A Preliminary Working Draft on Migration of Nurses: The Case of Kerala, India

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Abstract

In order to provide a comprehensive background on the migration of nurses in Kerala, India, this working draft provides a broad range of data on the international migration of nurses, the existing literature on the migration of Kerala nurses, and migration from Kerala in general.

Data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that an average of 5.9% of the total nursing workforce in OECD countries is foreign-trained. Indian and Filipino nurses are the most heavily recruited for English-speaking OECD countries, but the ratio, annual inflow, and source countries differ by country.

In this paper, we argue that, recently, migration patterns and processes, the socioeconomic backgrounds of nurses, and the objectives of migration have undergone

a dramatic transformation from historical trends of overseas employment and remittances.

The number of emigrants from Kerala has steadily increased since 1998, reaching 2.4 million people in 2014, but the rate of this increase has slowed in recent years. Although about 30% of all households in Kerala have a migrant worker, the prevalence differs according to religion and district. Furthermore, an increase has been seen in international migrant workers' remittances, which currently exceed the revenue receipts of the state government.

Keywords: nurses, migration, international migration, return migrants

1. Introduction

Despite of the start of an economic crisis in 2008, developed countries have been attracting a greater inflow of skilled labor. Healthcare workers such as nurses have made a substantial contribution to this increase (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2015). The active international recruitment of nurses to developed countries has been largely the result of increasing numbers of elderly patients, shortages of "home grown" nurses due to reduced investment in nursing training, dropouts from nursing occupations, and aging nurses themselves among other reasons. International nursing recruitment is also affected by immigration and health management policies, as well as economic environments in recipient countries.

From the perspective of nurses, international migration is motivated by "push factors" such as low wages, a lack of job security, low occupational status, limited chances for promotion, and a low level of investment in health services in nurse-sending countries, and by "pull factors" such as higher wages, professional experience, better specialized training opportunities, increased autonomy at the workplace, and a better family life in nurse-receiving countries (e.g., Connel 2008; Yeates 2009). A wide range of benefits to both nurse-sending and nurse-receiving countries has been identified, including economic benefits from remittances in nurse-sending countries, and cheaper labor and lower wage levels in nurse-receiving countries.

Although India is one of the world's top suppliers of emigrant nurses, the government does not traditionally play a proactive role in supply. Its role is at least not as aggressive and strategic as that played by the Philippines in the emigration of skilled laborers such as nurses. However, due to increasing reports of financial disagreements between private recruiters and nurses and of exploitation and human rights violations abroad in recent years, India's federal government changed their policy on emigrant nurses to require that recruitment be carried out through public sector recruitment agencies¹ and that emigration clearance be obtained from the Offices of the Protector of Emigrants when nurses are recruited to work in certain Middle Eastern, African, and

¹ At the time of writing, only three state government recruitment agencies (two government agencies in Kerala and one government agency in Tamil Nadu) were approved to engage in nurse recruitment.

Asian countries, effective from the end of April 2015.² Therefore, migration patterns, processes, and consequences may undergo dramatic changes in the near future.³

Against this background, this research project aims to examine the factors, processes, and consequences of migration, as well as the socioeconomic impact on the economy, the healthcare system, and individual households through an analysis of survey data (A description of the instruments used in this survey is provided in the Appendix). Before analyzing survey results, the objective of this preliminary working draft is to show data regarding international trends in the migration of nurses and information from the existing literature on the migration of nurses from Kerala, India, and present a broad picture of migration from that state.

2. International trends in the migration of nurses: an overview of foreign-trained nurses in OECD countries

Although it is difficult to obtain estimates on the inflow and numbers of migrant health workers, some data are available from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (http://stats.oecd.org/). These data are incomplete, unbalanced, and discontinuous, but they can provide a brief overview of the trends and current status of the migration of nurses to selected OECD countries. As shown in Table 1, in 2013, an average of about 5.9% of the total nursing workforce in 23 OECD member countries is made up of foreign-trained nurses.⁴ The OECD country with the highest ratio of foreign-trained nurses is New Zealand, with nearly 25%, followed by Switzerland (18.7%), Australia (16.0%), the United Kingdom (12.7%) and Israel (10.3%). In contrast, other OECD countries, such as Estonia, Turkey, Slovenia and the Netherlands, have negligible ratios of foreign-trained nurses.

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² These countries are so called Emigration Check Required (ECR) countries specified by the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, currently including UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Malaysia, Libya, Jordan, Yemen, Sudan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Syria, Lebanon, Thailand, and Iraq.

³ Needless to say, except for Emigration Check Required (ECR) countries, nurses are not necessarily recruited through recruitment agencies when they work overseas. There are several ways to work in non-ECR countries, such as participating in recruitment fairs in India, obtaining employment opportunities through recruitment agencies, recognition of licensing (new scheme), and so on.

⁴ The OECD comprised 34 countries as of March 2016.

Table 1. Ratio of foreign-trained nurses in OECD countries in 2013

	% share in total	Stock of nurses	
	nurses in 2013	in 2013	
New Zealand	24.3	11,170	
Switzerland	18.7	11,536	***
Australia	16.0	47,507	
United Kingdom	12.7	86,668	****
Israel	10.3	4,528	
Norway	8.8	7,640	
Canada	7.5	28,330	
United States	6.0	246,291	***
Germany	5.8	70,000	*
Italy	5.1	20,072	
Portugal	3.0	1,947	
France	2.7	17,692	
Sweden	2.7	2,882	***
Belgium	2.9	5,411	****
Spain	2.1	5,247	**
Chile	2.0	702	****
Finland	1.8	1,293	***
Denmark	1.3	724	***
Hungary	1.2	650	
Netherlands	0.7	1,358	**
Slovenia	0.4	20	
Turkey	0.2	239	
Estonia	0.0	4	
OECD23	5.9		

Source: OECD Health Statistics 2015 (http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/health-data-en)

Note: *, **, ***, and **** indicate 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2014 values, respectively.

In terms of absolute numbers, there are roughly 570,000 foreign-trained nurses in these 23 selected OECD countries,⁵ among which the United States has the largest number of foreign-trained nurses (6.0%). As a proportion, this share is slightly higher than the OECD average, but in terms of absolute numbers, this works out to close to

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bata from the remaining 11 OECD member countries are not available from the OECD website. Since the current data already include major OECD countries (except Japan, where the number of foreign-trained nurses is minimal) data from the 23 selected member countries should be sufficient to provide a good estimate of the pool of foreign-trained nurses in all OECD member countries. However, there is a significant discrepancy between the data reported here and those provided by OECD (2007). In the latter, data were based on census and labor force surveys of member countries, and the number of foreign-born nurses was reported as 711,877 in 2000. The OECD average share of foreign-born nurses was 10.7%, which far exceeds the current estimate of 5.9%. The United States is the largest nurse-receiving county, accommodating 336,183 in 2000, followed by the United Kingdom (81,623) and Germany (74,990). The gaps in these numbers are likely the result of differences in the definition between "foreign-trained nurses" and "foreign-born nurses."

250,000 nurses (2013 data), which far exceeds the 86,000 nurses in the United Kingdom (2014 data), which has the second largest number of foreign-trained nurses among OECD countries. Germany also accepts rather large numbers of foreign-trained nurses (70,000 in 2010). However, foreign-trained nurses in Estonia (4 in 2013) and Slovenia (20 in 2013) are a nearly invisible set.

The annual inflow of foreign-trained nurses to OECD countries is shown in Table 2. Despite the perception that an increasing number of nurses have been migrating to OECD countries in recent years, the data show mixed pictures. In some countries, the number of migrating nurses has been increasing rapidly, but in others, the numbers are stagnant or even declining. The declining trend is quite conspicuous in major foreign-trained nurse-receiving countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In the former, the number of migrating nurses peaked at nearly 23,000 in 2007, but has steadily declined since that time, sharply dropping to 4,297 in 2013, the lowest since 2001. The United Kingdom experienced the same trend until 2009. The number of migrant nurses decreased to 2,085 in 2009 from a peak of 13,608 in 2003. However, it seems that this declining trend stopped after 2009, as the number rebounded to nearly 8,000 in 2014. The number of foreign-trained nurses in the United Kingdom was 88,609 in 2006 and nearly identical, at 86,668, in 2014 (Table 3). The declining inflows of nurses during the 2000s did not greatly affect the actual number of nurses, which only reduced slightly. This is attributed to the fact that migration to the United Kingdom and other OECD countries tends to be permanent, unlike migration to the Gulf countries such as Dubai and Saudi Arabia, where almost 100% of the nurses are temporary migrants with contracts that terminate every three to five years. The inflow of nurses has declined in Ireland and Italy to a lesser extent. In Ireland, a decline in nursing inflow from 3,292 in 2006 to 289 in 2011 was seen, while in Italy, a decline from 3,882 in 2006 to 432 in 2014 was observed.

Other countries that consistently receive relatively large nurse inflows are Belgium, Canada, France, and New Zealand (Table 2). As a result of the permanent nature of migration in these countries, the stock of foreign-trained nurses has increased dramatically. In Belgium, the stock of foreign-trained nurses increased from 679 in 2000 to 5,411 in 2014. In Canada, the number of nurses doubled, from 14,187 in 2000 to 28,330 in 2013. In France, the number was 7,016 in 2000, and then rose to 17,692 in 2013. In New Zealand, the number more than doubled, from 4,860 to 11,170. Although Italy experienced a decline in the inflow of foreign-trained nurses in the late 2000s, the stock of nurses increased more than 10-fold, from 1,825 in 2000 to 20,072 in 2014.

The source of foreign-trained nurses varies from country to country, and is influenced by factors such as language, historical and cultural backgrounds, and distance between the nurse-sending and nurse-receiving countries. The two main suppliers of nurses to the United Kingdom are India and the Philippines, developing countries in Asia where English is a "working language" (Table 4). In 2014, the share of nurses from these two countries was nearly 50% (22,706 nurses from the Philippines [26.2%] and 16,710 from India's [19.3%]). The intra-OECD movement of nurses is also apparent, as evidenced by the share of nurses in the following countries: Spain (6.5%); Portugal (4.9%); Romania (4.7%); Poland (2.9%); and Ireland (2.3%). Some African countries such as South Africa (4.4%), Nigeria (3.6%), and Zimbabwe (2.7%) are another source of nurses to the United Kingdom. Undoubtedly the monetary incentive is a major push factor for nurses from these countries to migrate to the United Kingdom. These top 10 source countries account for about 80% of the total number of foreign-trained nurses in the United Kingdom.

Table 2. Annual inflow of foreign-trained nurses to selected OECD countries

Country of origin	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Austria														900	918
Belgium	98	90	73	80	101	121	148	218	265	300	361	425	886	890	783
Canada	649	1,094	2,528	2,084	2,016	2,076	1,743	1,431	1,903	2,246	2,319	1,954	1,932	2,648	
Denmark	111	107	104	115	122	107	144	241	512	428	162	118	62	75	99
Estonia										1	2	1			
Finland										129	169	188	207		
France	159	260	370	374	326	256	248	250	297	411	447	574	803	566	542
Germany													1,002		
Hungary														15	
Ireland			2,566	1,467	1,600	2,708	3,292	2,000	1,225	464	283	281	410	493	
Israel	633	496	525	238	143	122	103	139	100	156	60	85	82	68	134
Italy	167	515	1,240	2,293	2,844	3,384	3,882	3,737	2,724	2,377	2,174	1,922	1,279	559	432
Netherland			157	116	113	113	102	70	108	92	91	70			
New Zealand	1,146	1,096	1,360	1,571	1,765	1,611	1,595	1,327	1,207	1,387	1,295	1,304	1,240	1,278	1,426
Spain												415			
Sweden	291	257	228	234	169	132	121	158	155	132	123	138			
UK				12,499	13,608	10,985	9,437	6,144	4,181	2,085	3,203	4,202	4,362	5,375	7,794
USA		6,882	10,152	12,870	14,954	14,760	20,942	22,879	18,935	13,808	8,880	6,108	5,389	4,297	4,571

Source: OECD. Stat (stats.oecd/org).

Table 3. Actual number of foreign-trained nurses from 2000 to 2013 in selected OECD countries

Country of origin	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Australia								38,108	37,649	38,975				47,507	
Belgium	679	768	841	921	1,021	1,142	1,290	1,505	1,767	2,064	2,419	2,843	3,725	4,629	5,411
Canada	14,187	15,661	17,223	19,065	19,822	20,735	21,445	21,991	23,772	24,194	25,637	25,656	25,035	28,330	
Chile*															702
Denmark	889	871	880	847	847	817	818	786	776	785	751	742	724		
Estonia										1	3	4	4	4	4
Finland										744	910	1,089	1,293		
France	7,016	7,762	8,661	9,727	10,622	11,270	11,712	11,435	11,944	12,641	13,408	14,506	15,808	16,764	17,692
Germany											70,000				
Hungary														650	
Israel*	7,277	7,344	7,422	7,173	6,833	6,448	6,077	5,916	5,695	5,600	5,479	5,184	4,898	4,656	4,528
Italy	1,825	2,339	3,578	5,869	8,709	11,905	15,109	18,177	20,151	21,447	22,419	23,271	23,624	21,142	20,072
Netherlands		1,495	1,722	1,862	1,974	2,075	2,149	2,156	2,256	2,301	2,223	1,358			
New Zealand			4,860						8,931	9,298	10,115	10,532	10,764	10,885	11,170
Norway*									5,022	5,490	5,940	6,591	6,939	7,191	7,640
Poland	2	2	1	3		4	3	11	5	8	6	5	7		
Portugal			1,954	2,278	2,402	2,374	2,285	2,135	2,037	2,018	2,005	1,958	1,937	1,947	
Slovenia											17	18	19	20	
Spain												5,247			
Sweden*	2,358	2,500	2,653	2,743	2,781	2,796	2,789	2,819	2,841	2,851	2,858	2,881	2,882		
Switzerland											8,618	9,037	11,536		
Turkey*	11	24	34	47	60	71	79	90	96	102	111	129	178	239	
United Kingdom							88,609								86,668
United States													246,291		

Source: OECD. Stat (stats.oecd/org)

Note: *includes the number of native-born but not foreign-trained nurses.

The Philippines and India are also listed as the major source of nurses in other English-speaking OECD countries such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (Table 4). In Australia, India was the third largest (6,742) and the Philippines (4,984) was the fourth largest supplier in 2013. In Canada, the Philippines accounted for about one-third of foreign-trained nurses (9,358), while India accounted for about 8% in 2013. Similarly, in New Zealand, the Philippines and India are the second and the third largest donors of nurses, respectively. The numbers and shares were 2,498 (22.4%) for the Philippines and 1,697 (15.2%) for India in 2014. In addition to these two countries, the United Kingdom emerges as a source country in English-speaking OECD countries. In Australia and New Zealand, United Kingdom-trained nurses constitute one-third of foreign-trained nurses, supplying 15,690 to Australia and 3,759 to New Zealand. In Canada, the United Kingdom's share is 13.3%, which is the second largest.

The composition of source countries in non-English speaking countries such as Italy and France differs from that of English-speaking countries. It seems that such countries tend to attract nurses from other non-English speaking countries. In Italy, nearly 50% of foreign-trained nurses come from Romania, followed by Poland (9.8%) (Table 4). Romania and Poland are listed as top 10 nurse-sending countries to the United Kingdom, but the presence of nurses from these two countries is becoming increasingly apparent. In France, another non-English speaking country, more than 50% of foreign-trained nurses come from Belgium. This is likely because most of them are French citizens who studied in Belgium and then came back (OECD 2015). Spain and Portugal are also major contributors of foreign-trained nurses to France.

This observation reveals a complex picture of nurse migration to OECD countries. It shows that nurse migration to OECD countries can be characterized not only by the stereotype of migratory flow from developing countries such as the Philippines and India to OECD countries, but also by movement within OECD countries.

Table 4. Major nurse-sending countries to selected OECD countries

Top 10 Nurse-sending countries to UK			Top 10 Nurse-sendin	g countries to Au	stralia	Top 10 Nurse-sending countries to Canada			
Country	Stock in 2014	Share (%)	Country	Stock in 2013	Share (%)	Country	Stock in 2013	Share (%)	
Philippines	22,706	26.2	United Kingdom	15,690	33.0	Philippines	9,358	33.0	
India	16,710	19.3	New Zealand	7,030	14.8	United Kingdom	3,709	13.1	
Spain	5,624	6.5	India	6,742	14.2	India	2,355	8.3	
Portugal	4,236	4.9	Philippines	4,924	10.4	United States	2,112	7.5	
Romania	4,060	4.7	Ireland	2,071	4.4	China	1,379	4.9	
South Africa	3,845	4.4	South Africa	1,922	4.0	France	1,015	3.6	
Nigeria	3,103	3.6	Zimbabwe	1,214	2.6	Poland	709	2.5	
Poland	2,542	2.9	China	1,148	2.4	Romania	508	1.8	
Zimbabwe	2,351	2.7	Canada	550	1.2	Iran	479	1.7	
Ireland	2,103	2.4	United States	526	1.1	Jamaica	409	1.4	
Others	19,388	22.4	Others	5,690	12.0	Others	6,297	22.2	
Total	86,668	100.0	Total	47,507	100.0	Total	28,330	100.0	

Top 10 Nurse-sendin	g countries to Nev	w Zealand	Top 10 Nurse-sending countries to Italy				
Country	Stock in 2014	Share (%)	Country	Stock in 2014	Share (%)		
United Kingdom	3,759	33.7	Romania	9,591	47.8		
Philippines	2,498	22.4	Poland	1,975	9.8		
India	1,697	15.2	Peru	931	4.6		
Australia	636	5.7	Albania	802	4.0		
South Africa	627	5.6	India	802	4.0		
Fiji	424	3.8	Germany	298	1.5		
Zimbabwe	199	1.8	Spain	292	1.5		
China	143	1.3	Serbia	287	1.4		
United States	120	1.1	Tunisia	248	1.2		
Netherlands	116	1.0	Brazil	232	1.2		
Others	951	8.5	Others	4,614	23.0		
Total	11,170	100.0	Total	20,072	100		

Top 10 Nurse-sending countries to France								
Country	Stock in 2014	Share (%)						
Belgium	8,996	50.8						
Spain	1,734	9.8						
Portugal	1,235	7.0						
Germany	640	3.6						
United Kingdom	583	3.3						
Italy	281	1.6						
Netherlands	233	1.3						
Romania	179	1.0						
Switzerland	165	0.9						
Poland	62	0.4						
Others	3,584	20.3						
Total	17,692	100.0						

Source: OECD. Stat (stats.oecd/org)

The number of Indian nurses in OECD countries is shown in Table 5. Although the information in the table is not comprehensive because data on the distribution of foreign-trained nurses in the United States and other countries was not available, it allows us to grasp a brief sketch of the migration of Indian nurses to OECD countries. Undoubtedly, the most preferred destination among the listed countries is the United Kingdom. The major reason is that it is an English-speaking country, and, a result of historical ties, has a rather large Indian community. In 2014, the number of Indian nurses in the United Kingdom was 16,710, followed by Australia (6,742), Canada (2,355), and New Zealand (1,697).

Table 5. Actual number of Indian nurses in selected OECD countries

Country	Numbers of Nurses in
Country	2014
United Kingdom	16,710
Australia*	6,742
Canada*	2,355
New Zealand	1,697
Italy	802
Norway	162
Belgium	64
Spain**	6
Israel	4

Source: OECD. Stat (stats.oecd/org)

Note: *, ** indicate 2013 and 2011 figures, respectively.

3. Literature Review on Migration of Nurses from the state of Kerala, India

The state of Kerala, located at southwest end of the Indian subcontinent, has a population of 33.4 million (2011 Census). While the religious population in India as a whole is 79.8% Hindu, 14.2% Muslim, and 2.3% Christian, that in Kerala is unique, with a high number of religious minorities (54.7% Hindu, 26.6% Muslim, and 18.4% Christian). By educational standard, Kerala has the highest literacy rates of the major Indian states, particularly among females (92.1% in Kerala vs. 64.6% in India) (2011 Census). The unique combination of a larger Christian population and a higher level of education among females resulted in Kerala playing a role as a major source of nurses

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⁶ OECD (2008) data shows that the number of Indian-born nurses in OECD countries was 22,786 in 2000, which is the third largest number among nurses from developing countries. The largest supplier is the Philippines (11,074), and the second largest is Jamaica (31,186).

in India.

Today India is regarded as one of the major nurse-sending countries.⁷ The emigration of nurses from India on a small scale dates back to as early as 1950. In the 1970s, many nurses migrated to the Gulf countries, and after a hospital construction boom led to a scarcity of nurses in those countries, a much larger-scale outflow to various countries was seen from the 1990s (Healey 2013).

Decades of the emigration of nurses from Kerala led to multiple reports in the literature regarding this issue. The migration of nurses from Kerala was shown to be a complicated and repetitive processes in which nurses build professional skills, develop their careers, and change their destinations (often to where better terms and conditions of employment are offered). For example, migration to the Gulf countries is typically the first step in migration to Western countries (Percot and Irydaya Rajan 2007). This raises the question of what role overseas employment plays in nurses' career development.

Traditionally, nurses were at the lower end of occupation strata due to the Hindu (and Muslim) ideology of purity, pollution, and seclusion; in other words, nurses come in contact with many unknown male patients, deal with all types of bodily fluids, and (from some patients' point of view) seem to be engaged in a type of work resembling simple household chores. Despite requiring higher education, nursing is perceived to lack social and economic mobility. Therefore, nursing used to be regarded as more of a Christian profession. However, nurses are in demand, and unemployment and underemployment of the educated is a serious issue in Kerala. In addition, nurses can be granted passports more easily, which advances their social status and propels their popularity in the marriage market (Nair 2012). As a result, cultural and religious constraints of occupational choice may be changing. Ways in which traditional and cultural constraints of occupational choice could have been transformed by increasing migration and remittances need to be examined.

It is often a household strategy for families to send their daughter to nursing college/school so as to receive earnings from abroad in the future. However, based on anecdotal evidence, nurses in developed countries increasingly become engaged in overseas employment not only for the economic benefits or family compulsion and/or encouragement, but also for self-confidence in decision-making and the opportunity to

⁷ Nurses in this paper are defined as those who passed exams from institutions recognized by the Indian Nursing Council Act of 1947 and registered by a state nursing council.

have broader experiences in technically advanced hospitals, among other reasons (Nair and Percot 2007).

Some consequences of the migration of nurses have been reported. One of the serious consequences is the understaffing of nurses in India, which results in insufficient delivery and provision of health and medical care services, particularly to the poor and those in rural areas. The effect of the migration of nurses on the economy, the healthcare system, and individual households needs to be examined.

4. Profile of Migration in Kerala

This section briefly illustrates migration from the state of Kerala. The 2014 Kerala Migration Survey (KMS) is the sixth in the series of studies on international and internal migration from Kerala undertaken by the Centre for Development Studies since 1998. The 2014 study is based on primary data collected from about 15,000 households selected at random by a stratified multistage random sampling technique covering all 63 *talukas* in the state (for more details, see Zachariah and Irudaya Rajan, 2015). In this section, we provide some comparable estimates of international and internal migration based on socioeconomic characteristics over time, in addition to remittances.

The number of Kerala emigrants (EMI) living abroad in 2014 was estimated to be about 24.0 lakh, up from 21.9 lakh in 2008, 18.4 lakh in 2003, and 13.6 lakh in 1998 (Table 6). These numbers indicate that emigration from Kerala has been steadily increasing since 1998. KMS 2014 figures also reflect a continuous and steady rise in emigration since 1998. However, the inter-survey increases that had been steadily decreasing since 1998 increased again from 2008 to 2014. In the period between 1998 and 2003, the increase was 476,559, followed by 354,934 between 2003 and 2008, and 206,963 between 2008 and 2014. Despite the diminishing degree of change with earlier inter-survey periods, this gap significantly increased to 206,000 between 2011 and 2014.

Emigration per 100 households has been used as a measure of migration density in Kerala. Over the past 15 years, the number of households with emigrants was 21 per 100 households in 1998 and 29 per 100 households in 2015.

The number of Kerala migrants who returned from abroad (return emigrants, REMs) was 12.5 lakh in 2014, up from 11.6 in 2008, 8.9 in 2003, and 7.4 in 1998. REMs per 100 households showed an increase from 12 in 1998 to 15 in 2014.

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⁸ A "lakh" is equivalent to 100 thousand.

Emigration begets return emigration. Return emigration is the eventual consequence of emigration from Kerala because 90% of the emigrants live in Gulf countries, where they are not eligible for permanent citizenship and therefore return to Kerala once their employment contract is over. In absolute numbers, REMs have increased along the same lines as emigration. For instance, in 1998, the number of emigrants in Kerala was 13.6 lakh, while that of REMs was 7.4 lakh, and in 2014, these numbers were 24 and 12.5 lakh, respectively. However, the increase between 1998 and 2003 was about 154,967 persons, which nearly doubled to 263,185 between 2003 and 2008, and halted at 95,344 between 2008 and 2014.

The number of non-resident Keralites (NRKs), that is, Kerala residents who live outside of India, was estimated to be 36.5 lakh in 2014, up from 33.5 in 2008, 27.3 in 2003, and 21.0 in 1998. The total population of Kerala in 2014 was estimated to be 33.9 million. If we compare this with the 3.7 million NRKs, they account for 10.7% of the total population of Kerala. In other words, 1 out of 10 Keralites depend on working outside of the state for their livelihood. The number of NRKs per 100 households was 33 in 1998, and increased to 45 in 2014. In other words, 1 out of 2 households in Kerala had either an emigrant or an REM in 2014. All three indices were relatively stable over the period from 1998 to 2014.

Historically, Kerala has been known as a state substantial internal migration. However, due to the predominance of international migration, internal migration has declined. As of 2014, the number of out-migrants was estimated to be 6.9 lakh in 1998, increasing to 11.1 lakh in 2003, and decreasing back to 7.0 lakh in 2014. Similarly, the number of return out-migrants (persons who emigrated from Kerala to other states for work and then returned to Kerala to settle down) declined from 9.6 lakh in 1998 to 3.9 lakh in 2014. Compared with internal migration, international migration has marked effects on employment, standard of living, and remittances in Kerala; therefore, only international migration is discussed in depth in the remaining section.

Although the number of emigrants from Kerala is fairly large and increasing, not all households in Kerala had an emigrant or an REM in 2014; only about 19% and 29% had an emigrant or an NRK, respectively, in 2014. The vast majority of the households (nearly 81%) did not have an emigrant member, while nearly 71% had neither an emigrant nor an REM. Furthermore, there are few direct beneficiaries from migration to Gulf countries. This suggests that emigration from Kerala is not as widespread as it is often made out to be.

Table 6. Migrant estimates for Kerala, 1998-2014

					Return			
			Non-	Out-	out-			
	Emigrants	Return emigrants	resident Keralites	migrants	migrants			
1998	1361919	739245	245 2101164		958826			
2003	1838478	893942	2732420	1115601	994139			
2008	2193412	1157127	3350539	914387	686198			
2014	2400375	1252471	3652846	700342	389890			
Increase/Decrease								
1998-2003	476559	154697	631256	423906	35313			
2003-2008	354934	263185	618119	-201214	-307941			
2008-2014	206963	95344	302307	-214045	-296308			
per 100 hou	seholds							
1998	21.4	11.6	33.0	10.9	15.1			
2003	26.7	13.0	39.7	16.2	14.4			
2008	29.0	15.3	44.3	12.1	9.1			
2014	29.3	15.3	44.6	8.5	4.8			

Source: Zachariah and Irudaya Rajan. 2015.

Notes: Emigrants are defined as Keralites living outside India anywhere in the world; Return emigrants are defined as Keralites having worked abroad but reported as return emigrants at the time of the survey; Non-resident Keralites are a combined group of emigrants and return emigrants; Out-migrants are defined as Keralites living outside Kerala within India; Return out-migrants are defined as Keralites having worked outside Kerala but within India, reported as return out-migrants at the time of the survey; and Inter-state migrants are defined as a combination of both out-migrants and return out-migrants.

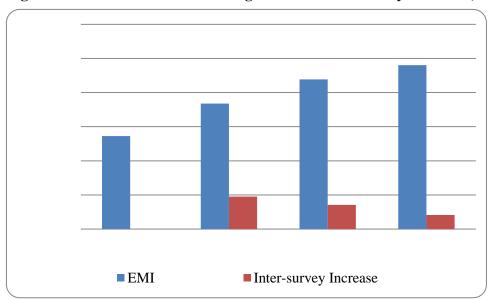


Figure 2. Estimated number of emigrants and inter-survey increases, 1998-2014

According to the 2011 Census, the rural population accounted for 52.3% of the total population in India. However, due to the compilation of both new and panel households in the KMS 2014, this proportion increased to 56.9%. Therefore, little difference was seen between the sample and actual estimates of migration by different types based on place of residence. For instance, 55.7% and 55.6% of emigrants and out-migrants, respectively, originated from rural areas (Table 7).

Table 7. Estimated number of migrants by place of residence, 2014

Type of Migration	Rural	Urban	Total	Per cent
Type of Migration	Kurai	Urban	Total	Rural
Emigrants	1336212	1064163	2400375	55.7
Out-migrants	389664	310678	700342	55.6
Return migrants	709966	542505	1252471	56.7
Return out migrants	252706	137184	389890	64.8
Total Households	8530	6470	15000	56.9

One surprising aspect of this ratio is that although the number of emigrants has increased steadily and significantly over the years, from 13.6 lakh in 1998 to 24.0 in 2014, the proportion of households with at least one emigrant or one NRK remained fairly constant. An equally surprising aspect of this consistency is that the corresponding proportion varied widely by religion (12.7% among Hindus and 36.5% among Muslims)

and by district (35.8% in Malappuram and 6.2 in Idukki).

The majority of emigrants (about 41.3%) from Kerala in 2014 were Muslims, although their share in the total Kerala population was only about 26%. They retained the lead they have held since 1998. On the other hand, only 36.3% of the emigrants were Hindu, even though they make up about 55% of the total population. However, over time, Hindus have improved their share, from 29.5% in 1998 to 37.4% in 2011. In the past, gains among Hindus were mostly at the expense of Christians, but more recently (particularly after Saudi Arabia's recent introduction of Nitaqat Law), this was also partly at the expense of Muslims. The Muslims' share remained constant at 41% in both 2008 and 2014. In 1998, 51% of emigrants were Muslims.

Another distinguishing feature of the Muslim community in Kerala is that their participation in internal migration is very low. For instance, emigrants were made up of about 51% Muslims in 1998, against just 11.6% of internal migrants. This trend continues at present, and Muslims now occupy the third position in internal migration, whereas they continue to lead in external migration.

Nonetheless, Hindus still lag behind the other two communities considerably with respect to emigrants per household. While there were nearly 55 emigrants per 100 households among Muslims, and nearly 35 among Christians, Hindus only had 18 emigrants per 100 households. Emigration from Hindu households has a long way to go before it can catch up with the sustained inflow from other major religious communities in Kerala.

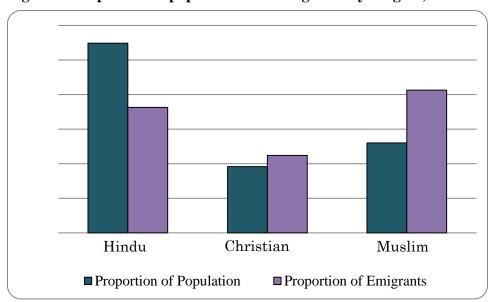
Table 8. Percentage of households with one or more migrants by religion, 2008-2014

Religion	EMI			NRK		
	2008	2011	2014	2008	2011	2014
Hindus	12.4	12.3	12.8	18.1	19.6	20.2
Christians	16.3	15.7	19.6	24.6	21.3	27.0
Muslims	36.4	37.5	36.5	52.9	53.3	55.5
Total	18.0	18.2	19.2	26.5	27.1	29.0

Table 9. Migrants by religion 1998-2014

Religion	Emigrants	S		Percent				
	2014	2008	2003	1998	2014	2008	2003	1998
Hindus	872090	845406	579484	401311	36.3	37.7	31.5	29.5
Christians	537902	472654	458953	270355	22.4	21.2	25.0	19.9
Muslims	990383	875352	800041	690253	41.3	41.1	43.5	50.7
Kerala	2400375	2193412	1838478	1361919	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Out-migra	ants			Percent			
Hindus	403630	539222	683903	403684	57.6	59.0	61.3	58.4
Christians	202359	249758	332254	207439	28.9	27.3	29.8	30.0
Muslims	94353	125407	99444	80572	13.5	13.7	8.9	11.6
Kerala	700342	914387	1115601	691695	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 3. Proportion of population and emigrants by religion, 2014



The KMS also collected data on monthly household expenditures. The mean monthly expenditure reported among non-migrant and emigrant households was INR 6887 and INR 8635, respectively. As expected, the highest mean household expenditure was reported among emigrant households, followed by REM households, return out-migrant households, out-migrant households and non-migrant households.

Table 10: Monthly household expenditure by type of migrant household

		Mean
Household Type	Households	(INR)
Emigrant	2748	8635
Return emigrant	1415	8270
Out-migrant	787	7484
Return out-migrant	425	8121
Non- Migrant households	8918	6887
Total	14293	7429

Among the emigrant households, only 20% fall below the poverty line. Among all migration types, more above poverty line households participate in migratory activities compared to below poverty line households.

Table 11. Poverty line card holders by type of migrant household

	Number		Per cent		
	Below	Above		Below	Above
Household type	poverty	poverty	Total	poverty	poverty
	line	line		line	line
Emigrant	547	2221	2797	19.6	79.4
Return emigrant	348	1069	1436	24.2	74.4
Out-migrant	197	582	798	24.7	72.9
Return out-migrant	102	318	432	23.6	73.6
Non- migrant households	3230	5669	9114	35.4	62.2
Total	4424	9859	14577	30.3	67.6

Looking at non-resident households by the number of non-resident members, 24% of below poverty households have one NRK, 17.6% have two NRKs, and 9.6% have three or more NRKs.

Table 12. Household by number of NRKs with ration cards, 2014

Non-resident migrant (NRK)	BPL	APL	Total	BPL	APL
1 NRK	331	984	1334	24.8	73.8
2 NRK	66	306	374	17.6	81.8
3+ NRK	17	160	178	9.6	89.9
Total	4125	8959	13347	30.9	67.1

This section provides a spatial distribution of Kerala's core migrant groups. A picture of the contributions of the 14 districts to Kerala's emigration process is shown in Table 13. In 2014, the largest number of emigrants from Kerala originated from Malappuram district (455,696, or 19.0% of the total). This district has been retaining its number one emigration-origin position since 1998. Kollam district occupied the sixth position in 2014, being the source of 8.3% of the emigrants. In other words, 1 out of 5 emigrants originated from Malappuram and 1 out of 10 originated from Kollam. The same pattern was observed for REMs and NRKs.

Kollam occupies the fourth position in terms of out-migrants, with 9.5%, compared with just 5.2% for Malappuram district. Overall, Kollam district plays a pivotal role in both sending emigrants and out-migrants, whereas in Malappuram, migration is mostly international.

In terms of emigrants per 100 households, Kerala reported 29 emigrant households per 100, whereas this ratio was 53.7 in Malappuram and 28.9 in Kollam. This means that 1 out of 2 households in Malappuram has an emigrant, and 9 out of 10 have either an emigrant or an REM.

Table 13. Migrants by district, 2014

Districts	EMI	REM	NRK	OMI	ROM	ISM
Thiruvananthapuram	241727	218945	460672	69965	64201	134166
Kollam	199933	127978	327911	66461	84951	151412
Pathanamthitta	141343	36285	177628	87798	40610	128408
Alappuzha	93096	70104	163200	33580	40641	74221
Kottayam	107931	33898	141829	64898	23293	88191
Idukki	23967	3242	27209	29718	5624	35342
Ernakulam	191373	69545	260918	62481	12732	75213
Thrissur	230081	103803	333884	31513	11260	42773

Palakkad	70506	12383	82889	31759	4166	35925
Malappuram	455696	299857	755553	36202	29607	65809
Kozhikode	226499	107491	333990	31596	23199	54795
Wayanad	22568	12581	35149	17856	8534	26390
Kannur	291321	109145	400466	103383	26606	129989
Kasaragod	104334	47212	151546	33130	14466	47596
KERALA	2400375	1252471	3652846	700342	389890	1090232
Per cent						
Thiruvananthapuram	10.1	17.5	12.6	10.0	16.5	12.3
Kollam	8.3	10.2	9.0	9.5	21.8	13.9
Pathanamthitta	5.9	2.9	4.9	12.5	10.4	11.8
Alappuzha	3.9	5.6	4.5	4.8	10.4	6.8
Kottayam	4.5	2.7	3.9	9.3	6.0	8.1
Idukki	1.0	0.3	0.7	4.2	1.4	3.2
Ernakulam	8.0	5.6	7.1	8.9	3.3	6.9
Thrissur	9.6	8.3	9.1	4.5	2.9	3.9
Palakkad	2.9	1.0	2.3	4.5	1.1	3.3
Malappuram	19.0	23.9	20.7	5.2	7.6	6.0
Kozhikode	9.4	8.6	9.1	4.5	6.0	5.0
Wayanad	0.9	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.2	2.4
Kannur	12.1	8.7	11.0	14.8	6.8	11.9
Kasaragod	4.3	3.8	4.1	4.7	3.7	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per 100 Households	EMI	REM	NRK	OMI	ROM	ISM
Thiruvananthapuram	28.1	25.4	53.5	8.1	7.5	15.6
Kollam	28.9	18.5	47.4	9.6	12.3	21.9
Pathanamthitta	42.8	11	53.8	26.6	12.3	38.9
Alappuzha	16.9	12.7	29.6	6.1	7.4	13.5
Kottayam	21.5	6.7	28.2	12.9	4.6	17.5
Idukki	8.4	1.1	9.5	10.5	2.0	12.4
Ernakulam	22.5	8.2	30.7	7.3	1.5	8.8
Thrissur	28.9	13.1	42.0	4.0	1.4	5.4
Palakkad	10.5	1.9	12.4	4.7	0.6	5.4
Malappuram	53.7	35.3	89.0	4.3	3.5	7.8

Kozhikode	30.7	14.6	45.3	4.3	3.1	7.4
Wayanad	11.4	6.3	17.7	9.0	4.3	13.3
Kannur	49.9	18.7	68.6	17.7	4.6	22.3
Kasaragod	36.2	16.4	52.6	11.5	5.0	16.5
KERALA	29.3	15.3	44.6	8.5	4.8	13.3

The religious distribution of migrants varies considerably by district. In five districts—Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Alappuzha, Thrissur, and Kannur—Hindu emigrants outnumber Christian and Muslim emigrants. In four districts—Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, Idukki, and Ernakulam—Christian emigrants outnumber emigrants belonging to the other religious communities. In the other five districts—Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad, and Kasaragod—Muslims made up a majority of the emigrants (Table 9).

In five of the districts—Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Alappuzha, Thrissur, and Kannur—Hindus made up a majority of the REMs. In the other districts—Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, Idukki, and Ernakulam—Christians made up a majority of the REMs. In the other districts, Muslims were a majority.

Table 14. Percentage of households with one or more emigrants by religion and district, 2014

	Emigr	Emigrants				Return emigrants			
	Н	C	M	K	Н	C	M	K	
Thiruvananthapuram	16.7	15.7	25.7	17.6	21.3	19.0	40.3	23.2	
Kollam	18.2	24.4	27.1	20.2	12.4	14.9	40.7	15.9	
Pathanamthitta	21.3	35.0	26.9	27.3	8.4	13.2	7.7	10.4	
Alappuzha	12.0	20.3	25.9	14.3	9.1	15.0	35.2	11.5	
Kottayam	8.9	19.3	8.6	12.5	4.4	6.3	19.0	5.8	
Idukki	4.2	8.3	6.3	6.2	0.4	1.4	3.2	1.1	
Ernakulam	10.9	14.3	18.0	12.8	4.0	6.3	27.9	6.5	
Thrissur	16.1	19.5	31.8	19.7	13.5	9.3	23.2	14.5	
Palakkad	5.5	8.8	23.9	9.9	1.2	0.0	4.5	1.9	
Malappuram	13.2	44.4	42.4	35.8	15.0	33.3	33.7	29.4	
Kozhikode	11.1	20.8	34.8	20.3	7.7	6.9	23.5	13.3	
Wayanad	2.7	8.5	23.7	9.2	1.4	6.0	19.1	6.7	

Kannur	17.8	25.0	58.2	28.9	9.7	16.1	31.6	16.1
Kasaragod	11.7	12.5	45.3	23.1	9.2	9.6	24.6	14.4
Kerala	12.8	19.6	36.5	19.2	9.0	10.1	26.6	12.9

Note: H=Hindus, C=Christians, M=Muslims, and K=Kerala.

Workers' remittances to Kerala have a major impact on Kerala's economy. According to our estimates, INR 71142 crore in total remittances were received in Kerala in 2014, which was a five-fold increase from INR 13652 crore in 1998. In 2014, remittances accounted for 36.3% of the net state domestic product (NSDP). Without considering remittances to the state, Kerala's per capita income was INR 63,491, but if remittances are included, this increases to INR 86,180. Remittances are 1.2 times higher than the revenue receipts of the Kerala Government, and more than 5 times higher than the amount the state gets from the Centre as revenue transfer. It is also 1.5 times the Government's annual expenditure, and 60% of the state's public debt. Therefore, remittances are a significant source of development income for the state. Remittances per household were INR 86,843 in 2014, compared with INR 57,227 in 2008.

Table 15. Remittances to Kerala (in INR 10 million), 1998-2014

	1998	2003	2008	2014
Remittances	13652	18465	43288	71142
Hindus	3921	5475	16493	28137
Christians	3193	4679	7800	17238
Muslims	6538	8311	18995	25767
Remittances as per cent of	25.5	22.0	30.7	36.3
NSDP	23.3	22.0	30.7	30.3

Among the 14 districts in Kerala, Malappuram received the largest amount of remittances, INR 10,245 crore, which works out to INR 121,000 per household. This number directly correlates with the religious composition of receiving households. Muslim households received INR 25,767 crore, or 36.2% of the total remittances in 2014, while Hindus received INR 28,137 crore, or 39.6% of the total, and Christians received INR 17,238 crore, or 24.2% of the total. The share received by Hindus is lower

⁹ A "crore" is equivalent to 10 million, or 100 lakh.

than their percentage of the total state population.

On average, Muslim households received INR 144,000 as remittances during the 12-month period ending February 2014, whereas Christian households received INR 115,000. Hindu households only received about 40% (INR 57,000) of what Muslim households received.

Table 16. Total remittances by religion, 1998-2014

Religion	2014	2011	2008	2003	1998
Hindus	28137	18099	16493	5475	3921
Christians	17238	8508	7800	4679	3193
Muslims	25767	23088	18995	8311	6538
Total	71142	49695	43288	18465	13652

Table 17. Remittances by district (in INR 10 million), 1998 - 2014

	Number	•			Per cent			
Districts	1998	2003	2008	2014	1998	2003	2008	2014
Thiruvananthapura m	1309	1927	4801	5391	9.6	10.4	11.1	7.6
Kollam	1108	1813	4477	6328	8.1	9.8	10.3	8.9
Pathanamthitta	900	954	2211	4314	6.6	5.2	5.1	6.2
Alappuzha	840	1339	1970	6027	6.2	7.3	4.6	8.5
Kottayam	390	580	2271	2040	2.9	3.1	5.2	2.9
Idukki	15	39	156	665	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.9
Ernakulam	1576	1515	2984	9369	11.5	8.2	6.9	13.2
Thrissur	1971	3234	5961	7376	14.4	17.5	13.8	10.4
Palakkad	1311	1148	3448	2945	9.6	6.2	8.0	4.2
Malappuram	2381	2892	6486	10245	17.4	15.7	15.0	14.4
Kozhikode	843	1357	3988	5741	6.2	7.3	9.2	8.1
Wayanad	23	68	571	884	0.2	0.4	1.3	1.2
Kannur	784	976	2800	5767	5.7	5.3	6.5	8.2
Kasaragod	201	623	1164	3777	1.5	3.4	2.7	5.3
Kerala	13652	18465	43288	71142	100	100	100	100

Most workers migrate in search of employment or higher wages. The unemployment rate among emigrants is 31.1% before emigration, but nearly zero when they migrate to other countries for employment. Upon returning, the unemployment rate is reduced to about 7.2%, which is similar to that of the general population of Kerala. In the case of internal migrants, 58% were unemployed prior to migration, but is reduced to 7.8% after their return (Table 18).

About one-fifth of the emigrants worked in the private sector before migration, and another one-fifth worked in the non-agricultural sector. About 24% were unemployed. But after returning, the highest percentage of emigrants worked in the non-agricultural sector (27.6%), followed by self-employment (22%), and employment in the private sector (10.3%). Compared with emigrants, the case of out-migrants was different in the pre-migration stage. Most out-migrants were either unemployed (30.6%) or students (28.7%). About one-fifth of the return out-migrants were pensioners, about 16% were engaged in the non-agricultural sector, and 14% were self-employed. The sectors for which both REMs and return out-migrants counted on for their livelihoods were self-employment, the private sector, and the non-agricultural sector (Table 19).

Table 18. Economic activity: population, Kerala emigrants (EMIs) and out-migrants (OMIs pre-migration), and return emigrants (REMs) and return out-migrants (ROM after return), 2014

Economic Activity	General	EMI	REM	OMI	ROM
	population	before	after	before	after
		emigration	return	migration	return
Government Services	736796	20632	13318	14177	12005
Semi-Government					
Services	274356	23579	9080	7561	2610
Employment in Private					
Sector	1833148	506955	129545	78446	39146
Self-Employment	2221641	201014	276040	14177	53760
Unpaid Family Worker	867544	7663	33900	945	5219
Labourer in Agriculture	1372852	38906	64773	7561	21400
Labourer in					
Non-Agriculture	3182959	489271	346261	30244	63677
Unemployed	808600	581230	67799	214545	16702

Employment not					
required	162363	58359	17555	25991	3654
Student	7359386	210445	26030	201313	16180
Household Work	7932747	104339	79301	39223	39668
Pensioners	1023477	4126	34505	473	78813
Too old to work	2267188	1768	81117	473	21922
Too Young to work	2460095	130276	7870	62379	1566
Disabled	14468	2947	44796	945	7307
Others	1357848	18863	20582	1890	6263
Total	33875468	2400375	1252471	700342	389890
Total Employed	10489296	1288020	872916	153111	197816
Unemployed	808600	581230	67799	214545	16702
Labour Force	11297896	1869251	940715	367656	214518
Not in Labour Force	22577572	531124	311756	332686	175372
Percent Employed	31.0	53.7	69.7	21.9	50.7
Percent Not in LF	66.6	22.1	24.9	47.5	45.0
Unemployment Rate	7.2	31.1	7.2	58.4	7.8

Table 19. Distribution of economic activity: population, EMIs and OMIs (pre-migration), and REMs and ROMs (post-migration), 2014

		EMI	REM	OMI	ROM
	General	before	after	before	after
	population	emigration	return	migration	return
Government Services	2.2	0.9	1.1	2.0	3.1
Semi-Government Services	0.8	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.7
Employment in Private Sector	5.4	21.1	10.3	11.2	10.0
Self-Employment	6.6	8.4	22.0	2.0	13.8
Unpaid Family Worker	2.6	0.3	2.7	0.1	1.3
Labourer in Agriculture	4.1	1.6	5.2	1.1	5.5
Labourer in Non-Agriculture	9.4	20.4	27.6	4.3	16.3
Unemployed	2.4	24.2	5.4	30.6	4.3
Employment not Required	0.5	2.4	1.4	3.7	0.9
Student	21.7	8.8	2.1	28.7	4.1
Household Work	23.4	4.3	6.3	5.6	10.2

Pensioners	3.0	0.2	2.8	0.1	20.2
Too old to work	6.7	0.1	6.5	0.1	5.6
Too Young to work	7.3	5.4	0.6	8.9	0.4
Disabled	0.0	0.1	3.6	0.1	1.9
Others	4.0	0.8	1.6	0.3	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Appendix

A nursing survey

This research aimed to understand the migration of nurses from Kerala, India. Based on primary data collection through a quantitative survey using questionnaires and a qualitative survey using detailed interviews with nurses, nursing colleges, recruitment agencies, government officials and so on, this study will illustrate the factors, processes, and consequences of migration. Moreover, the socioeconomic impact of migration on the economy, the healthcare system, and individual households was discussed.

A total of 200 nurses were investigated for this survey. There are three kinds of nursing schools/colleges in Kerala: government colleges, private aided colleges, and private unaided colleges. Private aided colleges are subsidized by the state government, while private unaided colleges are not. Due to the subsidies it receives, private aided colleges must admit 50% of the students from a government list. The students in this quota pay less for tuition than private college students. Government colleges have been providing nursing education longer than any other type of institution in Kerala; therefore, the majority of nurses were expected to be graduates of government colleges. In addition, the state government approved private unaided nursing colleges in the mid-2000s. The sample in this survey comprised 100 government college graduates (one college), 50 private aided college graduates (one college), and 50 private unaided college graduates (one college). The list of graduates from each college was obtained. Based on these lists, nurses who completed nursing education, mainly with a BSc in nursing, were randomly selected in 5-year increments (1 year ago, 5 years ago, 10 years ago, 15 years ago, etc.). If the nurses selected were not present in Kerala at the time of the survey, we attempted to contact them through email, telephone, SNS, etc. The survey was conducted between January and February 2016 using the questionnaires for nursing college/school principals (Appendix 1) and nurses (Appendix 2).

Appendix 1

NURSE MIGRATION SURVEY, 2016 STATE OF KERALA, INDIA

Nursing college/school schedule

Centre for Socio-economic and Environmental Studies (CSES), Kerala, India Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO), Japan

Date of interview	
Name of interviewers	
Time taken	
Name of interviewees	
Designation	
Contact mobile no.	

1	Name of college/school:
2	Type of college: 1 - Government 2 - Private aided 3 - Private unaided
3	Name of hospital (if affiliated)
4	Address
5	Year of establishment
6	Year the first batch of students graduated from this college/school
7	(Private school/college only) Major funders (please specify religious affiliation, if any)
8	Current courses offered (BSc Nursing, Diploma, etc.)
9	No. of faculty members, including principals (teaching staff only)
10	No. of regular faculty members
11	No. of other faculty members

12. No. of current students by course and class

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Current tuition fees	No. of	No. of	No. of		otal
	per year (INR)	sanctioned students	female students	male students	General seats	Reserved seats
BSc 1st year						
BSc 2nd year						
BSc 3rd year						
BSc 4th year						
MSc 1st year						
MSc 2nd year						
PhD						
General nursing 1st year						
General nursing 2nd year						
General nursing 3rd year						
Other (specify)						

13	(Only for private colleges/schools) How many students are currently admitted					
	under government and NRI quotas?					
13.1	Government quota:					
13.2	NRI quota:					
14	(Only for private college/schools) What was the amount of	INR:				
	government subsidies given to your college/school in FY					
	2015/16?					
15	Does your school/college have a hostel?					
	1 - Yes 2 - No					
15.1	If no, does your school/college have any private					
	arrangements for your students?					
	1 - Yes 2 - No					
16	How much does your school/college charge annually for					
	hostel fees?					
17	Does your college/school operate a student bus?					
	1 - Yes 2 - No					
18	How many students passed the nursing exam last year					
	(2014-15)?					
18.1	Total no. of graduate students in 2014-15:					
18.2	Total no. of passing students:					
19	Where do you send these passing students on					
	internship/placement immediately after graduation?					
19.1	No. of students in government hospitals in Kerala:					
19.2	No. of private hospitals in Kerala:					
19.3	No. of government hospitals outside Kerala:					
19.4	No. of private hospitals outside Kerala:					
20	Total no. of past graduates from this college/school					
	(approximately):					

Appendix 2	
i-pponum 2	
School /College ID:	Individual ID:
NU	URSE MIGRATION SURVEY, 2016
	STATE OF KERALA, INDIA
	For Nurses
Contra for Socia aco	nomic and Environmental Studies (CSES), Kerala, India
	nent Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India
-	f Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO), Japan
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Details about home visit	
Date(s) of interview	
Name of respondent	
Current address	
Permanent address	
Mobile no.	
Email address	
Name of investigator	
Time taken	
Name of nursing	
college/school:	
Course completed	
1 - BSc Nursing	

2 - General Nursing

4 - Other (specify)

Year of graduation:

3 - Diploma in Nursing

Section 1: Background Characteristics of Nurse

1.1.	Name:
1.2.	Age:
1.3.	Gender: 1 - Male 2 - Female
1.4.	Religion: 1 - Hindu 2 - Christian 3 - Muslim 4 - Other (specify)
1.5.	Name of caste:
1.6.	Category: 1 - General 2 - OBC 3 - SC 4 - ST 5 - Other (specify)
1.7.	Where did you live before starting nursing studies?
1.7.1	Birthplace:
1.7.2	Category: 1 - Rural area 2 - Urban area
1.8.	Current marital status: 1 - Single 2 - Married 3 - Engaged 4 - Widowed 5 - Divorced 6 - Separated
1.9.	If married, age at first marriage (calendar year if age is not clear)
1.10.	Are there any nurses among your family/relatives? 1 -Yes 2 - No
1.11.	If yes, who (mother, grandmother, aunt, etc.)?
1.12.	Current occupation:
	1 - Nurse registered (general) 2 - Nurse registered (specialist)
	3 - Student 4 - Lecturer
	5 - Assistant professor 6 - Associate professor
	7 - Professor 8 - Director/Principal
	9 - Intern 10 - Other (please specify)
	(

Section 2: Educational Background of Nurse

2.1 What is the highest academic nursing degree you obtained? 1 - PhD (or to be obtained) 2 - MSc (or to be obtained) 3 - BSc (or to be obtained) 4 - General nursing (or to be obtained)
3 - BSc (or to be obtained) 4 - General nursing (or to be obtained)
5 Distance (and the abdained) (Cother (above assets))
5 - Diploma (or to be obtained) 6 - Other (please specify)
2.2 How did you learn about the nursing school/college you attended? (up
to two answers are allowed)
1 - Family/relatives 2 - Neighbors/acquaintances
3 - Advertisement 4 - Website 5 - Secondary school (teachers)
6 - Other (please specify)
2.2.1 Most important source
2.2.2 Second most important source

2.3 What type of nursing institutions have you attended?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		Location of	Year of	Type of institution	Did you	Total annual	Did you	Who persuaded
		college/school	completion	and quotas	receive any	tuition fees	give any	you to study
		(country and		1 - Government	scholarships	(in local	donations	nursing at this
		city)		2 - Private aided	and/or	currency)	to secure	level?
				(govt quota)	financial	while	a seat?	1 - Yourself
				3 -Private aided	assistance?	attending the		2 - Father
				(self-financing)		course,	1 - Yes (if	3 - Mother
				4 -Private unaided	1 - Yes	excluding	so, how	4 - Parents
				(govt quota)	2 - No	scholarships	much in	5 - Siblings
				5 - Private unaided		and financial	INR?)	6 - Relatives
				(self-financing)		assistance	2 - No	7 - Teachers
						(please		8 - Other (please
						specify the		specify)
						currency)		
1	Diploma							
2	General							
3	BSc							
4	MSc							
5	Other							
	(please							
	specify)							

2.4.	How did your family finance your nursing education?					
	(up to two answers are allowed)					
	1 - Gold loan	2 - Land mortgage				
	3 - Bank/education loan	4 - Money lender				
	5 - Borrowed from relatives	6 - Family savings				
	7 - Other (please explain)					
2.4.1	Most important					
2.4.2	Second most important					
2.5.	Has your family repaid the loan?	1 - Yes 2 - No				

Section 3: Career Advancement

3.1. Why did you choose to study nursing?

	Reason for job preference	Yes	No	List the two
				most important
				reasons (1 -
				most important
				2 - second most
				important)
1	To work overseas			
2	Ease of finding a job			
3	Higher salary			
4	Owing to financial difficulties			
5	Owing to family necessity			
6	Owing to family encouragement			
7	To find a better spouse such as a medical doctor			
8	To achieve better social status			
9	To provide service to the sick			
10	Parent(s) is a nurse			
11	To gain self-confidence in decision-making			
12	To escape from social pressure at home			
13	Other (please specify)			

3.2.	Are your parents happy that you chose nursing as a
	profession?
	1 - Very happy 2 - Happy 3 - Neutral 4 - Unhappy
	5 - Very unhappy
3.2.1	At the time of admission to nursing college/school:
3.2.2	At present
3.3	Are you happy you chose nursing as a profession?
	1 - Very happy 2 - Happy 3 - Neutral 4 - Unhappy
	5 - Very unhappy
3.3.1	At the time of admission to nursing college/school:
3.3.2	At present
3.4	Which of the following do you think are <u>presently</u>
	advantages of the nursing profession? (up to two answers are
	allowed)
	1 - Overseas employment opportunities
	2 - Job security
	3 - Fringe benefit such as health insurance, pensions
	4 - Higher salary
	5 - Better marriage prospects
	6 - Increase in family income
	7 - Higher social status/recognition
	8 - Gaining self-confidence in decision-making
	10 - Appreciated by patients
	11 - Professional career achievement
	12 - Dedication to the sick and needy
	13 - Other (please specify)
3.4.1	Most important
3.4.2	Second most important
3.5	Did you give anything up in your life to work as a nurse? (if yes, please
	describe)
3.6	Are you planning to take a government job examination? (if
	yes, multiple answers are allowed)
3.6.1	1 - Yes, state government
3.6.2	2 - Yes, central government, excluding army/navy/air force

3.6.3	3 - Yes, army/navy/air force	
3.6.4	4 - Yes, other public sector hospital/organization	
3.6.5	5 - No	

3.7	(Only those who have more than 10 years of nursing experience)				
	How do you evaluate the current social position of nurses in terms of				
	occupation? Is it much better, better, the same, or worse than that when you received your first nursing degree?				
2.0					
3.8	(Those who have never worked outside of Kerala) Why haven't you ever migrated to other country/state to work as a nurse?				
3.9	(Those who have never worked outside of Kerala) Are you				
	interested in working outside of Kerala? 1 - Yes 2 - No				
3.9.1	If yes, 1 - Another place within India				
3.9.2	2 - Overseas				
3.9.3	(Those who have never worked outside of Kerala) If you				
	answered "Yes" for 3.9.2, are you currently registered with an				
	agent such as ODEPEC or Norka-Roots? 1 - Yes 2 - No				

3.10. Your career nursing experience from graduation to present

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Carrier	From	То	Name of hospital	Country and city	Assignment	Why did you leave this job?
serial no.	which	which		of hospital	(e.g., nurse in	(please choose the most
	year	year			the department	important one or two responses)
					of internal	1 - Bad climate
					medicine)	2 - Poor living conditions
						3 - Cheated by employers
						regarding terms and conditions
						of the job
						4 - Contract expirer
						5 - Salary not paid
						6 - Married/engaged
						7 - Completed internship
						8 - Found a better opportunity
						9 - Other (please specify)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						

Section 4: Migration (please ask if the nurse has ever worked outside of Kerala)

4.1. Why did you work overseas/in other states?

	Reasons	Intern	ational		Dome	estic mi	gration
		migration					
	Reason for overseas/other	Yes	No	Don't	Yes	No	Don't
	state preference			know			know
1	High social status/recognition						
2	Dignity						
3	Higher income and better life						
	for family						
4	Job satisfaction						
5	Children's future/education						
6	Better quality of day-to-day						
	life overseas						
7	Education and skill						
	development						
8	Availability of employment						
	opportunities						
9	Better spouse						
10	More self-confidence in						
	decision making						
11	Improvement of professional						
	skills						
12	Escape from family pressure						
13	Other (please explain)						
4.2	Most important reasons (up to t	wo) for	interna	ational m	igratior	ı	
4.2.1	Most important						
4.2.2	Second most important						
4.3	Most important reasons (up to two) for domestic migration						
4.3.1	Most important						
4.3.2	Second most important						

4.4. Are there any difficulties in pursuing a career in Kerala?

	Difficulties		Yes	No
1	Limited opportunities			
2	Low salary			
3	Long working hours			
4	Heavy workload			
5	Lack of job security			
6	Lack of prospects for professi	onal advancement		
7	Other (please specify)			
4.4.1	Most important			
4.4.2	Second most important			
4.5	(Only for those who have mi	igrated overseas) How much me	oney	
	did you spend for your first m	igration? (expenditures include p	passport	
	and visa fees, agent fees, insurance, emigration clearance, plane			
	tickets, etc.)			
4.5.1	Year of first migration:			
4.5.2	Total cost (INR):			
4.6	(Only for those who have mi	igrated overseas) How did you	finance	
	your first migration?			
	1 - Gold loan	2 - Land mortgage		
	3 - Bank loan	4 - Money lender		
	5 - Family savings	6 - Borrowed from relatives		
	7 - Personal savings	8 - Other (please specify)		

4.7. Have you ever remitted any money from your earnings? (for those who migrated domestically and/or internationally)

1	2	3				4		
	Yes=1	To whom	(Most	How	did	you	typically	send
	No=2	important)		remitta	ance?	(multip	ole answers	are
		1 – Parents		allowe	ed)			
		2 - Husband		1 - Bar	nk/post	t office	transfer	
		3 - In-laws		2 - Bring cash/in-kind				
		4 - Relatives		3 - Informal channel				
		5 - Children		4 – Otl	her (pl	ease spe	ecify)	
		6 - Other	(please					
		specify)						
Before								
marriage								
After						•		
marriage								

4.8. If Q.4.7 is yes for either item, how was your remittance utilized?

1	2	3	4
	Most	Second	To what extent has your opinion been
	important	most	respected in terms of the use of the
	(Code 1)	important	remittance?
		(Code 1)	(Code 2)
Before marriage			
After marriage			

Code 1:	9 - To purchase	Code 2:
1- For the day-to-day needs of	homes/buildings	1 - Great extent
your family	10 - For family's medical	2 - Some extent
2 - For the education of your	treatment	3 - A slight extent
siblings	11 - Fixed deposit	4 - Very little extent
3 - For a sibling's wedding	12 - Financial investment	5 - No extent
4 - For your own wedding	such as stocks, mutual	
5 - To pay for siblings/relatives	funds, insurance schemes	
to work overseas	13 - Other (please specify)	
6 - To purchase gold		
7 - To purchase land		
8 - To purchase vehicles and		
consumer goods		

4.9. (Only for those who currently work as a nurse outside of Kerala, including India and other international destinations) In the past 12 months, how many times did you return to Kerala and how much did you remit?

	, and the second	3		
4.9.1	No. of home visits:			
4.9.2	Amount of remittance (in INR) and recipients			
	Amount (INR)	Recipients (code)		
1				
2				
3				

Code: 1 - Parents 2 - Husband 3 - In-laws 4 - Relatives 5 - Children 6 - Others, specify

4.10. Please describe your working experiences outside of Kerala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Please	Where did you obtain	How were you	Were you	Who persuaded	(Overseas	What were	What kind of
write	information about	recruited?	interviewed	you to take an	migration	your out of	difficulties did
your	work opportunities in	1 - Hospital	?	employment	only)	pocket	you experience?
carrier	hospitals abroad/in	(direct	1 - Yes	opportunity	Before going	expenditure	(up to two
serial	other states?	recruitment)	2 - No	outside of	abroad, did	(in INR),	answers are
no.	1 - Family/relatives	2 - Private agent		Kerala?	you pay all	such as	allowed)
from	2 - Nursing	3 - Public agent		1 - Yourself	major costs of	agent fees,	1 - No
Q3.10	college/school	4 - Other (please		2 - Parents	migration such	before	difficulties
	seniors/classmates	specify)		3 - Siblings	as airfare, visa,	going	2 - Heavy
	3 - Hospital			4 - Relatives	insurance, and	abroad?	overtime
	colleagues			5 - Teachers	so on?		workload
	4 - Websites			6 - Other	1 - Yes, fully		3 - No
	5 - Advertisements			(please	2 - Yes, partially		leave/holiday
	6 - Public agency			specify)	3 - No		4 - Delayed or
	7 - Private agency						withheld salary
	8 - Other (please						5 - Treated like a
	specify)						slave
							6.Other (please
							specify)

	(Only for those who have migrated overseas) Did you experience any
4.11	changes in your life before and after working as a nurse overseas?

Section 5: Family Profile

5.1. Education and occupation of parents

	Education	Economic activities when you were admitted to
		nursing college/school
Mother		
Father		

5.2. Present status of your parents in Kerala

1.	Do your parents currently own a home in Kerala? (1 - Yes 2 - No)			
2.	If not, do they own a home elsewhere? (1 - Yes 2 - No)			
3.	Do they own land here in Kerala or elsewhere?			
4.	If yes, how much land do they own?			
5.	How would you describe the condition of your parent's current home			
	1 - Luxurious (3 or more bedrooms with private bathrooms, concrete			
	roof, mosaic floor)			
	2 - Very Good (2 bedrooms with private bathrooms, concrete roof,			
	mosaic floor)			
	3 - Good (1 bedroom, brick and cement walls, concrete or tile roof)			
	4 - Poor (brick walls, cement floor, tin or asbestos roof)			
	5 - Crude (mud walls, mud floor, thatched roof)			
6.	What type of toilet is in your parent's home?			
	1. Flush to piped sewer system 2. Flush to septic tank			
	3. Flush/pour flush to pit latrine 4. Flush/pour flush to elsewhere			
	5. Ventilated pit latrine 6. Composting toilet			
	7. Pit latrine with slab (a dry pit latrine in which the pit is fully covered			
	by a slab or platform fitted with either a seat or a squatting hole. The			
	platform should be solid and can be made of any type of material, such			
	as concrete, logs with earth or mud, cement, etc., as long as it			

	adequately covers the pit without exposing the pit content other than			
	through the east or squatting hole.) 8. Pit latrine			
	without slab			
	9. No facilities/bush/field 10. Other (please specify)			
7.	Does your parent's home have electricity?			
	(1 - Yes, 2 - No)			
8.	What type of fuel do you use for cooking? 1 - Wood 2 - Electricity 3 - Kerosene 4 - LP gas 5 - Other			
	(please specify)			
9.	Do your parents currently own any of the following?			
	(1 - Yes 2 - No)			
9.1	Car			
9.2	Taxi/Truck/Lorry			
9.3	Motorcycle/scooter			
9.4	Telephone (landline)			
9.5	Mobile phone			
9.6	Television			
9.7	MP3/DVD/VCD			
9.8	Refrigerator			
9.9	Personal computer/laptop			
9.10	Microwave oven			
9.11	Internet connection			
5.3	Do you think being nurse was advantageous for finding a spouse?			
	1 - Yes, very much 2 - Yes, some extent 3 - Neutral			
	4 - Not much 5 - Not at all			
5.4	[Only those who have been married/engaged] Please provide details			
	of your current spouse (if any)			
5.4.1	Age at marriage			
5.4.2	Highest level of education completed			
5.4.3	Nationality			
5.4.4	Current occupation			
5.4.5	Was your marriage arranged? 1 - Yes 2 - No			
5.4.6	Current place of residence: 1 - Kerala 2 - Outside Kerala but within			
	India 3 - Overseas			
5.5	(For married/previously married persons) Total no. of children			
5.5.1	No. of male children			

5.5.2	No. of female children	
5.6	(For never-married persons) Total no. of children you would like to	
	have	
5.6.1	No. of male children	
5.6.2.	No. of female children	
5.6.3.	No. of any children	