CHAPTER TWO
CHAPTER 2

EMIGRATION OF GOAN WOMEN

"The finest compliment that can be paid to a woman of sense is to address her as such. Next to God we are indebted to women, first for life itself and then for making it worth having."

The preceding chapter focused on the early influences of the Portuguese rule in India, particularly on the status of women, the customs and traditions, various legislations issued by the State to improve or control the activities of women in their colonial territories. This chapter discusses the emigration of Goan women to other places either to settle for a short period or permanently and the purpose of the emigration to other parts of India and the world. What is Emigration? It means to leave one's country to go and settle in another. It is derived from the Latin word *emigrare* which means *depart*. Emigrant is a person who emigrates.

Goans have migrated, sporadically over the past hundred years. In terms of scale, both in terms of numbers and remittances and socio-economic impact. One of the things that is not evident elsewhere is the role of women in migration, as in Goa.
In the course of my study I found that a majority of those went out overseas were Catholics, though some Hindus also moved out elsewhere in India. After interviewing some families I have noted that the position of women and their identity had changed in the course of time.

Factors leading to the emigration:

Let us first consider the various causes that led to the emigration of Goans. Before the advent of the Portuguese, the Konkan people had access to the sea and there was some mobility among the people on the western coast of India. The British stationed their naval fleet in Goa. They found the Goans just the kind of people they desired to work for them owing to the mode of their western dress, food, drinks, social customs, etc which they could not find in the whole of the Indian subcontinent, with the result that the Goans of all the other races in India, became their best source and demand. Socio-economic factors were deteriorating for Goans in the later Portuguese period. Most Goans suffered from land taxation, raising of funds for the expeditions of the Portuguese elsewhere, both religious and military, the appropriation of land from the village communities, allowing outsider control of village land, changes in the usufruct rights of lands. All these policies denied the people their earlier source of livelihood.
The Portuguese government declined and conditions were favourable for promoting emigration. Their wants multiplied, there was a change in the old economic order and disturbed the whole social equilibrium.\(^5\)

The absence of an industrial city in Goa and the growing importance of the city of Bombay with regard to commerce and industry and the increasing employment opportunities, accelerated the pace of Goan emigration. Goans who wanted university education also shifted to other parts of India whereas the pupils of Portuguese schools desirous of a university education would have to go abroad to Portugal – an avenue open only to the rich sections of the people.\(^6\)

**Social change due to emigration**

The adoption of western culture dealt a destructive blow to the society’s traditional institutions such as the caste, the joint family and village community. The new culture raised the standards of living of the people which in turn, released the people from their static attachment to the community land and to the hereditary occupations. Goans now migrated on a large scale to cities outside Goa and took employment in factories, commercial establishments and services. The western culture liberated the society from the traditional mores and habits.

Migration provided opportunity to many who had been suppressed by the tyranny of the *bhatkar* (land-owner) and of caste. By proving themselves in many ways equal
to or even better than those who had been their *bhatkars*, they became the victims of envy and resentment. Undoubtedly the traditional social structures and caste-ridden strictures die hard. With the enlightenment of education unhealthy restrictions have been abolished.

The western culture which Goans assimilated was expensive and there was a restraint haste to go to any part of the world to earn the money that was needed to sustain the new culture and civilization. Thus due to the foregoing reasons, Goans migrated in large numbers to other places mostly to the main cities in India, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Pune and Belgaum and in the cities of East Africa.

The large amounts of remittances from the Goan emigrants facilitated to generate local capital which strengthened the economy and brought into being a class of capitalists. The conservative society was thus transformed itself into a modern, competitive society.

As people migrated and invested in education, the gap between expectations and reality was aggrevated. Goans do not migrate only for economic reasons. Their perception over economic conditions have changed and there are different ideas about what is an adequate lifestyle, an appropriate salary or suitable job conditions.

It is not material depravation, that one cannot feed oneself and survive. Expatriates also put on a particular show when they return home, which do not co-relate with their actual living abroad.
The new social, economical, educational and value systems that emerged gave women equal status with men and they began to contend with one another for betterment of life. There was no department of human society from which the women were excluded. The improvement in the status of women brought about a new balance in the extent social relationships. After having assessed the factors that led to the emigration of Goans to other places, let us center our study on the emigration of Goan women.

The role of women, in general, have been underplayed. However, in Goan emigration, they have played a significant role.

There has always been a small independent emigration of women, as individual earners. However, increasingly, women went to places like Africa, as associational emigrants. They went with their husbands. Some did get jobs. But on the whole their job was to reproduce the next generation of migrants. Not just biologically, but culturally.

It was expected that their children would join migratory strands. This required a reinterpretation of motherhood, from being mainly a nurturing person, concerned with child welfare she also had to see to the intellectual, educational development of children.

So, there was a greater emphasis on education, on language, as a method of upward mobility. Ensuring as much as possible, the use of a Western language in the home
English or Portuguese. The use of certain foodstuffs or tonics to ensure the development of brain, rather than brawn.

Once Goan women were in settler communities, they have actually taken up independent employment. Before marriage, or after, as far as was compatible with bringing up children. The vehicle for that has been education. But also the availability of clerical and secretary jobs all over the British colonial empire. Subsequently, Goan migrant women in the West have gone into higher education in large numbers. Goans continue to migrate due to the availability of education. They feel the lack of economic opportunities for professional development as compared to the west.

At present the youth of Goa show a greater interest to work in Goa itself. They are interested in tourism industries. It may be the efforts of a few enthusiastic individuals which can fail or it can be a greater wakening among the younger generation of Goans, to plan, organize new schemes and earn their livelihood independently.

**Emigration in the early centuries**

The emigration of Goan women may be classified into three main stages. The first move of Goans to the nearest territories: emigration to the British India and Africa: in the first fifty years of the twentieth century and the post colonial shift to the Middle East, to Europe and America, Australia and New Zealand.

Emigration of Goan women to other parts of India started in the first century of the Portuguese rule in Goa. The Hindu women migrated in the company of their families
to the adjoining territories in order to avoid being converted to the religion of the Portuguese. The newly converted women, too, followed suit in order to evade the punishment of the Holy Inquisition (Auto de Fé) set up by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Goan women felt insecure when the Dutch blockaded their trade routes; when the neighbouring rulers threatened them the continuous spirit diseases, forced them to migrate with all their families.  

These women moved to the places outside the Portuguese domination, also to the closest states of Mangalore and South Kanara.

**Historical events regarding emigration in the 18th century**

Dom Aleixo de Menezes (FIG. 13) was the founder of the shelters (*recolhimento de Nossa Senhora de Serra*) for orphans and (*recolhimento – Maria Magdalena*) for repented women. The Holy House of Merces was given the charge of administering the shelters. The Holy House of Mercy of Goa was given the responsibility of reinstating the girls (*arrependidas*) who had shown that they have atoned for their ill-reputed life. A few of these young girls from the Holy House of Mercy were sent by
Dom Frei Aleixo de Menezes
Archbishop Primate & Governor, 1595 to 1609
Founder of the Recolhimentos & the Convent of Santa Monica
Source: Album, Central Library, Panaji. Photograph by: Olencio Coutinho
ships to distant Portuguese colonies of Brazil. The historical records clearly mentions that the girls from the Recolhimento de Serra (FIG. 14) were directed to Angola, Pegu, Malacca and the other places.

In the second half of the 18th century some women from the Recolhimento Maria Magdalena de Goa, (FIG. 15) who had repented were sent as the suitable wives to the Portuguese men at Ceylon.10 The Portuguese officials in Ceylon were not permitted to marry the local women. During this period the young women were sent at the care of Holy House of Mercy of Colombo. Prior sanction of the Viceroy was obtained in order to send these women to Ceylon. The number of Goan migrant women to colonies was restricted and all of them were Christians. After this period the emigration of Goan women slowed down.

Women’s emigration in the 19th century

In the 19th century, due to economic necessity Goans were compelled to migrate in large number. However, there is no clear proof indicating to women’s migration in definite number during this period.

Socio-economic conditions in the early 20th century

The second phase of Goan women’s migration commenced in the beginning of the 20th century. Due to socio-economic causes, the migration took place during this
14 The Orphans from the
Rocólméntos de Nossa Senhora da Serra
Source: José F. Ferreira Martins. História da Misericórdia de Goa.
vol.1 Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1910, p.328

15 The women from the Recolhimento de Santa Maria Magdalena
Source: José F. Ferreira Martins. História da Misericórdia de Goa.
vol.2 Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1912, p.266
period. Expensive living, poor conditions, unemployment, tedious life in the village, conservative attitude of the Goan society are some of the aspects that led to the emigration.

Besides these factors there were some others, for instance, chances of obtaining social freedom, better standard of living outside Goa and marriage pacts caused women’s migration to the other parts of the world. Better means of communications and transport between Goa and the remainder part of India from the end of the 19th century made the journey easy and fast.\(^{11}\)

A very few migrated to British India to obtain the educational qualifications. There were no institutions of Higher education, forced many Goan parents to send their children for higher studies to Bombay, Bangalore, Belgaum and Poona.\(^{12}\)

**Emigration of women to Portuguese and British Africa**

It is stated that one third of the lot who migrated from Goa to other places in the beginning of the 20th century were women. However, there is no statistical data available regarding the women emigration during the Portuguese rule. The census reports, merely give the absentee number from their houses but it does not give exact number of women migrants. For example, it is stated that by 1910 about 48,000 Goans had moved to different states of India, Africa, Brazil and to the Gulf countries.
In 1935, approximately 38,788 Catholics left their houses vacant in Tiswadi, Salcete and New Conquests. Economical blockade, compelled some families especially from concelhos – Salcete, Bardez, Pernem to abandon their homes with their relations and fix their residencies elsewhere in the neighbouring states or rest of India. However, of these, how many belonged to the feminine sex, was not known.\textsuperscript{13}

In the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Goan women migrated in two directions to far away British and Portuguese dominated areas of Africa and closer home to British India mainly to the chief cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Poona and Karachi.\textsuperscript{14} There were two kinds of migration – independent and relational migration. The latter type was mostly to Africa and British India including Burma. These were the wives and daughters of men working in Africa and British India or prospective wives.

Large number of Goans of Christian community was involved in pioneering work in the fields of medicine, teaching and other fields. We do know that the Goans migrated to Africa, some had merged with the local people there were others who retained their identity and unique Goan culture.

The earliest authentic and specific mention of Goans in Africa comes to us from the journals of the two great European explorers Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke. In 1857, when commencing their famous journey to discover the source of the river Nile, among their associates of 132 persons were two Goan cooks, who in Speke’s words provided “dinner, which consisted of some dish as rice and goat’s meat.” Burton writes: “We took along on our hunting expedition in Africa two
personal staff, who cooked for us. They prepared rice and mutton curries that we were used to when we were in India.\footnote{15}

It is also well-known that Goan musicians were the linch-pin of the African bands. Goan bands were very popular at weddings and other social functions. Goans were the mainstay of church choirs and orchestras. They joyfully participated in the litany singing at festivals and for the mando. (FIG 16) specially in the Goan associations or clubs. They strove for the uplift and education of the less privileged people of Africa. Emigrants clamoured for a common electoral roll taken on the basis of educational and property qualification. With this they hoped to be placed on par with Europeans and ensure recognition of their rights as British subjects and thus obtain equal treatment.

But Goans largely were most indifferent to political developments either in India or to their echo in East Africa. They were, in fact, most complacently confident they could survive on privilege. The only prominent Goan in the political sphere at the time was Dr. A.C. L. de Souza, the elected representative on the Nairobi, Municipal Council. He was convinced of the urgency to reorganize the groups and animate his Goan brothers into awareness. What he envisaged was an organization that would embrace the whole community, represent it as a united front and protect its interests. He therefore convened an informal session of representative Goans selected from various classes and shades of opinion and confronted them with several disturbing
current issues. As a result, it was decided to hold a public meeting on 10 June 1927. At that gathering Goans accepted the idea of founding an association, of appointing the relevant committee and drafting the constitution.

Therefore, on 9 July 1927 a mass meeting of the Goan community was held in the hall of the Goan Institute, Nairobi. The proposal to set up the Goan Overseas Association was unanimously approved and the number of members enrolled was 523 – a figure that spoke volumes for the terrific backing of the Goan community of the city, which at that time probably numbered not more than 700 male, women were not counted yet. It was Dr. (Mrs.) Mary de Souza to whom credit goes for selecting the name of the association. Its initials G.O.A spelt the name of the native land.

Dr. A.C.I. de Souza was appointed President and P.S. Fialho – secretary. In a special issue of Goa Today, the objectives of the new Association were spelt out thus:-

- To promote and safeguard interests and welfare of the Goan community in Kenya.
- To promote a closer union of Goans in East Africa.
- To establish closer relations with representative Goan institutions in Goa, British India and elsewhere.
The formation of the Association have more than ever emphasised the need for a representative institution to voice the grievances of the community and defend its interests. Goans were respected for their honesty, they enjoyed a reputation for loyalty and efficiency that accounted for their extensive employment in the administration in Africa.

Goans in Africa lived in hazardous conditions of life, surrounded by natives and wild animals. It is at this junction significant to cite few examples of women who had dared to follow their adventurous husbands in Africa. We have an example of a wife of the Goan pioneer life in the ‘the bush’ which was even more difficult however, she had the husband’s enthusiasm for adventure. Cyril B. de Souza spoke of his mother accompanying his father, a cashier in the Kenya administration into the interior to set up office. He rode on horseback along an unfamiliar, but beaten track. She was lifted in a palanquin by African bearers. They halted at night in tents, in the bitter cold. The wild beasts were a constant threat, the natives were friendly and complaint.

But to one young bride, coming from Goa, even more formidable than the prospect of wild beasts was the presence of the half-naked African houseboys, specially when her husband set in Kericho. To his utter embarrassment, she adamantly accompanied him until with advanced pregnancy. She was able to secure the presence of a woman servant to keep her company. It was not the practice for native women to work in homes except to care for children. There were no neighbours she could turn to; and
when her time for delivery came, in the absence of a doctor, nurse or hospital, she had to rely on a local midwife who fortunately coped admirably and cared for her and the baby.

Some of the women pioneers were more spirited. There is the case of the mother of Bob Zuzarte who is said to have independently conducted a mail postal service. This daring woman actually drove horses making deliveries herself in the Kilindini area in the early decades of the 20th century. Another example, Dr. Alex B. D’Costa, M.D. (Bom) was well-known among Goan doctors. Having specialized in Obstetrics and Gynecology, he entered into partnership with Dr. Joe Castellino who already had established practices. He married Dr. Sybil Figueiredo, daughter of Dr. Erenest Figueiredo of Mombasa, and she ably assisted him in his clinic.16

As J.S Mangat, in his work *Asians in East Africa* observes: “The emigrants had begun to settle down-opening up schools, building social and cultural facilities for members of their different communities, while some of the leading traders and few professional men among them mainly doctors and lawyers provided leadership in the informal Indian associations established at various settlements to protect the rights and interests of the Indian community.”

In Africa the doctors who studied at Goa Medical School made significant contribution in the sphere of medicine including the eradication of different types of diseases.17
Independent emigration

Independent emigration of spinsters to Africa was restricted either to those who want to work in Portuguese Africa or those who went there as prospective brides. Women from the two shelters namely Retreat homes of our Lady of Serra (Orphanage) and Maria Magdalena (repentant women) administered by the brothers of Holy House of Mercy and their daughters and sisters were given financial help in order to migrate to Portuguese Africa for prosperous future. Goan women who migrated to Africa chiefly to British Africa, they belonged to middle and upper level of the society. They occupied posts in offices as typists, clerks, nurses in the hospitals, teachers in schools. Their standard of living in Africa was much better than women in Goa. These women did not settle there permanently, eventually they returned home to visit their parents, at the time of some family celebrations like weddings, sickness death, religious feast, particularly the feast of St. Francis Xavier – exposition of his relics, (FIGS. 17,18,19) to settle property affairs, to provide their children with western education, also to instill in them the Goan culture, look after the retirement of their husbands, to after their aged parents.
The Statue of St. Francis Xavier
The Sacred Relics of St. Francis Xavier
19 The Casket of St. Francis Xavier
Women emigration to British India:

By the middle of the nineteenth century the rising importance of the city of Bombay beckoned to a number of young adventures who braved the dangers of a long sea voyage in a primitive country boat or the perilous journey over the hilly ghats. There was place for all. Goans were easily absorbed with the local Christians who shared a similar background of exposure to the Portuguese life-style. Being residents in the city, the Goan emigrants took up occupations which were of commercial and industrial nature. These occupations led to the material advancement of the people and provided the finance that was necessary to maintain the expensive western culture in Goa and outside Goa. This encouraged even the more educated to migrate to the big city.

At that time, there was hardly a Hindu, Parsee and Muslim who were able to read the Roman alphabets, like their Salsette Christian counterparts. These more educated Goans were readily assimilated into service as writers and clerks in the offices of the British government and in the many private commercial firms that came into existence. Due to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 economic conditions in Goa declined. Yet one very significant thing that happened was the improvement in transport and communication by coastal steamer and railway. This greatly facilitated and hastened entry into the hinterland giving a tremendous encouragement and support to emigration.
The emigration of Goans to the cities in other states assisted the modernizing process in the Goan society. The modern western culture that was first assimilated by the Christians and was slowly penetrating into the Hindu community had given rise to new wants.

The economy of Goa was maintained through the employment of over a lakh of Goans in the industrial commercial centers of India, such as Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi. There was thus no economic or cultural stagnation in the Goan society. And paradoxically, although there was no industrial city in Goa, the percentage of Goan urban population was higher than in the rest of India, due to the fact that over 20 percent of Goans emigrated to industrial urban centers outside Goa for employment and lived in cities especially the educated Goans sought employment in the emerging cities of India.

In the first fifty years of the 20th century the independent emigration of Goan women normally took place to British India particularly to Bombay. They were mainly belonging to lower class of the society between the age group of 18-45 and members of both communities, i.e. Hindu and Christian. Most of them were uneducated. Independent emigration of this period was limited predominantly to women who were unskilled, menial workers and artists such as the dancing girls. These were from both non-Christian and Christian groups. Higher and middle class women did not move independently, however, if they did migrate, it was in the company of their family members.
A large number of women emigrants to British India such as Bombay and other parts were spinsters or widows. Out of these widows’ number was remarkable. What was the reason for such a situation? The conditions of the Goan widows were deplorable as those in the rest of India. Many restrictions were imposed on their conduct, actions, dress and even food. They were considered as ominous. Therefore, women belonging to the lower strata chose to migrate to far distant places, away from their usual environment in order to upgrade their living conditions and to enjoy some amount of freedom which big cities and towns could afford.

In the early years of the 20th century, another group of women dancing girls began to migrate to British India to raise their standard of living. Most of them settled in Bombay where they amassed wealth. Some of them had permanent connections with wealthy persons like rich traders, they were mistresses of Nawabs, Rajas, British officials of higher ranks and even had issues from these unions. For instance, the most popular Batia Naquini Calangutkar, she was a concubine of one, Mr. Jorge, a general in the British army by whom she had several issues, on condition that these children would be the heirs of the said general with no rights to the property of the mother.

The dancing girls were able to provide the children with good education and better standard of living, with the riches they acquired from their paramours. In 1930, the state government prohibited the rite of Xens in Goa, a number of dancing girls left Goa and lived elsewhere in India.
Economically deprived women at times involved themselves in prostitution in the clubs where they stayed in Bombay. A committee was appointed in Bombay to make inquiries in the conditions of Goan prostitutes in that state. According to the report submitted by the committee in 1923, it was found out that about 510 Goan prostitutes and their 225 female dependents dwelt in Bombay. Germano Correia gave an estimate of 2,000 prostitutes of Goan origin in Bombay around 1931. The estimate was based on registered ones. Majority of these women belonged to the class of bailadeiras.  

An health Officer of Pernem sent a report stating that in the third and fourth decade of the twentieth century most of the prostitutes of that place were at Bombay spending their younger days carrying on same type of activities. At the same time the Health Officer of Canacona one of the poorest taluka situated in South Goa stated that there were many suicidal cases among the prostitutes during the same period. They killed themselves by drowning or swallowing a very poisonous or toxic plant known as Vagacho danteo.  

The first women emigrants to British India were employed in offices, factories, hospitals nurses helpers and domestic attendants in private homes of rich families. In Goa the domestic workers were paid less wages, often no salary was given only food and few clothes.  

Due to the emigration of women, there was dearth of domestic attendants in Goa. In 1930’s, the Goan weekly magazine reported in some of its issues the miserable conditions of Goan women domestic workers.
Propercia Correia Afonso Figueiredo says that a large number of women migrated to Bombay in the late 1920's and early 1930's. They worked as domestic helpers for Parsi and British families. The working conditions in Bombay were preferable than in Goa. Goan women were wanted since they were efficient at work and loyal in their service. At the end of their service period, most of them were given pension. These women transmitted unique Goan culture, Konkani language and even instilled values and religious tenets among the employer's children, whom they nurtured with much affection.

Women emigrants, particularly those who worked as domestic labourers in Bombay, generally resided in their employer's house. Some women who were employed in other areas stayed with their relations, hostels for women or in the clubs of their own, founded by them in the main cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi. Such clubs known among the Goans as Kudds. These clubs have been founded by Goan Christians only and there were no Hindu clubs. Almost every village of Goa had in the city of Bombay, at least one village club. The clubs were a source of untold blessings to the Indo-Portuguese emigrants. They offered a shelter and livelihood to the new arrivals to the city.

According to O.E Baptista, in his the "Coor System, the unintended factors were the prevention of social demoralization or disintegration which was prevented by the preservation of group solidarity, the values, language, religion and mores. These
factors which were spontaneously provided by the system, helped the members to retain their identities their personal and social integration.”

The Goan Kudd had been responsible for the great progress of the Goan migrants. They have remained as living monuments to the spirit of amity and fellowship of Goan pioneers who ventured into that city in its infancy.

An even more sophisticated form of cultural socializing emerged for the more educationally advanced section of the community when a group of Goan intellectuals set up two literary institutions in 1872 Gremio Lusitano and in 1877 Amigos de Letras. During those closing decades of the last century, with the national trend towards unification and the search for identity, a number of communal associations aiming at the economic, social, literary and religious uplift of the people came separately into being. In 1883 the Institute of Luso-Indian, a representative body of Goans was formed.

These institutions were very well managed. And with the dedicated endeavour of the pioneering members and their spirit of co-operation did succeed in ameliorating conditions for the emigrant community which might otherwise have struggled in a strange environment.

There were women who moved to Bombay and other main cities of India without any fixed jobs. Consequently many of them were gripped by social evils and led immoral lives. The miserable conditions of the Goan women in Bombay and other places, created a great anxiety to the Goan society and the Church.
The Church took some measures, through the instrumentality of the priests, who were authorized to admonish the women about the perils of the emigration, regardless of the other parts of India.

In the beginning of 1930’s, a majority of the Goan settlers in Bombay were upset seeing the plight of some women emigrants in Bombay and other cities of India under British rule. Through the press and other organizations they brought to the notice of the Government of Goa, the distressing situations of the Goan emigrants, thus asked the authority to intervene and take some course of action in order to change their lot. A number of Provincial Congresses were held in Goa, in order to discuss the problems of women emigration to British India. When the 7th Provincial Congress met, one doctor named Socrates Noronha recommended to establish a health and Public Morality League in British India. Many plans were made to check the emigration of Goan women. The members of the congresses decided to restrain the Goan women from migrating to British India. They also considered the necessity of keeping a guard on unmarried women/spinsters settled in Bombay and other cities of India. Still some distinguished Goans, like, A. Bragança Pereira were opposed to this proposal since such a course of action would infringe human rights.27

In 1930’s, people appealed persistently to the Portuguese Government of Goa and it appointed a committee Commission for Goan Emigrants. The office of this Commission was at Dhobitalao, Bombay. The Committee for Emigrants was founded with a fund of Rs.45,000 to give help to Goan women in Bombay. The organisation
was financed by the State and Social Welfare institutions i.e. Holy House of Mercy and Hospicio of Sacred heart at Margao. Similar Committees were set up in other towns/cities of British India such as – Pune, Calcutta and Karachi.²⁸

The Committee for Emigrants established in the cities of India carried out periodic investigation of the settlements of women migrants. The Committee introduced some courses of study, such as, shorthand and typing, tailoring, inorder to support the Goan migrant women in Bombay. They were instructed to write in vernacular language, Konkani and Portuguese so that they are able to communicate with their kith and kin left behind in Goa.

In Karachi, the orphans and widows were given monetary aid to surmount their hardships. Women, were used to sensual pleasures. Those who changed their way of life for better were given shelter at St. Catherine’s Home of Refuge. (FIG 20) Kandivli, Bombay. In this Home, they acquired the art of cooking, tailoring, weaving, soap-making and gardening.

During the years 1936-1937, the same committee showed much concern in arranging the shelters for young women. It contributed towards the accommodation of young Goan girls at Vila Theresa – A catholic Women’s Hostel at Bombay managed
St. Catherine's Home of Refuge, Andheri, Mumbai
by the missionary sisters. They were trained in nursing, baby-care, stitching and embroidery. These young girls were counselled and given financial assistance to return to their own homes in Goa. The committee requested the sisters in-charge of the above mentioned women’s Hostel in Bombay, to visit regularly the Goan clubs or Kudds. These clubs have been the settlements of young Goan women.

The committee instituted a club for working women in Bombay. In this club some of the domestic workers were given lodging. Among those who did not have any job, were provided free meals till they managed to obtain some work.

To cater to the needs of Hindu women, in Bombay and adjoining areas, another organization named the Gomantak Maratha Samaj was established. The members of the Samaj visited regularly the premises where Hindu Goan Women resided. The Samaj carried out a census to note the number of Goan women settled in Bombay, their marital status and occupation. The census also furnished information of the jobless. The Samaj spent money towards the education of some Hindu girls and also arranged marriages of devadasis. Effort were made to help the girls to live a virtuous life. A home was built to provide shelter to Goan Hindu women working in Bombay specifically as domestic servants.29

The church and majority of Goans in Bombay and Goa were against the emigration of Goan women yet the Portuguese government was indifferent towards the migration. It seemed that the state supported the emigration since there were no job opportunities in Goa and due to shortage of necessary goods, during the two world wars. The
Portuguese social welfare institutions such as the Holy House of Mercy of Goa assisted Goan women to migrate to Angola and Mozambique.  

Goans played a pioneering role in Mozambique, and did help to prop up the colonial structure in that country in a big way. Dr. Sharmila S. Karnik is a Documentation Officer at the University of Bombay’s center for African Studies. Her study on “Goan in Mozambique” was published recently in the ‘African Quarterly’, a publication of the New Delhi based Indian Council for Cultural Research. It shows how people from Goa amassed considerable riches and undertook tasks the white man could not in that part of the globe.

During the post colonial period there had been a greater exodus of women to other regions. The poor condition, a luxurious life in foreign countries, higher educational proficiency, opportunity of getting more freedom and different other social problems impelled Goan women to migrate now a days. Goan women have moved in various directions to the Gulf countries (Middle East), Canada, Europe, Australia, USA and Brazil for higher studies, to better their economic conditions or as brides to Goans and others settled in colonies. Some Goan women from East Africa have migrated to Canada, Europe and Brazil. The early sixties was a period of uncertainty for all Asians in Africa, particularly East Africa because of the forthcoming independence of Tanzania (1961), Uganda (1962) and Kenya (1963).
PORTUGUESE COLONIES & SANTAS CASAS DE MISERICORDIA

SANTAS CASAS DE MISERICORDIA: Lisbon, Maranhão, Macau, Oporto, São Tomé, São Paulo, Malacca, Bahia, Luanda, Moçambique, Evora, Rio de Janeiro, Goa
RECOLHIMENTOS REAL DAS ORFÃAS: PORTUGAL: Castelo, Alcaçovas, Oporto. GOA: Recolhimentos da Nossa Senhora de Serra & Maria Magdalena, Santa Monica (Goa), Santa Clara (Macau) & Desterro (Buenos Aires/Bahia)
CONVENTOS:

Map by: Kimberly's Computer Services, Margão.
The different types of citizenships available to Asians in East Africa were highly complicated. In the case of Goans this complication was intricate because of a sizeable proportion of those resident in East Africa has Portuguese nationality. It was only after the union of Goa with India was effected in 1961 that Goans could become Indian citizens and by virtue of the fact that India is part of the commonwealth.

Goans were then eligible to register as British subjects. Many Goans exercised this option, and it was mainly older Goans who appear to have retained their Indian citizenship because of a strong desire to retire to Goa. That many East African Goans took up British passports was clear by the remarkable increase in the numbers of respondents who arrived in Britain from 1962 onwards.

There is some evidence to suggest that there was a greater tendency for younger families and individuals to have come to Britain rather than go to India because of the greater opportunities for employment available in Britain. Among the young Goan emigrants there were more males 53% than females 47% living in the Greater London area.31

The women emigrants were part of different groups of the society, including both married and single. Some of them were widows or women separated from their husbands. This particular group of women have by and large migrated to the Middle East in order to procure and gather enough money for their dowry. Others have gone to work and to increase family income or to maintain large families specially when the husband was jobless or a drunkard.
For majority of Goans it has been persistent idea as well as status symbol to obtain an employment in the Gulf countries.\textsuperscript{32}

**Type of work the women emigrant undertook**

According to the information obtained by means of interview – a great number of Goan women who shift to Middle East, they were employed as servants at the houses of Arabs and European families. Some engaged in clerical or administrative posts and others attended their husbands, In some countries like Saudi Arabia women had no sanction to take up particular jobs and they had to follow some local customs. There have been cases when a few Goan women in the Gulf countries have married the local men and then converted to Islam.

Now a days, almost every other family has or had a member or a kinsman in the Middle East. In certain villages in Goa, a fairly large number of women both those who are married and not married are employed as domestic servants in the Gulf countries. From 1990’s emigration to the Middle East suffered a blow or relapse for various reasons. The earlier and recent Kuwait-Iraq crisis, the new migration laws passed in UAE has affected Indian shift to other countries. However, there is still demand for Goan women as domestic workers in the houses of Arab, European and Indian families.\textsuperscript{33}
Impacts of Emigration

Emigration of Goan women particularly the married women has negative and positive result on their families and the society. The women working in the Middle East send to their home regularly the amount of money, in order to maintain the families, to raise their standard of living, provide education to children and to construct new houses. Nonetheless, absence of mother from the homes has caused much damage to the families and occasionally has led to the estranged relations with family members (husband and wife, parents and children) and finally to the break up of the family.

Goan women emigrants made efforts to preserve their own unique culture outside their territory. They tried to keep up some of the traditions and customs of the land, food habits, even though they were influenced by new ideas, other cultures and restrictions imposed by the foreign countries as in the case of Middle East. Women emigrants on their return, brought along with them new concepts, ideas from the foreign lands. Seeing the magnificent changes outside their country, the women emigrants acquired riches, knowledge and they realized the value of education and their potential to be equal and take part in decision making. Thus, ready to shirk off subordination at all levels. That is, socio-political, cultural and even in overcoming difficulties in following their own religion or Church activities.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


10. HAG : Ms 10424:3


13. *Alguns Aspectos demográficos de Goa, Daman and Diu* (Goa:1965), p.188


21. V.R.Mitragotri. *A Socio-Cultural history of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*, (Taleigao Plateau: Goa University, 1994) unpublished thesis p.79. An initiation ceremony was held for the temple girls. In this ceremony a mock marriage was conducted. A girl garlanded the coconut or any other object held by another girl
ceremony was held for the temple girls. In this ceremony a mock marriage was conducted. A girl garlanded the coconut or any other object held by another girl dressed in a male attire. After the ceremony the girl was allowed to be the mistress of the temple priest, however, she could not marry any one but remain a dedicated servant of God.


26. O.E. Baptista, op.cit., p.38


29. Pius Malekandathil, op.cit., p.370

30. *Santa Casa Misericordia de Goa*, op.cit. p.97

31. 1976 Annual Abstract of greater London statistics
32. Interview – Dominick D’Silva, Quepem, working in the Gulf countries.

33. Interview – Mrs. Lucy Gonsalves, Majorda, working in Kuwait.

34. Interview – Mrs. Cheryl Mendonca, Bombay, working in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

35. Interview – Mrs. Glenda Britto, Candolim, Bahrain return.