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Highly Qualified Indian Migrants in Denmark

An Analysis of Push & Pull Factors in Indo-Danish Labor Migration

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Abstract

In parallel to the fact that Denmark has become the global frontrunner in green transition with focus on combating global climate change aligned with the UN's 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals, a high demand in highly qualified human capital is seen to exist in the Danish companies across industrial sectors following the increase in projects and tasks. This has led to a large number of highly qualified international migrants in Denmark, whereas the Indians constitute a large number out of the non-western highly qualified immigrants. The lack of highly qualified human capital creates an opportunity for international highly qualified nationals to work and live in Denmark. These opportunities are to a larger degree being seized by the highly qualified Indians. Hence, this thesis has examined why highly qualified Indians move to Denmark.

By having used a combined research design of both qualitative and quantitative data, mainly qualitative data that consisted of conducting interviews of highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark, and by having applied Everett Lee's Push & Pull migration theory, this thesis investigates which factors from India that have pushed the participants to move out of India, and which factors that have pulled them to Denmark.

The objectives of this thesis are to verify whether socio-economic inequalities in India are the primary push factors for highly qualified Indians in choosing to move away from India, and whether higher standard of living and higher wages are the primary pull factors in highly qualified Indians' choice of moving to Denmark.

As a result, it has been evaluated that the highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark, who majorly belong to the middle class population of India, seize work opportunities in Denmark as higher standards of living and higher wages along with the Danish education system are attracting and thus becoming the pull factors in their decision to move to Denmark. Further it has been evaluated that push factors such as socio-economic inequalities in terms of lower wages, poor working conditions, lack of job opportunities, high competition and class divisions in the Indian social hierarchy are the reasons for highly qualified Indian laborers to move out of India.

In conclusion, Lee's Push & Pull migration theory verifies the objectives of the thesis.

Key words: Migration; Highly qualified Indian migrants; Indo-Danish labour migration; Push & Pull factors

List of Abbreviation

BCG - Boston Consulting Group

BRICS - Brasil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

CMIE - Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy Pvt. Ltd.

DKK - Danish Kroner

INR - Indian Rupees

Lakhs - 1 Lakhs is equal to 100.000 INR. It is the Indian unit in the Indian local context.

MBA - Masters in Business Administration

MDG - Millenium Development Goals

PM - Prime Minister

PPP - Purchasing Power Parity

SAP - Systems Application and Products

SDG - Sustainable Development Goals

SIRI - The Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration

UN - United Nations

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Thesis structure overview

Fig. 2 Lee's Model of Push and Pull Theory

Fig. 3. 10. Cultural exchange, People-to-people relations, and labor mobility

List of Tables

Table 1. Amount of green products and services constitute GDP 2018 (%) & Amount of exporting green products and services, 2018 (%)

Table 2. Employed third-country nationals in the business sector on basis of residence permit, 2018-2020

Table 3. Number of first-time permits according to the amount scheme by nationality, 2018 - 2020

Table of contents

Abstract.....	
List of Abbreviations.....	
1. Introduction.....	5
2. Methodology.....	9
2.1 Objectives of Thesis.....	9
2.2 Research Design.....	9
2.2.1 <i>Theoretical Framework</i>	10
2.2.2 <i>Choice of Data: Qualitative & Quantitative Research</i>	11
2.3 Thesis Structure Overview.....	13
2.4 Case study: the Migration of Highly Qualified Indians to Denmark.....	14
2.4.1 <i>Case Selection</i>	14
2.5 Defining and Understanding Concepts.....	14
2.6 Limitations.....	16
3. Theory.....	17
4. Case Study: Highly Qualified Indian migration to Denmark.....	20
4.1 Denmark's lack of Highly Qualified Human Capital.....	20
4.1.1 <i>Danish Immigration laws & Indo-Danish Labour Migration</i>	24
4.1.2 <i>Indian Emigration</i>	28
4.2 Indian Local Realities & Push factors.....	33
4.3 Pull factors in Denmark.....	37
5. Conclusion.....	43
6. Bibliography.....	46
7. Appendices.....	54
Appendix 1.....	54
Appendix 2.....	58
Appendix 3.....	60
Appendix 4.....	64
Appendix 5.....	67
Appendix 6.....	70
Appendix 7.....	73
Appendix 8.....	76

1 Introduction

In the last 22 years the UN has had a significant role in the adoption of its policymaking on sustainable development in all of its member countries. In 2015 the creation of the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs) was adopted as a replaced version to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were introduced back in 2000. Since the introduction of the MDGs and later the SDGs, member countries including Denmark have been implementing the current SDGs as much as possible into their national realities. Denmark considers that implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is one of the primary factors in *“accelerating its economic and societal transformation for a sustainable future”* (Petitteville 2020).

One of the ways that Denmark has been implementing the SDGs in its national realities has been, first and foremost, through the Danish government's initiation with implementing the SDGs by having set up an Interministerial Group on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in order *“to ensure coordination among all relevant institutions and stakeholders”* (Ibid.). This implies the role that the Ministry of Finance stands for through two important functions during the process of implementing the SDGs: a) undertaking responsibility *“for coordinating the national implementation of the SDGs while line ministries are responsible for designing policies that address the SDGs, as appropriate”* (Ibid.) and b) *“responsibility for the necessary EU follow-up(...)”* (Ibid.). This means that the implementation of the SDGs through the line ministries in Denmark within different sectors play a large role in both making the SDGs actionable and concrete in order for the nation to reach the targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Not to mention, the reasons for integrating SDGs into Denmark's national realities also have a significant role in the fight against global climate change. This comes hand in hand with the fact that Denmark with the rest of the globe has agreed upon reaching the Paris Agreement's -1,5 degrees objectives, an agreement drafted in 2015 during the Paris Climate Conference (World Population Review 2022). Resulting in increased levels of action and ambition towards a green and sustainable world, in which Denmark ensures the following:

“We will help lead the green transition, further global ambitions on climate, environment and nature, and actively promote and support the Paris Agreement and sustainable development aligned with the SDGs” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, n.d.). Hereby, Denmark ensures to reduce CO₂ emissions by 70% by 2030 with the launch of their *“Global Climate Action Strategy”* (Ibid.).

Today, not only the UN (Sustainable Development Goals: Knowledge Platform, n.d.) but also *“Denmark considers itself as a front-runner in the transition to a green economy”* (Petitteville 2020) and a front-runner in *“sustainable use of natural resources and energy efficiency”* (Ibid.). At a local level this means that companies within different sectors have implemented the

SDGs e.g. the energy sector of Denmark, which has become the basis for the functionality and economic prosperity of the institutions within the energy sector, in order to reach the 2030 Agenda. For instance, such institutions or companies that has not only created an impact on implementing the SDGs, but also has taken steps towards making the SDGs actionable are some of Denmark's leading companies within the energy sector both nationally and globally, such as Vestas Wind System A/S, Ørsted A/S, Steeper Energy Aps, Ramboll Group A/S and more (Ostenfeld, n.d.). For instance, Danfoss A/S, one of the leading engineering companies in Denmark states the following: *“Danfoss has worked with the SDGs since their adoption in 2015. With our focus on electrification and energy efficiency, we have chosen to focus on four of the Global Goals. These goals cover areas where we consider our products and solutions to have the highest impact”* (Danfoss, n.d.), indicating the company's ambition towards integrating the SDGs and towards a green transition.

Parallel with the increasing trend of integrating the SDGs into institutions within the different sectors in order to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, an ongoing process during the last 22 years, the number of international migrants moving to Denmark has also increased.

While western migrants moving to Denmark are slightly common due to the geographical location of Denmark, the increasing numbers of non-western migrants in Denmark are interesting to look deeper into. According to “Danmarks Statistik” the 15 largest groups of non-western immigrants by order are India, Pakistan, Thailand, China, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Afghanistan, Jugoslavia, Iran, Bosnia, Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia and Syria (Danmarks Statistik 2019). One among these groups that stands out and has captured my attention is the Indian immigrants.

While most of the non-western immigrants can be imagined to migrate to Denmark due to a war torn home country or other domestic issues, one can see that 74% among the 9.369 Indian immigrants primarily migrate to Denmark for work, while 10% primarily migrate due to higher studies (Ibid.).. This indicates that Indian migration to Denmark is based on a personal free choice to migrate rather than caused by an uncompromisable reason e.g. war or an economic crisis that eventually has the potential to unwillingly push them out of their nation.

With this in mind, what exactly does the increase of Indian immigrants in parallel to the increasing trend of integrating the SDGs in companies and the transition to a greener economy imply?

With globalization comes the fact that many firms and companies established in Denmark, for instance within the Danish energy sector, also have branches located not only in different parts of Denmark, but also around the world. In this case, India is no exception (Embassy of India in Denmark,

n.d.). Through transnational corporations we find that insourcing international highly qualified migrants is increasing in Denmark (European Commission, n.d.) This is because despite the fact of Denmark considering itself as a front-runner in the transition to a greener economy at a global level, the existence of increasing demand for highly qualified human capital for enhancing performance in companies to reach the targets and ambitions of companies continue (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021). This creates a gap, which one amongst others the highly qualified migrants helps in combating. In other words, due to ambitions towards integrating the SDGs and most generally to be up to date with the required levels of service and production on green goods in most Denmark based companies, it requires highly qualified skills, knowledge and intense experience, which Danish companies lack. Hence, some of the companies are noticed to struggle in regards to providing enough labor to fulfill the tasks and projects in time. For instance, I have noticed this to have been one of the key factors at Danfoss A/S (Khan 2022). This is where I see the highly qualified Indians, who constitute a large part of the non-western highly qualified migrant flow, to be playing a significant role in closing this gap.

An increased number of highly qualified Indian migrants are living in Denmark due to their free choice of migrating for the purposes of work. But, on what basis do the highly qualified Indians choose Denmark, what factors become significant for them in their decision to choose Denmark as a destination to work for a long period of time, as some projects and tasks vary between six months and four years (Udlændingetjeneste 2018).

It nearly seems as a mismatch for Indians to choose Denmark over their own home country for a long term that could take up to 4 years, considering the differences Denmark consists of in regards to culture, religion, and social lifestyles compared to India. However, despite the differences, Denmark does offer a higher standard of living, higher wages, a lesser corrupt state and greater social equality compared to India, which could be factors that attract the highly qualified Indian to choose to move to Denmark.

On the other hand, India, which is a) a BRICS member, implies the fact that India is one of the five largest emerging economies in the international arena together with Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa with GDP's that have continuously increased. Through my personal assumptions, I could imagine the amount of possible jobs available due to the large numbers of multinational firms and companies in India, as a result of globalization and India's status as an emerging economy. This makes me wonder why a high degree of high qualified Indian laborers first of all seize the opportunity for outward international migration, in this case to Denmark, rather than working in their home country. However, most importantly, one of the elements in the Indian local realities that are

highly significant is the existence of socio-economic inequalities, in terms of class, occupation, wealth, income, education and gender roles that have the potential to limit quality of life.

All things considered, this leads me to ask my research question:

“Why do highly-qualified Indians move to Denmark?”

2. Methodology

Below I will be presenting the objectives of my thesis, followed by my research design, theoretical framework, methods and choice of data in order to carry out the analysis of this assignment and to answer my research question.

Lastly, an explanation for my chosen case study will be presented, as well as a section that will be defining and understanding the concept of 'highly qualified migrant'.

2.1 Objectives of the thesis

The thesis consists of 2 objectives, a) socio-economic inequalities in India are the primary push factors for highly qualified Indians in choosing to move away from India and b) higher standard of living and higher wages is the primary pull factor in highly qualified Indians' choice of moving to Denmark.

2.2 Research Design

The aim of this research is to examine why highly qualified Indians move to Denmark.

It is remarkable how in the last decades large numbers of populations across the globe have migrated, where Indians are no exception.

This form of migration happens due to several reasons. One amongst these reasons is most often related to war or economic crisis in particular countries. Yet, India who has set their footprint in the international arena as an emerging economic power combined with a large geographical range, demonstrates the potential capacity of economic development, which then could be imagined to lead to a potential surplus of jobs available across India. At the same time, Indo-Danish bilateral cooperation has become more developed through the years and the countries have taken cooperative steps in regards to benefit from each other to reach sustainable solutions for their economies. In this way, Denmark as a frontrunner in a green economy supports India's vision for enhancing a greener economy through interdependent collaborations. One of them being the exchange of knowledge, skills and experience through human capital both in India and Denmark, where an increasing number of highly qualified Indians migrate to Denmark for working purposes (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, n.d.). Now, in order to understand why highly qualified Indians choose to move to Denmark, this study engages with a combination of qualitative and, to some degree, quantitative research design, as this will provide a complete picture of my answer to the research question. In other words, I find that using a combined research design of qualitative and quantitative research

methods are more definite and reliable in terms of finding valuable data that possess the necessary information needed for answering why highly qualified Indian migrants settle in Denmark.

2.2.1 Theoretical framework

For the purpose of answering my research question I find it important to define the concept of migration. Migration is fundamentally the movement of people from place A to place B.

Even though migration has prevailed for a long time in history through centuries, migration today has become a movement with increasing numbers of people or a specific population from nations moving across the globe, particularly in the last half century. This goes hand in hand with the UN having made the right to move a part of human rights through the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As per the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13, the following has been stated:

“1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state”

“2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.”

(Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The United Nations, n.d.)

Hence, the right to move is one of the fundamental elements of human rights which applies to each individual. However, this alone does not imply the facts for why a great number of people migrate, as I find globalization, which imply the fact that interdependent economies, exchange of human capital, wars and economic crisis, being some of the major factors for an increased number of people migrating in current times. Therefore migration can be voluntary or involuntary depending on the factors behind people migration.

On the other hand, in applying these considerations and definitions to the concept of migration, it leads me to use Everett Lee’s Push and Pull migration theory in order to study why the highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark voluntarily choose to migrate from India to Denmark.

Lee’s theory focuses on the decisions behind one leaving a origin place to a destination place on the basis of individual perceptions of factors for pushing one out of their originating place to the destination place, where another set of pulling factors exist for the person to initially decide upon to move (Lee 1966). The theory explains how each place or destination consists of both positive and negative factors, whereas positive factors either attract people from another place or retain people within the place (Ibid, p. 50). The negative factors are usually the ones repelling the positive factors (Ibid, p. 50). Further below, a full explanation will be given in the theory section of this thesis paper. Applying this theory to the research allows me to analyze what push factors play a role for highly

qualified Indians to move from India, and what the pulling factors are in terms of pulling them towards Denmark. Therefore, I consider this theory to be the most relevant theory in terms of answering my research question.

All things considered, I find Lee's theory important for this research: it allows me to determine whether higher standard of living and higher wages is the primary pull factor in highly qualified Indians' choice of moving to Denmark and to determine whether socio-economic inequalities in India are the primary push factors for highly qualified Indians in choosing to move away from India.

2.2.2 Choice of data: Qualitative and Quantitative research

For the purpose of answering my research question I have chosen to use qualitative research with primary sources obtained through interviews that have been conducted with some eligible highly qualified Indians working in companies both in North and South Denmark. The interview participants are from different regions of India, including a blend of men and women, which I believe creates dimension in the responses, as people originating from different regions in India, as well as different gender groups, might have different opinions and reasons behind their choice to migrate. One among the interview participants is an Indian citizen, who works at Wipro Ltd in India. The following eight appendices of the interview transcripts are attached lastly in the assignment. This form of data collection has allowed me to get a deeper understanding of the personal reasons as to why the highly qualified Indians choose to move to Denmark, and what they consider the reasons for leaving their home country. Moreover, I am able to use the interview participants as a tool to navigate through my analysis in order to collect the necessary information to answer my research question. At the same time, the use of secondary qualitative data sources have also been used in order to support, prove or verify my findings. Not to mention, the interviews conducted will be the primary source of data that I will be analyzing throughout this study.

The data, interviews, have been conducted through the use of semi-structured questions. Not only has this allowed the participants to give a deeper and elaborative response, but has also enabled the conversation between me, as the interviewer, and the participants into “(...) *what is an intrinsically unnatural interaction into a “natural” one (...)*” (Gobo 2008, p. 196). Nonetheless, this has allowed me to obtain enough information in order to collect findings.

Having said that, I will be analyzing the conducted interviews through a thematic analysis that helps me sort the participants' answers into different themes, whereas the different themes will be analyzed

through the deductive approach. This means that the approach involves an analysis of data with themes that I have already preconceived based on existing knowledge (Caulfield 2019), which I expect to find mirrored in the answers of my interview participants. Provided that, it is noteworthy to mention the fact that the existing knowledge that enables me to preconceive themes around my field of study, in regards to Indians moving and the Indian local realities, has been gained through my Bachelors in India- & Southasian studies. This means that previous exchange semesters in India have provided me with sufficient background knowledge and in-field experiences in regards to India's national as well as regional levels of realities. At the same time, I find that this does not limit my research, but instead the existing knowledge and in-field experiences assist to expand my research for answering my research question.

On the other hand, I also find secondary quantitative data important to support my findings through numbers and statistics. Moreover, within analyzing the quantitative data, I intend to do so through the descriptive research method. In this way I am able to identify categories, trends and frequencies. Also, I find this having been useful as I “(...) *research why something happens*” (McCombes 2019)) in order “*to understand how, when and where something happens*” (Ibid.).

2.3 Thesis structure overview

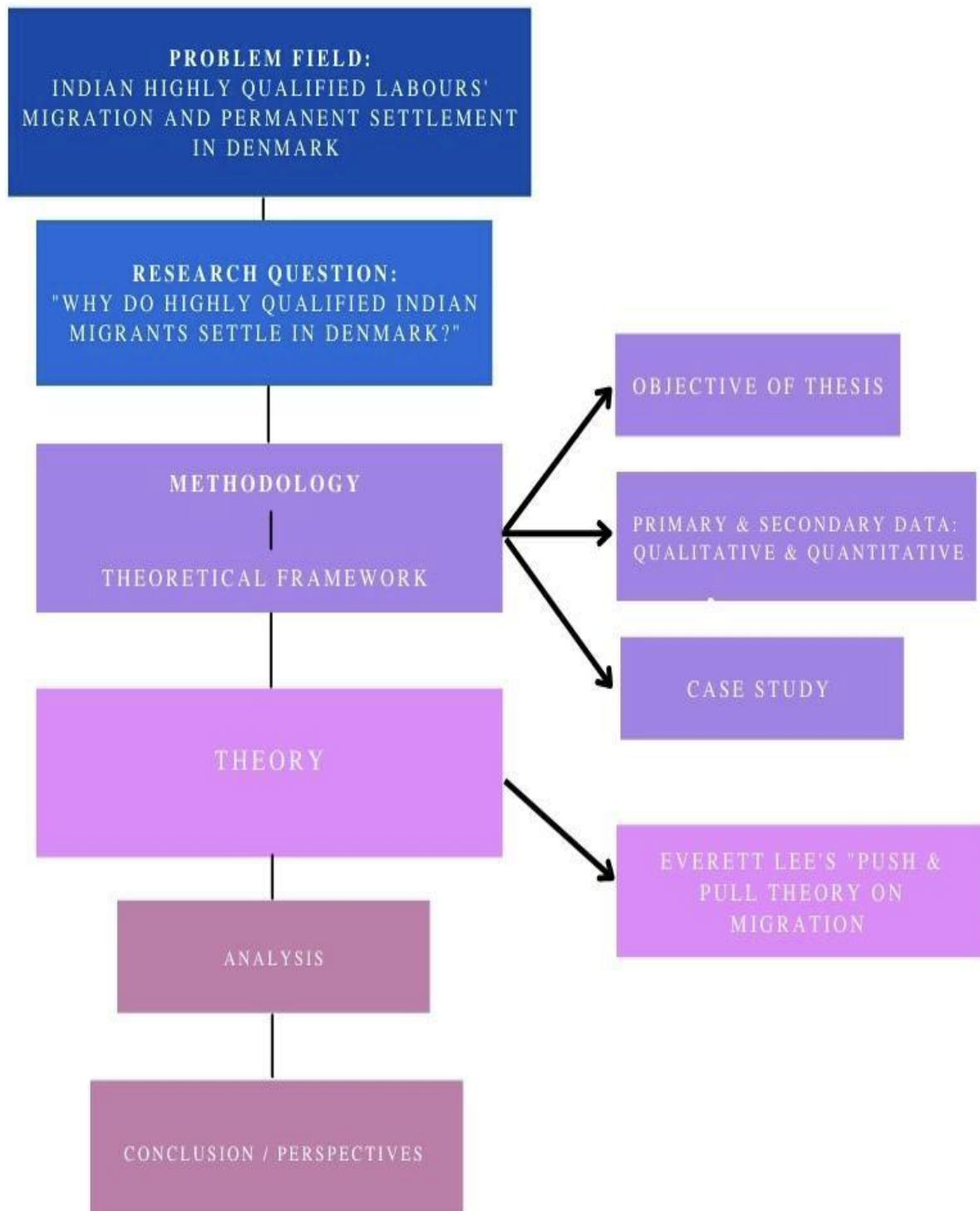


Figure 1: Thesis structure overview

2.4. Case study: The migration of highly qualified Indians to Denmark

In order to make my research effective, I have chosen to focus on a specific case in terms of narrowing down the highly qualified Indian migration internationally. It is observed that highly qualified Indian migration happens for decades where most of them migrate towards the West (Khadria 2006). However, as for my research purposes I have chosen to specifically focus on the highly qualified Indian migration to Denmark.

Hence, I find that a case study, which “*can be used to describe the characteristics of a specific subject (such as a person, group, event or organization)*” (McCombes 2019), in this case a group, to be efficient in collecting detailed data of a narrowly defined group. Most importantly, while a broader study requires to describe generalizable facts, “*case studies often focus on unusual or interesting cases that challenge assumptions, add complexity, or reveal something new about a research problem*” (McCombes 2019).

2.4.1 Case selection

The case of highly qualified Indian migration to Denmark has been chosen, as I find it interesting to know on what basis the highly qualified Indian migrants choose to move to Denmark. This is specifically capturing my attention, as the highly qualified Indian Diaspora is one of the largest in the world (Khadria, 2006; OpIndia 2020), and since it is observed to be a trend for highly qualified Indians to mostly choose to move to western countries such as the USA, Australia, UK, Canada, Germany etc. compared to Denmark (Sharma 2022; The Economic Times 2021). Based on this observation and the stated observations above in the introduction section, I find it fascinating to know what exactly the pull factors in Denmark are, according to the highly qualified Indians who chose to move away from their home country.

2.5 Defining and understanding concept

In this thesis paper I use the word ‘highly qualified migrant’ continuously, which I find a concept important to define in order to clarify what the concept implies. Further, a brief explanation of what is defined as ‘highly qualified’ in the Danish context will also be shown below.

I find that there are various understandings of how to define a ‘highly qualified’ migrant. According to the European Commission, “*Migration and Home Affairs*”, a highly qualified migrant is defined

as per where the migrant has moved to; in a EU context and a global context (European Commission, n.d.). Firstly, in the EU context, a highly qualified migrant is defined as a third country national with *“adequate and specific competence as proven by higher professional qualifications”* (European Commission). Secondly, in the global context, *“it is a person who qualifies as a manager, executive, professional, technician or similar, who moves within the internal labour markets of transnational corporations and international organisations, or who seeks employment through international labour markets for scarce skills”* (Ibid.).

However, it is studied by the the United Nations (The United Nations 2005) and Niraula and Valentin (2019) that the concept of the ‘highly qualified migrant’ is far from easy to define, as it *“remains a “hazy” and ill-defined concept”* (The United Nations 2005, p. 2.), as well as the term ‘highly qualified’ or ‘highly skilled’ does not by itself clarify what the term implies.

According to the Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels (2020) international highly qualified migrants imply the fact that the migrant is *“subject to the national immigration policies and laws”* (Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels 2020, p. 9) of the nation who is receiving the highly qualified migrant since they are crossing international borders and seek to enter another nation (Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels 2020). Moreover, the highly qualified migrant is stated to benefit from *“(…) easier access to an entry visa and/or residence permit than their lower-skilled brethren (…)”* (Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels 2020, p. 9). Hence, the nation that *“define who can enter, and under which rules”* (Weinar and Klekowski von Koppenfels 2020, p. 9) implies how it is left to each nation to define the concept of ‘highly qualified migrant’ as per their understanding. This leaves me to rely on how Denmark defines and understands the concept. According to Niraula and Valentin (2019): *“In a Danish context, terms such as ‘højtuddannede indvandrere’ (highly educated immigrants), ‘højtuddannet udenlandsk arbejdskraft’ (highly educated foreign labour) or ‘højt kvalificerede udlændinge’ (highly qualified foreigners) are used in policy documents (…)”* (Niraula and Valentin 2019, p. 20). In the Danish context the terms (*højtuddannede* or *højt kvalificeret*) itself imply what the term means: an individual who has formal education and thereby possesses a profession of academic qualification as required (Niraula and Valentin 2019, p. 20).

During my research I observed that the Danish companies such as Danfoss and NTT Data refer to highly qualified Indians as well educated and highly efficient. Similarly the Boston Consulting Group describes the highly qualified migrants of individuals *“with the right educational background”* BCG (Boston Consulting Group 2021). Further, we see how the confederation of Danish Industry who are in need of a highly qualified workforce explains why: *“because they contribute to high productivity*

levels in Danish industry and help finance the welfare state.” (Niraula and Valentin 2019, p. 20), which further indicates that the concept of highly qualified migrants is defined as being highly productive.

Therefore I understand the concept of ‘highly qualified migrant’ to be defined as an individual who has obtained a high education and possesses a profession *as a manager, executive, professional, technician or similar* (European Commission, n.d.) from their origin country, but brings these highly qualifications to another place, where the person is either insourced by a Danish company or the person is willingly migrating to work in order to fulfill a position that is in need of his/her talent or qualifications. At the same time, it is one who is able to provide high levels of performance in their work environment by being efficient and productive.

2.6 Limitations

I find it important to explain the limitations to the data collection for my research.

Firstly, for the purpose of this research I had imagined conducting interviews between minimum 15-20 interview participants, as I found this number of people to be sufficient to use for my analysis in the particular timeframe I had of 4 months for my research. However, the number of people I have been able to conduct interviews with are seven in Denmark and one from India. I found it surprisingly challenging to get in contact with highly qualified Indians in Denmark who were willing to participate due to fear of exposure of their identity, as well as exposure of personal opinions, statements and views about their home country, their respective companies that they work in and about Denmark.

When I personally reached out to the highly qualified I first made sure to explain the possibility of making their identity and their companies that they are stationed in anonymous for ethical reasons, but many still refused. This has limited the amount of sufficient findings to my research. Importantly this has also meant that the seven interviews having been conducted in Denmark are anonymous and their companies that they are stationed in also are kept anonymous, similarly is the case with the one interview participant from India, but in contrast had no problem of revealing the name of the transnational company he is stationed in. This has prohibited me from using detailed information about which companies in Denmark that the highly qualified Indians are stationed in

3. Theory

For this research, I have chosen the Push and Pull migration theory by Everett Lee.

What makes Lee's theory interesting in regards to this analysis, is the push and pull factors that Lee defines as some key elements in the process of decision making to the individual who migrates. In addition, by using the push and pull theory I will be able to understand my interview participants' perception of how and what they define to be the push and pull factors in terms of their choice for moving to Denmark.

Everett Lee proposed the Push and Pull Migration theory in 1966. Lee illustrated his migration theory with a model showcasing the key factors that he defined as involved in people migration. These are:

- a) Push factors
- b) Pull Factors
- c) Intervening obstacles
- d) Personal factors

In Everett Lee's article "A Theory of Migration, 1966," he explains migration to happen anywhere in the world "involving an origin and destination and an intervening set of obstacles" (Lee 1966, p. 49) and in the set of intervening obstacles, he states that "the distance of the move as one that is always present." (Ibid, p. 49), which means that the distance itself is omnipresent as an intervening obstacle. Further, Lee presents 3 of the above factors into his model, which we see below.

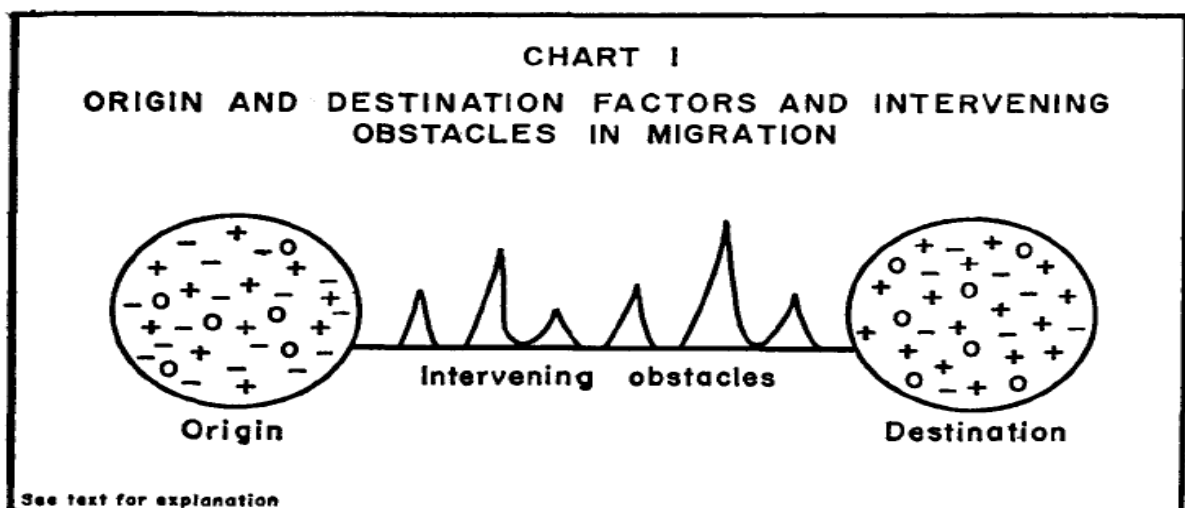


Figure 2. Lee's Model of Push and Pull Theory (Lee 1966, p. 50).

Figure 3 of Lee's model above demonstrates to us a set of negative, positive and neutral factors at the origin place. The same is seen at the place of destination. In the middle of the origin and

destination is the line of intervening obstacles that are measured in terms of influencing the decision of the individual migrating. Here, these factors are shown in the model as -, + and 0 signs.

While the - sign indicates the negative factors, the + sign indicates the positive factors. The 0 signs are considered as the neutral factors, *“to which people are essentially indifferent”* (Lee 1966, p. 50). According to Lee: *“Some of these factors affect most people in much the same way, while others affect different people in different ways.”* (Ibid, p. 50). Meaning, that *“a good climate is attractive and a bad climate is repulsive to nearly everyone: but a good school system may be counted as a + by a parent with young children and a - by a houseowner with no children because of the high real estate taxes engendered, while an unmarried male without taxable property is indifferent to the situation”* (Ibid, p. 50). In other words, clearly every set of + and - factors at the places of origin and destination are differently defined to each individual who is either migrating or who proposes to migrate (Lee 1966). Hence, each individual perceives the negative and positive factors to either possess a push or pull effect in regards to their decision making for migrating.

Not to mention, Lee states that one *“may distinguish classes of people who react in similar fashion to the same general sets of factors at origin and destination.”* (Ibid, p. 50). This is because Lee finds that one *“can never specify the exact set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for a given person”* (Ibid, p. 50) but that one can *“in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance and note the general or average reaction of a considerable group.”* (Ibid, p. 50). This point has relevance to my case study as I find it extremely important to get a deeper understanding of what type of background, meaning class or group, that the highly qualified Indians in Denmark come from back in India. Allowing me to research deeper into the Indian class system and collect findings to answer my research question.

However, Migration does not finally take place due to a comparison of the + and - factors at the places of origin and destination, as *“the balance in favor of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists”* (Ibid, p. 51). Further, Lee defines the intervening obstacles to also play a role for migration. In some cases these are considered slight for some people and for others considered insurmountable (Ibid, p. 51).

Further he explains that the most studied of the obstacles are considered to be the distance, but distance being omnipresent, by no means is viewed as the most important obstacle. Here, instances of possible intervening obstacles are seen in the form of, for instance, immigration laws that restrict migration, families opposing the decision to migrate or a low budget of financing the migration.

Again, some of these intervening obstacles affect people “*in different ways by the same set of obstacles*”. *What may be trivial to some people, may be prohibitive to others*” (Ibid, p. 51).

In addition, Lee finds the personal factors to be many. He explains how the personal factors affect each “*individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration*” (Ibid, p. 51). Aside from the personal perceptions of push and pull factors at the places of origin and destination, it is also personal factors that determine the act of migration (Ibid, p. 51). For instance, Lee explains: “*Personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere enter into the evaluation of the situation at origin (...)* In addition, there are personalities which are resistant to change-change of residence as well as other changes-and there are personalities which welcome change for the sake of change.” (Ibid. p. 51). Not to mention, he states the fact that some people migrate due to compelling reasons, while on the other side some tend to migrate due to little provocation. However, most importantly I see that Lee explains how some people do not take their own decision to migrate themselves, and goes further on explaining how wives accompany the husbands migrating, and children accompany families, even though it tears the companions “*away from environments they love*” (Ibid, p. 51). Although this could be the case for many migrating, my aim is to observe whether this is one of the factors for some of my interview participants, despite gender.

To summarize, while negative and positive factors at both origin and destination are defined differently per individual, it is these definitions that are perceived as either push or pull factors at both origin and destination, while neutral factors are to people indifferent. Further, migration does not only take place due to the comparison of - and + factors at origin and destination, but two other phenomena also play a significant role in migrating, such as a) weighing intervening obstacles’ importance and b) personal factors that define the act of migrating.

Thus, this particular theory is interesting to use, as this can either verify or falsify my hypotheses, namely that socio-economic inequalities in India are the primary reason for highly qualified Indians to choose to settle in Denmark and that higher standards of living and higher wages are the pull factors for the highly qualified Indians’ decision for moving to Denmark.

4. Case Study of the Indian highly skilled migrants in Denmark

I have divided the analysis into 3 main parts:

1. Denmark's lack of highly qualified human capital
2. Indian Local Realities & Indian Emigration
3. Pull factors in Denmark

4.1. Denmark's lack of highly qualified human capital

"I would say Denmark lacks in human capital(...)" (Appendix 1, question 3)

"It's a known fact that European countries lack talent and human resources" (Appendix 7, question 6)

"(..)I know they lack human capital." (Appendix 2, question 3)

"(...) there was the opportunity to work in Denmark, since they need employers." (Appendix 3, question 3)

A majority of my interview participants pinpoint Denmark's lack of human capital. Therefore, in this subchapter, I will be verifying the participants' statements of Denmark lacking in human capital, and further explain how Denmark and Danish companies create opportunities for highly qualified migrants in general in order to fill the gap of human capital. At the end, I will explain what role the lack of human capital plays in terms of the highly qualified Indians' decision to move.

According to the report *"Kompetence-mismatch i Danmark og den grønne omstilling frem mod 2030"* by Boston Consulting Group (BCG), *"presented at 'The 2030 Countdown – Securing jobs, growth and people in a new green era' conference in April 2021 hosted by IDA, Concito and State of Green in Copenhagen"* (Boston Consulting Group 2021), it is studied that a lack of human capital exists towards supporting Denmark's green transition and reaching its goal of 70% reduction in CO2 emissions by 2030. An estimated number of 30.000—70.000 employees will be missing in the field of green jobs. Whereas green jobs are defined as *"jobs aiming to preserve or restore environmental quality"* (UNESCO Et al. 2017, p. 5).

Importantly, attracting international employees *"with the right educational background"* (Boston Consulting Group 2021) makes it a challenge for Denmark in the new green era. Thus, in order to

sustain their title as a front-runner in green transition globally, it is observed to be a major task with the lack of human capital “*if the workforce cannot support the ambitious targets*” (Ibid.).

The report further explains how a green transition within companies and institutions across different sectors has a significant economical value to the national GDP, which is seen in the table below.

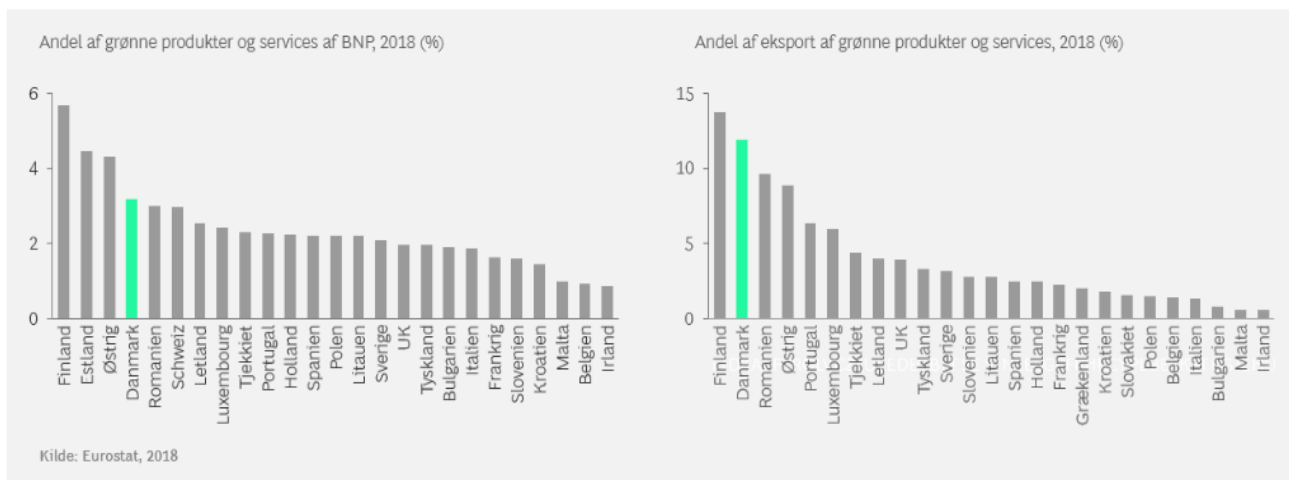


Table 1. “Amount of green products and services constitute GDP, 2018 (%) & Amount of exporting green products and services, 2018 (%)” (Boston Consulting Group 2021, p. 7).

Around 3,2% of the GDP is constituted by the amount of green goods and services produced, where one can see that Denmark has been placed as the 4th leading economy, in this case in Europe, in 2018. On the other hand, 11,9 % of the GDP constituted of exporting green goods and services, which has been at a remarkable level (Boston Consulting Group 2021, p. 7).

Naturally, since green goods and services have been a large part of the Danish business, the high demand for human capital who can contribute with green competencies is expected to increase significantly (Ibid, p. 7).

It is worth mentioning that ‘green competencies’ is defined as “the professional knowledge, abilities, values and attitudes needed in the transition to a green economy” (UNESCO Et al. 2017, p. 5).

As a result, an increasing number of companies across Denmark lack in human capital, since they find it challenging to keep up with the increasing levels of producing and exporting green goods and services.

In other words, in order to continuously keep up with Denmark’s title as a frontrunner in green transition and to combat climate change, an increasing level of producing and exporting green goods

and services is required across companies, which naturally creates an increase of high demand for highly qualified human capital which involves green competencies in order to solve the problem of the lack in human capital.

For instance this is the case at Danfoss A/S. Today, Danfoss A/S is one of the largest companies that fears a continuous lack of employees before 2030 (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021).

According to Danfoss' CEO, Kim Fausing, the situation of not being able to increase recruitment of talented workforce creates fear in regards of ending in a situation where they are pushed to move their projects and tasks within producing green goods and services abroad. He quotes:

“Det vil være decideret tragisk, hvis vi som land ikke kan høste gevinsterne af den grønne førerposition, vi sammen har skabt i Danmark” (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021), which I translate as: “It will be specifically tragic if we as a country can not reap the benefits of the green leadership position that we have created together in Denmark”.

Fausing further clarifies that: *“Det er blevet klart vanskeligere, og vi slås allerede i dag for at få de bedste kandidater. Vi er nødt til at være meget aktive og proaktive for at sikre os de rigtige kompetencer på alle niveauer,”*, translated as *““It has become clearly more difficult, and we are already fighting today to get the best candidates. We need to be very active and proactive to ensure the right competencies at all levels,””* (Khan 2022).

Not to mention, another instance is seen through Rambøll A/S, facing the same challenges as Danfoss A/S (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021).

Apart from this, according to BCG's report “Kompetence-mismatch i Danmark og den grønne omstilling frem mod 2030” (Boston Consulting Group 2021), it is further stated that Denmark has become less attractive as a career destination for international employees compared to its neighbor countries, such as Germany, Sweden and Norway. In 2014 Denmark was on 13. place, while in 2020 it fell to 25. place (Boston Consulting Group 2021, p. 16). Indicating that Denmark is under pressure in order to keep its title as a front-runner in green transition.

In regards to solving the issue regarding the lack of human capital for the green jobs, various forms of debates exist in terms of finding a solution.

In 2021, Andreas Malby, CEO at BCG, was interviewed by Katrine Grønvald Raun & Louise

Vogdrup-Schmidt through Denmark's leading business newspaper 'BØRSEN' (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021), in where he states:

"Det er et kæmpe problem for den grønne omstilling. Vi er ikke de eneste, der har grønne ambitioner frem mod 2030. Der er rift om de globale talenter. Derfor vil det give mening at bruge vores styrkeposition som grøn destination til at brande os som et attraktivt karrierehub for folk med interesse i grøn omstilling, (...)" (Raun and Vogdrup-Schmidt 2021), which I translate as: "It is a huge problem for the green transition. We are not the only ones with green ambitions by 2030. There is a rift over global talents. Therefore, it will make sense to use our position as a strong entity as a green destination to brand ourselves as an attractive career hub for people with an interest in green conversion".

Malby's statement indicates the notion of pressure to find global talents as well as the necessity to attract global talents by branding Denmark to be an attractive destination for highly qualified migrants, in order to obtain the necessary human capital that is required.

On the other hand, Susanne Westhausen, Director at Kooperationen, suggests to benefit from the young population in Denmark, rather than focusing on the international workforce alone (Westhausen 2022). She further explains how companies would benefit from opening more apprenticeships for the young population, in which the companies also can develop their social responsibilities towards the society, by creating increased spacious workplaces e.g. to enter into partnerships with others: e.g. socio-economic enterprises to which work tasks can be outsourced.

Furthermore, others argue to reform the Danish immigration laws in order to attract more international employees (Khan 2022). In addition, in Danish Industry's report "Højtuddannede indvandrere er en god forretning for Danmark" from 2019 (Klintefelt 2019), it is argued that highly qualified immigrants are a good investment for Denmark. Stating that a highly qualified immigrant contributes with netto 140.000 DKK annually to the public finances, which tax payments, public transfer income and deductions for welfare benefits for both the highly educated individual and family accompaniers have been taken into account (Klintefelt 2019).

All in all, Denmark's lack of human capital has created more opportunities for international migrants to work and live in Denmark. According to my findings, the lack of human capital will be continuing if not Denmark or Danish companies soon enough find solutions to attract international migrants and the Danish young people since the green transition has become the driving force of Denmark's economy and thus the result in continuous need of workforce for green jobs. On the other hand, the highly qualified Indian migrants who constitute a large part of the non-western immigrants in Denmark contribute to Denmark's economy by accepting job opportunities by either being insourced

to Denmark through the transnational corporations placed in India or by willingly moving to Denmark in order to work in a highly qualified position.

4.1.1 Danish Immigration Law & Indo-Danish Labor Migration

One can see Denmark's initiative to combat the lack of human capital on green jobs. Denmark permits work visas to international employees who apply for work through one of the schemes from "Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration" - The Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration (SIRI).

The schemes are (Nyidanmark, n.d.):

Fast-Track Scheme: One has been offered employment in a certified company. Your employer can apply for Danish residence and work permit on your behalf via the Fast-track scheme (Nyidanmark, n.d.)

Pay Limit Scheme: one has been offered work with payment of at least 448.000DKK annually (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Positive List: one has been offered a job that is on the lists of occupations where there is a shortage of skilled or highly qualified labor in Denmark (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Researcher: one has been offered a position at private or public research institution (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Employed PhD: participation in training courses at danish research institution as a hired PhD student (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Guest Researcher: one has been invited as a guest lecturer to Denmark (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Special Individual qualifications: one has been offered a job in Denmark that is so closely linked to you that only you can handle it. You are, for example, an artist or artist, athlete or specialized chef (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Herdsman and farmers: One has been offered employment in Denmark as a herdsman or farm manager in agriculture (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Establishment card: one wants to stay in Denmark and seek employment after you have completed a Danish higher education programme at the minimum level of professional bachelor (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Start-up Denmark: One wishes to run own business in Denmark, and have an innovative business idea that can contribute to economic growth and create new jobs in Denmark (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

rainee: one has been offered employment at a company in Denmark for a shorter period of time with education or training as the purpose (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Certification: With a certification from the Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration (SIRI), Danish companies can use the Fast-track Scheme to employ highly qualified foreign nationals quickly and flexibly (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

ESS Scheme: One will be working at the European Spallation Source (ESS) in Sweden – but you want to live in Denmark (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Authorisation: One wants to work in Denmark as a medical doctor, dentist or nurse, but you do not have a Danish authorisation (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Labour Market attachment: one works in Denmark, but you have lost your Danish residence permit based on family reunification, as a refugee or as an accompanying family member (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Drillings and other mobile workplaces You have been offered a job on a drilling rig, ship or another vessel that briefly enters Danish territory (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Volunteer: You will be working in Denmark as a volunteer. As a volunteer, you are doing voluntary, unpaid work of a social or humanitarian character (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

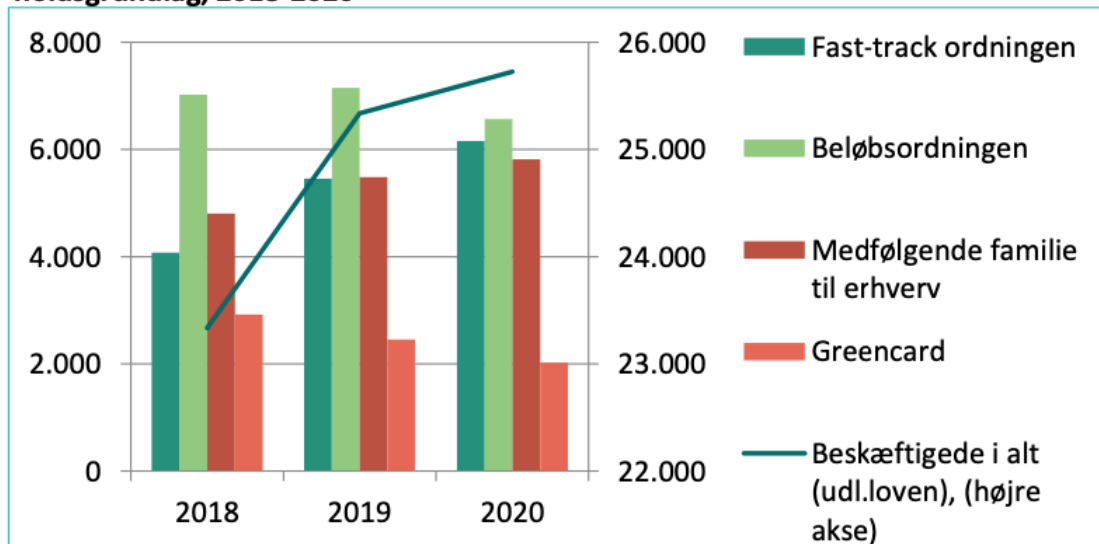
Sideline employment: You hold a residence and work permit based on a salaried job with a specific employer and you want to take another job as sideline employment (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Employment for adaption and training purposes: You hold a residence permit with the purpose of obtaining a Danish authorisation as a medical doctor or a dentist, and you wish to apply for a work permit for an employment for adaption and training purposes (evalueringsansættelse) or for other employment (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

Work permit for accompanying family: You hold (or apply for) a residence permit as an accompanying family member to a person who is working or will be working in Denmark and need a work permit because you wish to take up employment with the same employer as your sponsor or with a company closely related to it (Nyidanmark, n.d.).

According to SIRI's report in 2021 "*Udviklingen i International Rekruttering 2018-2020-erhvervs-og studieområdet samt EU-opholdsområdet*" (Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2021) it is demonstrated that third country or non-western nationals have mostly migrated to Denmark for work purposes under the schemes: the Fast-Track, Pay Limit, Work Permit for Accompanying Family and Greencard (a scheme that was abolished in 2017 in the Danish Parliament, which initially allowed one to have acquired residence permit to Denmark while searching for jobs (NemFamiliesammenføring, n.d.).

Figur 2: Beskæftigede tredjelandstatsborgere på erhvervsområdet fordelt på opholdsgrundlag, 2018-2020



Kilde: Jobindsats.dk. Udtrukket den 10. marts 2021.

Table 2. “Employed third-country nationals in the business sector on basis of residence permit, 2018-2020” (Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2021, p.7).

Table 2 consists of a coordinate graph, in which Y-axis indicates the amount of people, while X-axis indicates the years. The blue line indicates occupation in total which has a positive slope coefficient from 2018 to 2019, but stops increasing at the same level as the previous year between 2019 - 2020.

One can see that in 2018 the number of third country nationals who migrated to Denmark under the Fast Track Scheme (Dark green) with 4000 people was comparatively less than approximately 6500 people moving under the Pay Limit Scheme (Light green). The number of migrants in Denmark under Work Permit for Accompanying Family scheme (Dark orange) with almost 4500 people is slightly higher than the Fast Track Scheme.

However, in 2020, third country nationals are seen to migrate to Denmark with the Fast-Track Scheme almost equally to the Pay Limit Scheme, and migrants under Work Permit for Accompanying Family scheme shows us a continuous increase since 2018. All while, of course, people migrating to Denmark under the Greencard scheme (light orange) has decreased due to the abolishment of the scheme in 2017. This connection is considered due to increasing levels of companies enabling opportunities for non-western highly qualified nationals to be hired with the possibility to start their posts or jobs almost immediately compared to the Pay Limit Scheme ((Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2021).

Table 3 below showcases the number of initial first authorizations under the Pay Limit Scheme by nationality.

Tabel 2: Antal førstegangstilladelser efter beløbsordningen fordelt på nationalitet, 2018-2020

Nationalitet	2018	2019	2020
	<i>Antal</i>		
Indien	901	785	294
USA	272	238	162
Kina	319	385	131
Ukraine	98	88	56
Rusland	70	76	53
Øvrige nationaliteter	911	845	524
I alt	2.571	2.417	1.220

Kilde: Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration.

Table 3. “Number of first-time permits according to the Pay Limit scheme by nationality, 2018 - 2020” (Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2021, p.9).

In this table we see how highly qualified Indian employers together with employers from USA, China, Ukraine, Russia and other nations have decreased migrating under the Pay Limit Scheme from 2018 to 2020. This indicates how the majority of highly qualified migrants in Denmark continuously migrate majorly under the Fast-Track Scheme, which associates with the continuous rates of high demand for highly qualified migrants in Denmark. A factor that in my case study has relevance. On the list we see that Indian migrants are topping the list with migration to Denmark under the fast-track scheme. This also goes hand in hand with the fact that Danish companies need to acquire a highly qualified workforce who can work immediately and flexibly, which according to a majority of my interview participants, is considered to be the case (Appendix 1, 3, 5 & 7). 4 out of 7 participants migrated to Denmark under the Fast-Track scheme, while 3 of the participants migrated under Work Permit for Accompanying Family Scheme.

Indian highly qualified migrants who constitute a large part of the highly qualified workforce in Denmark, can be interlinked to the Indo-Danish Labour Mobility Partnership that was signed in 2009. According to the news article, “*Indo-Danish Deal to help migrants*” from NDTV (2009) it is stated that India was to “(...) sign a bilateral social security agreement with Denmark in August to

facilitate safe and legal migration of Indian workers to meet the growing demand for skilled personnel in the European country.” (NDTV 2009). The Indo-Danish Labour Mobility Partnership from 2009 is said to be the first Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Labour Mobility Partnership with any European country for India (IANS 2009). It is specifically outlined in Article 6 of the MoU: “(...) *to identify emerging sectors in the Danish economy which require qualified workers to plug gaps in the labour market and shall from time to time exchange information and experience in this regard for the employers in Denmark as well as the workers.*” (Ministry of External Affairs, India, n.d., p. 4). Followingly, the Indo-Danish partnership has only grown stronger due to “*the long-standing and friendly economic ties between*”(Ibid, p. 2) the nations and their wish “*to expand economic cooperation in the field of labour and employment*” (Ibid, p. 2).

4.1.2 Indian Emigration

With years the Indo-danish partnership has only moved forward, especially by accelerating their partnership through the Joint Statement of a Green Strategic Partnership, which was launched by Denmark and India in september 2020 during a virtual bilateral summit (Denmark in India 2020; State of Green 2020) Not only does this mean a continuous strong labour migration partnership between the countries, but also moving forward together in enhancing sustainable development and green growth. The Joint Action Plan (2021-2026) is “*built on a-whole-government approach involving a range of sectors and authorities on both sides*” (Denmark in India (2) 2020, p. 2). The Joint Action plan (2021-2026) “*(...) covers the main areas and mechanism for cooperation, reflecting the width and depth of the strategic partnership between India and Denmark being implemented through the mechanism of the Joint Commission and its Joint Working Groups*”(Ibid, p. 2).

The Joint Action Plan consists of 11 main areas:

1. Political and Economic Cooperation
2. Energy and Climate Change
3. Environment, Water, and Circular Economy
4. Sustainable and Smart Cities
5. Business, Trade, and Investment
6. Maritime Cooperation
7. Science, Technology, and Innovation
8. Food and Agriculture

9. Health and Life Science

10. Cultural Exchange, People-to-People Relations, and Labour Mobility

11. Multilateral Cooperation

out of which, 10. area: “Cultural Exchange, People-to-People Relations, and Labour Mobility” is interesting to look deeper into. In figure 3 it is stated under Task #43 that continuous efforts will be taken “to ensure the necessary legal framework for labour mobility between Denmark and India in order to meet the demand for highly skilled jobs in the green sector, i.e. researching and engineering.” (Ibid, p. 29).

10. CULTURAL EXCHANGE, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS, AND LABOUR MOBILITY



Denmark and India will enhance cooperation on cultural exchange, people-to-people relations, and labour mobility as a way to strengthen the bonds between India and Denmark.

#	TASK	ACTION	FRAMEWORK AND MAIN PARTNERS
42	Further develop the possibilities for cultural cooperation and people-to-people exchanges to strengthen the bonds between India and Denmark.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Follow-up to the observation of 70th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations, incl. by commemorating the 75th anniversary in 2024 Build on previous experience with cultural exchanges including events, festivals, and other initiatives, such as those arranged by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Danish Cultural Institute in India 	<p>Denmark</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Embassy in New Delhi Danish Cultural Institute in India <p>India</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of External Affairs Embassy in Copenhagen Indian Council for Cultural Relations
43	Develop bilateral cooperation within the existing framework on labour mobility.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continue efforts to ensure the necessary legal framework for labour mobility between Denmark and India in order to meet the demand for highly skilled jobs in the green sector, i.e. researching or engineering. <p>This will be achieved through dialogue in the Joint Working Group on Labour Mobility between Denmark and India.</p>	<p>Memorandum of Understanding on Labour Mobility Partnership (2009)</p> <p>Denmark</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Immigration and Integration <p>India</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of External Affairs Ministry of Home Affairs

Figure 3. “10. Cultural exchange, People-to-people relations, and labour mobility” (Denmark in India (2) 2020, p. 29).

Not only does task 43 verify my interview participant’s statements about Denmark’s lack of human capital, but the fact that the majority of my interview participants who have graduated in engineering can tend to indicate that a majority of the highly qualified Indians who are in Denmark mainly work within the field of engineering.

Moreover, some of the participants view the lack of human capital being one of the factors that

creates an opportunity to work in Denmark, as some find it experimental to work in a different country which involves a different working environment than that of India. As per the statement of anonymous 1: *“I had the opportunity to come and experience the different kinds of industries, different kind of country and different kind of work culture”* (appendix 1, question 3a). Another participant said the following:

“Mainly because I was working for this company, and at the same time there was the opportunity to work in Denmark (...). That is why I think choosing to work in the so-called “mother company” where the products are being developed onsite and originating from gives me a personal experience and development for my career.” (Appendix 3, question 3). Here we notice how anonymous 3 considers the opportunity to work in Denmark to be in favor of his personal experience and career development.

Apart from this, one of the participants considered their migration to play a vital role for Denmark. Anonymous 5 claims:

“(...) if there were no internationals then we would be at least 20-30 years behind in terms of development, so there are also the internationals who bring up the required skills, and we are also bringing up new things, so innovation is also growing a lot.” (Appendix 5, question 6) . This indicates their movement to influence Denmark’s development in a positive way since it consists of a small population with lack of highly qualified human capital. That said, I notice that these statements can be considered to be the personal factors that have determined their act of migration.

On the other hand, 3 out of 7 participants have moved to Denmark to accompany their husbands. 2 out of 3 women have obtained a qualified position in Denmark: one working as a dental hygienist, while the other is a data analyst in one of Denmark's leading engineering companies (Appendix 4 & 6). The third woman has nearly given up searching for a job in Denmark, as she finds the Danish language hard to learn and that her lack of proficiency in Danish prohibits her from having a successful job interview (Appendix 2). This means that not all accompanists succeed in finding a career based only on their qualifications in Denmark, but since some companies expect immigrants to possess advanced language proficiency in Danish, few tend to be housewives. That said, we see that 3 of my participants, all women, have moved to Denmark solely based on accompanying their husbands.

In relation to Lee’s push & pull theory, there are many personal factors that play a role in the decision to move, where he defines that it is the personal factors that determine the act of migration aside from the individual’s perception of push and pull factors at origin and destination places. That said, we see that 3 of my participants, all women, have moved to Denmark solely based on accompanying their

husbands and that it was a move not willingly taken by themselves (Appendix 2, question 3; 4, question 3; 6, question 3). Lee's theoretical explanation of how some people who do not take their own decision to move is hereby, without generalising but depending on my findings, verified to be the fact in my case. Thereby, their personal factors such as accompanying their husbands have been determining their act of migration.

On the other hand, another 3 of my participants, all men, (Appendix 1, 3 and 5) that either find the opportunity to work in Denmark experimental or to develop their career, are also found to be personal factors that have determined their act of migration to Denmark.

Apart from above findings, according to all of my participants' statements, their labor migration to Denmark is considered to have a positive influence on India's reputation, not only in the international arena, but especially in Denmark (Appendix 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, & 7. Question 6). The participants find themselves as representatives of India in regards to demonstrating that the Indian population also is literate (Appendix 4); respected among Danes and are evaluated positively (Appendix 1); as hardworking (Appendix 4) and are productive people (Appendix 3).

Similarly, I find Indian PM Modi's visit to Denmark from 2nd - 4th of May 2022 remarkable (Jammu Links News 2022). During his speech in Copenhagen, "*he asks the Indian diaspora in Denmark to work as "Rashtraddoot"; representatives of the country.*" (Jammu Links News 2022).

With an already strong Indo-Danish bilateral cooperation (Green Strategic Partnership and the Labour Mobility Partnership) that creates stronger economic ties between the countries, which involves highly qualified Indian labor migration to Denmark, it is undeniable that highly qualified Indians represent India in a positive way since a large amount of highly qualified non-western workforce in Denmark migrates from India. Thereby, challenging the narrow views against the Indian population being illiterate through the highly qualified Indians' presence in Denmark and internationally. For instance, Danes at NTT Data particularly view highly qualified Indians to be highly efficient and flexible, something that they believe the ethnic Danes lack (Nielsen 2019), while Danes at Danfoss describe the need of competent people to fulfill their ambitious digitization plan at high speed, which they choose to solve by incourcing highly qualified Indians to Denmark (Wessel 2022).

Despite the fact that highly qualified Indians contribute to Denmark's economy and thereby creating a positive influence on India's reputation, why do so many highly qualified Indians move out of India? Thus, I found it interesting to obtain a deeper understanding of whether highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark find India incapable of attracting its own highly qualified laborers. To which I

received different opinions in regards to what the Indian government and society could do in order for highly qualified Indians to not seek outward international mobility. In this way I was able to collect the participants' perception of push factors in India that had influenced them to move away from India.

Some point towards the Indian government's inability to utilize its highly qualified candidates post graduation, since there is an enormous lack in job opportunities (Appendix 3, 4 & 6). In addition, it is stated that a majority of highly qualified candidates work in takeaways or other low qualified jobs instead, due to high numbers of graduates but less numbers of jobs (Appendix 6). Indicating that despite the fact of India's economic growth that there is a shortage of jobs for graduates within the fields of e.g. engineering which is the educational background of the majority (6 out of 8) of my participants.

Another participant finds it challenging to return to India because he is accustomed to the quality of governmental services from the Danish system, which the Indian system lacks in, e.g. in terms of tax payments; a fact he worries about as the money ends up "*into someone's pocket*" (Appendix 5, question 7e). Indicating a downgrade in life.

Further, some also state that India is unable to attract some highly qualified Indians to work in India due to lower wages, poor working conditions, less holidays, absence of equal maternity and paternity leave (Appendix 2 & 7). At the same time, anonymous 7 states that the caste system prohibits equal treatment in the job interviews and further states that change should not be expected by the Indian government alone, but that the fundamental mindsets and inequality in the Indian society also are expected to change in order for highly qualified candidates to not seek outward mobility (Appendix 7).

Similarly, some point towards the fact that it is rather the middle class population who tend to seek opportunities abroad and not the higher and lower classes in India (Appendix 3 & 4).

All things considered, personal factors determine the participants' act of migration, and those we see as a) women migrating to Denmark in order to accompany their husbands and b) men who find job opportunities to be experimental in Denmark and to develop their career. However, I find that the above mentioned Indian local realities, in the form of socio-economic inequality, are perceived as negative factors that become push factors in the participants' decision to move out from India, which I will be explaining more about.

4.2 Indian local realities & Push factors

Earlier we saw a few statements on the caste system to play a role in unequal treatment at job interviews as well as the statement of the fact that it is the Indian middle class that primarily tend to seek opportunities abroad (Appendix 3, 4 & 7). Thus, this section includes a brief review of the caste system as well as the class system in order to show these aspects of the Indian local realities and how they influence my interview participants' decision to move out of India.

When asking anonymous 7 whether he finds the caste system to play a role or a stumbling stone in the Indian job market he answers the following: *“Yeah, sure I think so. Personally I'm not from an upper caste family myself, so if I was to go and give a job interview, they will definitely ask me, okay maybe they won't ask me directly what my caste is, but you can guess it from my name, and i'm pretty sure that someone from an upper caste will get a preference over me, and I think we need to be better at that. We need to look at everyone as equals. That would definitely make it better. We need to treat everyone equally no matter what caste they come from. People from the so-called upper caste will also feel encouraged to give interviews.”* (Appendix 7, question 8).

Anonymous 7 explains about the existence of unequal treatment and discrimination based on which caste one belongs to, and claims the importance of considering everyone equal in the Indian society.

The caste system is a social hierarchy that divides the Indian population into different castes. Caste should be seen as a social group in which people from the same group possess the same economic status, rank or occupation (Yogapedia 2016). An individual is born into a caste and thereby can not climb upward in the social hierarchy (Deshpande 2010, p. 3) and without explaining further about the genealogy and history of the caste system, the term caste, in Indian terms, is defined as varna, which translates to “class” or “colour” (Yogapedia, 2016). There are four main hierarchically ranked classifications, which are:

- a) Brahmin - Priests and scholars
- b) Kshatriya - warriors, soldiers and political rulers
- c) Vaishya - Merchants
- d) Shudra - labours, peasants or servants (Deshpande 2010, p. 3; .

Finally there are the untouchables who are considered to be outside of the caste system. (Deshpande 2010, p. 3).

Into each of the four main classifications are found thousands of sub-castes by different occupations. As Deshpande states: *“it becomes a problem when one or more of these dimensions overlap each*

other and become the sole basis of systematic ranking and unequal access to valued resources like wealth, income, power and prestige” (Deshpande 2010, p. 2).

The higher one's caste is, the higher level of “clean” or “pure” you are, while the lower castes are considered “polluted”, which involves notions of purity versus pollution by occupation (Deshpande, 2010).

Since the untouchables are considered outside of the caste system, discrimination towards this particular social group is at a higher degree compared to the rest of the lower castes in the caste system.

On the other hand, the higher castes that once were primarily associated with wealth and power, is today different as wealth and power is less associated with caste, while caste based prejudice and ranking still exists (Deshpande 2010, p. 3).

According to Deshpande (...) caste became a lot less significant part of daily lives of people who lived in urban areas compared to rural areas, but its significance still varies by social class and occupation. Among urban middle-class professionals, caste is not openly discussed and is pretty insignificant (...)” (Deshpande 2010, p. 3) and further states: “Although discrimination on the basis of caste has been outlawed in India, it still exists in the community today.”(Deshpande 2010, p. 2).

I find Deshpande’s explanation to be very much of relevance in order to understand the underlying factors of wealth and power being less associated with caste, as this leads me to the class system of India.

According to the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy Pvt. Ltd.(CMIE) the Indian households are divided into five classes (Sharma 2022).

Lower class households: income less than 100,000 INR (9000 DKK) annually.

Lower middle class households: income between 100,000 - 200,000 INR (9000 - 18,000 DKK) annually,

Middle class households: income between 200,000 - 500,000 INR (18,000 - 45,000 DKK) annually.

Upper middle class households: income between 500,000 - 1 million INR (45,000 - 90,000 DKK) annually.

High class households: more than 1 million INR (90,000 DKK) annually. (Sharma 2022).

We see here that the middle class itself is divided into three categories: low, middle and upper middle class. This is due to the different levels of high and low qualified occupations and different consumption levels within the middle classes (Krishnan and Hatekar 2017, p. 46).

According to Arbhijit Roy *“The Middle Class in India - From 1947 to the present and beyond”* (2018), the middle class constitute of being e.g. *“(…) dependent upon purchasing power, educational levels, perceptions of who constitute “the wealthy,” and levels of social services, as well as other factors (...)* (Roy 2018, p. 32).

As mentioned before, the fact that upper castes were associated with higher status, wealth and power have turned around due to a newer emergence of the middle class, which is claimed to be caused by the employment in *“new service activities brought about by economic reforms by liberalisation and globalisation”* (Krishnan & Hatekar 2017, p. 40).

In the last 22 years India has made progress in reducing absolute poverty (World Bank Group 2020) in parallel to the nation's economic growth, which has equally resulted in a larger number of young people attending schools and colleges (Gupta 2019) and further resulting in a large number of lower class people entering into the middle class by having access to higher qualified education and jobs. This has resulted in the expansion of the middle class across India consisting of half of the Indian population or over 600 million people (Krishnan & Hatekar 2017, p. 45). Hence, having created a new era of a middle class in India.

In other words, the middle class who consisted majorly of upper castes (Krishnan & Hatekar, 2017) includes a range of lower castes who has entered the middle class, which causes the new middle class to have left behind the customary barriers that follows in the caste system (Das 2002; Jaffrelot and van der Veer 2008). Thus, due to the blend of castes in the new middle class the open discussion of caste is avoided, as Deshpande (2010) states.

Further, in the caste system where individuals are restricted from upward mobility in the social hierarchy, individuals have been aligned to climb the social hierarchy by moving up in the class system and thereby obtain access to wealth and power through the individual's economic status rather than their caste.

On the other hand, statements of my participants demonstrate that with the continuous expansion of industries and companies across India in parallel to India's continuous economic growth, a higher number of highly qualified candidates graduates (Appendix 3, 4 & 6). Indicating that India has come to a time where a large number of graduates are in need of jobs matching their qualifications due to high competition (Ibid.).

Noteworthy, when asking anonymous 3 about whether he finds India incapable of attracting its highly qualified labours to work in India he states: *“This is what most foreigners might think about us Indians working in foreign, but actually we are just the middle tier people. The number one people, the people who become first in colleges, the technical people, the people in management, none of*

these leave India at all. Those first tier people will only work for India and will only live in India. Those people will not think of moving abroad for work purposes like us. Those people are the layer one of people in the Indian system. Let us say you have 100 people finishing college or university and you as a big company are willing to pay more and hire them, then still they won't be coming out of India except for maybe 1-3 people. Even those 1-3 people would only opt for working outside of India as long as it is because they work for NASA or as scientists, and they would most often only be going abroad to the UK or USA than for example Denmark. The rest of layer one people who are like the super techs or scientists will never come out of India and will only be working in India for India. The people like us who are in the second tier or the middle class, who study at second tier colleges, we are the people who end up abroad for work. Either they would want to stay in India or we want to work abroad, especially in an European country (...)” (Appendix 3, question 7) and he further states: *“(...) I also wanted to work in India, but I could not cope with it. I had to think about the future of my kids' and wife's financial development.”* (Appendix 3, question 7). Indicating that it is the middle class people who opt for working abroad due to financial reasons compared to the higher class population, all while not mentioning the lower class at all.

Similarly, anonymous 4 states the fact that the high class people would not opt for working abroad or seize the opportunity to work abroad as they are well satisfied to work in India (Appendix 4, question 7). Both of the participant's answers showcase their understanding of the class system in India. The statement of high class people or the first tier people to never leave or to not opt for opportunities abroad like the middle class people, illustrates a picture of the middle class population in need for job opportunities in India. Further, since the high class population who earns more than 1 million rupees annually (Sharma 2022) and are considered to be well satisfied with their income, indicates a non-necessity of seizing or opting for the opportunities abroad in order to live a life without financial worries, compared to the middle class population.

Although India has managed to reduce poverty rates in the nation and which has resulted in a larger and newer middle class population, studies show that one of India's biggest challenges is to employ around 16 million unemployed people, who majorly belong to the middle class households (Sharma, 2022). On the other hand, those who are fortunate to get employed receive wages that are low and sometimes are considered inadequate (Appendix 3).

Manish Sabharwal, writer for *Hindustan Times*, has said the following: *“everybody who wants a job has a job; they just don't have the wages they want or need.”* (Gupta 2019).

Similarly, when I had asked the Indian senior analyst working at the company Wipro Ltd. in India whether the government could do anything to improve wages, he said: *You can't actually do anything.*

This is how it works.” (Appendix 8, Question 5). Likewise, anonymous 3 answers: *”In short, people are living here, but in India people are just surviving.”* (Appendix 3, question 5.c) and anonymous 2 answers: *”Either you live with it or not (...)”* (Appendix 2, question 7).

These statements showcase what I find to be an enforced acceptance and tolerance towards the Indian working conditions as well as to the existing competition within the Indian society.

All in all, I find that the highly qualified Indians, who are studied to majorly belong to the middle class population, seize the opportunities that they receive instantly despite their preferences in regards to desired wages and working conditions in India due to high competition. This explains why highly qualified Indians who belong to the middle class of the social hierarchy in India tend to seize opportunities abroad since they desire to obtain better working conditions at least outside of India. That is why, without generalizing, in this context and through my participants' statements I find that low wages and poor working conditions along with high competition among the middle class population is to be the main push factors from the perception of my interview participants. Thus, socio-economic inequalities in terms of lower wages, lack of job opportunities and class division weighs to be the reason for highly qualified Indian laborers to move out of India.

4.3 Pull factors in Denmark

When asked why the highly qualified Indians chose to move to Denmark the majority of the participants are observed to agree upon similar factors that have a significant role in their decision to move.

Quality of life or higher standard of living and higher wages are seen to be one of the main factors that pulls them towards Denmark. At the same time, since the participants come together with their families I notice that quality of education and less working hours are two among the list of reasons that attracts the Indians to move. Some also point towards less corruption and equality in working environments to be one among the reasons for their choice to move to Denmark.

According to ‘World Population Review’, Denmark is placed as the second happiest country out of 149 countries in the world, as per 2021 (World Population Review, n.d.). The term ‘happy’ is determined by monitoring the level of *”performance in six particular categories: gross domestic product per capita, social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make your own life choices,*

generosity of the general population, and perceptions of internal and external corruption levels.”
(World Population Review, n.d.).

Hereby, Denmark ranks as the second happiest country in the world with a score of 7.62 out of 8 (which indicates the highest level) in contrast to India which ranks the 136th country out of 149 countries with a score as low as 3.8 out of 8 (Ibid.). Thus, the statistics support the participants' statements of finding Denmark attractive in regards to higher standard of living, less corruption and higher equality.

Similarly, higher wages or better salaries is attractive for my participants since there is a difference of salary distribution between Denmark and India.

Taking into account the anonymity of the companies that my participant works at, I choose to compare the payment distribution of India and USA. When an Indian student graduates from e.g. a MBA program in India, they are paid around 25.000 INR (2235 DKK) per month as the starting salary in a multinational company e.g. Wipro Ltd. (Appendix 8, question 3). However, the same candidates or employees are paid around 55.000 USD (381.267 DKK) annually in the USA by the same company with the same occupation, which is equal to approximately 31.774 DKK per month (CareerBliss 2022). This demonstrates a high level of difference between the distribution of wages between the countries, in which Denmark is no exception for higher wage distribution. On an important note, due to the anonymity of the majority of my participants' identities, professions and their workplaces, I intend to not look upon the Danish wages for the certain professions that my participants possess in Denmark. Yet, anonymous 1 explains briefly about the difference in salary distributions.

As per anonymous 1: *“(...) if you take the salary levels or anything else in Denmark then it is in pair with this country and if I say any salary levels in my home country then that is in pair with my country there. I believe the “Purchasing Power Parity” really plays a role in this matter, and the salaries follow each country's degree of development.”*(Appendix 1, question 3.b). Naturally, one would say that PPP plays a significant role in this matter of lower salaries in India, however I do not find this economic argument to make enough reason to explain the difference. I find that India's PPP is rather pulled down aggressively as a consequence of the fact that Indian laborers receive low wages, despite high or low qualifications (Appendix 8, question 4). Not to mention, employees also do not consider to have the freedom to claim their opinions against the lower salaries or demand for higher wages (Appendix 8, question 5), since there are more people who are willing to replace them due to the high competition that exists in the Indian society (Appendix 6, question 7).

Thus, as per the majority of my participants the perception of higher wages in Denmark is a positive factor that plays a significant role in their decision to move to Denmark. Not to mention, higher standards of living is also one among them.

Apart from this, one can observe that my participants are attracted to the quality of education in Denmark, which I find contrasting to the fact that almost all of my participants from Denmark possess a highly qualified job or have a highly qualified educational background from India, which can imply an equal education system of quality in India. So, what is meant by “quality of education” from the perspective of my participants?

Firstly, according to the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon: “*Education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful and tolerant societies.*” (Slade, n.d.). Meaning, that education is understood to form societies.

Not to mention, “*education is not simply a content delivery system; rather, it is a system designed to help all children reach their full potential and enter society as full and productive citizens.*” (Slade, n.d.). Indeed, one can notice these to be the elements of the Danish education system. Nonetheless, the Danish education system also enables the children to constantly learn new things. I find that the Danish education system, one amongst others, teaches the children how to navigate in the society, all while they grow into independent individuals with their own voices, which involves the ability to select and choose for themselves what they find important and of value in their life decisions. Indicating the freedom of choice to become who they want to be or not to be. A factor that I interpret the Indian education system or rather the Indian society to be lacking in.

As per anonymous 2, she states: “*(...)You see, here in Denmark we see young people who are educated in all sorts of studies, but if you had come and told me that you wanted to become an archaeologist in India, I would immediately think why you want to scoop sand and find something in the sand. Like what kind of study is that, and how does that pay you well? But we just realize that here people are free to choose and you will be in a good position no matter what you study actually. It makes me feel shocked sometimes. A person who does cleaning gets such a good salary and they have houses and cars here, but that is not something you see in India at all.*” (Appendix 2, question 3.b). This answer is particularly interesting as it demonstrates the different dimensions of understanding the two different education systems as well as the two different mindsets of societies. Mainly the participants' statement illustrates the importance of having an eligible educational background in order to be successful in life in India.

Further, we see how the participant is rather shocked about the fact that young people in Denmark are able to choose their future profession not based on the salary that comes along with the profession,

but rather on one's personal and free choice to select their profession according to their interests. This indicates a notion that the participant might not have been familiar with in the Indian education system or society since the participant showcases the importance of being well paid when choosing a profession. Moreover, we see how she compares a Danish cleaning assistant with an Indian cleaning assistant, especially by mentioning the fact that people with this profession in Denmark are able to possess houses and cars, a factor that you won't see at all in India. All in all, as per my interpretation of the participants' answer, the Danish educational system is of quality because the Danish education system and society consist of freedom, independence and a government that distributes high wages despite which field the children graduates in, which enables parents to feel free of worrying about their children's future well being in regards to their financial independence.

Secondly, as per anonymous 4: *"(...) it is very hard to return now, because our kids will be having a hard time getting used to the Indian school systems and culture."* (Appendix 4, question 4). The participant particularly mentions the fact that the Indian education system is hard and points towards how the children's lives will become challenging while adapting to the Indian education system as well as culture.

On the basis of anonymous 2 and 4's statements above, why does the mindset that suggests a *'well paying profession is equal to a developed and successful life'* exist, rather than on the notion of the free choice of becoming who you want to be?

To answer this question I find it important to take departure in two other statements where we can see the possible reason. As per anonymous 3: *"(...) but of course competition is very high in India to reach a certain high level spot (...)"* (Appendix 3, question 3.b), and at the same time when anonymous 3 was asked whether he had plans to permanently settle in Denmark he answers: *"Until our kids are independent"* (Appendix 3, question 4) and continues: *"(...) but competition is there. Kids are brought up with competition. Now I think it is overwhelming and stressful for the kids to be in that kind of system."* (Ibid.), which indeed demonstrates to us the participants' own experience of the Indian education system and society to be one that is stressful and hard due to the existence of competition. Meaning that competition is the answer to my above question.

In Denmark we see that education is equally available for everyone and "free", since tax payments are distributed in a manner which covers the educational costs for the Danish citizen (Nes 2022). However, in India, education is not free and therefore for some it can be expensive, especially the lower and middle class of India, depending on which tier educational institution one attends. India's educational institutions are separated into a 3 tier system: primary, secondary and tertiary.

The tertiary tier consists of higher secondary education (high school), Bachelor degree (Graduation) and finally Masters degree (post graduation) (Pujara, n.d.) where one can find PhD programmes within selected universities.

While the high classes are found to study with ease with less worries in regards to the costs of education, the lower and middle class population are the ones who struggle to educate their children to reach a high qualified position that can pay their child well, due to financial restrictions in terms of paying educational fees. Yet, many choose for their children to complete higher studies in order to either remain in the middle class or move upward the ladder in the class system, indicating that without education one is rather left to unqualified occupations that pay less compared to highly qualified occupations.

Having said that, in order to reach a spot in life, education is considered the way to move forward in society since one's qualification and occupation later determines the individual's class. With increasing consumption levels in the middle classes we also see that people tend to seek to move higher up in the class system, which explains why most highly qualified laborers who belong to the middle class tend to seize opportunities abroad where they have access to higher wages and higher standards of living.

We see a higher degree of competition in Indian society, especially because there are a large number of people that study within the same field of studies and graduates at the same time, e.g. engineering and MBA, based on my interview participants' educational backgrounds. Hence, educational backgrounds that contribute to qualified positions that pay well are considered important in order to reach a high spot in the society.

On the other hand, in order to prevent the interview participants' children from a stressful and challenging society due to competition in the Indian society, majority of the participants not only consider the Danish education system, freedom from high competition, higher standard of living and higher wages to be a positive factors for moving to Denmark, but the factors also enables most of my participants to be open to permanently settle in Denmark. Nonetheless, taking into account the facts of the majority of my participants having stayed in Denmark for more than 5 years (Appendix 1, 2, 5 & 6) and having established their life in Denmark by having bought houses and owning cars, which I observed during my interview conductions in their homes, further supports the fact that they intend to permanently settle in Denmark.

All in all, in relation to Lee's theory, almost everyone of my participants who are here with their families weigh the above-mentioned positive factors to be equally important for everyone. The equal

importance of positive factors among my participants, who is studied to come from a middle class background in India, therefore contributes to Lee's theoretical explanation of one "*may distinguish classes of people who react in similar fashion to the same general sets of factors at origin and destination.*" (Lee 1966, p. 50), since it is impossible to specify the exact "*set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for a given person*" (Lee 1966, p. 50), but that one can "*in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance and note the general or average reaction of a considerable group.*" (Lee 1966, p. 50). Thus, I conclude that, in my case, the highly qualified Indian migrants who move to Denmark are of the middle class population from India, who primarily move to Denmark to obtain higher standards of living and higher wages, along with the Danish education system. Whereas they choose to move out of India based on socioeconomic inequalities in India in terms of unequal access to wealth due to income gaps, the class system and poor working conditions.

Lastly, we can notice how intervening obstacles have played a slighter role in the participants decision to move to Denmark, as it is a minority who has expressed to have stumbled on obstacles, such as family or friends who found it challenging to accept the distance that the movement or migration implies. As we see in Lee's push & pull theory, the distance itself accounts to be omnipresent and thus, in this case, one that has been observed to be ignored and had no influence on some of my participants' decision to move as they still had decided to continue their process of migrating to Denmark.

5. Conclusion

All things considered, the aim of this paper is to answer my research question: “*Why do highly-qualified Indians move to Denmark?*” to which I had two hypotheses that aims to answer my research question, which are:

- a) socio-economic inequalities in India are the primary push factors for highly qualified Indians in choosing to move away from India and
- b) higher standard of living and higher wages is the primary pull factor in highly qualified Indians’ choice of moving to Denmark.

Through my qualitative data analysis, which consisted mainly of conducting interviews with eligible highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark I have been able to investigate why these particular participants chose to move to Denmark in regards to which particular factors were attracting in Denmark and which were repelling in India in their choice to move out of India and onwards to Denmark. Together with secondary quantitative and qualitative data I have also been able to both support and verify my findings. In addition, in order to investigate whether my hypotheses could be verified I have used Everett Lee’s Push and Pull migration theory, which involves his definition of key factors that are involved in people migration, which are push factors; pull factors; intervening obstacles and personal factors.

As a result, I can hereby state that Lee’s Push & Pull migration theory verifies both of my hypotheses of a) that socio-economic inequalities (in terms of lower wages, poor working conditions, lack of job opportunities, high competition and class divisions in the Indian social hierarchy) are summoned up to be push factors for highly qualified Indian laborers, which plays a significant role in their decision to move out of India, and b) higher standard of living and higher wages is the primary pull factor in highly qualified Indians’ choice of moving to Denmark. However, findings show that the Danish education system also is considered to be one among the pull factors that attracts the highly qualified Indian migrants, especially those with children, in their choice to move to Denmark. At the same time, I found that most of my interview participants, who initially moved to Denmark for a short term, have plans to settle permanently in Denmark, since returning to India would follow with a downgrade in life standards as they are more or less accustomed to the quality of governmental services as well as high quality of working conditions from Denmark.

Over the years Denmark has managed to become the global frontrunner in a green transition in order to combat global climate change aligned with the Agenda 2030 of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. Since the green transition has become the driving force of Denmark’s economy it has resulted

in a continuous need of workforce for green jobs. In other words, a highly qualified workforce is in high demand in companies across Denmark within different industrial sectors in order to retain Denmark's title as the frontrunner in green transition. This has led to hiring a large number of international highly qualified migrants due to low highly qualified human capital in Denmark. One group that constitutes a large number among the highly qualified non western immigrants are the Indians.

The highly qualified Indians contribute to Denmark's economy by accepting job opportunities by either being insourced to Denmark through the transnational corporations placed in India or by willingly moving to Denmark in order to work in a highly qualified position. Furthermore, the Indo-Danish strong economic ties, which we particularly see through the Indo-Danish Labour Mobility Partnership that was signed in 2009, and the most recent Green Strategic Partnership launched in 2020 has played a significant role for providing highly qualified human capital to Denmark and to ensure secure working conditions for the highly qualified Indian migrants in Denmark. These partnerships have further developed opportunities for highly qualified Indian migrants. The following opportunities have been seized by a majority of my interview participants, which has determined their act of migration to Denmark. While others have determined their act of migration on the basis of accompanying their husbands. In relation to Lee's push & pull theory, we see that it is the personal factors that determine the act of migration aside from the individual's perception of push and pull factors at origin and destination places, which we see to be the case for 3 of my participants, all men, who find the opportunity to work in Denmark experimental or to develop their career, and thereby through their personal factors have determined their act of migration to Denmark. On the other hand, we have 3 other participants, all women, who solely have moved to Denmark on the basis of accompanying their husbands, and thus their personal factors have determined their act of migration.

On the other hand, I found that Indian local realities, in regards to the socio-economic inequalities, have played a significant role in their choice to move out of India.

The highly qualified Indians in India, who are studied to majorly belong to the middle class population, are found to seize job opportunities rather instantly despite their preferences in regards to desired wages and working conditions in India due to high competition. High competition in India exists due to a large number of population, especially among the middle class population of the social hierarchy in India.

India has managed to grow as an economic power in the international arena for the last decades, which parallelly has resulted in India being able to lift a high number of low class populations out of

poverty, who have entered the middle class. This has meant developments in access to education and wealth, and since a high number of middle class young graduate students graduate within almost the same fields, e.g. engineering and MBA we see that high competition exists. We also see that low job opportunities in India creates a surplus of e.g. engineering and MBA candidates.

Thus, most highly qualified Indians who belong to the middle class in India tend to seize opportunities abroad since they desire to obtain higher standards of living and higher wages at least outside of India. That is why, without generalizing, in this context and through my participants' statements I found the push factors that are the socio-economic inequalities in terms of lower wages, poor working conditions, lack of job opportunities, high competition and class divisions in the social hierarchy are the reasons for highly qualified Indian laborers to move out of India.

Thus, the highly qualified Indian migrants who move to Denmark to obtain higher standards of living and higher wages along with the Danish education system, become the pull factors in the highly qualified Indians' decision for moving to Denmark.

“In short, people are living here, but in India people are just surviving.” (Appendix 3, question 5.c).

Hence, I conclude that highly qualified Indians move to Denmark in order to live a life that involves higher standard of living, higher wages, an education system for the accompanying children that does not bring pressure or stress to their kids through high competition, as well as to escape the notion of the individual just surviving in India.

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7. Appendices

Appendix 1

Anonymous 1, Male, moved to Denmark in 2011.

1. What is your educational background?

Masters in Engineering

2. Did you have experience in India with your profession before coming to

10 years.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

There were a lot of opportunities. Actually here, they required skilled engineers to work with some special projects in Denmark. So they were looking for human capital, all across. So they chose me to work on one specific project, which they were in need of. They were lacking in people with experience, they were lacking in very intense experience in a particular, very particular, specific field. So they chose me here. I would say Denmark lacks in Human capital in the technical domain.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

I had the opportunity to come and experience the different kinds of industries, different kinds of country and different kinds of work culture. So that is the priority to come here. Before coming here I had very strong experience and very core experience in the specific field, which I am supposed to work in. So workwise I didn't have any bigger impact, but culturewise, ehm yes. So it was pretty interesting for me to move here. It was not difficult to move here with my family. I came here alone for the first 3 months, and got everything ready, with apartments and all. Then they came and joined me. There was just a 2 months gap between me and my wife's travel.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

I don't think so. Because if you take the salary levels or anything else in Denmark then it is in pair with this country and if I say any salary levels in my home country then that is in pair with my country there. I believe the "Purchasing Power Parity" (PPP) really plays a role in this matter, and the salaries follow each country's degree of development.

See, we have big and many industries and highly technically qualified people so it's easier to drag high qualified human capital from India.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

We are at the moment trying to stay here, but in the future we might probably go back, but we don't know.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

Before coming to Denmark, I had a lot of opportunities other than Denmark. I even had a lot of opportunities in other countries as well, such as in Japan. I also had the opportunity to work on very specific, very high level engineering projects right from India itself. But for this specific project to move to Denmark, because they want the people to work right here in Denmark. So I had to move. It was the requirement actually, before I came here. But we also have other engineers who did not want to come, who were working for the project from India. There are some other people who moved to Denmark and finished the project and went back. My project got extended and different kinds of projects were given to me, so I intended to stay here for a longer time.

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

Denmark requires very high end professionals, especially in some of the engineering fields. If you consider my home country, the technical qualifications are very intense. I would say we have very highly qualified technical laborers who are very much available actually. For sure. So I would say when the opportunity is really good and I evaluate which company I'm choosing and which company I intend to work in and what the background of the company is and how the opportunity impacts my own development for the next 5-10 years, I just evaluate myself first before I intend to stay. So, Denmark has highly technically qualified people, but is lagging in human resources. They are in need of these people, so I think this need and the good opportunity made me choose to take up the project in Denmark.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

no, I don't think so, because I started my international travel right from 2006 to various countries before choosing to work in Denmark. To Germany, to Japan and China, so I didn't have any obstacles coming. None of our families were opposed as well to our decision to move to Denmark and settle.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark? in a positive or negative way?

I have a very positive mind about my country's reputation here in Denmark. Because we are qualified people, and this country respects people coming from my country, and yeah it is a good positive impact. So I don't see anything in a negative way, in terms of impacting my country's name. The Danes see us as highly qualified people and highly technical people and highly skilled, and they do look at everything, so it's good. So the country and our coworkers evaluate us in a very positive way. So this or we are definitely impacting our country in a positive way here in Denmark.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

I don't think so. If you take the Indian business sector or the economies, we have got large, very large engineering service companies placed in India, and serving companies across the globe. So basically if you take these companies, we are talking about around 200-300.000 people working in the companies located in India, which means that some of them travel globally to serve the company which is offering the projects, where some projects are served in India or some projects abroad or on-site in different countries and different parts of the world. So basically people are intended to travel. That is kind of the primary reason to take the engineering service sector. So basically that is one of the costs where you can see a lot of people who are going to different parts of the world. Sometimes you can see people stay for a little longer time in one country and then they move to another country, so I have seen people stay here in Europe in different countries, for example in Portugal, France and Denmark, and then they move to another country, for example to Finland, Norway, UK or to the US. So that happens based on the projects. That's what I would like to say.

e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

I don't think so, Because if you take all the global companies they are setting their footprints in the Indian environment and continue to have their footprints in India, and this requires people to migrate and exchange knowledge globally. That is a very high opportunity for locals in India, but if you take the service sector they require people across the globe. If you take any company or any automotive companies for example, they have a setup in India to work on all the engineering services, so in that particular case, yes of course people move across countries even to come to India. I would say all major companies or well known companies have their footprint in India, so people migrate through

intercompany transfers, for example, India to Denmark and vice versa. So, I don't think that the Indian government needs to develop or enhance attraction as there are already a lot of opportunities and projects available across India itself.

Appendix 2

Anonymous 2, Female, moved to Denmark in 2011

1. What is your educational background?

MBA - Masters in Business administration

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

No experience. After marriage no experience.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

I came here because of my husband, and we had one child. So it was hard to be away from him. Right now I am still searching for a job, and I know they are lacking in human capital, but they require Danish, and I think it's very challenging to learn Danish. They look at our profiles, and when I am called in for an interview they reject me based on my low proficiency in Danish. Sometimes I feel like giving up.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

Well, I moved because of my husband, so I did not have any specific reasons as such. I think we thought about the opportunity to try something new, and my husband got a higher salary than India. His working schedules also felt lighter compared to India's timings, so I guessed we would have more time as a family also. So we came.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

I don't think this actually was the reason. Of course there is the class system that gives a lot of competition to be in the best position as you can be. You see, here in Denmark we see young people who are educated in all sorts of studies, but if you had come and told me that you wanted to become an archaeologist in India, I would immediately think why you want to scoop sand and find something in the sand. Like what kind of study is that, and how does that pay you well? But we just realize that here people are free to choose and you will be in a good position no matter what you study actually. It makes me feel shocked sometimes. A person who does cleaning gets such a good salary and they have houses and cars here, but that is not something you see in India at all. Of course

caste is also there, but it is not like we chose to move from India to Denmark because of all of this.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

As for now, yes, we just bought our villa house and we struggled a lot to buy this house. We also cleared some loans in India, so we could do this here, but we don't know really. What if something changes. but for now yes.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

As I said before, better salary and better education for our kids. Also, more quality time with family, to be free from a stressful daily life.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

This is the first time I have been moving out of India and traveling. I just had a little child, and I just wanted to travel around and explore, so my families were not opposing our decision also. Nothing really.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark, in a positive or negative way?

I think in a positive way. We are representing India and we are in good positions.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

I think there is a lot India can do better. I don't know how to explain this, but all the things we don't get in India, we are getting here. So if companies could give us better salaries or like more holidays to spend with our families it would be very good - and there is competition, but I don't know how to reduce that. It is just there in India. Either you live with it or not, I think.

Appendix 3

Anonymous 3, Male, moved to Denmark in 2018

1. What is your educational background?

I took my BA in Electronics of Engineering and I did my MA in Engineering but within the fields of power electronics and drives, both in India.

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

Yes, not alone in India, but also in Sweden within same field and the same in India, and I have also worked in Dubai in the same field of power electronics, so it has almost been 9-10 years of international experience before coming to Denmark. I have 4 years of experience here in Denmark.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

Well, my family moved with me to Denmark because of my transfer to Denmark. Mainly because I was working for this company, and at the same time there was the opportunity to work in Denmark, since they need employers. Also mainly the development team and products are all being developed and originating from Denmark. That is why I think choosing to work in the so called “mother company” where the products are being developed onsite and originating gives me a personal experience and development for my career. At the same time, challenges are high in our own home country. The competition for work in India is also huge. So I thought it was better to come here. That is the reason.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

Social security or safety was a thing that we needed. Mainly to be frank the Purchasing Power Parity is very less in India. So for the money we earn, and let's say we want to buy a TV in India, then the money earned would not be sufficient to purchase the TV. It is very difficult. In Denmark it is not like that. Here in Denmark we can easily purchase a TV from our monthly salary and still have sufficient amount left for the month, as the Purchasing Power Parity is higher here in Denmark. Other than that there are not any religious problems. There are not any other problems in India.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

It is not because there is inequality like that, and that is why we migrated to Denmark. Of course there might be some social challenges, for example if we are being transferred locally in India, for instance moving from South India to North India. Then of course there are language barriers and certain minor cultural differences. Nothing like that. Not like inequalities. but of course competition is very high in India to reach a certain high level spot in the work space of a company.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

Yes, we want to be in Denmark, we are paying tax, and we have savings in pension - maybe until our kids are grown fully. In the long term there might be changes, depending on kids' decisions in future, we might go back. Open answer. Until kids are independent. If we go back to India with our kids now, it's a school system that is harsher and life will be harder. Kids don't know what hardness is in life, so they will take time to adapt.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

If I should say something concrete, the main thing would be social security, freedom, health care, quality of life, quality of education. In short, people are living here, but in India people are just surviving. Denmark is also peaceful, there is not a fight here for living life, equality or an equal treatment of individuals, yet still sometimes little bit of discrimination can be found, but we don't mind that because this would be everywhere over the world, but we don't notice it as much as in Denmark, as we are educated and colleagues have an open mindset. There is also transparency in Denmark and trust in the society, which is important.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

Family was not so happy about it as it was far away from India. They were not so happy, yet nobody stopped us. They were just not so happy about it.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark? in a positive or negative way?

Of course, in a positive way, because when we come from India to Denmark we are definitely setting an example. In this environment we are setting an example that we are more productive. We haven't come here to be a burden for the Danish system, but we are being productive, and that is also why

they call us to Denmark and give us the opportunities. The people have to change their mindset that Indians are well behaved.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

No, it is not like that. This is what most foreigners might think about us Indians working in foreign, but actually we are just the middle tier people. The number one people, the people who become first in colleges, the technical people, the people in management, none of these leave India at all. Those first tier people will only work for India and will only live in India. Those people will not think of moving abroad for work purposes like us. Those people are the layer one of people in the Indian system. Let us say you have 100 people finishing college or university and you as a big company are willing to pay more and hire them, then still they won't be coming out of India except for maybe 1-3 people. Even those 1-3 people would only opt for working outside of India as long as it is because they work for NASA or as scientists, and they would most often only be going abroad to the UK or USA than for example Denmark. The rest of layer one people who are like the super techs or scientists will never come out of India and will only be working in India for India. The people like us who are in the second tier or the middle class, who study at second tier colleges, we are the people who end up abroad for work. Either they would want to stay in India or we want to work abroad, especially in an European country. So, you would not be able to know so much about the Indian talents, and we might also not be able to approach them. Those are the real super tech talents. I also wanted to work in India, but I could not cope with it. I had to think about the future of my kids' and wife's financial development. If I did not collaborate with the western countries and their companies then I would also have lived in India and worked there.

e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

As far as I know there is not anything they have to attract us, maybe it may come soon, but already the Indian government has a surplus of engineers, and they have so many resources and human capital. They just do not know how to create more jobs for these people. They do not know how to make all of this function. I would say this is India's challenge. The attraction will only exist if there are a lot of tasks or works and they need people to handle those tasks, and of course then they would need people like me to take up the job. This will automatically create more jobs and the surplus of labours will decrease. But we have too many engineers, but in Denmark they have less highly

qualified labours for a specific department, which explains why we grab the opportunity and come here for work. But if there is a time where India is in need of us for jobs with matching salaries, then we will definitely go back to India and work there.

Appendix 4

Anonymous 4, Female, moved to Denmark in 2018

1. What is your educational background?

I took my BA in dental surgeon. Here I am working as a Dental hygienist.

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

I had 4 years of experience as a dentist in India, and here I have 1,5 years of work experience as a dentist hygienist, including internship.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

I mainly came to Denmark because of my husband's work transfer from India to Denmark. There was no problem for me in regards to language in India, but it is challenging for me here in terms of learning the Danish language. I also thought that the stress levels of work are very high in India. So there is very less quality time as a family. I barely spent time with my husband in India, so this meant that my responsibility at home became bigger as I had to struggle to balance between my work and taking care of our kids. So in the end I could only work half a day in India and then spend the rest of my day at home with our kids. We couldn't share the responsibility of taking care of our kids together and equally. I really missed family time. So I thought about these factors and I decided to go along with my husband's decision to transfer his work here. At least my husband would have more time with us after work than in India.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

Financial reasons. Nomatter how much we earn, in some way or the other we would have to spend the money on some kind of things in India. Also, Education. Hospitals, the health care system. It is so expensive for medical expenses. The kids activities were also very expensive. I would say one of the disadvantages regards to taking kids out, was that I could not take my eyes away from my kids. The safety of kids were a big problem in India. Savings were also harder to maintain as expenses for nearly everything made us unhappy. Like how we do in Denmark, we just can not get that in India, to be able to save and also spend money on our kids' activities.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

There is caste and class but it is not something we feel in our daily lives in India, so it is not like we moved because of that. Of course there is competition and you are required to fight very hard to reach a position and get a spot in life. I think it is rather stressful to live a life like that. We realize that now, after having been in different countries. How should I explain, you feel more peace in mind. Nothing to worry about.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

Yes, it is very hard to return now, because our kids will be having a hard time getting used to the Indian school systems and culture. They have no worries in Denmark, but if we do return it will be when our kids are grown up. We are socializing less in Denmark, but we are just tolerating it because of our kids' future.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

I think quality of life, just in general. I don't have to worry about my kids either. In India I have to keep an eye on them 24/7, but here we feel more safe. Better salaries are also main. Everyone treats us equally here and they respect us because we are hardworking people.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

There were obstacles through my family. On both our family sides they told us that the geographical location was very far away from India, and that we are going so far away, and the kids would begin to adapt a new culture and change from their home culture. Also, many people in the church told us a lot of things to hinder us from going and the pastors indicated a lot into how the kids would end up being just like the foreigners and forget about Indian culture with many examples. They told us there were going to be less family gatherings.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark? in a positive or negative way?

Yes positive, as we are hardworking, and well educated, this will definitely change the Danish people's mindset about Indians. So they see that Indians aren't uneducated but that we are in fact educated. We have to show this to them. We have to be more like an example, and they should definitely have a good impression about India. As far as I know, I know that many people do consider

Indians educated and well behaved, but I also know some who think negatively about us in different ways. They have to think, okay Indians, they are very respectful, they are educated and they are very good people. This is how they should be talking about us. We do not know what we show others in India, but as far as we are here I am sure we are showing them the best about ourselves.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

It is not like that, we have a lot of people who are more qualified than we are. They are the high class people who especially work in India's medical sector, IT sector, and business sector. They are most possibly not eager to work in another country, as they are fully satisfied in India. I had a friend who got an offer in the medical department abroad, but she rejected the offer as she was fully satisfied with working in India itself. It is like they never consider the foreign as an option in their career. They will establish their career in India. There are also some people, especially women, who are in layer one of the system and still decides to move out of India, like me, because of their husbands decision to work abroad. Otherwise it would most likely be single mothers who opt for working abroad, as it would be financially hard as a single mother in India.

e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

We have a lot of highly qualified people in India, who are not able to get a job after finishing college. This means that the Indian government should try to create jobs for this surplus of highly qualified people in India. It does not seem like the Indian government knows how to do so. In Denmark there are not many medical field leaders for example. So many internationals, and especially Indians who are middle class will definitely accept the opportunities abroad and come here. In India they have everything, they have a surplus, but still they are not willing to do anything about it.

Appendix 5

Anonymous 5, Male, moved to Denmark in 2012

1. What is your educational background?

Engineering.

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

No. In India I was there as a designer, started as a designer, and when I came to Denmark I was a specialist in quality assurance.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

I was not planning, or it was not a planned move. It was something that was offered by the company, so we just came here for a short term assignment.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

Typically it's a global environment, people are very mobile, studying in another country and working in another country, so it's just opportunities on what we see, and then mainly from a career growth perspective, working outside could also build your career. So that could be one of the main reasons why people are also looking to get this outside exposure.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

I would see from an economical perspective that there is not a big change, but I think here when you look from the social perspective there is a lot of work-life balance. if I could say it, like you have to work a little less here, but in India you have to work more. So here you can spend some time with your family also. For my personal movement I dont think caste or class or any of that sort played a role for me, but if you ask in general in India, yes there is an influence of caste that also plays a role in the working environment.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

We are open. We can always go back, nothing holding us to stay here. That is also nothing that is pushing me from here.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

It was not a choice I made consciously, there are people who say they wanna go to this a country and they take efforts to go to that country, but my case was not like that. I have always I traveled to many places, but I got a job offer here, so I came here because of the offer.

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

There is the Work life balance, and if you look from a work culture perspective, you are also empowered here. You can do a lot of things in the Danish work culture, it is not talk- down, every voice is heard. So in that context you have a satisfied work life also. Earlier I also said that you have a personal side, which is also important, and a lot of free time. It's also a small place so there are also less distractions. you can focus more on what you want to do. If you live in a big city there are a lot of things to see and do, but if you go to Sønderborg, you will just go downtown and there is just a road, and that's it.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

We actually delayed our coming here because of some family constraints.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark? in a positive or negative way?

I think it's in a positive way. Because, there are a lot of skills that are missing here in Denmark, especially in the place we work, not many people are willing to work in small places. At least for the company I am working, I would imagine that if there were no internationals then we would at least be 20-30 years behind in terms of development, so there is also the internationals who bring up the required skills, and we are also bringing up new things, so innovation is also growing a lot.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

One of the main challenges for people who have lived outside of India, and are thinking of going back to India, is that we don't feel that money and the taxes that we pay are properly spent. So there is still a lot of corruption, which means that you are not joyfully giving the taxes, because you know it is going into someone's pocket. So that should change, and they should also make it a lot more easier for getting things done. When people are living outside of India, they are also getting used to the kind of services that are given to them by the government, because there is the different level of service that we have here. So it could be the same expectations when we go back.

Appendix 6

Anonymous 6, Female, moved to Denmark in 2012

1. What is your educational background?

MA in Engineering and my current profession is Data Analyst. Right now it's a temporary job and I can continue, so from July it's hopefully permanent.

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

Yes, but. I don't have any experience at least with this current position, it is totally opposite in India. I was in academics, and was an assistant professor.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

To be frank, I don't have any specific reasons. We came here because of my husband's job. He came here as an expat and I just joined him and then I was a homemaker for almost 10 years. I tried to reach everywhere, I mean I did not know what to do next here, because I did not know if I could continue my profession here in Denmark, and somehow I did not like it. Then, I started a lot of online courses to update myself to this current position, and I also started to search in the job market for what kind of jobs were available, and I concluded what I wanted to work with. So I drilled down my search into 3 fields: SAP, Data and Marketing. At the same time I did almost 3 courses together, because I didn't know which field I would go to. Then, while doing these courses I got some attraction towards data. Likewise I got an internship at Danfoss, and it continues.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

We came here for 6 months, and then it got extended, and finally we were here for almost 1 year in Aarhus, and then my husband applied for a permanent job in Sønderborg. Not a serious search, but he got it. After 2 years we thought we would be here for 2 more years, since we have a home loan in India, so we thought we could complete the loan from Denmark, and that we afterwards could go back to India. But after living here for 4-5 years we felt like this is our place to live, and we also thought about how God brought us here, and we were just praying to God that whatever happens should be going according to God's will.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

After coming here, we were thinking this is really a nice place to live. we get more time, more family time. Less traffic, but I don't feel like socio-economic inequalities are a reason for me to leave India, as for me. I am actually ready to go back any moment. I do understand your question, but what should I say, I don't feel caste or class affect daily life so much, but competition is there. Kids are brought up with competition. Now I think it is overwhelming and stressful for the kids to be in that kind of system. Here, we feel our kids are very happy and they don't have any competition or expectations, they just go to school happily. They learn, but in India it's completely with marks and you should be on top. we have those criteria, caste system is also there, but I never lost my job or lost my education because of caste.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

Any moment I could go back. It depends on God's will.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

Because of my husband.

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

Peaceful life, but mainly family time. In India, the time will be 10 PM or 11 PM when work is over and when we get home, so it is always a busy life.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

no.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark? in a positive or negative way?

I feel it is positive, because we pay taxes correctly. I don't know, maybe the correct answer would come from the danes themselves. I never thought about it deeply.

Some people will compare us with middle eastern people, they will say we wont work and that we just try to get money from the government, but actually we are paying so much taxes but we won't even know if we will use it or not since we don't know if we will stay here longer or not.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

- e) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?**

They do lack a lot of good qualified people. Education is not so good. Maybe they can use the technology in the right way, they can expand it everywhere, they can use well qualified people or the experts in the right way. I don't know how to explain this, maybe acknowledge them. Every year there are lakhs of lakhs of engineers, new engineers, but so many don't get jobs in the engineering field. Engineers will work in 'swiggy' or takeaway. Actually, nowadays almost all highly qualified laborers are ready to do any job to get money, all people are in need of money, and they don't get the right job according to their qualifications, so they are willing to do any job. So if they can get a proper job in another country, they are ready to move out. I feel that either we should have some restrictions, like either the government should minimize the number of colleges in the engineering field, because if they do not have jobs for the engineers they should minimize the educational institutions.

Appendix 7

Anonymous 7, Male, moved to Denmark in 2018

1. What is your educational background?

I have a Bachelors in Computer Science and a Masters in Software Engineering and Business Technology.

2. Did you have experience in India with this profession before coming to Denmark/How many years of experience in your profession in India?

No. 0 years.

3. What do you consider the reasons for transferring your work to DK?

After my BA, I was not sure what I wanted to do in life. I came to Denmark to participate in a 'højskole'. It was nothing related to my studies, but because of that I really started to like Denmark, I preferred the culture here. It was easier for me to be here than any other country that I have been to. So I decided that it would be nice for me to live in Denmark.

a) What made you decide to move out of India?

Mainly it was the close mindedness in Indian society. Main difference between India and Denmark is that people are really open minded. Open minded to different ways of thinking and lives. Money. You definitely get paid more here. Quality of life is better in general, you know, like clean air, clean water. You can also get clean water in India, but yes. And it was super difficult to get anything from anywhere in India, because we are so many so it's extremely competitive. I think that is an important factor. It is relatively easier in Denmark, there are so few people, so it's not as competitive, so I think you don't need to work that hard.

b) Are there any socio-economic inequalities that play a role in your decision to transfer work and migrate?

As a man I don't have to face any inequalities in India, maybe if I was a woman. I never worked in India, but people get jobs because they belong to a certain caste. For example, that happens sometimes. That doesn't happen here. I haven't faced it though. For example someone from an upper caste will get the first preference than one from the lower caste. That happens.

4. Is your plan to permanently settle in DK or do you plan to travel back sometime?

Settling in Dk is the plan, because I bought a house here and all. I don't think I would like to go back. I wouldn't mind exploring any other countries, but not india.

5. Why did you choose to work in Denmark?

c) Were there any particular things that you found attracted to in Denmark?

Open mindedness. Better pay. A different work culture. In India we follow a leader, your manager tells you what to do, and you do it, and then you go home. But here work is different, but here we are given more charge, even though we are not the manager, and allowed to make decisions of my own. You are more Independent here. Clean water and clean air. Flexibility is a good point here, I can choose to work at night if I have something I have to do during the day. I don't think that would have been possible in India. In India you have to be there in time and work all day long. It's rather strict otherwise you get fired.

d) Before coming here, have there been any obstacles in terms of your decision?

Actually there was nothing to be honest. because of my qualifications it was so easy. I got my visa within one month, it was very fast and my sister works and lives here and had housing to provide for me.

6. Do you consider you and your family's migration to impact the Indian reputation in an international setting, especially in Denmark, in a positive or negative way?

Interesting. I think that it will impact India's reputation in a positive way. It's a known fact that European countries lack talent and human resources, and the fact that they add us here definitely adds as a positive influence on the Indian reputation.

e) How?

I observed people here they see Indians, they assume that they must be qualified, because they are here. Most Indians you see here are doctors or engineers. So you rarely find Indians who work in restaurants or doing jobs that are not qualified. So people generally assume that if you are an Indian you are highly qualified.

7. Do you think India is incapable of attracting its own highly skilled Indian laborers?

In a way yeah I think so. Because it is clear that with the same qualifications we get better payment outside of India. India needs to be better in that way, people need to be paid well enough, people need to have well enough working conditions, maybe the same amount of holidays for men and women if

a child is born and stuff like that. So definitely better conditions, so India needs to offer that.

f) What are the factors that the Indian government could develop/enhance to improve attraction in the labor market in your particular state, in order for you to not seek outward international mobility?

I already answered that I think, but there is something else. There needs to be a societal change, because it is not something the Indian government alone can do. The change in how people think, I think the government is doing what they can, but they could have nicer laws and better protection for people who work.

8. Do you think the caste system plays a role or is a stumbling stone in the Indian job market?

Yeah, sure I think so. Personally I'm not from an upper caste family myself, so if I was to go and give a job interview, they will definitely ask me, okay maybe they won't ask me directly what my caste is, but you can guess it from my name, and i'm pretty sure that someone from an upper caste will get a preference over me, and I think we need to be better at that. We need to look at everyone as equals. That would definitely make it better. We need to treat everyone equally no matter what caste they come from. People from the so called upper caste will also feel encouraged to give interviews.

Appendix 8

Indian Senior Analyst at Wipro Ltd. India, Male, Indian citizen

1. What is your educational background?

I have a Bachelor in Commerce and I did my Masters in Business Administration.

2. How many years of experience?

I have nearly 5 years of experience as an analyst. I started with associate analyst and I got promoted to senior analyst last year,

3. Are you satisfied with your salary as per your occupation?

yes and no. I think for one person the salary is enough, but I can't provide for my family with my salary alone. My first salary as an associate assistant was 25K rupees per month. Now it's a bit higher. Let's say if I move to another country they will pay me a lot more from the same company, but I can't do anything about it.

4. Does this apply to everyone?

Yes, everyone who works gets a lower salary compared to the rest of the world, I think so. it does not matter what qualification you have, you are paid way less.

5. What could be done better by the company or government to improve salary?

There are 2 ways to increase your salary.

1. a person should change company once he or she gets a good amount of experience, in this way he or she will get a salary hike of 30-40 percent on their current stack and
2. however every year there will be a hike in salary, in this way also salary will increase.

But I don't know what the government can do. You can't actually do anything. This is how it works.

You have to find a solution actually.