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HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF CHILDREN AMONG EMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS IN KERALA

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ABSTRACT

Labour migration is a common phenomenon today, both within the Third World and between it and the industrialized countries. Among the south Asian emigrant workers, Indians constitute a higher proportion and among the Indian emigrant workers to the Middle East, more than half were from Kerala. The study assumes that labour emigration from villages significantly improves the socio-economic, demographic and health status of those left behind in the emigrants' households. The additional income earned in the destination may provide additional resources to be spent on health care or other health-improving consumption goods, such as more nutritious foods. In addition to a direct income effect on health, migration may influence child health through other non-monetary channels. One such channel is the transfer of health information (Donato et al., 2001). Migrants could gain information about health knowledge while abroad, and pass it on to the origin along with remittances and other social capital gained from abroad. Such information may include better understandings of contraceptive practices, the importance of sanitation or the beneficial impact of a proper diet, exercise or regular visits to the doctor. This health knowledge could alter health practices or lifestyle choices that could in turn improve health outcomes including child health (Durand, Goldring and Massey, 1994; Hildebrandt, 2004). Only a limited number of studies were carried out in India, in the field of international migration as compared to internal migration. As far as Kerala is concerned such studies are found to be very rare. The main objectives of the present study are to examine the socio- economic, demographic characteristics of children less than six years in emigrant and non-migrant households and to study the differentials in health and nutritional status of children under six years in the emigrant and non migrant households. Data for the study were collected from both rural and urban areas of three districts viz, Thiruvananthapuram, Pathanamthitta and Malappuram in Kerala using a structured questionnaire. A total of 300 emigrant households were interviewed. Three hundred non migrant households were also selected randomly from the sample areas, 210 from rural and 90 from urban areas respectively. Apart from univariate and bivariate statistical techniques including Chi- Square analysis have been used for the analysis of data. The overall findings of the study reveal that the status and health outcomes of women and children in the emigrant households are comparatively better than that of their non-migrant counterparts. Though Kerala has per capita income below national level, the different social and demographic indicators imply that Kerala has faired well in its demographic achievements compared to other states in India. Remittances from abroad as well as the changed perceptions of the emigrants have helped Kerala in achieving and maintaining high levels of development. Therefore the study concluded that emigration had some positive impact on women's status and health of children in Kerala.

KEYWORDS

emigrant households, health status, nutritional status.

INTRODUCTION

igration is an important component in the growth of the population and labour force of an area. Currently nearly 200 million people live outside the country of their birth and the number of international migrants is set to increase in the years to come. The ILO estimates that there are more than 42 million migrant workers world wide, not including the million's of illegal migrants. The need to manage the growing flows of international migrants for the benefits of sending, receiving and transit countries as well as for the benefits of the migrants themselves is one of the most important challenges of the 21st century. "Migrant workers are an asset to every country was they bring their labour, let us give them the dignity they deserve as workers" (ILO, 2008). Among the south Asian emigrant workers, Indians constitute a higher proportion and among the Indian emigrant workers to the Middle East, more than half were from Kerala (Govt Kerala, 2009; Nayyar, 1994, Prakash, 1998). Emigration of Kerala remains strong, with a latest study conducted by CDS in 2004 showing that the number of emigrants went up by 35 percent in last five years from 13.6 lakhs in 1999 to 18.4 lakhs in 2004 (Govt. Kerala, 2006). The country wise destinations of emigrants from Kerala show that about 90 percent of the emigrants were concentrated in the Gulf countries and the remaining 10 percent to USA, European countries and Africa (Govt. Kerala, 2006; Zachariah, 2004). The places of origin of emigrants in the state are unevenly distributed. Recent studies show that among the districts in Kerala, Malappuram ranks first with a total emigrant population and Wayanad the least. Thrissur ranks second, Thiruvananthapuram third followed by Kollam (Government of Kerala, 2000). Pathanamthitta district also shows a high rate of concentration of emigrants (Zachariah et al., 1999). Several villages in Kerala have experienced significant changes in their socio-economic status because of the enormous emigrant remittances (Government of Kerala, 2006; Sekhar,

A large part of the savings of NRIs (Non Resident Indians) credited in India in periodic remittances through banking channels. In 2003, India passed a milestone when Indian Diaspora top for worker remittances with \$23.0 billion in remittances, ahead of other major countries like Mexico and the Philippines (World Bank, 2005).

The health of the child and the mother are inseparable. Health of the child is directly or indirectly associated with different outcome variables such as age of mother at the time of delivery, type of delivery, antenatal problems and care, timing or type of birth (on- time or premature), birth weight of the child and nutritional status. A child born prematurely or with a low birth weight is likely to be exposed to the risks of infections and death during the first few months of life (Agarwal, 1982; Sachdev, Iyer and Bhargava, 1991; Dhar et al. 1992). Moreover, a premature child is more likely to be born with a low birth weight. The risks of malnutrition and infections are higher for children born prematurely or with a low birth weight (WHO, 1991; Miller, 1992, Sabu padmadas, 2000). Malnutrition among children age below five (35 per cent) which is close to 9.4 million children outside the immunization network is the biggest challenge that India needs to overcome to achieve the millennium development goals. Under birth weight births, sanitation and neonatal mortality are some issues that need to be addressed urgently, according to a Report "A World Fit for Children- Statistical Review" released by the UNICEF (2007). The report also reveals that about one- third of the under weight children under age five live in India also has the largest pool of never immunized (including DPT and Polio) children in the world-9.4 million. Of the 19 million infants in the developing world with low birth weights, 8.3 million are in India it is estimated that 22 million women in 2005-06 were married below 18 years of age.

One may expect the child health to be positively affected by migration for a number of reasons. First, the additional income earned in the destination may provide additional resources to be spent on health care or other health-improving consumption goods, such as more nutritious foods. In addition to a direct income effect on health, migration may influence child health through other non-monetary channels. One such channel is the transfer of health information (Donato et al., 2001). Migrants could gain information about health knowledge while abroad, and pass it on to the origin along with remittances and other social capital gained from abroad. Such information may include better understanding of contraceptive practices, the importance of sanitation, or the beneficial impact of a proper diet, exercise, not smoking, or regular visits to the doctor. This health knowledge could alter health practices or lifestyle choices that could in turn improve health outcomes including child health (Durand, Goldring and Massey, 1994; Grossman, 1977; Hildebrandt, 2004). In this context, this study

examine whether health differences exist between the children of emigrant and non-migrant families in the study areas, and whether these differences are the direct consequence of household migration status.

Only a limited number of studies were carried out in India, in the field of International migration as compared to internal migration. As far as Kerala is concerned, such studies are found to be very rare. Majority of the studies conducted on international migration have concentrated mainly on the economic aspects, ignoring the social, demographic and health consequences. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the present study are:

- 1) To study the background characteristics of children in emigrant and non-migrant households.
- 2) To study the impact of emigration on health and nutritional status of children.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for the study were collected from both rural and urban areas of three districts viz, Thiruvananthapuram, Pathanamthitta and Malappuram in Kerala using a structured questionnaire during the period April to May, 2009. A total of 300 emigrant households (each household should have a women, having at least one birth during the last six years preceding the survey date) were interviewed. For a comparison, three hundred non migrant households were also selected randomly from the sample areas satisfying the above criteria. One fourth of the samples were selected from urban areas

The unit of analysis of this study is the "household'. The study assumes that labour emigration from villages significantly improves the socio-economic, demographic and health status of those left behind in the emigrants' households. Univariate and Bivariate analysis including Chi-square analysis have been performed in the study.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN (less than Six years)

Children are assets of the future of every nation. This section deals with the information on maternal and background characteristics of children collected from the emigrant and non- migrant households for all births during the last six years preceding the survey date in the study areas. The total number of birth during six years period before the survey date comes to 713, out of which the women in emigrant households have 367 births and the corresponding number for women in non-migrant households was 346.

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS

Characteristics	Emigrants		Non-migrants		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Age of children in months					•	
<12	56	15.3	62	17.9	118	16.5
12-35	135	36.8	133	38.9	268	37.6
35-59	133	36.2	122	35.3	255	35.8
≥60	43	11.7	29	8.4	72	10.1
Sex of child						
Male	178	48.5	161	46.5	339	47.5
Female	189	51.5	185	53.5	374	52.5
Birth Order						
1	196	53.4	193	55.8	389	54.6
2	135	36.8	125	36.1	260	36.6
3+	36	9.8	28	8.1	64	9.0
Residence						
Urban	126	34.3	119	34.4	245	34.4
Rural	241	65.7	227	65.6	468	65.6
Religion***						
Hindu	178	48.5	209	59.4	387	54.3
Muslim	148	40.3	101	29.2	249	34.9
Christian	41	11.2	36	10.4	77	10.8
Standard of living Index						
Low	68	18.5	112	32.4	180	25.4
Medium	117	31.9	151	43.6	268	37.5
High	182	49.6	83	24.0	265	37.1
Mother's Education						
≤9	37	10.1	128	37.0	165	23.1
10-11	83	22.6	79	22.8	162	22.7
12-14	75	20.4	34	9.8	109	15.3
≥15	172	46.9	105	30.3	277	38.8
Place of delivery***						
Public health facility	132	36.0	229	66.2	361	50.6
Private health facility	235	64.0	117	33.8	352	49.4
Type of delivery**						
Normal	270	73.0	295	85.3	565	79.2
Caesarean	97	26.4	51	14.7	148	20.8
Preceding birth Interval in months**	*					
<12	48	13.1	41	11.8	89	12.5
12-23	38	10.4	116	33.5	154	21.6
24-35	61	16.6	81	23.4	142	19.9
36-59	158	43.1	81	23.4	239	33.5
>=60	62	19.9	27	7.8	89	12.5
Total	367	100.00	346	100.00	713	100

^{*} P <0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001

Age composition of children shows that nearly 18 percent of children in non-migrant households and 15 percent of emigrant's children are under the age of one year. The proportion of children between one year and three years among emigrant and non-migrant households are about 37 percent and 39 percent respectively. Mean age of children under six years is --- months. Findings show that 66 percent of children were residing in rural areas and the remaining 34 percent in urban, in both the emigrant and non-migrant households. In emigrant households, about 48 percent of the children less than six years are males and 52 percent are females. The corresponding proportions for male and female children less than six years are more or less the same for non-migrant households. Religious composition of children among emigrant households reveals that about 49 percent are Hindus, 40 percent Muslims and the remaining 11 percent are Christians, while the proportions of children constituting Hindus, Muslim and Christians among non-migrant are 59.4 percent, 29.2 percent and 10.4 percent respectively. The standard of living Index shows that children in emigrant households have a significantly high level of living compared to non- migrants. About two third of children in emigrant households have high living standard, while only one fourth of their counterparts have the same. A significant differential was observed in the level of mother's education among emigrant and non-migrant groups.

An important goal of reproductive and Child health programme is to encourage deliveries under proper hygienic conditions under the supervision of trained health professionals. In Kerala, almost all births in urban areas were institutional births, whereas in rural areas, a small percent of births were noninstitutional births (NFHS 3, 2005-06). The present study shows that all the births in the six years preceding the survey took place in health facilities. Findings reveal that about two third of births among emigrant women took place in private health facilities and the remaining 36 percent in public health facilities. A reverse result is found among non-migrants. More than two third (66 percent) of births among non-migrant women took place in public health facilities. With regard to the main reasons for the above differential concerning the availing of medical facilities, emigrant women reported that they prefer private hospitals because they got enough privacy, easy accessibility of services, availability of rooms, friendly behaviour of doctors and other health staff, better cleanliness and hygiene etc in private health facilities. Timing in private health facilities is also convenient for emigrant households.

Now, caesarean section deliveries have increased in Kerala compared to olden days. The present study reveals that about one-fourth (26 percent) of the children among women in emigrant households (born from the past six years to the survey period) were born by caesarean section and the corresponding proportion for non-migrant women was about 15 percent.

Studies so far show that children born to mothers who had a longer preceding birth interval are more likely to survive. Short birth intervals may also adversely affect mother's health (Panday et al., 1998; Padmadas, 2000). Table.1 shows that there exist a significant differential in the proportion of the preceding birth interval of children between emigrant and non-migrant households. About 45 percent of births occur within two years among non-migrants while the same proportion among emigrants is nearly 24 percent. Nearly two thirds of the births among emigrant women occur after an interval of three years but the corresponding figures among their counterparts is only one third. Study finding shows that emigration of husbands may have some positive effect on their fertility pattern. Our finding reveals that there was some difference in the birth spacing between emigrant and non-migrant women. This implies that emigration has been bringing some positive effect on spacing of birth among the couple of emigrant households.

The standard of living Index shows that children in emigrant households have a significantly high level of living compared to non- migrants. A significant differential was observed in the level of mother's education between emigrant and non-migrant groups. Finally, the results show that children in the emigrant households have better background than that of non-migrants.

IMPACT OF EMIGRATION ON NUTRITIONAL STATUS AND CHILD HEALTH

Maternal and child health is vital aspect of health care in any society. Childbearing imposes additional health needs and problems on women, physically, psychologically and socially. Improved reproductive health is closely related with women's status. The low status of females is reflected to their unequal access to food and medical care, which leads to malnutrition, deficit growth and development (Jejeebboy, 1991).

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare has sponsored many special schemes under MCH, RCH and NRHM programmes for the improvement of health of both mother and young children. Some of the programmes such as Universal immunization Programmes, Oral Dehydration Therapy, Maternal and Child Health Supplemental Programmes etc., provide facilities for mothers and children for prevention and treatment of several major diseases.

Children born to young mothers are more likely to be of low birth weight, which is an important factor contributing to their higher neonatal mortality rate and children born to women above age 30 are at a relatively high risk of experiencing congenital problems. Mother's age at the time of delivery was 20-29 years among 91 percent of children in emigrant households, as against 81 percent among non-migrant households. Mother's mean age at the time of delivery among emigrants and non- migrants are 25 years and 23 years respectively.

The survey gathered retrospective information on timing of births and birth weight for all children 12-71 months at the time of survey. The self-reported information showed that about 91 percent of births that occurred prior to six years of survey time were on- time. The above proportion is same for women among emigrant group and the control group. The birth weight of children less than 2500 grams are taken as low birth weight babies and children weighing ≥ 2500 grams are said to be normal weigh babies. Findings show that the proportion of women with low birth weight children (<2500 grams) was slightly higher (18 percent) in non-migrant group than in emigrant group (9 percent). Infant feeding practices have significant effects on both mother and children.



TABLE 2: HEALTH PROFILE OF CHILDREN AGE 12-71 MONTHS BY MIGRATION STATUS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS Characteristics **Emigrants** Non-migrants Total Percent Frequency Percent Frequency Percent Frequency Mothers age at the time of delivery** 10 < 20 3.2 15 5.3 15 2.5 20-29 281 90.4 231 81.3 522 87.7 20 6.4 38 13.4 58 9.7 ≥ 30 **Timing of Birth** On - time 282 90.7 261 91.9 543 91.2 Premature 29 9.3 23 8.1 52 8.8 Birth weight ** < 2500 29 9.3 52 18.2 81 13.6 ≥ 2500 282 90.7 234 81.8 514 86.4 Timing of first breast feeding 235 224 78.9 459 Immediately/within half an hour 75.6 77.1 Within one day 69 22.2 51 18.0 120 20.2 7 9 More than 24 hours 2.3 3.2 16 2.7 **Duration of breast feeding***** <12 months 15 48.8 51 18.0 66 11.1 179 57.6 12-23 months 147 51.8 326 54.8 57 59 20.8 19.5 18.3 116 ≥ 24months Still continuing 60 19.3 27 9.5 87 14.6 Immunization Status ** 97.4 252 88.7 93.3 303 555 Full 8 2.6 32 11.3 40 6.7 partial Vitamin A supplement** 23 7.4 48 16.9 71 11.9 Not received Received 288 92.6 236 86.6 524 88.1 Suffered diarrhoea during last two weeks prior to the survey** 273 228 80.3 501 84.2 Yes 87.8 No 38 12.2 56 19.7 94 15.8 Acute Respiratory Infection during last two weeks prior to the survey** Yes 86.5 482 81.0 269 213 75.0 No 42 13.5 71 25.0 113 19.0 Stunted(low height for age)** 14.8 71 25.0 117 19.7 46 Yes 265 85.2 213 75.0 478 80.3 Wasted (low weight for height) 37 11.9 50 17.6 87 Yes 14.6 No 274 88.1 234 82.4 508 85.4 Underweight (low weight for age) 40 12.9 60 21.1 100 16.8 Yes 271 224 87.1 78.9 495 83.2 Total 311 100 284 100 595 100

Proper infant feeding starting from the time of birth is important for the physical and mental development of the child. Breastfeeding improves the nutritional status and reduces the morbidity and mortality of young children. From Table 2, it can be seen that there is not much difference in the timing of first breastfeeding after the birth of children in emigrant and non-migrant households.

The vaccination of children against six serious but preventable diseases (tuberculosis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, poliomyelitis and measles) has been a cornerstone of the child health care system in India. The Universal Immunisation Programme was introduced in 1985-86. The main objectives of this programme were to cover at least 85 percent of all infants against the above six vaccine preventable diseases by 1990 and to achieve self-sufficiency in vaccine production and the manufacture of cold-chain equipment (MOHFW, 1991). The proportion of children (>12 months to < 72 months) fully vaccinated among emigrant households (97 percent) is somewhat higher than that of their counterparts (89 percent). The low immunisation coverage of measles was the major reason for partial immunisation of children. The respondents reported that their children had measles disease before attaining the time of measles vaccination (9 months old) after which no vaccination was taken. The immunisation coverage in the state has been coming down in recent years and the percentage of fully vaccinated children is between 75 percent (NFHS- 3) and 82 percent (UNICEF Coverage Evaluation Survey) in India.

Vitamin A deficiency is one of the most common nutritional deficiency disorders in the world, affecting millions of children worldwide. Information was sought on whether children ever received a dose of vitamin A supplementation. Mothers in the non-migrant households reported that about 17 percent of children have not received vitamin A supplementation but the corresponding proportion for children in emigrant households is 7 percent. Only 1.6 percent of children in emigrant households have not received any IFA tablets or syrups, but the same proportion for their counterpart children is 5.5 percent.

Mothers of children age12-71 months were asked if their children suffered acute respiratory infection, fever, or diarrhoea during the two weeks preceding the survey, and if so, the type of treatment received. Acute respiratory infection is a major cause of illness among infants and children and the leading cause of childhood mortality. The prevalence of AIR is higher, at about 25 percent among non- migrant children and the same proportion among children in emigrant households is 14 percent. All the affected children in emigrant households sought medical treatment, while only 75 percent of their counterparts sought treatment for acute respiratory infection of their children.

Fever is less prevalent among children in emigrant households compared to the non- migrants. Diarrhoea is the second most killer of children, following acute pneumonia. Deaths from acute diarrhoea are most often caused by dehydration due to loss of water and electrolytes. Table 2 shows that two out of ten children under six years in non-migrant households suffered from diarrhoea during the two weeks preceding the survey. The same proportion among their counterparts is 12 percent. All children received treatment for diarrhoea.

The study reveals that the prolonged absence of men encourages women in the emigrant households to take major roles in managing the household, allows women to grow independently, and helps to develop new interests and the discovery of hidden potential. The overall findings of the study concluded that the overall health outcomes nutritional status of children in the emigrant households is comparatively better than that of their non-migrant counterparts.

^{*} P <0.05, ** P<0.01, *** P<0.001

CONCLUSION

Findings show that currently married women in emigrant families were better educated than that of women in non-migrant families. Mean actual family size among currently married women in the emigrant households was nearly two children and their mean desired family size was about three children. This shows that emigration of husbands may have some positive effect on their fertility pattern. Mean first and second birth intervals of currently married emigrant women are higher than that of non-migrant women. This implies that emigration has been bringing some positive effect on spacing of birth among the couple of emigrant households. Proportion of married women in the emigrant households never used any kind of family planning methods at the time of survey was comparatively higher than that for women in the non-migrant households. More than two-fifth of the emigrant households were Muslims. Mean age of children under six years is 34 months and this proportion is more or less same in both emigrants and non-migrants. The standard of living Index shows that children in emigrant households have a highly significant level of living compared to non-migrants. The present study shows that all the births in the six years preceding the survey took place in health facilities. About two third of births among emigrant women were took place in private health facilities. A reveres result is fond among non-migrants. Main reasons for the above differential concerning the availing of medical facilities, emigrant women reported that they prefer private hospitals because they got enough privacy, easy accessibility of services, availability of rooms, friendly behaviour of doctors and other health staff, better cleanliness and hygiene etc in private health facilities. Timing in private health facilities is also convenient for emigrant households.

Status of women as assed analysing the variables such as, freedom of movement of women, their economic autonomy, their role in reproductive decision making and their role in activities out side home women in emigrant households have significantly high freedom of movement than their counterparts. The economic autonomy among women in emigrant households is significantly higher than that of women in non-migrant households. A great proportion of women in emigrant households have high role in reproductive decision-making than their non-migrant counterparts. The study reveals that the prolonged absence of men encourages women in the emigrant households to take major roles in managing the household, allows women to grow independently, helps to develop new interests and the discovery of hidden potential. The study concludes that migration can play an important role in modifying the gender role of left behind women by enhancing their position in their families and modifying the cultural values in traditional communities.

Proportion of women who had complications during pregnancy among non-migrant households is higher than that of women in emigrant households. Proportion of women in non-migrant households who had faced any complication during delivery is significantly higher than that of their counterparts.

Findings show that the proportion of women with low birth weight children (<2500 grams) was slightly higher in non-migrant group than in emigrant group. The proportion of children with a birth weight between 2500 – 2999 grams was higher among control group but the percentage of children has birth weight 3000 grams was higher among emigrant group. With regard to dose of vitamin A supplementation given to children, about 18 percent of children in non migrant households and 10 percent of children in emigrant households have not received it. The prevalence of AIR is higher, among non- migrant children than children in emigrant households. All the affected children in emigrant households sought medical treatment, while only 75 percent of their counterparts sought treatment for acute respiratory infection of their children. Results show that two out of ten children under six years in non-migrant households suffered from diarrhoea during the two weeks preceding the survey. The same proportion among their counterparts is ten percent. All children received treatment for diarrhoea. The overall findings of the study reveal that the status and health outcomes of women and children in the emigrant households are comparatively better than that of their non-migrant counterparts. Though Kerala has per capita income below national level, the different social and demographic indicators imply that Kerala has faired well in its demographic achievements compared to other states in India. Remittances from abroad as well as the changed perceptions of the emigrants have helped Kerala in achieving and maintaining high levels of development. There fore the study concluded that emigration had some positive impact on women's status and health of children in Kerala.

The study suggest that, for reducing the gap between emigrants and non-migrants

- 1. Steps should be taken by the Govt. at local level to introduce social welfare programmes such as ICDS programmes, counselling, IEC activities etc. among non-migrant families, especially among those have low standard of living.
- 2. Implement income generating small-scale industrial activities for women in lower economic strata, with some subsidies.
- 3. Improve the Govt. health facilities quality of services, for the necessities of economically backward section, so that they can afford to avail these services.
- 4. Govt. should take measures or steps to promote emigrants and provide timely help by developing policies and programmes at the local level itself.

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