents knew a friend here and 10 heard about prospects in Goa through a neighbour from the same village.

Fig. 6.9 illustrates the various kinds of assistance received by the new entrants in the initial phase of migration. From the figure it is also apparent that some respondents, though they knew someone, did not take any material help from them. However they claimed that they received important non-material support in adjusting to the new place. And the fact that there is someone familiar in the destination provides a sense of security.

In Fig. 6.9, respondents are shown as either not having sought any help even if they knew someone already settled in Goa and those who took assistance from their contacts. It may be noted that in some instances, individuals received more than one type of assistance. These are depicted as the nodes that are connected to more than one central point, i.e. there are those who sought assistance in obtaining employment as well as accommodation or financial help and accommodation or employment and monetary help to tide over till he is financially secure or all three types of assistance.

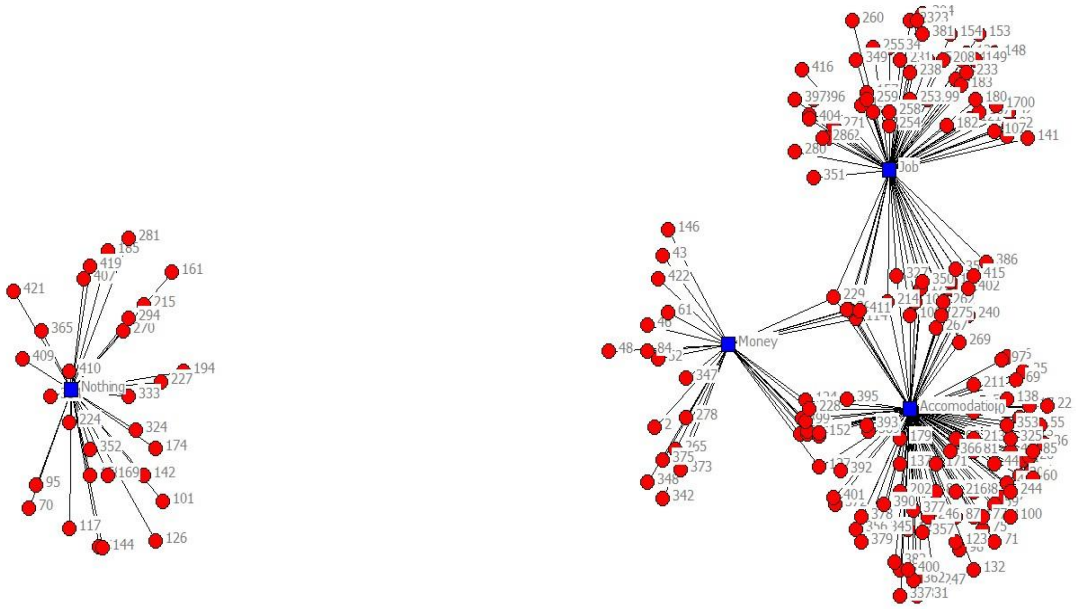


Figure 6.9: Assistance Received during Initial Phase of Migration

Three main types of assistance taken were accommodation, help in securing job/setting up business and monetary help. The most common help taken was in case of accommodation. Many stayed with their relatives or friends initially till they found alternative accommodation or till they succeeded in finding suitable accommodation with the help of their relatives or friends. This is followed by assistance taken for finding gainful employment. Financial assistance has been sought to a much lesser degree. Many respondents also took assistance of more than one type.

Figure 6.9 shows the number of respondents who took various types of assistance. Those respondents who did not take any assistance (29) even though they knew someone here are shown on the left side of the graph. It is seen that the most common form of assistance taken is accommodation. 35 per cent of those who knew somebody in Goa either stayed with them initially or sought their help in finding suitable living quarters. Around 25 per cent received help in getting employment in the sense that they had an assured job in hand in Goa before the actual move. And 9 per cent took financial help. 12.5 per cent reported taking assistance in case of both, accommodation and job, 4 per cent took both housing and financial help and 2.4 per cent received help in case of all three – housing, job and monetary help. Additionally, the people they knew introduced them to others from a similar background. They got important information regarding schools, doctors, markets, prices, transportation, etc.

Knowing people who spoke the same language, celebrated the same festivals and shared the same culture helped them to adapt to a strange, new environment.

6.5 Social Circle Post-Migration (Homophily)

An interesting feature in migration is the relations that are developed post-migration in the destination. Man is a social animal and his nature, attitudes and beliefs are influenced by his relations with others. Humans are normally averse to change and if due to circumstances, we are pushed out of our circle of safety, we tend to search for the known and familiar. This is observed in the friendships that are developed and maintained by immigrants over time. Homophily refers to the tendency of individuals to seek out and bond with persons who are similar to themselves. The similarity may be in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status or shared beliefs.

Social scientists have found that the old adage, “birds of a feather flock together”, is quite true when studying associations among various groups of people. Because homophilic individuals share similar features, it becomes easier to form relationships as communication becomes easier. The presence of homophily has been found in various network studies. It is noteworthy to observe that the migrants tend to consider people from their own native place as their closest allies and they tend to mingle amongst their own. Only a few count locals as their friends or have a mixed group of friends, regardless of nativity.

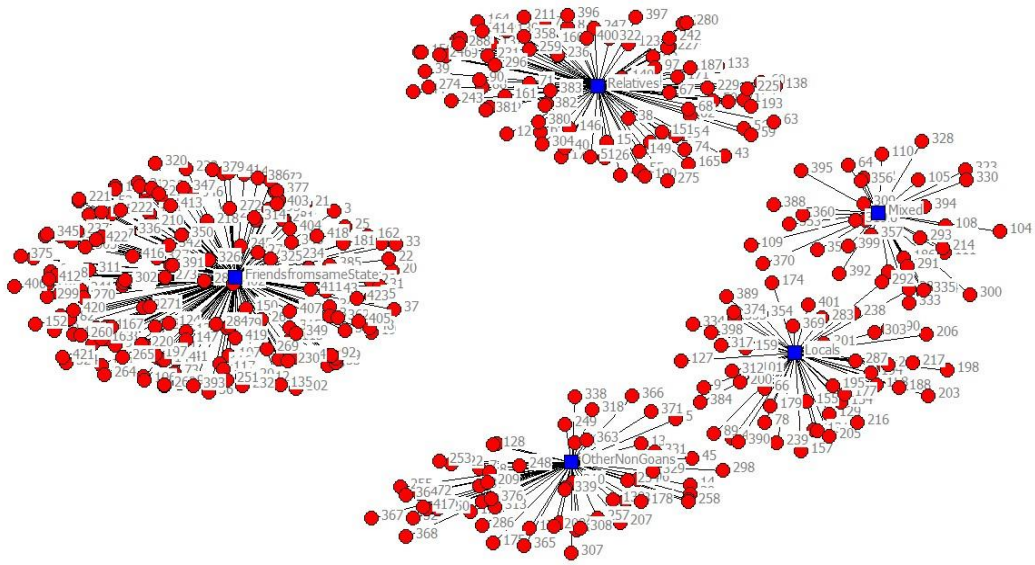


Figure 6.10: Social Circle Post-Migration

To study relations developed and maintained post-migration, the options included were family and relatives; friends from the same native state; other non-Goans; a mixed group; or locals. It is seen from Fig. 6.10 that the densest clusters are observed around relatives and friends from the same native state whereas it is much sparser in case of the other three options. People maintain close ties with their own kind. When asked whom they were closest to in the destination, 66 per cent (279 respondents) said it was people who hailed from the same native state: for 22 per cent (93 respondents), it comprised of family and relatives and for 44 per cent (186 respondents), it was friends from the same native state. A shared language, religion, culture and food habits seem very important in determining relationships. 14 per cent (59 respondents) stated that they consider as their close friends, other non-Goans. Here again, it seems that the shared experience of leaving home and settling elsewhere is a commonality that brought them together. While 8 per cent (34 respondents) state that they have friends from diverse backgrounds, only 12 per cent (51 respondents) reported that their closest friends are locals. This reveals that in spite of spending many years in Goa, immigrants tend to form cliques with people from similar backgrounds.

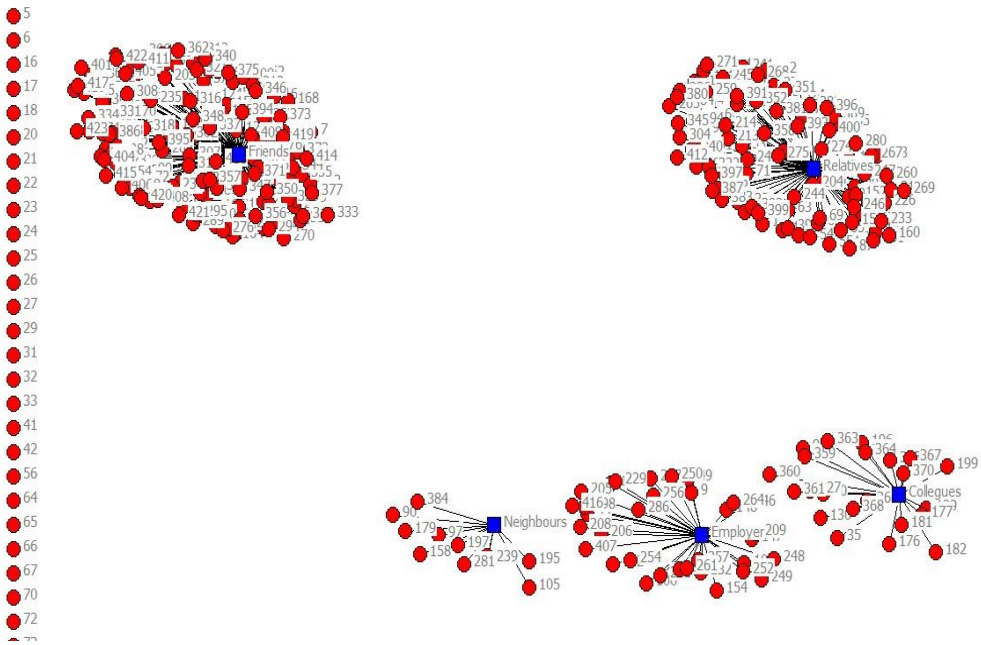


Figure 6.11: Help taken during Difficulties

The sociogram 6.11 depicts from whom help is taken by respondents during emergencies. It is interesting to note that 80 respondents (19%) stated that they have not faced a situation wherein they needed to take help from someone. They are represented in a straight line on the left hand side of the graph. Again, it is interesting to note that the majority of the respondents,

279 (66%), turn to their family and relations for assistance during difficulties. 101 respondents (24%), seek help from family and relatives and 178 respondents (42%), from friends. While 34 respondents (8%) of the respondents go to their employer in times of distress, only 21 respondents (5%) seek help from their colleagues. 9 respondents (2%) ask for help from neighbours.

Interesting trends were observed in case of the borrowing and lending habits of the respondents. It was found that there is greater dependence on the formal sector to meet any deficit. Most of the respondents (338) stated that they borrow from banks. This is reassuring as it implies that people are not being exploited by unscrupulous moneylenders in the informal sector.

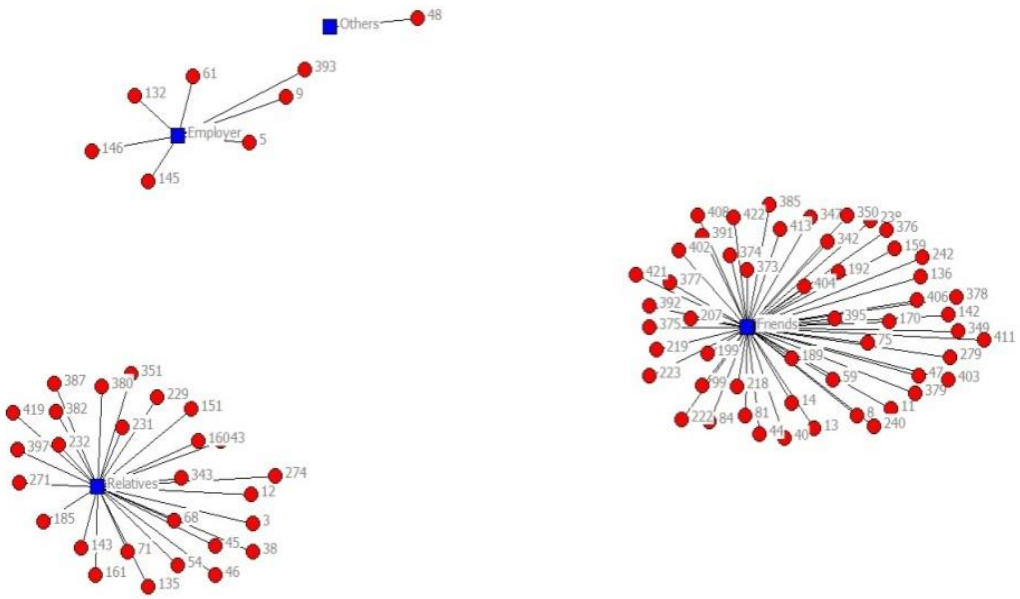


Figure 6.12: Borrowings

Fig. 6.12 has relatively few links illustrating that very few turn to informal channels for borrowing purposes. Only 87 respondents report borrowing from people they know when in need. While 27 respondents borrow from family and friends, 52 respondents borrow from friends. Only 7 respondents go to their employer when in need of money. 336 respondents say that they do not borrow from friends, relations or employers. The respondents in the higher income groups take loans from banks for the construction or purchase of house/flat, buying a car, two-wheeler, etc. Most of the people in the lower income groups live within their means and resort to borrowings only in case of medical emergencies and for celebrating

festivals and weddings. For construction of house or purchase of two-wheeler, they too borrow from the bank.

Figure 6.13 below demonstrates that very few people lend money to friends and family. Among those who lend money if required, 32 respondents said they loan small amounts to friends, 22 respondents lend to relatives and only 4 respondents loan money to employees. 365 respondents do not lend money to others. Among those employed in the unorganized sector this is a positive trend, provided they borrow from institutionalised sources. Hence it may be concluded that with the spread of the formal sector, the stranglehold of moneylenders and other non-formal sources of credit have waned in importance.

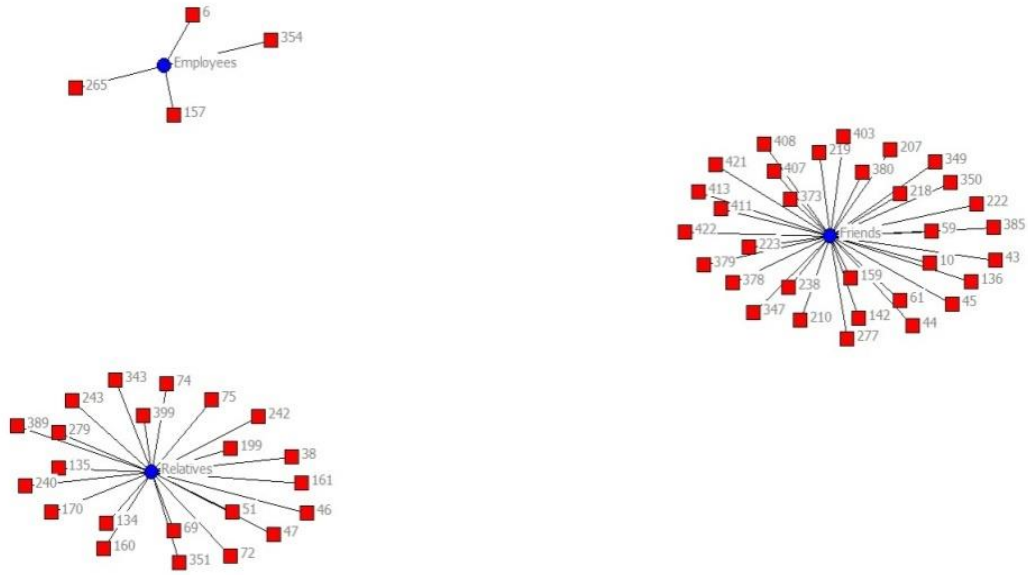


Figure 6.13: Lending

It may thus be concluded that even after spending considerable time in the destination, migrants tend to form close-knit groups with people from a similar background. This may provide them with a feeling of familiarity in the new place. Similarly during difficulties too, they tend to rely more on family and friends. It is observed that generally people tend to borrow from banks to meet their financial requirements, with very few respondents saying that they borrow from relatives, friends or employers or conversely, lend to others.

6.6 Links to the Origin

The respondents have spent varying periods of time in the destination – Goa – ranging from as less as six months to fifty six years. At least three respondents came to Goa in 1962, that is, a year after Goa attained Liberation from Portuguese rule. Yet a strong common feature

among all is that regardless of the time spent here, they maintain strong links with the origin through regular visits and sending remittances to family members who have stayed back. The links are further strengthened through ties with land and home. A very minor percentage said that they have never gone back to their homes in the native place. These links become important as it is through these ties that a migration corridor is formed and sustained. When these migrants visit home and it is observed that the family has now attained a better standard of living, it acts as an inducement for others to follow suit.

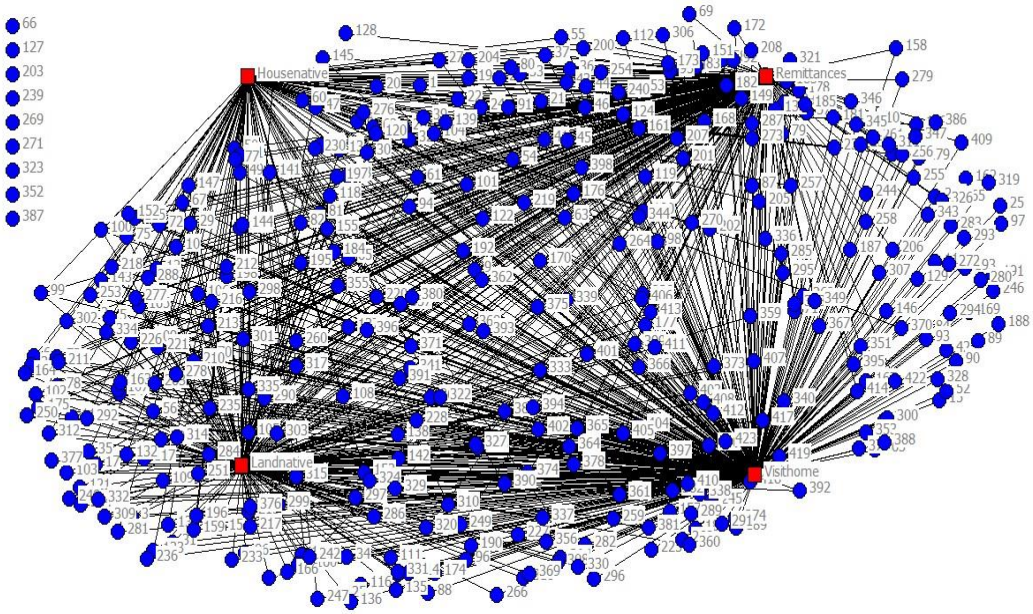


Figure 6.14: Links to the Origin

Figure 6.14 depicts the ties that bind the individual to his place of origin either through a family home in the native village, land owned there, remittances sent to family members or visits to his home, represented by red squares in the graph. Most maintain their ties to the homeland through a combination of these links. The density of the lines in the graph illustrates the strong ties that link the migrants with the place of origin and the family back home. Only 9 respondents (2.1 per cent) do not have any ties to the origin. This is shown by the vertical line on the left. 389 (92 per cent) respondents have a family home in the native place. It is important to note that 128 respondents, i.e., 30.3 per cent, have built a house of their own in the origin and they intend to go back after retirement or after their children are settled. 228 migrants (54 per cent) own land in the native village. The workers from the unorganized and private sectors who possess land in the origin go back during cultivation and harvest to help other family members. Many send money during cultivation time to assist in

farming activities. 279 respondents (66 per cent) send remittances back home to supplement the family income. A very important tie to the origin is through visits to the homeland. 412 respondents (97.4 per cent) visit their homes regularly, though the No. of Persons and the duration of the visits may differ. Only 2.6 percent of the respondents (11) do not visit home at all. This is either because there is no one left at home or because of a family dispute. Thus it can be seen that the strongest links to the origin are through visits to the origin and having a family home there. Two-thirds of the respondents (282 migrants) send money back home, though again the No. of Persons and the quantum may differ. More than half the respondents possess land in their native village and many of them go back during season time to assist in the farming activities.

6.7 Remittances

The most important reasons for migration comprise of economic compulsions such as lack of employment, low wages and poor financial status. It is thus clear that when these individuals chose to move out, they also had the responsibility of ensuring that their households back home are provided for. This they do through remittances.

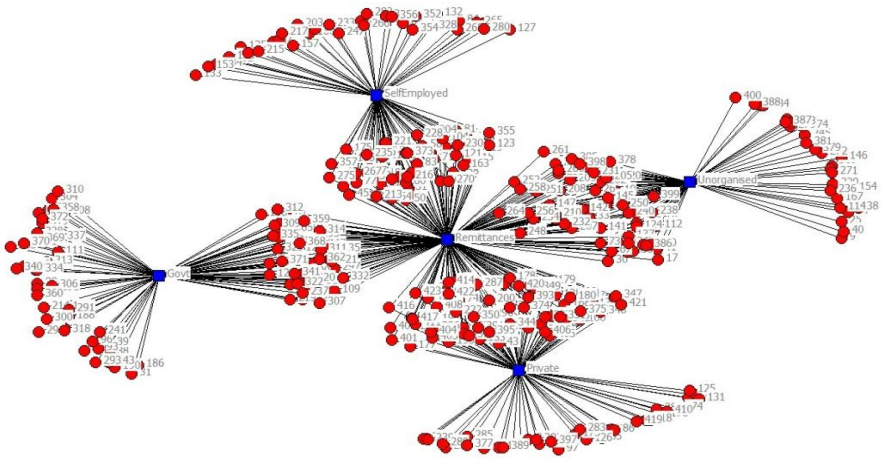


Figure 6.15: Remittances (By Sector)

From Fig. 6.15 we can observe whether the respondents send remittances to their families left behind. This is shown sector-wise. It is obvious from the figure that the majority do send money home. Overall, two-thirds of the respondents send money for day-to-day expenses or to meet some exigencies. The four clusters that converge towards the centre represent those migrants from each sector that sends money to the household located in the place of origin. The nodes at the outer edge not linked to the central point are the respondents that do not send remittances. The trends observed sector-wise are that 73 per cent of the respondents in

the unorganized sector send remittances, followed by the private sector where 69 per cent (85 respondents) send money home. Among the self-employed, 64 per cent respondents send money back home whereas among government employees, only 54 per cent respondents reported that they send money home. It is interesting to note that people from the lower income groups are more conscientious in sending remittances. Thus it may be concluded that migration is an important means of supplementing their meagre family income.

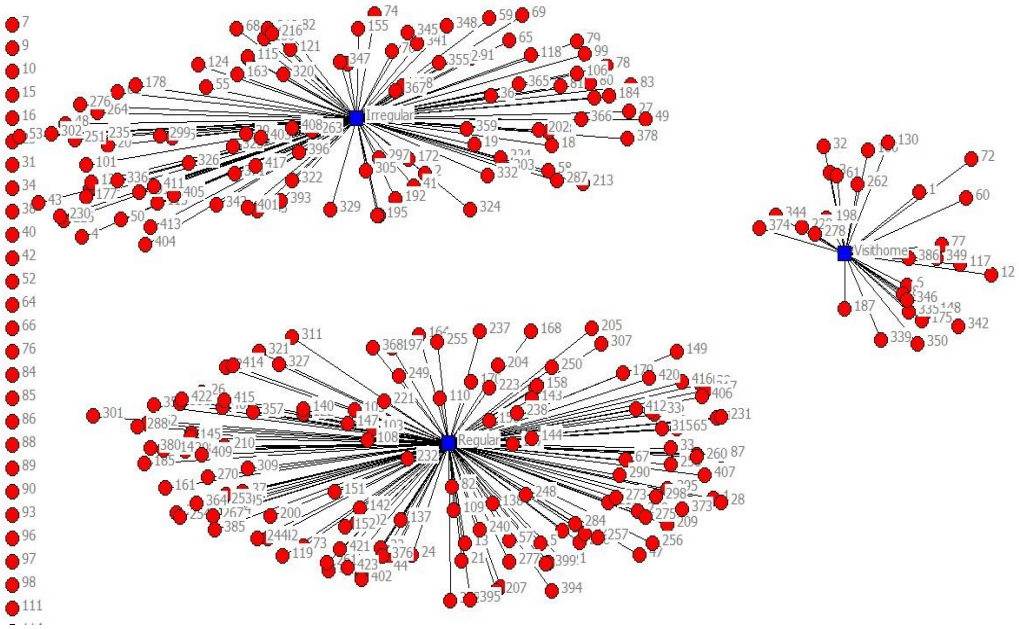


Figure 6.16: No. of Persons Sending Remittances

While 282 respondents reportedly send remittances to their households back home, the frequency with which they do so differs quite a bit. This is illustrated in fig. 6.16. The respondents who do not send remittances numbering 141 are represented on the left side of the graph in a series of red dots in a straight line. Of the remaining, it is obvious that most of the respondents do send remittances regularly. 144 respondents send money regularly whereas 110 migrants do so intermittently. They send money in case of medical emergencies or when required, for instance to repair or construct house, for purchase of vehicle, etc. 28 respondents give money to their parents or siblings only when they visit home.

Remittances are an important source of family income, especially among the lower income groups. This is substantiated by the fact that among the four sectors, it is the labour employed in the unorganized sector that shows the highest proportion of sending money (73%). It is only when the entire family has accompanied the worker to the destination that he does not send money. This strategy ensures diversification of the income portfolio of the household

and reduces the dependence of poor families on agricultural incomes which differ according to seasons, monsoons and factors that are very often beyond their control.

On the other hand, among the higher income groups, two distinct features emerged: those who do not send money home said that they do not do so either because the family is well-off and does not require their help or their expenses are so high that they are not able to do so. Many of them had personal, housing or vehicle loans and as such have to pay high EMIs as a result of which they cannot send remittances in spite of wanting to do so. Many of them also lamented the high cost of living in Goa which leaves little for savings and other requirements.

Of the 282 respondents who send remittances, the frequency with which they do so is examined sector-wise. This throws light on patterns observed among persons from different income groups, assuming that unorganized and private sector workers are the poorest and those in the self-employed and government sectors are relatively better off.

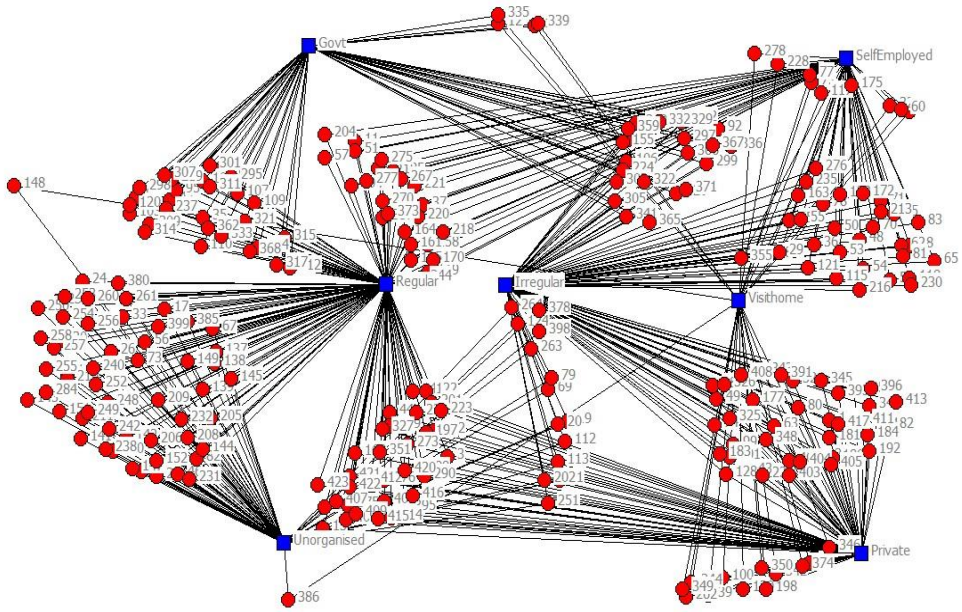


Figure 6.17: Remittances (Number of persons, by sector)

In Fig. 6.17, the number of persons sending remittances is denoted by the three blue squares in the centre: regularly, irregularly and only when visit home. The four sectors are shown by the blue squares at the outer edges of the graph. These nodes then converge towards the centre in accordance with the frequency with which they send remittances. It may be observed that 56 workers in the unorganized sector, 24 self-employed, 35 private sector employees and 28 government employees send remittances regularly. While only 15 workers

in the unorganized sector send money intermittently, the figures are higher in the other three sectors. 31 self-employed, 40 private sector employees and 22 government employees send money irregularly. Very few respondents stated that they give money only when they visit home. The numbers are 2, 4, 12 and 10 for the unorganized, self-employed, private and government sectors respectively.

In a highly populated country like India that is marked by great inequalities of income and wealth distribution, remittances constitute an important strategy for diversifying the income portfolio and finding a way out of poverty. India is the top remittance receiving country in case of international remittances and the figure stood at USD 80 billion for the year 2018. While credible data on international remittances are more easily available, it is however notoriously difficult to get accurate data on the quantum of internal remittances as most of these are sent through informal channels. This scene is slowly changing now though. Studies by NSSO and independent researchers have found that the volume of internal remittances far exceeds that of international remittances and plays a much more important role in poverty alleviation. Hence it is important to understand the ways in which the households use remittances.

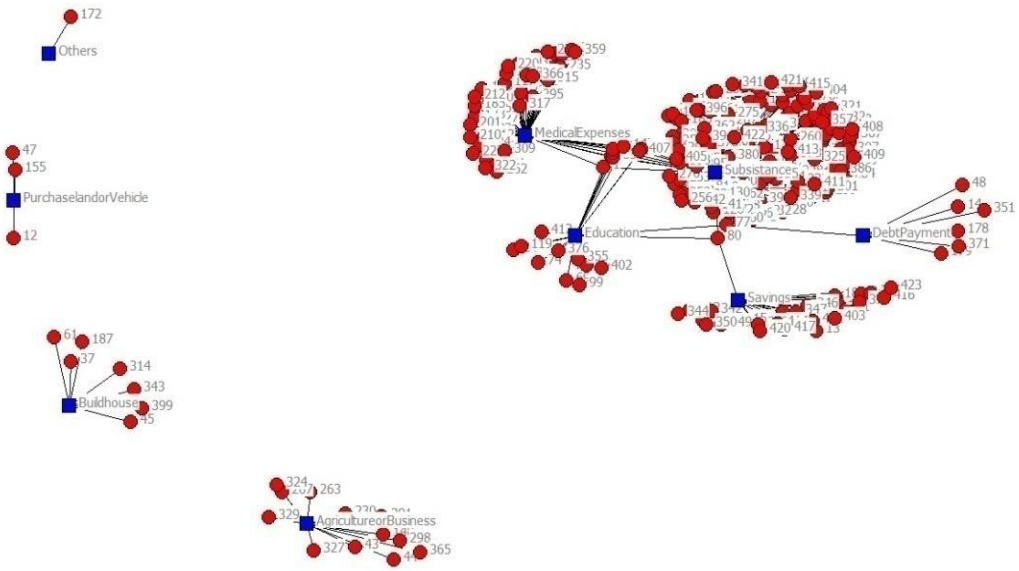


Figure 6.18: Primary Use of Remittances

Fig. 6.18 shows the primary use of remittances by the families. The various purposes that remittances are used for are denoted by the blue squares and include: subsistence, medical expenses, savings, agriculture/business, debt repayment, education, to build house, to

purchase land or vehicle and others. The majority of the respondents stated that the primary use of remittances is to meet day-to-day living expenses. This is followed by medical expenses, savings, farming and education. Very few respondents said that remittances are used for debt repayment, to build house or to purchase land or vehicle. 166 families use the money received through remittances for subsistence. It takes care of their day-to-day living expenses. 39 respondents stated that the money they send is used to meet the medical expenses of their old and ailing parents. Savings constitute the third most important use of remittances with 23 individuals stating that their parents do not spend the money but keep it as savings. It is interesting to note that these respondents are young - below the age of 25, female and unmarried. The money will supposedly be used for meeting their marriage expenses. The next important use is for agriculture/business (22 respondents). 15 respondents said that the money sent home is used to meet the educational expenses of either their younger siblings or children. In case of 6 respondents, their families utilized the money for debt repayment and families of 7 respondents used the money for construction of house. 3 respondents reported that the money was used for purchase of land/vehicle and 1 respondent cited 'others'.

An interesting feature that emerged among most workers in the unorganized and private sectors who live alone is that they have a monthly consumption expenditure of less than Rs.1000. Some of these workers are provided accommodation, food and transportation by their employers. So their expenses are minimal. The main item of expenditure is mobile phone recharge and they send the bulk of their income back home. They regularly communicate with their family members: spouse, parents, children and siblings by phone. This is an important way to connect with their families.

Remittances thus constitute an important part in easing the lives of the families of migrants back home. This can then work as a powerful motivator for other potential migrants to follow them to the destination in search of gainful employment and decent, regular income. With easy access to information and labour markets, they may then take the decision to migrate as viable employment opportunities back home are not forthcoming.

6.8 Visits to the Place of Origin

One of the most important ways in which links are maintained with the place of origin is by visiting home. 97.4 per cent (412) respondents visit home whereas only 2.6 per cent respondents (11) do not ever visit home. In case of these respondents, the reason for not

visiting home is because the entire household including the extended family has migrated to Goa and hence there is nobody left back at the place of origin. And three respondents who left home because of family disputes have cut off all ties with their families. 45% of the respondents visit their home state quite frequently, every month or every few months.

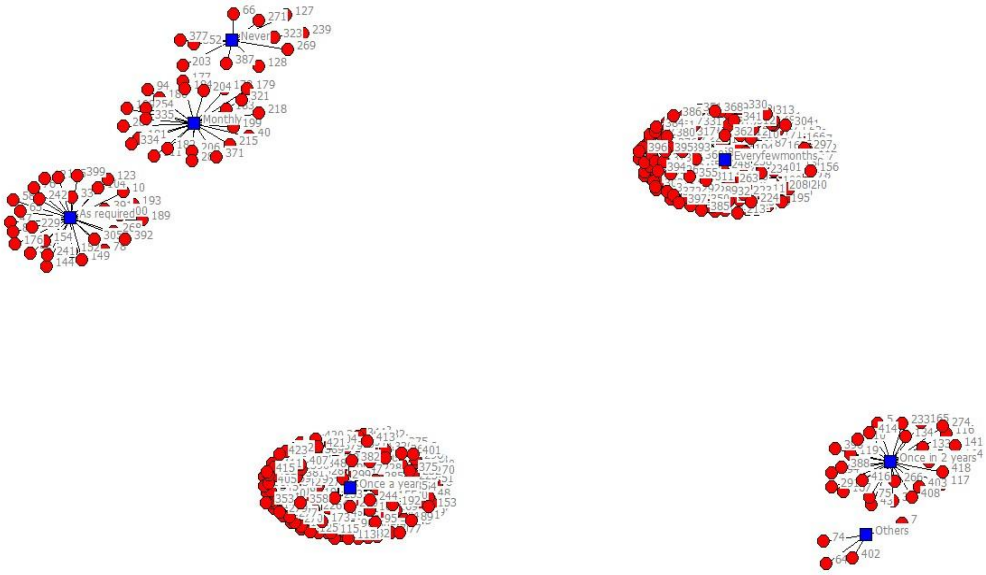


Figure 6.19: Visits to Place of Origin

From the figure 6.19, it may be observed that most people visit their families at the origin quite frequently. The blue squares denote the frequency of visits. Nodes are attached to each blue square according to the frequency of their visits. 23 respondents visit their native home every month whereas nearly 169 migrants go every few months. Among all those surveyed, the highest numbers of migrants hail from Karnataka and the third highest from Maharashtra, two states that share a common border with Goa. According to theory, migration is greater across shorter distances. The distance between certain places in these two states and Goa is less than 100 kilometres and hence it is convenient for them to travel frequently. However it should also be pointed out that there are workers from far-off states such as Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, etc. who travel frequently, especially to help in farming or when they are residing alone in Goa. 165 respondents travel to the place of origin once in a year. 25 respondents visit home once in two years and 30 respondents said they go whenever required and as such, there is no fixed number of visits. They go for festivals, other social ceremonies such as marriage, death, etc., or to visit their aged and ailing parents.

6.9 Perpetuation of Migration

An interesting facet of migration is that it is self-sustaining in nature. When an individual or a group of individuals from a region relocate to a new destination, there is information accessible to the people at the origin that may not have been previously available. Individuals once settled in the destination, bring other members of the family and/or friends. New opportunities are created, knowledge about the new place is freely available and the cost of moving is reduced as a network corridor already exists.

119 respondents have brought others from their place of origin to Goa. This figure may however not be accurate as the researcher observed a sense of unease among the respondents while answering this question. This may perhaps have been because they seemed unsure of the consequences of this admission as there is a growing anti-migrant sentiment in the state. The reluctance to answer this question was especially observed among workers in the lower income groups. And it is generally these workers who tend to migrate in large groups. As 48% of the respondents said that they got employment in Goa through their networks, it may be safely assumed that in turn, a large number of them may have brought others to Goa for employment purposes as and when opportunities arose. This is more commonly observed in the construction sector.

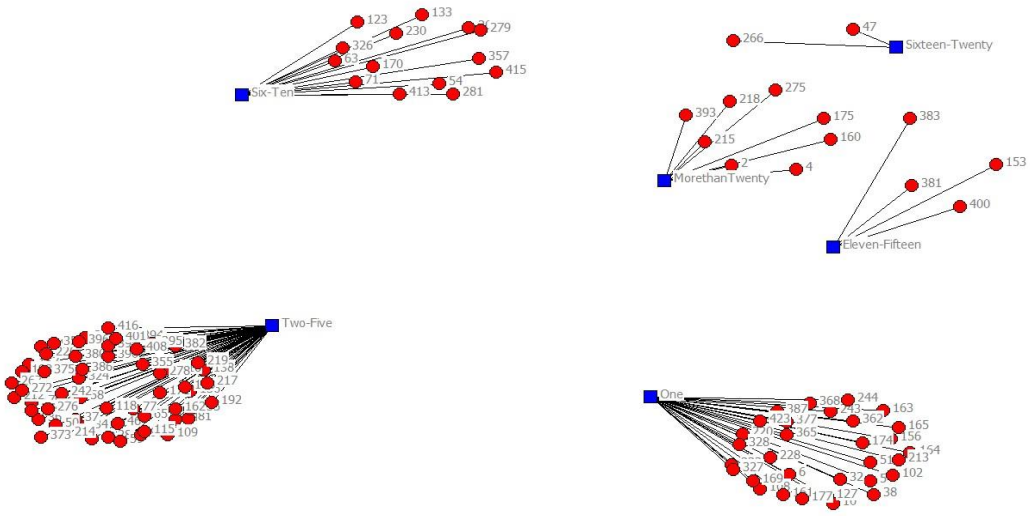


Figure 6.20: Brought Others from Origin to Destination

Figure 6.20 illustrates the number of people that the respondents brought from their native place to Goa. The blue squares denote the number of people that the respondents have brought, ranging from one person to more than 20 persons. The red dots represent the nodes that have brought others to Goa. Of the 119 respondents who revealed that they have brought

others from the place of origin to Goa, 32 respondents brought only a single individual, 59 people brought between two to five individuals, 14 individuals brought six to ten individuals each, 4 of them brought eleven to fifteen individuals, 2 respondents brought sixteen to twenty individuals and 8 individuals brought more than twenty individuals each. This is seen from the above sociogram. The total number of people brought by these respondents equals 664 individuals.

Of the respondents who brought others to Goa, 74.8 per cent respondents (89) helped these individuals to get a similar job in the same sector. Only 25.2 per cent respondents (30) said that the individuals they brought are employed in an occupation different from their own.

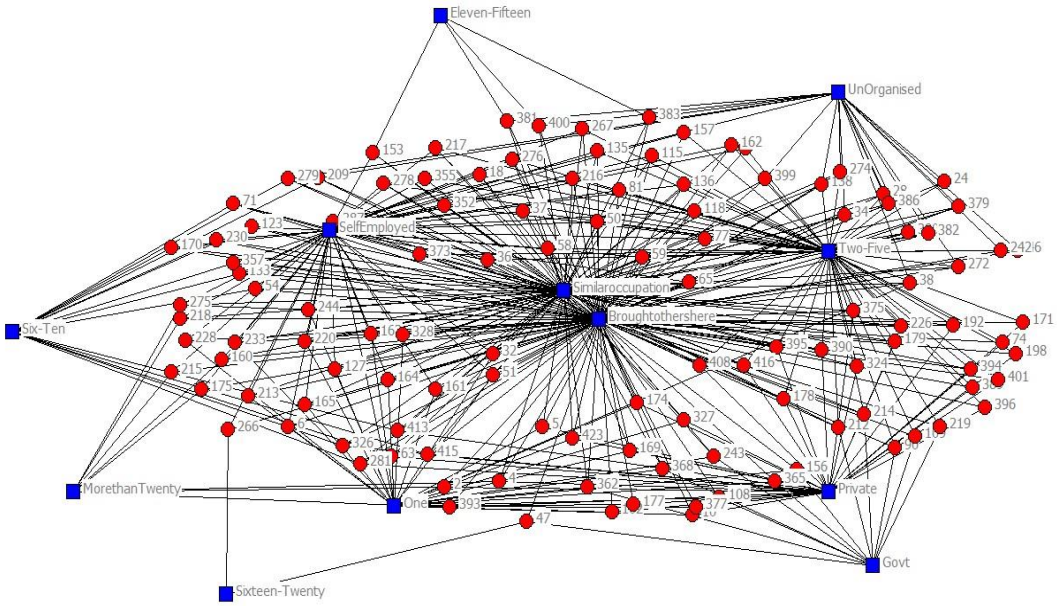


Figure 6.21: Similar Occupation (sector-wise)

Fig. 6.21 shows the sector-wise classification of the number of people brought by the respondents to Goa and whether they are employed in a similar occupation or not. The two blue squares in the centre of the sociogram show whether the individuals brought to Goa by the respondents work in a similar occupation or not. When the trends are analysed sector-wise, it is found that most of the new migrants work in a similar occupation in case of the unorganized sector and self-employed. 85 per cent each in these two sectors said that the people they helped come to Goa are working in the same field. In the private sector, 65 per cent of the respondents helped place the new migrants in a similar occupation whereas the number is least in case of the government sector at 41.6 per cent. In case of the government sector, it has to be pointed out that they usually informed their classmates or juniors with

similar qualifications about vacancies available in the government departments in Goa. This was in the first two decades since Liberation when there was a shortage of qualified persons among the locals and hence opportunities were more easily available.

From Fig. 6.22, it is obvious that most of the respondents who brought others from their respective places of origin were successful in placing these individuals in occupations similar to their own. Only three individuals from the unorganized sector, seven each from the self-employed and government sectors and twelve persons from the private sector were not able to assist the persons they brought to be employed in a job of similar nature.

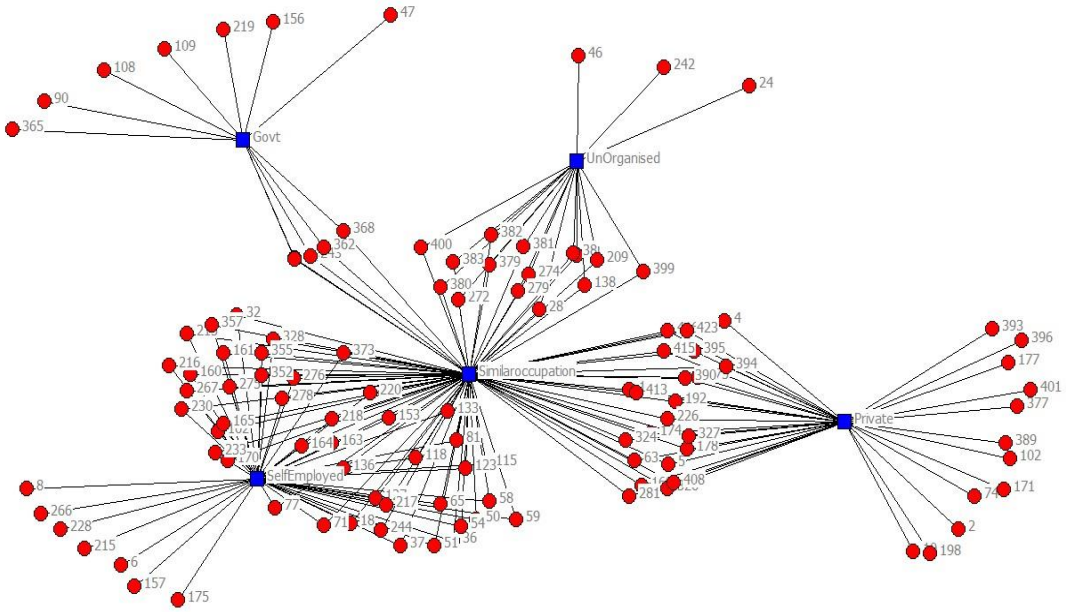


Figure 6.22: Similar Occupation (Sector-wise)

Thus it may be concluded that when there is migration from a particular region to a new destination, it creates a path between the actual migrants in the destination and the potential migrants at the place of origin. More people begin to come in as they have access to important information that aids the process of migration. Knowledge of job opportunities, wage levels, living conditions and very importantly, the presence of known people who undertook a similar journey in the past give an impetus to the potential migrants who seek new lands in their quest for gainful employment. Migration is thus a path-dependent process and networks play an extremely important role in shaping the direction of the movement.

6.10 Summary

From the above account, it is seen that networks play an important role in promoting and facilitating migration. Right from exerting an influence on the choice of destination to perpetuating migration in the host state, networks reinforce migratory behaviour. In fact, it may be safely assumed that networks also encourage potential migration through the creation of a migration corridor.

The role of networks is more important among workers in the unorganized and private sectors. Very often, jobs are obtained through social contacts. Among the self-employed, it is observed that most of them began by working for their family members or relatives and as time passed and they gained experience and had sufficient capital, they set up their own business. Networks are not as important for government employees. This proves that networks are more important for the lesser educated and the lesser skilled. As educational attainment increases, jobs are obtained on merit.

Networks play an important role in easing the process of adjustment in the new place and provide important material support in the initial stages of migration. Even with the passage of time, it is observed that the migrants tend to form and remain in social cliques with their own people. Homophily plays an important role in determining social relationships. It is evident that most migrants, regardless of the time spent in the host state, continue to maintain links with the place of origin. These links are strengthened by ties to the family home and land, with many workers going back to the native place during cultivation time. Other ways in which the links are preserved are by sending remittances and visiting home. Remittances play an important role in poverty alleviation among the poor and it improves the standard of living among the higher income groups. It also works as an encouraging factor in promoting further migration as more and more people choose to emulate the pioneer migrants.

CHAPTER VII: MIGRATION TO GOA: NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY

7.1 Introduction

At the centre of all development objectives is the welfare of human beings. Creation of jobs and providing decent incomes is crucial to economic development. A growing economy is characterised by increases in productivity and production. Among the factors of production, human labour occupies a special place. A motivated, secure and satisfied labour force will ensure that growth and development targets are easily achieved. However, the growing casualization and informalisation of labour is a cause for concern. In India, around 94% of the labour force is engaged in the unorganized sector which includes all unlicensed or unregistered economic activity. It is characterised by low productivity, low wages and a near absence of social security. On the other hand, organized sector refers to licensed organizations that are registered and pay GST. What is unfortunate is that even in the formal sector, there is increasing dependence on contract workers who remains out of the social security net. The growing precariousness of employment is compounded in case of migrant labour.

In this study, an attempt is made to assess the nature of migration and the impact of migration on the Goan economy on the basis of different employment groups. The intent is to find whether the experiences and benefits of migration are dictated by the type of job performed. The state receives a vast pool of labour and professionals through migration. The impact of migration on the state is studied according to the nature of employment. The study is based on a survey conducted of 423 migrant respondents. The types of jobs they perform have been broadly classified into four categories: unorganized, self-employed, private and government sectors. The workers in the unorganized sector are casual labour and they seem to find it easier to get employment. The self-employed enjoy a higher degree of autonomy but face many risks in the market and are more prone to discrimination. The private sector includes contract workers as well as those who occupy better positions at the supervisory and managerial levels. The government sector also includes some employees who are working on contract basis. The challenges and rewards of employment for these different groups of people will accordingly vary. It will help us derive broad conclusions from a diverse and heterogeneous group of the migrant working population.

7.2 Socio-Economic Factors and Nature of Migrants' Employment

The respondents of the survey are gainfully employed in the state which means that they receive regular, steady income. This also implies that the state has an adequate labour force which is important as the domestic population is less than 15 lakhs (Census 2011). Additionally, there is a high rate of out-migration too. The gap left behind by the youth who move out is filled by others who come from out-of-state. As there is a steady flow of workers available, production of goods and provision of services may continue uninterrupted. Given its high literacy rate, the state generally sees reluctance on the part of local youth to take up low-end, menial jobs. Scarcity of labour for these jobs is not a serious issue as workers from other states are willing to do these jobs. Also, higher education in the state is still in its nascent stage. This means that the shortage of highly skilled professionals is also filled to a large extent by people from other parts of the country. Technological advances while providing many benefits cause some disruptions too. As there is increasing automation, some kinds of jobs are now redundant whereas there is creation of new types of jobs which require a new set of skills. Thus the state's requirement of all types of labour, from unskilled and semi-skilled labour to the highly skilled labour is easily met through migrant labour.

Secondly, when the migrant labour force earn good incomes, consumption, savings and investment activities will increase, raising the aggregate demand levels in the economy. This in turn will incentivise production of goods and services. Ancillary units that support these industries will also flourish. From growing demand for food to demand for consumer durables, two-wheelers, automobiles, housing, and so on, the state experiences growth in almost every sphere. Services like banking, insurance, education, health facilities, entertainment and others also witness a boom. These are some of the direct benefits of migration. A better understanding of the impact of migration may be obtained by looking at each factor separately.

7.2.1 Gender

Generally, the work force participation rate of men is higher than that of women. Traditionally, only women from lower income groups and lower castes worked outside the home. With greater access to education, women from other socio-economic classes too have entered the work force, though it is found that in recent times, this proportion is declining.

Table 7.1: Male-Female Employment (No. of Persons)

Sector	Male	Female	Total
Unorganized sector	88	12	100
Self-employed	94	6	100
Private sector	96	27	123
Government sector	89	11	100
Total	367	56	423

According to Table 7.1, 367 respondents are male and only 56 comprise of females. The responsibility of getting a job and providing for the family is still largely a male domain. The low proportion of women reveals that they do not exert much autonomy in the migration decision as most women move due to marriage. However it was pleasantly surprising to note that all females from the North-Eastern states are young, single and chose to come here because of their desire for financial independence. In case of some female government employees too, the family shifted to Goa so that the woman could take up her job.

7.2.2 Religion

Some studies analyse migration decisions among families on the basis of religion. Religion has a bearing on the type of migration stream and the nature of job. For example, it is observed that Muslim youth mostly migrate to Gulf countries in search of gainful employment.

Table 7.2 reveals that 74% of the respondents are Hindus, followed by Muslims (15.8%) and Christians (8.7%). Sikhs and Buddhists are less than 1%. This is unsurprising as Hinduism is the religion followed by the majority in the country. They are employed in all the sectors. The proportion is relatively lower in the unorganized sector and higher in the government sector. Muslims are mostly employed in the unorganized sector and Christians in the private sector.

Table 7.2: Religion and Type of Employment (%)

Sector	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Total
Unorganized sector	58.0	39.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Self-employed	75.0	18.0	5.0	2.0	0.0	100.0
Private sector	74.0	6.5	18.7	0.8	0.0	100.0
Government sector	89.0	2.0	6.0	1.0	2.0	100.0
Total	74.0	15.8	8.7	0.9	0.5	100.0

7.2.3 Caste

It has to be pointed out here that caste was asked in case of Hindus only. Migration is one way in which individuals can escape from caste restrictions as even today, caste dictates what occupations people may or may not take up in Indian villages and sometimes in towns and cities too. A new place allows them anonymity and there are instances where some have chosen to take neutral surnames that do not reveal their caste identity.

Table 7.3: Caste and Employment (%)

Sector	Non-Hindus	General	OBC	SC	ST	Total
Unorganized sector	42.0	39.0	10.0	6.0	3.0	100.0
Self-employed	25.0	51.0	18.0	1.0	5.0	100.0
Private sector	26.0	43.9	13.8	6.5	9.8	100.0
Government sector	11.0	54.0	27.0	6.0	2.0	100.0
Total	26.0	46.8	17.0	5.0	5.2	100.0

It is observed from Table 7.3 that nearly 47% stated their caste as general. OBC comprises 17% whereas SC and ST are only about 5% each of the total respondents. Individuals belonging to the upper castes are in the majority in all jobs except in the unorganized sector. Many belonging to OBC are employed in the government sector. SC respondents are rarely venture into business pursuits and ST respondents form a small proportion in the government sector. Upward mobility among the lower castes is not visible as they are generally employed as casual or contract labour in the unorganized or private sectors. In fact, mobility seems to be higher among the upper castes as compared to the lower castes. Government employment among the lower castes may also be attributed to job reservations intended to promote equity.

7.2.4 Educational Qualifications

It is generally assumed that highly educated and skilled individuals will get better paying jobs and reap the benefits of migration.

Table 7.4: Educational Qualifications (%)

Sector	Not Lit-erate	Less than SSC	SSC	HSC	Grad	PG*	Dip.	PD**	PhD	Tot
Unorg. sec.	33.0	51.0	12.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	100
Self-emp.	17.0	37.0	13.0	11.0	14.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	0.0	100
Pvt. sector	3.3	22.7	16.3	17.1	26.8	5.7	0.8	7.3	0.0	100
Govt. sector	2.0	6.0	2.0	5.0	31.0	27.0	8.0	5.0	14.0	100
Total	13.2	28.9	11.1	9.5	18.4	8.7	3.1	3.8	3.3	100

*Post Graduate

** Professional Degree

As expected, it is seen (Table 7.4) that workers in the unorganized sector have no or less educational attainments. In case of the self-employed too, education does not seem important. In the private sector, while the workers are not educated, others having better jobs, either administrative or managerial, are graduates with many with professional degree holders too being absorbed here. It is the government sector that attracts those with high educational qualifications. It is found that all respondents with doctorates are employed here and the highest number of graduates, diploma holders and post graduates too are employed here. It follows naturally that these employees have higher incomes, greater job security and receive social security benefits. However for the casual labour, the incomes they earn here may be higher than what they were initially earning and as they are mostly employed in non-agricultural jobs, they receive regular incomes throughout the year.

7.2.5 Age at Migration

According to migration theory, most of those who migrate do so at a younger age. Migration is high in the 15 to 30 age group and significantly declines above 30 years of age. It is the young and able-bodied that show a higher propensity to migrate

Table 7.5: Age at Migration (%)

Sector	Below 15	15-20	21-25	26-30	Above 30	Total
Unorganized sector	11.0	45.0	21.0	12.0	11.0	100.0
Self-employed	15.0	42.0	24.0	16.0	3.0	100.0
Private Sector	9.8	30.9	39.7	11.4	8.2	100.0
Government sector	10.0	13.0	45.0	23.0	9.0	100.0
Total	11.3	32.6	32.9	15.4	7.8	100.0

It is observed from Table 7.5 that migration occurs in greater numbers at lower age and reduces with increase in age. 15% of the self-employed actually first migrated when they were less than 15 years of age. Naresh Bhai, a successful Gujarati trader who owns five different businesses, recounted how he first came to Goa as a 14 year old boy. With Rs. 15 in his pocket and a pair of clothes, he got down at Margao railway station with only the address of a neighbour from back home who had a saw-mill business here. Not knowing any Konkani, he traced his neighbour with difficulty and convinced him to employ him. He has now spent close to fifty years in Goa and considers it home.

89% workers in the unorganized sector first migrated when they were below 30 years of age. The corresponding figures for the self-employed are 97%, 91.8% for private sector, and 91% in the government sector. Government employees are more educated, it takes longer to complete education and get suitable employment. This is obvious from the fact that 9% of government employees were above the age of 30 when they first migrated.

However it is seen that 11% of workers in the unorganized sector and 8.2% in the private sector were above 30 when they first migrated. This shows the growing vulnerability of casual or informal workers as they are forced to move out of their villages due to growing rural distress even at a later stage. One worker in the unorganized sector first came to Goa at the age of 62. He spent his life's savings for his daughter's marriage and had incurred some debts. As jobs were few and far between in his native village, he decided to move out. Today he lives here alone while his wife lives alone in the village. He barely spoke a word and it was his co-workers from the same village who narrated his story.

7.2.6 Marital Status at Migration

Since most people migrate at a younger age, it stands to reason that many are not married when they first migrate.

Table 7.6: Marital Status at Migration (%)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	28.0	72.0	100.0
Self-employed	24.0	76.0	100.0
Private Sector	20.3	79.7	100.0
Government sector	27.0	73.0	100.0
Total	24.6	75.4	100.0

From Table 7.6, it is evident that around three-quarters of the migrants were not married when they first migrated. This can be attributed to the young age at which they migrated and also to the fact that they got married only after being gainfully employed and financially secure. Among those who were married when they first migrated, the highest numbers are seen in the unorganized and government sectors. This may be because some among them migrated at a later age.

7.2.7 Size of Household in Goa: It is normally observed that household size is bigger among the lesser educated and lower income groups.

Table 7.7: Size of Household (%)

Sector	1	2-3	4 -7	8 - 10	<10	Total
Unorganized sector	52.0	14.0	29.0	2.0	3.0	100.0
Self-employed	15.0	17.0	61.0	5.0	2.0	100.0
Private Sector	43.1	21.1	33.3	2.4	0.0	100.0
Government sector	18.0	39.0	43.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	32.6	22.7	41.1	2.4	1.2	100.0

There are a significant number of single households among the migrant community, especially among workers in unorganized and private sectors. While big families are not very common, it is more prevalent among self-employed and unorganized sector workers. This may be because family labour is an important asset for them. Wages are low in the unorganized sector. More the number of working members, higher will be the household income. This will provide them with a living wage. In case of family enterprises, many bring their siblings and other relatives from back home to help them in business and so they tend to have joint families.

7.2.8 Influence of Socio-Economic Factors on Nature of Employment: A Chi-Square Analysis

Since the respondents are employed in different sectors of the economy, an attempt has been made to see if the nature of employment is significantly influenced by socio-economic variables such as gender, religion, caste, education, age at migration and size of household. It is hypothesised that these indicators significantly influence the nature of employment. The analysis is done using the chi-square test which is useful for testing relationships between categorical variables.

Table 7.8: Results of Chi-Square Test

Sr No	Hypothesis	Chi-Square Value	df	Significance
1	H_A: Nature of job and gender are related	13.261	3	.004
2	H_A: Nature of job and religion are related	88.313	12	.000
3	H_A: Nature of job and caste are related	43.084	12	.000
4	H_A: Nature of job and education are related	264.034	27	.000
5	H_A: Nature of job and age at migration are related	47.930	15	.000
6	H_A: Nature of job and size of household are related	74.757	12	.000

It is observed from Table 7.8, that there is a significant relationship between the variables and the nature of job. In case of gender, the chi-square value is 13.261 and is statistically significant at 1%. We saw in Table 7.1 that while men are more or less equally employed in every sector of the economy, among the women respondents, most are employed in the private sector. Only 6 women out of 56 are self-employed. This is as much a reflection of cultural restrictions for women to work outside the home as it may be an indication of the difficulties encountered in setting up business by those from other states which may be compounded in case of women. Thus gender does influence the nature of job.

In case of religion, the chi-square value at 88.313 is statistically significant at 1%. Hindus being the dominant category, they form the highest percentage in each sector, though it is

much lesser in the unorganized sector. On the other hand, Muslims are disproportionately higher in the unorganized sector. Christians are mostly employed in the private sector. Thus it may be concluded that the nature of job is significantly influenced by religion.

It is unfortunate that even in 21st century India, caste still exists and determines employment status of individuals. With a chi-square value of 43.084, the relationship between caste and nature of employment is statistically significant at 1%. It is observed from Table 7.3 that migration is more common among the upper castes and the propensity to migrate is much lesser among the lower castes. Various studies have shown that among the members of the lower castes who do migrate, it is generally for shorter durations. While individuals from the general category are employed in all four sectors, their numbers are much lower in the unorganized sector, a reflection of their higher educational attainments. While there are a significant number of people employed in the government sector in case of OBC, it was seen that members of SC and ST are mostly casual labour. This shows that vertical mobility among the marginalised is not as commonplace as it ought to be. The government measures taken for the welfare of these citizens are inadequate and half-heartedly implemented. For development to be truly meaningful, it is imperative that the fruits of development should be equally enjoyed by all. The country has a long way to go before this becomes a reality.

The chi-square value is 264.034 in case of education and is significant at 1%. Non-literate individuals are mostly employed in the unorganized sector as expected (Table 7.4). The highly educated are absorbed in the government sector while the private sector attracts graduates and those with professional degrees. The government sector is associated with high incomes, job security and social security. These are garnered by the better educated. The private sector sees both kinds of labour: lesser educated and better educated. However it is seen that again, the less educated are contract workers and are vulnerable at the workplace. Due to the contractual nature of their work, they are not members of trade unions and hence have very poor bargaining powers. With labour laws being amended with impunity to benefit employers, their position is quite tenuous.

Age of migrants when they first migrated provides useful insights into the nature of migration. With a chi-square value of 47.930 and significant at 1%, nature of job and age are significantly related. Those who migrated between the ages of less than 15 and up to 20 mostly work in the unorganized sector or are self-employed. Among the self-employed, many worked for their relatives when they first arrived here and gradually set up their own

businesses. Most of the government employees migrate at higher age which may indicate the relative difficulty of securing a government job vis-a-vis jobs in other sectors.

Similarly, size of households varies across sectors. Many workers in the unorganized and private sectors live here alone. While many are unmarried, others who are married choose to leave their families behind. This may be a reflection of the low wages they earn or the temporary nature of their migration or perhaps due to cultural restrictions. The household burden is borne by women and looking after aged parents and unmarried siblings is often the responsibility of daughters-in-law. Government employees generally have small families which testify to the fact that size of the family decreases with increase in education and incomes. Joint families are definitely on the decline and where they exist, it is usually found among the self-employed and informal workers where family labour is common. The chi-square value of 74.757 and a 1%significance level show that size of household and nature of job are related.

7.3 Push-Pull Factors

7.3.1 Reasons for Leaving Home-State

These factors are known as push factors which exist at the place of origin as these factors compel the migrant to leave his home. These factors inhibit his progress and come in the way of enjoying a decent life and so he is forced to seek fresh opportunities in a new place.

Given below in Table 7.9 are the various push factors or reasons cited by the respondents for leaving their homes and choosing to come to Goa. Most of the respondents give economic reasons for leaving home. For three sectors, lack of employment is the single most important reason for migration. It is highest for the private sector employees at 56.1% followed by the unorganized sector (42%), and self-employed (37%). The second most important reason, poor financial situation, is again common for unorganized and private sector employees as well as for the self-employed. On the other hand, ‘others’ is the most important reason for migration among government employees followed by lack of employment. Among those who cited caste/religious conflicts, all are from Kashmir.

Table 7.9: Reasons for leaving Home State (%)

Reasons for Leaving Place of Origin	Unorganized sector	Self-employed	Private sector	Government sector	Total
Lack of employment	42.0	37.0	56.1	40.0	44.4
Poor financial situation	35.0	26.0	22.8	5.0	22.2
Poor wages	6.0	4.0	8.1	1.0	5.0
Inadequate land	3.0	3.0	0.0	2.0	1.9
Natural disasters	0.0	1.0	3.3	0.0	1.2
Caste/religious conflicts	1.0	2.0	0.8	0.0	0.9
Family disputes	3.0	8.0	1.6	0.0	3.1
Marriage	2.0	2.0	1.6	4.0	2.4
Others	8.0	17.0	5.7	48.0	18.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In case of government employees, ‘others’ mostly constituted factors such as transfer, deputation and posting. In case of self-employed, four respondents said they came here due to business expansion. Two individuals had a similar story: they said that they had borrowed money from relatives and friends to go abroad. But the agent cheated them and they were unable to repay the amount borrowed and so fled to Goa. Today both are successful businessmen and have returned the money to their creditors. Incidentally, both individuals hail from the same state, Kerala. And in fact, one said his financial situation is much better than it would have been had he gone abroad. Some informal workers who came from Jharkhand said that they had come to Goa as tourists and liked the place so much that they chose to work here. Three respondents said that there was no particular reason for coming here whereas two others cited health reasons for coming to Goa. One individual’s wife was undergoing treatment at the Goa Medical College and in the other instance, the climate here was more favourable for the patient. Only 1% of the total respondents cited natural disasters as the reason for migration. This proportion may increase in future as climate change

emerges as an important challenge, especially in the rural areas where farming activities may come under severe stress.

7.3.2 Reasons for Migrating to Goa

These factors are known as pull factors. They refer to the forces of attraction that exist in the destination. These factors tend to attract the migrant in terms of the promise of a better life compared to the one he left behind. When the potential benefits of migration outweigh the expected cost of migration, the individual is motivated to move.

From Table 7.10 below, it is observed that better employment opportunities is the single most important reason for choosing to move to Goa for the unorganized and private sector employees and among the self-employed. In case of government employees, 'others' again constitute the most important reason for moving which includes transfers and postings. What is interesting to note is that while economic compulsions such as lack of employment and poor finances were important push factors, social factors such as presence of family and friends and following family and friends who had come earlier to Goa now begin to assume significance. While economic reasons account for 50% of the migration, social factors accounted for nearly 24% of migration. For nearly 4% of the respondents, proximity to hometown played a role in choice of destination whereas 5% reported the congenial atmosphere in Goa as an important pull factor.

Table 7.10: Reasons for Coming to Goa (%)

Reasons for coming to Goa	Nature of job				Total
	Unorganized sector	Self-employed	Private sector	Government sector	
Better employment opportunities	48.0	49.0	46.4	30.0	43.5
Better working conditions	2.0	5.0	5.7	1.0	3.5
Higher wages	0.0	4.0	7.3	1.0	3.3
Proximity to hometown	3.0	3.0	4.9	4.0	3.8
Presence of relatives and friends	26.0	13.0	16.3	1.0	14.2
Following friends/relatives	16.0	9.0	8.0	10.0	10.6
Safe, congenial atmosphere	5.0	8.0	4.9	2.0	5.0
Better facilities	0.0	2.0	1.6	1.0	1.2
Others	0.0	7.0	4.9	50.0	14.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In case of government employees, ‘others’ once again refers to transfers and postings. In the private sector too, a few cited transfers as the reason for coming here. One individual said he was a trusted employee and when his boss opened a branch in Goa, he was requested to move here to oversee the entire setting up of the business.

Some cited higher education as a reason. On completing their education, they found suitable employment here and so chose to continue their career in Goa. Two scientists, one from Uttar Pradesh and another from Tamil Nadu, specialised in ocean research, and said opportunities in their domain area were lacking in their native region and hence moved here. An interesting case is of a government employee who is physically disabled and cited ‘better facilities’ as the reason that attracted her to Goa. She was previously working in Mumbai where she faced lot of hardships while commuting daily by local trains to work as well as while performing other day-to-day activities like shopping for groceries, etc. She said to specifically mention that Goa is more friendly and helpful to those with special needs. For instance, if she’s standing in a queue, people often request her to go to the front of the line. According to her,

she's more independent since coming here, has learned to drive the four-wheeler and is very happy with her decision to move to Goa.

7.3.3 Influence of Push-Pull Factors on Nature of Employment: A Chi-Square Analysis

In order to understand if the reasons for leaving the home-state and the reasons for choosing the destination, i.e. Goa, are different for different groups of people, a chi-square analysis has been attempted. It is hypothesised that there is a significant relationship between the nature of employment and push-pull factors.

Table 7.11: Results of Chi-Square Test

Sr. No.	Hypothesis	Chi-Square Value	df	Significance
1	H_A: Nature of job and push factors are related	121.554	24	.000
2	H_A: Nature of job and pull factors are related	170.089	27	.000

In case of push factors, it is seen that factors which affect the decision to move out are different for people in different forms of employment. While factors that lead to economic marginalisation are important push factors for workers in the unorganized and private sector, as well as for many who are self-employed, it is transfers and postings that are important in case of government employees. As the respondents are mainly economic migrants, lack of employment is cited by many in all four sectors. Marriage as a reason to move out is not very important given that males outnumber females by a huge margin in the sample. The chi-square value is 121.554 which is statistically significant at 1%, implying that the null hypothesis may be rejected. There is a significant relationship between push factors and the nature of employment.

Pull factors reveal the attractive forces that influenced the respondents to choose Goa as the destination once the decision to move was made. The chi-square value of 170.089 with a significance level of 1% shows that different pull factors affected the choice of individuals differently, given their nature of employment. Again, it is observed from Table 7.9 that better employment opportunities are cited by many in all four sectors. Additionally, social factors such as the presence of family and friends or following family or friends are quite important for workers in the unorganized and private sectors. This is because word-of-mouth is an

important source for these workers to get suitable jobs. 'Others' comprising of transfers and postings are important for government employees. One government officer spoke about how he put Goa as a second choice for posting, the first being his home town. The reason he chose Goa was because his brother-in-law was working here. However after he came here, his brother-in-law managed to get a transfer and go back home. But he continues to remain here and has now adjusted happily to life in Goa but hopes to go back home after retirement. Many spoke about the friendly and safe atmosphere here with very little crime and violence. They also said they experience a sense of freedom here that they would not have enjoyed back home.

Thus it is observed that the relative importance of socio-economic factors differ according to nature of job. Low income workers feel economic compulsions more keenly than those who are better off. However it is noticed that even among them, lack of employment in the home state and better opportunities/prospects in Goa is a crucial factor. Social factors influence the choice of destination among low income groups much more than those from high income groups. As the nature of employment determines income levels, it may be concluded that socio-economic factors and nature of employment are significantly related. What is important for the Goan economy is that it is able to attract all kinds of labour, whether skilled or unskilled, from most parts of the country who spend their most productive years here, providing important services and contributing to economic growth and development. Both parties are able to fulfil their goals, in case of migrants – they are gainfully employed and receive suitable remuneration, for the state – there is ready availability of suitably skilled labour for a variety of jobs.

7.4 Migrant Work Environment in Goa

Goa is an attractive destination for inter-state migrants and economic reasons for migration is cited by about 30% of the migrants who come here (Census 2011). This implies that the state provides adequate employment opportunities and decent wages/salaries. Other social and cultural factors also play an important role in determining the choice of destination. As the respondents are an important component of the working population here, it is important to assess the nature and characteristics of employment in the state.

Since these individuals are gainfully employed in Goa, it is necessary to evaluate how they view their work environment. This has been studied under the following areas: how they secured employment; whether they came to Goa upon getting a job here; if not, for how long

they were without a job; whether they changed jobs in Goa; and if so, the reasons for doing so; and whether their spouse is working here.

7.4.1 Mode of obtaining Employment

One important reason why a particular region is popular as a migration destination is because of the relative ease with which employment is obtained. As economic migrants are an important component of the migrant community in Goa, it stands to reason that there are sufficient job opportunities here. It is obvious that the means by which they secure jobs will be different for different types of jobs. There will be more formal ways of recruitment in case of high paying jobs and in the government sector whereas in case of low income, low skill jobs, workers will get jobs through informal channels and hence networks will play an important role here. In case of the self-employed, it was seen that when they initially came to Goa, many of them first worked for others and set up their own business only after gaining experience and having access to adequate capital necessary to start their business.

Table 7.12: Mode of obtaining Employment (%)

Sector	News paper Advt.	Other Media	Friend	Family/ Relative	Recruitment Agency/SSC	Individual Agent	Others	Total
Unorganized sector	0.0	0.0	34.0	34.0	0.0	18.0	14.0	100.0
Self-employed	0.0	0.0	21.0	31.0	0.0	14.0	34.0	100.0
Private sector	10.6	4.9	27.6	23.6	11.4	14.6	7.3	100.0
Government sector	26.0	3.0	6.0	6.0	55.0	0.0	4.0	100.0
Total	9.3	2.1	22.5	23.6	16.3	11.8	14.4	100.0

Table 7.12 illustrates the relative importance of different means of obtaining jobs in the four different sectors. Newspaper advertisements, other media and recruitment agencies play no role whatsoever for employment in the unorganized sector and for the self-employed. Also individual agents are not important for government sector employment. Friends, family and relatives play a very important role in facilitating employment for workers in the unorganized and private sectors and for the self-employed whereas in case of government sector, their role is minimal. On the other hand, recruitment through the Staff Selection Committee is the most important means of securing government employment followed by newspaper advertisement. When it is assessed overall for all four sectors, it is seen that friends, family and relatives

play a very important role. Thus it is seen that in Goa, employment is still available through word of mouth information received from social contacts.

7.4.2 Uncertainty in Securing Employment

Migration carries with it a lot of risk. Moving to a new place where the language, climate, food habits, culture and traditions may be different poses a lot of adjustment problems. If there is no one familiar, making new friends can also be a daunting task. In addition to all this, if the individual has to look out for a job, it means additional uncertainty. However, some people make the move only after they have obtained a job which reduces the degree of uncertainty associated with moving to a new place. From Table 7.13 given below, it is found that among the private and government sectors, 89 and 75 respondents respectively came to Goa after having obtained employment. This is also an indication of the formal channels of job recruitment followed in these sectors. On the other hand, among the self-employed, a more or less equal number of individuals came with a job in hand and without a promised job. 59 migrants in the unorganized sector came to Goa without a job and sought employment after they reached here. This may be interpreted as it being easier to secure a job as casual labour.

Table 7.13: Already Secured Employment (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	NA	Total
Unorganized sector	35	59	6	100
Self-employed	48	47	5	100
Private sector	89	27	7	123
Government sector	75	21	4	100
Total	247	154	22	423

The category, NA, includes respondents who came to Goa for educational purposes and those who came here as children accompanying their relatives.

7.4.3 Time taken to find Job

In each sector, there are individuals who took the risk of coming to Goa without a secure job in hand. They sought gainful employment only after they moved here. The period of time taken to get a suitable job reveals the relative ease with which employment is obtained in the four sectors.

Table 7.14: Time taken to find Job (%)

Sector	NA	Within a month	1-6 months	7-12 months	More than 1 year	Total
Unorganized sector	41.0	43.0	11.0	1.0	4.0	100.0
Self-employed	53.0	21.0	18.0	1.0	7.0	100.0
Private sector	78.0	13.1	4.9	1.6	2.4	100.0
Government sector	79.0	4.0	7.0	3.0	7.0	100.0
Total	63.5	19.9	9.9	1.7	5.0	100.0

NA refers to those who already had a job in hand and those who initially came for education or accompanying family members as minors. 59% of workers in the unorganized sector came to Goa without a job. And it is seen from Table 7.14 that 43% got a job within a month. Among these, many like daily wage workers, plumbers, carpenters and masons, said that they got a job within 2 to 3 days. This shows the relative ease with which jobs are available in case of casual and informal workers. In the private sector too, the majority obtained jobs within a month and these are again workers and not those in higher positions. Employment in the government sector is relatively more difficult to obtain. Some old-timers, who came here in the 1960s and 1970s fondly recounted the good old days when they came to Goa one fine day, answered an interview the next day and were informed in another day's time that they were appointed. This was common in case of government jobs and in the teaching profession. In the government sector, there are those who were previously employed in the private sector and moved to the government sector after a period of time.

7.4.4 Job Stability

The degree of stability in jobs is an indication of the work environment in the state. When this is analysed sector-wise useful information about the nature of working conditions in different sectors is gained.

Table 7.15: Job Stability (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	39	61	100
Self-employed	57	43	100
Private sector	38	85	123
Government sector	16	84	100
Total	150	273	423

Table 7.15 shows the number of individuals who changed jobs within Goa sector-wise. It is seen that it is the self-employed at 57 respondents that report the highest extent of having changed jobs. This is not surprising as most of these respondents worked for others, i.e. a relative, friend or neighbour from back home before they set up their own business. In case of government employees too, some of them worked elsewhere before they secured a government job. Those in the unorganized sector who changed jobs are mostly daily wage workers who move as and where work is available. Again, in case of private sector workers who changed jobs, many were contract labour who had to seek employment elsewhere when the contract was over. And there are some in higher positions who moved when better prospects became available.

7.4.5 Reasons for Changing Jobs

Job security is an important component to measure job satisfaction. However all are not fortunate enough to enjoy the benefits of having a stable and steady job. When reasons for changing jobs are examined, conclusions may be drawn about the nature and characteristics of the working environment in the state. A high degree of instability does not bode well for the workers and for the economy too.

Table 7.16: Reasons for Changing Jobs (No. of Persons)

Sector	Low wages	Poor working conditions	Better opportunities	Hostility at workplace	Transfer/ Deputation	Others	Total
Unorganized sector	23	4	12	0	0	0	39
Self employed	21	2	32	0	0	2	57
Private sector	7	2	20	1	0	8	38
Government sector	3	0	8	0	4	1	16
Total	43	6	72	1	4	12	150

In Table 7.16, only those respondents are included who have changed jobs within Goa. It is observed that the highest number is among the self-employed and the most common reason for changing jobs is the opening up of better opportunities and prospects. The second important reason cited for changing jobs is low wages. Four government employees said they had to change jobs when they were transferred or deputed to other departments. Only one

individual working in the private sector claimed that he changed jobs because of a hostile work environment. This shows that on the whole, the working atmosphere in Goa is quite peaceful and it is only when better options are available that the individuals choose to change jobs.

7.4.6 Employment Status of Spouse

There are many migrants who come to the state alone, leaving their families behind. In other cases, the migrants are unmarried. Where the respondent is married and accompanied by family, it is interesting to see if the spouse is working too. This may be looked at in two ways: the woman chooses not to work because the man is earning a higher income than what he earned back home. Or the woman works here because cultural restrictions which prevented her from working back home are no longer applicable here. In case of women respondents, their spouses are employed with the exception of one who does not work due to health problems as he is paralysed.

Table 7.17: Employment Status of Spouse (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	NA	Total
Unorganized sector	21	37	42	100
Self--employed	13	71	16	100
Private sector	18	52	53	123
Government sector	23	58	19	100
Total	75	218	130	423

Category NA in Table 7.17 includes those who are unmarried and those whose spouse did not accompany them to Goa. It is seen that a majority of the spouses are not employed. This is more pronounced in case of the self-employed and may be understood thus: their earnings are high enough that there is no need for the spouse to work in order to supplement the household income or they help their spouses in running the business which is not considered as formal employment. Many of the businessmen are from the states of Gujarat and which are quite conservative in nature and hence there may be cultural restrictions that do not encourage women to work. In case of the unorganized sector too, the majority do not work. In case of lower income groups, women work only to supplement the family income. The

low proportion of working women here may mean that wages are higher here and so there is no need for the women to work. In case of private and government employees too, it is seen that most of the spouses do not work. Thus when observed sector-wise, it is seen that majority of the spouses are not working. This is in keeping with the overall national trend of falling work participation rates among women.

Thus it may be concluded that the work environment in Goa is quite harmonious. There are no many instances of hostility and labour unrest here. Wages/salaries may be higher in Goa as compared to the home state, given the low proportion of working women here. It is relatively easier to obtain jobs here as less than 12% only claimed to have taken more than a year to find suitable employment whereas 52% got a job within a month. While 32.6% respondents changed jobs within Goa, it was mostly because of the availability of better opportunities. Overall, the workers seem to enjoy better benefits and are satisfied with the working conditions in the state.

7.5. Economic Impact of Migration to Goa

Migration has existed from times immemorial and will continue to flourish as long as there exists differing economic opportunities. But for migration to be accepted and welcomed by the host region, the benefits from migration should outweigh the costs of migration for the host. The most important benefits include provision of (cheap) labour, increased levels of productivity and production, increase in consumption, savings and investment that in turn raise aggregate demand levels and propel the economy towards a higher growth trajectory. But there are important costs that have to be factored in too. For a small state like Goa, the main problems include overcrowding, congestion and increased pressure on scarce resources. There are important changes in the demography of the region. If benefits exceed costs, migration may be considered viable. The economic impact of migration on the state economy may be analysed by taking into account the income, consumption, savings and investment activities of the migrants.

7.5.1 Income

All the respondents in the survey are gainfully employed. They receive adequate remuneration for the services rendered. If they are satisfied by their earnings, they in turn will aid other potential migrants from back home to come here.

Table 7.18: Monthly Income (%)

Sector	Up to Rs. 25000	25001-50000	50001-100000	100001-150000	Above Rs. 150000	Total
Unorganized sector	99.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Self--employed	48.0	23.0	7.0	3.0	19.0	100.0
Private sector	74.0	15.4	8.9	0.0	1.6	100.0
Government sector	10.0	42.0	24.0	15.0	9.0	100.0
Total	58.6	20.1	9.9	4.3	7.1	100.0

Table 7.18 shows the monthly income of the respondents. 58.6% earn income up to Rs. 25000 only. This shows that Goa has access to a vast pool of cheap labour, especially in the unorganized and private sectors. Incomes in the government sector are higher. In case of the self-employed, most are small traders with only 22% earning over a lakh per month. However it has to be borne in mind that many of these businessmen may not have revealed the true extent of their earnings as also in case of private sector employees holding managerial positions. Hence this may not give a true picture of their earnings.

7.5.2 Monthly Household Income

From Table 7.16, it is seen that spouses of nearly 18% of the respondents are employed. Also in some cases, children, and in case of joint families, other members, may also be contributing to the household income.

Table 7.19: Monthly Household Income (%)

Sector	Up to Rs. 25000	Rs. 25001-50000	Rs. 50001-1,00,000	Rs. 1,00,001-1,50,000	Above Rs. 1,50,000	Total
Unorganized sector	96.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Self--employed	46.0	20.0	9.0	5.0	20.0	100.0
Private sector	74	11.4	10.6	2.4	1.6	100.0
Govt sector	9.0	36.0	26.0	15.0	14.0	100.0
Total	57.2	17.0	11.8	5.4	8.5	100.0

According to Table 7.19, when family income is taken into account, some respondents move to a higher income bracket. But given the low proportion of spouses who are working, the

income doesn't change drastically, in most cases there is a less than 2% change. The results have to be interpreted with caution as many respondents didn't answer accurately.

7.5.3 Monthly Consumption Expenditure

Consumption is a function of income. Higher the income, higher will be consumption and vice-versa. As long as major consumption activities are taking place in the destination, it will boost economic growth in Goa.

Given that most of the respondents have low incomes, it follows that their consumption expenditure will also be limited. Many of the unorganized and private sector workers live alone. In some cases, they live either at the workplace or in accommodation provided by the employer. Sometimes the employer provides them with food and transport as well. In these cases, their consumption expenditure is minimal and most of their earnings are sent back home to the family.

Table 7.20: Monthly Consumption Expenditure (No. of Persons)

Sector	Up to Rs. 1000	Rs. 1001-5000	Rs. 5001-10000	Rs. 10001-15000	Rs. 15001-25000	Rs. 25001-50000	Rs. 50001-100000	Above Rs. 100,000	Total
Unorganized sector	18	41	24	12	4	1	0	0	100
Self--employed	0	6	21	27	13	22	8	3	100
Private sector	6	39	28	18	18	12	2	0	123
Government sector	0	1	10	14	27	32	14	2	100
Total	24	87	83	71	62	67	24	5	423

It is interesting to note from Table 7.20 that 24 respondents claim a monthly expenditure of Rs. 1000 only. Mobile recharge is the main item of expenditure. In all, 194 individuals have an expenditure of up to Rs. 10,000 only. This means that there is high demand for essential goods and services. It is important that the government should regulate the prices of these items of mass consumption. Additionally, there should be portability of rights for this vulnerable group so that they can avail of subsidised goods, PDS being a case in point. Even if employers provide basic items such as food, housing and transport to their workers, this expenditure takes place within the state and thus raises demand levels. Only 29 individuals

(1%) of the respondents report a monthly expenditure of more than a lakh. Thus Goa may stands to gain from consumption driven growth.

7.5.4 Saving Habits

Individuals tend to save when they have a surplus after they fulfil their consumption requirements. This helps them to cope with unexpected contingencies and other uncertainties of life and help them to acquire assets and celebrate social events.

Table 7.21: Able to Save Regularly (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	35	65	100
Self-employed	74	26	100
Private sector	90	33	123
Government sector	83	17	100
Total	282	141	423

It is evident from Table 7.21 that 282 respondents are able to save regularly. The proportion is least in the unorganized sector at 35 and highest in the government sector at 83. Government employees who are not able to save on a regular basis attributed it to high EMIs and high cost of living in Goa. What is of special importance for the state is that 82% of the respondents who save said they invest their savings within the state of Goa. Only 16.7% invest their money in their native place and 1.3% makes investments at both places, the place of origin and destination. This is good news for the local economy as a high savings ratio will spur capital formation.

Individuals are willing to sacrifice current consumption in order to save because they want high returns. It is interesting to see what the popular avenues of saving are. 60% of workers in the unorganized sector and nearly 37% workers in the private sector keep their money in their savings accounts only. Gold is not a popular savings option across all four sectors neither are real estate and mutual funds. Fixed deposits and LIC policies are common among private sector employees whereas government employees tend to have a more diversified portfolio and seek professional guidance in making their investments.

7.5.5 Nature of Accommodation

The living quarters of migrants reveal their standard of living. This has important implications for the host state which is all the more pronounced in case of Goa due to its

small size. Any additions to population will have implications for land use and also on real estate prices and rentals.

Table 7.22: Nature of Accommodation (No. of Persons)

Sector	At Workplace	Provided by employer	Government Quarters	Rented Quarters	Own dwelling	Total
Unorganized sector	12	20	0	46	22	100
Self-employed	0	0	0	36	64	100
Private sector	3	7	0	78	35	100
Government sector	0	0	36	19	45	100
Total	15	27	36	179	166	423

Very few workers stay at the workplace, 12 from the unorganized and 3 from the private sector, comprising 3.5% of the total respondents (Table 7.22). 20 workers from the unorganized sector and 7 workers from the private sector are provided accommodation by the employer. 36 government employees live in government quarters. Overall, 179 respondents live in rented accommodation and 166 have their own accommodation here. Rented accommodation seems to be common, especially among informal workers. 64% of the self-employed and 45% of government employees have their own house/flat here. The corresponding figures for unorganized and private sector employees are 22% and 28.5% respectively.

Table 7.23: Nature of Own Accommodation (No. of Persons)

Sector	Flat	House	Total
Unorganized sector	1	21	22
Self--employed	39	25	64
Private sector	15	20	35
Government sector	29	16	45
Total	84	82	166

In case of those respondents who have their own accommodation in Goa, it is interesting to see the nature of accommodation, whether flat or house. This is shown in Table 7.23. While 51% of total respondents own a flat, 49% own a house. In case of the lower income groups

who have their own house, they are usually illegal squatters under the protection of local politicians for whom they constitute an important vote bank. This has resulted in proliferation of slums in the state with no proper hygiene and sanitation facilities, posing a health challenge that will only get worse if left uncontrolled.

7.5.6 Possess Land in Goa

This is a touchy issue among the locals due to the fear that a large number of outsiders are buying land and that soon the natives will be in a minority in their own homeland.

It is obvious from Table 7.24 that this fear is largely unfounded as just 44 individuals or 10.4% of respondents own land in Goa, most of them being businessmen. While many own houses here, very few have invested in land.

Table 7.24: Possess Land in Goa (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	3	97	100
Self-employed	26	74	100
Private sector	7	116	123
Government sector	8	92	100
Total	44	379	423

7.5.7 Assets Owned in Goa

Asset ownership also reveals the standard of living of the individuals. Further, it implies large-sum expenditure activities by migrants in the host state. This has positive effects on the economy in terms of high demand levels which incentivise production and investment activities and result in additional employment generation. Many of them buy two-wheelers, four-wheelers, and construct a house or buy an apartment. In case of business persons, they may have their own shop or factory. This in turn will have a multiplier effect on various sectors of the economy and other ancillary units as well as related activities such as banking, insurance, transportation, retail, etc. Goa has the highest per capita vehicle ownership in the country. This creates demand for petrol and diesel which generate huge revenues for the government since these are among the highest taxed commodities in the market.

Table 7.25: Assets owned in Goa

Sector	No assets	Only House	Only Car	Only Bike	Only Shop/ factory	House bike	House car	House bike, car	House shop, bike, car	Bike, car	Tot.
U.S.	70	8	0	8	0	11	0	3	0	0	100
S.E.	12	3	1	14	2	10	5	38	8	7	100
P.S.	58	5	1	23	0	11	6	11	2	6	123
G.S	16	3	5	24	0	4	7	31	0	10	100
Tot.	156	19	7	69	2	36	18	83	10	23	423

Table 7.25 gives information about the various types of assets owned by the migrant community. It is seen that 37% of the respondents, i.e. 156 individuals, do not own any assets in the host state. These figures are as high as 70% and 58% for workers in the unorganized and private sectors. This is a reflects the harsh reality that even after migration, many individuals still exist at the subsistence level and are unable to make any meaningful improvements in their standard of living. However it may be possible that these workers do own some assets like house, land, cattle, etc. in their native place. Many of these individuals are single and do not intend to settle down in Goa. They will return home at the end of their working lives. Hence they may not feel the need to buy any assets here. The business community followed by government employees possess more assets which reflect their higher earnings.

7.5.8 Ration Card

Having a ration card in Goa implies access to rights within the host state.

Table 7.26: Ration Card (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	30	70	100
Self--employed	66	34	100
Private sector	34	89	123
Government sector	33	67	100
Total	163	260	423

A ration card is especially useful for the lower income groups as it ensures fulfilment of minimum nutritional requirements. According to Table 7.26 only 163 respondents or 38.5% have a ration card in Goa. 89 and 70 workers in the unorganized and private sectors

respectively do not possess a ration card, followed by 67 government employees. It is the self-employed (66) that mostly have ration cards. This indicates that they intend to be in Goa for the long term. In case of low-income workers, many live here alone and may not require a card. And in case of government employees, many said they were not eligible for a ration card because of their high income.

7.5.9 Election Card

The possession of an election card in the host region may be interpreted as having political rights and influence in decision making.

It is seen from Table 7.27 that around 198 (47%) respondents do have an election card in Goa and can exercise their voting rights. Once again it is observed that the self-employed (74) mainly possess election cards, testifying to their intention of putting down roots in their adopted land. The proportions are lower for the informal workers (32) followed by private sector employees (42) and government employees (50). These individuals constitute an important vote bank for local politicians and there may be a mutually beneficial quid pro quo relationship.

Table 7.27: Election Card (No. of Persons)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	32	68	100
Self--employed	74	26	100
Private sector	42	81	123
Government sector	50	50	100
Total	198	225	423

7.6 Sector-wise Impact of Migration on Economy: A Chi-Square Analysis

When the impact of migration on the economy is assessed sector-wise, it provides valuable information about the differences among various groups of migrants. There is growing discontent among native populations towards the migrant not only in India but all over the world. This distrustful attitude is reserved mainly for the poor migrant who comes to the city to eke out a living and more often than not, lives in squalor and misery. It is these migrants who contribute immensely towards building the cities of our dreams. The smart cities project that will supposedly transform India's image globally will not be possible without the sweat and toil of this vulnerable and exploited class of labour. While we desperately need their

cheap labour, we would prefer them to be invisible and disappear once their work is done. On the other hand, the local populace including governments extend a red-carpet welcome to the highly educated, well-heeled migrant who will generously share his knowledge and expertise. If the lockdown served one important purpose, it was to make us acknowledge the services of the poor migrant and it is sincerely hoped that they will be able to negotiate their terms of employment much more favourably when they return.

The chi-square test is used to analyse the impact of migration on the Goan economy sector-wise. It is hypothesised that the impact of different groups of migrants on the local economy will differ according to the nature of their employment.

Table 7.28: Results of Chi-Square Test

Sr. No.	Hypothesis	Chi-Square Value	df	Significance
1	H_A: Nature of job and income are related	293.442[a]	15	.000
2	H_A: Nature of job and household income are related	249.919[a]	15	.000
3	H_A: Nature of job and consumption expenditure are related	192.098[a]	21	.000
4	H_A: Nature of job and savings are related	16.891[a]	3	.000
5	H_A: Nature of job and type of accommodation are related	237.755[a]	12	.000
6	H_A: Nature of job and asset ownership are related	178.649[a]	27	.000

It may be seen from Table 7.28 that as hypothesised, there is a significant relationship between nature of job and impact on economy measured by suitable indicators. The respondents are all working in Goa and it follows that they will have differential earnings depending on the nature of their job, the skills required, their education and training, etc. Income is an important determinant of extent of consumption, savings and types of investment. This in turn will influence the impact of these activities on the economy. The rich will consume more, save more and invest more. Hence the attitude of the host state will be more favourable towards them. On the other hand, the poor have limited incomes. Naturally their consumption and savings will be limited. They do not generate demand for comforts and luxuries and hence they will not be valued much though their services will be demanded.

In case of monthly income of the respondent, the chi-square value is 293.442, significant at 1% level. Migrants in the unorganized sector promote supply side growth and the private

sector generates demand side growth. Both are essential to ensure stable and balanced growth in the economy.

As far as monthly household income is concerned, with a chi-square value of 249.919 that is significant at 1%, it is observed that nature of job and household incomes are significantly related. 96% of workers in the unorganized sector and 74% of private sector employees still report a monthly household income up to Rs. 25000 only. Thus even after migration, the poor do not really experience vertical mobility. Though they may be earning more than what they previously did and have more regular incomes, they still have a long way to go before they can break the vicious circle of poverty. That they are still willing to move a far way from home for these wages show the extent of rural deprivation that exists in the country, made worse by the fact that the supply of labour is almost unlimited. 29% of government employees and 25% of self-employed have household incomes exceeding a lakh a month. This shows that the benefits of migration are unequally distributed, with the well-educated getting more than a fair share.

Monthly consumption expenditure patterns closely follow income levels. 99% of unorganized workers and 89% of private sector employees incur consumption expenditure of up to Rs. 25000. Only 7% respondents have consumption expenditure above Rs. 50000. The chi-square value of 192.098 significant at 1% testifies that consumption patterns are intrinsically related to nature of job.

It is heartening to note that nearly 67% of respondents are able to save regularly. While the numbers are much lesser in the unorganized sector, most of them said that they do not have heavy debt burdens and that when they borrow it is mostly from banks. This is a positive effect of migration. The largest number of savers is in the government sector followed by the self-employed and the private sector. Savings is a function of income and the chi-square value of 61.891 which is significant at the 1% level reinforces that savings and nature of job are interrelated. What is significant for the state of Goa is that 82% of the savers invest their money within the state itself. This has positive implications for the host state.

Nature of accommodation reveals the living standards of the respondents. While 42% live in rented accommodation, 39% have their own dwellings. Only 3.5% respondents live at the workplace and 6.6% in rooms provided by the employer. This is much better compared to other states and regions that have high migrant populations. The relationship between type of accommodation and nature of job is evident from the chi-square value of 237.755, significant at 1%.

In case of the relationship of asset ownership and nature of job, the chi-square value is 178.649, significant at 1% level. As expected, those with higher incomes generate demand for durable, movable and immovable assets. It is disheartening to note that 37% of the total respondents do not own any assets in Goa which is a reflection of income levels, living standards and in many cases, the temporary nature of migration. Workers in the unorganized sector are heavily employed in the construction industry and shop floor workers in the automobile and two-wheeler industry. Though they are central to the production process, they do not generate demand for these goods. The demand comes from high income groups consisting of both, locals and other migrants. These workers thus ensure that there are no bottlenecks in production and that economic growth is uninterrupted and consistent.

7.7 Perceptions about Goa

Looking at the destination through the migrants' eyes gives us a fresh perspective about the destination. It provides us with insights into the quality of their life here, whether they are happy with the choices they made and how the host state treats them. They may have calculated the costs and benefits that such a move would entail. It will throw light on whether the outcomes they expected have materialised or not. These migrant perspectives have been obtained in comparison to their home state.

Table 7.29: Migrant Perspectives (%)

Variable	Better	Same	Worse	Can't Say	Total
Employment Opportunities	75.6	12.5	10.2	1.7	100.0
Wages/Salaries	73.5	18.2	7.1	1.2	100.0
Working Conditions	80.6	15.4	3.3	0.7	100.0
Housing Conditions	53.9	20.8	25.3	0.0	100.0
Education	63.6	14.0	19.6	2.8	100.0
Public Amenities	68.8	14.7	16.0	0.5	100.0
Governance	66.2	23.8	9.5	0.5	100.0
Safety and Security	82.3	12.7	4.5	0.5	100.0
Climate	63.4	21.7	14.9	0.0	100.0
Quality of Life	72.1	13.7	13.2	1.0	100.0

In Table 7.29, the responses of all the respondents on various aspects of life in Goa vis-a-vis that in their home state are shown. It is seen that overall the majority do have a positive opinion about Goa and this may be taken as an indication that their expectations have been met. 80.6% believe that working conditions in Goa are better than in their native place.

Similarly, in case of employment opportunities and wages/salaries, 75.6% and 73.5% respectively believe that the situation is relatively better here. In case of housing and education, the numbers are not as favourable. Only 54% are of the opinion that housing facilities are better in Goa. This brings out one important problem area. While 27% of unorganized sector workers said that housing facilities in Goa are worse, the corresponding figure for government employees is 38%. The government employees spoke about the high cost of housing due to which they consider housing to be problematic here. Whether it is the rentals or the cost of buying an apartment, they said compared to other regions, the prices are much higher in Goa. 41% of government employees said that education, especially school level education, is of low standards in Goa. Many expressed the fear that their children may not do well in national level competitive exams due to this reason. One respondent said that he likes Goa very much and it is a nice place to settle down. However due to his daughter's higher education needs, he may be leave after she completes her class XII exams. 69% believe that the provision of public amenities is better in Goa whereas 66% are of the opinion that governance is comparatively better in Goa. In safety and security Goa fares well with 82.3% expressing that Goa is a relatively safe state. 63.4% preferred the climate in Goa compared to that in their native place. People coming from cooler places said that it is difficult to adjust to the heat and humidity here. And finally 72% find the quality of life in Goa better. Many spoke about the laidback nature of life here and a sense of freedom. An old-timer who came to Goa in 1963 fondly reminisced about the honesty of the natives. He said that there were no crimes at all back then in the state. Even if one had to lose a wallet or watch, he would find it the next day kept safely in a shop close by. According to him, it is with the influx of migrants that crimes have increased in the state. Women respondents were more vocal about the sense of freedom they experience here, particularly those hailing from the more conservative states.

7.7.1 Issues of Discrimination

Though there are no major issues of labour unrest in Goa, it is a fact that since Goa acquired statehood, there has been a gradual shift towards promoting the locals, as is happening in other parts of the country and globally too. With the spread of education, there are eligible and competent persons within Goa to take up various posts in the government and private sectors. Many are turning towards entrepreneurship too. It is only in case of the unorganized sector that there is a paucity of local labour. This is due to the preference for white collar

jobs. Or in some instances, the locals are willing to perform blue collar jobs in foreign countries where they would be paid much higher than what they would earn here. Domicile requirements in case of government jobs are now strictly implemented. This is of course a reflection of the increasing competition in every sphere and supplies of labour exceeding the demand for labour. In spite of this, Goa largely remains a peaceful state with very few incidences marring its image.

7.7.2 Discrimination at the Workplace

Where locals and migrants work together, sometimes it may lead to issues of favouritism and biased treatment. The outsider may feel that he is being singled out or passed over for certain responsibilities or not being acknowledged for his services.

Table 7.30: Discrimination at Workplace (%)

Sector	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Can't say	Total
Unorganized sector	59.0	19.0	16.0	6.0	0.0	100.0
Self--employed	45.0	34.0	12.0	8.0	1.0	100.0
Private sector	59.3	25.2	10.6	4.9	0.0	100.0
Government sector	65.0	25.0	5.0	5.0	0.0	100.0
Total	57.2	25.8	10.9	5.9	0.2	100.0

Table 7.30 shows that problems of discrimination at the workplace is least among government employees, followed by the private and unorganized sectors. It is the self-employed who seem to be prone to discrimination. Here it has to be pointed out that many of the casual workers, especially those who stay at the workplace do not have much interaction with others and do not mingle with others except when they are buying essential items. They largely keep to themselves and seldom get integrated into the mainstream. A government employee occupying a top position said that while there were no overt incidents of discrimination, he lost out on opportunities that were more forthcoming to the natives. Another government employee, on condition of anonymity, said that there is widespread discrimination but nobody speaks about it for fear of repercussions.

7.7.3 Professional Setbacks

Sometimes a person may be overlooked for promotions or additional responsibilities because of his ‘outsider’ status though he may otherwise be fully eligible for it.

Table 7.31: Professional Setbacks (%)

Sector	Yes	No	Total
Unorganized sector	4.0	96.0	100.0
Self--employed	17.0	83.0	100.0
Private sector	10.6	89.4	100.0
Government sector	14.0	86.0	100.0
Total	11.3	88.7	100.0

It is observed from Table 7.31 that just around 11% of the respondents have experienced professional setbacks by virtue of them being 'outsiders'. The figure is highest for the self-employed at 17% and least among the unorganized sector workers at 4%.

7.7.4 Faced Hostility from Locals

Problems of discrimination may not occur only at the workplace but elsewhere too. Feelings of resentment among locals may be expressed at other public places too such as in buses, shops, government offices, etc. It is generally the poor migrant who is subject to this kind of treatment.

Table 7.32: Faced Hostility from Locals (%)

Sector	Yes	Can't say	No	Total
Unorganized sector	23.0	7.0	70.0	100.0
Self--employed	19.0	12.0	69.0	100.0
Private sector	9.8	10.6	79.7	100.0
Government sector	18.0	11.0	71.0	100.0
Total	17.0	10.2	72.8	100.0

It is evident from Table 7.32 that the overwhelming majority (73%) stated that they never faced any hostility from locals. Workers in the unorganized sector seem most vulnerable to hostility from locals whereas the private sector encounters it the least.

7.7.5 Forms of Hostility

Table 7.33: Forms of Abuse Experienced (No. of Persons)

Sector	Verbal abuse	Physical abuse	Racial slurs	Others	Total
Unorganized sector	17	2	4	0	23
Self--employed	12	3	3	1	19
Private sector	5	0	5	2	12
Government sector	13	0	4	1	18
Total	47	5	16	4	72

Hostile behaviour may take various forms ranging from verbal abuse to physical abuse. Verbal abuse is the most common form of abuse encountered followed by racial slurs (Table 7.33). Racial slurs include terms like 'bhailo' meaning outsider, 'ghati' which refers to residents of the Ghats and 'binkta' or groundnuts. Goa imports groundnuts from Maharashtra and Karnataka and hence the name stuck as a reference to non-Goan vendors. Physical abuse is not common. In one rare instance, a jeweller from West Bengal's Midnapore district narrated how he was falsely implicated in a case by local jewellers and beaten up by the police. What upset him was that even after his innocence was proved, the police were not at all apologetic. In case of 'other' forms of abuse, a Sindhi casino manager said that if he goes to a government office for any work, he is always asked to produce additional documents or his work is not done promptly and he is made to come repeatedly, etc. which is not the case with locals. It has to be mentioned here that many respondents take this differential treatment as something that has to be accepted when one is an outsider. They acknowledge that in their own home state, the natives treat those from outside the state in a similar manner and hence are more accepting of it.

There seems to be few incidences of actual violence against migrants. It is inevitable that such stray incidents will take place due to growing resentment among locals who feel that outsiders come and take away jobs that rightfully ought to be theirs.

7.8 Decision to Settle Down and its Economic Impact

An attempt has been made here to predict the possibility of a respondent settling permanently in Goa. It is assumed that certain factors like having family accompanying the respondent, owning a house in Goa and distance between home town and destination exert a positive

influence on the decision to settle down here. These variables have been tested using the technique of logistic regression as the dependent variable is categorical in nature. The results are presented below:

Model 1: $y^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Family + u_i$

In this model, the dependent variable is categorical in nature and has any one of two responses: Yes or No. The independent variable is the respondent's family and whether they are with him in Goa or not. It is hypothesised that the presence of the family with the respondent increases the probability of the respondent choosing to settle here permanently.

y* (Dependent variable): 0, 1
0: Will not settle permanently in Goa
1: Will settle permanently in Goa
Family (Independent variable): 0, 1
0: Respondent lives alone in Goa
1: Respondent's family lives with him in Goa

Table 7.34: Results of Model 1

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z	p-value
Constant	−1.65292	0.257282	−6.425	<0.0001 ***
Family	2.37239	0.293293	8.089	<0.0001 ***
McFadden R-squared 0.178356				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z	Slope*
Constant	−1.65292	0.257282	−6.425	
Family	2.37239	0.293293	8.089	0.511775
*Evaluated at the mean				
Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 248 (72.7%)				
f(beta'x) at mean of independent vars = 0.501				
Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square(1) = 84.309 [0.0000]				

A logistic regression was performed to ascertain the effect of having family with the respondent in Goa on the likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle in Goa permanently. It is found that the logistic regression model is statistically significant. Chi-square = 84.309; p-value < 0.0001. The model explained 50.1% of the variance in the question of settling down in Goa and correctly classified 72.7% of cases. The coefficient of family is positive,

indicating that having family here is associated with an increased likelihood of settling permanently in Goa. According to the slope value, the probability of the individual settling here increases by 51% if his family comes here. The McFadden pseudo R-squared at 0.178 is satisfactory, the general rule of thumb being that a value ranging from 0.2 to 0.4 indicates a very good model fit.

Model 2: $y^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1$ House + u_i

y* (Dependent variable): 0, 1

House (Independent variable): 0, 1

0: Respondent does not have own house in Goa

1: Respondent has own house in Goa

Table 7.35: Results of Model 2

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z	p-value
Constant	−0.878290	0.154892	−5.670	<0.0001 ***
House	2.30984	0.264344	8.738	<0.0001 ***
McFadden R-squared 0.194797				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z	Slope*
Constant	−0.878290	0.154892	−5.670	
House	2.30984	0.264344	8.738	0.513611
*Evaluated at the mean				
Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 255 (74.8%)				
f(beta'x) at mean of independent vars = 0.501				
Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square(1) = 92.0807 [0.0000]				

In order to ascertain the effect of owning a house in Goa on the likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle permanently in Goa, a binomial logistic regression technique was used. This model is found to be statistically significant at 1% level. Chi-square value is 92.0807; p-value = < 0.0001. The model explained 50.1% of the variance in the question of settling here permanently and classified 74.8% of cases correctly. The slope indicates that the likelihood of settling here increases by 51.4% if the individual were to own a house here. That owning a house in Goa increases the likelihood of settling permanently here is obvious from the fact that the coefficient of house is positive. McFadden R-squared at 0.195 is good.

Model 3: $y^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1$ Distance + u_i

y* (Dependent variable): 0, 1

Distance: Independent variable

Table 7.36: Results of Model 3

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	Z	p-value
Constant	0.692990	0.181793	3.812	0.0001 ***
Distance	−0.000551782	0.000118701	−4.649	<0.0001 ***
McFadden R-squared 0.049828				
	Coefficient	Std. Error	Z	Slope*
Constant	0.692990	0.181793	3.812	
Distance	−0.000551782	0.000118701	−4.649	−0.00013794
Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 221 (64.8%)				
f(beta'x) at mean of independent vars = 0.501				
Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square(1) = 23.5538 [0.0000]				

Table 7.37: Results of Model 3 (Distance = 500 Km)

Variables	Coefficients	Mean Values	Slope
Constant	-1.29672	1	
Distance	-0.00031	500	-0.000077
Y* = -1.451242 Exp(y*)/(1+exp(y*)) = 0.189810495 p = 0.159530022 = 15.95%			

Table 7.38: Results of Model 3 (Distance = 2500 Km)

Variables	Coefficients	Mean Values	Slope
Constant	-1.29672	1	
Distance	-0.00031	2500	-0.000077
Y* = -2.06933 Exp(y*)/(1+exp(y*)) = 0.112113716 p = 0.100811378 = 10.08%			

Table 7.39: Results of Model 3 (Distance = 1234 Km - Average Distance)

Variables	Coefficients	Mean Values	Slope
Constant	-1.29672	1	
Distance	-0.000309044	1234	-0.000077
y*= -1.678080296 exp(y*)/(1+exp(y*)) = 0.157349837 p = 0.135957022 = 13.59%			

Model 3 includes the dependent variable of distance to ascertain its effect on the likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle permanently in Goa. The coefficient of distance has a negative sign, indicating that as the distance from the place of origin to the destination, i.e. Goa, increases, the likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle here diminishes. The logistic regression model is statistically significant. Chi-square value is 23.5538 and p-value < 0.0001. 64.8% cases have been correctly classified. However, McFadden R-squared is only 0.05.

Predictions of the likelihood of settling permanently in Goa on the basis of distance has been attempted by using three different measures of distance, 500 km which is taken as a proxy for shorter distances, 1234 km which is also the average distance in case of all respondents and 2500 km which is taken as a proxy for longer distances.

In case of short distances, it is observed that P = 15.95%. In case of average distance at 1234 km, P = 13.59% and in case of long distance, P = 10.08%. This leads us to conclude that longer distances are associated with a decreased likelihood of the respondent choosing to settle here permanently. Given that India is a vast country characterised by great diversity, it may be interpreted that with shorter distances, there are still some similarities in climate, food habits, religious and cultural practices among the place of origin and the destination and hence it is easier to adapt to the lifestyle here. On the other hand, as distance increases, there will be lesser and lesser in common with the destination. As a result, it may be quite difficult for the individual to contemplate settling down here where all the customs and traditions may be quite alien to that with which he grew up.

Model 4: $y^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1$ Distance + β_2Family + β_3 House +u_i

y* (Dependent variable): 0, 1

0: Will not settle permanently in Goa

1: Will settle permanently in Goa

Distance: Independent variable (continuous variable)

Family (Independent variable): 0, 1

0: Respondent lives alone in Goa

1: Respondent's family lives with him in Goa

House (Independent variable): 0, 1

0: Respondent does not have own house in Goa

1: Respondent has own house in Goa

Table 7.40: Results of Model 4

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	Z	p-value
const	−1.29672	0.332917	−3.895	<0.0001 ***
Distance	−0.000309044	0.000142724	−2.165	0.0304 **
Family	1.49222	0.327473	4.557	<0.0001 ***
House	1.62813	0.291453	5.586	<0.0001 ***
McFadden R-squared 0.262991				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	Z	Slope*
const	−1.29672	0.332917	−3.895	
Distance	−0.000309044	0.000142724	−2.165	−7.72600e-05
Family	1.49222	0.327473	4.557	0.351310
House	1.62813	0.291453	5.586	0.384386
Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 255 (74.8%)				
f(beta'x) at mean of independent vars = 0.501				
Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square(3) = 124.132 [0.0000]				

When all three independent variables are taken together to run a logistic regression model to ascertain the probability of the respondent choosing to settle permanently in the destination, the model is found to be statistically significant. Chi-square value is 124.132 and p-value is < 0.0001 in case of family and house whereas it is 0.0304 in case of distance. While the coefficient of distance has a negative sign, the coefficients of family and house have positive signs. This denotes that the likelihood of settling in Goa diminishes with increase in distance

whereas the likelihood increases if the respondent has his family with him in Goa and if he has his own house here.

The slope values indicate the likelihood of an individual choosing to settle here if he brings his family here and if he owns a house here. The likelihood increases by 35% and 38% respectively. On the other hand, if distance increases by a unit, the likelihood of settling here falls by 7.7%.

It is seen that the likelihood of settling down in Goa is determined to a large extent by features such as having family here, owning a house here and when the distance between the source state and host state is relatively lesser. Even if 50% of the respondents choose to settle here permanently, it has important implications for the state. It will create additional pressure on land, already a distressed resource, as demand for housing will rise. There will be urgent need to provide adequate public amenities such as water supply, electricity, roads and an efficient public transport system. Health-care and education must meet the growing demand and cater to increasing numbers. As the government slowly eases out of these areas, there will be a greater role played by the private sector. But if these services are provided at rising costs then access to these basic amenities may not be universal, resulting in increasing hardships for the common man.

Environmental problems will rise sharply due to deforestation as land is cleared to make way for various infrastructural projects. Air pollution, sound pollution, traffic jams, etc., will become commonplace. With drainage and sewerage systems under severe stress, it can lead to water pollution too. The very features that made Goa a highly sought-after destination will slowly be eroded. A corrupt political class and an apathetic bureaucracy means that long-term sustainable solutions will not be applied but instead, stop-gap measures will be devised that will worsen existing problems. Until now, barring a few incidents, Goa has not witnessed large scale flooding. However this may change in the immediate future as hill cuttings and constructions continue unabated. Environmentalists have raised serious concerns about eco-sensitive areas demarcated in the region being utilised to accommodate human activity. It is absolutely essential to find a happy medium between economic output and environmental protection.

7.9 Summary

It may thus be concluded that there are important differences in the migration experience of the respondents given the nature of their job. In case of the demographic profile, it is seen

that gender influences employment, as does religion and caste. Education and age at migration also determines the type of employment. However marital status does not affect employment. Distance and state of origin are also important factors that determine the type of job.

When the migration decision is examined within a push-pull framework, it is observed that the reasons for leaving home and the reasons for choosing Goa also has a bearing on employment prospects. The work environment in Goa is different for different workers. There are considerable differences in how employment was obtained, if the respondent had a job secured in Goa even before moving here, the period without job, wages and salaries, working conditions, whether he changed jobs and whether the spouse is working show significant differences according to type of work done.

While studying the economic impact of migration on the Goan economy, it has been observed that the income of the individual and household, consumption expenditure, savings, where savings is done, assets owned, land ownership, type of dwelling and possession of documents in Goa such as ration card, election card and Aadhar card are significantly different for different types of employment.

As far as their perceptions about their destination, i.e. Goa is concerned, it is seen that in case of economic conditions there are significant differences according to nature of job but in case of working conditions, quality of life, governance and provision of public amenities, no great differences were observed in the respondents' perceptions across the four sectors.

In case of discrimination faced at the workplace, professional setbacks and hostility from locals, there does not seem to be much difference in the perceptions of the respondents. Overall, Goa does not come across as overtly hostile to the migrant and most respondents said that they did not have cause for complaints.

On the other hand, significant differences were observed among respondents across sectors when asked whether they were happy with their choice of destination and if they would like to settle here permanently.

CHAPTER VIII: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

In recent years, there has been a great deal of attention focused on the issue of migration, both at the global level and at the national level. Among the socially and economically disadvantaged classes, migration has emerged as an important means by which individuals and households strive to cope with poverty and insufficient job opportunities in the rural areas. At the same time, it is also a means to achieve a higher standard of living among the well-educated, high income groups. As population continues to grow, the scramble for scarce resources makes it a highly competitive world. Add to this, rising inequalities in income distribution and asset ownership with modern governments reducing welfare activities and the stage is set for growing precariousness in employment at all levels.

India is a vast country characterised by great diversity. While cultural diversity and pluralism has been touted as the distinctive features of the Indian polity, it remains a sad fact that we in India have failed to achieve economic democracy. In spite of achieving high growth rates post liberalisation, we have been unable to ensure a minimum wage and decent living for the vast millions living in abject poverty. While some regions of the country have grown and thrived in the economic sphere, others have languished and have been left behind. Thus even in voluntary migration, an element of involuntariness does exist as many, especially the poorest, have no choice but to move out in order to secure their future.

In the initial years after Independence, India was a relatively immobile society. For a long time, less than 30 per cent of the population were classified as migrants. Generally, high rates of growth and development are accompanied by higher rates of migration. According to migration data from Census 2011, while 37.6 per cent of Indians were migrants, for Goa, the corresponding figure stood at 78.2 per cent. For India, of the total migrants, 98.7% are internal migrants with 87.9% being intra-state migrants and only 11.9% being inter-state migrants. For the state of Goa, of the total migrants, 98.4% are internal migrants, comparable to the national figures. While nearly 76% are intra-state migrants, 24% migrants are from other states, double that of the all-India figures.

Presently, there is a high volume of short-term circulatory migration. These short-term movements are more difficult to measure accurately. Migration among the highly skilled and educated is usually for the long term. For casual labour, life is much more insecure and more

often than not, they juggle many jobs at multiple locations at different points of time in order to ensure some semblance of security.

Empirical studies have shown that migration is highly beneficial for the host region. Thus the need of the hour is to have sustainable migration, with appropriate policies and legislations that will ensure that while the host regions benefit from migration, the migrants are assured of decent living and livelihood. Migration is indeed changing the demography in many regions with metropolitan areas seeing huge floating populations. This poses huge challenges to the infrastructure and carrying capacity of the region. Sustainable solutions have to evolve that will ensure that while local interests are protected, migration ushers in prosperity to both, the host region as well as the source state. Also, falling fertility rates in more developed states such as the Southern states will necessarily increase the dependence of these states on migrant labour to meet labour shortfalls in future. These migrant inflows will then come from the lesser developed states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Odisha.

This chapter includes the major findings and conclusions of the study. The implications of the study and scope for further research are also included.

8.2 Chapter Summary

The importance of migration studies, the research problem and the main objectives of the study have been explained in the first chapter. The second chapter consists of a review of literature which highlights the causes and consequences of migration, trends in migration, gravity models of migration and the role of social networks in migration. In the third chapter, the research methodology used in the study has been explained.

Chapter 4 highlights the main features of migration to Goa from other states of India. It studies the trends observed in migration to Goa since Liberation. It studies the reasons for migration, proportion of male-female migration, extent of rural-urban migration and the duration of migration. This chapter gives a macro understanding of gross migration flows into the state of Goa. It is based entirely on secondary data.

In Chapter 5, an attempt has been made to construct gravity models that may explain the role of variables like size of population, distance, GSDP and literacy in influencing migration flows to the state. It uses both, secondary as well as primary data. The secondary data is presented for the period, 1971 to 2011.

In Chapter 6, social networks and migration in Goa have been studied. The role of networks in determining the direction of migration and the assistance provided in the initial phase of migration, ease of adjustment in the new environment and making the process of migration self-sustaining over a period of time have been examined in this chapter.

Chapter 7 tries to examine the broad similarities and dissimilarities in the migration experiences of different migrant groups based on the nature of their job.

And finally in Chapter 8, the conclusions derived from the study are presented.

8.3 Major Findings

The main findings from the study are given below:

i) 78.2% of Goa's population is classified as migrants. Migrants from other states as a percentage to total migration is 24% for Goa, double that of the national average, and fourth highest in the country, preceded only by the states of Haryana, Uttarakhand and Sikkim. In case of migrants from other states as a proportion to total population, Goa reports the highest percentage at 18.5%. This means that nearly one in five persons in Goa is of non-Goan origin. Goa is followed by Haryana and Uttarakhand at second and third place respectively and Sikkim at fifth. This implies that while all four states have a high proportion of inter-state migrants, in case of Goa, they constitute a significant proportion of the total population. For the lowest 13 states, this figure is less than five percent. In case of Manipur, the state with the lowest proportion, the corresponding figure is less than 1% at 0.7% only. Given its small size and high density of population, this has important implications for Goa.

ii) In case of male-female migration, it is observed that for India as a whole and for most other states, the proportion of female migration is higher than that of male migration. Goa is one among only eight states to have a higher proportion of male migrants as compared to female migrants. The other states include Sikkim, Kerala, Maharashtra, Arunachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Nagaland and Mizoram. The number of male migrants has been higher than that of female migrants for Goa throughout the period, 1971 to 2011, though the gap has narrowed down somewhat in 2011. In 1971, male migrants constituted 54.9% of total migrants. This came down to 52.1% in 2011.

iii) As far as reasons for migration are concerned, for India, "marriage" is the single-most important cause for migration. Conversely, for Goa the most important cause for migration is "moved with household" followed closely by "work/employment". At the national level,

31.1% migrants stated marriage as the reason for migration whereas for Goa, only 17.6% reported marriage as the reason for migration. 27.3% cited work/employment as reason for migration to Goa. If work/employment and business are combined, 30% of total migrants cite economic factors as the reason for moving to Goa. This is natural given the fact that the proportion of male migrants is higher than that of female migrants in Goa. Hence it may be concluded that economic migrants constitute a significant proportion of total migrants in Goa.

iv) The gendered pattern of migration is obvious when the reasons for migration are studied separately for males and females. While 46.2% males cited work/employment as reason for migration, making it the single most important cause in case of men, only 6.8% females reported work/employment as reason for migration. In case of business, the figures are low for both men and women. However the gap is wide between the two even in this case. 4.4% men reported business as reason for migration while only 0.9% females reported it as reason for migration. On the other hand, 35.5% females cited marriage as the reason for migration while only 1.2% males did so. Other important reasons for female migration include 'moved with household' and 'moved after birth'. It is thus observed that while economic reasons are important for male migration, social reasons are the most important factors for female migration.

v) With the construction of gravity models, an attempt has been made to study the factors that may have influenced the migrants' choice of destination. Census data on gross migration flows to Goa from other states have been studied for the period 1971 to 2011. The independent variables included were size of population of the source state and the distance between the source state and the host state, i.e. Goa. It was found that states with large populations have higher rates of out-migration, compared to states with low population. What is surprising is that even today, distance plays an important role in influencing the direction of migration. People move in greater numbers to closer locations and the numbers fall as distance increases. This is true for Goa in all five Census periods included in the study.

vi) In the estimation of gravity model for primary data too, these features are repeated. Notably the most number of migrants to Goa are from Karnataka and Maharashtra, states that are located closest to Goa and share common borders with us. The number of migrants from distant lands such as Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and the North-East are relatively lesser. The number of migrants from the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh

to Goa is the highest, similar to the Census data. Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state of India, is a very important sending state for Goa.

vii) The effects of GSDP and literacy on migration flows have also been studied. In case of secondary data, it is observed that these factors do not exert much influence on gross migration flows to Goa. However, these factors have been seen to be significant influencers in case of primary data. Given that these are mainly economic migrants, it implies that there are adequate job opportunities in the state. Goa has been performing consistently well in case of economic indicators and is one of the most prosperous states in the country. It is the state with the highest per capita income in the country. This implies that wage/salary levels are high in the state. In case of literacy, it is observed that there is a positive relation between the two variables. Given that services sector is the most important sector for the Goan economy, it attracts highly qualified professionals in various spheres such as medicine, research, education, management, etc.

viii) It is apparent from the field study that social networks play an important role in various aspects of migration. While 68% of the respondents knew someone working in Goa before they moved here, only 25% said that this had influenced their choice of destination as they knew they would receive support till they were gainfully employed and financially independent. The existence of networks is most seen in the unorganized sector (42%) and is least in the government sector (11%). A little less than half of all respondents (47.8%) obtained employment with the help of networks. Networks have been most important for securing jobs in the unorganized sector (68%) and least important in the government sector (19%).

ix) Of the respondents who were part of a network, many said they received immense support in the initial phase of migration from their social contacts. While 7% respondents did not seek any active help, 35% received help in accommodation, either staying with their contacts or receiving help in finding suitable accommodation. 25% already had secured a job in Goa before the move was even made. 9% sought financial assistance initially and the remaining 24% took a combination of these three types of support.

x) It is interesting to note that homophily plays an important role in determining post-migration relationships. 66% say they are closest to people from their own native place, either relatives or friends. 14% are close to other non-Goans. While 8% said their friends are a mixed group, only 12% cited locals as their close friends here. This implies that most of the

migrants stick to their own and do not really get integrated into the mainstream. This is especially true in case of the lower income groups. One favourable feature is that borrowings and lending through these informal channels are on the wane as most resort to loans from banks and co-operatives for their big expenses. Only 20% borrow from their friends and relatives and less than 14% said they loan money to their relatives and friends.

xi) Remittances are an important feature of migration and provide security to families and households back home. In case of lower income groups, these remittances play an important role in poverty alleviation. 66% respondents send remittances though only 34% send money home regularly. 26% send money whenever possible and 28% do so only when they visit home. A sector-wise analysis shows that 73% respondents in the unorganized sector, 69% in the private sector, 64% of self-employed and 54% of government employees send remittances. Remittances are mostly used for subsistence (60%), followed by medical expenses (14%), savings (9.3%) and cultivation (8%). Few reported that remittances are used for education (3.6%), debt repayment (2.5%) and for the purchase of land or vehicle (2.5%).

xii) 98% of the respondents maintain links to the origin in one form or another. The most common way of preserving ties is through visits home (97.4%). 92% have a family home in the native place whereas 30% have their own house in the village. 54% have land back home and many of them regularly go home to help in cultivation and harvest, especially workers in the unorganized and private sectors. These links are important as they act as a stimulant in chain migration.

xiii) 28% of the respondents, i.e. 119 individuals have brought a total of 664 individuals to Goa for employments purposes. Of these, 75% succeeded in helping them get employment in the same sector whereas 25% aided them in getting jobs in other sectors. While 91 individuals brought less than 5 individuals to Goa, 20 individuals claimed that they brought between 6 and 15 individuals here. Only 10 individuals stated that they helped bring more than 15 people to Goa for employment. These are mostly contractors. However these figures may be an underestimation of the real numbers as many workers were reluctant to respond to this question. It is however obvious that, over time, pioneer migration encourages potential migration and results in the creation of a migration corridor.

xiv) This study takes a holistic approach towards migration and studies a heterogeneous group in order to evaluate the impact of migration and its implications for Goa. It finds that the maximum benefits from migration are garnered by the well-educated and higher income

groups. While the condition of workers in the lower-end jobs is not as bad as their counterparts in other states, they are still vulnerable to exploitation.

xv) The field work provides useful insights into the nature of migration to Goa. It is observed that male migrants constitute 86.8% while females constitute only 13.2% of all respondents surveyed. This is because migration for employment is higher among males than females. 74% are Hindus and mostly belong to the general caste. Those with high educational qualifications are mostly employed in the government sector while those with less or no education are mostly employed in the unorganised sector or are self-employed.

xvi) More people migrate at a younger age. In the unorganized, self-employed and private sectors, the individuals were younger when they migrated whereas in case of government sector, individuals were relatively older when they first migrated. Most were unmarried when they first migrated. In the unorganized and private sectors, there are many individuals living alone here, leaving their families behind. Household size is higher among casual labour and the self-employed compared to government employees.

xvii) In case of push-pull factors, the most important factor cited for leaving home is 'lack of employment'. Only 2.4% cite marriage as reason for leaving, bringing to focus once again the gendered pattern of migration. 'Others' constitute an important factor for leaving in case of government employees, which mainly refers to postings and transfers. Family disputes are an important push factor for the self-employed. The most important factor cited as a pull factor is 'better employment opportunities'. Social factors do not seem as important for government employees as it is for the others.

xviii) Individuals in the unorganized sector receive the lowest wages whereas incomes are higher in the government sector. The self-employed earn the most. This trend is repeated in case of household income. In case of monthly consumption expenditure, the least expenditure is among the unorganized sector workers, followed by the private sector. Government employees have higher levels of spending but the highest is among the self-employed. Most among the unorganized sector are unable to save regularly, followed by private sector employees. Among those who save, a significant number make their savings in Goa.

xix) With regard to accommodation, most self-employed have their own house, followed by government employees. A sizeable number of government employees live in government quarters. While a few in the unorganized sector live at the workplace, one-fifth of the

workers live in accommodation provided by the employer. Nearly 44% of private sector employees live in rented quarters. Only 10.4% respondents own land in Goa. 73% of the workers in the unorganized sector own no assets whatsoever in Goa.

xx) In case of employment opportunities, wages and working conditions, the majority believe that these are better in Goa. With regard to quality of life, most believe that it is better here as also in case of governance and provision of public amenities with no significant differences observed in the responses of respondents sector-wise. As far as school education in Goa is concerned, it is noteworthy that many government employees feel that facilities in Goa are worse than that in their home state.

xxi) On issues of discrimination, it is seen that most did not report facing professional setbacks because they are 'outsiders'. Among those who did, most are self-employed. Only 6% respondents stated that they always face discrimination at the workplace, again, most were self-employed. In case of hostility faced from locals, the majority said they did not have any problems but among those who did, most were from the unorganized sector. Among the forms of abuse, the most common was verbal abuse. They said terms like 'bhaile' and 'ghati' were used to belittle them. While 80% of the respondents are happy with the choice of destination, it is interesting that 18% did not commit one way or the other.

xxii) In attempting to estimate the probability of the respondent choosing to settle in Goa permanently, it is seen that the likelihood increases when the individual owns a house in Goa. This implies that he is now interested in putting roots in his chosen destination. Equally important is family. The possibility of settling in Goa is higher when the individual has his family here with him. All respondents living alone intend to go back to their home state in the long run. In case of distance, it is observed that people whose home state is closer to Goa are more likely to settle here compared to those who live further away. This may be due to "cultural gravity" which means that places located closer have greater similarities compared to those that are further away. This may be true in case of climate, food habits and other customs and traditions.

8.4 Conclusion

The following are the major conclusions derived from the study:

The state occupies a unique position in so far as the extent of in-migration to Goa from other states of India is concerned. This form of migration is very high in the state compared to the

national figures and other states. This may be attributed to Goa's history of being ruled by a foreign colonial power and attaining Liberation only in 1961, 14 years after the rest of the country. So when Goa initially embarked on an ambitious programme of development, there were vast opportunities for many from within and outside the state. Given the small size of local population, labour requirements were met by importing labour from out of state. It may be concluded that the peaceful atmosphere, near-absence of labour unrest and high living standards, all have gone a long way in continuing to make Goa an attractive destination for those in search of greener pastures.

Unlike most other states, in Goa, the proportion of male migrants is higher than that of female migrants and work is the most important reason for migration. This implies that Goa provides adequate employment opportunities, wages and salaries are higher compared to many other states, work atmosphere is by and large, friendly and peaceful with very few reporting that they have been targets of discrimination and abuse. But being a small-sized state, if the rate of migration continues to grow unchecked, local hostility and animosity may increase and disturb the social fabric of the state. The important conclusion derived here is that migration may lead to immense pressure on resources and infrastructure, and if unregulated, may harm the ecological balance of the state due to overcrowding and congestion.

In the traditional gravity construct using population and distance, it is seen that population size is positively related to migration and distance is inversely related to it. For Goa, most migrants come from the neighbouring states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. And it is also true that in turn, most Goan migrants move to these two states. In the unorganized sector and other low-end jobs, it is observed that a disproportionately large number of workers are from out of state. This reflects the reluctance of local youth to take up these menial, low-paying jobs. Hence the influx of cheap labour into the state from outside fills an important gap. Hence from the gravity model results, it is possible to conclude that migration into Goa will continue due to its high GDP and relatively small size of population.

Goa is an economically advanced state and has the highest per capita income in the country. Hence people from states that are worse off than Goa, find opportunities here that may not be available in their home state. GSDP, it is observed has a negative coefficient, implying that people from poorer states come here for better prospects. On the other hand, literacy levels show a positive correlation to migration. The conclusion is that Goa also offers attractive

opportunities for highly skilled and trained professionals in the state. Goa University and other eminent research institutes in Goa like the NIO and NCAOR have a high proportion of academics and researchers from other states. The state offers diverse opportunities to many.

In case of social networks, it is found that networks are more important in the unorganized, self-employed and private sectors while it has minimal importance in the government sector. It is of greater importance to those from the lower income groups and provides important support during the various stages of migration. Thus the strong social networks that exist among the migrant community in Goa are likely to support additional migration into the state.

Income levels, consumption expenditure, asset ownership and savings are naturally lesser for workers in the unorganized private sectors. While the government sector attracts highly qualified personnel, professional degree holders are highly sought after in the private sector. While most government employees enjoy high salaries, have high consumption levels and own durable assets, income, expenditure and assets are highest among the self-employed. Most of the savings are done in Goa. All this is a boost for the Goan economy. While it is true that consumption expenditure and savings among workers in the unorganized and private sector are the lowest, it has to be kept in mind that they provide a valuable service through the provision of an adequate pool of affordable labour in the state. The fear that 'outsiders' are buying vast amounts of land in the state is largely unfounded as only around 10% of the respondents reported owning land here. Hence it may be concluded that migrants contribute to the state either by way of supply of cheap labour or through savings and investment and by creating domestic demand.

Only a small percentage of respondents stated that they have been discriminated against at the work place and elsewhere because they are outsiders. In fact, it was observed during the course of field work, that in many cases, migrants constituted the majority at the place of work. This is also true in case of many Central Government departments. The overwhelming majority of respondents stated that they are happy with the choice of destination and that the quality of life is better here than in their native place. Thus Goa provides a very harmonious working environment for the migrants.

8.5 Implications of the Study for Public Policy

There are few studies that look at the migration issue in Goa. Of the studies that exist, most are concerned with out-migration and the Goan Diaspora spread around the world. This study

looks at in-migration to Goa from the rest of India and adopts a macro approach as well as a micro understanding of the issue. It studies a heterogeneous group of economic migrants working in different sectors of the Goan economy. Hence the findings are relevant for migration across the spectrum.

It is necessary to ensure that development in the state is sustainable in nature. Given the relatively high proportion of migration into the state and the fact that male migrants mainly come for work purposes, it naturally follows that migrants contribute greatly to the development process within the state. Being a small state, the implications need to be understood so that policy makers can frame appropriate strategies that ensure that the benefits from migration far outweighs the cost of migration to Goa.

It is observed that Goa attracts all types of migrants, from the unskilled to the highly skilled. Like all developed nations, Goa too seems to be more welcoming of highly skilled labour. But it is a fact that the backbone of the Goan economy is the vast pool of unskilled labour that can be found working in all kinds of jobs from big infrastructural projects to selling fish and vegetables in the market. It is imperative to ensure that migrant inflows are sustainable in nature through effective regulation and management.

An important finding is that Goa is among a few states only to report a higher percentage of male migration than females. And among the men, employment is the most important reason for migration. The state has to provide infrastructural support to various sectors in order to ensure that along with an increase in productive activity, there is creation of adequate employment opportunities, especially in the case of the private sector.

In the unorganized sector, while conditions are not as bad compared to other states, it is still necessary that the government has to have a mechanism to monitor the terms and conditions of employment. These may be with regard to payment of a minimum wage, safety standards in case of hazardous occupations, insurance and social security provisions, the hours of work, and breaks and holidays.

During the course of field work, it was observed that unskilled labour live in cramped quarters with no proper sanitation and hygiene. There are urban sprawls and settlements where living conditions are less than ideal. This poses the danger that they may be prone to disease and infection. The government has to ensure that decent and affordable accommodation with adequate facilities is provided to these workers by the employers. There

is a growing proportion of short-term, circular migration witnessed in recent years. The government can address the housing issues of these temporary labour by providing clean and affordable accommodation in the form of dormitories and hostels.

Some of the workers stay at the workplace, especially in case of construction labour. Nowadays it is commonly observed that big construction projects have metal sheets covering the entire periphery of the project area and as such, the public remains unaware of the conditions under which the workers are forced to live and work. There has to be greater transparency and accountability from big builders and developers who make huge profits at the cost of cheap labour.

With short term migration streams showing a rising trend in recent years, there are concerns among the locals of the rising crime rate. It is generally the non-locals who are suspected to be guilty. With many workers employed here for only part of the year while returning to their hometowns for the agricultural season, there is a huge floating population in the state. This necessitates the maintenance of a Registry that records the details of the workers who are employed here, especially for short, temporary periods of time. This may contain details of the workers including their address in the home state which may be properly verified. The employers may be made accountable for these details.

Many workers, especially the male migrants in the unorganized and private sectors who come here leaving their families behind in the home state do not possess documents which would entitle them to subsidised services here. Given the precarious nature of their employment and low wages, it is important that the government has to ensure that they too are entitled to these services, especially in case of food and health care. Appropriate documentation that make them eligible to basic rights may be provided. There has to be portability of rights, especially in case of PDS, taking into account the fact that men whose families do not accompany them, do not bring their ration cards. This will ensure a decent standard of living and adequate nutrition for them.

Another area of concern that emerged during the survey is to do with the education scene in the state. Though this is not directly related to migration per se, it would benefit the state if these concerns are constructively addressed. Many government employees expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of education here, especially at the school level. They were of the opinion that standards are comparatively low in Goa and were afraid that their children

would not perform well at all-India competitive exams. This issue needs to be addressed urgently if the state wishes to transform to a knowledge economy.

Many respondents among the well-educated, middle income groups expressed that the cost of living in the state is very high. Public amenities, especially transportation services are quite prohibitive here. Strong government action without bending to powerful lobbies can bring down prices to levels comparable to the rest of the country. The general price level is also quite high in the state. This leaves little surplus for savings. By increasing the production and supply of essential commodities, prices may be controlled. Efforts to reduce dependence on other states in case of essential commodities may also help.

Many of the respondents, especially the old-timers who came to the state in the sixties and seventies, talk emotively about the need to preserve the unhurried pace of life unique to Goa and were fearful that the state would soon turn into an overcrowded concrete jungle, if it isn't so already. Planners and policy makers along with academicians and civil society have to find out a suitable trade-off that will enable the state to benefit from labour that comes in from outside while at the same time, ensure that the carrying capacity of the region is not exceeded.

8.6 Limitations of the Study

In the construction of gravity models, an important drawback is that additional variables have not been incorporated which would have provided a better understanding of aggregate migration flows. This could not be undertaken due to difficulty in obtaining relevant data from uniform sources for the different states for the period of time under study, i.e. 1971 to 2011. It is acknowledged that the inclusion of variables such as wage rates, unemployment rates and other amenity variables would have greatly increased the relevance of the study.

In case of the study of social networks, only broad conclusions have been drawn due to the nature of the group under study. If it had to be confined to a smaller homogeneous group, more specific knowledge could have been obtained. The study is general in nature and makes use of percentages and sociograms only to explain the role played by networks in certain aspects of migration. Advanced mathematical analysis could not be undertaken.

8.7 Scope for Future Research

Since this study takes a holistic approach towards migration, it studies a heterogeneous group of migrants employed in different spheres of the economy. It includes migrants from all income groups, low, middle and high income categories. While the condition of workers in low-end jobs is not as miserable as that of their counterparts in other states, they are still vulnerable to exploitation as their numbers are relatively large. Studies that focus entirely on casual labour may provide valuable insights into their working and living conditions and suggests practical ways of improving their welfare.

The gravity models used the variables of population, distance, literacy and GSDP to understand migration flows to the state. There is ample scope for in-depth studies based on secondary data with inclusion of variables like employment rates and wage rates of the various states and also by including behavioural content by incorporating appropriate indices. This will provide useful information to policy makers for the regulation and management of inflows which in turn will promote sustainable migration.

There is a lot of interest in the working of social networks and their role in promoting migration. This study looks at the role of networks in a generalised manner only. There can be a lot of interesting work carried out in this sphere with focus on particular communities and professions, for instance, traders from Gujarat and Rajasthan, beauticians from the North-East and barbers from North India. This will add richness to the migration literature coming out from Goa.

REFERENCES

Backhaus, A., Martinez-Zarzoso, I., & Muris, C. (2015). Do climate variations explain bilateral migration? A gravity model analysis. *IZA Journal of Migration, 4*(3), 1-15. doi:10.1186/s40176-014-0026-3

Bagchi, D. (2016). Street Dwelling and City Space: Women Waste Pickers in Kolkata. *Economic and Political Weekly, LI*(26,27), 63-68.

Bauer, T., & Zimmermann, K. F. (1997). Network Migration of Ethnic Germans. *International Migration Review, 31*(1), 143-149. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839703100108

Beine, M., Bertoli, S., & Moraga, J. F.-H. (2016). A Practitioners' Guide to Gravity Models of International Migration. *The World Economy*, 496-512. doi:10.1111/twec.12265

Bhagat, B. R. (2011). Emerging Pattern of Urbanisation in India. *Economic and Political Weekly, XLVI*(34), 10-12.

Bhagat, R. B. (2016). Nature of Migration and its Contribution to India's Urbanization. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 26-46). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bhaskaran, S. (2011). From the Village to the City: The Changing Dynamics of Migration in Contemporary India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 579-595.

Bian, Y., Breiger, R., Galskiewicz, J., & Davis, D. (2005). Occupation, Class and Social Networks in Urban China. *Social Forces, 83*(4), 1443-1468. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2005.0053

Bocker, A. (1994). Chain Migration over Legally Closed Borders: Settled Migrants as Bridgeheads and Gatekeepers. *Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences, 30*.

Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2018). *Analyzing Social Networks.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas. *The International Migration Review, 23*(3, Special Anniversary Issue: International Migration, An Assessment for the 90s), 638-670.

Bunea, D. (2012). Modern Gravity Models of Internal Migration. The Case of Romania. *Theoretical and Applied Economics, XVIII*(4(569)), 127-144.

Census. (1971). *Primary Census Abstracts.* Ministry of Home Affairs, Registrar General of India. Government of India.

Census. (1981). *Primary Census Abstracts.* Ministry of Home Affairs, Registrar General of India. Government of India.

Census. (1991). *Primary Census Abstracts.* Ministry of Home Affairs, Registrar General of India. Government of India.

Census. (2001). *Primary Census Abstracts.* Ministry of Home Affairs, Registrar General of India. Government of India.

Census. (2011). *Primary Census Abstracts.* Ministry of Home Affairs, Registrar General of India. Government of India.

(1971). *Census, India* .

Chakrabarti, A. S., & Sengupta, A. (2016). Productivity differences and inter-state migration in the U.S.: A multilateral gravity approach. *Economic Modelling, 61*, 156-168.

Collyer, M. (2005). When do Social Networks fail to explain migration? Accounting for the movement of Algerian asylum-seekers to the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 31*(4), 699-718. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/113691830500109852

Cullinan, J., & Duggan, J. (2017). A School-Level Gravity Model of Student Migration Flows to Higher Education Institutions. *Spatial Economic Analysis, 11*(3), 294-314. doi:10.1080/17421772.2016.1177195

Das, G. (2019, February 23). Who are we Indians? *Times of India*.

Das, G. (2019, February 23). Who are we Indians? Genetics is bringing bad news for the politics of identity: We are all Indians. *Times of India*.

Datta, A. (2016). Migration from Contemporary Bihar. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 204-221). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Datta, A. (2016). Migration, Remittances and Changing Sources of Rural Income in Bihar (1991-2011) Some Findings from a Longitudinal Study. *Economic and Political Weekly, LI*(31), 85-93.

Datta, A., & Mishra, S. (2011). Glimpses of Women's Lives in Rural Bihar: Impact of Male Migration. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 457-477.

Davis, B., Stecklov, G., & Winters, P. (2002). Domestic and International Migration from Rural Mexico: Disaggregating the Effects of Network Structure and Composition. *Population Studies, 56*(3), 291-309. Retrieved 10 13, 2017, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092983

de Haan, A. (2011). Inclusive Growth? Labour Migration and Poverty in India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 387-409.

Deshingkar, P., & Grimm, S. (2005). Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective. *IOM Migration Research Series*, 5-79.

Fagiolo, G., & Santoni, G. (2016). Revisiting the Role of Migrant Social Networks as determinants of International Migration Flows. *Applied Economic Letters, 23*(3), 188-193. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080./13504851.2015.1064072

Faist, T. (1997). The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces.

Figueiredo, E., Lima, R., & Orefice, G. (2016). Migration and Regional Trade Agreements: A (New) Gravity Estimation. *Review of International Economics, 24*(1), 99-125. doi:10.1111/roie.12209

(2008). *Goa Migration Study.* Government of Goa, Department of Non-Resident Indian Affairs.

Greenwood, M. (2005). Modeling Migration. *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement, 2*, 725-734.

Groppo, V. (2014). Internal Migration in Developing Countries. *German Institute for Economic Research*.

Gujarati, D. N., Porter, D. C., & Gunasekar, S. (2009). *Basic Econometrics.* New Delhi: McGraw Hill Education (India) Private Limited.

Harbison, S. (1981). Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision-Making. *Migration Decision Making*.

Harris, N. (2016). On Refugee Migrations: Xenophobia in the Era of Globalisation. *The Economic and Political Weekly, LI*(6), 24-26.

Jandova, M., & Paleta, T. (2015). Gravity Models of Internal Migration - the Czech Case Study. *Review of Economic Perspectives, 15*(1), 3-14. doi:10.1515/revecp-2015-0008

Jha, M. K., & Kumar, P. (2016). Homeless Migrants in Mumbai: Life and Labour in Urban Space. *Economic and Political Weekly, Li*(26,27), 69-77.

Kadushin, C. (2004). *Introduction to Social Network Theory.* Boston, Ma.

Korra, V. (2011). Nature and Characteristics of Seasonal Labour Migration: A Case Study of Mahbubnagar in Andhra Pradesh. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 527-544.

Kundu, A. (2009). Exclusionary Urbanisation in Asia: A Macro Overview. *Economic and Political Weekly, XLIV*(48), 48-58.

Kundu, A., & Gupta, S. (1996). Migration, Urbanisation and Regional Inequality. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3391-3398.

Kundu, A., & Saraswati, L. R. (2012). Migration and Exclusionary Urbanisation in India. *Economic and Political Weekly, XLVII*(26,27), 219-227.

Kuo, W. H., & Tsai, Y.-m. (1986). Social Networking, Hardiness and Immigrants' Mental Health. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, 27*(2), 133-149. Retrieved from https://doi.org//10.2307/2136312

Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography, 3*(1), 47-57.

Lewis, W. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, 22*.

Liu, M.-M. (2013). Migrant Networks and International Migration: Testing Weak Ties. *Demography, 50*(4), 1243-1277. Retrieved 10 13, 2017, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/42920553

Liu, Y., & Shen, J. (2014). Spatial patterns and determinants of skilled internal migration in China, 2000-2005. *Papers in Regional Science, 93*(4), 749-771.

Mallya, P., & Shrinivas, G. (2011). Internal Migration in India and its impact upon Population Stability. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 545-560.

Massey, D. (1990). Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. *Population Index, 56*(1), 3-26.

Mishra, D. (Ed.). (2016). *Internal Migration in Contemporary India.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Mishra, D. (2016). Introduction: Internal Migration in Contemporary India. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 1-25). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Mishra, D. (2016). Seasonal Migration from Odisha: A View from the Field. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 263-290). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Mitra, I. (2016). Recycling the Urban: Migration Settlement in the Question of Labour in Contemporary Kolkata. *Economic and Political Weekly, Li*(26,27), 55-62.

Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of Passage are also Women. *The International Migration Review, 18*(4).

Orefice, G. (2015). International Migration and Trade Agreements: The New Role of PTAs. *Canadian Journal of Economics, 48*(1), 310-334.

Parida, J. K., & Madheswaran, S. (2011). Determinants of Migration and Remittance in India: Empirical Evidence. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 561-578.

Piketty, T., Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (n.d.). *World Inequalityreport, 2018.* Retrieved from https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01885458

Poot, J. (1995). Do Borders Matter? A Model of Interregional Migration in Australia. *Australasian Journal of Regional Science, 1*(2), 159-182.

Poot, J., Alimi, O., Cameron, M. P., & Mare, D. C. (2016). The Gravity Model of Migration: The Successful Comeback of an Ageing Superstar in Regional Science. *IZA Journal of Migration, 1*(24).

Portes. (1995). Economic Society and the Sociology of Immigration: An Overview. *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*.

Rajan, I. (2020, May 3). Migrant flows will change, they will take time to come back to the city. *Times of India*.

Rajan, I. S., & Chyrmang, R. (2016). Labour Migration in the North-East. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 96-155). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Rajaretnam, T. (2016). *Statistics for Social Sciences.* New Delhi: Sage Publications India.

Ramos, R., & Surinach, J. (2016). A Gravity Model of Migration between the ENC and the EU. *Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAJ, 108*(1), 21-35. doi:10.1111/tesg12195

Ranis, G., & Fei, J. (1961). A Theory of Economic Development. *The American Economic Review, 51*(4), 533-565.

Raul, R. (2016). Gravity Models: A Tool for Migration Analysis. *IZA - Institute of Labour Economics*(239). Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.15185/izawol.239

Ravenstein, E. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 48*(2), 167-235.

Remesh, B. (2016). Migration and Marginalization: A Study of North-Eastern Migrants in Delhi. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 71-95). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Samaddar, R. (2016). Migrants and the Neo-Liberal City: An Introduction. *Economic and Political Weekly, LI*(26,27), 52-54.

Scott, J. (2000). *Social Network Analysis - A Handbook.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Singh, S. (2016). Migration and Punjab: Some Perceptions. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 222-262). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Srivastava, R. (2011). Labour Migration, Inequality and Development Dynamics in India: An Introduction. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 373-385.

Srivastava, R. (2011). Labour Migration, Inequality and Development Dynamics in India: An Introduction. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 411-440.

Stewart, Q. (1950). The Development of Social Physics. *American Journal of Physics, 18*, 239-253.

Studenmund, A. (2017). *Using Econometrics - A Practical Guide.* Pearson India.

Sun, Y., & Pan, K. (2014). Prediction of the intercity migration of Chinese graduates. *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment*, 1-14. doi:10.1088/1742/5468/2014/12/P12022

Tapan, M., Singh, A., & Sreekumar, N. (2016). Women's Mobility and Migration: An Exploratory Study of Muslim Women Migrants in Jamia Nagar, Delhi. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 47-70). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Taylor, J. (1986). Differential Migration, Networks, Information and Risks. *Migration Theory, Human Capital and Development, 4*, 147-171.

Todaro, M. P., & Harris, J. R. (1970). Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis. *The American Review, 60*.

Tubadji, A., & Nijkamp, P. (2015). Cultural Gravity Effects among Migrants: A Comparative Analysis of the EU15. *Economic Geography, 91*(3), 343-380.

Tumbe, C. (2011). Remittances in India: Facts and Issues. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 479-501.

Tumbe, C. (2018). *India Moving - A History of Migration.* Gurgaon, Haryana: Penguin Random House India.

Tumbe, C. (2018). India on the Move and Churning: New Evidence. *Economic Survey 2016-17*, pp. 264-279.

Vanderkamp. (1977). The Gravity Model and Migration Behaviour: An Economic Interpretation. *Journal of Economic Studies, 4*(2), 89-102.

Vijay, R. (2011). Intra-Agriculture Migrations and their consequences on Land and Labour Markets: An Exploratory Analysis. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 441-456.

Vijay, R. (2016). Migration in Agrarian Classes: A Study based on Nine Villages in Andhra Pradesh. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 180-203). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Vyas, M. (2016). Sleepless in Mumbai: Spotlight on Elderly Security Guards. *Economic and Political Weekly, LI*(26,27), 78-83.

Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams-Oerberg, E. (2016). Educational Migration among Ladakhi Youth. In *Internal Migration in Contemporary India* (pp. 154-179). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Wilson, D. T. (2009). Beyond Bounded Communities: Network-Mediated Migration From an Urban Colonia In Mexicali, Mexico. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural*

Systems and World Economic Development, 38(2/3/4), 149-167. Retrieved 10 13, 2017, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40553648

Wilson, D. T. (2012). Cumulative Causation Unbounded: Network Expansion in Rural and Urban Migration Centers. *Anthropological Quarterly, 85*(4), 1161-1176. Retrieved 10 13, 2017, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41857295

Wolpert. (1966). Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress. *Journal of Social Issues, 22*(4).

Zachariah, S., & Rajan, I. S. (2011). Impact of Remittances of Non-Resident Keralites on Kerala's Economy and Society. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 54*(3), 503-526.

Zai, L., & Miao, D. C. (2013). Migration within China and from China to the USA: The Effects of Migration Networks, Selectivity and the Rural Political Economy in Fujian Province. *Population Studies*, 209-233. doi:doi.10.1080/00324728.2012.756116

Zipf, G. (n.d.). The P1 P2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons. *American Sociological Review, 11*.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I'm researching the topic "A Study on the Economic Impact of Migration to Goa" for my doctoral thesis. I would be deeply obliged if you would kindly consent to fill the following Questionnaire. I assure you that the details filled in by you will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and used for academic purposes only. Thank you,

P. S. Devi, Research Student, Goa University.

1. Name of the respondent (Optional):_____

2. Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Native Place: State: _____ District:_____

4. Distance from native place to Goa: _____ kms.

5. Religion: _____ Caste: _____ (General, OBC, SC, ST)

6. Educational Status: a) Illiterate ☐ b) Primary ☐ c) Middle School ☐

d) S.S.C. ☐ e) H.S.S.C. ☐ d) Graduate ☐ e) Post Graduate ☐

f) Diploma ☐ g) Professional degree ☐ h) Other (Specify): _____

7. Age when you first migrated: _____ years

8. Is Goa the first place you migrated to: Yes ☐ No ☐

9. If no, specify: _____

10. Were you married when you migrated: Yes ☐ No ☐

11. If yes, did your family accompany you when you first migrated:

Yes ☐ No ☐

12. If no, after how many years did they join you: _____years Never ☐

13. Size of the household: _____

14. Did you come to Goa on securing employment: Yes ☐ No ☐

15. If no, for what period were you without a job: _____

16. Nature of job (specify): _____

At the time of migration		At present	
a) Self-employed	☐	Self-employed	☐
b) Informal sector	☐	Informal sector	☐
c) Government sector	☐	Government sector	☐
d) Private sector	☐	Private sector	☐
e) Others (specify)_____		Others (specify)_____	

17. What is your perception of Goa vis-a-vis your native place?

a) Job opportunities:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
b) Wages / Salary:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
c) Working conditions:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
d) Housing facilities:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
e) Quality of life:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
f) Governance:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
g) Public amenities:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
h) Safety and security for women:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
i) Better schooling facilities:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐
j) Climate:	Better	☐	Same	☐	Worse ☐

18. Have you changed jobs within Goa: Yes ☐ No ☐

i) If yes, reasons for job change: a) Low wages ☐

b) Poor working conditions ☐

c) Hostility at workplace ☐

d) Better opportunities ☐

e) Others (specify)_____

ii) Have you ever faced discrimination at the workplace because you are a non-Goan?

a) Always ☐ b) Often ☐ c) Sometimes ☐ d) Never ☐

19. How did you secure employment?

a) Newspaper advertisement ☐ b) Other media ☐

c) Friends & family* ☐ d) Recruitment agencies ☐

e) Individual agents ☐ f) Other (specify):_____

20. Reasons for leaving native place:

a) Lack of employment ☐ b) Poor financial status ☐

c) Insufficient agricultural land ☐ d) Poor wages ☐

e) Natural disasters ☐ f) Caste/religious conflicts ☐

g) Family disputes ☐ h) Marriage ☐

i) Others (specify):_____

21. Reasons for coming to Goa:

a) Better employment opportunities ☐ b) Better working conditions ☐

c) Higher wages ☐ d) Proximity to hometown ☐

e) Presence of relatives and friends ☐

f) Following family, relatives, friends who came before ☐

g) Safe, congenial atmosphere. ☐ h) Better facilities ☐

i) Other (specify): _____

22. Is your spouse working: Yes ☐ No ☐

23. If yes, would (s)he have also worked at the native place? Yes ☐ No ☐

24. Have you brought others from your native place to work in Goa?

Yes ☐ No ☐

25. If yes, how many individuals: _____

26. Are they in a similar occupation as you are: Yes ☐ No ☐

27. If no, specify: _____

28. Knowledge of Konkani: Yes ☐ No ☐

i) If yes: Speak ☐ Read ☐ Write ☐

ii) If no, reasons for it: English is popular ☐ Hindi is popular ☐

29. Was there any person(s) known to you working in Goa before you came?

Yes ☐ No ☐

30. If yes, name: _____

31. Relative ☐ Friend ☐ Others (specify)_____

32. Did you avail of any assistance from them?

Accommodation ☐ Money ☐

Others (specify) _____

33. Income:

i) Monthly salary:

a) Up to Rs. 10000 ☐ b) 10001-25000 ☐ c) 25001-50000 ☐

d) 50001-100000 ☐ e) 100001-150000 ☐ f) Above 150000 ☐

ii) Monthly household income:

a) Up to Rs.10000 ☐ b) 10001-25000 ☐ c) 25001-50000 ☐

d) 50001-10000 ☐ e) 100001-150000 ☐ f) Above 1.5 lac ☐

34. Do you save regularly: Yes ☐ No ☐

35. Sources of savings:

a) Fixed deposits ☐ b) L.I.C. ☐ c) Mutual funds ☐

d) Real Estate e) C☐ ☐

f) Others (specify)_____

36. Are savings made in Goa: Yes ☐ No ☐

37. Monthly consumption expenditure: Rs. _____

38. Do you send money home: Yes ☐ No ☐

39. If yes, how often:

a) Regularly ☐ b) Irregularly ☐ c) Only when you visit home ☐

40. To whom do you send money: _____

41. Use of remittances by household:

a) Subsistence ☐ b) Education ☐

c) Medical expenses ☐ d) Debt payment ☐

e) Start / expand business ☐ f) Purchase of land / vehicle ☐

g) Purchase of gold ☐ h) To build house ☐

i) Savings ☐

j) Others (specify)_____

42. To whom do you lend money?

Name (optional)_____

Relation _____

43. From whom do you borrow money?

Name (optional) _____

Relation _____

44. In times of difficulties, to whom do you go for help:

Name (optional)_____

Relation _____

45. Who are you closest to in Goa:

i) Family & relatives ☐ ii) Friends from same native state ☐

iii) Other non- Goans ☐ v) Locals ☐

46. Accommodation:

a) Own ☐ b) Rented ☐ c) Govt Quarters ☐ d) Employer provides ☐

e) At work place ☐ f) Other (specify) _____

47. If own, Flat ☐ House ☐

48. Area: _____sq. ft.

49. Do you own land in Goa: Yes ☐ No ☐

50. Assets owned in Goa: _____

51. Vehicles owned in Goa: _____

52. Do you own another house in your native place (Other than inherited):

Yes ☐ No ☐

53. Living conditions in native place: Own ☐ Rented ☐

54. Land in hectares: _____

55. Land use: Cultivation ☐ Others (specify): _____

56. Documents possessed (with Goa address):

Ration card ☐ Election card ☐ Aadhar card. ☐

57. Are you a member of any union or regional associations?

Yes ☐ No ☐

58. If yes, specify: _____

59. Have you faced any hostility from the local population?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐ c) Can't say ☐

60. If yes, in what form:

a) Racial slurs ☐ b) Verbal abuse ☐ c) Physical abuse ☐

d) Others (specify): _____

61. Have you had professional setbacks due to "sons of soil" ideology?

Yes ☐ No ☐

62. How often do you visit your native place: _____

63. Will you settle down in Goa permanently?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Can't say ☐

64. Are you happy with your choice of migrating to Goa:

Yes ☐ No ☐ Can't say ☐