Migration-related stressors and coping strategies: a mixed-methods study among men in Nepal

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Statement of originality

I, Joelle Yee Tak Mak, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Background In Nepal, labour migration has become a livelihood strategy. Many migration-related problems have been documented but less is known about how migrants coped. This thesis addresses this gap by responding to the question of what challenges migrants encounter throughout their migration and what strategies they used to cope, drawing on a mixed methods study with Nepali men.

Methods This thesis includes a systematic review to identify the coping strategies migrants used to manage stressors; a survey to quantify the prevalence of exploitation; and qualitative life histories to identify migration-related stressors and coping responses. Framed within concepts of wellbeing and health, stressors were informed by the models of workplace-, acculturative- and migrant worker-stress; and coping by Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's typologies.

Results The review found that migrants commonly used problem-solving, support-seeking and accommodation strategies. Some were problematic, such as delayed healthcare access or excessive alcohol consumption. In the survey the majority of the participants experienced exploitation during their most recent migration. The qualitative data highlighted the workplace, recruitment agent/agencies and family stressors and migrants' coping strategies in the forms of problem-solving, support-seeking, helplessness, and negotiation. Coping strategies were sometimes used simultaneously, and may introduce new stressors, such as demands for financial penalties following requests to return to Nepal. Findings informed a new conceptual framework that can contribute to research, policy and practice. Recommendations to improve recruitment practices, expand available support in destination and assessment of impact are proposed.

Conclusion Nepali men experienced many migration-related stressors. Despite finding ways to cope, the strategies used sometimes created new stressors. As migration will continue to be an important employment option, source and destination countries need to address the causes of stressors and to enhance migrants' ability to cope. The proposed conceptual framework may contribute to such developments and ultimately improve migrants' wellbeing and health.

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Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations & Acronyms

CASP	Critical Appraisal Skills Programme
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DfID	UK Department for International Development
DOFE	Department of Foreign Employment
EPS	Employment Permit System
FEPB	Foreign Employment Promotion Board – Nepal
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoN	Government of Nepal
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LMIC	Low- and Middle-Income Countries
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
MFWSI	Migrant Farmworker Stress Inventory
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NPR	Nepali rupees
PR	Prevalence ratio
SSB	Social Science Baha - SWiFT's Nepal research partner
SWiFT	Study of Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation
VDC	Village Development Committee
WiF	Work in Freedom

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, there has been a rapid growth in the numbers of people migrating for low- and semi-skilled employment. Amidst this expansion, there is increasing recognition of the exploitation and abuses experienced by labour migrants. However, there has been limited research exploring how labour migrants cope with these and other migration-related stressors. In this thesis I seek to identify the types of stressors Nepali male labour migrants encounter during their migration and explore the strategies they used to cope.

The thesis is written in the paper-style write-up format, in which the results chapters are written and presented as individual research papers. This chapter introduces the topic of labour migration in Nepal, highlights the potential harms associated with migration, including those of human trafficking for forced labour and describes the policy responses and international agreements to address labour migration. The aim and objectives of this thesis are presented at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Patterns of low- and semi-skilled labour migration in Nepal

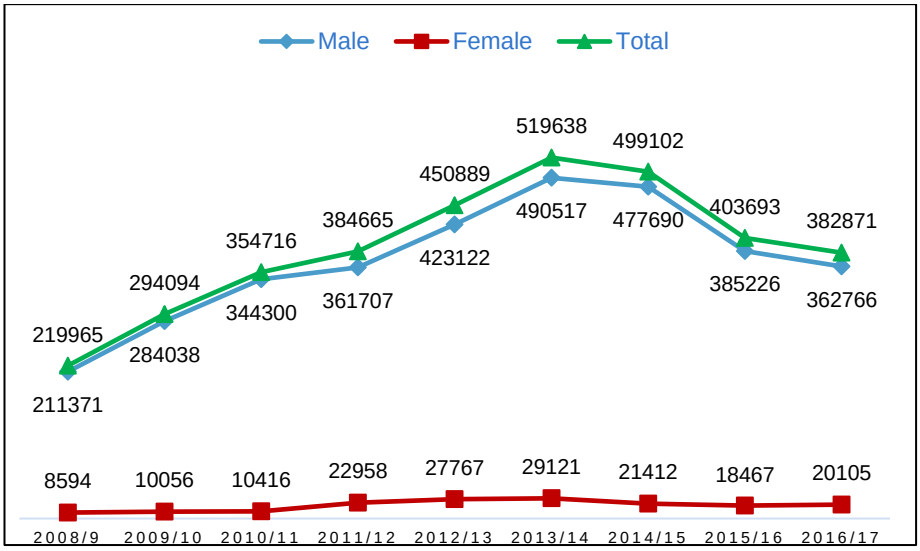
Nepal has a long tradition of migration both within and outside the country for employment opportunities. One of the key destinations for Nepali people migrating for work is India, greatly facilitated by the Nepal-India Peace and Friendship Treaty. Established in 1950 this treaty enables citizens of both countries to move freely, to live and work without restrictions or the need for any documentation (1). In addition to similarities in culture and language, working in India is attractive as wages are generally better for similar work, with little need to pay large sums in recruitment fees. In more recent decades, Nepali migrants seeking employment outside the county have expanded to other destinations including Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and East Asia (2).

It is estimated that between one-quarter and one-third of Nepali households have at least one member living and working abroad (3, 4). Official government data on labour permits issued indicate the growing trend of Nepalis migrating outside of the country for work over the past decade, Figure 1.1 (5). Although labour migration has become more prevalent among Nepali men and women, it is still an overwhelmingly male activity. Between 2008/9 and 2016/17, approximately 95% of the total labour permits issued per year were issued to men. Historically, women migrate as part of a family, often due to marriage rather than for employment.

Further, labour migration among Nepali women has been restricted due to the on-and-off government regulations and bans. As a result it has been suggested that women who migrate may be more likely to go via irregular channels and are therefore not captured by official data (6). The numbers of official labour permits issued reached a high in the 2013/14 fiscal year, followed by substantial drop in the aftermath of the 2015 earthquake that devastated the country, causing widespread damage, disruption, and loss of life (5).

In Nepal, the remittances labour migrants sent back have been credited with a contribution to poverty reduction (1, 7). According to the World Bank, in recent years, official remittances have represented 25 - 30% of Nepal's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (4, 8). This figure is likely to be much higher when remittances sent via unofficial channels are included.

Figure 1.1 - Labour permits issued, 2008/9 - 2016/7



Source: Government of Nepal (5, Figure 1)

Apart from labour migration to India, which is not captured in official migration statistics due to the open border policy, the majority of Nepali labour migrants work in Malaysia, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, followed by other Middle Eastern countries (5, 9, 10). They tend to do low- and semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing, construction, and domestic work which are also among the lowest paid forms of employment (5). Nevertheless, labour migration is seen as a good option to earn a decent living due to the higher earning potential for similar work. In addition to the potential financial gains, the ability to see the world, learn new skills and broaden horizons were typically reported as motives for migration (11, 12). The benefits of labour migration in improving well-being among individuals, households and the wider community cannot be overlooked. Many studies point to its potential impact on poverty alleviation through remittances which may be used to fund education or health care for other household members, or as start-up funds for a small business (1, 9, 13). Further, there is potential that

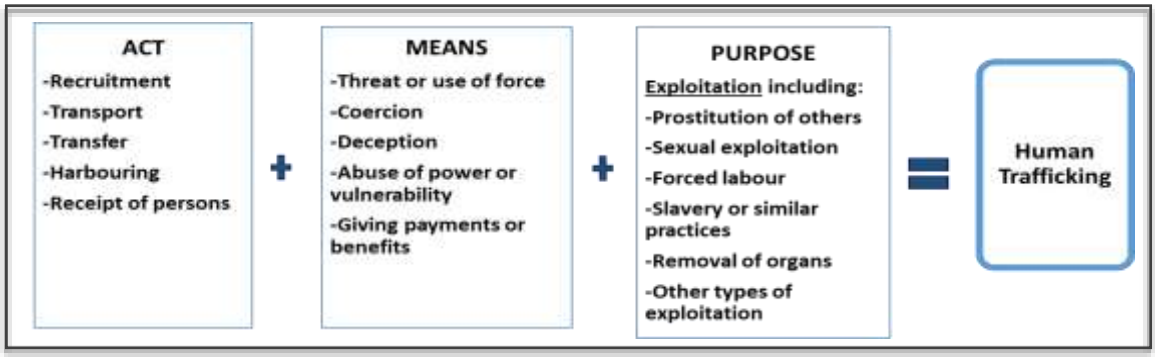
skills, knowledge and technology acquired abroad will be transferred back and benefit the migrant's home community (1). Skills gained from migration may also lead to continued improvements in earning potential on the migrant's return home (14).

Prospective migrants may opt to use the services of a recruitment agency to manage and navigate the rules and regulations of the migration process, or choose to manage on their own. The trend in using agencies has increased over time, with just under 75% of labour permits issued through agencies in 2008/9 rising to over 92% in 2016/2017 (5).

1.2 Human trafficking for forced labour

The potential benefits of labour migration, however, may come with substantial risks, particularly for the migrant. These include the possibility of being exploited or trafficked. The term human trafficking has traditionally been more associated with sexual exploitation among women and girls than with other forms of exploitation or among men. For example, in the most commonly cited definition, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (often referred to as the 'Palermo Protocol'), human trafficking is defined as including three key elements: the type of act, the means, and the specific purpose of exploitation, with details depicted in Figure 1.2 (15). The Protocol highlights women and children in its title, even though the potential types of exploitation listed are likely to include those experienced by men. This has resulted in a severe neglect of trafficking for other forms of exploitation, particularly labour (16-18). According to the ILO nearly 25 million people were in forced labour in 2016 (19). Other terms such as modern-day slavery, servitude, forced, bonded or unfree labour, are routinely used interchangeably with human trafficking by policy makers, law enforcement officers, researchers and civil society, with no definition of the concepts used; this makes comparisons between studies difficult (16, 20).

Figure 1.2 - Core elements of human trafficking definition, Palermo Protocol



Source: adapted from ILO (15)

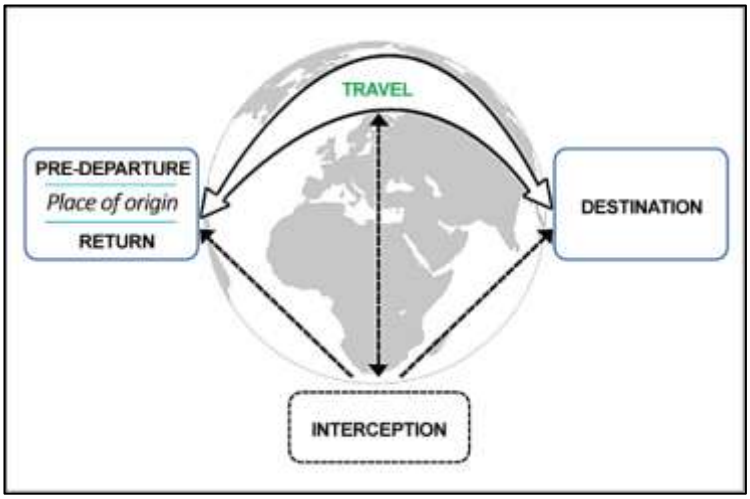
Many debates continue around the concepts, definitions, terminologies and measurements in human trafficking, and analyses of these dialogues are beyond the scope of this thesis (16, 20). Instead, this thesis will focus on human trafficking for forced labour, using the International Labour Organization (ILO) definition for forced labour: "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" (21). However, when referring the other studies the term used by the authors will be retained.

1.3 Stresses and harm associated with low-skilled labour migration

Zimmerman and colleagues conceptualise five stages in the migration cycle: pre-departure, travel, destination and return, with the possibility of interception at different points (Figure 1.3) (22). In each of these stages, exploitation may occur for labour migrants, with the more extreme forms most often found at the destination. Exploitative experiences may be exacerbated by factors including language, culture and legal differences, as well as limited or lack of social networks in the destination country (20, 23). It is important to note that contemporary labour migration has become increasingly 'circular' where individuals travel back and forth from home to destination (24), which may increase labour migrants' experiences of exploitation. However, previous migration experiences may also be protective of exploitation in subsequent migrations.

During pre-departure, there are risks associated with the recruitment process. An ILO multi-site study on labour trafficking in which migrants were interviewed from Albania, Romania, Moldova and Ukraine, found that migrants were equally at risk of exploitation, regardless of whether they were recruited within their own social network, by recruiters or by agencies. The study also revealed that those who had outstanding debt were more likely to have experienced exploitation than those who were debt-free. In destination, the most commonly reported coercive measure was the restriction of movement, followed by non-payment of wages and confiscation of identity documents. Even migrants who considered themselves to have had a 'successful' migration experience reported high rates of poor working conditions, including excessive working hours (25).

Figure 1.3 – Stages in the migration cycle



Source: Zimmerman et al. 2011 (22, Figure 1)

Similarly, a small study by the Asia Foundation in which 50 Nepali returnees were interviewed about working conditions at destination found that contract discrepancies regarding work, pay, hours were the most common complaints (reported by 26% of the 13 participants); as well as no access to phone, confiscation of possessions, denial of medical treatment and threats of violence (26). Other researchers have suggested that migrants' complete reliance on agents, limited awareness of rights, fear of losing employment, and the lack of support from destination governments to monitor and prosecute labour violations all contribute to increasingly stressful experiences; although not all of these hypotheses are supported by empirical data (20, 27).

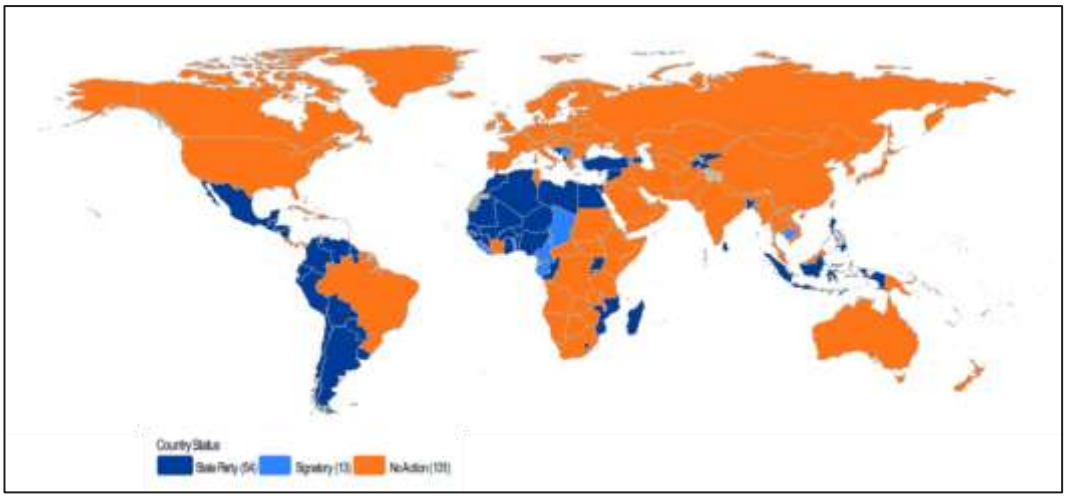
Migrants often work in physically demanding jobs and may be disproportionately exposed to increased occupational risks. Studies comparing migrant and host populations have found that migrants suffer from more work related strains and injuries (28, 29). Further, more severe cases, including an increasing number of work-related disabilities and fatalities among Nepali migrants working abroad, have also been highlighted (5, 9, 30-33). According to Nepal's Foreign Employment Promotion Board (FEPB), between 2008/9 and 2016/17, nearly 6000 Nepali labour migrants died while working abroad. Of these, 23% were due to 'natural causes'; 20% cardiac arrest; 11% suicide; 9% workplace accidents; and 16% unidentified. These figures are underestimates even according to government records when compared with those recorded by the embassies in the destination countries (5).

1.4 International dialogues on labour migration

Labour migration and labour exploitation are growing issues in international development and are included in a number of key agreements and dialogues. For example, one of the UN Sustainable Development Goals focuses on decent work and economic growth, with a specific emphasis 'to eradicate forced labour, slavery and human trafficking' and includes migrant workers in their declared aim to protect labour rights and promote safe working environments (34). The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, commonly referred to as the Global Compact for Migration, highlights issues for a range of migrant populations, including those affected by forced displacements and international labour migrants (35). Regional agreements have also been developed that aim to manage and promote regular labour migration through developing policies, programmes and services to reduce migrants' vulnerability to exploitation. These include the Colombo Process, focused on source countries, and the Abu Dhabi Dialogue, focused on cooperation between source and destination countries.

The Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families is the only UN treaty that focuses on protecting and respecting the rights of migrant workers and extends these rights to their families. It recognises the range of vulnerabilities labour migrants and their families potentially face throughout the process of migration and has specific clauses to address the issues of servitude, forced or compulsory labour, for the migrant or their family. Such protections do not appear to have the full support of many high-income or destination countries that employ and depend on large numbers of labour migrants. To date, it remains among the least ratified of all UN treaties, having taken over 20 years to achieve the 20 ratifications needed before it was entered into force. The main signatories are migrant sending countries as shown in Figure 1.4, highlighting the power imbalance between source and destination countries, particularly when the migrants in question work in low-wage, low- and semi-skilled work (36).

Figure 1.4 - Status on the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families by country



Source: UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, status as of January 2019 (36)

Other international agreements designed to improve the poor working conditions and treatment of labour migrants, such as the ILO's Migration for Employment Convention and Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) have had limited effect (37). This may be because of the comprehensiveness of the Convention and its aim to grant equal rights to migrant workers and nationals, which may be seen as unacceptable to many destination countries. Instead, identifying a list of 'core rights' for labour migrants that complements the Convention may be more acceptable for high-income and destination countries (37).

1.5 Labour migration policies and processes in Nepal

In light of the growing numbers of Nepali labour migrants heading abroad and the importance of the remittances they send back, the Government of Nepal (GoN) has developed many policies and programmes to manage the migration process and to support and protect migrants throughout the migration cycle. In 2007, the Government established the Foreign Employment Act followed by the Foreign Employment Rules in 2008 that jointly manage the labour migration process, including recruitment agents and agencies. As part of these policies, the GoN developed a range of services such as insurance provision, mandatory pre-departure orientation training and a process to support migrants in filing complaints and seeking compensation and repatriation through the welfare fund. This fund is made up of fees paid by labour migrants as well as those collected from recruitment agencies and license orientation training institutions among others. Since then, a range of other policies, described in Table 1.1,

have been initiated and governmental ministries and departments have been developed or restructured to manage the changing landscape of labour migration. Anecdotal evidence has increasingly drawn attention to growing number of exploitative experiences labour migrants encountered at various stages of the migration cycle, some of which were thought to be due to their lack of preparation. Nepal's embassies and labour attachés in key destinations are also important resources for labour migrants who encounter difficulties and may assist with employment disputes, rescue and repatriation, including compensation for deceased workers. According to official complaints registered with Department of Foreign Employment (DOFE), in the period between 2014/15 and 2016/17 labour migrants most commonly filed complaints to seek prosecution, reimbursement, compensation and repatriation (5).

Table 1.1 - Key policies and departments governing labour migration in Nepal

Year	Description
1985	Enactment of first law on foreign employment: Foreign Employment Act 1985
1992	First amendment of the Foreign Employment Act
1998	Second amendment of the Foreign Employment Act
1999	Enactment of Foreign Employment Rules
2003	GoN becomes member of the Colombo Process
2007	Enactment of new law: Foreign Employment Act 2007
2008	Establishment of the Foreign Employment Promotion Board (FEPB) Establishment of the Department of Foreign Employment (DOFE) Enactment of Foreign Employment Rules 2008
2010	Establishment of Foreign Employment Tribunal
2011	First amendment of Foreign Employment Rules
2012	Announcement of the first Foreign Employment Policy
2015	Development of five-year National Strategic Action Plan on Foreign Employment First Amendment of Foreign Employment Act, 2007
2015	Ministry of Labour and Employment, 2012

Source: adapted from Government of Nepal (5, Table 23)

Some of the policies and government bodies involve the private sector and civil service organisations (CSOs), such as the FEPB and the DOFE; others, such as the Colombo Process and the Abu Dhabi Dialogue engage with other governments to collaborate and negotiate with source and destination countries and take part in regional and global dialogues. Nepal has ratified conventions aimed at safeguarding migrants, promoting decent work practices and reducing exploitation (5).

The GoN have identified the problems of coordination between different departments, including difficulties with data sharing and linkages, as hindrances to their understanding and ability to appropriately respond to the needs of labour migrants. Crucial details such as migrants' socio-demographic characteristics and the specifics of their complaints, including details of causes of death, are highlighted as unavailable (5).

1.6 Study rationale

Advancing the field has been limited due to the difficulty in identifying a suitable sampling frame of labour migrants, particularly those who are irregular, and the lack of comprehensiveness of routine governmental data that could be used to guide policy and practice (5, 38). Instead, much of the evidence on labour exploitation among Nepali migrants has been anecdotal and often based on convenience samples. Further, very little research has considered the ways in which migrants cope with the range of challenges they experience throughout the migration cycle. Such data are needed to improve our understanding of the realities of migrants' experiences and to support the development of policies and interventions that can enable labour migrants to have a positive and successful migration outcome. Therefore, the research question for this study is: what challenges labour migrants encounter throughout their migration and what strategies they used to cope.

1.6.1 Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to explore the coping strategies used to manage migration-related stressors, including labour exploitation and forced labour, among Nepali male international labour migrants.

The specific objectives are to:

- systematically review the evidence on coping strategies international labour migrants from low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) used to cope with migration-related stressors;
- quantify the prevalence of, and associations with, forced labour experiences among a sample of Nepali male labour migrants;
- identify migration-related stressors experienced by Nepali male labour migrants before, during and after their migration; and
- explore the strategies Nepali male labour migrants used to cope with migration-related stressors.

2. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

This chapter presents theoretical underpinnings and conceptual frameworks that guided this thesis. These include issues around masculinity and the psychological stress and coping frameworks that are applicable to labour migrant populations. Three relevant areas of stressor frameworks are described: acculturative stress, workplace stress and migrant workers stress. This is followed by a review of coping frameworks and a discussion of wellbeing and health, under which stress and coping are framed.

2.1 Men and labour migration

Concepts of masculinities are socially constructed and are widely recognised to be fluid and in constant (re-)negotiation across the lifespan both within and across settings and over time (39). In the most general terms, men are expected to be strong, tough, able to overcome adversity, act as household heads and provide for their family (40). Across many settings, men place great importance on, and define themselves by, their work. Those who need to migrate for work to support their family may view risk-taking in their migration choices or poor working conditions as something they must endure (41).

Studies have found that labour migration among men, including Nepali men, can be seen as a rite of passage as many migrate for the first time as young men and return as adults. Men reported both positive and negative aspects of migration including: an opportunity to see the world; to be modern and independent with access to commodities not available in their home village; and to provide for their own future or that of their family, when the latter is potentially burdensome (42-46).

For many men, the first international migration exposes them to being seen and treated as outsiders or as a minority and they may experience discrimination, based on racial or ethnic lines or on their status as labour migrants (12, 41). In some cases, migrants may be educated or from a higher status group in their own country, which makes the experience of being treated as lower status even more testing. In other cases, the reverse may be true in that men are able to escape discrimination, for example based on caste, in Nepal by migrating to a country where they are seen and treated like any other Nepali labour migrant, as highlighted in an ethnographic study of the Kamaiya, a group traditionally linked to bonded labour in Nepal (45).

Migrants who are able to send home higher remittances may gain greater respect and status among community members as well as boosting their self-confidence as they are seen to be fulfilling their role as breadwinner; this was the case among irregular labour migrants in the United States (41) and male migrants in low-paid jobs in England (46). Men were thus keen to present their experiences as successful, and this included sending home expensive gifts, which may have misled prospective migrants on the realities of labour migration including the nature of the work, conditions and their day-to-day living situation (12, 41, 46).

Men may also be seen by society as less vulnerable to trafficking, particularly given the traditional association between trafficking and sexual exploitation. Research among trafficked men in Eurasia and South-Eastern Europe found that men attached significant stigma to 'trafficking victims', believing that only 'stupid' men could be trafficked and unable to get out of the situation themselves (40). Such expectations may result in men's reluctance to accept assistance if that labels them as having been trafficked.

2.2 Wellbeing and health

The WHO defines health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity' (47, p. 100). Despite wellbeing featuring in this definition and widely used in health research across different disciplines, it has not been clearly defined as a concept (48-53), and past attempts to do so have, in fact, identified dimensions rather than a definition of wellbeing (54).

Fleuret and Atkinson describe wellbeing as a move away from biomedical health and 'towards holism and intersectorality in which the settings of health experiences are central' (51, p. 106), with agreement on its all-encompassing and multidimensional nature (48, 53, 54). Wellbeing has been synonymous with 'quality of life', 'life satisfaction' or 'happiness' among others, which emphasises the positive aspects of life (49, 54). In recent decades, wellbeing has become increasingly popular and features routinely as a key policy outcome (54).

In Linton and colleagues' review of 99 wellbeing measures, six core themes were identified: mental wellbeing; social wellbeing; physical wellbeing; spiritual wellbeing; personal circumstances which include socio-economic and environmental wellbeing; and activities and functioning of daily life (53). Across these themes there were positive and negative elements, subjective and objective aspects of different situations, some of which overlap. Linton and colleagues state that wellbeing as a concept should be an 'umbrella term' rather than as a

'distinct unitary concept' and further specificity could be reserved for the various dimensions of wellbeing (53, p. 13). Measuring well-being, therefore, should consider the wider environment in which individuals live (51, 55).

The health component of the WHO definition have also been criticised for not acknowledging 'the role of the human capacity to cope autonomously with life's ever changing physical, emotional, and social challenges…' (56, p. 2). One's ability to cope is crucial to good health, particularly in situations where full recovery from illness may not be a realistic outcome (56). Wellbeing should be seen as an 'equilibrium' between an individual's resources, such as coping, to face psychological, social and physical challenges (49, p. 230). Accordingly, individuals can increase their coping resources to manage a range of stressors, which then improves their overall wellbeing. Therefore, the assessment of wellbeing should consider one's coping resources.

2.2.1 Theories of stress

Stress is defined as a reaction, biological or psychological, triggered by perceived or actual threat between individuals and the environments in which they live and work (57). It is widely accepted that stress forms part of our everyday life either through minor daily issues or more major life events (58). Stress can be positive when it acts as a stimulus and increases motivation and determination, but negative when it induces tensions, pressures or anxiety. In its negative form and where the stressor encountered is not well-managed, it can contribute to a range of mental and physical ill-health conditions (57, 58). Stress may also disproportionately affect certain sections of the population more than others, through certain socio-demographic characteristics such as ethnicity or race, sex, age, social status including occupation, political beliefs, or physical, mental, emotional traits including disabilities. Some suggest that stress arises from an individual's inability to cope, based on how the stressful situation (including the harm, threat, and challenge) is appraised, and what resources individuals have to manage them (59). These types of conceptualisations, commonly known as transactional models, view the relationship between individuals and potential stressors as constantly interacting and changing. While excessive, long-term stress and lack of coping strategies to manage it may contribute to poor mental health, some also argue that stressors are always subjective and depend on an individual's perception of the situation as stressful (57, 60, 61).

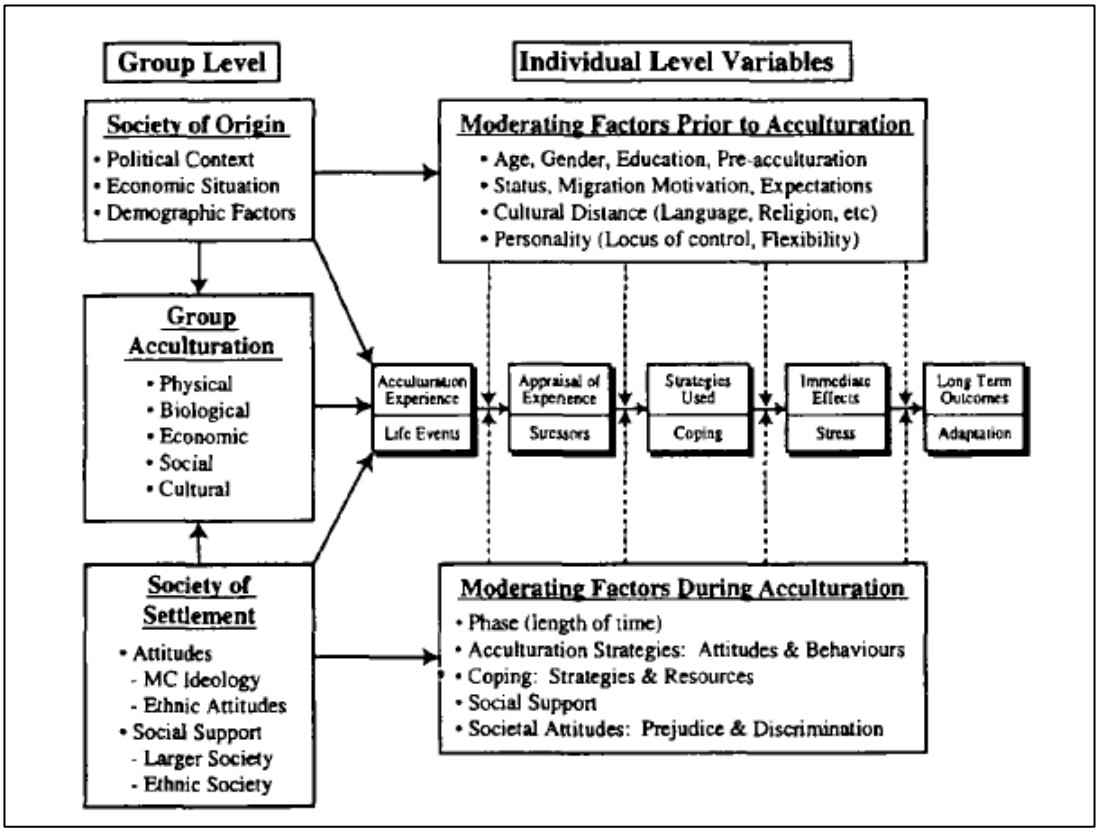
This study focuses on three areas of stress research that are relevant to low- and semi-skilled international labour migrants: acculturative, workplace and migrant worker stress, which are discussed below.

2.2.1.1 Acculturative stress

The most commonly cited definition of acculturation is from Redfield, Linton, and Herskovit which states that 'acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' (62, pp 149, cited in 53). Most research in this area focuses on immigrant and refugee populations whose transition to the new country is relatively permanent, for settlement rather than a temporary stay. However, some acculturation research has also been studied among sojourners or students who are temporary residents of a new country and intend to return to their countries of origin. Although both the newcomers and the host population need to adapt to each other, the onus is often on the former to make the necessary adjustments to the new social, cultural and political structures and norms. Conflict and stress may arise as individuals try to simultaneously adapt to the host culture and retain their own cultural identity. Berry identified four key components to explain the acculturation process: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation (63, 64). How individuals and groups choose to respond to acculturation is based on the extent to which they adopt or reject the two cultures in question and may be based on a range of group-level and individual-factors, as described in Berry's framework (Figure 2.1).

In Berry's framework the process of acculturation is conceptualised through initial exposures between the two cultures in question, which place demands on group and individual acculturation that may lead to some form of eventual adaptation. This process is influenced by group-level factors from origin and destination countries and individual-level factors both before and after acculturation. Group-level factors arise from changes within the migrant population through living in a different cultural context, including potentially shifting their own value system. Individual-level factors are based on how individuals make sense of the intercultural experiences and whether they prioritise assimilating to the new society (63). Acculturative stress is therefore defined as 'a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation' (65, p. 19).

Figure 2.1 - Berry's framework on acculturation



Source: Berry 1997 (65, Figure 2)

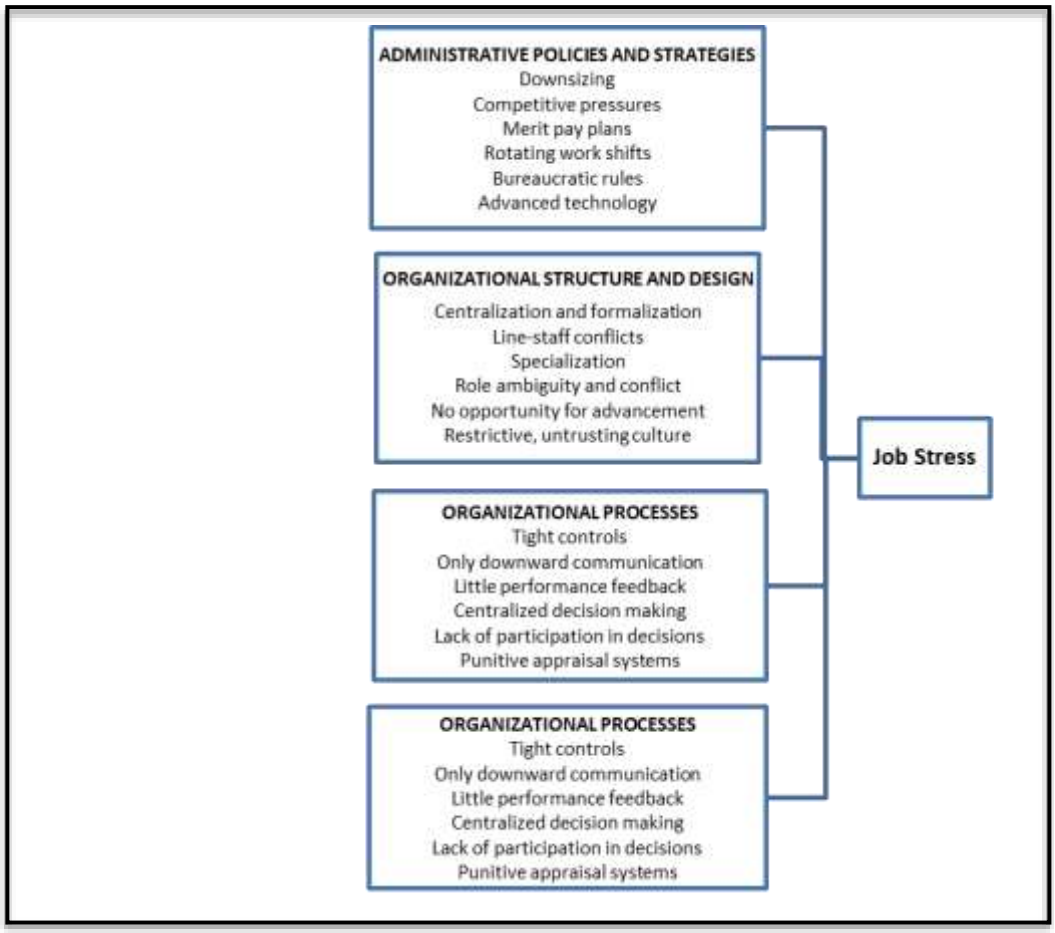
2.2.1.2 Workplace stress

Workplace stress are those related to specific characteristics of the job and those related to the organisational and social aspects of the workplace (66). Workers' experiences are positive when they have a reasonable workload, safe workplace, are paid fairly for their work, are clear about their role and duties and have the motivation and ability to do the job. Further, organisation that provides a supportive environment in which workers are able to gain new skills and knowledge will improve their self-esteem and confidence. Organisations that use top-down approaches to decision-making and communication, or those where unsupportive and excessively demanding senior staff flourish as well as unclear expectations, roles or duties, job insecurity, lack of autonomy, responsibility or support all contribute to workplace stress (60, 66). A mismatch between job demand, control and rewards is a potential stressor and some job-stress models suggest this is the case even if the mismatch is based solely on the subjective perception of the worker. There is debate as to whether awareness of stressors is a necessary precondition for individuals to experience the negative effects (67). This may indicate a level of individual difference, even when experiencing the same situation which may be influenced by personality, past experiences and demographics, among others.

There have been a variety of approaches used to study workplace stress (60, 68). The Person-Environment Fit model focuses on the demands-ability fit and the needs-supplies fit. The former relates to an individual's ability to meet the demands of the job while the latter describes the match between what an individual needs and whether there are resources available to meet those needs. The discrepancy between either of the two areas leads to a mismatch which may contribute to poor well-being (68). A similar model but one aiming for a more objective consideration of fit is Hobfoll's Conservation of Resources Theory (68, 69). The Job Characteristics Model and Job Demand-Control-Support Model (60, 68) share similarities in recognising individuals' autonomy, control and support. The effort-reward imbalance model (70) and the transactional models, conceptualised by Lazarus incorporate coping mechanisms and view the relationship between individuals and stressors as a shifting one, where the situation is repeatedly (re)assessed and (re)appraised (71).

Studies on workplace stress often use variations of the above models. One such model is Luthans' on macro-level workplace stress, shown in Figure 2.2, in which four groups of stressors are depicted. Workplace stressors may include technological advances that change the way work is performed (72).

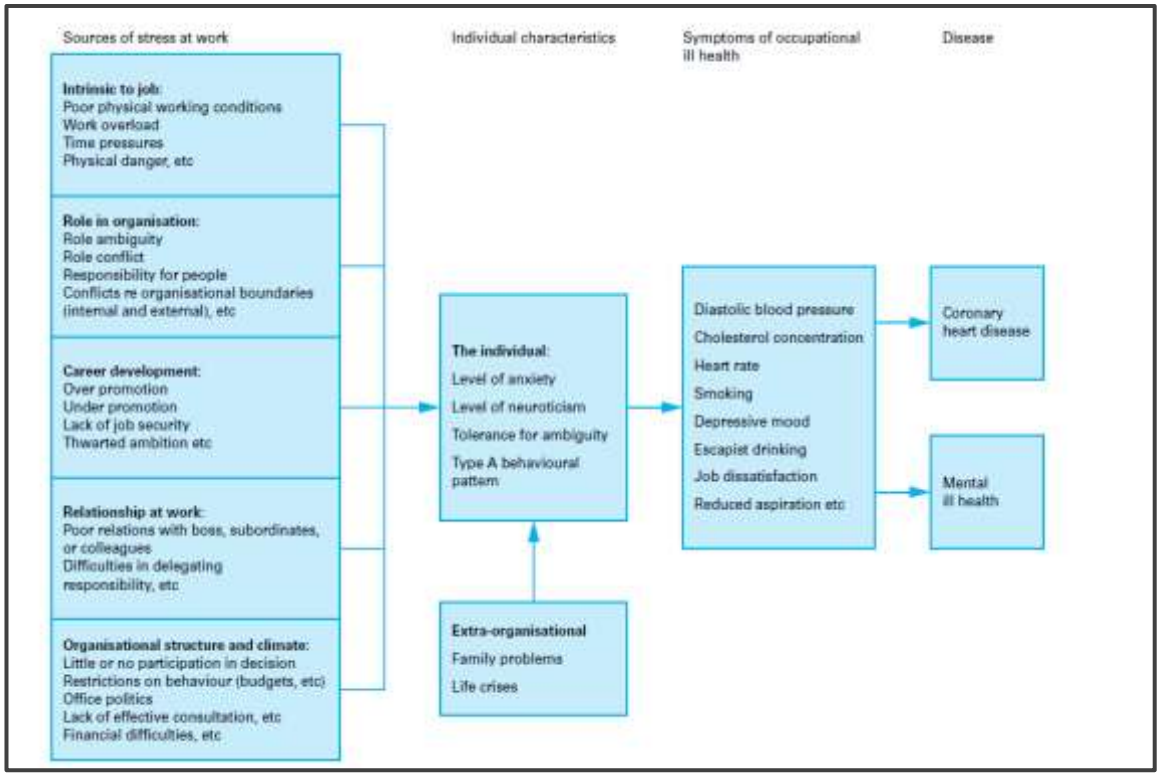
Figure 2.2 - Luthans' model of macro-level organisational stressors



Source: Luthans 2002 (72, p. 283)

Workplace stress can lead to poor physical and mental health including burnout, risk of accidents, hypertension, anxiety, depression and substance misuse, which impacts on workers but also on the organisation through absenteeism and low productivity (73). Cooper and Marshall's model based on the Person-Environmental fit model, have been used in several studies on job stress (Figure 2.3) (74, cited in 56). The model proposes five categories of stressor sources: those intrinsic to the job, the role in the organisation, advancement possibilities, work relationship and organisational structure and climate in terms of employees' autonomy, level of influence and communication. The role of factors outside of the workplace that can contribute to stress is also highlighted including family issues such as conflict, illness, or lack of time to devote to relationships, or based on life stage such as aging, death of family members and raising children. Combined these may lead to poor physical and mental health. (66, 74, 75).

Figure 2.3 - Model of job stress



Source: Mitchie 2002 (66, Figure 1)

2.2.1.3 Migrant worker stress

Recognising the specific stress low-skilled labour migrants may encounter, some researchers have developed instruments that consider the additional sources of stress related to being a migrant worker. In a study among internal labour migrants in Shanghai, China, migration stress was defined as 'stress that results from handling such survival issues as employment, financial

problems, losses, cultural differences and unmet high expectations' (76, p. 132-133). A specific migration stress scale was developed, based on interviews with 25 workers, then validated among another 50 workers before being used among 475 workers and tested using exploratory factor analysis. Four key factors were identified that contribute to stress: financial and employment difficulties, cultural differences, lack of social life, and interpersonal tensions and conflicts.

In terms of international labour migrants, many studies have specifically explored seasonal migrant farmworkers in North America, typically from Central America and Mexico. These studies have pointed to poor working conditions, work environment, documentation issues, family situation and limited resources as all contributing to stress (77). Hovey developed a specific stress questionnaire, the Migrant Farmworker Stress Inventory (MFWSI), to determine the severity and type of stress among Spanish-speaking adult migrant farmworkers. The 39-item instrument includes questions on language, feelings of isolation, being taken advantage of, being away from family and concerns about children, documentation and discrimination (78).

Another highly mobile group of temporary migrants are day labourers who generally seek informal work on a very short term basis, sometimes only for a few hours. In the United States, these types of work are dominated by Central American migrants, who are demographically similar to those in the MFWSI study. Duke and colleagues modified the MFWSI and then tested it among a sample of 102 day labourers in Northern California (73). Four factors explained nearly 62% of the variance: instability (work, housing and isolation), relationships (concerns about children and romantic relationships), communication (language issues or confiding in others), and alcohol or drug (dissatisfaction at exposures to other people's use of drugs or alcohol) (73).

These instruments highlight the importance of recognising the wider context of migrant workers' life that can increase stress.

2.2.2 Theories of coping

Coping is defined by Folkman and Lazarus as the cognitive and behavioural reactions used to manage or reduce demands and conflicts (61). Coping has been conceptualised variously as individual personality traits that are relatively stable; or as a process that changes over time, influenced by the situational context of the stressors (59, 79). Lazarus describes these two approaches as 'an oversimple conception of the way coping works and is measured in research' (80, p. 292). Further conceptualisations of coping based on personality or

dispositions were unsupported in empirical research as were those based on more static responses (59). Coping is better conceptualised as a process where changing, multiple and competing stressors must be addressed, often simultaneously, by equally shifting coping strategies, which also change over the life span and are affected by life experiences (59, 81).

Coping strategies themselves are sometimes defined and assessed by their function, most commonly classified as either problem-focused or emotion-focused with the former aimed at confronting the source of the stressor and the latter at changing the emotional reaction to the stressor (79). They have also been defined as active or action-oriented versus passive or avoidance coping (82). However, other studies have found that many strategies serve either of the two coping functions, and in many cases both (83). Coping strategies also depend on how stressors are appraised; for example, they can be described as primary- and secondary-coping (61).

Coping and coping strategies are not inherently positive or negative. However, in practice some types of responses are considered by researchers to be more or less adaptive; for example, problem-solving strategies are often seen as a better way to cope than emotion-focused responses. Strategies are frequently labelled as positive or adaptive, versus negative or maladaptive, or determined through implication, by the way the responses are worded in instruments (79, 84). Some coping strategies are associated with changes in emotion and it is important to recognise that the contextual factors surrounding stressors may make certain coping strategies more or less *useful* to specific individuals, in specific situations depending on whether the assessment is focused on short or long-term outcomes. However, these may or may not be perceived and assessed in the same way by researchers (79, 85). Indeed Lazarus argues that coping efficacy is about a balance of the ways in which individuals try to manage a 'troubled person-environment relationship', and for stressors that cannot be changed, individuals' insistence on using problem-solving strategies may be counterproductive (80, p. 993). Further, even within specific situations, stress and coping mechanisms change as responses are attempted and emotions affect the ways in which stressors and consequences are perceived; this in turn influences which coping strategies may be useful (86, p. 156). Stress may be further exacerbated if the coping strategies employed are unsuccessful in addressing the stressor(s) (87).

The different conceptualisations of coping have led to the development of many different measures and instruments to gauge and assess coping strategies. In an evaluation of coping measures 33 conceptual definitions of coping had been used in empirical studies between the 1970s and 1980s for which the core element was related to person-environment transactions (84). Studies that conceptualised coping as a personality trait or style tended to assess it by

asking how individuals generally cope, sometimes in hypothetical situations. In contrast, those that view coping as a changing concept, which varied according to the specific stressful circumstances, asked about actual past responses to specific stressful situations, chosen and described by the participants themselves (79). However, some researchers have cautioned against asking about situations that are too specific, often in relation to relatively uncommon types of stressors, as they limit generalisability and may not significantly improve our understanding of coping (59, 84). Lazarus also emphasises that coping measures assessed can be somewhat disjointed from the individual being studied, 'who has a particular goal hierarchy and situational intentions, belief systems, and a life pattern of plans and social connections' (79, p. 382). Furthermore, coping strategies also need to respond to the changing circumstances of the stressful situation. This may involve using different responses until one that successfully manages the stressor can be found and may indicate why individuals report different coping responses in his instrument, Ways of Coping Questionnaire (80, p. 294).

3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology used in the thesis. It describes the study design, providing the rationale for the approach, the methods for data collection, ethical issues, and analysis methods for the quantitative and qualitative components. It also describes the Study of Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation (SWiFT), in which this thesis is nested and explains the candidate's role in the wider SWiFT Nepal research**.**

3.1 Research aim & objectives

The aim of this study is to explore the coping strategies used to manage migration-related stressors, including labour exploitation and forced labour, among Nepali male international labour migrants. Table 3.1 outlines the objectives, method and the research paper output.

Table 3.1 - Study objectives, method, and research paper

Objective	Method	Research Paper
1. to systematically review the evidence on coping strategies international labour migrants from LMICs used to cope with migration-related stressors	-systematic review of published (peer-reviewed and grey) literature	Paper 1
2. to quantify the prevalence of and associations with forced labour experiences among a sample of Nepali male labour migrants	-descriptive analysis of experiences of the three dimensions of forced labour	Paper 2
	-regression analysis to identify factors associated with forced labour experiences	
3. to identify migration-related stressors experienced by Nepali male labour migrants before, during and after their migration	-thematic analysis of qualitative interviews	Paper 3
4. to explore the strategies Nepali male labour migrants used to cope with migration-related stressors	-thematic analysis of qualitative interviews	Paper 4

3.1.1 Rationale for study design

The original study was conceptualised with a different aim but that, along with the qualitative methods had to be changed. These changes are described in detail in 3.6.

Paradigms have been defined as 'worldviews or all-encompassing ways of experiencing and thinking about the world, including beliefs about morals, values, and aesthetics' (88, p. 52). In research this is the overarching philosophical assumptions that influence the research process from the types of questions asked, to the design, methods and interpretation (88, 89). A classical positivist philosophical approach is rooted in biomedical and physical sciences where truth, or natural laws, is assumed to be objective, stable and measurable. In the social sciences positivist approaches are evident through the quantitative methods of using standardised measured and scales, analysed with statistical techniques (90). In contrast, a relativist philosophy views truth and reality as constructed and are specific to the social, historical, temporal and political context. Stemming from the relativist philosophy, the interpretative approach is aimed at understanding how humans interpret their social worlds and problems. It has influenced many of the qualitative research methods used in the social sciences that explores the subjective understandings and experiences of participants (91). Although quantitative and qualitative approaches are often described as representing opposing ends of the spectrum, Hanson asserts that is not accurate from an epistemological perspective. She argues, for example, that, in fact, 'subjectivity is the objectivity of the social sciences and objectivity the subjectivity of the physical and natural sciences' (92, p. 99).

A pragmatic approach has been suggested as an alternative to the classical epistemological debates that can bridge the divide between the two ends of the epistemological spectrum. Pragmatism makes methodological decisions based on the available options and limitations in the context of the topic being studied rather than purely based on philosophical differences (93, 94). Mixed methods research using the pragmatic paradigm does not hold any one method to be superior or better able to unearth 'truth' (94, 95) while at the same time the research may still be generalisable to other context (88, 89). It can be used to 'fit together the insights provided by qualitative and quantitative research into a workable solution' (96, p. 16). This flexibility enables researchers to have the option to identify 'the emergence of unexpected data' (95, p. 14). Adopting this approach means that mixed methods research is useful for looking at an issue through different lenses and perspectives, using a mix of methods that complement each other, which may lead to the emergence of a more complete picture and enable greater understanding (94, 96, 97).

In this thesis I used a mixed quantitative and qualitative design to explore coping strategies and identify stressors encountered by Nepali male international labour migrants throughout their migration experiences. The choice of a mixed-methods design follows a pragmatic research paradigm in which researchers are not forced to align their choice either a positivist or relativisit epistemological approach.

The quantitative survey, for example, measures experiences of exploitative practices in an 'objective' way according to the ILO definition and measures. However, migrants themselves may not agree with those definitions and labels, as even within the group of labour scholars and experts, including those who designed the ILO measures, there is no full agreement on how exploitation and forced labour should be measured (98-100). This is evident in the changes in approach used by the ILO to estimate forced labour between 2009 and 2017 rendering it impossible to compare the statistics produced in the three time-points (21, 101, 102). Further, it is unclear when or where different exploitative experiences sit along the 'decent work – forced labour' continuum.

On the other hand, other aspects of migration that could cause stress may not be captured in the survey instrument. The questionnaire focused heavily on the migration process, as many questions and indicators were needed to compute the forced labour estimate. Instruments designed to measure and assess coping are limited and not fully applicable to the population of interest in this study. Further, the ways in which migrants themselves describe the challenges they have encountered, including those relating to their family, background, and wider social context, can be revealing. They provide additional insights into how and which stressors were experienced, and why certain coping strategies were used by certain individuals. The qualitative methods also gave the participants a voice in describing their experiences in their own words, as well as choosing which stories and experiences to share.

I adopted a convergent parallel design for the thesis in which quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analysed separately but brought together during interpretation of the findings using a weaving approach to combine the findings by themes or concepts (103). The triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods is complementary, with each providing important insights that come together to enable a more complete and in-depth picture to emerge. As applied research aimed at improving policy and practice, this mixed-methods pragmatic approach will help to improve our understanding of labour migrants' experiences and could lead to the development of better targeted interventions and policies.

3.2 Candidate's role in research design and overall thesis

The SWiFT Evaluation is a DfID-funded programme of research to evaluate the community intervention component of ILO's Work in Freedom programme (WiF), an anti-trafficking intervention designed to reduce the vulnerability of women and girls from Nepal, India and Bangladesh from labour exploitation (104).

I led the Nepal arm of the study. I was responsible for leading and managing the research and evaluation in Nepal and ensuring the quality and delivery of the outputs for SWIFT Nepal. This thesis was conducted on a part-time basis alongside my role as Nepal country lead for SWiFT. I contributed to the overall design of the evaluation. I was responsible for drafting the Nepal study protocols, the study instruments for three phases of data collection, the participant information sheet and consent forms (see 3.6). The three phases of data collection included the initial formative study conducted over two phases in one district (Dolakha), followed by the full study in three other districts (Morang, Rupandehi and Chitwan). The combined instruments I developed for the SWiFT Nepal evaluation included the following:

- a household census
- a cross-sectional survey of prospective migrants
- a cross-sectional survey of returnee migrants
- a series of longitudinal surveys to follow prospective migrants
- two qualitative interview guides

I opted to collect data electronically for SWiFT and researched suitable software programmes that could accept the Nepali script. Once the quantitative instruments were finalized, I programmed the English version of each survey into the software, so that the final Nepali version could be easily pasted in by a staff member of Social Science Baha (SSB), SWiFT Nepal's research partner.

I designed and delivered an intensive two-week training programme for the team of 13-15 fieldworkers ahead of each of the three phases of data collection for SWiFT. During fieldwork I managed the data collection process on site. I joined the team daily in the field and held debriefings most nights, followed by a review of the collected data if there was a functional internet connection to download the data. After fieldwork, I cleaned and carried out preliminary analysis of the data in London and continued to monitor the collection of longitudinal data which was done via mobile phone. I oversaw the work of a Research Fellow to analyse one of the datasets, supervised a MSc student project that analysed the qualitative

data and am supporting the write-up of academic papers. To date I have contributed to a range written publications from these data and have presented the findings in various academic conferences and dissemination events (see Appendix I).

3.2.1 Positionality

Researcher's positionality shapes the research questions, methods, data collection and interpretation and is commonly situated by highlighting identify factors such as race/ethnicity, age, gender, sexuality among others. Similarities and differences in these areas establish researcher's role as an 'insider' or 'outsider' to the population under study (94, 105, 106). Some have argued that being an insider through shared history or background fosters trust and openness but Cousin argues that such cases also risk 'intellectual and emotional laziness rather than invite reflexivity' (106, p. 16). Further, such dichotomy may 'repress the paradoxical relationship between humans…' as anyone can be *the same as* and *different from* another simultaneously (106, p. 16), highlighting the dynamic nature of positionality, where we are all 'multiple insiders and outsiders' (107, 108).

In this study my perspective is that of an 'outsider', as I am not Nepali, nor do I have the experience of working in low-wage, high risk jobs. During my research, I recognised the limitations this might pose, especially in relation to having or gaining a deeper socio-economic and cultural understanding. At the same time, I was aware that I could utilise my external, more distal perspective to query and observe actions and reactions that might seem commonplace to 'insiders'. As best as possible, I supplemented these likely gaps in 'insider-knowledge' through my time spent in Nepal with the communities, especially in rural areas, in-depth interviewing and examining the literature. My involvement with SWiFT also meant I was in close contact with staff at ILO Nepal and WiF's implementing partners which enhanced my understanding of the wider contextual issues. Additionally, over the course of the study, I have made attempts to learn the language, and have a group of Nepali friends that have helped to deepen my understanding of the culture.

At LSHTM I have conducted evaluations on global and public health interventions using mixed methods approaches in areas such as HIV and sexual and reproductive health and rights; women's empowerment; and gender-based violence. These interventions informed my perspective of health at the population-level and issues of health equity. I also became aware of the value of interdisciplinary approaches, which combine basic science with epidemiology, social, behavioural and environmental sciences (109). My disciplinary alignments are with

global health and public health, drawing on interdisciplinary approaches to capture both depth and breadth of people's experiences in their context.

The SWiFT evaluation was designed to reduce women's vulnerability to labour exploitation. During my initial review of the literature and policies I noted the vast numbers of Nepali men who leave the country for employment opportunities. Despite the routine reports of exploitation in the media and CSO reports (as described in Chapter 1), male migrants were not targeted by or included in the intervention in any way. I became interested to explore men's experiences, including those related to exploitation. As changes to policies and practice can take many years to develop and implement, and the prevalence of labour migration among men appeared to only be on the rise, I was interested to understand the ways in which men cope with the challenges they encounter, in the context where policies that protect their rights were often not enforced (or enforceable). I wanted to ensure my research was relevant, applicable and translatable to policy and practice, which may ultimately lead to improvements to labour migrants' experiences and outcome.

3.2.2 SWiFT data used in this thesis

The SWiFT research described in the previous section was for the full SWiFT-Nepal evaluation, of which only the formative component, designed to inform the remaining SWiFT-Nepal research, was used in the quantitative component of this thesis. The SWiFT formative study consisted of a household survey and individual interviews with returnee migrants, described in detail in 3.3.

The qualitative component of my thesis was conducted independently of the wider SWiFT research, as the WIF intervention targeted women in selected districts of Nepal, while I wanted to focus on male migrants. I designed the study, developed the topic guide, and recruited interpreters, transcribers, and translators for this component of my thesis.

For the overall thesis, I conceptualised the research questions and the methodological approach, designed the data collection instruments, managed the data collection process for the quantitative component (done in collaboration with SSB), conducted the qualitative interviews, cleaned, analysed and interpreted the data, drafted and revised of all the research papers.

3.3 The SWiFT formative study

As described in 3.2, the SWiFT formative study formed the quantitative component in this thesis.

Ahead of the roll out of the community-level WiF intervention activities in Nepal, I led a formative study to estimate the prevalence of labour migration, explore how prospective migrants plan and prepare for their migration, and assess past labour migration experiences among returnees (110). The findings were used to inform the ILO programming and the subsequent main phase of the SWiFT-Nepal research.

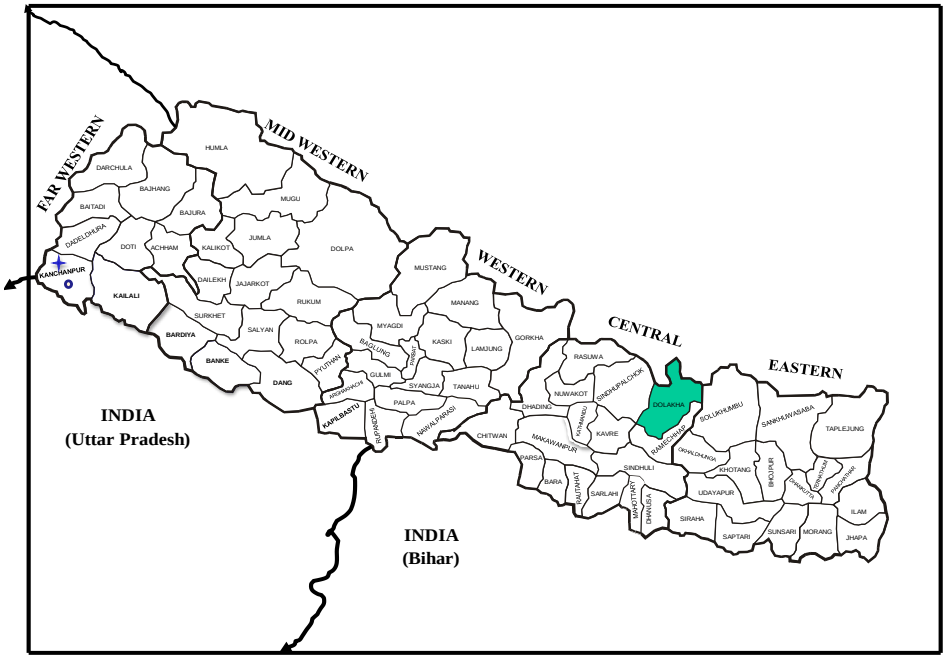
3.3.1 Study sites

In Nepal, five districts were selected by ILO-Nepal and key stakeholders to implement WIF: Morang, Rupandehi, Chitwan, Palpa and Dolakha. In each district, 15 Village Development Committees (VDCs), the smaller administrative units within districts, were selected. Each VDC is made up of a number of wards that varies depending on the size of the district (104).

Of the five WiF implementing districts, Dolakha Figure 3.1, was selected by ILO-Nepal as the most suitable for the formative research as ILO-Nepal had not previously worked there and thus required additional time to select a suitable implementing partner. This meant that fieldwork for the SWiFT-Nepal formative study could be carried out before the WiF activities began.

Site selection for VDC and wards was determined through discussions with ILO-Nepal, consultation with local stakeholders, and a field visit conducted by SSB. Three wards in three different VDCs were selected based on an average migration pattern in order to not over- or under-estimate the prevalence of migration. These were: Bhimeshwar-1, the municipal capital; Kavre-6, a peri-urban site; and Suri–3, a rural site.

Figure 3.1 - Study site



Source: ILO WiF (104)

3.3.2 Study design

The formative study was a cross-sectional quantitative study that took place over two phases. In Phase I, full enumeration of all households was conducted in the study sites to collect information on each member's migration history. In Phase II we returned to interview those identified from the household surveys as ever having migrated outside of Nepal for work.

Phase I took place between February and March 2013, and Phase II between November and December 2014. Each phase is described separately below.

3.3.2.1 Phase I – Household survey and mapping

3.3.2.1.1 Sampling and recruitment

We used census sampling and all households in the selected ward were visited to interview with household heads. Therefore, no sample size calculation was done.

3.3.2.1.2 Instrument development

I developed a roster to collect demographic and migration data for all household members and the household's social and economic information. Migration data included past migration experiences and plans for future migration. As well as following the ILO guidelines on survey

development to measure forced labour, I also drew on national labour force surveys and demographic and health surveys. For household members identified as a current labour migrant working in another country, we included questions to capture the household head's awareness of their family member's situation abroad. These included questions on their work details, frequency and mode of communication, awareness of whether they had any problems with salary and health.

Once finalised, I programmed the survey into the Qualtrics software for electronic data collection (Qualtrics, Provo, UT, USA). SSB organised for it to be translated into Nepali and then pasted into the software. The household survey is included in Appendix II.

3.3.2.1.3 Fieldworker training

Thirteen fieldworkers were selected and recruited by SSB. I developed and delivered an intensive two-week training to prepare the fieldworkers, with the assistance of a member of SSB staff for interpretation. The training covered the social research methodology (for which I drew on my staff role at LSHTM where I teach post-graduate-level social research), the WiF intervention, the SWiFT study rationale and background and objectives across the three countries, the Nepal-specific study design, logistics and ethics for the safety of both participants and fieldworkers. It also covered practical interview skills, tablet use, and logistical and administrative tasks, which I adapted from other fieldwork training I previous led in different settings including Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Swaziland and Kenya. This was followed by detailed discussions of the survey instrument, testing it on the tablets to ensure it was clear and to identify problems with the survey programming.

The team then spend a half-day piloting the instrument in a residential area in Kathmandu organised by SSB. Participants in the piloting exercise provided feedback on the clarity of the questions and response options. The instrument was revised following this exercise. The training concluded with a talk and Q&A session with several residents of Dolakha to better prepare for the fieldwork as SSB had not previously worked in Dolakha.

3.3.2.1.4 Fieldwork

The fieldworkers were divided into three teams, each with a team leader, and were responsible for one VDC-ward. The largest team stayed in Bhimeshwar, which had the highest population density as the municipal centre of the district. A local coordinator from each ward was hired to support the fieldwork, particularly noting the ward boundaries. All the households were visited and those where no one was found were visited on two more

occasions, at different times of the day, to try to capture as many households as possible. I followed the main team in Bhimeshwar, accompanying them to houses and interviews, and responding to any questions or problems, particularly related to the survey and the programming. Each team also produced a map of their ward to facilitate our return for individual interviews in Phase II. The maps can be found in Appendix II.

3.3.2.1.5 Ethics and fieldwork safety

I designed the information sheet and consent form for the study in English, and then translated into Nepali by SSB for distribution to the participants (see Appendix II). The fieldwork team provided a full description of the study, both verbally and written, detailing: the background and rationale for the study; why the household/individual was invited to take part; the risks and benefits of participation; and contact details for further information. Voluntary participation was emphasised, as was the possibility of changing their mind at any point after consenting, or of not answering specific questions. Signed informed consent was obtained before the interviews began. At the end of each interview, participants were asked whether they would consent for us to contact them in the second phase of our work several months later. Those that agreed were included in the potential sample for Phase II.

During the quantitative survey, fieldworker safety was ensured by having teams of three or four fieldworkers and the local coordinator travelling together. Fieldworkers conducted the interviews privately but were within reach of other team members as the houses are closely clustered in the wards. Participants who were only available in the evenings were met by two fieldworkers and the details of their location were communicated to the team leaders, and if it was in Bhimeshwar, where I was also based, I was also informed.

3.3.2.1.6 Data cleaning and analysis

The downloaded data were transferred into Stata/SE 14.0 (Stata Corporation, East College Station, TX USA) for cleaning and analysis. Errors noted by the fieldworkers were corrected and dates were converted from the Nepali calendar to the Western (Gregorian) calendar (for example to determine date of birth, departure and return month and year for migration experiences).

Descriptive analysis was conducted to determine the prevalence of labour migration at the household-level. Individual-level data were used to explore migration histories and patterns including destinations and type of work among ever and current migrants. Summary statistics described the socio-demographic profiles of the participants and their migration histories.

Differences between the three sites were assessed using chi-squared test or Fisher's Exact Test for any cell with a value of five or fewer responses.

3.3.2.2 Phase II – Returnee migrant survey

The Phase I household surveys provided data for 1257 households capturing information on 5984 individuals. Eight-months after completion of Phase I, we returned to invite individuals identified as having ever migrated outside of Nepal for work to take part in the returnee survey that explored their migration experiences in detail. Households were only eligible if they had consented at Phase I to be contacted in Phase II, and consent was reconfirmed before the interviews began (see 3.3.4.5). Phase II used similar procedures and logistics to those in Phase I.

3.3.2.2.1 Sampling and recruitment

Migration histories among household members are presented in Table 3.2. The majority of households were in Bhimeshwar. Approximately 33% of households reported at least one member who had ever migrated outside of Nepal for work, which closely resembled the national figures reported elsewhere (3, 4). At the time of the fieldwork, just under 15% of households had at least one member who was working outside the country.

Table 3.2 - Migration history among households, by site

	Bhimeshwar n=1049	Kavre n=165	Suri n=43	Total n=1257
Households with any ever migrated:	318 (30.3)	61 (37.0)	29 (67.4)	408 (32.5)
1 member only	269 (25.6)	51 (30.9)	22 (51.2)	342 (27.2)
>1 member	49 (4.7)	10 (6.1)	7 (16.3)	66 (5.3)
Households with a currently migrant:	150 (14.3)	25 (19.2)	9 (39.1)	184 (14.6)
1 member only	130 (12.4)	24 (14.6)	6 (14.0)	160 (12.7)
> 1 member	34 (3.2)	1 (0.6)	5 (11.6)	40 (3.2)

Individual-level data indicated that overall, 15% of males (n=444) and 2% of females (n=46) had previously migrated outside of Nepal (including India) for work (Table 3.3). As these households had consented to follow up contact, all of ever migrated individuals were eligible but this thesis only used the men's data.

Table 3.3 – Number of previous labour migrations, among ever migrants, by sex

Number of previous migrations:	Men n=444	Women n=46	Total n=490
1	320 (72.1)	20 (43.5)	340 (69.4)
2	89 (20.1)	13 (28.3)	102 (20.8)
3-4	35 (7.9)	13 (28.3)	48 (9.8)
p-value	<0.001		

After analysing the data on migrant's most recent labour migration information, I realised that a large proportion of the returnee migrants had returned from their most recent migration over ten years ago. After such a long gap, participants may not be able to recall detailed information on their migration experiences. Given that we had a relatively small eligible sample to begin with, and a high probability of many not being available during the Phase II fieldwork, I decided to include all eligible participants regardless of when they returned to Nepal. However, for those who returned over ten years ago, the team agreed to opt for a shorter survey that excluded many of the detailed items needed to calculate forced labour. Therefore, the estimation of forced labour was only done among participants who returned within the past ten years. While this is still a longer timeframe than ideal, it was a good compromise given the dearth of data on the topic.

Among the 444 men identified, 47 could not be located. Of the 397 located, 40.3% were abroad, 17.6% had relocated or were temporary away and 2.0% refused participation. Overall 159 men from the original sample were interviewed, resulting in a response rate of 40.1%. A further 37 returnee men were identified during fieldwork in Bhimeshwar who were not on our original roster. Some of these would have been households that were away during the Phase I fieldwork. After ascertaining that they did live within the ward boundary of our research site, I opted to include them as the aim was to include all returnee men in the study sites, through the initial census-style sampling in Phase I. Details of the sampling outcome are presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 - Flow chart of sampling outcome in returnee migrant survey

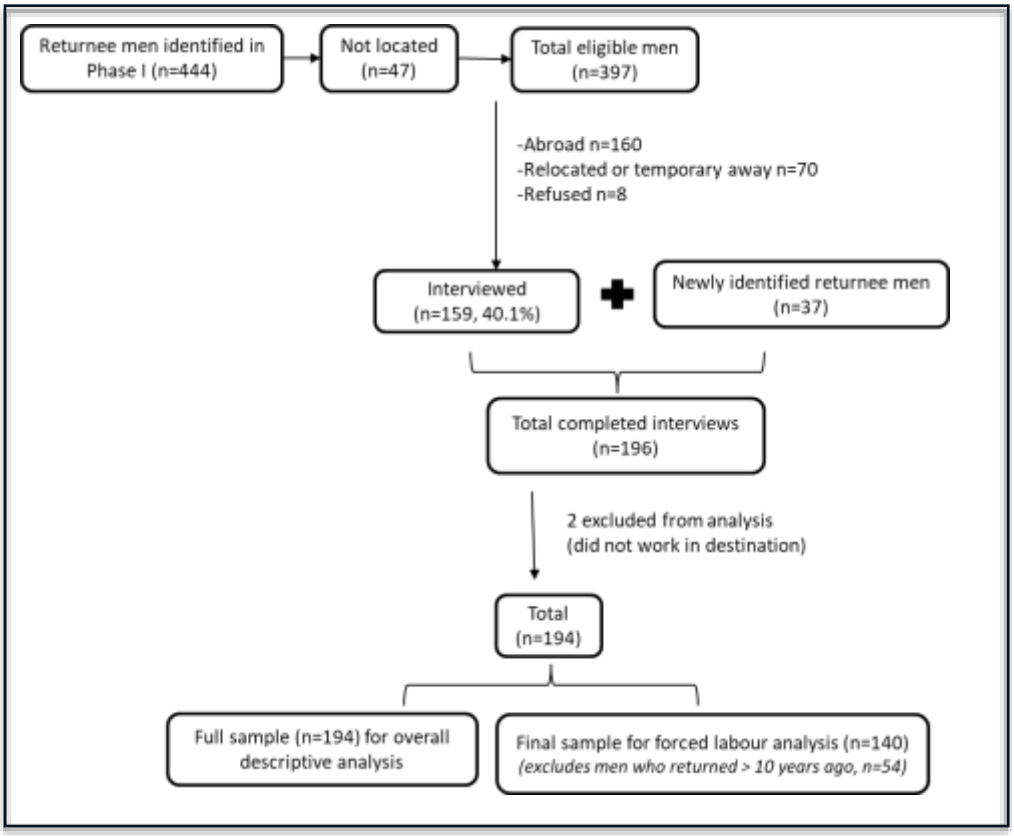
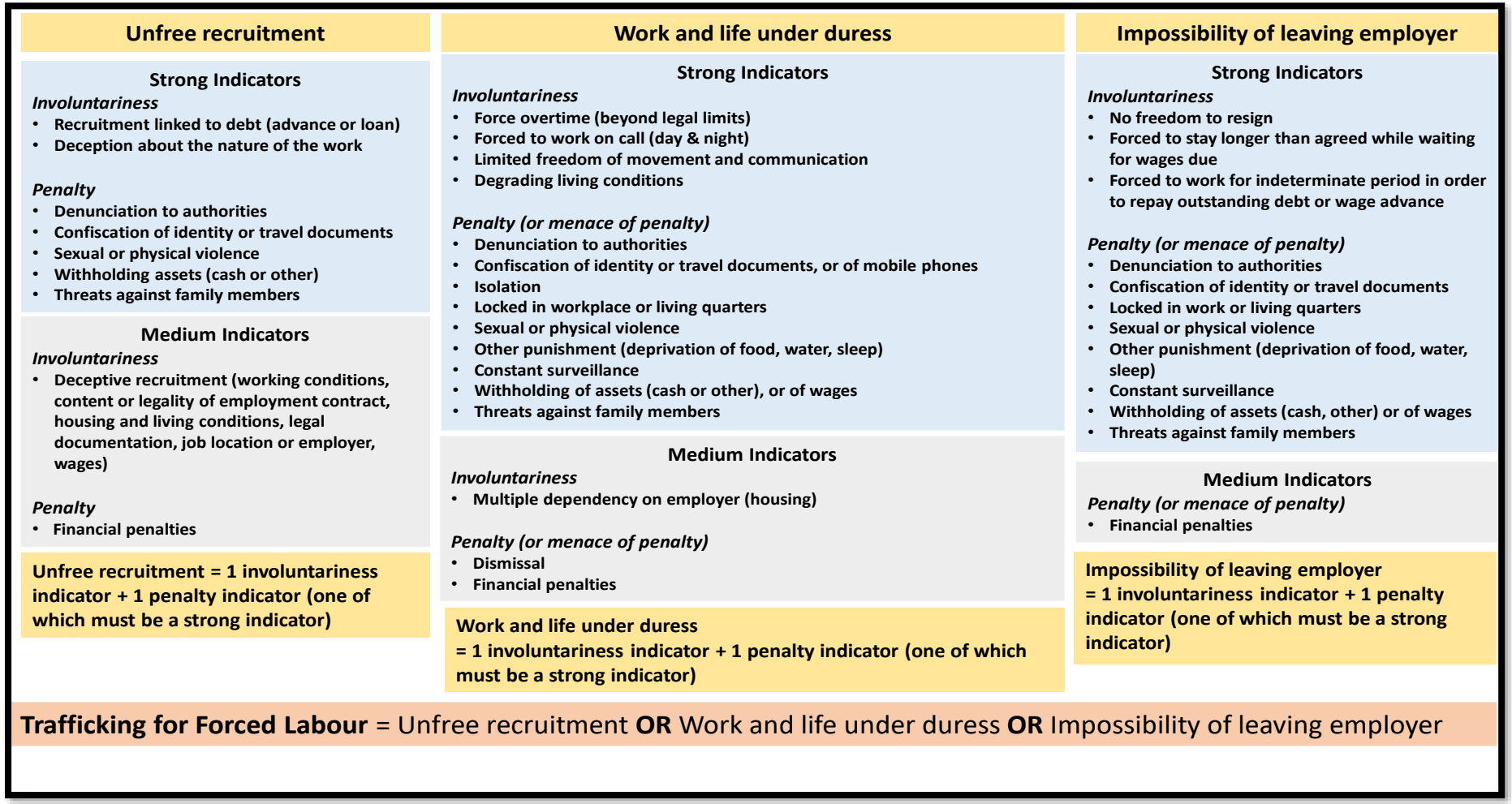


Figure 3.3 - Operation of trafficking for forced labour indicators, adapted from the ILO guidelines



Source: adapted from ILO 2012 (21)

Table 3.4 - Dimensions of forced labour, indicators and corresponding survey questions

Dimension of forced labour			Indicator	Description of item on survey
Unfree Recruitment	**Involuntariness**	*Strong indicators*	Recruitment linked to debt (advance or loan)	loan or advance paid by employer or agent; deduction of wages by employer to pay for recruitment, document application, or travel costs
		Medium Indicators	Deception about the nature of the work	discrepancy between the type of work recruited to do and actually did.
			Deceptive recruitment	discrepancies between information received before leaving and actual on: working conditions (hours, vacation, salary, overtime); contract (duration, cancellation); accommodation and meal arrangements; job location; employer details
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Threats against family members	employer or recruitment agent threatened to be violent against my family
		Medium Indicators	N/A	
Work and life under duress	**Involuntariness**	*Strong indicators*	Force overtime (beyond legal limit)	made to work for >8 hours per day with no extra pay
			Limited freedom of movement and communication	confiscation of mobile phone or contact details of family and friends; unable to talk to anyone you wanted to over the phone, leave work premises, or go out unaccompanied during non-working hours
			Degrading living conditions	do not have own bed to sleep on, sleep on the floor or in a room used for other purposes only given one meal per day
		Medium Indicators	Multiple dependency on employer (housing)	housing provided by employer
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Denunciation to authorities	employer threaten to call the police or authorities

			Sexual/physical violence	experiences of any of the following by someone responsible for your employment (recruiter, employer, employers' family, friends, security staff, management staff): threats to hurt you; slapped, hit you with a fist or threw something at you; pushed, shoved, kicked, dragged or beat you up; tied, chained, choked or burned you on purpose; threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against you; made you have sex against your wishes
		Medium Indicators	Dismissal Financial penalties	threaten with dismissal by employer employer deduct wages as punishment, lateness, or for sickness while sick leave; or threaten not to pay wages
Impossibility of leaving employer	**Involuntariness**	*Strong indicators*	No freedom to resign Forced to stay longer than agreed while waiting for wages Forced to work for indeterminate period in order to repay outstanding debt or wage advance	employer would not let migrant leave/resign forced to work for a longer period in order to get paid outstanding wages forced to work for a longer period in order to repay outstanding debt to employer
		Medium Indicators	N/A	
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Confiscation of identity or travel documents Locked in workplace/living quarters	no access to passport or ID documents locked inside work or accommodation premises
		Medium Indicators	N/A	

3.3.2.2.2 Instrument development

The primary outcome for the returnee survey is trafficking for forced labour. To operationalise the Palermo Protocol, ILO identified three dimensions of forced labour: *unfree recruitment; work and life under duress*; and *impossibility of leaving the employer*. Each dimension is defined by indicators of involuntariness and penalty, and are subdivided by strength: strong and medium (Figure 3.3).

I developed the first version of the survey following the ILO guidelines (21) and drew on a survey among post-trafficked individuals conducted by LSHTM (111) (Table 3.4). The survey followed the chronological order of the migration cycle (22), beginning from their plans and preparation, travel and transit, experiences in destination, and their return to Nepal. The main topic areas covered are shown in Table 3.5. A meeting was held in Kathmandu to review the survey and identify any areas missing and to ensure the questions and response options were relevant and appropriate for Nepali labour migrants. Colleagues from the wider SWiFT team, ILO-Nepal, ILO-Geneva and SSB all contributed to finalise the survey.

Table 3.5 - Main sections of returnee survey

PART 0: Administrative Data
PART I: Background And Demographic Information
PART II: Labour Migration Overview
PART III: Pre-Departure And Recruitment
PART IV: Contracts
PART V: Living & Working Conditions At Destination
PART VI: Health, Healthcare Access, and Use
PART VII: Freedom of Movement
PART VIII: Violence and Abuse
PART IX: Communications
PART X: Remittances
PART XI: Return and Re-Integration
PART XII: Remigration
PART XIII: Experiences From Previous Labour Migrations
PART XIV: Closing
PART XV: Follow-up Interview
**the follow-up interview section was included as at the time of the fieldwork, the intention was to recruit a subsample of participants for the qualitative study. However, this had to be changed and the details are described in section 3.6.*

The finalised survey was then translated into Nepali by SSB, followed by back translation by someone not connected to the project. I then programmed the survey into Qualtrics and the Nepali version was subsequently pasted in ahead of fieldworker training. Further amendments were made during the training and piloting. The survey is available in Appendix III.

3.3.2.2.3 Fieldworker training

A team of 13 fieldworkers took part in Phase II of the formative study. Of these, half had been part of the fieldwork team in Phase I and were familiar with the project and methods. The other half were other fieldworkers already engaged with other SSB work.

Fieldworker training for Phase II covered similar topics as Phase I but with greater emphasis on the link between the two phases and on the field procedures for tracing individuals. Much more time was also devoted to the survey as it was much longer and more complex than the household survey used in Phase I. Fieldworkers needed time to discuss the questionnaire and practise using it on the tablets, which also required substantial troubleshooting. The training was followed by a pilot exercise to test the questionnaire and the tablet functions in a residential area on the outskirts of Kathmandu, arranged by SSB. During the piloting each fieldworker sought a potential participant and invited him to take part, explaining that it was a pilot research exercise, and to complete the interview in full. Feedback was collected from the piloting participants and the survey items and programming were revised and adjusted accordingly.

3.3.2.2.4 Fieldwork

The Phase II fieldwork took place over three-weeks, from mid-November to early December 2014. The overall approach and logistics were similar to Phase I in terms of the division of the teams, the use of a local coordinators and the three attempted visits before moving on to another participant.

Each team travelled together to the site daily and interviews were conducted individually at a location of the participants' choice, usually their home or the field nearby. Once data collection was completed for Kavre and Suri, those two teams returned to assist in Bhimeshwar where most of the returnee migrant households were located (318 of the 408 households).

Both the English and Nepali versions of the survey were available on tablets. Questions were read out and responses entered directly by fieldworkers. After completion of the interviews, the data stored on the tablets were not accessible. Data were transferred at the end of each fieldwork day, when an internet connection was available. Access to the data was via a secure server, accessible only on a password-protected website, and only accessible by me.

I reviewed the collected data on a daily basis when the internet connection allowed for the transfer and download of data. Clarifications, inconsistencies and other issues were discussed in the debriefing meetings held most nights after fieldwork.

3.3.2.2.5 Ethics and fieldwork safety

The information sheet and consent form were developed in English and then translated by SSB into Nepali for distribution to the participants in the field (the forms are included in Appendix III). The same procedure was followed as in Phase I, where fieldworkers provided a full verbal and written description of the study, why the individual was invited, the risks and benefits of participation, and contact details for further information. Voluntary participation, the possibility to change their mind at any point after consenting, or to not answer specific questions were emphasised. Fieldworkers also made it clear that either participating or declining to do so would not result in any adverse consequences. Signed informed consent was obtained before the interviews began.

Fieldworker safety was ensured by having teams of three or four fieldworkers travelling together. Fieldworkers conducted the interviews privately but were within reach of each other as the houses are closely clustered in the wards. Participants who requested to be interviewed in the evenings were met by two fieldworkers and the details of their location was communicated to the Bhimeshwor team leader and myself beforehand.

Fieldworkers may interview returnees who have had traumatic experiences and may need support themselves on hearing about such experiences. This possibility was addressed during the training in order to prepare fieldworkers. During fieldwork, I held debriefing meetings with the team most evenings. The only exceptions were if the fieldwork day had been particularly long in which case it the meeting would be skipped until the following evening. The meetings were also used as an opportunity for fieldworkers to share their experiences and thoughts from the day as a way to support each other. I was available for fieldworkers who wished to debrief privately and several came to discuss their interviews at different points during the fieldwork. These were more cases they found interesting rather than difficult.

3.3.2.2.6 Data cleaning and analysis

The downloaded data were transferred into Stata/SE 14.0 (Stata Corporation, East College Station, TX, USA) for cleaning and analysis. Data cleaning involved initially correcting errors recorded by fieldworkers (due to limitations of the software in returning to completed sections). Dates were converted from the Nepali calendar to the Western (Gregorian) calendar

(to determine date of birth, departure and return month and year for past migration experiences). Open responses were translated and categorised with the assistance of the fieldworkers and the wider SSB team to ensure the meanings were appropriately captured.

Variables were checked for errors, inconsistencies and missing data, of which there were very few as I programmed the survey to require responses for all key variables, but included 'not applicable', 'don't remember', 'don't know' and 'prefer not to say' as response options. Open-ended responses were coded into existing or new categories of responses, and many variables had their categorical responses reduced to facilitate analysis.

Descriptive statistics were computed on socio-demographics and labour migration history of participants. Prevalence of the three dimensions of forced labour and forced labour itself were calculated only among men who returned from their most recent migration within the past 10 years, n=140. Bivariate analysis between exposure variables and the dimensions of forced labour were computed with Chi-squared or Fisher's Exact tests of association. I then used log-binomial regression to estimate the association (prevalence ratio, PR, and 95% confidence intervals). Exposure categories were collapsed where fewer than 5% of participants reported data within one stratum.

3.4 Qualitative interviews

3.4.1 Sampling and recruitment

As Nepal has only one international airport, in Kathmandu, this is used by all international returnee migrants and many need to stay overnight near the main bus stations to connect with transport back to their villages the next day. Sampling was done through the lodges (low cost accommodations) in four areas in the vicinity of the airport and bus stations: Sinamangal, Gongabu, Sundhara, and Gaushala/Battisputali.

Together with my research assistant interpreter, we visited the lodges in each of those areas to introduce the study to the owners and to seek permission to recruit participants at their premises. The lodges were chosen by walking through each of those areas and going in to each lodge as we came across them. Snowballing strategy was later used to ask owners if they knew of other lodges where returnee migrants might stay the night and we then visit those lodges to inquire directly. The decision to recruit potential participants from lodges was made to avoid capturing only those who have encountered serious problems which would have been the case if I opted to recruit from CSOs. Nevertheless, after the first few weeks of the fieldwork, we

found that many participants and potential participants were in Nepal on holiday and intended to return to their job at the end of their break. I therefore expanded the sampling to include referrals from migrant organisations to capture a broader range of participants. I contacted the CSOs I was aware of and introduced the study to them. In one case, a returnee I interviewed was connected to a CSO and he referred me to them. As part of the referrals I interviewed three families of labour migrants who were in hospital and could not be interviewed. These interviews were not used as the family members were not aware of the situation that led to the hospitalisation. The CSO referrals ultimately yielded two of the 42 usable interviews.

3.4.2 Instrument development

I chose to use a life history approach for my qualitative interviews, with an emphasis on participant's migration experiences. According to Singer, 'as individuals narrate their life stories, they reveal not just the circumstances of their lives, but the backdrop of values and commitments that make that life meaningful to them' (112, p. 449). Further, in narrating their life stories individuals share 'rich sources of information for the investigation of how culture structures our choices and affective responses as individuals mature and age' (112, p. 455). Life histories were also beneficial to start the discussion on a more neutral ground which may have helped to develop rapport. Although this meant that I had more data than I could fully analyse in the scope of this study, understanding the wider context of participants' lives, including those of their childhood and family background, provided a holistic view of the whys and how's of participants actions and inactions.

I followed a chronological approach, beginning by exploring participants' childhood, upbringing, family, community (village) life and schooling leading up to their first labour migration. I explored the context and background surrounding participant's decision to migrate, their family's feelings, how participants navigated the migration process, as well as their experiences at destination and their return. Other important life milestones were also explored including marriage, fatherhood, and dealing with aging parents or other pressures at home.

Ahead of the fieldwork I discussed and refined the topic guide with an interpreter to assist with the interviews; the interpreter was himself a returnee labour migrant. Although I opted to conduct the interviews in English with the interpreter, having the guide translated meant we could ensure the wording and translations were accurate, rather than trying to find the right words to explain the question during the interview. The topic guide was regularly tweaked by previous interviews. For example, when some participants shared experiences I had not

previously explored I sometimes added them in on subsequent interviews. Indeed one of the strengths of life histories, or of more open qualitative guides, is that other issues emerge that may not have been raised in a more structured topic guide (113). The topic guide is included in Appendix IV. The translated topic guide proved particularly helpful when a second interpreter needed to be recruited after the first interpreter was no longer available a few weeks into the study. The new interpreter was also a male, and did not have migration or research experience.

3.4.3 Pilot interviews

To prepare for the qualitative study, I conducted three exploratory interviews with returnee male migrants, each using a different interview administration. The first was a one-to-one interview and the participant chose to respond in English as he could speak the language fairly well. The second was carried out in English with the assistance of an interpreter who interpreted my question and the responses. The third was one a local interviewer conducted in Nepali without my presence.

I used these exploratory interviews to test the method of interview and to develop my topic guide. Although I had not intended to carry out any interviews solely in English, this was the first pilot participant's choice. Unsurprisingly, I found that conducting the interviews in English was not an option even if the participants could converse well, as there was still potential for important and interesting narratives to be missed. My preference was to use the language the participant was most familiar with and comfortable in, which in almost all cases would not be English given the population of interest for this study. Using a Nepali interviewer resulted in some interesting leads not being followed-up. This may have been due, in part, to the topic guide not being fully developed at this point. Ultimately, I decided that conducting the interviews myself in English with the help of an interpreter was the best option as I wanted to keep the topics more open and follow any interesting lead as they emerged, despite the lengthier process.

3.4.4 Fieldwork

The fieldwork took place between February and May 2016. Each morning I met my interpreter at one of the four sites and we then visited the lodges to see if there were any returnee migrants as it was often not possible to know, even the night before, whether there would be any potential participants. Instead we needed to physically visit the lodge to inquire in the early mornings as the guests tend to spend the day out shopping for items to take back to their

village and would often take transport the same day. Thus, there was only a small period available to recruit participants and to conduct the interviews. This also meant that it was only feasible to visit one of the four areas per day as the time it would take to travel between the sites would mean that by the time we arrived, any potential participants would have left for the day if not left to return home. Instead, each area was visited on a rotational basis. When returnee migrants were identified, they were invited to take part in the interview.

In total, participants were identified from 15 different lodges and two CSOs. The interviews were most often conducted in the participant's room at the lodge. Several others were conducted at the participant's workplace, the interpreter's home or the CSO. In cases where others were present, I requested to conduct the interview in private with the participant and the interpreter only. The vast majority of interviews were conducted in this way although four were conducted in the presence of the participant's family member, usually the participant's wife and in one case his brother, at the participant's request. In two interviews the participants wanted their friend to be present during the interview. At the end of the interview, regardless of whether it was completed or not, each participant was given 500 NPR (approximately $5 USD) as a token of thanks.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English-Nepali; three were conducted in English-Hindi, two of which were English-Nepali-Hindi as the participant was not very comfortable in Nepali while the interpreter struggled with Hindi. In these cases a friend or the hotel staff assisted with interpreting between Nepali and Hindi.

The interviews took on average two hours, ranging from 35 minutes to 2.5 hours, and were audio-recorded with permission. Notes were also taken during the interviews and at the end of each fieldwork day when I summarised that day's work, the process and impressions.

The audio recordings were transcribed and translated into English for analysis. The Hindi interviews were directly translated into English with no transcription done due to the difficulty in identifying a translator in Kathmandu who could fully understand the particular form of Hindi spoken by the participants.

3.4.5 Ethics

For the qualitative study, I adapted the information sheet and consent form from the quantitative study adding specific items on consent for the audio recording of the interview and for anonymous quoting in the write-up of findings. The remaining ethical procedures for the qualitative component followed a similar process to the quantitative study. Signed

informed consent was obtained before the interviews began. As mentioned previously, each participant was given 500 NPR (approximately $5 USD) as a token of appreciation at the end of the interview. The information sheet and consent form are included in Appendix IV.

Several procedures were added after fieldwork began. Firstly, after the initial interviews it became apparent that many of the participants who were not in Nepal on vacation intended to re-migrate soon. In most cases, the men described not having any information on CSOs or governmental departments that could be of assistance if needed, and did not plan to obtain this prior to leaving, relying instead on a different agent or working for a different employer. This was not something I had expected and I wanted to be able to give them something useful for their next migration. As part of the wider SWiFT study, a resource list was compiled with information on government agencies and migrant CSOs, both in Nepal as well as in key destinations. Once I realised that many of the participants in my qualitative study intended to re-migrate but did not have nor plan to seek such information, I adapted and reproduced these resource sheets for each key destination and offered these to participants. Men expressed appreciation of having this information.

Secondly, where men described problems with their agent, agency or their employer at the destination, I offered to refer them to local CSOs that may be able to offer advice and support, and possibly assistance for compensation applications. For those who agreed I explained that I would forward their phone number to the CSO so that the participant could discuss his situation directly. I assured men that I would not provide details of their situation to the CSOs, but would only inform them that someone I interviewed would like to be speak to them. The participant could then decide whether and what he wants to share with the CSO. Several individuals wanted to be referred although some expressed concern that talking to CSOs may limit their opportunities for future migration. For those who could file a case formally, this concern was heightened as their names and details may be retained in some governmental database(s). For these reasons, several men who, in my view, had a strong case declined to speak with a CSO. I was conflicted with my personal desire for them to contact a CSO and with respecting their wishes not to do so. At times I appealed to participants who expressed a lack of confidence that authorities would assist them by highlighting the fact that authorities could not address situations they were not aware of. Ultimately I had to respect their wishes and acknowledge their fears especially as they would have to face any consequences of their decisions, such as any limitations in their future migration options.

On rare occasions, participants wanted me to assist them directly rather than speak to a CSO. I still suggested they first go through a CSO that could advise what assistance might be available and offered to follow-up with them afterwards. One participant who agreed to be referred

later contacted me to explain that he did not receive assistance. I then asked for his permission to reach out to the CSO to inquire and found out he did not have the documentation needed to file a case.

Participants also asked whether they would benefit from my research and I actively attempted to manage their expectations by clarifying that as individual participants they are unlikely to directly benefit. However, I reiterated that I would disseminate my findings to different audiences in the hope that they would help contribute to some eventual positive change which may benefit labour migrants as a whole.

3.4.6 Data coding and analysis

To prepare for the analysis, I first familiarised myself with the data by reading and re-reading the individual transcripts in full, along with the accompanying summaries that I wrote after each interview, and other field notes to develop a thorough understanding of each interview. From conducting the interviews myself and writing and reviewing the summaries, I found that the notion of coping and managing stressful circumstances was important and repeatedly raised by different participants regardless of their demographic background, and migration details. I open coded each script in NVivo 11.0 (QSR International, Melbourne, Australia) to develop an initial coding scheme inductively, through ideas and concepts that emerged, to ensure a comprehensive representation of the data. This generated a large number of codes due to the life history approach used. In subsequent reviews, I narrowed the focus to exploring the ways participants described coping or managing with the stressful situations they encountered. As coping is invariable a response to some form of stressful situation, the interviews were also coded for stressors of any sort, with or without an actual coping response.

3.4.6.1 Categorising stressors

In this qualitative study, I use Fink's definition of stress as a biological or psychological reaction, triggered by perceived or actual threat between individuals and their environments that affects one's well-being (57). Accordingly, stressors were challenges and issues experienced by the men. In subsequent refinements of the coding and categorisation of stressors, I opted to only focus on those related to men's labour migration but including those from home that prompted the decision to migrate.

I drew on acculturative, workplace and migrant worker stress frameworks (described in 2.2) to categorise the stressors. Acculturative stress typically refers to immigrant and refugee populations that have permanently moved with the intention to settle in a different country. The process of acculturation includes integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation (63). Workplace stress was based on Luthans' model of macro-factors (114) as well as Cooper & Marshall's model (74) to include those intrinsic to the job and wider factors to do with the workplace and the organisation (i.e. employer). Migrant worker stress was based on instruments designed and tested among migrant workers to assess stress, including one used among internal migrant workers in China (76 cited in 56), one among Spanish-speaking farmworkers and day labourers (73, 78) in the United States. Temporary international labour migrant populations often experience similar cross-culture stressors to those highlighted in acculturation models, although many do not intend to or are not entitled to permanently settle in the destination country. General workplace stresses and those specifically faced by migrant farmworkers or day labourers may be applicable to Nepali international migrants, many of whom spend substantial parts of their working life outside of Nepal. Combined, acculturative, workplace, migrant worker stressors, contribute to poor physical and mental health among workers in various settings and sectors, and shape the experience of international labour migration and life after migration (115-118).

Additionally, a major source of stress for low-skilled Nepali international labour migrants was the recruitment agent or agency and this category was added. Adaptations to expand and merge some of the categories in the different models were needed to eliminate overlaps and make them more relevant to low- or semi-skilled and low-waged international labour migrants. The combined seven stressor categories are summarised in Table 3.6, were used to code the qualitative data on stressors.

Family stressors include those stemming from being away from family, concerns with deterioration of relationships, particularly with spouse and children, and lack of credit given by family members' on migrants and other issues to do with migrants' family, many of which came from items in the migrant farmworker survey (73, 78). Stressors to do with the recruitment agent or agency include the job-seeking and application advice and process, the fees and documents required and any arrangements provided by the agencies. Legal stressors relate to migrants' status, and include threats of arrests and deportation for those who are irregular, or discrimination by authorities or the police regardless of migrants' legal status. Workplace stressors refer to those inherent to and controlled by the employer such as policies, structure, processes and working conditions, including occupational hazards. For example, stressors may include lack of information on how to carry out duties, lack of involvement,

awareness or consultation of organisational decisions, job insecurity, poor working conditions, and difficult working relationships. Environmental stressors are issues in the physical environment such as housing, sanitation, climate or crime (63, 78). Socio-cultural stressors are based on acculturative stress and can be due to political, economic, social, linguistic and religious differences in the destination country compared to migrants' own country of origin. Finally, migrants' own physical, mental and emotional health are also a source of stressors and these may arise from having to live and work in very different circumstances.

Table 3.6 - Stressor categories and description

Stressor category	Description
Family[†]	concerns about illness or death in the family; relationships; children's needs; lack of appreciation by family
Recruitment agent/agency	application; fees; advice; job-search; travel arrangements.
Legal[†]	migration process and regulations; discrepancy between documents and employment; conflicts with authorities, potential deportation risks
Workplace (employer)[*†]	company policies; contract discrepancies; delayed, non-payment of wages; poor wages; poor working conditions; unequal treatment of workers; documentation confiscations; restricted freedom of movement; financial penalties for early termination of contract; work overload; job insecurity; occupational hazards
Environmental[†ǂ]	physical environment; security; housing; over-crowded; sanitary facilities; conflicts with those sharing accommodation and facilities
Socio-cultural[†ǂ]	political; economic; linguistic; religious; social issues
Health[†]	non-occupational-related illness and accidents

Stressor category source: [*]workplace stress models; [†]migrant worker stress; [ǂ]acculturative stress model

3.4.6.2 Categorising coping strategies

In this study, coping strategies are the responses, both behavioural and cognitive, participants described using to manage the stressors they encountered, consistent with the Folkman and Lazarus' definition (61). Challenges with categorisation and comparison of coping strategies in studies have been highlighted particularly in relation to the inconsistent, overlapping concepts and use of different measurement tools and labels (119, 120). Skinner and colleagues reviewed coping measures used in different empirical studies and identified 100 coping categories. They then developed a hierarchical system of coping 'instances' that individuals use to deal with

stressors, arriving at 12 core 'coping families' that can be used to synthesise individual coping responses 'according to their (multiple) topological features and their (multiple) functions in adaptation' (120, p.248). The twelve families are grouped into three aims, summarised in Table 3.7, and described below (120).

The first set of coping families are aimed at coordinating actions if the stressors are seen as potentially controllable, and include the coping families of problem-solving, information-seeking, helplessness and escape. Problem-solving includes strategising, planning and direct action. Information-seeking refers to attempts to better understand the stressful situations and to consider options for addressing them. Helplessness is when individuals give up control of a stressful situation, possibly due to confusion or exhaustion including feelings of passivity and dejection. Escape is to be in denial, cognitively or behaviourally, and to avoid the stressor.

The coping families that aim to coordinate available resources attempt to determine when and what kinds of support would be useful in coping with the stressor in question, drawing on resources from within themselves or elsewhere. The coping families of support-seeking, self-comforting[1], delegation and social isolation belong to this group. Support-seeking is to turn to others for various forms of help such as emotional, instrumental and spiritual support. Self-comforting actions include self-care, relaxation and other stress management strategies. Delegation is to rely on others to manage stressors by focussing on the negatives or engaging in self-pity. Social isolation is to physically or emotionally withdraw from others often due to despondency or embarrassment.

The final set of coping families covers attempts to coordinate options and includes accommodation, negotiation, submission, and opposition. Accommodation is when individuals base their reactions on the existing options and shift their preferences accordingly. This may be by altering one's perception of the stressful situation to a more positive one or through distracting oneself by taking part in pleasurable activities. Negotiation is to seek compromise while still protecting one's interests and goals. Submission is to give in to stressors using strategies such as rumination and blaming oneself. Opposition confronts the stressor aggressively in an attempt to remove the stressor and may include acts of retaliation, venting or blaming others.

As with the stressor coding, the coded data on coping revealed a large number of different strategies. Although it was possible to group the responses thematically, I opted to draw on

[1] Some of the coping families have changed labels between Skinner et al.'s initial review in 2003 and subsequent description in 2016. The coping family of self-comforting was previously labelled as self-reliance, and social isolation was previously called isolation in Skinner's 2003 review.

Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's work and categorised them using the families they developed, to avoid yet another set of coping categories that could not easily be compared to other studies (in particular, future studies as past studies have already used a range of different categorisations systems).

Table 3.7 - Description of core coping families

Purpose	Coping families	Description
Coordinate action	Problem-solving	active attempts to achieve desired outcomes through: strategizing; planning; analysing; preventing; repairing
	Information-seeking	active attempts to gather relevant information (causes, meaning, consequences) of the stressor(s) through: seeking advice or help; observing or consulting others or relevant materials
	Helplessness	give up control of a situation without attempts to improve situation through being passive; resigning
	Escape	remove oneself from stressor through: denial; physically leaving; cognitively avoiding
Coordinate resources	Self-comforting	engage in active self-care through; relaxing; controlling one's own emotions constructively; encouraging oneself
	Support-seeking	draw on support from other individuals or religion through: reaching out to others; seeking comfort; imagining the response of others; praying
	Delegation	heavy reliance on others' support and focuses negatively on the stressor through: complaining; whining; maladaptive help-seeking
	Social isolation	withdraw from others physically or emotionally to prevent others knowing about stressor or effects, often due to sadness or shame, through avoiding others: concealing emotions
Coordinate options	Accommodation	adjust preference to available options through: positive cognitive restructuring; distraction
	Negotiation	active attempts to compromise focussing on defending one's goals through: bargaining; reducing demands; priority setting; deal-making
	Submission	surrender to stressor through: rumination; negative thinking; catastrophizing; self-blame
	Opposition	attack source of stressor combined with anger or hostility through: using aggression; blaming others; taking revenge; being defiant

Source: adapted from Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck (119, Figure 2.2)

3.4.6.3 Data analysis

Once coded, the data were charted on a spreadsheet to create an overview of all the interviews, together with the each participant's demographic information. Direct quotations and references to the original source of each interview were noted in the spreadsheet to preserve the overall context of the narrative, keeping the actual terminology used by participants to describe and define their experiences, as well as to facilitate subsequent retrieval of data for comparison between and within cases. A separate spreadsheet was used for stressors and coping strategies, to determine how different participants responded to different stressors. Finally, using the spreadsheets, the analysis was conducted thematically to identify the ways in which participants responded to migration-related stressors, and what factors affected those relationships.

3.5 Ethical approvals

Ethical approval for this study was obtained jointly with the wider SWiFT formative study, from the LSHTM ethics board, approval number 7021 and from the Nepal Health Research Council, approval number 1040. Approvals from Nepal's Social Welfare Council and district level authorities were also obtained through SSB. The approvals covered the household census and returnee surveys (which were used among women in the formative study) as well as the draft qualitative topic guide (which was approved but postponed and the site changed, see 3.6). The ethical clearance application form specifically indicates that some of the data collected would be used for my doctoral studies. An amendment approval was received after the change in study site, time, and the addition of providing a token of thanks for participants in my qualitative study. See Appendix V for ethical approvals.

3.6 Changes to original study aim

This study was initially conceptualised as a mixed-methods research to identify risk and protective factors on trafficking for forced labour and to explore labour migrants' perceptions of the risks of being in a forced labour situation, including how they understood the risks, and the actions they took to cope with or minimise such risks, with a view to informing prevention programmes. However, during the Phase II fieldwork when over half of the eligible sample could not be interviewed, it was questionable whether the sample size would be sufficient to run the analysis. Once the data were cleaned it was clear that the sample, as well as some of the response categories were too small to do much more than exploratory analysis.

3.6.1 Changes to the qualitative study

The original design was for the qualitative study to follow the quantitative study sequentially, with the sample drawn from a subsample of those who had participated in the survey. The sampling would have been based on participants' experiences of different dimensions of forced labour, demographic characteristics and migration histories. However, this had to be changed for several reasons.

First, the main and most intensive part of the SWiFT-Nepal's evaluation fieldwork began two months after completion of data collection for the formative study. As I was leading the SWiFT-Nepal research, I had to prepare for this and management the fieldwork. In the last weeks of our fieldwork for the wider SWiFT-Nepal study, in April 2015, Nepal experienced a 7.8 magnitude earthquake in which nearly 9,000 people lost their lives. Dolakha district, where the survey work for my quantitative study was conducted, was severely affected and it was no longer feasible, either logistically and ethically, to return to seek participants for the qualitative study shortly after such destruction.

I decided to shift the qualitative component to Kathmandu and recruit a different sample altogether, rather than the sample for whom I already had some data and could select based on their responses to the survey questions. The qualitative study had to be further delayed due to an ongoing blockade between Nepal and India at the time causing shortages in key supplies (particularly petrol) and disrupting local transportation.

I then decided to do the qualitative interview over two sessions: first I would conduct the life history interview and then return the next day with a timeline chart of the participant's life based on the information they gave at the interview. In this second interview, we would review and further discuss points of interest, clarify data collected and to build rapport. This approach has been successfully used among drug users with competing priorities many of whom appreciated seeing their life history visually (121). During discussions with my interpreter, who was also a returnee migrant, this approach was deemed feasible. However, once we began visiting the lodges to request permission to seek participants at their premises, it became evident that returnee migrants generally only stay one night and make their way back to their home districts the next day. I kept the life history approach but did not produce the timeline charts and did not conduct any follow-up interviews. Nevertheless, life histories enabled participants to discuss issues they deemed relevant (113) and in this case facilitated exploration of the contradictory and fluid perspectives men had at different stages of their different migrations.

After conducting the first few qualitative interviews, the notion of coping became more evident in many of the men's narratives and I became more interested to explore this in subsequent interviews. Throughout this thesis my interest had been to understand how men responded to exploitation (initially as a way to reduce risks for forced labour) and what they did to manage and prevent exploitative experiences in future migrations. This eventually evolved to widen the stressors experienced beyond labour exploitations, and to more fully explore the coping strategies they used to manage stressors experienced throughout the migration cycle.

4. Results

This chapter presents the outcomes of the four objectives, each written as a research paper format. Each paper is preceded by a preamble and a cover sheet detailing its publication status.

4.1 Systematic review

4.1.1 Preamble to Paper 1

The systematic review aimed to review the evidence on strategies used by international labour migrants from low- and middle-income countries to cope with migration-related stressors. The review protocol is included in Appendix VI. The findings provided an overview of the evidence and guided the analytical approach of my primary data.

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RESEARCH PAPER COVER SHEET

PLEASE NOTE THAT A COVER SHEET MUST BE COMPLETED FOR EACH RESEARCH PAPER INCLUDED IN A THESIS.

SECTION A – Student Details

Student	Joelle YT Mak
Principal Supervisor	Cathy Zimmerman
Thesis Title	Migration-related stressors and coping: a mixed-methods study among Nepali male labour migrants

If the Research Paper has previously been published please complete Section B, if not please move to Section C

SECTION B – Paper already published

Where was the work published?			
When was the work published?			
If the work was published prior to registration for your research degree, give a brief rationale for its inclusion			
Have you retained the copyright for the work?*	Choose an item.	Was the work subject to academic peer review?	Choose an item.

**If yes, please attach evidence of retention. If no, or if the work is being included in its published format, please attach evidence of permission from the copyright holder (publisher or other author) to include this work.*

SECTION C – Prepared for publication, but not yet published

Where is the work intended to be published?	Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health
Please list the paper's authors in the intended authorship order:	Joelle Mak, Bayard Roberts, Cathy Zimmerman
Stage of publication	**Not yet submitted**

SECTION D – Multi-authored work

For multi-authored work, give full details of your role in the research included in the paper and in the preparation of the paper. (Attach a further sheet if necessary)	I conceptualised the review, screened abstracts and papers, analysed the data, drafted and finalised the manuscript.

Student Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

Supervisor Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

4.1.2 Paper 1 - Coping with migration-related stressors: a systematic review

Coping with migration-related stressors: a systematic review

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Status: planned submission to Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health

Abstract

Background: Globally, there are over 150 million international labour migrants. Labour migration is an especially important livelihood strategy for individuals in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), and may involve potential benefits and stressors. This paper reviews the coping strategies used by international labour migrants to manage migration-related stressors and compares strategies used by male and female migrants.

Methods: A systematic review was conducted from published and grey literature. Studies were eligible for inclusion if they sampled individuals from LMICs who were: over the age of 15; worked outside of their country; and included data on coping responses to migration-related stressors. Coping responses were categorised using Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's typologies and a narrative analysis was conducted. Study quality was appraised using Critical Appraisal Skills Programme and STROBE, and PRISMA standards were followed.

Results: Thirty studies were included, representing migrants from over 33 countries of origin who worked in more than 18 destination countries. Migrants reported five main areas of migration-related stress: 1) job and environment; 2) labour migrant status; 3) stigma; 4) family; and 5) health. The most common coping families used were problem-solving, support-seeking, and accommodation. Female migrants reported more use of support-seeking strategies and experienced more family stressors compared to males. Many migrants applied strategies that challenged the stressors directly, such as confronting the employer on contract discrepancies. However, some strategies created additional risks either for themselves, such as delaying healthcare access or excessive alcohol consumption, or for other migrants by giving incorrect instructions on how to do the job or reporting on irregular migrants to have them deported. The quality of the included studies were limited by a lack of sufficient reporting of key criteria,

particularly on sampling, the sample and ethical issues in the qualitative studies, and handling of bias in the quantitative studies.

Conclusion: Coping strategies used by male and female migrants were broadly similar across the different migration-related stressors. There was some variation in experiences of stressors by sex. Most of the stressors were related to the job and environment. Therefore, policies and interventions should aim at ensuring migrants' rights are respected and increase the support mechanisms available to them particularly in destination countries. These should include healthcare provision, legal assistance, and repatriation if needed. Future research should explore coping responses to migration stressors by migrants as none of the included studies explicitly explored this. As labour migration is unlikely to reduce in the near future, these improvements may lead to reduction in adverse stress-related outcomes and improve coping resources among labour migrants.

Background

There are over 150 million labour migrants globally, who are commonly employed in low-wage service sectors, manufacturing and agriculture (122). Labour migration has become an increasingly important livelihood strategy for men and women in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (123), especially in low- or semi-skilled work. Circular, or repeat migration, is common as many individuals re-migrate to the same or new destinations, while other migrants retain work with the same employer over many years, with home visits between contracts (24). Migration associated with poverty is sometimes described as 'distress migration', and results from real or perceived limited survival options because of poor local economic opportunities, natural disasters, or social distress, including violence and discrimination based on ethnic, caste, gender, or religion (124).

Regulations for international migration range from highly-regulated with strict guidelines at both origin and destination countries to relatively unrestricted, such as regional movements like the Schengen Agreement states in Europe and unregulated passage between India and Nepal (125, 126). Migrants also move irregularly, bypassing some of the required processes by crossing borders at unofficial locations, using false documents or entering under a different visa category. Migrants may also become irregular through the loss of employment, or contravening the conditions of their visa by overstaying, taking on another job, or changing employers (126-128). Some have argued that irregular migration is the result of policies designed to prevent unwanted migration by destination countries, including imposing overstayers' fee that can prevent migrants from leaving (125, 129).

Although there are many benefits to labour migration, there are also numerous challenges, including navigating migration regulations, stressful living and working conditions, risks to occupational and mental health, and cross-cultural difficulties. There is also growing recognition of labour exploitation which occurs across different settings and sectors and typically include: passport confiscation; contract breaches; restrictions of movement; non-payment of wages; threats and violence (4, 26, 33, 130-132).

Labour migration is particularly stressful for individuals with limited economic or social capital. For instance, migrants commonly make substantial financial investments to fund their migration, including taking out loans (133, 134), which means that returning home before loans are repaid is rarely an option. Moreover, stressors may differ between male and female migrants. Traditional gender roles can create different perceived family obligations and responsibilities, such as men needing to financially support the family while women remain responsible for household and care management. For both men and women, being away from

home, family and friends, and being confronted with social and cultural differences mean that they must find ways to cope with new stressors without their usual support systems. To date, there has been little systematic analysis of evidence on labour migrants' coping strategies. Such information could be used to guide policy and intervention development to reduce the negative impact of migration of some of the most vulnerable workers.

This review aims to identify strategies used by international labour migrants from LMICs to cope with migration-related stressors and to compare the strategies used by male and female migrants.

Methods

Search strategy, inclusion criteria

Studies were eligible for inclusion if they sampled individuals from LMICs who were: over the age of 15; had worked outside of their country; and included data on coping responses to migration-related stressors. No exclusion criteria based on destination, study design, language or publication dates were applied.

Terms related to 'international labour migrants' and 'coping' were used to search 11 public health and social science databases: Scopus; Web of Science; IBSS; EconLit; Embase; MEDLINE; Global Health; HMIC; PsycEXTRA; PsycINFO; and Social Policy & Practice. To locate grey literature ELDIS; Open Grey; Overseas Development Institute; ReliefWeb; and key organisational websites: the International Labour Organization (ILO); the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development, and the International Organization of Migration (IOM) were searched. Finally, Google Scholar and references from the included studies were manually-checked.

Citations retrieved in the search outputs of the different databases were imported into Endnote for screening. Following PRISMA guidelines (135), title and abstracts were screened for inclusion, based on the inclusion criteria. Full-text review was conducted for studies that could not be excluded from title and abstract revision, as well as those deemed sufficient for inclusion. Once the included studies have been identified, references from those papers were also hand-searched. This process was conducted by one reviewer.

Data extraction, analysis and quality appraisal

For each included study, information on study aim, design, setting, sample, sampling strategy, origin and destination country, work, coping responses and migration stressors responded to

were extracted onto a spreadsheet. A matrix was created to explore and synthesise the findings.

Studies on coping strategies have been conceptualised and measured differently which led to inconsistent and overlapping concepts (119, 120). Skinner and colleagues reviewed studies on coping measures and identified 100 coping categories which they used to developed a hierarchical system of coping responses individuals used when confronted by stressors (120). These 100 categories were then classified into higher-order categories termed as 'families of coping'. In total 12 core 'families' were identified that broadly captured most coping strategies (119), described in Table 4.1. These coping families were used to synthesise individual ways of coping reported in the included studies.

A narrative synthesis was conducted as the majority of the included studies reported qualitative findings, making a meta-analysis not feasible. Although stressors were not the primary focus of this review, coping responses differ depending on the stressors. Therefore, the findings were synthesised by the stressors coping responses addressed, grouped by theme. The stressor themes were then combined to arrive at over-arching groupings.

Study quality was appraised using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) for qualitative studies and the STROBE checklist for quantitative studies (136, 137). CASP includes 10 items to assess the aim, methods, design and sampling, analysis, reporting of findings, ethics, researchers' role, and the value of the research. While STROBE has up to 27 items including objectives, setting, sampling, exposure, outcome, missing data, limitations, among others. In mixed-methods studies, appraisals were only done for the type of data (quantitative or qualitative) that reported coping findings as none did so in both components.

Table 4.1 - Description of core coping families

Coping family	Description
Problem-solving	active attempts to achieve desired outcomes through: strategizing; planning; analysing; preventing; repairing
Information-seeking	active attempts to gather relevant information (causes, meaning, consequences) of the stressor(s) through: seeking advice or help; observing or consulting others or relevant materials
Helplessness	give up control of a situation without attempts to improve situation through being passive; resigning
Escape	remove oneself from stressor through denial; physically leaving; cognitively avoiding
Support-seeking	draw on support from other individuals or religion through: reaching out to others; seeking comfort; imagining the response of others; praying
Self-comforting	engage in active self-care through: relaxing; controlling one's own emotions constructively; encouraging oneself
Delegation	heavy reliance on others' support and focuses negatively on the stressor through: complaining; whining; maladaptive help-seeking
Social isolation	withdraw from others physically or emotionally to prevent others knowing about stressor or effects, often due to sadness or shame, through avoiding others: concealing emotions
Accommodation	adjust preference to available options through: positive cognitive restructuring; distraction
Negotiation	active attempts to compromise focussing on defending one's goals through: bargaining; reducing demands; priority setting; deal-making
Submission	surrender to stressor through: rumination; negative thinking; catastrophizing; self-blame
Opposition	attack source of stressor combined with anger or hostility through: using aggression; blaming others; taking revenge; being defiant

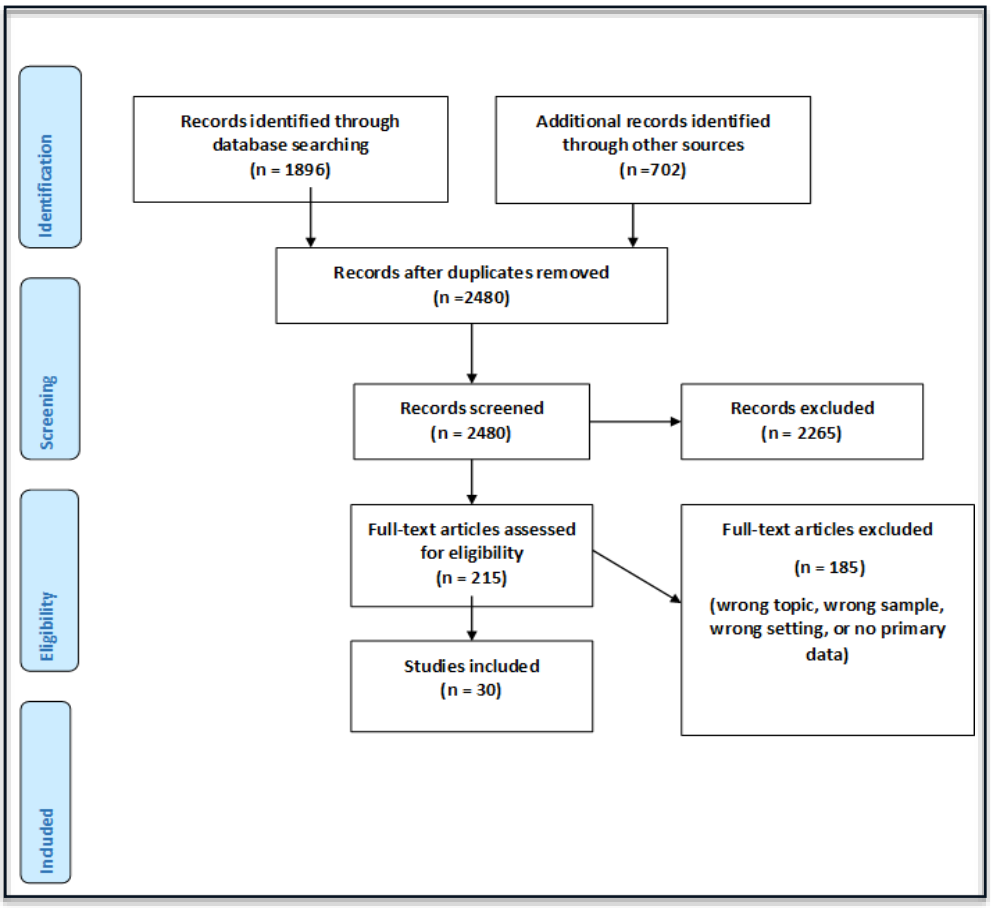
Source: adapted from Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck (119, Figure 2.2)

Neither CASP nor STROBE scores the items but studies with fewer items addressed were appraised to be of lower quality. The number of items addressed was totalled to give an overall indication of study quality, but no studies were excluded based on the quality assessment.

Results

After removal of duplications, 2480 title and abstracts were screened, of which 2265 were excluded. Full-text review was conducted for 215 papers, resulting in 31 papers being included. Two were later confirmed to be part of the same study (138, 139), but findings from both were extracted. Of the final 30 studies, eight were identified through hand searching of references; eight through Google Scholar; and two through grey literature, Figure 4.1

Figure 4.1 - Flow diagram of literature search



Study Characteristics

The characteristics of the included studies are presented in Table 4.2. Data collection took place between 1996 and 2013, although nine studies did not report this information (12, 140-147). The majority of the included studies (n=22) were qualitative (12, 129, 138, 139, 141, 143-160), six were mixed-methods (140, 142, 161-164) and two were quantitative (165, 166). Five of the six mixed-methods studies reported coping responses only in the qualitative data (140, 142, 161, 162, 164) and one only in the quantitative (163).

The studies captured migrants from over 33 countries with over half (n=18) sampled from one origin country (12, 142, 144, 145, 147, 149-153, 157, 158, 160-164, 166) and 12 included

multiple origin countries (129, 138-141, 143, 146, 148, 154-156, 159, 165). Twenty-two studies were conducted in destination (12, 138-142, 144, 146, 148-150, 152, 154-156, 158-162, 164-166), three in origin (129, 140, 163) and five in both (143, 145, 147, 153, 157). Most (n=25) sampled migrants in a single destination (12, 129, 138-142, 144-150, 152-154, 156, 157, 159-162, 164-166) and five in multiple destinations (143, 151, 155, 158, 163), representing over 18 destinations.

Nineteen studies investigated specific occupations: domestic/care worker (n=7) (129, 144, 152, 155, 156, 163, 166); manufacturing (n=2) (149, 161); agriculture (n=2) (138, 139, 153); manual labour (n=4) (12, 141, 146, 147); and one each for construction (143); nursing (148); chef (167); and seafarer (145). Twelve studies included various occupations (140, 142, 150, 151, 155, 157-160, 162, 164, 165); and one explored unemployment in a destination setting (154).

Thirteen studies included both male and female migrants (12, 138-142, 147, 150, 154, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165); eight only females (144, 148, 151, 152, 156, 157, 163, 166); and four only males (146, 155, 159, 162); while five did not report the participants' sex (129, 143, 145, 149, 153). Among the studies that included both sexes, many did not report sex-disaggregated responses, for some or all of the findings.

Table 4.2 - Study characteristics

First author, publication year	Study design	Data collection method (sample size)	Sex	Sample description
Alexis 2012	Qualitative	Interviews (n=13)	Female	Internationally recruited neonatal nurses from Jamaica or the Philippines working in two London NHS Trusts
Basok 2016 Basok 2014*	Ethnography	Interviews (n=79); Observations	Both	Central American agricultural migrants employed in two Canadian schemes and illegal workers (dropped out or overstayed)
Chib 2013	Quantitative	Self-administered survey (n=116)	Both	Migrant worker in domestic, construction and shipyard work from Bangladesh, Burma, Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka in Singapore
Crinis 2010	Qualitative	Interviews (n=20)	NR	Vietnamese garment factory workers in Malaysia
Dannecker 2009	Qualitative	SSI (n=80); group interviews; observations	Both	Bangladeshi migrants working in Malaysia and returnees in Bangladesh (rural south).
Datta 2007	Mixed‡	Surveys (n=424); IDI (n=103)	Both	Migrants (Ghana, Nigeria, Brazil, Colombia, Poland and Lithuania) working in low-paid sectors (construction; cleaning; care; food processing; hospitality) in London, UK
Datta 2011	Mixed‡	Questionnaires (n=54); IDI (n=24); FGD (n=1)	Both	Bulgarian migrants doing low-skilled work in London, UK
Frantz 2008	Ethnographic	SSI (n not reported); Observations	NR	Current and returned Sri Lankan and Indonesia migrant domestic workers who had worked in Jordan
Galvin 2015	Ethnographic	IDI (n=25); Observations	Both	Zimbabwean migrant workers who had been deported but later returned to Botswana
Haak-Saheem 2017	Qualitative	Interviews (n=41)	Both	Migrants (Bangladesh, Philippines, India, Ethiopia) in the UAE
Herbert 2008	Mixed‡	Questionnaires; IDI (n=18)	Both	Ghanaian low-skilled migrant workers in London, UK
Hofmann 2012	Qualitative	SSI (n=9)	Female	Georgian returnee female migrants who had worked outside of Georgia for ≥6 months. Key destinations include Russia, Greece, Israel, and Turkey.

Khalaf 1999	Qualitative	Field observations; Case studies (n=9)	Male	Unskilled workers and several professionals (from Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan, Iran, India) in the UAE.
Kosic 2003	Qualitative	Unstructured interviews (n=30)	Both	Albania immigrants in Italy
Kusakabe 2013	Mixed‡	Life history (n=165); questionnaires (n=504)	Both	Burmese migrants in garment and leather manufacturing work in Thailand for ≥ 3 years
Li 2012	Qualitative	Interviews (returnees); phone interviews (current)	NR	Chinese labour migrants in Israel.
Lin 2012	Qualitative	IDI (n=20)	Female	Vietnamese migrant live-in elder care workers in Taiwan
Mendoza 2017	Quantitative	Questionnaires (n=261)	Female	Domestic workers from the Philippines in Macau
Morrison 2013	Ethnographic	SSI (n=26); observations	NR	Moldovan/Ukrainian construction workers who worked in Russia/Italy
Nakonz 2009	Ethnographic	Observations; IDI (n=10); FGD (n=4)	Female	Domestic workers from the Philippines in Hong Kong
Rungmanee 2016	Ethnographic	IDI (n=7); informal discussions	NR	Agriculture migrants from the Thai-Lao border en route to Thailand in search of work
Sacchetto 2016	Qualitative	IDI (n=170)	Both	Unemployed Moroccan and Romanian migrant workers registered in two job centres in Italy
Sarker 2016	Mixed‡	Questionnaire (n=400); IDI (n=15)	Male	Bangladeshi migrant workers in Malaysia working in manufacturing; construction; restaurant; cleaning industries.
Scrinzi 2010	Ethnographic	SSI (n=10)	Male	Male migrant domestic workers (including cleaners/carers) in France and Italy. Origin: Peru, Ecuador, Sri Lanka (Italy); Peru, the Philippines, Algeria (France).
Simmons 2014	Qualitative	SSI (n=12); documents	NR	Indonesian crew who worked on a fishing vessel between 2009 and 2011, docked in New Zealand
Ueno 2009	Qualitative	Observation; interviews (n=45)	Female	Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore; and former workers in Indonesia
Van der Ham 2015	Mixed§	Questionnaires (n=500)	Female	Female domestic workers from the Philippines who finished at least one contract abroad

Vianello 2014	Qualitative	IDI (n=41)	Female	Current and past Ukrainian migrant workers in Italy
Worby 2014	Ethnography	IDI (n=51); Observations	Male	Day labourers (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Peru) in the San Francisco Bay Area.
Wu 2014	Qualitative‡	Observations; interviews/surveys (Italy n=46 female, 26 males; UK: n=30 males, 12 females) FGD	Both	Chinese migrant workers working/worked in Chinese operated businesses in Italy (manufacturing) and the UK (service)

**based on the same study using the same sample; ǂ only qualitative data included coping information; §only quantitative data included coping information; IDI=in-depth interviews; FGD=focus group discussion; SSI=semi-structured interviews; NR=not reported*

Study Quality

All 22 qualitative studies and the five mixed-methods studies that reported coping in the qualitative data described most of the key criteria of CASP. However, five studies did not report their sampling strategy (141, 147, 150, 157, 159) while only nine studies discussed ethical issues (140, 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 154, 160); and only five discussed the role of researcher and participants (144, 146, 148, 157, 162).

Among the two quantitative studies and the one mixed methods study reporting coping strategies in the quantitative data, bias and handling of missing data were only addressed in one (166), and none reported missing data for key variables, or the numbers and reasons for non-participation at the various stages (165, 166). Sample size calculation was not reported in one study (165).

The overall quality of the included studies was good, with most key elements in the respective assessment tool addressed. However, the qualitative studies could more thoroughly report sampling, ethical and reflectivity issues, which would help readers to interpret the findings more appropriately. The quality appraisal tables are included in Appendix VI.

Migration-related stressors

One study investigated migration-related stressors such as physical abuse, lack of medical support, job dismissal, and long working hours (166). Other explored specific stressors including: border crossing (153), racism (142), job security (138), deportation (138, 150), relationship with employer (152), legality (147), alcohol use (146), social mobility (157), motherhood (161), social class (158), gender (151, 155), migration rationale (12) and unemployment (154, 164).

Stressors for which coping strategies were reported covered five broad areas: 1) the job (and job environment); 2) labour migrant status; 3) stigma; 4) family; and 5) health.

Job-related stressors were related to contract discrepancies (138, 145, 149, 152, 159), wages (129, 139, 140, 143-145, 147, 149, 152, 159, 164), workload (129, 138, 139, 143, 148), living and working conditions (129, 138, 139, 145, 147, 149, 156, 158, 162, 163), job insecurity (129, 138, 139, 144-146, 154, 159, 161, 164), cultural differences (12, 148, 152, 162), discrimination (12, 138, 142, 145, 148) and interpersonal conflicts (129, 138, 144, 149, 152, 156, 158).

Examples of contract discrepancies included differences between the agreed and actual employment terms and conditions, or demands to undertake extra work outside of the

agreement, such for the employer's extended family or friends. Job insecurity arises through competition with other migrants, fear of not being rehired in future years (for seasonal migrants) and threats or actual loss of employment, due to dismissal or company closure. Poor living and working conditions included overcrowded living space, sanitation or cooking facilities, as well as poor security, and restricted movement and communication. Interpersonal conflicts were experiences of racism, discrimination or harassment with colleagues, supervisors or employers (165).

Migrants' legal status may shift between regular and irregular. Individuals in either category encountered stressors such as the inability to challenge poor conditions, to change jobs or to return home (141, 147, 150, 155, 160). In other situations, migrants reported high-levels of control exerted by recruitment agencies and employers, including searching and confiscating personal items such as jewellery, phones, and photographs (156) and threatening them with deportation regardless of their legal status (139, 147, 150, 153, 158).

Stigma-related stressors were related to gender and social status. Male and female migrants who were perceived to challenge traditional gender roles experienced gender-related stigma. For example, females were accused of having poor morals and character, particularly if their migration destinations were known for sex work (151). Males were stigmatised for working in jobs considered feminine, such as domestic or carer work (155). Social status stigma was linked to downward social mobility relative to migrants' education or socio-economic status in their country of origin. These forms of self-stigma and discrimination occurred when educated migrants worked in unskilled jobs they would not have done in their own country, which led to feelings of shame and embarrassment (142, 155-157). Some male migrants described experiences of discrimination due to their nationality (12).

Family-related stressors revolved mostly around childcare management (140, 161) and the constant pressure to earn and remit money home. Childcare issues were reported exclusively by female migrants. Whereas both men and women reported demands from family and relatives for gifts and money (12, 156). Among male migrants, some described having little or no control on important life decisions, including the decision on migration and marriage which were made by their parents. The decision to migrate may be made by a father or another elderly male and it was not possible to disobey. A male migrant described repeatedly telling his father how distressed he was in the destination, only to be told to work and send money, and not to talk about his problems (12). Parents of some young men arrange marriages for their sons to avoid them getting involved with local women once abroad (12).

Health-related stressors included experiences of loneliness (129, 140, 146, 151, 163), stress (163, 165, 166) and guilt from leaving behind their family, particularly children. Physical ill-health such as insufficient rest time due to working multiple jobs (140), heavy workload (140, 156), or untreated injuries (145) were also described. Among those who needed healthcare access was problematic (145), reportedly due to migrants' lack of health insurance or finances; or fear of being arrested at healthcare facilities among those with irregular status (141, 150, 161).

Coping strategies

Six studies reported coping strategies migrants used to respond to with migration-related stressors (140, 143, 147, 156, 159, 160). While others investigated the role of specific strategies such as social support (163, 165) or religion (144). The remaining 21 did not explicitly investigate coping but reported coping responses in the findings (12, 129, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148-155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 164, 166).

Using Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's 'families of coping', the responses for different migration-related stressors were categorised in Table 4.3. The most common families used to respond to stressors were problem-solving, support-seeking, and accommodation, followed by negotiation, opposition and escape. In a few cases, helplessness, self-comforting, social isolation families were also reported. These are presented below by stressor type.

Coping with job-related stressors

To respond to job-related stressors, the most common coping families used were problem-solving, support-seeking, and negotiation, followed by opposition, accommodation, and escape.

Problem-solving strategies such as adjusting their behaviours to show employers that they were better workers than those from other countries were reported by both sexes (138, 139, 142, 143, 148, 152, 162). Migrants also tried to improve their situation (156, 162) by reducing expenses (140, 141, 154, 159), or taking on additional employment (140, 159, 164). Some migrants left their job or sought work elsewhere either as a result of unsuccessful initial attempt to cope with job-related stressors which, for many, meant losing their legal status and risked being deported (138, 140, 143, 147, 149, 154, 158, 161, 164). However, for some men, this proved to be a better alternative and they were able to earn more and work in better conditions despite losing their legal status (147). Migrants who were at risk of deportation also

used that to their advantage when they wanted to return home but did not want to pay for the airfare. They used problem-solving strategies by sending all their savings home first, and then deliberately get arrested and deported, thus being able to return home without having spent money on the flight (147, 150).

Support-seeking strategies were used with family (140), other migrants (148, 156), civil society organisations (CSOs) (138, 145, 154), authorities (138, 145), or through religion (142, 144, 163). Migrants sought general assistance (156), employment (129, 147, 154, 159, 164), financial assistance (140, 145), emotional support (147, 148), or to file a formal complaint (138, 145, 154).

Migrants who were aware of their value to their employer used negotiation strategies to address job-related stressors. For example, female migrants negotiated for outstanding pay (156), improvements to their living conditions (129), sometimes through explaining their actual workload (129, 145, 148, 156). Both male and female migrants went on strike to get the employers to negotiate with them (147, 149). Some female live-in domestic workers also threatened to quit when conflict with other members of the employer's family arose (152) or sought to influence who their employer would hire (156). Beyond employers, negotiation strategies were also used with landlords to defer rent during periods of unemployment (154).

Accommodation strategies shifted migrants' perspectives of their stressful situations to more positive ones, and were used by both male and females to accept their situation (138, 139, 149, 152, 159, 161, 164). During economic downturns, some migrants accepted more work (149), lower pay or poorer conditions (164), as alternatives to unemployment. Accommodation coping changed migrants' views of long working hours as an opportunity to save and remit more money home (139, 149, 164). Where employers imposed restrictions on migrants' movements, some males reported understanding the employers' need to protect their own interests (139); or even positive by some females, as not going out meant they could save more money and be more responsible (129).

Opposition strategies were mostly used by male migrants (while two examples did not specify the migrants' sex). Seasonal agricultural workers attempted to reduce competition and preserve job opportunities for future years by sabotaging the performance of migrants from other countries, or by informing on irregular migrants to have them deported (138, 139). In other cases migrants threatened to report their employer to authorities or retaliated for poor treatment, for example, by breaking into the employer's factory and damaging the machinery before returning home (158).

Examples of coping through escape, social isolation and helplessness were reported in several cases. Females used escape strategies to avoid situations or individuals that may cause them to spend money or engage in situations that conflicted with their employers' interests (129, 152). Males used alcohol to escape job insecurity issues (138, 146, 147). Men who encountered problems including being deceived about job conditions and wages felt it would be shameful to share with others and used social isolation to keep others, including their family, from knowing about their actual situation (12). Where migrants experienced discrimination and harassment, they reported helplessness coping (142, 145).

Coping with labour migrant legal status

Stressors related to migrants' legal status were most commonly addressed with problem-solving. Support-seeking, escape, and accommodation (by male migrants) were also used in some situations.

Problem-solving strategies used by both male and female irregular migrants to avoid arrest included adjusting their schedules and behaviours, such as how and where to seek employment (139, 150, 153), or paying bribes (150, 153). For those who did not want to become irregular, some opted to return home voluntarily (141, 150). For those who were arrested, some sought support from agencies set up to provide services to migrants, and paid large fees to be released (147).

Male and female irregular migrants used support-seeking strategies to regularised their status (150, 160), to assist with job search (160), or to send remittances officially (150), or through another channel (147).

Fear of arrest and deportation led some migrants to use escape strategies by avoiding conflicts with others (139). While females avoided going to areas frequented by migrants (139) or using healthcare, including ante- and post-natal care (150). Male migrants also avoided consuming alcohol so that their employer would not use that as an excuse to dismiss them, which may leave them open for deportation (139).

Strategies belonging to accommodation were reported by males who accepted poor wages and conditions to stay in an employment that provided them with legal work permit (158, 160).

Coping with stigma

Coping families of problem-solving, accommodation, negotiation, and social isolation were used to respond to stigma stressors.

Problem-solving was the only coping family used to address gender-related stigma by females who selected destinations not associated with sex work or chose work in line with traditional gender roles (151). While a male migrant chose to return home when unemployed rather than be financially supported by his female partner which challenged his masculinity (164). Both males and females used accommodation to justify their decision to work in sectors considered unsuitable for their sex when challenged by others (151, 155).

In addition to overcoming their own feelings about their work traditionally done by the other sex, migrants also needed to convince employers to hire them. Males who sought work in female-dominated areas of domestic and care work used negotiation to persuade potential employers the benefits of having male workers in the household (155). While a female domestic worker who felt being addressed as 'maid' was stigmatising used negotiation to insist on being addressed differently (156).

For social status stigma, accommodation coping was reported by both males and females when lower status jobs were undertaken. Males chose work in junior positions in order to stay in the same profession and industry where there may be opportunities to use some of their skills (140, 155), while females accepted any work to avoid unemployment (142). In one case a female cleaner from a well-off family used social isolation coping by not informing her family about her job (157).

Coping with family-related stressors

Coping with family-related stressors on childcare management were only reported by female migrants who mainly used problem-solving or support-seeking strategies. Migrants who needed to cope with family demands for money and gifts, or being pressured into migrating or to marry when they did not want to used problem-solving, support-seeking and helplessness coping to respond.

Problem-solving strategies included changing work patterns (140, 161), paying for childcare (140, 161), sending children back to their country (161), or returning home herself (161). While support-seeking involved requesting assistance from others to provide childcare (140, 161), or to pay for childcare (161). To respond to excessive demands for gifts and money from family

members a female migrant chose to save and invest in herself instead (156). Bangladeshi migrants in Malaysia who encountered pressures from their family to migrate for work used support-seeking once in destination to attempt to convince their parents to let them return home and when they refused he resorted to helplessness coping. Similarly when young men were pushed into unwanted marriage by their parents men also used helplessness strategies to cope without any attempt to convince their families to accept the women they chose or to find ways out of marriages arranged by their parents (12).

Coping with health-related stressors

Health-related stressors were addressed by problem-solving, support-seeking, escape and accommodation families of coping.

Problem-solving was used by both males and females to gain rest time (140, 156), or to cope with homesickness by returning home (151).

Both males and females also used support-seeking to manage loneliness and stress by connecting with family and friends (163, 165, 166), or participating in religious activities (140, 146). Migrant farmworkers from Central American used escape strategies to avoid the heavy drinking that is common by choosing to socialise without alcohol (146). Alcohol was also used by males to escape feelings of loneliness and stress (146). While accommodation was used to remind themselves of the contributions they were making for their family (129, 146). Chinese migrants who worked in Israel used support-seeking strategies for emotional and psychological support after experiences of critical ill-health (147).

Irregular migrants who were fearful of accessing healthcare used problem-solving by self-medicating or using false documents (among males); or delayed use of essential healthcare, including ante- and post-natal care or immunizations for their infants, among females (150, 161). Both males and females also sought the safest facility when accessing services to avoid arrest (141, 150). In one case, a female migrant returned home to obtain medication rather than risk visiting a healthcare facility (150). Support-seeking was used by an injured seafarer to access healthcare by contacting his recruitment agent (145).

Table 4.3 - Coping responses by migration-stressor and sex of migrant

Stressor category	Coping response & corresponding family		Sex of migrant (study reference)		
	Coping family	Coping response	Females	Males	Unreported sex*
Job-related	Problem-solving	Adjust own behaviours; work hard; behave well; learn skills	(142, 148, 152)	(138, 139, 143, 162)	(138)
		Quit / seek work elsewhere	(138, 149, 161, 164)	(138, 140, 143, 147, 149, 158, 164)	(138, 154)
		Take on additional work	(140, 164)	(140, 159)	
		Find alternatives to improve living/working situation	(156)	(162)	
		Reduce living costs	(140, 141)	(140, 154, 159)	(154)
		Threaten to report employer to authorities	(158)		
	Support-seeking	Seek assistance/support	(129, 138, 140, 148, 156, 164)	(140, 147, 159)	(145, 154)
		Turn to religion	(142, 144, 163)		
	Negotiation	Explain workload/needs to employer	(129, 148, 156)		(138, 145)
		Go on strike	(149)	(147)	(147)
		Threaten to quit	(152, 156)		
		Ask landlord to defer rent			(154)
	Opposition	Inform on other migrants		(139)	(139)
		Take revenge on employer		(158)	
		Challenge employer		(138)	(138)
		Sabotage work performance of other migrants		(138, 139)	
	Accommodation	Accept employer demands & situation	(129, 152, 161, 164)	(138, 139, 159)	(149)
	Escape	Drink alcohol		(146)	
		Avoid temptations	(129, 152)		
	Helplessness	Put up with harassment/unfair treatment	(142)		(145)

		No attempts to address poor conditions		(147)	
	Social isolation	Do not share problems with anyone		(12)	
Migrant status related	Problem-solving	Pay bribe/fees	(153)	(153)	(150)
		Return home		(141)	(150)
		Be strategic with movements and job search			(150, 153)
	Support-seeking	Obtain legal status	(150)	(160)	(150)
		Seek assistance/support		(150, 160)	(150)
	Escape	Avoid access to healthcare	(150)		(150)
		Avoid other migrants/conflict	(139)	(139)	
	Accommodation	Accept employer demands & situation		(138, 158, 160)	
Stigma related	Problem-solving	Justify decision	(151)	(155)	
		Be strategic with destination and job	(151)		
		Return home		(164)	
	Accommodation	Choose type of work in same sector as training		(140, 155)	
		Accept situation	(142)		
	Negotiation	Maintain identity	(156)		
		Show positive qualities to potential employers		(155)	
	Social isolation	Do not discuss with family	(157)		
Family related	Problem-solving	Adjust work patterns	(140, 161)		
		Hire help	(140, 161)		
		Send child home	(161)		
		Return home	(161)		
		Invest financially for self	(156)		
	Support-seeking	Seek assistance/support	(140, 151, 161)	(12)	
	Helplessness	Do not attempt to improve situation		(12)	
	Problem-solving	Return home	(150, 151)		

Health related		Find alternatives to improve situation	(156)	(140)	
		Be selective of facility	(141)		
		Avoid alcohol		(146)	
	Escape	Drink alcohol		(146)	
		Avoid access to healthcare	(150, 161)		
	Support-seeking	Seek assistance/support	(163, 165, 166)	(147, 165)	(145)
		Turn to religion	(140)	(146)	
	Accommodation	Be more responsible/save money instead		(146)	(129)
**unreported sex includes studies that did not report the participants sex and those that, for the specific coping response reported, did not indicate the sex of the migrant*					

Discussion

This paper sought to systematically review the evidence on strategies used by international labour migrants from LMICs to cope with migration-related stressors and to compare the differences between male and female migrants.

Five areas of stressors were identified: job, migrant status, stigma, family and health. The vast majority of coping responded to job- and migrant status-related stressors, including competition between other migrants for work, which were commonly reported by both sexes. This is consistent with a study among migrant farmworkers that further found that such competition was encouraged by employers to control migrants (168).

Some stressors were gender specific. Females reported strategies to cope with stigma-related to their decision to migrate for work, and to the management of childcare that were not reported among males. A higher female participation in the workforce globally among migrants than those who stay in their home country (122) may be indicative of why females, especially those in low-skilled jobs, may experience greater stigma from home. Migrants reported poor access to healthcare for physical injuries, maternal and child health. Alcohol use was source of stress for some migrants and a coping strategy for others. These stressors are prevalent among many low-skilled workers in various sectors, from different origin and destination countries (33, 132, 169) and are associated with poor physical and mental health (170, 171).

Across the range of studies included in this review, the coping strategies for migration-related stressors were broadly similar with the most common responses belonging to problem-solving, support-seeking, and accommodation. Problem-solving and accommodation were used fairly equally by male and female migrants, while support-seeking was mainly reported by female migrants.

Studies that examined coping by sex in the general population have been inconclusive, with some suggesting males are more likely to use strategies that confront the stressors while females use more emotional-based strategies (82, 172). Yet others found no such difference after accounting for the type of stressors coping strategies responded to (59). A meta-analysis of sex differences on coping, based on English speaking, non-clinical samples from high-income countries, found that all strategies were more commonly reported by females and that 'seeking emotional support' was more often used by females regardless of stressor type (173). Males and females may also experience different types of stressors in the first place, which are appraised differently, and result in different responses, rather than an inherent differences in coping styles by sex (83, 172, 173). Family and health stressors were more commonly reported by females, while males experienced more work-, finance-, and certain intimate relationship-related stressors (172). Because interpersonal relationships are often central to females in many societies, stressors in these areas may prompt problem-solving responses more so than among males, who were more likely to use escape-avoidance strategies (173).

While the studies included in this review did not attempt to determine how male and female migrants appraised the various stressors, those reporting similar stressors generally used similar coping strategies, irrespective of their sex which is consistent with a number of coping studies of different populations (83, p. 301). Migrants sometimes did not act to respond to stressors unless these were specifically affecting their wages, suggesting those would be appraised more seriously.

Research and Policy Recommendations

The findings in this review suggest that policies to help migrants cope with migration-related stressors are needed. Strategic responses could target reducing stressors related to the job and working conditions and to establish easy-to-access support mechanisms for migrants. Destination countries should consider expanding the rights of labour migrants to permit them to change employment, which would reduce the possibility of overstaying and from falling into irregular status, which already exist in some countries. These may include not revoking

resident permits, granting grace periods for job search, permitting changes to visa categories, or more radically, not tying migrants to specific employers in the first place (167, 174).

Another option that may offer more protection to labour migrants may be direct government-to-government schemes, such as the Employment Permit System (EPS) in South Korea or the Bangladesh-Malaysia scheme. These have been shown to reduce costs for migrants and improve living and working conditions in destination, which may go some way towards reductions in contract discrepancies and other common exploitative practices. However, both schemes have been unable to meet the high demand of interested migrant workers (175, 176), therefore, expanding or introducing similar schemes between other origin and destination countries could be explored.

Many migrant domestic workers reported having had their personal freedoms controlled before and during migration (156, 177). These may be partially driven by policies in some destinations that hold employers accountable for the labour migrants they employ (126, 177). Employers of live-in domestic workers also described their need to control migrants for security reasons since they live together in the employers' home (129, 152, 177). Further, some recruitment agencies advise employers to confiscate workers' passports, salaries, or not let them go out freely on their days off to prevent runaways (126, 149, 177).

Migrants in this review who had encountered problems sought support from authorities and NGOs, as well as from family and friends. Therefore, strengthening origin countries' capacity to assist through maintaining a presence in key destinations and informing migrants of available support services and how to access them, ideally prior to their departure, may help minimise stress or enable them to seek redress if needed. There have been some promising governmental and civil society programmes to support labour migrants though advice and practical assistance, such as shelters, financial, and legal assistance, as well as the monitoring of workplace conditions (175).

This review highlighted the harmful coping strategies migrants used by delaying or avoiding healthcare, including those related to infant and child health. Access to healthcare should be available regardless of status, particularly as migrants' status is often fluid. Several existing programmes address this issue: the EPS in South Korea provides access to health insurance and compensation (175, 178), the Migrant Health Programme in Thailand provides advice, and support (179) and the subsidised scheme for Filipino migrant workers to access health services in both origin and destination countries (175). Other key source and destination countries could look at adapting such programmes for their migrant workforce.

Interestingly, migrants who had run away from their employer and effectively lost their legal status managed to find other work and described their subsequent work, earnings and conditions as better than when legally employed. Further, it is precisely this precarious legal status that was used by several migrants to their advantage to effectively get a free flight home by getting arrested deliberately.

The studies included in this review were primarily based on qualitative findings on coping. Mixed-methods designs are needed to explore how stressors are assessed by male and female migrants in different cultural contexts, and to test the hypothesis of whether similarly appraised stressors are addressed with similar coping responses. This would improve our understanding of whether and how males and females differ in coping responses, and of cultural sensitivities of how stressors and coping are understood, experienced and reported.

Limitations

This review used a broad approach to coping when reviewing studies and coping responses were mostly extracted from qualitative data reported in the primary studies, with coping not being the focus of the studies.

The term migrant is often used interchangeably with immigrants, and may include first- and second-generation immigrants, expatriate workers, or are defined by ethnicity, birthplace, nationality, among others. Due to resource limitations, the search strategy did not include the term ‘immigrant’ to avoid erroneously picking up a large body of literature not related to labour migrants. This strategy may have led to some relevant studies being missed.

Screening of titles and abstracts, and the categorisation of coping reported in the qualitative findings into coping families were only done by one reviewer. However, any that were unclear were discussed and resolved with the other co-authors.

Some studies did not report the origin countries of labour migrants and could not be included in this review as being from LMIC was an inclusion criteria. Studies that sampled migrants from both LMIC and high-income countries did not always report the findings by country of origin which meant they could not be included. While those that included both male and female migrants did not always report the findings by sex which made it difficult to determine whether and how stressors and coping varied by sex.

Finally, this review did not seek to explore outcomes of the coping strategies used. However, some responses described are likely to increase migrants’ risks such as avoiding or delaying

healthcare, or consuming harmful levels of alcohol. While other strategies created vulnerability for other migrants through derailing their performance or reporting them to authorities, further exacerbating migrants' stress.

Conclusion

This review sought to identify strategies international labour migrants used to cope with migration-related stressors and to compare differences by sex. A range of stressors pertaining to the job, migrant-status, stigma, family and health were identified which were sometimes gender specific. Across all types of stressors the most common coping families of responses were problem-solving, support-seeking, and accommodation. Female migrants reported more use of support-seeking strategies compared to males. Some strategies migrants used created vulnerability for themselves or for other migrants. Further research to untangle the relationship between sex and coping strategies for migration-related stressors is needed to improve labour migrants' ability to cope with stressors. Lastly, policies and interventions should permit more flexibility for migrants to change jobs and to increase availability and reach of support mechanisms.

4.2 Labour exploitation and forced labour

4.2.1 Preamble to Paper 2

Findings from the systematic review identified a broad range of stressors international labour migrants from LMICs faced throughout the migration cycle and the various coping strategies used to address them. In particular, it revealed that the vast majority of stressors were related to the job and the job-environment. As described in 1.3, many labour migrants encounter exploitative practices but it is unclear how prevalent different practices are. To address this gap, and to complement the existing literature on labour exploitation, I analysed the SWiFT-Nepal cross-sectional returnee survey to identify the types of exploitative experiences male migrants faced, to estimate the prevalence of forced labour, according to ILO definition and measures, and to explore the associated factors. Additional descriptive analysis not included in the published paper can be found in Appendix III.

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Student	Joelle YT Mak
Principal Supervisor	Cathy Zimmerman
Thesis Title	Migration-related stressors and coping: a mixed-methods study among Nepali male labour migrants

If the Research Paper has previously been published please complete Section B, if not please move to Section C

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Student Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

Supervisor Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

4.2.2 Paper 2 - Estimating the prevalence of and associations with forced labour

What is the prevalence of and associations with forced labour experiences among male migrants from Dolakha, Nepal? Findings from a cross-sectional study of returnee migrants

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Abstract

Objectives Growing numbers of people are migrating outside their country for work, and many experience precarious conditions, which have been linked to poor physical and mental health. While international dialogue on human trafficking, forced labour and slavery increases, prevalence data of such experiences remain limited.

Methods Men from Dolakha, Nepal, who had ever migrated outside of Nepal for work were interviewed on their experiences, from pre-departure to return (n=194). Forced labour was assessed among those who returned within the past 10 years (n=140) using the International Labour Organization's forced labour dimensions: (1) unfree recruitment; (2) work and life under duress; and (3) impossibility to leave employer. Forced labour is positive if any one of the dimensions is positive.

Results Participants had worked in India (34%), Malaysia (34%) and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries (29%), working in factories (29%), as labourers/porters (15%) or in skilled employment (12%). Among more recent returnees (n=140), 44% experienced unfree recruitment, 71% work and life under duress and 14% impossibility to leave employer. Overall, 73% experienced forced labour during their most recent labour migration.

Forced labour was more prevalent among those who had taken loans for their migration (PR 1.23) and slightly less prevalent among those who had migrated more than once (PR 0.87); however the proportion of those who experienced forced labour was still high (67%). Age, destination and duration of stay were associated with only certain dimensions of forced labour.

Conclusion Forced labour experiences were common during recruitment and at destination. Migrant workers need better advice on assessing agencies and brokers, and on accessing services at destinations. As labour migration from Nepal is not likely to reduce in the near future, interventions and policies at both source and destinations need to better address the challenges migrants face so they can achieve safer outcomes.

Introduction

Globally, increasing numbers of people are migrating for work. This has often been attributed to limited local employment opportunities, political instability, the demand for cheap labour and climate change, among others (18, 180, 181). Labour migration can be beneficial, with remittances contributing towards a range of household expenses, including education, healthcare or savings, which may be used as business start-up funds or to mitigate against crop failures (13, 182). However, at the same time there is emerging recognition of the exploitation and abuses experienced by migrant workers in various countries and industries (4, 26, 130). Commonly reported experiences include contract breaches, limited freedom of movement, non-payment of wages and confiscation of identity documents. Outstanding debt or an absence of social network has been suggested as contributing factors that may increase migrants' vulnerability to experiences that are akin to forced labour, which the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines as: 'all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily' (21, 25, 26).

As evidence mounts on the far-reaching health and social consequences of such exploitations — including violence and mental health symptoms (depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress or suicide attempts) (183, 184) — efforts to strengthen responses to forced labour and human trafficking have intensified. The Sustainable Development Goal 8.7 specifically aims to eradicate forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking by 2030. Yet prevention efforts are hampered by evidence gaps, with notably few rigorous studies quantifying human trafficking and forced labour (16, 185, 186), in addition to terminological challenges, as forced labour, trafficking and slavery are applied somewhat interchangeably and measured inconsistently, making comparisons difficult (16, 185-188).

Labour migration is highly prevalent in Nepal. According to Nepal's 2011 census, one-quarter of households have at least one member absent or living abroad, and the World Bank suggests one-half of households have a current or ever-migrant (3, 189). This paper reports labour migration experiences, including the extent and nature of forced labour experiences and associated factors, among a sample of Nepali male returnee migrant workers. Forced labour was used in this analysis due to the availability of guidelines and indicators to quantify such experiences (21).

Methods

Study setting

Nepal is a landlocked country sharing borders with India and China. Migration in Nepal is generally attributed to poverty, limited employment and livelihood opportunities (190, 191), conflict (192, 193) and social networks (191, 194, 195). Migration from Nepal to or via India is not officially recorded due to the open-border policy between the two countries (196). In 2014, nearly one-fifth of the remittances sent to Nepal came from India, which may be indicative of the numbers of Nepalis living in India (189). Apart from India, Nepali labour migrants commonly work in Malaysia and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, which include Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman and Bahrain. Migrants primarily work in low-skilled jobs such as manufacturing and construction (10, 189). Studies and government reports suggest Nepali migrants often have limited understanding of their future work conditions and rights, and fatalities at destination have been increasing (33, 189, 197). At the same time, labour migration has been credited with poverty reduction and contributes significantly to Nepal's economy, with official remittances steadily increasing since the 1990s to represent over 30% of the gross domestic product in 2015 (4, 189).

This study uses data collected as part of the Study of Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation to inform the ILO's Work in Freedom programme, which aims to reduce migrant workers' vulnerability to exploitation. The intervention runs in five districts in Nepal, including the study district, Dolakha. One ward in each of the three sites in Dolakha was selected: Bhimeshwar, the district municipality; Kavre, a peri-urban site; and Suri, a rural site.

Sampling

Sampling consisted of two phases. First, all households in the study sites were enumerated between February and April 2014. Household heads were interviewed to collect demographic and migration data for all household members. This process identified 444 men who had migrated outside of Nepal for work, and included 201 men who were away during the enumeration. In November 2014 we returned to locate and invite all returnee migrants to take part in the study by revisiting those homes. Up to three visits were conducted on different days and times to locate men, including making queries to the neighbours, in cases where houses appear to be unoccupied. Among the 444 men identified, 47 could not be located. Of the 397 located, 40% were abroad, 18% had relocated or were temporary away and 2% refused participation. Overall 159 men from the original sample were interviewed, resulting in a response rate of 40%. A further 37 returnee men were identified who were not on our

original roster. These men were included as we aimed to include all returnee men in the study sites.

Data collection

A cross-sectional survey was designed to capture experiences throughout the migration cycle, including pre-departure, travel, destination and return. Among men who had migrated for work more than once, the survey focused on their most recent migration. As eligible men included those who had returned from their migration many years ago, a shorter survey was designed for those who returned 10 or more years ago. The surveys were designed in English and translated into Nepali. The final English version was programmed into an electronic data collection software and then the Nepali translations pasted in. Data collection was conducted using tablets. Most questions on the survey included a 'not applicable' option and the programming was done to require a response to most questions to avoid missing data. A meeting was held with the fieldwork team each evening to discuss any issues and record any data that need correcting as the data collection application does not allow moving back after certain sections.

Measures

Outcome

We used the ILO's forced labour measure, which includes three dimensions: (1) unfree recruitment; (2) work and life under duress; and (3) impossibility of leaving the employer. Within each dimension are indicators of involuntariness and penalty, further divided into strong and medium categories (Table 4.4). Indicators were constructed from a group of variables (questions) asked in the survey in order to reduce bias, as individuals may define exploitation and forced labour differently from the ILO measure. Where indicators measured similar concepts (exclusion from social and community life, isolation, surveillance), these were checked to ensure that only one was counted as medium and strong indicators. Positive experience of a dimension is defined as at least one indicator of involuntariness and one of penalty within a dimension, of which one must be a strong indicator. Positive experience of any one of the three dimensions constitutes a positive experience of forced labour (21).

Table 4.4 - Dimensions of forced labour

Dimension of forced labour			Indicator
Unfree Recruitment	**Involuntariness**	*Strong indicators*	Recruitment linked to debt (advance or loan) Deception about the nature of the work
		Medium Indicators	Deceptive recruitment
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Denunciation to authorities Confiscation of identity or travel documents Sexual or physical violence Withholding assets (cash or other) Threats against family members
		Medium Indicators	Exclusion from community and social life Financial penalties
Work and life under duress	**Involuntariness**	*Strong indicators*	Force overtime (beyond legal limit) Limited freedom of movement and communication Degrading living conditions
		Medium Indicators	Multiple dependency on employer (housing)
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Denunciation to authorities Confiscation of identity or travel documents Confiscation of mobile phone Isolation Locked in workplace/living quarters Sexual/physical violence Withholding assets (cash or other) Threats against family members
		Medium Indicators	Dismissal Financial penalties
	Involuntariness	*Strong indicators*	No freedom to resign

Impossibility of leaving employer			Forced to stay longer than agreed to wait for wages due Forced to work for indeterminate period to repay outstanding debt or wage advance
		Medium Indicators	N/A
	Penalty	*Strong indicators*	Denunciation to authorities Confiscation of identity or travel documents Locked in workplace/living quarters Sexual/physical violence Constant surveillance Withholding of assets (cash or other), or of wages Threats against family members
		Medium Indicators	Dismissal Financial penalties

Exposures

Three groups of exposure variables were explored: (1) demographics: age at departure of most recent migration, caste/ethnicity, education; (2) most recent migration destination and type of work; and (3) potential associated factors: debt (taken for the migration), social network (have contact with other migrants or contact information of migrant organisations), previous labour migration experience, attendance of training prior to departure, and awareness that agreed terms and conditions may be breached at destination.

Ethics

Ethical approval was obtained from the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (7021) and the Nepal Health Research Council (1040). Fieldworkers received a 2-week training in Kathmandu conducted by JM that covered research ethics both for the safety of participants and fieldworkers, in addition to the specifics of the study, including the research design, instruments and procedures. Study participants were given study information verbally and in writing, and provided written consent before interviews began.

Data analysis

Data were analysed in Stata/SE V.14. Descriptive statistics are presented on socio-demographics and labour migration history. Prevalence of the three dimensions of forced labour and forced labour itself was calculated only among men who returned from their most recent migration within the past 10 years (n=140) as these individuals had completed the long survey and could be used in the analysis for forced labour experiences. Men who had returned from their most recent migration 10 or more years ago completed a shorter survey which did not have sufficient data to estimate forced labour. The proportion of participants who experienced each indicator is presented separately for those who worked in India versus other destinations due to the open-border policy and sociolinguistic similarities between the two countries, which may affect forced labour experiences. Bivariate analysis between exposure variables and the dimensions of forced labour is presented with X^2 or Fisher's exact tests of association. Lastly, log-binomial regression was used to estimate the association (prevalence ratio (PR) and 95% CIs). When examining forced labour by destination, India was also excluded for the same reasons mentioned previously. Exposure categories were collapsed where fewer than 5% of participants reported data within one stratum.

Results

Description of study sample

The characteristics of the 194 male participants are presented in Table 4.5. Over half were under 40 years old at the time of interview (55%). Approximately 35% were of the Chhetree ethnic/caste group (an 'upper caste' group), and one-quarter were Janajatis, the indigenous groups. The vast majority were married (89%) and had attended some secondary school (40%), while 17% had never attended school or only had informal education. Most participants spoke Nepali as their main language (83%) and 79% also spoke Hindi. Nearly 42% spoke English, 23% Malay and 18% Arabic, languages of common destinations.

Table 4.5 - Socio-demographic characteristics by site

	Total (n=194)
Age-groups:	
18-29	46 (23.7)
30-39	61 (31.4)
40-49	26 (13.4)
50-59	25 (12.9)
≥60	36 (18.6)
Median (IQR)	37 (30-52)

Caste/ethnicity:	
Chhetree	69 (35.6)
Brahman-Hill	35 (18.0)
Newar	35 (18.0)
Janajati	47 (24.2)
Other (Dalit, Muslim)	8 (4.1)
Current marital status:	
Unmarried	18 (9.3)

Married/Polymarried	173 (89.2)
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	3 (1.6)
Highest level of education attended:	
None/informal	33 (17.0)
Primary	52 (26.8)
Secondary	78 (40.2)
Higher secondary/vocational/tertiary	31 (16.0)
Main language spoken:	
Nepali	160 (82.5)
Thami	17 (8.8)
Tamang	10 (5.2)
Other	7 (3.6)
Other languages spoken (multiple options):	
Hindi	153 (78.9)
English	81 (41.8)
Malay	44 (22.7)
Nepali	34 (17.5)
Arabic	34 (17.5)
Newari	11 (5.7)
Tamang	8 (4.1)
Bengali	6 (3.1)
Thami	4 (2.1)
Sherpa	4 (2.1)
Other	14 (7.2)
No other languages spoken	11 (9.3)
Median no. other languages spoken (IQR)	2 (1-3)
Ability to read (in any language):	
No	16 (8.2)
With much difficulty	12 (6.2)
With some difficulty	31 (16.0)
Fluently	135 (69.6)
No. of biological children (among married men):	
None	6 (3.4)
1	32 (18.3)
2 - 4	111 (63.4)
≥5	26 (14.9)
Median (IQR)	3 (2-4)

First labour migration experience

Most participants (62%) had only migrated for work outside of Nepal once. Among those who had migrated more than once, most had gone two to three times, while 6% had gone four or more times, Table 4.5. Over half of the men (57%) left for their very first labour migration between the ages of 18 and 29, and 4% left when they were aged 40 or older.

Most recent labour migration experience

During their most recent migration, nearly half stayed in the destination country for over 3 years, while 13% stayed for less than 1 year. The majority of participants (67%) were under the age of 30 when they left Nepal for their most recent migration, with 11% under the age of 18.

Common destinations were India and Malaysia (34% each), followed by the GCC countries (29%). A small number of men worked in other countries: China, South Korea, Bhutan and Iraq. Most often, men worked in factories (29%), as general labourer/porter (15%), and 12% worked in more skilled employment (i.e., accountant, mechanic, engineer) (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 - Labour migration histories and characteristics of most recent migration

No. labour migration experiences:	**(n=194)**
1	120 (61.9)
2-3	63 (32.5)
≥4	11 (5.7)
Median (IQR)	1 (1-2)
Age at first labour migration:	
<18	44 (22.7)
18-29	111 (57.2)
30-39	31 (16.0)
≥40	8 (4.1)
Median (IQR)	22 (18-27)
Marital status at first labour migration:	
Unmarried	100 (51.6)
Married	94 (48.5)
Duration of stay* at most recent migration (5 missing):	
< 1 year	24 (12.7)
1-3 years	74 (39.2)
>3 years	91 (48.2)
Median in months (IQR)	34 (18-60)

Age-groups (at departure of most recent migration):	
<18	21 (10.8)
18-29	108 (55.7)
30-39	38 (19.6)
≥40	27 (13.9)
Median (IQR)	25 (20-31.5)
Most recent migration destination:	
India	66 (34.0)
Malaysia	65 (33.5)
GCC countries	56 (28.9)
Others (Iraq, Bhutan, China, Korea)	7 (3.6)
Most recent migration work:	
Construction worker	18 (9.3)
Factory worker	56 (29.0)
Kitchen/food-related work	16 (8.3)
Security	14 (7.3)
General labour/helper	29 (15.0)
Supervisor or skilled	24 (12.4)
Other (cleaner, agriculture, laundry)	36 (18.7)

Prevalence of forced labour dimensions

Most men who returned from their most recent labour migration within the past 10 years (n=140) experienced exploitation at all stages of the migration process (Table 4.7). Half reported deceptive recruitment in which the employment conditions such as wages, location, employer, duration, or living and working situations differed from what they were told before leaving Nepal, and 19% reported the actual job was different. Debt-linked recruitment, however, was rare, with very few men reporting their employer at destination or agent in Nepal had provided loans or advances which had to be repaid from their salary at destination.

Table 4.7 - Experiences of forced labour indicators and dimensions, by destination

	Involuntariness - strong indicators	**India (n=20)**	**Other destinations (n=120)**	**Total (n=140)**
Dimension 1: Unfree Recruitment	Debt-linked recruitment	0	6 (5.0)	6 (4.3)
	Deceived on nature of work	1 (5.0)	25 (20.8)	26 (18.6)
	Involuntariness - medium indicators			
	Deceptive recruitment	2 (10.0)	68 (56.7)	70 (50.0)
	Penalty - strong indicators			
	Reporting to authorities	1 (5.9)	9 (7.5)	10 (7.3)
	Document confiscation	1 (5.0)	68 (60.2)	69 (51.9)
	Threats or actual experience of violence	1 (5.0)	8 (6.7)	9 (6.4)
	Withhold assets	9 (45.0)	29 (24.2)	38 (27.1)
	Threats against family	0	0	0
	Penalty - medium indicators			
	Exclusion from community and social life*	7 (35.0)	43 (35.8)	50 (35.7)
	Financial penalties	6 (31.6)	41 (34.2)	47 (33.8)
	Involuntariness + Penalty (≥1 strong)	**2 (10.0)**	**60 (50.0)**	**62 (44.3)**
Dimension 2: Work and life under duress	**Involuntariness - strong indicators**			
	Forced overtime work	9 (56.3)	27 (22.9)	36 (26.9)
	Limited freedom *	9 (45.0)	54 (45.0)	63 (45.0)
	Degrading living conditions	2 (10.0)	12 (10.0)	14 (10.0)
	Involuntariness - medium indicators			
	Multiple dependency on employer (housing)	9 (45.0)	118 (98.3)	127 (90.7)
	Penalty - strong indicators			
	Reporting to authorities	1 (5.9)	9 (7.5)	10 (7.3)
	Document confiscation	1 (5.0)	68 (60.2)	69 (51.9)
	Confiscation of mobile phone	1 (10.0)	3 (2.7)	4 (3.3)
	Isolation*	8 (40.0)	54 (45.0)	62 (44.3)
	Locked in work/living place	0	1 (0.8)	1 (0.7)
	Threats or actual experience of violence	1 (5.0)	8 (6.7)	9 (6.4)
	Withhold assets	9 (45.0)	29 (24.2)	38 (27.1)
	Threats against family	0	0	0
	Penalty - medium indicators			
	Dismissal	4 (20.0)	10 (8.3)	14 (10.0)

	Financial penalties	6 (31.6)	41 (34.2)	47 (33.8)
	Involuntariness + Penalty (≥1 strong)	**11 (55.0)**	**88 (73.3)**	**99 (70.7)**
Dimension 3: Impossibility of leaving employer	**Involuntariness - strong indicators**			
	No freedom to resign	0	6 (5.0)	6 (4.3)
	Forced to stay due to unpaid wages	4 (20.0)	10 (8.30)	14 (10.0)
	Forced to stay to repay outstanding debts	0	0	0
	No Involuntariness - medium indicators			
	Penalty - strong indicators			
	Reporting to authorities	1 (5.9)	9 (7.5)	10 (7.3)
	Document confiscation	1 (5.0)	68 (60.2)	69 (51.9)
	Locked in work/living place	0	1 (0.8)	1 (0.7)
	Threats or actual experience of violence	1 (5.0)	8 (6.7)	9 (6.4)
	Constant surveillance*	6 (30.0)	44 (36.7)	50 (35.7)
	Withhold assets	9 (45.0)	29 (24.2)	38 (27.1)
	Threats against family	0	0	0
	Penalty - medium indicators			
	Dismissal	4 (20.0)	10 (8.3)	14 (10.0)
	Financial penalties	6 (31.6)	41 (34.2)	47 (33.8)
	Involuntariness + Penalty (≥1 strong)	**4 (20.0)**	**15 (12.5)**	**19 (13.6)**
	Forced Labour	**11 (55.0)**	**91 (75.8)**	**102 (72.9)**

** Similar variables were used to build these indicators: locked in the work place or home; can't communicate with others or to go out during non-work hours; phone confiscated. Where these were represented more than once in a dimension, they were only included as one indicator requiring a second indicator to fulfil a positive outcome for that dimension.*

Forty-five per cent reported limited freedom of movement or communication at destination, which included being unable to speak to anyone they wanted over the phone, to leave the work premises or go out unaccompanied during non-working hours, or to have their phones or address books confiscated, and 91% depended on their employer for housing. Over one-quarter reported having worked overtime without additional pay. Conversely, very few reported not being able to resign, and none reported being forced to stay due to outstanding debts.

Over half the participants reported having their identity documents confiscated with no possibility of getting them back if needed (52%); 44% reported isolation, which includes elements of being excluded from community and social life, or being under surveillance. One-third experienced financial penalties such as having wages deducted as punishment or while

on sick leave, or being threatened with non-payment of wages. Additionally, 27% reported having assets (i.e., mobile phone, address book, wages) withheld.

Among those who worked in India in their most recent migration, over half were forced to work overtime without pay, and just under half (45%) had some of their assets withheld, or restrictions of movement or communication. Very few experienced unfree recruitment or impossibility of leaving employer, while 55% experienced work and life under duress and forced labour.

Overall, in their most recent labour migration, 44% of participants experienced unfree recruitment, 71% for work and life under duress and 14% for impossibility of leaving employer. Experience of any of the three dimensions constituted experience of forced labour, and 73% of the participants were thus classified.

Factors associated with forced labour

Demographic and key exposures were examined in relation to each of the dimensions, and to the overall forced labour outcome. For most exposures, similar PRs were observed. While men who had migrated for work more than once had a lower prevalence of forced labour (PR 0.87, 95% CI 0.70 to 1.09) compared with those who had migrated only once, nearly 67% of those with repeat migrations still experienced forced labour during their most recent migration (Table 4.8). There was some suggestion that men who had taken out loans for their migration experienced a higher PR for forced labour, although the associations were only statistically significant with the unfree recruitment dimension: PR 1.67 (95% CI 1.00 to 2.79) for unfree recruitment; PR 1.18 (95% CI 0.91 to 1.55) for work and life under duress; PR 1.12 (95% CI 0.43 to 2.91) for impossibility of leaving employer ; and PR 1.23 (95% CI 0.95 to 1.60) for the overall forced labour. Those who had attended trainings before leaving Nepal had a higher prevalence of all three dimensions as well as of forced labour: PR 1.24 (95% CI 0.72 to 2.14) for unfree recruitment; PR 1.15 (95% CI 0.30 to 4.45) for impossibility of leaving employer; PR 1.35 (95% CI 1.11 to 1.64) for work and life under duress*;* and PR 1.30 (95% CI 1.07 to 1.58) for forced labour, with the latter two outcomes reaching statistical significance.

Several exposures appear to be associated with only certain dimensions of forced labour, including age, destination, duration of stay, and awareness of agreement breach potentials. Men who were older when they left Nepal had a lower prevalence of the impossibility to leave the employer dimension compared with younger men: PR 0.79 (95% CI 0.32 to 1.99) for those aged 25–34 and 0.64 (95% CI 0.15 to 2.75) for those over 34, compared with those under 25.

But age group was not associated with the other two dimensions. Men who worked in the GCC countries were more likely to experience impossibility to leave the employer (PR 1.38 (95% CI: 0.54 to 3.58)) compared with those who worked in Malaysia, while for the other dimensions and for forced labour, similar PRs were observed between the two destinations. Compared with men who stayed in the destination country for less than 1 year, men who remained longer were more likely to have experienced unfree recruitment (PR 1.59 (95% CI 0.67 to 3.78) for stays between 1 and 3 years; and PR 1.34 (95% CI 0.56 to 3.18) for stays of over 3 years). For men who stayed between 1 and 3 years, the PR for work and life under duress was 1.37 (95% CI 0.80 to 2.32) and 1.28 (95% CI 0.76 to 2.18) for those who stayed longer. Conversely, longer stays appear to be associated with lower prevalence of the impossibility to leave the employer dimension (PR 0.25 (95% CI: 0.06 to 1.01)) for stays of over 3 years compared with stays for less than 1 year, although some categories had very few men. Men who returned from their most recent migration between 5 and 10 years ago had a lower PR of unfree recruitment (PR 0.80, 95% CI 0.48 to 1.34) compared with men who returned within the past 12 months, while the reverse was observed for impossibility to leave the employer, where those who returned between 5 and 10 years ago had a higher prevalence (PR 2.06, 95% CI 0.56 to 7.61) compared with those who returned within the past 12 months. Men who were aware of agreement breaches potentials at destination had higher prevalence of unfree recruitment (PR 2.23 (95% CI 1.07 to 4.64)) than those who said they were unaware prior to leaving. However, this was not associated with the other dimensions of forced labour.

Discussion

This paper offers findings about the prevalence of and factors associated with different dimensions of forced labour among a general population of male Nepali migrant workers using the ILO measures. Previous studies in Nepal have been primarily qualitative, and shed light on the nature and experiences of exploitation particularly in relation to child labour (198, 199) and bonded labour (199, 200). Our results indicate that 73% of returnee migrants had experienced forced labour at their most recent labour migration. This appears to be similar to figures noted in a study conducted by Verité on workers in the electronics sector in Malaysia using the ILO measures (66%) when the indicator 'confiscation of passport' was included (which was not in the overall estimates) (132). Similar types of exploitations were reported by Amnesty International's qualitative research with returnees identified as having had problems with their migration (33) while a small study by The Asia Foundation (26) identified a range of problems at destination reported by returnee men and women that included salary discrepancies, contract substitutions, as well as food and relationships with others.

Table 4.8 - Forced labour dimensions by demographics, migration history and potential exposures

Age-groups (at departure of most recent migration)	Unfree recruitment (n=62)			Work/life duress (n=99)			Impossibility to leave (n=19)			Forced Labour (n=102)		
		PR* (95% CI)	p-value		PR* (95% CI)	p-value		PR* (95% CI)	p-value		PR* (95% CI)	p-value
<25 (n=58)	24 (41.4)	Ref		39 (67.2)	Ref		9 (15.5)	Ref		40 (69.0)	Ref	
25-34 (n=57)	27 (47.4)	1.14 (0.76-1.73)	0.520	44 (77.2)	1.15 (0.91-1.44)	0.238	7 (12.3)	0.79 (0.32-1.99)	0.619	45 (79.0)	1.14 (0.92-1.43)	0.227
≥35 (n=20)	7 (35.0)	0.85 (0.43-1.66)	0.626	11 (55.0)	0.82 (0.53-1.27)	0.367	2 (10.0)	0.64 (0.15-2.75)	0.553	12 (60.0)	0.87 (0.58-1.30)	0.494
p-value	0.598			0.155			0.835†			0.218		
Median (IQR)	26 (21-30)			26 (21-31)			24.5 (20-32)			26 (21-31)		
Caste/ethnicity:												
Brahman/Chhetree (n=67)	31 (46.3)	Ref		48 (71.6)	Ref		7 (10.5)	Ref		49 (73.1)	Ref	
Newar (n=26)	12 (46.2)	1.00 (0.61-1.63)	0.992	18 (69.2)	0.97 (0.72-1.30)	0.822	2 (7.7)	0.74 (0.16-3.33)	0.691	19 (73.1)	1.00 (0.76-1.32)	0.996
Janajati (n=41)	14 (34.2)	0.74 (0.45-1.22)	0.233	28 (68.3)	0.95 (0.74-1.23)	0.716	9 (22.0)	2.10 (0.84-5.23)	0.110	29 (70.7)	0.97 (0.76-1.24)	0.790
p-value	0.427			0.928			0.170†			0.960		
Highest level of education:												
None/Primary (n=41)	16 (39.0)	Ref		32 (78.1)	Ref		3 (7.3)	Ref		32 (78.1)	Ref	
Secondary (n=69)	34 (49.3)	1.26 (0.80-1.99)	0.313	46 (66.7)	0.85 (0.68-1.08)	0.807	15 (21.7)	2.97 (0.91-9.69)	0.071	49 (71.0)	0.91 (0.73-1.14)	0.405
Higher secondary / vocational / tertiary (n=30)	12 (40.0)	1.03 (0.57-1.84)	0.934	21 (70.0)	0.90 (0.67-1.19)	0.456	1 (3.3)	0.46 (0.05-4.20)	0.488	21 (70.0)	0.90 (0.67-1.19)	0.456
p-value	0.502			0.445			**0.028**†			0.670		

No. previous migrations:												
Once (n=86)	40 (46.5)	Ref		64 (74.4)	Ref		12 (14.0)	Ref		66 (76.7)	Ref	
More than once (n=54)	22 (40.7)	0.88 (0.59-1.30)	0.511	35 (64.8)	0.87 (0.69-1.10)	0.245	7 (13.0)	0.93 (0.39-2.22)	0.868	36 (66.7)	0.87 (0.70-1.09)	0.215
p-value	0.503			0.224			0.868			0.192		
Most recent destination ‡:												
Malaysia (n=63)	31 (49.2)	Ref		46 (73.0)	Ref		7 (11.1)	Ref		47 (74.6)	Ref	
Gulf countries§ (n=52)	27 (51.9)	1.06 (0.73-1.52)	**0.**772	40 (76.9)	1.05 (0.85-1.30)	0.630	8 (15.4)	1.38 (0.54-3.58)	0.502	41 (78.9)	1.06 (0.86-1.29)	0.592
p-value	0.772			0.631			0.583†			0.593		
Most recent work:												
Construction worker (n=13)	8 (61.5)	1.23 (0.74-2.04)	0.423	9 (69.2)	0.89 (0.60-1.32)	0.559	3 (23.1)	1.56 (0.48-5.10)	0.464	9 (69.2)	0.89 (0.60-1.32)	0.559
Factory worker (n=54)	27 (50.0)	Ref		42 (77.8)	Ref		8 (14.8)	Ref		42 (77.8)	Ref	
Kitchen/food-related work (n=11)	3 (27.3)	0.55 (0.20-1.49)	0.237	8 (72.7)	0.94 (0.63-1.38)	0.736	0	---		8 (72.7)	0.94 (0.63-1.38)	0.736
Security (n=8)	4 (50.0)	1.00 (0.47-2.11)	1	6 (75.0)	0.96 (0.63-1.48)	0.442	3 (37.5)	2.53 (0.84-7.63)	0.099	6 (75.0)	0.96 (0.63-1.48)	0.867
General labourer/porter (n=13)	4 (30.8)	0.62 (0.26-1.46)	0.269	8 (61.5)	0.79 (0.50-1.25)	0.312	1 (7.7)	0.52 (0.07-3.82)	0.520	10 (76.9)	0.99 (0.71-1.38)	0.948
Supervisor, skilled, professional (n=19)	7 (36.8)	0.74 (0.39-1.41)	0.356	15 (79.0)	1.02 (0.77-1.33)	0.915	1 (5.3)	0.36 (0.05-2.68)	0.315	15 (79.0)	1.02 (0.77-1.33)	0.915
Other (n=22)	9 (40.9)	0.82 (0.46-1.45)	0.491	11 (50.0)	0.64 (0.41-1.00)	**0.051**	3 (13.6)	0.92 (0.27-3.17)	0.895	12 (54.6)	0.70 (0.47-1.06)	0.089
p-value	0.543†			0.323†			0.251†			0.573†		

Duration of most recent migration:												
< 1 year (n=13)	4 (30.8)	Ref		7 (53.9)	Ref		3 (23.1)	Ref		7 (53.9)	Ref	
1-3 years (n=53)	26 (49.1)	1.59 (0.67-3.78)	0.290	39 (73.6)	1.37 (0.80-2.32)	0.249	11 (20.8)	0.90 (0.29-2.78)	0.854	40 (75.5)	1.40 (0.83-2.38)	0.210
>3 years (n=68)	28 (41.2)	1.34 (0.56-3.18)	0.510	47 (69.1)	1.28 (0.76-2.18)	0.356	4 (5.9)	0.25 (0.06-1.01)	**0.052**	49 (70.1)	1.34 (0.79-2.27)	0.278
p-value	0.456[†]			0.383			**0.021**[†]			0.299		
When returned from most recent migration:												
Within past 12 months (n=35)	18 (51.4)	Ref		26 (74.3)	Ref		3 (8.6)	Ref		27 (77.1)	Ref	
1-5 years (n=69)	30 (43.5)	0.85 (0.55-1.29)	0.434	48 (69.6)	0.94 (0.73-1.20)	0.608	10 (14.5)	1.69 (0.49-5.78)	0.402	49 (71.0)	0.92 (0.73-1.17)	0.492
5-10 years (n=34)	14 (41.2)	0.80 (0.48-1.34)	0.399	24 (70.6)	0.95 (0.71-1.27)	0.732	6 (17.7)	2.06 (0.56-7.61)	0.276	25 (73.5)	0.95 (0.73-1.25)	0.729
p-value	0.654			0.880			0.554[†]			0.800		
Debt for FE (not taken from agent/employer):												
No (n=40)	12 (30.0)	Ref		25 (62.5)	Ref		5 (12.5)	Ref		25 (62.5)	Ref	
Yes (n=100)	50 (50.0)	1.67 (1.00-2.79)	**0.052**	74 (74.0)	1.18 (0.91-1.55)	0.216	14 (14.0)	1.12 (0.43-2.91)	0.816	77 (77.0)	1.23 (0.95-1.60)	0.121
p-value	**0.031**			0.177			0.815			0.081		
Have contact with migrants / contact details of organisations:												
No (n=49)	21 (42.9)	Ref		36 (73.5)	Ref		7 (14.3)	Ref		36 (73.5)	Ref	
Yes (n=91)	41 (45.1)	1.05 (0.71-1.56)	0.805	63 (69.2)	0.94 (0.76-1.17)	0.593	12 (13.2)	0.92 (0.39-2.20)	0.857	66 (72.5)	0.99 (0.80-1.22)	0.905
p-value	0.803			0.599			0.856			0.905		
Attended trainings before leaving Nepal												
No (n=127)	55 (43.3)	Ref		87 (68.5)	Ref		17 (13.4)	Ref		90 (70.9)	Ref	
Yes (n=13)	7 (53.9)	1.24 (0.72-2.14)	0.432	12 (92.3)	1.35 (1.11-1.64)	**0.003**	2 (15.4)	1.15 (0.30-4.45)	0.840	12 (92.3)	1.30 (1.07-1.58)	**0.007**
p-value	0.562[†]			0.108[†]			0.690[†]			0.186[†]		

Aware that migrants are sometimes deceived												
No (n=27)	6 (22.2)	Ref		21 (77.8)	Ref		4 (14.8)	Ref		22 (81.5)	Ref	
Yes (n=113)	56 (49.6)	2.23 (1.07-4.64)	**0.032**	78 (69.0)	0.89 (0.70-1.13)	0.324	15 (13.3)	0.90 (0.32-2.49)	0.833	80 (70.8)	0.87 (0.70-1.08)	0.202
p-value	**0.010**			0.369			0.763†			0.262		

**PR: prevalence ratios; † Fisher's Exact test; ‡destinations exclude India (n=20) and others (n=5); §GCC countries: Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain*

Additionally, many migrants who reported that they were satisfied with their work conditions had experienced some violation of their rights, indicating the need to have a comparable measure (201). While prevalence estimates by sector are still limited, other studies on migrant workers and exploitation in many low-wage labour sectors, both formal and informal around the world, have shown similar types of issues, indicating the embedded nature of these global practices in pursuit of low-cost goods and services (202). Further research using comparable measures and disaggregated by sector would be a welcome addition to this field.

It is clear that 'forced labour' is not a single act; rather, it generally comprised multiple abuses by multiple actors, which indicates the profound challenges involved in developing interventions. For example, over 44% of men in our analysis reported unfree recruitment, including deceptive recruitment, suggesting practical information and guidance are needed so prospective migrant workers can assess recruiters and agencies, employment agreement terms and conditions, and to be informed of their legal rights and strategies for redress, particularly once at destination. Other studies have linked recruitment practices to subsequent exploitations (33, 203) while others have highlighted the important role brokers play and the need to involve them in safer migration strategies (204). Many workers at destination experienced restrictions in their movements and communication and were almost always dependent on their employer for housing. Therefore, programmes should consider interventions that do not solely rely on migrant workers' ability to seek help at destination. Further development and use of mobile technology could be an option, given that very few participants reported having their phones confiscated and data from our household census indicate that nearly all migrants stayed in touch using mobile phones.

Nepal has introduced various policies and governmental entities to promote and regulate labour migration (205, 206). Most of these mechanisms are focused on managing the migration process, while protection for workers, particularly once abroad, is lacking despite the inclusion on provisions of redress in some bilateral agreements (207). Greater advocacy is also needed to lobby destination countries to respect the rights of migrant workers.

Our results indicate that previous experience of labour migration may not be as protective of future forced labour experiences as hypothesised. Although a lower PR of forced labour was found among those who had migrated more than once, 67% of those still reported forced labour during their most recent labour migration. Previous migration may have shaped men's views on the process and how they assess their experiences, which may have impacted how they responded to certain questions. Although forced labour was determined using a large number of questions on their actual experiences, rather than perceptions, this should not have altered the results too much. This indicates that interventions need to target both experienced

and first-time labour migrants. However, experienced migrants may not recognise the benefits of participating, possibly believing that their prior experience offers sufficient protection. They may also normalised their experiences as the realities of labour migration rather than a violation of their rights. Interventions may have to reach out differently to these two groups. Interventions that make use of returnee migrants to offer guidance to other prospective migrants should also recognise that simply being returnees may be insufficient, particularly with the changing labour migration regulations in Nepal.

Many Nepali migrant workers do not consider India as a destination due to the two countries' open-border policy that ensures citizens of both countries are given equal rights to move, live and work freely without specific documentation in either country (196). Our findings did indicate that forced labour was lower among men who worked in India and that those experiences were largely in destination.

Our findings confirm previous research that debt increases vulnerability to forced labour. Excessively high fees charged by recruitment agencies and agents may lead prospective migrants to take out loans at far higher interest rates, resulting in them staying in jobs with exploitative conditions until the debts are repaid (25, 26, 33, 132). Furthermore, if men had taken loans to fund their migration and only learnt of the actual job and conditions after arrival at destination, returning home empty-handed and in debt may not be a realistic option for many. Our results indicate that longer stays are associated with higher prevalence of forced labour, which may also be related to the increased pressure to repay debts (99). Current policies aimed at restricting the costs to prospective migrants and initiatives such as 'Free Visa Free Ticket' may help protect migrants from such exploitations (208).

Somewhat surprisingly, men who reported that they were aware of the possibility of agreement breaches had a slightly higher prevalence of forced labour than those who reported being unaware. Recall bias and reverse causality are possible explanations. Although we phrased the question to ask about awareness prior to leaving Nepal, it is possible men reported current awareness resulting, in part, from their experience.

Precarious labour conditions, where workers have little or no security, low wages, little power or agency, have been linked to poor physical and mental health outcomes (171). Such working conditions are typical of migrant workers in our sample. Health protections and medical services for migrant workers must be provided in both destination and return settings in order for migrant workers to maintain their health and well-being and future capacity to work.

Limitations

Recall bias, particularly among men who returned to Nepal many years ago, is a concern. To minimise the potential influence, a shorter questionnaire was used among men who returned over 10 years ago, excluding, among other things, a number of indicators that make up the forced labour measure. As a consequence, the sample that could be used to estimate the prevalence of forced labour was reduced by one-quarter. Due to the small sample size, this study had low power to detect statistically significant associations. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusive results about exposures where data were suggestive of an association but CIs were wide. It also precluded more complex multivariate analysis, adjustment for potential confounders or exploration of potential pathways of effect, which had been the original intent. Nevertheless, important observations on the scale of forced labour experiences were made, and potential factors were identified that would be worthy of further investigation. Further research, using larger samples, is needed to better understand the relationships observed.

It is difficult to capture the true prevalence of forced labour using the ILO measure itself as those who have not returned to Nepal may include those who have done well and continue their stay and those who have experienced the worst forms of exploitation and could not make it back. The latter has been highlighted by the increasing numbers of migrant worker fatalities at destination (189). Additionally those who do return to their village of origins and are included in our study are likely to be different from those who relocated to another part of Nepal. This affects the generalisability of study results — they provide an estimate of experience of forced labour among male returnees to study regions rather than one that is generalisable to all male migrants from these regions. Nevertheless study results are useful to gauge the extent of forced labour, explore correlates with forced labour and help plan services for the population of returnees.

A further limitation affecting the generalisability of study results is the relatively low response rate to the survey, a common issue in studies of mobile populations. Although intended to be representative of all male returnee labour migrants from the study sites, over 40% of the original men identified in the enumeration were abroad during fieldwork and were thus not interviewed. As a result, our sample likely disproportionately excludes migrants who migrate multiple times. Since tendency to re-migrate might be directly affected by experiences during prior migrations, our prevalence estimate may be biased upwards, for example, where past bad experiences mean repeat migration is necessary to pay off outstanding debts.

The binary measure of forced labour itself would be better conceptualised as a spectrum of experiences. Although it is widely recognised that exploitation happens along a continuum,

with ‘decent work’ at one end and ‘forced labour’ at the other, there is little consensus on when exploitation becomes forced labour, making measurement challenging (98-100). The ILO measure is nevertheless helpful in disaggregating the different exploitative experiences separately from the binary outcome.

Conclusion

The fact that large numbers of Nepali labour migrants experienced forced labour across a variety of destinations and work sectors indicates the widespread nature of migration-related and labour-related abuses. Until there are shifts in the structural factors that underpin these exploitations, migrant workers need better advice and guidance on how to assess recruitment agencies and brokers, and how to access services at destinations. Interventions need to consider the potential restrictive realities of migrant workers. Simultaneously, states that employ migrant workforce need to become more aware of and establish measures to prevent and punish the tactics used to exploit workers. Further research should disaggregate exploitative experiences by sector, as well as assess the strength and direction of the associated factors, accounting for confounders and mediators. As labour migration from Nepal is not likely to reduce in the near future, interventions need to better address the challenges prospective migrants face and help them achieve safer migration and health outcomes.

4.3 Migration-related stressors

4.3.1 Preamble to Paper 3

The types of migration-related stressors identified in the systematic review were reported by a wide range of international migrants from LMIC. This was complemented by the findings from the quantitative analysis of survey data among returnee male Nepali migrants. These revealed the context and migration patterns and specifically determined the prevalence of different types of exploitative experiences that make up forced labour. However, it was limited by focussing only on the labour exploitation element of their most recent migration, and did not reveal other types of non-work specific stressors such as those identified in the systematic review. In this paper, I analysed the qualitative life history data to explore other stressors men described, with no restrictions on what could be included. The data were analysed thematically, using the coding and categorisation strategy for stressors described in 3.4.

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SECTION A – Student Details

Student	Joelle YT Mak
Principal Supervisor	Cathy Zimmerman
Thesis Title	Migration-related stressors and coping: a mixed-methods study among Nepali male labour migrants

If the Research Paper has previously been published please complete Section B, if not please move to Section C

SECTION B – Paper already published

Where was the work published?			
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Where is the work intended to be published?	Work and Occupations
Please list the paper's authors in the intended authorship order:	Joelle Mak, Cathy Zimmerman, Bayard Roberts
Stage of publication	**Submitted**

SECTION D – Multi-authored work

For multi-authored work, give full details of your role in the research included in the paper and in the preparation of the paper. (Attach a further sheet if necessary)	I conceptualised and conducted the study, analysed and interpreted the data, drafted and finalised the manuscript.

Student Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

Supervisor Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

4.3.2 Paper 3 – Migration-related stressors among Nepali male labour migrants

"I had tears in my eyes but I just left without looking back." A qualitative study of migration-related stressors among male Nepali labour migrants

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Abstract

Labour migration has become a crucial livelihood strategy. Such opportunities come with many potential benefits but also pose a range of stressors. This study explores migration-related stressors among returnee male Nepali international labour migrants using qualitative life histories. Men reported workplace-, family-, recruitment agent/agency-, environmental-, and legal-related stressors. The majority of stressors experienced belong to the workplace category, where migrants may have limited power to challenge and address problems with their employers. The cumulative effect of experiencing multiple stressors may negatively impact on labour migrants' physical and mental health. Migrants' ability to cope with the many stressors encountered should be explored in future research.

Key words: labour migration; labour exploitation; stressor

Introduction

Labour migration has become a crucial livelihood strategy in settings where decently paid employment opportunities are limited. In these settings, migration is often circular, where workers migrate repeatedly between their home country and work destination (24). Many benefits have been attributed to labour migration particularly through the remittances sent home, such as improved household well-being, better access to education and healthcare (13, 182). Despite these benefits, there are simultaneously numerous challenges, starting with the difficulties of securing a job to fulfilling various procedural requirements for migration in the country of origin. Once in a destination, many migrants encounter stressful, and sometimes hazardous living and working conditions, frequently related to poor occupational protection, overcrowded living space and limited access to healthcare. Additionally, numerous reports of labour exploitation have been documented across different settings and sectors including: document confiscation; contract breaches; restrictions of movement; and non-payment of wages (3, 4, 21, 26, 33, 130-132, 178). For those in low-wage sectors, hazards are exacerbated by the limited enforcement of regulations and policies (209, 210). Some sources of stress are directly due to being international migrants, and their potential precarious legal and job status, often controlled by their employer and affected by their financial burdens to fund the migration (3, 4, 26, 27, 130, 140).

Research on acculturation have been commonly conducted among immigrant populations who have moved to locations that are culturally, socially, and politically different to their home country, with the intention to permanently resettle. The acculturation process is often described using Berry's concepts of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation (63, 64). Labour migrant, whose movements are temporary, nevertheless experience similar cross-culture stressors. This is even more so among those that spend substantial parts of their working life outside their own country. Combined, these stressors shape the experiences of labour migrants, and may contribute to poor physical and mental health (115-118).

In Nepal, international labour migration is common, especially for men (5). Many reports have suggested labour migrants in low-skilled, low-waged, irregular or precarious work are more vulnerable to exploitation, including work-related accidents and fatalities (5, 29, 33, 197). Few studies have explored migrants' own perceptions of the types of stressors experienced. This study, therefore, explores male Nepali labour migrants' experiences of migration-related stressors to understand how these differ between employments, destinations, and how they affect men's life abroad.

Methods

Qualitative life histories were conducted among a sample of male Nepali returnee migrants. Men were asked to discuss their childhood, upbringing and family life leading up to migration first, followed by migration experiences including decisions, family reactions, processes, experiences in destination, and their return to Nepal.

Participants were recruited from lodges (low-cost hotels) in the vicinity of Nepal's international airport, and main bus stations in Kathmandu. These areas were selected as most returnee migrants need to spend the night in Kathmandu after arrival to connect with onward journey back to their villages. Prior to data collection, the lodges were visited to introduce the study and to seek permission to recruit participants on their premises. Those that granted permission were visited several times per week during data collection to seek participants. The early interviews comprised of migrants on holiday who intended to return to the destination to continue their employment. To expand the range of potential participants, referrals were sought from local migrant organisations.

The fieldwork took place between February and May 2016. Interviews were conducted in English with the assistance of an interpreter and were audio-recorded with permission. The recordings were then transcribed and translated into English for analysis. Fieldwork was concluded when saturation was reached, with the final interviews reflecting very similar experiences to earlier ones.

Ethical approvals were obtained from the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine and the Nepal Health Research Council. Participants were given study information verbally and in writing, and provided written consent before interviews began. Additionally, 500 NPR (approximately $5.00 USD) was given to participants as compensation for their time.

Data analysis

The interview scripts were first read in their entirety and open-coded in NVivo 11.0 to develop a coding scheme. The codes were refined, expanded or collapsed to arrive at a final overall scheme of stressors.

To categorise the stressors, elements of workplace and acculturative stress from frameworks developed by other researchers, supplemented by instruments designed to assess stress among migrant workers were used. Workplace stress was based on Luthans' work on macro-levels of organisational stress (114) and an adaptation of Cooper and Marshall's job-stress

model (75). Acculturation elements are based on Berry's descriptions of broad groups of stressors (63). Specific migrant worker stressors drew on Wong and Song's work developed for and tested among migrant workers in China (76) and the Migrant Farmworker Stress Inventory (78), developed for Spanish-speaking farmworkers in the United States. Additionally, a category relating to the recruitment agent or agency was added as this is a known source of stress for labour migrants. Once combined, the stressors represented seven categories: workplace (employer), family, recruitment agent/agency, environment, legal, socio-cultural, and health, are summarised in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 - Stressor categories and description

Stressor category	Description
Family[†]	concerns about illness or death in the family; relationships; children's needs; lack of appreciation by family
Recruitment agent/agency	application; fees; advice; job-search; travel arrangements.
Legal[†]	migration process and regulations; discrepancy between documents and employment; conflicts with authorities, potential deportation risks
Workplace (employer)[*†]	company policies; contract discrepancies; delayed, non-payment of wages; poor wages; poor working conditions; unequal treatment of workers; documentation confiscations; restricted freedom of movement; financial penalties for early termination of contract; work overload; job insecurity; occupational hazards
Environmental[†ǂ]	physical environment; security; housing; over-crowded; sanitary facilities; conflicts with those sharing accommodation and facilities
Socio-cultural[†ǂ]	political; economic; linguistic; religious; social issues.
Health[†]	non-occupational-related illness and accidents

Stressor category source: [*]workplace stress models; [†]migrant worker stress; [ǂ]acculturative stress model

Family stressors may stem from extended absences leading to deterioration of relationships, particularly with spouse and children. Recruitment agent/agency stressors are related to the job-seeking and application process, the fees and logistical arrangements. Legal stressors include negative encounters with the police or other authorities, or due to migrants' status and deportation risks. Workplace stressors refer to those imposed by the employer such as the terms and conditions of employment, job insecurity, occupational hazards, workplace conflicts, as well as exploitative labour practices. Environmental stressors include the housing, sanitation, climate and non-work-related conflicts, such as those in the wider town, with host population and within the living environment. While political, economic, social, linguistic and religious issues either in the country of origin or destination form the socio-cultural stressors.

Finally, migrants' own physical, mental and emotional health may also be a source of stress and these may arise from having to live and work in very different circumstances, away from family and friends.

A matrix was developed with the coded data in the stressor categories and thematic analysis conducted to explore relationships across and within themes and sub-themes.

Results

Study sample

Forty-two returnee men aged between 21 and 53, with a median age of 28 were interviewed and their characteristics are presented in Table 4.10. Most of the men received some secondary or higher education, represented a range of caste/ethnicity groups and were mostly from the Terai (lowland) area of Nepal. Over half, n=25, had migrated outside of Nepal for work between two and five times. In their most recent labour migration, most worked in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Malaysia, as general labourers, factory workers, security guards or in semi-skilled work including drivers and carpenters. The men stayed in the destination country for between two months and 14 years during their most recent migration, and seven were on leave from their job and intend to return to their employment after their holidays.

Table 4.10 - Demographic and migration characteristics of study sample

Age-groups:	**n (%)**
<25	8 (19.0)
25-34	13 (31.0)
35-44	9 (21.4)
≥45	3 (7.1)
Caste/ethnicity:	
Brahman/Chhetree	12 (28.6)
Janajati	15 (35.7)
Dalit	5 (11.9)
Other	10 (23.8)
Area of origin:	
Terai (lowland)	33 (78.6)
Hill	8 (19.0)
Mountain	1 (2.4)

Highest level of education attended:	
None/Informal/Primary	3 (7.1)
Secondary	17 (40.5)
Higher secondary/vocational/tertiary	14 (33.3)
No. previous labour migrations:	
Once	17 (40.5)
More than once	25 (59.5)
Most recent migration destination:	
Malaysia	12 (28.6)
Qatar	12 (28.6)
Saudi Arabia	11 (26.2)
United Arab Emirates	5 (11.9)
Kuwait	1 (2.4)
Afghanistan	1 (2.4)

Most recent migration work:	
General labourer/porter	16 (38.1)
Driver / carpenter / plumber / mason	10 (23.8)
Factory worker	6 (14.3)
Kitchen /food-related work	4 (9.5)
Security	4 (9.5)
Retail/office boy	2 (4.8)
Duration of most recent migration*:	
< 1 year	6 (14.3)
1 - <3 years	18 (42.9)
3 - <5 years	7 (16.7)
5 - <10 years	8 (19.0)
≥10 years	3 (7.1)
Next plans:	
Return to the same job and employer	7 (16.7)
Re-migrate to different destination/job/company	22 (52.4)
Stay in Nepal	8 (19.0)
Undecided	5 (11.9)

Workplace stressors

Workplace stressors are those controlled and imposed by the employer. The vast majority of men in this study who experienced workplace stressors described exploitative practices such as contract discrepancies, document confiscations, restrictions of movement particularly in relation to men's desire to return to Nepal. They also refer to poor or hazardous working conditions, and at the onset, not being picked up on arrival at the airport.

Stranded at the airport

For many men, the stress began immediately upon arrival in the destination country. Many reported not being picked up at the airport, or having to wait for up to two days, during which time some encountered problems with the security staff at the airport. Often, the small amount of local currency that men had was spent on phone calls to both the recruitment agency in Nepal and the employer at destination. One participant described his uncertainty and helplessness while waiting at the airport:

> When we went to Malaysia for the first time. … we stayed there for 2 days at airport. Nobody came to receive us. We were kept like dogs. We kept waiting. We were told that someone will come when we arrive and we would be picked up. We phoned him many times. We just kept waiting, we didn't know anything else. Then, they came after 2 days. … when I slept [at the airport], police came and beat us up. It was really difficult. (Interview 84, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

Document confiscation

Documents, such as passports and contracts signed in Nepal, were nearly always confiscated by the employer shortly after arrival at the company. Employment identification was sometimes also kept by the employer. Some migrants received a photocopy of their passport, while others received their official identification card after working for several months. An official form of identification is often required if migrants were stopped by the police. Not having it, or having only a photocopy can be problematic, as explained by one interviewee:

> I was not given ID, I didn't have visa so I didn't go outside because of fear of the police. … I asked many times for it but they did not give it to me. (Interview 106, age-group <25, labourer, Qatar)

Passports would only be returned when migrants completed their contract. Some men explained that employers used these tactics to prevent them from running away or from seeking work elsewhere. Some employers exerted further control on migrants' movement even on their days off, as one participant described:

> Yes [we could] if we wanted [to go out]. But we couldn't go far. We couldn't go towards KL [Kuala Lumpur]. The copy of passport would only allow us to move inside Johor Bahru. The company did not let us leave Johor Bahru… They give permission to go to some specific place. We could go there if given permission. But not everyone could go together. (Interview 87, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

Contract discrepancies and substitutions

The most common stressors by far were discrepancies between the agreements signed in Nepal and the actual situation in destination country. Men reported being given new contracts to sign with worse terms and conditions in relation to the job, wages, deductions, working hours, and contract duration. Often these substitute contracts were in the local language or in English, which were often not understood by the men. Those who questioned the differences were told that only the contract signed at the destination country is valid. As one participant noted:

> They came with new agreement papers and asked us to sign it. There it [the salary] was written as 700 plus 200 and I said that I had signed for 900 plus 200 in Nepal and why is the amount changed here. Then I asked for my passport to come back. They said that it is the normal process that the actual agreement will be signed at the work site. As I was there for first time, I believed them and signed it. (Interview 106, age-group <25, labourer, Qatar)

In another case, the new contract came after the participant had worked for several months. Although the participant could not read the contract, which was in Arabic, he saw a figure there that matched the salary in the agreement he had signed in Nepal:

> I talked with the manager and he said it [the salary] is only 900 …when I signed the contract in the fourth month I saw 1,200 written and I asked again but they said it's only 900. But I knew my financial condition, so I kept working. I didn't understand it at all. (Interview 101, age-group <25, labourer, UAE)

Employers were also reported to have threatened those who did not want to sign the new agreement:

> And when we reached the company, our boss took all our documents and brought a new agreement paper of 5-years [instead of the 3-years signed in Nepal].We did not sign it for 5-6 days but the company had our passport and they said that if you don't sign it, we won't give you accommodation, food, passport. We had no money and no passport and we also feared the police so we signed it. (Interview 110, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Problems with wages continued during their employment in the form of delayed, withheld, or non-payment of wages or overtime hours. Those who wanted to terminate their contract early were told to pay fines representing several months' salary, as well as their flight costs, and sometimes, an additional charge to get the required exit permit and their passports back.

Work environment & occupational hazards

Men reported heavy workloads including difficult work, long hours, and no days off. For example, multiple men reported working for between 16 and 18 hours a day, while others reported not having had a single day off during their entire contract period of several years. These practices can also continue until the day participants are due to fly back to Nepal.

> The day we were returning, the day of the flight, we were made to work till about 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening. Then we went to our room. Two hours after that, we were dropped by a bus. (Interview 87, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

Working outdoors, digging roads and other construction work, particularly in the Gulf States exposed migrants to immense heat. Those who worked as labourers did not have fixed roles but would be called upon to fill any number of tasks, making their work unpredictable. While others were actually employed by supply companies that provide labour to other companies. One participant reported working for over 20 companies in a two-month period, sometimes two companies in the same day. Time pressures to complete tasks and lack of support from supervisors were highlighted by one participant who worked as a security guard:

> …the company was very big and being a security guard I had to patrol in the night. To complete the patrol it used to take me one hour… I had to sign papers that were at different patrolling locations … if I didn't complete the patrol on time then my supervisor would scold me and called me a dog. Friends never supported me because if they did they might face problems. At that moment you really feel so helpless. (Interview 55, age-group 35-44, security guard, Malaysia)

Working in factories can be dangerous and several participants reported occupational hazards such as exposure to chemicals or dust from production of cotton and paper products, due to insufficient or poor-quality protective gear, to machine malfunctions that resulted in injuries. Several who worked as machine operators had accidents, such as one who was operating a packing machine:

> …the product comes on the line of the machine. There is a light that turns on and the decoration is filled and the product is cut. That light was not working and the machine was on and it cut my hand…this [showing where he was injured] was broken, it was cut till here, in x-ray everything was seen. (Interview 102, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Initially, this worker's medical expenses, including hospital stay, treatment, and follow-up appointments were paid for by the employer but these were later deducted from his salary. Another participant who experienced a similar accident had his medical expenses in the destination covered but was eventually sent back to Nepal with no compensation or further support for his on-going healthcare needs.

Return to Nepal

Employers often imposed restrictions on whether and under what terms men could return to Nepal, even on completion of their contract. As a security agent working in Malaysia described:

> The company didn't allow me to return back even after completing my three-year contract. I was staying there illegally for six months and I asked them to give us our tickets, so we could go home but still they didn't listen. (Interview 55, age-group 35-44, security guard, Malaysia)

Another participant who wanted to return to Nepal was told to pay a large sum as deposit to ensure his return:

> So, I said to company either send me for holidays or finish my contract. The company agreed to send me on holiday but I had to deposit 7,000 ringgits, which takes 7 months to earn. I was not sure I will be alive or dead in those 7 months… (Interview 110, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Several participants were sent back to Nepal prematurely due to company closures. One described the large sum of money he had paid in recruitment fees to get the job in the first place, which was seen as an investment to several years of decent earning, only to find it lasted several months:

> It was a two-year contract. They sent us back in between. That is also a problem. As it was a two-year contract, the agent took 95,000 NRP. That money was wasted. (Interview 95, age-group 25-34, labourer, Saudi Arabia)

Family stressors

Family stressors described in men's narratives include disagreements with the decision to or the specific details of their migration, such as the destination. Men also explained their concerns about their family's well-being; and once in destination, their inability to be with their family during times illness and death were sources of stress for many.

Disagreements with migration

Parents of younger men did not always support men's decision to migrate, preferring them to continue with their studies, despite their household financial needs. Family members were also concerned about the young men's well-being working in a foreign country as many had never worked outside the home, and often had never even been outside their village.

> Everybody loved me at home so didn't want me to go. Then I organised a passport by myself and brought it home. My brother told me to go to Qatar and stay with him. My other brothers told me not to go to Malaysia and said nobody is asking money from you. I reminded them about the situation, that we didn't have a house to live in. I had a lot of stress. So, because of that I went abroad… At first, they were very angry. They said they won't even give me money for the fees, and that I could go anywhere I want. I said that I'll manage it from somewhere by myself, but I'll go to Malaysia. But later, when the time came for me to leave, they agreed and gave money for the fees. (Interview 87, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

Illness and death

Men expressed their concerns about their aging parents' health and agonised over who would take care of them in their absence. Married men with young children described their distress at having to leave them behind:

> It was really one of the toughest times when I was going to Malaysia, leaving behind my eldest son and wife who was pregnant. I had tears in my eyes but I just left without looking back. (Interview 55, age-group 35-44, security guard, Malaysia)

In times of illness and death in the family, some participants returned to Nepal on leave to support their families, which in one case resulted in losing the job as he had to extend his stay to seek medical treatment for his mother. More often though, men were not given leave to return, with their requests simply being ignored or rejected directly:

> … my father passed away due to cancer, I wanted to go home and requested leave from my company but it was rejected. After one year one of my brothers died and I was also not able to come back to Nepal. (Interview 55, age-group 35-44, security guard, Malaysia)

Recruitment agents/agency stressors

Recruitment agent or agency stressors are connected to the job-seeking and application process, including obtaining the required paperwork, as well as finding ways to pay for the fees charged. At various points during this process, stressors may occur due to unethical recruitment practices.

Application and fees

Agents and agencies are often the main source of information and advice for prospective labour migrants. Agents advise on the types of jobs in demand, key destinations, and 'good' employers. The entire recruitment process is usually managed by agencies often via agents, at a cost to prospective migrants. The most common stressors relate to long processing times, with some reporting up to one year between submitting their passports and actually receiving a visa, despite being told by the agents that the process would be quick. On the advice of the agents, participants obtained medical clearance after submitting their passports only to find that it was no longer valid by the time the visa arrived, and they needed to pay for a second check. During the wait, migrants often receive no information or updates until the documents have arrived, when they would be called and told to travel sometimes within days.

Although the job was usually agreed before proceeding with the visa application, sometimes the visa that eventually arrives is for a different job. Migrants may question this but ultimately trust the agents' explanations that the visa obtained is the cheapest one, or to just go on any visa and do the work according to the agreement. Similarly, when agents/agencies charged fees that are higher than legally permitted by the Government of Nepal (GoN), they simply provided receipts for a lower amount than actually paid or not provide receipts at all. Participants did not feel they could challenge them in these cases. One migrant who paid 120,000 NPR (approximately USD $1,200) but was given a receipt for only 80,000 NRS, which was the legal amount chargeable, explained:

> …they [agency] said that they have pay to immigration department, insurance, and they also have to cut the cost of staying them in hotel and food so all together it cost that amount but due to legal laws they cannot charge them more than 80,000. (Interview 110, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Additionally, men reported receiving and signing their contract only hours before their flight and were often not able to read over the documents properly, as one noted:

> We were in a hurry so we didn't read the contract. They explained it and then we all signed. There were about 15 to 16 people there. We all had to sign… They made us do it on the same day as our flight. After that they took us to the airport. (Interview 95, age-group 25-34, labourer, Saudi Arabia)

This participant further explained that the agency made them sign another document agreeing to deduct 1,200 Riyals from their salary over the first six months, which would be returned on completion of the contract. But the company closed down earlier and he was sent back early. He described the difficult of losing that money:

> They [agency] made us sign. It was a 2-year contract… There are many people who leave the company and run away... Because of that, they hold 1,200 Riyal by deducting some of the salary for a few months, like 6 months. And when you return after 2 years, when the contract is over, they will give it back to you. But we came after 9 months… I asked for it but the manpower [recruitment agency] made a fool of us. They did not give us our money. (Interview 95, age-group 25-34, labourer, Saudi Arabia)

Environmental stressors

Environmental stressors concern the physical environment such as housing and the wider town where migrants live and work. Overcrowded accommodation, poor or inadequate cooking and sanitation facilities and high-levels of insecurity and crime impacted where and how men can move about.

Accommodation & facilities

Poor and overcrowded accommodation and facilities such as rooms with more workers than beds or mattresses were common. One participant described his living situation as akin to 'a goat's shed'. Insufficient cooking and sanitation facilities compounded by the overcrowded accommodation meant migrants were sometimes unable to use the facilities in the mornings before work:

> There was a hall and 35 people used to stay there with just one toilet and one bathroom. We had to bathe and eat and cook right there and sleep as well… If we didn't go early in the morning, there would be a line. Half of us went to toilet in the company. They would join the line in the morning, but when it was time to go to the company, they had to leave. (Interview 87, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

Many participants described not having anywhere in the room to keep their personal belongings, resorting to storing them in their suitcase. In some rooms there were some

cupboards that could be used, but again, there were fewer than the number of occupants. One participant was able to access one after five-months when some other migrants left the accommodation.

Security

Security of both the accommodation and the wider town in which men lived and worked were highlighted in a number of interviews. Many reported thefts in the accommodation, ranging from losing personal belongings such as cash and mobile phones, to communal items such as gas canisters in the kitchen, as well as conflicts within the accommodation leading to physical confrontations. Additionally, many described encounters with locals in town as discriminatory, hostile and unsafe. This resulted in some reportedly rarely going out on their days off, or not going out alone, for fear of being robbed, which according to several participants who worked in Malaysia, happened quite often. Those who had to travel to and from work without company transportation were fearful of attacks even during the day:

> …when we needed to walk then that would be very frightening. People would come from behind and hit us and take our money, mobile and then run away. … they would come on bikes and threaten us with knives and ask for money. If they get our money, then it is ok or else they would hit us and take it by force. (Interview 105, age-group 25-34, labourer, Malaysia)

Legal stressors

Legal stressors often resulted from men's status as migrant workers. Men with discrepancies in their official paperwork, such as work permit and visa, and those who were irregular, experienced stress due to the fear of being caught, arrested and deported. Even among those with legal status, many reported being asked for bribes by the police, or the police being unsupportive when men were the victims of crime.

Documents

Official identification documents sometimes did not match migrants' actual situation, such as elevating their ages to meet the regulations for migration, travelling on the wrong visa (i.e. tourist), or a visa for a different job than that which they actually did. Although none of the participants reported ever having their documents checked against their actual work, there are occupations that are more at risk than others, such as drivers, where road accidents could occur:

> It [the job listed on the visa] was written fork lift But the one I wanted was for driver. They told me they would change it after I got there… It was stressful to drive without a

> license, right? If I was stopped by police, I could go to jail, or worse if I hit and kill someone. They don't settle for money, even in Nepal. (Interview 89, age-group 25-34, driver, Saudi Arabia)

Encounters with police and authorities

The most common interactions with the local police in destination countries occurred when migrants were out on their day off work. As previously mentioned, few were given identification documents and passports were always kept by the employers. Those who worked in Malaysia, in particular, reported that police would stop them on the streets, demanding to see original passports. They would then ask for bribes regardless of whether migrants had identification. For those without identification, the situation was more stressful and some had to pay several times:

> …if we have ID the police also take money …they say I have to pay or they won't let me go. Not all police are like that, but some are. (Interview 112, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Further, those in Malaysia who were victims of crime and had reported these to the police found them to be unsupportive. While others were clear that they would not go to the police for anything. Several participants were detained and incarcerated due to physical confrontations in the accommodation and were not permitted to contact anyone while in detention. Their personal belongings, including mobile phones and cash were confiscated and not returned when they were released several weeks later.

Discussion

This paper explored migration-related stressors encountered by male Nepali labour migrants. Stressors were categorised based on models of workplace stress, labour migrant stress, and acculturative stress, using those elements relevant to this study's population. The men interviewed worked primarily in Malaysia and the Gulf States, but the range of stressors reported were similar, apart from security issues such as petty crime and police demanding bribes which were reported more among those who had worked in Malaysia. These results are also similar to those experienced by other labour migrants in low- or semi-skilled work, from Nepal and elsewhere, working in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) as well as high-income ones including the UK, the US, and Australia (26, 33, 130, 168, 211).

Workplace stressors were by far the most commonly reported which included contract discrepancies, job insecurity, poor working conditions, non-payment of wages, occupational

hazards, and restrictions of movement, many of which may be indicative of forced labour (21). Some of these stressors have also been linked to occupational injuries and illness, as well as poor physical and mental health (171). For example, studies among migrant farmworkers in the US found high-levels of stress, depressive symptoms and occupational injuries, and that stressful working conditions were associated with depression, and isolation with anxiety (212). While occupational injuries were associated with depressive symptoms, and depression itself was also associated with stress, making it a vicious cycle (211). Excessive job demands, high-levels of interpersonal conflict and low job control were also independently associated with depressive symptoms among migrant workers in Korea (213). Further, many labour migrants also experience higher incidences of occupational injuries compared to the host population (214, 215) which may be due occupational health being somewhat neglected in the informal work sectors and particularly in LMICs (209) meaning migrants themselves may not recognise such risks. It may also be due to the increase use of technology in destination countries compared to migrants' country of origin, in addition to the inadequate provision of training (210, 214). However, the relationship is not always clear-cut. An analysis comparing migrant and native Spanish and Italian workers found that health conditions such as musculoskeletal and respiratory problems were more common among immigrant groups, while the reverse was true for stress and cardiovascular diseases (29). Further, study among Filipina domestic workers in Singapore found the high-levels of stress reported did not corresponding to poor well-being, suggesting perhaps their strong social and spiritual network may have been protective (216).

Although this study did not assess participants' mental health, the types of workplace stressors associated with poor health were commonly described by the participants. Further, some men reported being unable to return to Nepal during illness and death of family members, which would have contributed to emotional distress as negative life events, both one's own or those of someone close, or of chronic financial pressures have been noted to impact on stress (217). Some men who reported restrictions to their movements by their employer explained that these were due to their employer's fear that workers would run away. Such practices would be unnecessary if employers honour the agreement signed in Nepal.

In many cases, workplace stressors were compounded. For example, the experience of occupational injuries followed by being sent back to Nepal with no compensation or support for ongoing healthcare needs leads to further financial and practical burden both for migrants themselves as well as their family. Employers need to provide sufficient protection equipment against occupational hazards, and where injuries occur, employers should bear the full cost of treatment and compensation, even if workers opt to return home for treatment. In this study,

only one participant reported being appropriately cared for by his employer following his workplace accident, when he was provided with all the treatments required and given extended leave to recover in Nepal with an open offer to return to his job at a later date.

Recruitment agent/agency-related stressors included the excessive fees charged, frequently beyond the legally permitted amount with no provision of itemised bill or receipt. Many migrants also reported being presented with contract agreements only hours before their flight. Men were therefore unable to challenge any discrepancies as it would be too late to make any changes, and costly to abandon or postpone the journey, given the lengthy process and the fees already paid. In a study conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) on recruitment practices, agents admitted to fabricating the receipts for submission to the government to match the allowable legal maximum amount (218). Corrupt recruitment practices are frequently associated with the country of origin but they may in fact begin in the destination countries when companies do not pay the recruitment costs to remain competitive. This means the costs are absorbed by the source country agencies, which ultimately means they are bore by migrants themselves (218, 219). Further, prospective migrants do not generally question the fees they are told to pay even if they are aware of the legal maximum amount, nor will they cross-check with their employers once in destination, making it easy for corrupt recruitment practices to persist (219). The constant flow of prospective migrants, high profit margins and limited risks and consequences for recruitment agents and agencies mean these unethical practices are likely to continue. Like many other key labour source countries, the GoN has introduced many policies and signed bilateral agreements with key destination countries to protect Nepali labour migrants, including, for example, the 'Free Visa Free Ticket', making employers responsible for visa, round trip travel cost, publishing lists of and capping the costs manpower agencies can charge to prospective migrants (208, 218). These initiatives may offer some protection against exploitative practices although implementation and enforcement remain limited, while additional approaches to encourage ethical recruitment practices should be implemented (219). Fair recruitment is a goal for many international dialogues and agreements, including an important branch of the ILO's work, or the International Organization of Migration's International Recruitment Integrity System, and the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (35). In the meantime, the GoN should also require agents and agencies to supply all documents to migrants for a minimum period before the scheduled departure from Nepal, so they can be reviewed, explained by trusted individuals and still have the possibility to change their mind without being penalised financially or otherwise.

Acculturative stress arises due to the social and cultural changes labour migrants face as they temporarily live in a new country. Studies that measured acculturative stress are inconclusive. Among internal and international migrants in Asia, similar associations as those highlighted previously were found: an increased risk for poor mental health compared to the native populations (118, 213). In contrast, a study among Mexican migrant farmworkers in the US found mixed effects between acculturative stress and various health outcomes (220). Even ethnic similarities may not be protective of such stress as Korean-Chinese migrant workers in Korea still found high-levels of acculturative stress which may be due to migrants' own expectations of being treated as Koreans but instead experienced prejudices by native Koreans (213).

For low-skilled and low-waged international labour migrants, such as those in this study, these stressors are more pronounced given their limited resources, including access to safety equipment, healthcare, compensation for occupational injuries, and legal recourse against employers. Additionally, stressors are almost never experienced in isolation, but are multiple and often cumulative. For example, workplace stressors such as document confiscation led to legal stressors where men feared being stopped by the police who may demand bribe payments. While other studies have found that migrants detained in destination countries for immigration offences were often put in that position by their employers who had confiscated their documents (210). Precarious legal status was also found to exacerbate exploitative conditions among migrants from the new European Union states, where restrictions on residency and employment apply (168).

In settings where labour migration is a livelihood strategy, individuals spend many of their productive years working in other countries, there is a greater likelihood of experiencing many of these stressors through repeat migrations. Despite many studies pointing to both exploitation and other stressors labour migrants faced, there are still limited successful approaches to address, prevent, minimise, or to better support labour migrants. The complexity of the migration process means that many of the stressors can only be managed through greater cooperation and collaboration between origin and destination countries, with international guidelines and best practice approaches.

Limitations

This study uses workplace, acculturative, and migrant worker stress to categorise stressors. However, the categories are not always mutually exclusive and in some cases the source of the stressor was ambiguous. For example, in the cases of visa issues or contract discrepancies, it is

not clear from migrants' perspectives whether the deceptions had come from the recruitment agent/agency in Nepal, or from the employers at destination. Nevertheless, it is a useful way of organising a myriad of different types and sources of stress, although further work at refinement specifically for low-skilled labour migrants would be useful in future studies.

The study sample only interviewed men who have returned to Nepal. Those who have experienced the worst forms of exploitation and could not make it back would not be included. Nevertheless, men who were interviewed included those who returned on vacation and were planning to go back to their job and employer at destination, as well as those returning on completion of their contract, those who had asked for leave with no intention to return, and those who terminated their contracts early. Data saturation was also reached before data collection ended. Thus, the study was able to capture a wide diversity of experiences.

Conclusion

Large numbers of men from Nepal migrate for work outside the country and many reported stressors related to their migration experience. Although the stressors occurred throughout the migration cycle, sources of stress belonged overwhelmingly to the workplace category, which were generally under the control of employers. Further research should explore the ways in which labour migrants manage stressors, and to examine potential mechanisms to navigate the unequal power relationships between workers and employers and authorities. As labour migration from Nepal is likely to continue to be a livelihood strategy for many, government and civil society organisations need to identify more effective ways to reduce many of the common sources of stress faced by workers who are seeking to safely earn a decent living.

4.4 Coping responses to migration-related stressors

4.4.1 Preamble to Paper 4

In the previous two research papers, the types and extent of migration-related stressors experienced by Nepali male labour migrants have been explored and described using the quantitative and qualitative data. Stressors around the workplace and recruitment agents/agencies were more dominant, which is logical given the main purpose for their migration. However, stressors in other areas such as family, environmental and legal all affect other areas of men's lives. Despite the encounters of such a wide-range and depth of these stressors, men, nevertheless need to manage their situations. Therefore, in this paper, I analysed the qualitative life history data to explore the coping strategies used by the men to respond to the stressors. The data were analysed thematically, using the coding and categorisation strategy for coping from Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's work, described in 3.4.

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SECTION A – Student Details

Student	Joelle YT Mak
Principal Supervisor	Cathy Zimmerman
Thesis Title	Migration-related stressors and coping: a mixed-methods study among Nepali male labour migrants

If the Research Paper has previously been published please complete Section B, if not please move to Section C

SECTION B – Paper already published

Where was the work published?			
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Where is the work intended to be published?	Social Science & Medicine
Please list the paper's authors in the intended authorship order:	Joelle Mak, Bayard Roberts, Cathy Zimmerman
Stage of publication	**Not yet submitted**

SECTION D – Multi-authored work

For multi-authored work, give full details of your role in the research included in the paper and in the preparation of the paper. (Attach a further sheet if necessary)	I conceptualised and conducted the study, analysed and interpreted the data, drafted and finalised the manuscript.

Student Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

Supervisor Signature: [redacted] **Date:** 18 April 2019

4.4.2 Paper 4 - Coping with migration-related stressors

Coping with migration-related stressors - a qualitative study of Nepali male labour migrants

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Abstract

Background: International labour migration has become a crucial livelihood strategy, especially in countries where decently paid employment opportunities are limited. Such opportunities come with many potential benefits but also many stressors that challenge migrants' coping skills, especially when they are in a foreign environment away from their normal support network. This paper explores how labour migrants coped with migration-related stressors among a sample of male Nepali migrants.

Methods: Qualitative life histories were conducted in Kathmandu among returnee male migrants who had worked outside the country. Coping responses were categorised based on the twelve core coping families from Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's synthesis of coping measures.

Results: Forty-two men were interviewed who mainly worked in low- and semi-skilled jobs in Malaysia, and the Gulf States. The coping strategies most commonly used belonged to the families of problem-solving, support-seeking, negotiation and helplessness. Men who sought assistance from authorities or civil society organisations did not always receive the help needed and there were mixed messages as to when and what types of assistance could and could not be provided. Some stressors involved multiple coping strategies, either simultaneously or one after another, changing strategies following unsuccessful earlier attempts. The coping families of helplessness and social isolation which reflected migrants' limited power in the challenging certain stressors. The choice of coping strategies was also mediated by factors such as outstanding loans, language difficulties, or not wanting to cause their family distress. Some coping strategies used introduced new stressors for which men had to then find other ways to cope.

Conclusion: Men used a range of different strategies to cope with various migration-related stressors, either individually or collectively with other migrants, including seeking assistance from governmental and civil society organisations. Migrants need greater clarifications on their rights with respect to contract discrepancies, the types of support available, how and from whom to access them once in destination. These may improve labour migrants' ability to cope with migration-related stressors or may even reduce the experiences and impact of such stressors, which may lead to more successful migration outcomes.

Introduction

International labour migration has become an important livelihood strategy for individuals in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) where employment opportunities, particularly for low- and semi-skilled work, are limited or poorly paid. Through temporary labour migration, individuals have the potential to better provide for their families, sometimes earning wages well above what is possible in their own country. These opportunities make the high upfront financial costs of migration a worthwhile investment. Many are subsequently able to acquire land, pay for children's education, healthcare, and costs associated with key life events including marriage and death (13, 221, 222).

Many labour migrants encounter financial, social and emotional challenges at different stages of the migration cycle from planning and preparing during pre-departure, at destination, and eventual return home. The most important of these are firstly to fund the cost of the migration, and a range of exploitations including contract breaches, poor living and working conditions, restrictions of movement, and document confiscation (21, 26, 33, 130-132, 178, 223).

In Nepal, international labour migration is a common employment strategy, with males in low-skilled work making up the vast majority of those migrating (5). Although many of the stressors faced by international labour migrants have been documented, how they cope under such circumstances, away from their normal social support network, have been less researched. This paper aims to fill that gap by exploring coping strategies migrants used to manage migration-related stressors and how they varied for different types of stressors and migration circumstances, based on qualitative life histories conducted with Nepali male returnee labour migrants. This work builds on findings from a previous analysis of stressors experienced by the same sample of men.

Defining and categorising coping strategies

Coping strategies are the ways individuals respond to stress and stressful situations. Coping has been conceptualised as individual personality traits that are seen as relatively stable characteristics; or as a process that changes over time, influenced by the situational context of the stressors (59, 79). Strategies themselves are sometimes defined and measured by their function, most commonly problem-focused or emotion-focused with the former aimed at confronting the source of the stressor and the latter at changing one's emotional reaction to them (79); or by active versus passive or avoidance coping (82). However, it is recognised that

many coping strategies serve multiple functions simultaneously and are not sufficiently reflected when categorised by such binaries (80).

The different ways in which coping has been conceptualised have led to the development of different measurement tools and labelling systems that have made comparisons between studies difficult (119, 120). Skinner and colleagues reviewed coping measures used in different empirical studies and identified 100 coping categories. They then developed a hierarchical system of individual coping 'instances' of 'responses that individuals use in dealing with specific stressful transactions…' and arrived at 12 core 'coping families' that can be used to synthesise individual coping responses 'according to their (multiple) topological features and their (multiple) functions in adaptation' (120, p. 298). The twelve families are grouped into three sets of adaptive process: coordination of actions, of resources, and of options. The coping families are: problem-solving, information-seeking, helplessness, escape, self-comforting, support-seeking, delegation, social isolation, accommodation, negotiation, submission and opposition. These coping families are described below and summarised in Table 4.11 (119).

Problem-solving involves strategizing, planning and taking direct action at the stressors. Information-seeking attempts to understand the causes to consequences of the stressors, and is generally used to cope with stressors that are unfamiliar. Helplessness is to give up control of a stressful situation, often triggered by passivity and dejection, and focused on feelings of confusion, exhaustion, and doubt. Escape coping avoids the stressors through denial, either cognitively or behaviourally, and are usually based on fear. Self-comforting strategies include self-care and relaxation to prevent the stressors from taking hold. Support-seeking coping is to turn to others for emotional, instrumental or spiritual support. Delegation relies on others to cope with the stressors and tends to be used when individuals concentrate on the negative features of the stressors, rely on self-pity, or complain. The coping family of social isolation prevents others from knowing about the stressful situation, due to despondency or embarrassment, by physically or emotionally withdrawing from others. Accommodation, also known as positive cognitive restructuring, is used to regulate one's emotions or assessment of the stressful situation to a more positive one, or through distractions by taking part in pleasurable activities. Negotiation coping is used to find a compromise while protecting one's interests through bargaining or persuasion with space to reduce demands in order to achieve the desired outcome. Submission coping resigns to stressors by engaging in rumination, catastrophizing, or self-blame. Finally, opposition coping involves aggressively confronting the stressor and its source, in defiance or retaliation, by venting or blaming others, in an attempt to remove the stressor.

Methods

Qualitative life histories were conducted with a sample of male Nepali returnee migrants. Men were eligible to take part in the study if they had worked outside of Nepal. Recruitment was conducted at low-cost hotels near Kathmandu's international airport and main bus stations where returnee migrants stay to connect with transport back to their villages, usually the next day. Additionally, local migrant organisations were contacted for referrals to capture a broad range of experiences. Most interviews took place in men's room at the lodge, or during the later phase of data collection, at the interpreter's home. The fieldwork took place between February and May 2016, and interviews were conducted in English, with the assistance of an interpreter, and were audio-recorded with permission. Data collection concluded when saturation was reached, with the final interviews not reflecting sufficiently different narratives.

Ethics

Ethical approval was obtained from the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (7021) and the Nepal Health Research Council (1040). Participants were given study information verbally and in writing, and provided written consent before interviews began. At the end of the interviews participants were given 500 NPS (approximately $5.00 USD) as compensation for their time.

Data analysis

The interview scripts were transcribed and translated into English for analysis. Each interview script was open coded in NVivo 11.0, to develop a coding frame. The codes were then reviewed, and amended by expanding or merging to achieve a final coding frame of coping strategies. The strategies were then categorised according to Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's 12 core 'families of coping' (119, 120). Finally, using a matrix developed with the coded data thematic analysis conducted to explore relationships across and within themes and sub-themes.

Table 4.11 - Description of core coping families

Purpose	Coping families	Description
Coordinate action	Problem-solving	active attempts to achieve desired outcomes through: strategizing; planning; analysing; preventing; repairing
	Information-seeking	active attempts to gather relevant information (causes, meaning, consequences) of the stressor(s) through: seeking advice or help; observing or consulting others or relevant materials
	Helplessness	give up control of a situation without attempts to improve situation through being passive; resigning
	Escape	remove oneself from stressor through: denial; physically leaving; cognitively avoiding
Coordinate resources	Self-comforting	engage in active self-care through: relaxing; controlling one's own emotions constructively; encouraging oneself
	Support-seeking	draw on support from other individuals or religion through: reaching out to others; seeking comfort; imagining the response of others; praying
	Delegation	heavy reliance on others' support and focuses negatively on the stressor through: complaining; whining; maladaptive help-seeking
	Social isolation	withdraw from others physically or emotionally to prevent others knowing about stressor or effects, often due to sadness or shame, through avoiding others: concealing emotions
Coordinate options	Accommodation	adjust preference to available options through: positive cognitive restructuring; distraction
	Negotiation	active attempts to compromise focussing on defending one's goals through: bargaining; reducing demands; priority setting; deal-making
	Submission	surrender to stressor through: rumination; negative thinking; catastrophizing; self-blame
	Opposition	attack source of stressor combined with anger or hostility through: using aggression; blaming others; taking revenge; being defiant

Source: adapted from Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck (119, Figure 2.2)

Results

Study sample

Forty-two returnee men were interviewed and their demographic and migration characteristics are presented in Table 4.12. The sample was almost equally divided between those who had migrated only once and those who had multiple labour migrations. In their most recent migration, most men went to Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia and worked in a range of low- and semi-skilled occupations.

Table 4.12 - Demographic and migration characteristics of study sample

Age-groups:	**n (%)**
<25	8 (19.0)
25-34	13 (31.0)
35-44	9 (21.4)
≥45	3 (7.1)
Caste/ethnicity:	
Brahman/Chhetree	12 (28.6)
Janajati	15 (35.7)
Dalit	5 (11.9)
Other	10 (23.8)
Area of origin:	
Terai (lowland)	33 (78.6)
Hill	8 (19.0)
Mountain	1 (2.4)
Highest level of education attended:	
None/Informal/Primary	3 (7.1)
Secondary	17 (40.5)
Higher secondary/vocational/tertiary	14 (33.3)
No. previous labour migrations:	
Once	17 (40.5)
More than once	25 (59.5)
Most recent migration destination:	
Malaysia	12 (28.6)
Qatar	12 (28.6)
Saudi Arabia	11 (26.2)
United Arab Emirates	5 (11.9)
Kuwait	1 (2.4)
Afghanistan	1 (2.4)
Most recent migration work:	
General labourer/porter	16 (38.1)
Driver / carpenter / plumber / mason	10 (23.8)
Factory worker	6 (14.3)
Kitchen /food-related work	4 (9.5)
Security	4 (9.5)
Retail/office boy	2 (4.8)
Duration of most recent migration*:	
< 1 year	6 (14.3)
1 - <3 years	18 (42.9)
3 - <5 years	7 (16.7)
5 - <10 years	8 (19.0)
≥10 years	3 (7.1)
Next plans:	
Return to the same job and employer	7 (16.7)
Re-migrate to different destination/job/company	22 (52.4)
Stay in Nepal	8 (19.0)
Undecided	5 (11.9)

Coping family of problem-solving

The coping family of problem-solving involves analysing, strategizing, and logically planning to achieve the desired outcome (119). Men drew on this coping family to manage a range of migration-related stressors beginning with the decision to migrate to respond to stressors such as household debts or insufficient income from their employment in Nepal. Loans taken to cover basic living expenses were regular occurrences in households that relied on subsistence farming but repaying these created stressful circumstances for many. One participant witnessed the disrespectful treatment his parents received due to outstanding loans, which was a source of stress for him.

> My parents told me not to go but to stay and study instead…I couldn't accept my family, my mother and father who gave birth to me being called names by other people. That can't be tolerated… The other person was saying those things because of the money. I thought my brother was also not here so how could they pay back the loan? I thought if I go abroad, if I send money, they can pay them back. That's why I went. (Interview 95, age-group 25-34, labourer, Saudi Arabia)

In response to the stress of his perceived filial obligations, this participant chose to migrate, despite his parent's protestations.

Structural stressors caused by inconsistent electricity and regular strikes in Nepal meant that even those with employment were not always able to earn a sufficient level of income to support their families. To cope with these types of financial hardships, men opted to migrate for work, as a problem-solving strategy. As one participant described:

> …at that time there were strikes in Kathmandu, so I was only able to work 10, 15 days a month and I became frustrated. I thought about going abroad but only if I could go with my own money not with other's money [loan]. So I saved some money and then went to the manpower [recruitment agency]. (Interview 116, age-group 35-44, mason, Saudi Arabia)

This participant recognised the risk of indebtedness, as did many others, whose families had taken out loans for household expenses. In his case he strategized to save enough money to cover all the relevant expenses before migrating while for others it was not always an option.

Migration was also used to respond to serious political risks, such as implications of being associated with the Maoist during Nepal's civil conflict.

> We were working in the sugar mill … then decided to form a union. I became the secretary and the next day my name was published in the newspaper and I was called a Maoist. I also found out that some people even took the newspaper to the police station saying I was a Maoist. I was afraid that something might happen to me so I ran away. (Interview 53, age-group 35-44, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

This participant's response is an important example of problem-solving related to credible fears of harm by fleeing through temporary labour migration. His intention had been to stay away for six-months, but due to additional financial pressures, he did not return to Nepal for several years.

Once the decision to migrate for work was made, men then needed to manage stressors related to financing their migration costs, identifying suitable job offers, recruitment agents or agencies and navigating through the rules and regulations. Participants reportedly paid between 30,000 and 220,000 NPR[2] per migration and in most cases the coping family of problem-solving was used to obtain the needed funds through loans from community members, using land or gold as collateral, or by selling assets such as motorbike and livestock.

Once in a destination, nearly all participants experienced stressors related to their employment. These included contract discrepancies and substitutions with worse terms and conditions, particularly in relation to wages, job and conditions of work including hours and days of work, difficult work and heavy workload. Initially many tried to cope with these using problem-solving strategies such as refusing to work or to sign the new contracts presented. One participant, after reflecting and analysing the situation, decided the most effective way to cope was to return to Nepal, despite the loan he took to fund his journey.

> …just paying the loan will not make that much of a difference. If these things happen there then I would rather go work in India. (Interview 111, age-group 25-34, construction worker, Qatar)

Many responded to a range of wage issues including lower than agreed wages and delays of salary payments by reducing the frequency of sending remittances, or by planning out household finances with their family to account for the long gaps between remittances. Some men limited their own expenses by not going out, not returning to Nepal for vacation, or extending their contract which would mean they did not have to pay for their flights home. Loans, either existing household loans or specifically those taken to fund their migration were key stressors for many; and an extended stay was a strategy used to cope with lower than expected wages, which resulted in a longer period required to repay loans, as described by one participant:

> … if I go out I have to pay any expenses myself. And I was getting much less that what I was supposed to get. I had taken a loan to go there so I needed to save money to repay it. If I go out then there is expense on taxi, bus; so I stayed in the room and watched TV. (Interview 101, age-group <25, labourer, United Arab Emirates)

[2] Equivalent exchange rates are not provided due to the wide range of years of departure reported and the currency fluctuations. As a brief comparison, over the 10 year period between 2008 and 2018, USD-NRS exchange rate varied from a low of approximately 1:70 to a high of 1:120. Source: https://www.xe.com/currencycharts/?from=USD&to=NPR&view=10Y

When faced with the multiple stressors, or where one source of stress has implications for another, as in the above example, many participants coped by analysing and strategising their situation. Men prioritised repaying their loans rather than addressing the contract discrepancies, despite being aware of available resources, as one participant described:

> …in orientation class [government mandated pre-departure orientation] they had said that in such cases the embassy can help us but I did not feel like going there. At first I thought to clear my loan so after 14-15 month I earned 400,000 NPR and I came back. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Participants in general labour or factory work reported heavy and difficult workload; while others described having to work seven days a week throughout their contract period. To cope with these stressors, men used problem-solving and made up excuses to have a day off, being careful not to do it too often to avoid conflict with their supervisor.

> I didn't take sick leave. When they called me for work on Saturdays I would sometimes say I was sick if I was too lazy to go. I didn't do that often, maybe only once a month. Calling in sick didn't lose me any money as they never pay for work on Saturdays anyway. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Poor living conditions were a source of stress for many men, including unclean, overcrowded or insecure facilities. Men dealt with these discomforts, for example, by forming groups to cook in turn, keeping their important belongings, such as mobile phones and cash, on their person. Others described using the bathroom facilities at the workplace if they did not reach the head of the queue in their accommodation when the transport arrived to take them to the worksite.

Several participants who worked in factories reported stressors such as exposures and allergic reactions to dust and chemicals but were either provided with poor quality or no protective equipment at all. Participants used problem-solving strategy to cope by buying their own masks and gloves to ensure they were of better quality.

When men tried to return to Nepal, many found that they were often not permitted to go, or could only do so if they agreed to pay a fine for early termination, or leave a large deposit to guarantee their return for those applying for leave. This was regardless of whether the leave request was due to illness or death in the family, early termination of their contracts, or at the end of their contracts. As a result, many felt asking directly would not be fruitful and instead made up excuses to improve their chances of being permitted to return home. One participant described the wage differential that led to his desire to leave, and the consequences for doing so:

> …the manpower [in Nepal] said the salary will be 1,277 plus overtime and then after going there the salary was only 600… So then I wrote an emergency application

> [making up reason to go home] and two month's salary was on hold. (Interview 104, age-group 25-34, restaurant worker, Malaysia)

The ability to cope with contract discrepancy stressors were influenced by outstanding loans, and the fees already paid to the recruitment agency. In the case below, the participant initially refused to work, but knowing he had no other way to repay the loan, decided to stay until it was paid off before leaving.

> … for 2-3 days I did not go to work but then I remembered the loan so I have to work any job to repay it. So I decided to work, repay the loan and then go back. (Interview 107, age-group <25, labourer, Qatar)

Another participant reported having his application for leave dismissed by his manager on several occasions. In his subsequent re-application he added more compelling reasons that he had made up, but it was still rejected. He finally managed to speak directly to the owner and found that the owner had no objections. He was then provided all the required documentation, and an additional bonus.

> I said I had family issues even though there was no such issues. I first went to the manager, he didn't listen and then I kept on asking him [over a period of six months] but nothing happened. Finally, I got a chance to meet with my boss and then I told him that I wanted to go home and I got my passport back. … he called the manager and told him to arrange my cancellation documents, my immigration papers and I was allowed to leave after one week…. He [the boss] gave me 1,000 Dirham extra as well. (Interview 101, age-group <25, labourer, United Arab Emirates)

Some reported that their employers would either not let them terminate their contract, or would repeatedly delay their leave even on completion of their contract. However, participants reported that applying for vacation would be quicker than applying for termination, and were more likely to be granted. This strategy was used by those who had no intention to return to their jobs. One participant decided early on to leave the job due to contract discrepancies but he knew leaving immediately would not be an option. Instead, he planned out how he could convince his employer to grant him leave much earlier than usual.

> I have not finished the contract. Without finishing the contract they wouldn't let me come [back to Nepal]. Dashain is big festival and I wanted to go at that time. I used to speak properly with them and do the work properly as well. Except for one or two days off I worked anytime they asked so they were very satisfied. That is why when I said I want to go home for Dashain holidays they trusted me and send me back. But after coming back I didn't return. I came here taking holiday. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Men described making the decision to stay in the job until they earned enough to pay the fines demanded by their employer to leave early, or to repay their loans in full. Some employers withhold several months' salary before releasing migrants on vacation. Although in some cases men also extended their contract further even after repaying their loans as it was important

for them to return home in an improved financial position. Further, several men reported that their employers would only pay for their airfare back to Nepal if they signed a new contract. In these cases, some participants signed the new contract, worked for a few extra months and then requested vacation time off to go home, thus getting around having to pay for their flight, even though they had no intention of returning to complete their contract. Other problem-solving coping included delaying their vacation until they worked through an extension period, as described by one participant who came back after completing one extra year of his two-year contract when the company would no longer hold his salary:

> I didn't come back after two years for holidays. I was able to but didn't because the company holds some salary back. If they [migrants] come on holiday they [company] is not sure if they will come back or not so for that they hold certain amount of money. (Interview 113, age-group 35-44, construction worker, Saudi Arabia)

Coping family of helplessness

The coping family of helplessness includes passive coping, combined with feelings of dejection where individuals give up control without attempting to improve their situation. Men used these strategies to cope with financial stressors, deceptions by recruitment agents or agencies, and contract discrepancies. For some, helplessness coping was also used after unsuccessful attempts from other strategies. Outstanding loans coupled with the fact that men had already paid fees to the agency often limited the available coping strategies. Even those who discovered before leaving Nepal that the recruitment agency had deceived them had no realistic option of challenging them. Many participants reported either given receipts for much lower amounts than what they had actually paid, or not given receipts at all. In one case, a participant who had paid the agency 150,000 NPR but was given a receipt for 80,000 on the day of his flight. It was only then he realised that he had been overcharged.

> At first I didn't know and then they [agency] told me that if they [officials at the airport] ask then say that I only paid 80,000 NPR and then only I knew…

When asked whether he raised the issue with the agency then, he explained that it was too late and he had to accept the situation.

> They [agency] gave me the receipt when I was leaving [for the airport] so I had no choice. (Interview 104, age-group 25-34, hospitality worker, Malaysia)

Contract discrepancy and associated financial stressors, such as having to pay a fine if they did not want to work according to the new terms set of the new contract on arrival in the destination country were sometimes addressed with helplessness coping; sometimes after

having attempted another coping strategies. One described his reaction when told to pay a fine that was equivalent to four months' salary in order to leave:

> If I had the money I would have given it to him very fast. If I had money, I would have left. ... But I couldn't do anything. (Interview 105, age-group 25-34, labourer, Malaysia)

In most cases salary deductions were taken by the employers but some were unsure who was actually responsible. One participant described how he realised who was actually keeping his deductions when the company was closing down and he was being sent home earlier than expected. When he asked his employer about the withheld wages that was meant to be paid on completion of his contract, he discovered that it was the recruitment agency that had told the employer to deduct the money based on an agreement he had signed. Ultimately this resulted in helplessness coping as he felt he himself had signed the agreement and was therefore resigned to the fact that there was nothing he could do to challenge it.

> They [employer] told us that we were made a fool. The agency had told the company to deduct the money. And HR said we even signed the document saying they should deduct it. It was right, we had signed it. The [agency] told us that when we return after two years, our 1,200 would be returned and we would get a bonus. So, we signed it. (Interview 95, age-group 25-34, labourer, Saudi Arabia)

Similarly, another participant's confusion over who was responsible for the contract discrepancies meant he had little option but to accept the situation, coping with helplessness strategies:

> The mistake was here [in Nepal], not there. I said [to the employer that] the agency had said [the salary was] 700 but I was only getting 400. I said I won't stay, let me go. They said we don't know, talk to your own agent. I called the agent's phone but he didn't pick up. (Interview 98, age-group 35-44, construction worker, Saudi Arabia)

Many men shared encounters with aggressive supervisors and foremen. Participants who had run small businesses themselves in Nepal and had employed workers reflected on the difference in treatment.

> Because I also had business and I also had worker, but I never treated him the way I was treated. …I used to think when it is night time and I can go back to sleep, at least in my dreams I can reach my home. And the new comers were always forced like do this, do that [as demanded by the supervisor]… (Interview 53, age-group 35-44, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Helplessness strategies were also used to cope with legal stressors such as encounters with the police, which were nearly always reported as negative experiences. For some this was mediated by their limited language skills, unfamiliarity with the legal process, and awareness or experience of police demanding bribes. Many participants did not believe the police would

help under any circumstances which resulted in them not making any attempts to improve their situation, as described below:

> We didn't know how to complain. We didn't know the language, and we knew about the police asking for money as well so I didn't feel like going to them. (Interview 111, age-group 25-34, construction worker, Qatar)

Legal stressors brought on by the employer also included confiscation of passports or identification documents often required in destination countries. This contributed to participants' feelings of insecurity about going out, knowing they may be stopped by the police, which left them unable to seek assistance. One participant who wanted to seek assistance at the embassy due to contract issues felt unable to do so without identification documents:

> I talked to them [embassy and migrant organisations] but they also asked for ID. Police also asked for it. I did not go but my friends had gone so until I got my ID I just continued to work. (Interview 106, age-group <25, labourer, Qatar)

One participant who was aware that contract discrepancies could arise had taken precautions by making photocopies of his contract signed in Nepal to send back to his father. However, he later discovered that they were insufficient to seek compensation.

> I have here the contract saying 1000 salary, but the one there saying 700, that contract paper is not with me. Now I have 1000 here and according to contract if they check in the bank it will show 1000-1100 [including overtime]. They [employer] have the details of my overtime work and they can also just not show that. So trying to complain is just a waste of time.
>
> They never gave salary with details. They just gave my salary as one amount. Sometimes I would get a slip saying 1000 and sometimes 1100. I also did not think about the details of my overtime and that slip. I used to just get the money and throw away that slip as I was not thinking of complaining. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Losing money, being cheated at some point during labour migration was so prevalent that participants rarely considered filing official complaints, another indication of helplessness coping:

> … so many people are returning like this [having been cheated] and no one ever gets their money back. (Interview 112, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Labour migration enabled men to provide for their families, but being away from them was a source of stress, particularly given their extended absence throughout their working life. Many described it as life, which they had to passively accept with helplessness coping.

> We do talk every week. I miss them, they also miss me. But this is how life is. I have to leave my job [in Nepal] and look after my children, my family. I had to close my

> business... I feel happy thinking about my family but personally I am not happy (Interview 53, age-group 35-44, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Despite being able to provide for his family, the above participant described himself as being unhappy with the situation, and found it difficult to be being away, but had few options. Many men also spoke of luck, fate and God as having already predestined their migration outcome and did not see their own ability to affect change. One participant who worked as a security guard in Afghanistan and experienced an explosion while on duty had the option to return and stay in Nepal but chose to return to the job despite the dangers, as that was the nature of his work and he felt that the outcome of any such dangers were in God's hands.

> It was already decided that we all [the Nepali guards who were present during the explosion] would go back to Afghanistan. This is life. Even in my army life we have face many wars and dangers. It all depends on God's will. If I am unlucky then I will die and if not then I won't die. (Interview 62, age-group ≥45, security guard, Afghanistan)

While another participant also put his experiences down to luck, and saw little he could do himself to alter his fate:

> I have not heard much bad about Dubai that is why I was willing to go there. But my company was not good, my luck was not good, that is why it happened. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

The reliance on luck or fate was also a common response when asked what participants would do differently in their next migration to prevent the stressors previously encountered. Very few described any specific action on their own part, but spoke of trusting and having faith that next time it would be better.

Coping family of support-seeking

Support-seeking strategies were used to cope with ill-health as well as those related to participants' employment, document confiscations, contract discrepancies and fines for early termination. Men reached out to a range of individuals and groups including family and friends, recruitment agencies, the embassy, and civil society organisations (CSOs) for emotional support or practical assistance such as obtaining travel documents, filing cases of employment disputes, seeking employment and for financial support.

Several participants used support-seeking strategies by contacting friends in the destination countries for assistance with contract discrepancy stressors when they learned their working terms and conditions were not according to the agreement signed in Nepal, as described by one:

> …we called them [friends in destination] but they said they couldn't help us. They were also working in a company themselves so they couldn't help and said it was better for us to just continue to work there. (Interview 110, age-group <25, machine operator, Malaysia)

As mentioned earlier, men who wanted to terminate their contracts early were often faced with large fines demanded by their employer before they would be permitted to leave. Men described how they sought financial support from family and friends in these cases:

> I wanted to come back but was not allowed. The company said I have to buy my own ticket and pay around 70,000 Nepali rupees to them as a fine. I needed 2-3 months to earn 70-80,000. So finally I got financial help from my family to pay the company and returned back to Nepal. (Interview 55, age-group 35-44, security guard, Malaysia)

Some reached out to the embassy to seek support when they were unable to resolve the issue themselves.

> So I said to the company to either send me for holidays or terminate my contract. The company agreed to send me on holidays but I have to deposit 7,000 ringgit which takes me 7 months to earn. I was not sure if I would be alive or dead in those 7 months so I went to the embassy and hid from the company. (Interview 110, age-group <25, factory worker, Malaysia)

Some reported using support-seeking coping with one group after another in cases where the stressors were not dealt with, as in the example below where the participant went to the embassy and then a CSO to try to return to Nepal.

> …when I said I wanted to come back they [employer] didn't let me. They didn't given me any ID so I was not able to come back. After that I went to the embassy… He [person at the embassy] just said go to another company and work. And then I went to another [migrant] organisation … they said we can help you change to another company but cannot help you to go back home. No one was helpful. There are just for seeking for money only not for helping. (Interview 80, age-group 25-34, plumber, Saudi Arabia)

Such unsuccessful attempts when reaching out to official support were commonly described. Men were further in despair as seeking support from the embassy or CSOs was often the last resort, after earlier attempts at trying to cope using other strategies. However, some did report resolutions, such as one participant's recuperation of unpaid wages after reporting the employer to the police.

> When we didn't receive salary for 3-4 months, the store [that had been giving them groceries on credit] refused to give us anymore foodstuff so then we complained to the police and within 20 days we received 2 months' salary. (Interview 57, age-group ≥45, labourer, Qatar)

Other participants found that by using one coping strategy, new stressors were introduced. For example, one man reported seeking-support from the embassy to file a case against the

employer. In doing so, he had no income and again used support-seeking by reaching out to friends and acquaintances to find casual labour work to earn money.

> We asked our friends and brothers if they know about any work. We had no other work; we told them we were unemployed. We did all kinds of work which was very exhausting. We broke many shoes, 14 shoes, in the process. We asked so many people. We used to do whatever work we could get. (Interview 89, age-group 25-34, driver, Qatar)

Coping family of social isolation

The coping family of social isolation manages stressors by withdrawing from others, either physically or emotionally, to prevent others from knowing about their stressful situation. Men used these strategies to cope with stressors relating to their employment conditions including discrepancies and injuries when they felt that sharing may cause more distress either to themselves or their family. For example, some participants feared disclosing their problems with others in destination may get back to their employer which may lead to a worse situation, such as their employers refusing to pay them. Others were concerned that sharing with their family in Nepal would cause them undue concern, as there was little they could do to help. For some men, these social isolation strategies were only used while they were in destination, and once back in Nepal, they were willing to disclose their actual experiences.

> Once I come back and tell them [his family] they would not feel bad seeing me in front of them. If I told them from there [destination] they might overthink about what I would do and what sort of problems I was facing. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

In contrast, several other participants reported that even on their return, they continued to use social isolation to cope with their negative migration experiences which sometimes extended to friends and acquaintances. Although one suggested that if he were asked for advice by prospective migrants, he would advise against going to Malaysia, without revealing his own experiences. One participant whose family did not agree for him to migrate in the first place decided not to return to his village and was instead, arranging for another migration from Kathmandu in order to avoid having to explain to his family why he returned much earlier than expected.

> No, I won't go home, I will collect all the money that is due to me and then I will go again to another country on an employment visa. (Interview 70, age-group 35-44, labourer, United Arab Emirates)

One participant who suffered an occupational injury that resulted in him being off work for several months coped using social isolation by not informing his family. However, he was eventually forced to tell them three months later, when he was asked about remittances.

> I used to have conversations with them but when they asked if I was ok then I said yes, everything is ok. But when they said that it's been three months and we need money then I had to share everything. (Interview 102, age 23, kitchen worker, Malaysia)

Coping family of negotiation

The coping family of negotiation addresses stressors by finding a compromise while safeguarding one's own interests. Many men reported using negotiation strategies with their supervisor to cope with contract discrepancies and poor living conditions. For example, one explained his situation back home in the hopes his supervisor will start paying him his overtime salary.

> I worked from morning 8AM to 9PM and got only 2 hours overtime pay. Later I spoke with my supervisor and explained that I have come from very far just to work and earn money so if you don't pay me the full amount it's better to send me back. After that I began to receive my 4 hours' overtime pay. (Interview 68, age-group 35-44, carpenter, Saudi Arabia)

Negotiation coping strategies were used either individually as in the above example, or collectively with other workers such as to go on strike, and were common particularly among those who had worked for supply companies. The companies where migrants actually worked were rarely fully aware of the workers' situation as wages, as they pay the supply companies directly, who in turn pay workers. .

> That [to go on strike] was decided by the Nepalis ourselves. It was because we worked in the company, we were not related to the company, just work there. If we don't get money on time, who could we go with our problems? So, we have a strike in the company, then the people of the company would come and ask us what happened. We then tell them what the issue is. (Interview 87, age-group <25, labourer, Malaysia)

As described earlier, many participants only realised the recruitment agency in Nepal had cheated them financially when it was too late for them to do anything. On their return to Nepal, some participants used negotiation to cope with these recruitment stressors by confronting the agency and attempting to find a middle group to claim some of their money back either directly or through an arrangement for the recruitment agency to send them to another job without further charges.

> I took some of my friends with me and went there [to the agency]. Then they said give us 11 days and then we will pay you some money back but on the condition that we

> will not pay you the cost of one ticket which is 40,000 NPR. (Interview 70, age-group 35-44, labourer, United Arab Emirates)

Coping family of accommodation

Accommodation coping restructures one's desired outcome based on the available options, and may be achieved through changing one's emotional reactions, or distracting oneself with other activities. Accommodation strategies were most commonly used to cope with recruitment-related stressors in the pre-migration phase. Some participants had specific destination and job preferences during their initial planning but such preferences turned into stressors due to long delays of visa processing times, limited or no demand for the type of work they could offer in their chosen destination at the time they could go. In these cases participants used the coping family of accommodation to adjust their preferences to those they had initially not wanted, in order to avoid further delays.

> The agent said "go to Qatar, Dubai or Malaysia" and I said I will not go to Malaysia. I then applied to others but for two years I didn't get the visa. (Interview 92, age-group 25-34, construction worker, Saudi Arabia)

Even for participants who experienced contract discrepancy stressors and had unsuccessfully tried to return home later used accommodation coping to restructure their thinking to convince themselves that staying longer was the right decision given their circumstances, as doing so meant they would be able to return home in a better position, as explained by one participant:

> … it had already been eight months, I had to bring some return after going there. If I could have returned at beginning then it was ok but I couldn't then because I had to pay money [fine] to the company. Now eight months have passed, nine months have passed, and in the 9th month my father told me the loan has been repaid. So staying five or six more months was not that difficult for me. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Accommodation coping strategies were also used to cope with stressors such as losing unpaid wages or deposits paid in order to return to Nepal by restructuring their feelings about the outcome, such that it was a better alternative to ensure they were able to return to Nepal.

Coping family of opposition

The coping family of opposition are those that directly confront stressors through retaliating, venting or blaming others. These were used by participants to cope with legal stressors. In most cases men relied on their employers to obtain and maintain their status and can be left in a highly precarious situation when employers do not fulfil that obligation. One participant used

opposition coping by threatening his employer, after earlier attempts using negotiation coping were unsuccessful.

> I actually worked in his laundrette for two months. The manager had a laundrette, car wash company and hotel as well. And for two months I didn't get salary and my visa was also about to expire. I had discussion with him but he didn't care and so I told him I will go to the police and then he was scared because his laundrette and car wash licenses were not renewed. So then he gave me return ticket. (Interview 70, age-group 35-44, labourer, United Arab Emirates)

Once back in Nepal, some participants were no longer fearful of repercussions as they were in their own country. For some the coping family of opposition such as venting their anger and confronting the recruitment agency that brought on the recruitment-related stressors were used.

> I fought with the recruitment agency the day I came back. I shouted at them saying you told me one thing and send me there and you didn't do what you said you would do. They didn't have anything to say and then they said that they could send me to a better place, they will do this and that. (Interview 117, age-group 25-34, factory worker, United Arab Emirates)

Summary of key coping responses

The main coping strategies Nepali men used to manage the range of stressors they experienced are summarised in Table 4.13. Overall the most commonly used coping family across the range of stressors men encountered was problem-solving. These included purchasing safety equipment, finding ways to repay their loans by extending their stay, sending remittances less often, return to Nepal or make up excuses to achieve the desired results, which may be to leave the employment, to reduce their exposure to occupational hazards, or to manage on the low wages. The coping families of helplessness, support-seeking, social isolation and negotiation were also routinely used. Men reached out to a range of networks for support when problems were encountered. In contrast, some men preferred to manage the stressors with social isolation and not share their situation with others, including those in Nepal. Negotiation strategies were most often used with employers or the recruitment agent, to improve their working situation or to attempt to get some of the fees paid refunded. In some situations, helplessness was the only available option after men had made earlier attempts to address the challenges in their migration, often through problem-solving, support-seeking and negotiation. Apart from helplessness coping, accommodation strategies were also used to shift migrants' perspectives to accept the situation they were in. A few men used opposition strategies by threatening to report their employers to the

authorities, or to confront the recruitment agencies for misrepresenting the job and work conditions on their return to Nepal.

Table 4.13 – Main coping strategies used by Nepali men by coping families

Problem-solving	Helplessness	Support-seeking	Social isolation	Negotiation	Accommodation	Opposition
Seek work abroad	give up control	report to authorities	withdraw from others	talk to supervisor	convince themselves to stay longer	threaten employer
purchase own safety equipment	no attempt to improve situation	call friends, family	do not share actual situation	talk to recruitment agency for refund	adjust destination or work preference	confront agency / agents
reduce expenses remit less often repay loan	rely on luck, fate, destiny	seek work or financial assistance	keep to self	go on strike		
extend stay						
make up excuses						
form groups to use shared facilities						

Discussion

This paper sought to examine the coping strategies male Nepali returnee labour migrants used to manage migration-related stressors. Most often men tended to rely on strategies in the coping family of problem-solving, especially to address a range of stressors related to recruitment, workplace and legal issues. Problem-solving was also reported by labour migrants working in the Middle East and Europe to address stressors related to living and working conditions in the destination country, and the difficulty to save money, often due to a combination of high expenses and lower than expected wages (140, 141, 154, 159).

The use of the coping family of negotiation, despite most working in low-skilled labour more typically associated with low power, suggests that there is often potential for labour migrants to improve their situation. Indeed, participants were aware that if they stopped working the company would lose money and were thus, able to successfully negotiate improvements to their situation either individually or collectively. This is consistent with a range of other studies of garment factory workers in Malaysia (149) domestic workers in Singapore (156), and

migrants from new EU member states who had limited legal and residential rights in the wider EU (168), all of whom used negotiation strategies to cope with stressors related to their wages and living conditions.

When confronted with stressors related to their workplace, men used the coping family of support-seeking with friends at destination that enabled them to seek employment or to borrow money. Using support-seeking strategies and reaching out to others who could assist, either practically to access healthcare (145), seek employment (140, 160, 164), for financial (140, 154, 159), or emotionally support (129) was common among labour migrants in Europe, the Middle East, and seafarers docked in New Zealand.

Participants also sought support from authorities and CSOs when they did not succeed in addressing problems directly with their employer. However, the support they received were mixed and with some reported being sent from one group to another, with no resolution. In these situations, men reported having little option but to accept their situation. Therefore, countries of origin need to strengthen their capacity to assist migrants which may mean clarifying with their own staff on what assistance are available, by whom, and how these could be accessed. These could reduce stress and confusion for migrants and increase the likelihood they would seek assistance.

Importantly, studies highlighted some adverse consequences of labour migrants' coping strategies. Some migrants used escape strategies to cope with health-related stressors, through avoiding the use of ante- and post-natal care use among female migrants because of their legal status or costs (141, 145, 150, 161). In contrast, the men in this study valued good health and access to good quality healthcare. When confronted with health-related stressors such as their employer's unwillingness to address their healthcare needs, including protection against occupational hazards, they coped using problem-solving strategies and bought their own protective equipment for work, or terminated their contracts early, and found ways to pay the fines demanded by the employer. These differences in coping strategies may be due to the fact that men in this study who experienced health stressors did so mostly through occupational hazards rather than general ill-health, and the majority had legal status.

Coping strategies were sometimes used only after experiencing multiple stressors or when the stressors were or became more important such as those affecting their income, as this was the main reason many participants migrated in the first place. Stressors related to men's income have direct impact on their ability to repay the loans taken to fund their migration. Loans, the lack of documentation, and the desire to prevent their family from distress also affected the coping strategies used by participants in this study. For example, outstanding loans were the

main preoccupation for labour migrants and limited their ability to cope with stressors related to contract discrepancies, or poor working conditions, for fear of having to return home with no income, and not being able to repay the loans already taken. Indeed, it has been highlighted that loans taken out to fund migration are among 'the largest debts that men and women migrating for work will ever incur in their lives' (224 p. 13). The fact that men did not have copies of both the contract they signed in Nepal and the one signed in destination meant that they had no proof that contract substitutions had taken place, and did not believe they would receive compensation or assistance. Sometimes a range of coping families were used in succession to cope with specific stressors, such as using problem-solving, support-seeking or negotiation initially but when these were unsuccessful in achieving the desired outcome participants resorted to helplessness or social isolation.

Some studies revealed that one group of migrants' coping strategies may increase their vulnerability. For example, some migrants avoided accessing healthcare for themselves or their children (150, 161) or drank excessively to cope with the stressors associated with their living and working conditions, including unemployment, and feelings of isolation as a result of being away from family and friends (146). Coping strategies can also make other groups of migrants vulnerable. For example, Central American migrant farmworkers in the US deliberately derailed the performance of newly hired migrant workers by providing them with incorrect instructions on how to do the job, or reporting irregular migrants to the authorities in an attempt to have them deported, thus reducing competition and increasing their payable hours (138, 139).

In this study, some men blame themselves for the situation they found themselves in. Men also avoided sharing their actual situation with their family in an effort to prevent them from worrying. Such strategies may increase stress levels which in turn may contribute to poor mental health as migrants are not able to get the needed emotional or practical support. Some participants were still unwilling to share their experiences, including the challenges and deceptions, on their return home, either within or outside of their family. Similarly, Bangladeshi labour migrants reported only discussing problems with other labour migrants working in Malaysia instead of sharing with anyone back home (12). Further, these strategies of keeping the negative aspects of their experiences to themselves may also contribute to the perception that labour migration brings financial rewards, as those in the community would see the tangible improvements such as better housing, food, and clothing. Indeed in some settings international labour migration is the only option considered by young men and their families to earn a living. Such perceptions of the earning potential and living conditions abroad were almost solely based on information from returnees or recruitment agents (12). Whereas

problems encountered are not shared to the same extent, even among friends, making it difficult for prospective migrants to have a realistic assessment of the situations they may encounter, and thus contribute to their failure to plan for the management of such commonly encountered stressors. Some prospective migrants also accept a higher level of financial risks under the misguided perception that all migration will be successful (225).

The relationship between recruitment agencies, agents, and prospective migrants is complex, and has been well-documented in a number of studies in both countries of origin and destinations (204, 218, 226-229). Agents and agencies play an important role in the migration chain through provision of information and management of the application process, which are often cumbersome and difficult to navigate individually, particularly for those planning their first migration. However, many migrants experienced problems from being overcharged in fees to little or no support when on arrival migrants found their agreement not to be honoured. In the latter cases, many do not know whether the deception was from the agency in Nepal or from the employer at destination which also limited their options to address them. Further, some recruitment agencies advise employers to confiscate workers' passports, salaries, or not allow days off to prevent runaways (126, 149). The Government of Nepal (GoN) maintains a list of blacklisted agencies that can be consulted but given that many returnee migrants do not file complaints against the agencies it is unclear how accurate the scheme is. A well-publicised rating system that involves more active feedback gathering from migrants could be explored, although this would need a considerable workforce to maintain. However, most prospective migrants seek work through advertisements or word of mouth and are unlikely to confirm whether an agency is license before applying through it.

Finally, the GoN has bilateral agreements with key destination countries. Recently, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed with the Government of Malaysia that included a number of important measures to reduce the burden on Nepali labour migrants through, for example, making employers responsible for recruitment expenses including round trip airfares, and for the costs associated of repatriating deceased workers. The agreement also stipulates specific dates when salary should be paid, the payment method employers need to use, and ensures workers can return to Nepal for 15 days in the event of a death in the immediate family (230). This may go a long way to protect Nepali migrant workers as Malaysia is a key destination for many, and the agreement addresses many of the common concerns and experiences of Nepali labour migrants in Malaysia and elsewhere. However, past analysis of such agreements have shown that enforcement has been problematic (218, 226, 229, 231) and it remains to be seen how effective this particular agreement will be.

Limitations

This study uses Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's typology of coping families to categorise qualitative coping narratives. To do so, each stressor and coping response were organised in pairs to indicate which stressor was responded to by which coping strategy. This method masks the complex patterns of how stressors and coping interact and affect each other simultaneously and repeatedly. Nevertheless, given the numerous different ways in which coping strategies have been categorised, using a system that narrows these down to 12 typologies based on extensive review and assessment provides an empirically-based approach to organise coping responses. In this way, findings could be more easily compared to other studies.

Research among mobile populations is a common challenge due to the difficulties in reaching them. In our earlier quantitative study surveying returnee migrants to assess experienced of exploitation we found that only 40% of those identified from a household census conducted six-months prior were in the district at the time of our fieldwork (223). Similarly, in another attempt to follow prospective female migrants found that at the next survey, more than half had been lost to follow-up. Those who returned to Nepal and agree to take part in research will be different from those who did not, and the reasons may be due to either negative or positive experiences. For example, negative experiences preventing migrants from returning may include incarceration, extreme restrictions to their mobility, severe injuries, or even fatalities (5, 189). As many returnee migrants still have the intention to remigrate, some fear that by taking part in research and speaking about their experience may impact their options for future migration, as several participants repeatedly inquired whether this would be the case. In contrast, those who have been successful with their migration and are able to earn a decent living than in Nepal are likely to continue to extend their stay. To overcome these challenges, the sampling strategy aimed to interview a wide range of participants which was done through key geographic locations in Kathmandu supplemented with referrals from migrant organisations and data collection was carried out until saturation was achieved. This strategy also managed to capture a number of participants who were on leave in Nepal and intended to return to their jobs, describing their migration experiences as positive.

The interviews were conducted in English with the assistance of an interpreter, due to the difficulty in securing a suitably experienced research assistant who was available during the fieldwork. The fieldwork took place ten months after the 2015 earthquake and during the unofficial blockade between Nepal and India, which caused many disruptions to daily life including challenges with public transport. Conducting the interviews as a foreigner may also have brought advantages such as the ability to ask questions that may be considered obvious

to a local Nepali, particularly in relation to a highly prevalent activity such as labour migration. Participants also expressed appreciation that a foreigner was interested in their experience and views. This may be in part due to the fact that many do not feel they are heard because of their social position, and, as highlighted in the findings, some are reluctant to share their experiences even with their own family and friends. Therefore, having an opportunity to share their stories was a good outlet for some.

Conclusion

Labour migration among Nepali males is a highly prevalent livelihood strategy. Returnee men who worked in a range of countries and job-sectors reported coping responses to their migration-related stressors. The families of problem-solving, support-seeking and helplessness were the most commonly used strategies. Coping strategies did not always achieve the desired outcome and may introduce new stressors. Those who sought assistance with authorities or CSOs did not always receive the help needed. Helplessness coping strategies were often used after unsuccessful attempts with other coping strategies. Improvements to the support mechanisms migrants can access may reduce migration-related stressors or enable responses that may lead to the desired outcome of successful migrations. As labour migration from Nepal is likely to continue in the near future, government and CSOs need to ensure migrants have the support they need to address the stressors they face when they leave their country to try to earn a decent living.

5. Discussion

In this chapter I recap the aim and objectives of the study and the findings from each of the research papers. I then synthesise and discuss overarching themes, situating these within the wider literature. This is followed by a presentation of a new conceptual framework I developed from the findings of this thesis that could contribute to future work on coping and stress among low-skilled international labour migrants. I discuss the limitations of the overall thesis and end with recommendations for future policy, practice and research.

5.1 Summary of thesis findings

This thesis aimed to explore the coping strategies used to manage migration-related stressors, including labour exploitation and forced labour, among Nepali male international labour migrants. The thesis had the following objectives:

- to systematically review the evidence on strategies used by international labour migrants from LMICs to cope with migration-related stressors;
- to quantify the prevalence of and associations with forced labour experiences among a sample of Nepali male labour migrants;
- to identify the migration-related stressors experienced by Nepali male labour migrants before, during and after their migration; and
- to explore the strategies Nepali male labour migrants used to cope with migration-related stressors.

5.1.1 Systematic review

The systematic review included studies that sampled individuals over the age of 15 from LMICs who had worked outside of their country, and reported data on coping responses to migration-related stressors. Thirty studies, representing migrants from over 33 origin countries and working in more than 18 destination locations (exact numbers could not be determined) were included. The majority of these provided qualitative evidence on coping, with only three reporting quantitative data.

The review found that international migrants from LMICs most commonly used the coping families of problem-solving, support-seeking and accommodation to manage a range of

migration-related stressors. Female migrants reported more support-seeking strategies than males. The stressors encountered were related to work and migrant status, followed by stigma, family and health issues. There were some gender differences in the types of stressors experienced, which were often due to traditional gender norms and roles in migrants' country of origin. For example, female migrants reported stressors around childcare management while for males they were related to working in traditionally feminised sectors, being financially supported by a female partner, or having relationships with local women which were not accepted by their families. Some of the coping strategies migrants used increased their own vulnerability through delaying or avoiding access to healthcare after experiences of physical injuries or in the case of female migrants, for reproductive, maternal and child health. These strategies often resulted from their irregular status or from the cost of healthcare. Other coping strategies aimed to protect migrants' own employment made other groups of migrants more vulnerable, including, for example, sabotaging others' work performances or reporting those who were irregular so they would be deported.

5.1.2 Quantitative findings on labour exploitation and stressors

The quantitative cross-sectional study conducted among 140 Nepali male labour migrants in Dolakha district identified a wide range of exploitative experiences, including forced labour, according to the three ILO dimensions of *unfree recruitment, living and working under duress, and impossibility of leaving the employer*. Based on participants' most recent labour migration, over 90% were dependent on their employer for housing, enabling employers to exert control over workers, and meaning that if workers left the employment, they would also lose their shelter. Over half the sample had their identity documents, typically passports, confiscated, with no possibility of retrieving them if needed. Half reported deceptions: wages, location or duration of employment, living and working conditions differed from what was agreed and signed for in Nepal. Nearly half (45%) reported restrictions to their freedom of movement or communication; a third had had their wages deducted as punishment or had been threatened with non-payment of wages. Over a quarter reported having worked overtime without additional pay or having had some of their assets withheld.

Experiences of specific indicators were then used to build the composite measure of the three dimensions of forced labour. Overall, 44% of participants experienced *unfree recruitment*, 71% *work and life under duress*, and 14% *impossibility of leaving employer.* As forced labour was determined by experience of any one of the three dimensions, 73% of the participants were found to have experienced forced labour, driven by the *work and life under duress* dimension. I then conducted regression analysis to identify factors associated with forced labour, such as

debt, previous migration experience, training attendance, awareness of possible deception prior to leaving Nepal and the specific destination country men worked in. Having migration-related debt and awareness of the possibility of being deceived were significantly associated with *unfree recruitment*, with PR of 1.67 and 2.23 respectively, but not with the other dimensions. Forced labour was also more prevalent among those with migration-related debt (PR 1.23) and slightly less so among those who had previously migrated (PR 0.87), although neither were statistically significant. Additionally, many of those who had migrated more than once still experienced forced labour at their most recent migration (67%) suggesting that previous experience may not necessarily be protective.

5.1.3 Qualitative findings on migration-related stressors and coping strategies

Qualitative life histories were conducted with 42 Nepali male labour migrants. Many participants described stressors experienced before, during and after their migration, as well as the ways in which they were managed. Stressors were categorised based on workplace-, acculturative- and migrant worker stress frameworks. The types of stressors described were most commonly workplace-related such as contract discrepancies, job insecurity, poor working conditions, non-payment of wages, occupational hazards, document confiscation and restriction of movement. Employers also controlled when and how migrants could return to Nepal, which men requested due to emergencies such as illness and death in the family, as a result of early termination or even on completion of their contract. In some cases, workplace stressors were compounded. For example, some men who had suffered occupational injury were subsequently sent back to Nepal with no support from their employer. This meant that in addition to the loss of employment, these men also needed financial and practical support from their family during their recovery. Their inability to work and earn an income led to further burdens on their households, including the stress of outstanding debts. For low-skilled and low-waged international labour migrants, such as those in this study, these stressors are more pronounced given their limited resources, including access to safety equipment, healthcare, compensation and legal recourse against employers. Recruitment agent/agency-related stressors include fees charged above the legally permitted amount with no itemised bill or receipt and contract agreements being issued only hours before departure to the destination country. Environmental stressors such as overcrowded living space and lack of security both in the accommodation and the town where men lived also caused stress. Some legal stressors were caused by employers' routinely withholding migrants' identification cards; this led to fear of demands for bribes from the police, even among migrants with legal status in the destination country.

Stressors were almost never experienced in isolation, but were multiple and often cumulative. Men had to find ways to manage such stressors; this led to my next analysis which explored their coping strategies, using Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's coping typologies to categorise their strategies (119). Across the different types of stressors, men most commonly used the coping family of problem-solving, followed by support-seeking, helplessness and negotiation.

Men used problem-solving strategies to respond to household needs by deciding to seek employment abroad, followed by securing funds to pay the recruitment fees and other associated costs such as obtaining documentations and attending training which entailed short stays in Kathmandu. In destination, problem-solving strategies were used to manage a range of workplace stressors described above. Men strategised and prioritised their needs and responsibilities to reduce their living costs, gain rest time, protect their health, pay the fines demanded for early termination of contract or find other ways to return to Nepal without having to pay. Support-seeking strategies were used with their family in Nepal or with friends at destination to seek alternative employment or to borrow money. Men also sought assistance with the authorities and CSOs to report their employers' exploitative practices, to retrieve their passports or to facilitate their return to Nepal. However, migrants described the support they actually received as mixed, sometimes due to the limited resources available to their friends and family, or the somewhat confused responses by embassies and CSOs as to what services are available and accessible. Although most of the participants worked in low-skilled work typically associated with low power relative to their employers, men went on strike, either alone or collectively, to force their employers into negotiations. Men also adopted helplessness strategies and accepted their situation without making any attempts to improve it, or accommodation strategies whereby they shifted their perception of their situation from stressful to more positive.

Not all stressors resulted in coping responses. In many cases responses were only used after men had experienced multiple stressors, or if the stressors were considered highly important, for example, those related to their salaries which then affected their ability to repay outstanding loans, forcing them to react. The lack of documentation, the desire to prevent their family from distress and the burden of outstanding loans all moderated the coping strategies used. For example, repayment of debt was often a man's main preoccupation and this limited his ability to cope with stressors related to contract discrepancies or poor working conditions due to fear of being sent back home with no income and/or in debt. At other times a range of coping strategies were initially used either simultaneously or sequentially to cope with specific stressors, such as using problem-solving, support-seeking or negotiation but when

these were unsuccessful, participants resorted to strategies of helplessness, accommodation, social isolation, or opposition.

5.2 Discussion of overarching themes

To elaborate on the overarching themes, I draw out the discussions from the individual components of this thesis: the systematic review, the quantitative and the qualitative studies. I then link them to the wider literature. The types of exploitative experiences highlighted in the quantitative findings were mainly related to the workplace, as the instrument was designed to quantify experiences of forced labour. The qualitative life histories enabled men to describe their life and migration experiences more broadly, including any issues and challenges experienced, without necessarily labelling them as stressful. The narratives helped to situate their life and migration experiences, which made clear the stressfulness of the situations, including those that led to their initial decision to migrate, and those experienced in different migrations as many participants had migrated for work on more than one occasion.

5.2.1 Coping with family stressors

The decision to migrate was, itself, a coping strategy in response to household debts, insufficient earnings and limited employment options locally and within Nepal. Men felt it was their responsibility to work overseas in order to help repay the debts when they could not see an alternative option. There were some notable differences between the family-related stressors identified in the systematic review and in the qualitative data which were gender specific. Female migrants reported coping responses to manage childcare responsibilities while they were away from home (140, 161), while Bangladeshi men reported not having a say in their own migration or in the marriage decisions arranged by their families to prevent them becoming involved romantically with local women in Malaysia (12). Nepali men's own narratives focused on managing disagreements within the family relating to their decision to migrate in the first place and on the stressors associated with illness and deaths in the family while they were abroad, including their inability to return. In almost all of the men's narratives, they themselves had decided to migrate, despite family objections, whereas a study of Bangladeshi male labour migrants in Malaysia found that some men had not wanted to migrate and having migrated, did not want to stay. In those cases the decision to migrant had been their father's as a way to improve the family's status in the community. Migrants themselves had little say in the matter and felt they had no option but to obey (12). While the

decision to migrate meant men could fulfil their role as breadwinners and provide financially for their families, being away for years at a time was an immense source of stress, particularly for those with young children or ailing parents. Many men described helplessness coping responses, as they had few other options. For example, men described not being permitted to return home when their parents or children were ill, or after the death of family members. In the Nepali context, sons play an important role in carrying out key funeral rites and rituals for parents. Not being able to fulfil this role may increase emotional distress for both the men and their families, but as it was not an issue men felt they could challenge their employers on, helplessness coping was often the only option.

Nearly all the men interviewed were in regular communication with their families in Nepal, which helped them cope with being away from home, and made them feel positive about the sacrifices they made for their family. At the same time, such conversations may have been rather superficial as many reported also using social isolation coping strategies that did not share the difficulties they were facing in the destination country as doing so would only contribute to their family's distress, who in any case would not be in a position to help. Men were therefore unlikely to have received the support they needed to help them cope with some of the most distressing life events; they had to manage alone, which may have contributed to poor emotional health (232). Furthermore, on their return to Nepal, some participants still reported reluctance to share their actual experiences, both within and outside of their family. This may also be due to a desire to preserve their family's social status and honour within the community as noted among Bangladeshi migrant workers in Malaysia (12), or to maintain the individual's own status as a successful migrant as described in studies of migrant farmworkers in the US and low-waged migrants in the UK (41, 46).

However, such decisions perpetuate the misconception that labour migration is often financially rewarding with few risks. By not sharing their true experiences, including hardships and deceptions, prospective migrants will have a distorted view of labour migration and may be more willing to take riskier decisions, such as taking out larger loans, with the expectation that their migration will lead to financial success, and they may be ill-prepared to cope with adversities.

5.2.2 Coping with labour recruitment stressors

The relationship between labour migrants and the recruitment agents and agencies is complex and has been well-documented in studies from both source and destination countries, including Nepal (204, 218, 226-229). In many settings recruitment agents come from the same

area as prospective migrants and may be a neighbour or even a relative where levels of trust are high (147). Many participants in my qualitative study spoke of their confidence in a successful migration because they had faith in the agent. However, agents also contributed to migrants' stress by charging excessively high fees that require large loans that took up to two years to repay. Additionally, an ILO study conducted in four European countries and in Asia found that trafficking victims were as likely to be recruited by their own social network as by recruitment agents and by agencies (25). Nevertheless, in Nepal, agents are an essential part of organising the migration process and fulfil a necessary and important role to help prospective migrants, particularly first-time migrants, navigate the system (204). Migrant networks also play an important role and in some destinations they are able to arrange for a work visa to be sent for a specific migrant, although these too would need to be processed at a recruitment agency.

Prospective migrants may initially have ideas of which destination and what type of work they want to do. However, on discovering the extended waiting time for a suitable post, many used accommodation coping strategies to shift their preferences, often on the advice of recruitment agents. Dependence and reliance on agents create vulnerability for migrants, which may result in deceptions and financial losses.

In men's narratives, many reported being given their contract papers and, in some cases, receipt for the fees paid to the agency only hours before their scheduled departure. At this time they realised the receipt did not match the fees they had actually paid and were sometimes told that the receipt was only to show to officials if needed, and to report only the legal maximum amount as fees paid if asked. Men used helplessness coping in these situations as they had already invested heavily in the migration and could not delay it further by disputing with the recruitment agency at this late stage. A study by the ILO also found that agents in Nepal themselves have admitted to such practices when submitting receipts to government departments (218).

Additionally, recruitment agencies in both source and destination countries may deliberately deceive prospective migrants about jobs and working conditions, leading to workplace stressors (33, 203). These could be a direct result of them recruiting migrants knowing the terms and conditions would not be as they promised, or indirectly by advising employers to confiscate workers' passports, withhold salaries, or not allow days off (to prevent employees from running away) as documented in studies conducted in Malaysia, Taiwan and the Gulf States (126, 149, 177). Migrants themselves would only discover discrepancies in destination, meaning recruitment agencies in Nepal would not be challenged for at least several years, when the migrant returns, or more likely, never be challenged. Even on their return, many

migrants would not confront the agency or file a formal complaint against them; men reported having no faith in the system and the supporting documentation needed to file a complaint was likely to have been confiscated on arrival in the destination country. Employers and agencies may both use this to their advantage by pointing to the other as the culprit, without needing to face any consequences (219).

Corrupt recruitment practices have frequently been associated with migrant sending countries as that is where prospective migrants pay the upfront recruitment fees. However, the process may actually begin in the destination countries when employers attempt to reduce their own costs in order to remain competitive, passing the costs indirectly onto prospective migrants. This has been highlighted in the Asia-Gulf States migration corridor, where destinations such as Qatar, UAE and Saudi Arabia do not permit the charging of recruitment fees to workers (218, 219). It has been argued that exploitation during the recruitment phase 'is systemic between both destination and origin countries with all stakeholders involved directly or indirectly, wittingly or unwittingly' (219, p. 68). Further, migrants themselves rarely question the fees charged even if they are aware of a legal maximum, nor would they ask whether their employers had actually paid any of their costs once in destination, making it easy for such unethical recruitment practices to persist (219).

In my analysis of the survey data, the forced labour dimension of unfree recruitment was more prevalent among men who returned within twelve months of the survey than those who had returned after five to ten years. This suggests that some of the unscrupulous recruitment practices may be more recent developments, possibly due to increased regulation that makes it more difficult for individuals to migrate without an agent or agency, inadvertently creating a monopolised industry. Indeed, GoN data show an increasing trend of using recruitment agencies with over 90% of labour migrants doing so in 2016/17 rather than going independently (5). Men reported awareness of other Nepali migrants in similar situations of deception who had never been compensated and this had led them to accept their own situation without challenge (Paper 4). Like many migrant-sending countries, the GoN has introduced many policies and signed bilateral agreements with key destination countries to protect Nepali labour migrants. For example, the 'Free Visa Free Ticket' scheme makes employers responsible for the visa, round trip travel costs and also sets an upper limit on the amount recruitment agencies can charge to prospective migrants (208, 218, 226). However, it has been met with much protest by the Nepal Association of Foreign Employment Agencies and few migrants have benefitted since its introduction in 2015, according to reports in the Nepal media (233, 234). These types of initiatives have the potential to reduce exploitative

practices and address the high financial burden placed upon migrants, although implementation and enforcement remain limited in Nepal and elsewhere (219, 235).

In the quantitative survey, regression analysis found that migration-related debt was associated with forced labour experiences. Yet incurring debt is almost inevitable for prospective migrants to fund their migration (147, 218, 226). Even with policies that place the financial burden on employers, and in cases where employers do in fact cover all the costs, recruitment agents and agencies in a range of source countries including Nepal, may still apply charges, often above and beyond any legal amount (147, 218). Payment of recruitment fees has become so normalised among Nepali prospective migrants that the idea of not having to pay caused concern that they would not be placed with a good employer. In many cases, loans are only available at high interest rates, but are seen by migrants as a worthwhile investment for several years of decent earnings (133, 134). These debts result in limited options for the vast majority of low-skilled migrants, including those interviewed for this study, to challenge the contract discrepancies they find on arrival at destination, as their priority will be first to repay the loans (25, 26, 33, 99). Some men's narratives described being sent back to Nepal early due to company closures, which meant the investment they made did not generate sufficient income to repay their loans and they were now burdened with increased debt. This may explain why the survey participants with longer stays in destination reported a higher prevalence of unfree recruitment and work and life under duress, two dimensions of forced labour, than those who stay for a shorter period (Paper 2).

On discovering discrepancies, few migrants tried to report the agencies to the government as it was often too late, on a practical level, the fees already having been paid. On the other hand, once back in Nepal, where they no longer feared legal or practical repercussions, some were able to confront the agency using opposition coping strategies. In these cases men were aware that it was unlikely they would receive financial compensation or reimbursement, but would nevertheless be able to have some level of emotional comfort. In fact, according to government data, between the fiscal years 2012/13 to 2015/16, among the official complaints filed, only between 10% and 17% of those settled were filed against an agent, and between 15% and 47% against an agency, although 'settled' does not necessarily mean compensation or prosecution (5).

Recruitment agencies have responsibility for the logistics of sending migrants to the destination countries, where the employer or a local recruitment agency then takes over. Many participants in the qualitative study reported being stranded at airports despite being told they would be collected, and a similar pattern is also noted among Bangladeshi workers in Malaysia (12). Some later learn that as they arrived on a Friday, the weekend in many Gulf

States, many offices were closed. These scheduling decisions were probably made by the agency, as the men themselves rarely had any control over when they would travel. Where newly arrived migrants had contacts in the destination country, they sought assistance from them and managed to reach their accommodation through friends. Those who did not know anyone had no option but to wait at the airport. Where migrants had travelled as a group, there was some comfort in not being alone. Nevertheless, it would appear that agencies and employers are not concerned with newly arrived migrants waiting for hours, sometimes even several days, at the airports with limited, if any, local currency and no access to a phone. Such behaviours are indicative of the way low-skilled labour migrants are viewed, i.e. as undeserving of respect and care, foreshadowing their subsequent treatment and experiences. Recruitment agencies in Nepal that organised the travel arrangements would have been aware of the fact that many offices in the GCC countries are closed on Fridays and the problems this would cause for newly arrived migrants. However, this apparently did not deter them from sending workers on flights that arrive on Fridays.

Men interviewed in the qualitative study reported that despite experiencing exploitation in their earlier migration, they would still not do anything differently in their next migration. Instead, they rely on and put their faith in a 'better' agent, or pay more fees in the belief that better jobs come at a higher price. For those with a higher level of education, there was a shift in preference to migrate to South Korea following the government-to-government scheme which was seen to offer more guarantee of ethical practices. However, this highly competitive scheme requires passing a Korean language test, which puts it out of reach for those with low literacy skills.

Globally, the need for more ethical recruitment practices for migrant workers has been discussed in many international dialogues and written into key agreements, including the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, which includes agreements on recruitment practices (35). An important branch of the ILO's work focuses heavily on the promotion of ethical recruitment practices, including the development of a voluntary code of conduct for recruitment agencies, improving enforcement and empowering workers through the Fair Recruitment Initiative and the REFRAME project (236); while the International Recruitment Integrity System standard and the Dhaka Principles both aim at ethical recruitment of workers but also address the wider living and working conditions, calling for non-confiscation of documents, respecting migrants' freedom of movement and supporting access to remedy if needed (237, 238). The constant flow of prospective migrants, high profit margins and limited risks and consequences for recruitment agents and agencies mean there are few incentives for them to adopt ethical practices.

5.2.3 Coping with workplace stress

The specific types of exploitative experiences identified in both the survey and the qualitative narratives are widespread among low-skilled and low-wage labour migrants, regardless of the source and destination countries including Malaysia, the GCC countries, the US and other European countries (21, 26, 33, 129-132, 139, 140, 143-145, 149, 152, 159, 164, 166, 167, 178), although they have rarely been quantified in a representative sample.

On learning that the contracts they had signed in Nepal would not be honoured in the destination, men used a range of problem-solving coping strategies including refusing to work or trying to return to Nepal. For those who decided to stay, strategies included controlling their finances by minimising unnecessary expenses, or not going out when they had a day off, in an attempt to compensate for the shortfall in what they could send home. These coping strategies have all been commonly reported in other studies of international migrants who face similar workplace or other financial stressors (140, 141, 154, 159). Some men described calculating how long it would take to repay their loans at the lower salary and stayed in the job long enough to clear their loans first. Some, in other studies, reported leaving the company to seek work independently in the destination country, which often meant they were able to earn more and had more control over their situation, particularly for those with a grasp of the local language who could negotiate directly with potential employers, even if it exposes them to the risks of arrest and deportation. Among Chinese migrants working in Israel, over time some managed to build up their own team and were able to bring others from their home villages to work (147). However, the feasibility of these strategies depends on the legal rights destination countries allow employers to have over their workers. Nevertheless having the language ability to communicate directly with employers almost always means improvement in treatment and possible access to supervisory roles overseeing other workers (147, 239).

Men who recognised the importance of their labour to the employer, used negotiation strategies to appeal directly to their employer, or went on strike either on their own or collectively to force their employer into negotiations. Although most of the participants were working in low-skilled jobs more typically associated with low power, such negotiations were common between workers and employers in different occupations, from drivers to factory workers to domestic workers, from my data and elsewhere in Asia and Europe (149, 156, 168).

Many studies that explored coping responses have found that more support-seeking strategies were used by women (129, 140, 148, 156). However, in the qualitative study, men also commonly used such strategies when reaching out to family, friends, recruitment agencies, authorities, and CSOs, in both Nepal and the destination country. Men sought practical

support from friends such as collecting them from the airport if they were stranded, borrowing money to cover basic expenses or seeking employment. They also sought support from authorities such as the Nepal Embassy and CSOs in an attempt to rectify their contract discrepancies, to file a legal case against their employer, or to obtain travel documents to return home. International labour migrants in other settings also sought support to access healthcare or to report employers to authorities for contract breaches (129, 140, 145, 154, 159, 160, 164). Migrants with sources of support in destination country were found to have a lower risk of experiencing trafficking (25). Having access to a strong social, religious, or spiritual support may also mitigate the negative impacts of migration-related stressors, particularly for migrant domestic workers who may have more limited access to other social interactions (216, 240). The fact that men in this study were almost always housed together with other Nepali migrants may have enabled them to tap into these types of support, even if only on an emotional level.

Some of the men interviewed, reported that unbeknownst to them, their employers were actually 'supply' companies that hire out labourers to other companies. Even if the job role at destination is the same as agreed, the workload is often much heavier at supply companies and migrants could be sent to any number of companies to work. This could potentially extend their travel time and thus, limit their rest time further. In some cases, men worked at multiple companies in a single day and were rarely able to make any direct negotiations to improve their situation as they may not have regular contact with their actual employer (Papers 3, 4).

Some participants considered or attempted to change employer but this was often impossible as they did not have access to their passports. It is also common for destination countries to forbid a change of employer without the original employer's written permission; as has often been reported among low-skilled migrants in Europe and North America (138, 140, 143, 149, 154, 158, 161, 164). Having their legal status tied to their employer means that in practice migrants would not be able to escape from exploitative situations. Further, even among those who managed to leave and seek work elsewhere, such a strategy may expose them to legal stressors including being arrested or deported or workplace stressors such as non-payment of wages as employers know they are unlikely to be reported. In destination countries where there is the potential to obtain resident status, labour migrants may accept worse employment terms and conditions as a strategy to fulfil their goal of acquiring permanent status which was described by Chinese labour migrants in Sweden (167).

Occupational hazards and accidents were more commonly described in men's narratives than found in the systematic review, where general health issues, access to healthcare and medication were more prevalent. To cope with occupational hazards, men described

purchasing their own protective equipment when their work exposed them to dust and chemicals if these were either not provided by the employer or were inadequate in quantity or quality. When participants had accidents or injuries, some of which were serious, they received little support, either practically or financially, from their employer. Occupational injuries among sectors that frequently employ low-skilled labour, such as agriculture, service, factory, construction or domestic work, have been linked to a range of poor mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety. Official data from the GoN indicate that the number of fatalities among labour migrants during their migration has been increasing (5, 33, 171, 197, 211-213). It has also been speculated that labour migrants from LMICs may experience higher incidence of occupational injuries than the host population due to the increased use of technology at the destination workplace, combined with minimal training offered (210, 214). This is likely to apply to Nepali men who tend to migrate early in their working life and thus have limited previous exposure to the types of work environments common in large factories abroad.

The consequences of such hazards can be severe with long recovery times during which men cannot work, have no income and need to use support-seeking strategies with friends, colleagues and acquaintances to meet basic needs such as food, but possibly also to travel to and from medical appointments. Men who experienced such workplace accidents initially had their medical expenses paid for by their employer, but several noted that these were later deducted from their salaries (Papers 3). Many in these situations preferred to return to Nepal to be with their families and be cared for by doctors with whom they could communicate. However, once they leave the country, their employers are freed of any responsibility.

Migrants and their families are rarely able to access any appropriate justice or compensation and many do not know where to begin. Serious occupational injuries further exacerbate migrants' mental and emotional health as they not only have to cope with the repercussions of their physical injuries but also the role reversal that their return home signifies. Rather than being an economically active party supporting their family, they become dependent on them, both financially and potentially also for day-to-day activities. Additionally, there may still be unpaid loans which now fall on the rest of the family to repay, increasing the household financial burden. Meanwhile, employers on the whole were not penalised for putting workers in hazardous work environments with insufficient protection, and not compensating those who suffered occupational injuries. In the qualitative narratives, among the men who had experienced workplace accidents, only one employer provided support for the migrant. The worker was assigned a colleague to be at the hospital with him full-time for companionship and practical assistance. When this participant wanted to return to Nepal, the employer

provided financial support and offered him an open return to his job whenever he felt able and wanted to. The fact that this participant had worked for the employer for 14 years may have influenced the treatment he received. Nevertheless, this also demonstrates that ethical employers do exist.

On the whole, maintaining good health was important to the participants in the qualitative study which is in contrast to the findings in the systematic review that showed the coping family of escape was used to avoid or delay using healthcare due to irregular legal status or for financial reasons (141, 145, 150, 161). Instead, the men interviewed would purchase their own safety equipment or terminate their contracts early after experiencing ill-health despite the high fees charged by the employer for doing so, as they understood the lack of support from their employers during small illnesses to be indicative of how they would be treated in more serious situations. These differences in the coping strategies used may be due to the fact that the men interviewed experienced ill-health mostly through occupational hazards; only a few reported general ill-health, and in all cases the men had legal work status. Therefore, their chosen coping strategies were moderated by costs or lack of employer concern, rather than fear of arrest and deportation. Although the men in this study were not assessed for mental ill-health, labour migrants in a variety of settings found that similar stressful workplace conditions in which they had little power or control were associated with poor physical health and mental health issues such as depression, anxiety and stress (211-213, 241).

Interpersonal conflicts reported between workers tended to be related to nationality which may be exacerbated due to the shared living and working environment. Men described using helplessness strategy and not challenge the situation particularly when there were very few Nepali workers in that company or where those in conflict were of the same nationality as the supervisor. In contrast, seasonal migrant farmworkers in the US made active attempts to sabotage newcomers' chances of successful employment in order to protect their own livelihoods. They deliberately misled newcomers about work processes thereby enhancing the quality of their own work and improving their chance of retention by the employer and reported those with irregular status in an attempt to have them deported, thus protecting their own jobs, for the current and future seasons (138, 139). Such conflicts and competition are rarely addressed by employers even when they are aware of them. Rather, it is seen as a way to capitalise on migrants by increasing control and ensuring compliance (168).

Men who wanted to return to Nepal, whether due to contract discrepancies, personal emergencies, or even when their contract was completed, found that they were unable to do so easily. Many tried to overcome this with problem-solving strategies and inventing excuses to be released, either on holiday or to terminate their contract. Where their original contract

had not been completed, employers demanded a large sum in 'fines' often equating to several months' salary. In addition, migrants may have also been required to purchase their own flight, even if they had fulfilled their contract (Paper 3). To avoid some of the financial consequences, men reported strategically extending their contracts and taking leave instead of terminating their contract, although in the latter cases they were often still required to leave several months' wages as a guarantee that they would return (Paper 4). In practice this meant that labour migrants were rarely able to leave without financial consequences, which many bore to buy their freedom.

Migrants resorted to coping through helplessness, accommodation and opposition often after exhausting initial attempts at using problem-solving, negotiation, or support-seeking strategies (Paper 4). Regression analysis of the survey data found that men who reported being aware of the possibility of agreement breaches had a slightly higher prevalence of forced labour than those who reported being unaware (Paper 2). This may be due to the normalisation of problems encountered during migration. In the qualitative narratives, several men said that it was 'pointless' to report problems as so many migrants were cheated routinely and they knew of no one in those situations who had received compensation (Paper 4). Such beliefs may have led men to use helplessness coping strategies when they felt there was little they could do to improve their situation. Helplessness coping was also mediated by an unfamiliarity with the language and a distrust of the local police force. Some men shifted their own feelings about their situation through accommodation and described being accustomed to the heavy workload and difficult work environment such that despite the discrepancies, staying longer was a better option than returning home with little financial gain.

Other labour migrants may cope through excessive alcohol consumption as described by Central American migrant farmworkers in the US (146). These practices were not mentioned by Nepali men, possibly because the majority of them work in Malaysia and the GCC countries, where access to alcohol is more limited and often expensive. However, a study among Chinese migrants working in Sweden found that many accepted precarious work conditions in the short-term as part of a strategy that may lead to achievement of long-term goals, such as potentially obtaining permanent settlement status (167). Such scenarios are rarely an option for temporary labour migrants working in the GCC countries as residency options are practically non-existent. Nevertheless, acceptance of worse employment terms and conditions may still be seen as a strategic way to ensure loans are repaid and other immediate household needs are met.

5.2.4 Coping with environmental and security stressors

Nearly all of the men interviewed in the qualitative study depended on their employer for accommodation. Living conditions were described by many as overcrowded, unhygienic, and lacking personal space to store belongings. Problem-solving strategies were used to find ways logistically to manage issues such as shared cooking facilities. Problems of insufficient sanitation facilities relative to the numbers being accommodated were reported with some men needing to wait until their arrival at the worksite before washing as the queue at the accommodation was excessively long (Paper 4).

The participants in this study reported interpersonal conflict such as discrimination and racism with other migrant groups either in the working or living environment (Papers 1 & 3). Living in overcrowded spaces combined with being overworked may contribute to increased friction and conflict, where small issues may quickly escalate. Those who had worked in Malaysia particularly, described conflicts with the local population including petty crime such as theft, or muggings involving physical injuries experienced as they commuted to work in groups (Paper 3). Men managed these situations by going out only when necessary and doing so in groups. Ethnic or religious similarities between migrant and host populations, which may be obvious from appearance or dress, may not be protective of such stressors. For example, Korean-Chinese migrant workers in Korea had expected to be treated like Koreans and were ill-prepared when they experienced prejudice from native Koreans (213); Muslim Bangladeshi labour migrants in Malaysia believed their shared religion would bring solidarity but was met with discrimination instead, in addition to conflict with Indian Malays with whom they were in direct competition for work (12).

5.2.5 Coping with legal stressors

The vast majority of Nepali migrants interviewed were working in the destination country legally but in some cases their documents did not reflect the type of work they were doing, which caused legal stressors. Many reported concerns about being fined, arrested or possibly deported, if their documents were checked by officials (Paper 3). Men used the coping family of negotiation with their employer to secure the correct documentation. In most cases men's documents were held by their employer and some were given a photocopy instead, which meant they were still fearful of encountering police who could ask for their original documents and demand bribes when the men were unable to produce them. Participants' awareness of such practices, combined with a lack of understanding of their own rights and language barriers all contributed to migrants' unwillingness to seek assistance from the police or to report crimes, as they did not believe the police would help them (Paper 4). Corruption among

the police force has been reported by many participants who had worked in Malaysia in particular, and was also noted in studies of migrants working in Zimbabwe, Thailand and Laos (150, 153).

Legal stressors were, therefore, clearly concerns among participants in the qualitative study. In contrast, other studies among labour migrants in Sweden, Israel and Thailand have found that those without legal documentations, either due to loss of the original job or having fled the employer, were not necessarily worse off (147, 167, 242). Migrants in these cases may have more autonomy, be less dependent on their employers, therefore better able to negotiate work conditions and enjoy greater freedom despite the risk of potential stressors such as the non-payment of wages, arrest and deportation (147). In fact, some migrant workers in Sweden actually lost their jobs after acquiring permanent resident status as employers preferred to hire those who did not know their rights and had limited Swedish language abilities as they were more likely to accept precarious job conditions (167). In Spain, poor health was found to be less associated with workers' legal status and more so with the type of contracts they have, such as permanent, temporary or no contract (241). While promotion of irregular forms of migration is certainly not a goal, it is a strategy migrants sometimes had to use to cope with their situation. In Li's study of Chinese migrant workers in Israel, he suggests why illegal migration is, in practice, supported by all parties in both source and destination countries:

> All the relevant groups have an interest in maintaining current arrangements. Israel needs migrant workers to fill up the low end of the domestic manual labour market; foreign workers expect to earn higher incomes through working in Israel; the local authorities in the sending area are willing to see the economic betterment of the migrants' families; and the intermediates make profits from running their businesses. In the end, although no one agrees on illegal migration, all the factors interact and result in a permissive situation that allows this particular combination of illegal but licit activities to persist in transnational labour migration (147, p.94).

This pattern is applicable to many labour migration corridors including Nepal-Malaysia or the GCC countries.

5.2.6 Coping shaped by men's role as provider

Labour migration among young Nepali men is very much seen as a rite of passage. Almost none of the participants in my qualitative study realistically considered working in Nepal. There is an expectation that young men should try to go abroad even if only once. In many societies, including Nepal, men are expected to be breadwinners, to provide for their family and be able to manage any difficulties that may arise. Men may have migrated the first time in their youth but as time went on their financial responsibilities increased, sometime substantially, due to

marriage and children, as well as supporting aging parents. Such pressures often are only considered fulfilled when the children have completed their education, have their own job or are married. Those unable to fulfil their role as providers had difficulty accepting their dependent role. For example, male migrants who experienced unemployment while working in the UK could not accept being financially supported by their female partner and chose to return home instead (164). Migrants who are able to improve their household's financial position through their remittances also gain respect from the wider community as evidenced by studies in Malaysia (12), the US (41) and the UK (46).

Many of the coping strategies reported by the Nepali migrants in this study reflected similar expectations (Paper 4). For example, men described their responsibility for repaying household loans and saw migration as the only way to do so. Once abroad, some chose not to reveal the hardships they experienced to their family and only did so when they were forced to after several months of not being able to send remittances home. As previously described, some continued this concealment even after returning to Nepal. Such strategies were justified by the men, who explained there was little anyone could do to change the situation, particularly while men were in the destination countries, and sharing would make no practical difference to them, while only causing concern to their family in Nepal. These types of strategies were also used by men who described their families as not being supportive of their decision to migrate in the first place so they felt they could not confide in them (Paper 3) when things went wrong. Concerns about being perceived as weak, not able to stand up for themselves and not being able to cope with what may be seen by others as normal experiences when migrating for work may have also contributed to men's reluctance to seek recourse after being deceived in their migration (Paper 4).

Men also experienced conflicts with their own decision to migrate. For some, this decision was initially a temporary measure but as household needs increased many realised that they would not be able to support their family without re-migrating. For example, some participants in the qualitative interviews described their initial decision to migrate as temporary. Men described their plans to continue migrating until their children have completed their studies and have found jobs to support themselves or have married. Therefore, migrating meant they are able to maintain their position as household heads by providing for their family. However, many men also spoke of their emotional difficulties at the more or less permanent separation from their wife and children, who they were able to see only once every few years. Men coped by ensuring family members had smartphones that facilitated regular communication and sharing of videos. They understood this was a sacrifice they must make for their family but did not appear to have an outlet to manage their own distress, resorting to helplessness coping

responses (Paper 4). Gender norms and expectations of men's behaviours may limit their potential to reach out for support.

5.3 The need for a new conceptual framework

I used existing stress and coping frameworks to guide my data analysis. In this section, I discuss the process, suitability and limitations of the existing models as they relate to my study population. Using the findings from my analysis I propose new conceptual frameworks to explore coping and stressors among low-skilled international labour migrants.

I drew on acculturative, workplace, and migrant worker stress frameworks to guide my qualitative analysis, using those elements relevant to low-skilled international labour migrants as there was no existing framework that was suitable. For example, Berry's acculturative stress model is based on the interactions between the host and newcomer population, designed primarily for immigrant populations seeking to permanently resettle in a new country (63). While relevant to some extent, they address very different experiences to labour migrants whose stay in the destination country is temporary, and whose living and working experiences are heavily regulated and segregated, often with limited direct interactions with host populations (147). Workplace stress frameworks have tended to focused on the organisation's (employer's) perspective aiming to reduce the cost of stress to employers rather than to improve workers' well-being and ability to manage stress (84, 114). They also target those based in high-income countries, which may have very different operational models from those based in countries which employ mostly international labour migrants, such as factory workers. Instruments designed to measure stress among labour migrant populations were the most relevant and two different ones were incorporated in my analysis (76, 78). Nevertheless, there were gaps in these frameworks, as none aligned sufficiently with the types of low-skilled international labour migrants studied in my research. For example, the category of recruitment stressors was added for my analysis as it was not included in the two migrant stress instruments but is a well-known source of stress among low-skilled migrant workers.

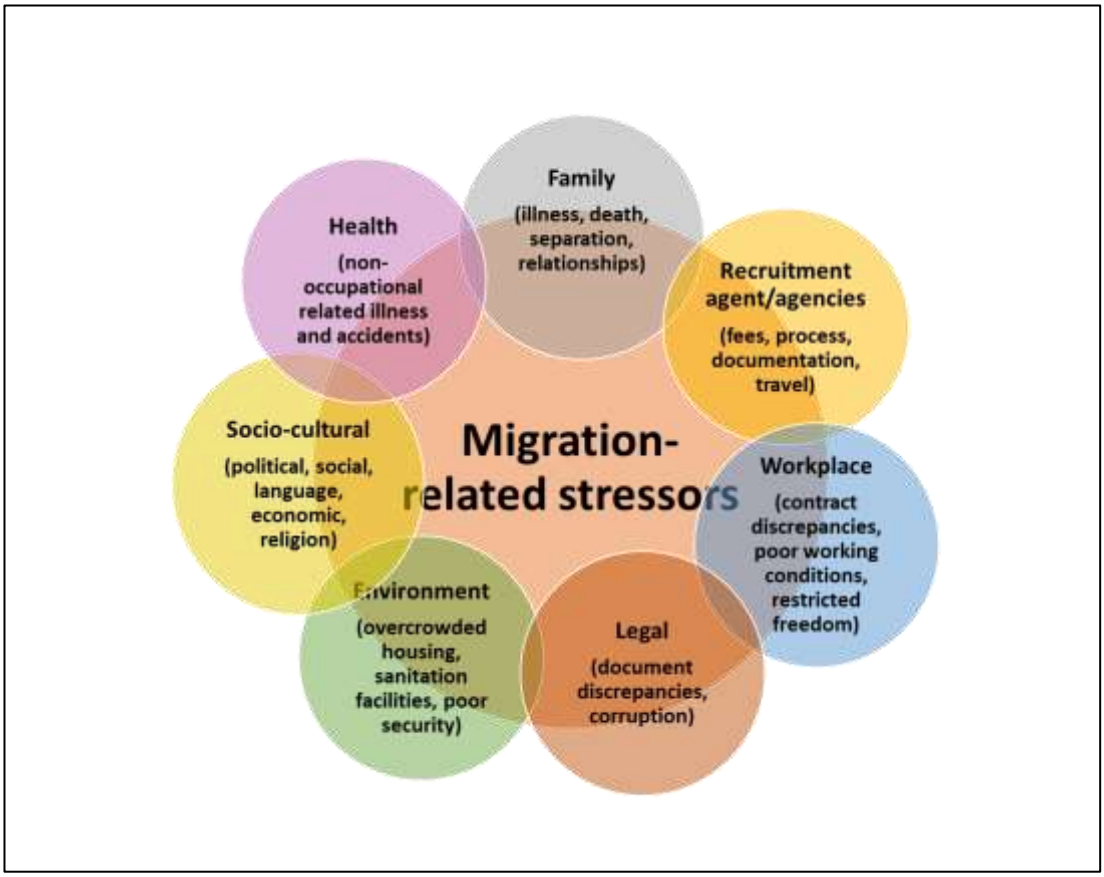
5.3.1 Overlapping migration-related stressors

The findings from this study indicated that migration-related stressors are rarely experienced in isolation but are often cumulative. Stressors are also not static, and the changing context in which they materialise affects how they are understood, appraised and responded to (85).

Figure 5.1 builds on the findings of this study, specifically Papers 1, 2 and 3, by depicting the key categories of migration-related stressors, identifying the areas of overlapping sources of stress and offering examples of each. For instance, for many migrant workers, the category of family stressors can create stress in various ways beginning with the household financial needs that compel men to seek work abroad. Once abroad, family stressors may include feelings of loneliness due to extended absences, particularly for those with young children or a pregnant wife, or they may be triggered by illness or death of family members in Nepal. Recruitment stressors include the process of securing work, the fees involved and fulfilling various processes including attending pre-departure orientation training, obtaining medical clearance and signing contract agreements, among others. Once in destination, some of the documents signed in Nepal proved not to be accurate, although it is often unclear whether it was the recruitment agency in Nepal or the employer in destination that was responsible for the deception. Where the type of work as documented on the work visa and contract differed, or documents were confiscated by employers (as is common practice), legal stressors could be introduced where migrants feared attracting the attention of the local police in case of demands for bribes, arrest or deportation.

Migrants may have experienced a range of exploitative practices and some, such as discrepancies in salaries, may have exacerbated family or recruitment stressors such as debt (either pre-existing household debt or loans taken out to fund their migration). Additionally, such discrepancies can have a knock-on effect on migrants' overall plan in relation to duration of stay or planned use of income with the former needing to be extended until loans are repaid and the latter needing to be reassessed until savings can be accumulated. Socio-cultural stressors, particularly around language and rights, limited access to health and legal services as migrants were unable to explain their situation to police officers even when they reached out. Health stressors were impacted by legal stressors, for example when migrants did not have legal status they felt unable to use healthcare services for fear of arrest and deportation, or by workplace stressors whereby non-payment of salary affected the level of healthcare services (if any) migrants could afford. As noted above, stressors are not static but depend on context and therefore, the multiple, overlapping stressors experienced shape migrants' coping strategies.

Figure 5.1 - Overlapping stressors related to low- and semi-skilled international labour migration



The various overlapping factors demonstrate the complexities that labour migrants must navigate to determine how best to cope with any given stressor.

5.3.2 Unintended consequences of coping strategies

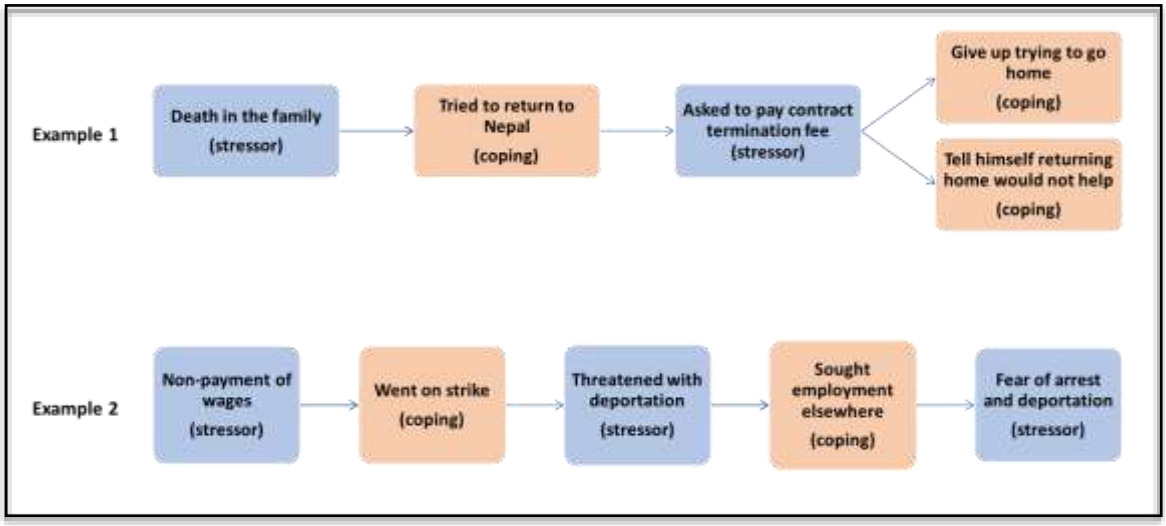
For the analysis of coping strategies I used Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's 12 core coping families to categorise the responses reported by migrants (119). Of these, seven were most commonly represented in the findings of this study (Papers 1 and 4). Across all types of migration-related stressors encountered, migrants most typically used problem-solving coping to respond through prioritising and strategising. This was also a wider strategy used to determine which stressor(s) needed to be responded to as some of those described in the men's narratives were not addressed. Stressors appraised to be serious, such as those affecting income or health, may warrant an immediate response, while others may be addressed only if they continue without improvement over an extended period of time. Some may not be appraised as important enough to require any response, such as a poor living situation, that may be seen as not ideal but not worth addressing. In some cases participants reported only acting after multiple stressors were experienced (Paper 4).

The use of specific coping strategies may lead to a positive outcome where the stressor is successfully managed. However, when the initial coping strategy is unsuccessful, migrants may try alternative strategies which may be within or outside of the coping family of the initial strategy. Sometimes a range of coping responses may be used in succession, such as first attempting problem-solving strategies and seeking support from others or negotiating directly with the source of the stressor. Lazarus has found that coping strategies need to respond to the changing circumstances of the stressful situation which may explain why individuals report different coping responses in the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (80).

When the coping strategies used fail to achieve the desired outcome, some migrants resort to helplessness, accommodation or opposition coping. This reflects a trial and error approach, where one strategy is attempted first and if it fails an alternative strategy is used. In other cases, particularly after stressors become routine. Migrants may simultaneously use several strategies in the hope that one would work rather than waiting for the outcome of each approach before attempting the next. New stressors added to existing ones are likely to generate more coping responses than when confronted with only one stressor (243).

In some cases, the coping strategies used led to unintended consequences by introducing new stressors which migrants must find ways to manage. Figure 5.2 provides two examples. In one case, on discovering there had been a death in the family, many migrants' immediate response was to return to Nepal. However, their attempt to do so introduced a new stressor when the employer would not permit them to leave or would only do so if they paid a fine. To cope with this, men may eventually shift to use accommodation coping to restructure their thoughts, for example, telling themselves that it was too late to return as the person was already dead, or use helplessness coping by giving up control of the situation. In another example, migrants who experienced non-payment of wages went on strike to force the employer to pay them. This strategy backfired when the employer threatened to dismiss them or have them deported. Some opted to leave the employer and seek work elsewhere but again, this introduced new legal stressors as migrants then lost their legal status.

Figure 5.2 - Examples of how coping responses may introduce new stressors



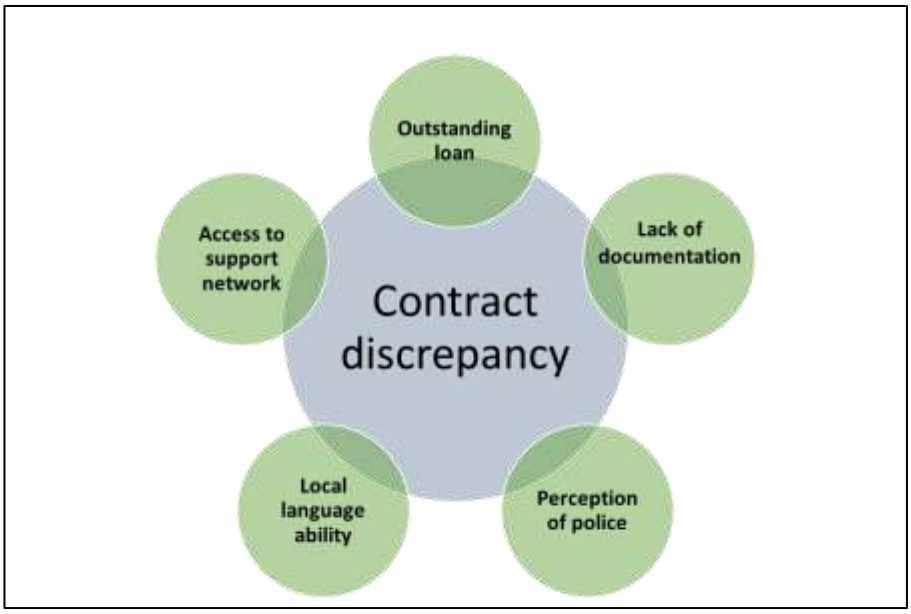
Some studies have also found that the coping strategies some migrants used may make themselves more vulnerable to illness or exploitation through, for example, avoiding access to healthcare services or excessive use of alcohol (146, 150, 161). Coping strategies used by some migrants can also create more vulnerability for other groups of migrants, such as misleading new migrants about work practices or reporting irregular migrants to authorities in an attempt to have them deported (138, 139).

5.3.3 Factors affecting coping strategies and migration-related stressors

Different stressors may affect the relationship between other stressors and coping strategies. For example, legal policies in origin and destination countries can be considered stressors when they are restrictive or enabling when they are open and supportive for migrants. The mediating factors may include positive ones such as an available support network, the control individuals have, or perceive themselves to have, as well as past migration experiences that may enable access to other coping resources. Demographic characteristics such as age, caste (ethnicity), and education were associated with some exploitative experiences in my quantitative analysis (Paper 2). Age could be used as a proxy for life-stage and life experiences, which affect stressors and coping strategies due to the 'changing social, physical, and psychological demands, constrains and resources' (83, p. 301). Marriage and fatherhood may also affect how migrants cope. Some may feel they need to accept any situation for fear of losing their job, while others may decide they need to challenge the situation to try to get a better employment package agreed. Prospective migrants with low education were described by many participants in the qualitative narratives as those who should not migrate for work as their limited employment options in destination countries may make them more vulnerable to

exploitation than those who are more educated. Although the quantitative analysis did not show significant associations between educational attainment and experience of forced labour, this was likely due to the small sample size. Nevertheless, they are important factors that merit being retained in the framework and should be refined with further research. Figure 5.3 provides an example of some of the factors that may affect how migrants respond to contract discrepancy issues.

Figure 5.3 - Factors affecting potential coping strategies



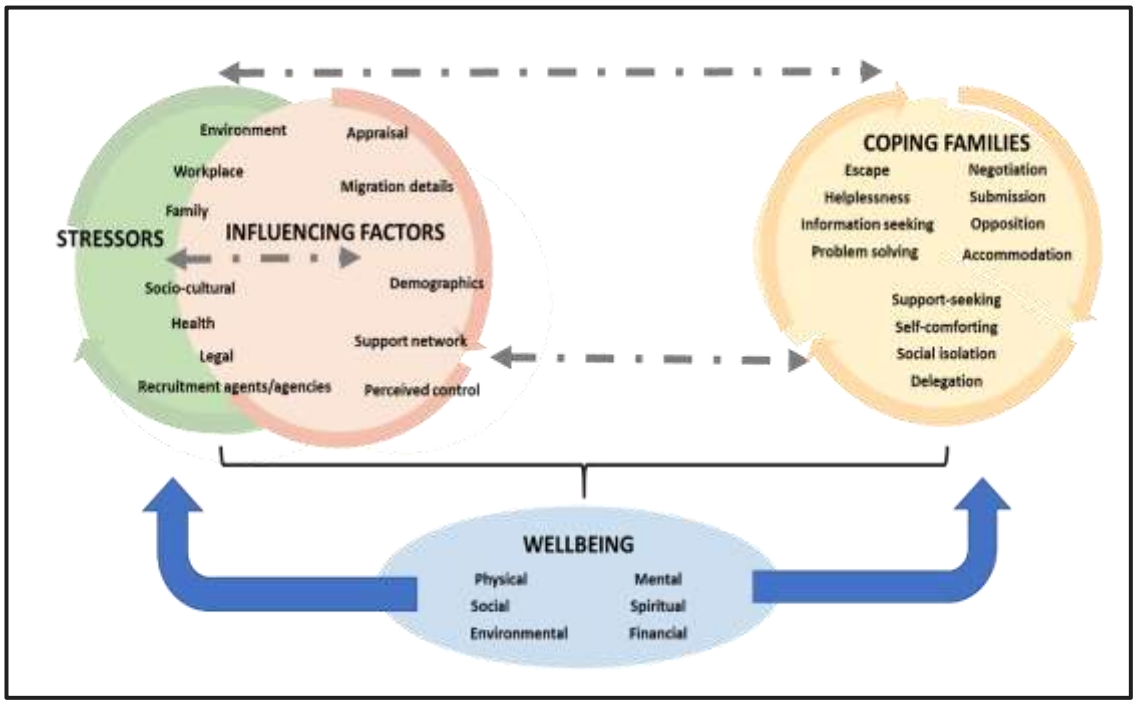
To cope with contract discrepancies, migrants' responses may be influenced by a number of factors. Those who can draw on a support network may be better able to cope. Migrants with outstanding loans would be limited as to how much they can challenge their situation for fear of losing their job, having to return home with no income and being unable to repay loans already taken. If they have had their identification documents confiscated, are aware of police corruption or have limited local language ability, they may feel unable to seek assistance from authorities.

5.3.4 A combined conceptual framework for understanding coping strategies and migration-related stressors

I present a combined conceptual framework (Figure 5.4) that incorporates the different elements highlighted in the earlier sections. This framework depicts the relationship between migration-related stress and coping, along with a range of potential factors that may affect the relationship. When individuals are able to cope with stressors, this is hypothesised to lead to

improved wellbeing, which is depicted in the framework as the main outcome. As the definition of wellbeing itself is not agreed across disciplines, I include the core dimensions identified in a review of wellbeing measures, as an indication of the comprehensive nature of wellbeing (53). These include physical, mental, social, spiritual, environmental and financial wellbeing (53). By keeping these broad and open, they can be further adapted for specific context and needs.

Figure 5.4 - A proposed new conceptual framework to study stressors, coping and the relationship to wellbeing among low-skilled international labour migrants



As described previously, the use of multiple coping strategies, either simultaneously or sequentially, is depicted by the bi-directional arrows between stressors and a range of potential influencing factors, stressors and coping families, and coping families and influencing factors. The specific role of the influencing factors, for example, whether as mediators or moderators, may vary depending on the specific study. Although this study found that seven of the coping families were most commonly used, the proposed framework includes the full set of twelve coping families. As this study was based on a sample of 42 men and the findings from the systematic review, it is possible that a different sample of labour migrants may identify other coping strategies not reported in this study. The inclusion of the full set provides flexibility and opportunity for further refinement for different labour migrant populations.

The coping strategies used may result in a positive outcome while in other cases they may trigger new stressors, which then require other strategies, leading to a constant re-appraisal of stressors and re-negotiation of coping strategies. This pattern is represented by the dotted arrows from the outcome that points again to stressors or coping, where the cycle repeats with new or existing unresolved stressors. Influencing factors, and coping strategies may also interact with each other, potentially exacerbating the stressors experienced.

This conceptual framework should be used as a starting point, to identify the types of stressors labour migrants might face and the challenges and limitations with which they have to cope. It should be tested and refined with further empirical research among migrant populations in their specific contexts. This is an important step as concepts of stress, coping and wellbeing are likely to be highly cultural and context specific, particularly as they are largely Western derived concepts. In addition to research, the proposed framework can also help to guide policy and practice by considering how policies and interventions can contribute to minimising stressors and/or enhance coping mechanisms.

5.4 Thesis limitations

In this section, I highlight the main limitations raised in each of the research papers, and discuss the overall limitations to the methods for each component of the study, and their implications for the findings.

5.4.1 Limitations of the systematic review

Of the 30 studies included in the systematic review, the overwhelming majority were qualitative and most did not specifically examine coping strategies. They were, nevertheless, included if coping responses were reported in the findings. This meant some included studies may only have one coping strategy for one issue reported. Further, the lack of quantitative studies and the variety of ways in which coping was measured and reported meant that it was not possible to conduct a meta-analysis to synthesise the findings.

Many of the included studies did not provide sufficient detail on the sampling strategy, or important details of the sample including country of origin and sex. Some studies that included participants of different nationalities, from LMIC to high-income countries, did not report this information with the findings. As one inclusion criterion was that migrants had to be from a LMIC, missing the country of origin meant those studies, or the findings reported, could not be included. As mentioned in the systematic review itself, migrants are variously defined by their

place of birth, ethnicity or parents' place of birth and may include information as to whether they are first- or second-generation immigrants. The interchangeable use of the terms migrants and immigrants, without clarifying the specific types of migrants, made it difficult to compare these populations across studies. These diverse categories of migrants in nearly all destinations are bound by different rules and regulations and have different rights. When combined as a homogenous group, our understanding of treatment and experiences of different groups of migrants, and the options available to them to cope with such experiences are hindered.

5.4.2 Limitations of the quantitative cross-sectional study

In the quantitative survey, male returnee migrants were initially identified from the household census data, collected by interviewing the household heads eight-months earlier. The gap between the two data collection time-points, coupled with the relatively high proportion of households with an ever or current migrant (33%) meant that many who were eligible to take part were not in the country during our fieldwork. The household census indicated that 444 men were eligible for inclusion but over half were not in Nepal at the time, emphasising the challenges of conducting research with a highly mobile population. Anecdotal evidence suggests that migrants who return to live in Nepal often do not resettle in their home village if these are remote with limited opportunities to earn a decent living. Further, given that Nepali men use labour migration as a livelihood strategy, it can be expected that many do not stay home long even when they return and are often either working in another country or in Kathmandu preparing for their (next) migration. This means shifting the data collection period may not generate more participants, as it may simply change the individuals who happen to be there.

Both positive and negative reasons can explain why individuals return to Nepal or remain in destination. Those in destination may be unable to leave due to extreme exploitation, with no means to pay for their flight or the fines demanded to terminate their contract early, while others may have suffered injuries or even died. On the other hand, staying in destination may be an indication of a positive and successful migration experience. Indeed, a study of labour camps in Qatar found that those who stayed longer earned a much higher income and enjoyed better conditions than new arrivals (44). Conversely, migrants who returned to Nepal may have been forced to do so due to company closures, or escaped from their employer, or had family reasons. Therefore, those who do return to Nepal, and those who return to their home villages may well be different to those who stayed in destination. Nevertheless, the fact that

the sample is drawn from a census household roster, and given that both positive and negative reasons may be behind whether individuals stay in their home district or not, the sample is unlikely to be biased in one particular way.

Some of the men who were interviewed in this study had returned from their most recent migration several days previously while others had come back over ten years ago. Those who returned many years ago may have suffered from recall bias when reporting specific aspects of their migration experiences and were likely to bias particularly positive or negative experiences. To minimise recall bias, a shorter questionnaire was used for those whose return was over ten year ago; it was determined by the various partners involved in the research to be a suitable compromise of cut-off time given the small number of potential participants. Nevertheless, the time-frame used to assess forced labour for those who completed the full questionnaire was still long, but most questions included 'don't remember', 'don't know' and 'prefer not to say' response options so that participants could respond more accurately. Labour migration policies in Nepal evolved with the rising demand of individuals seeking work outside the country (5). This makes comparison of different experiences, even within the same occupation or destination difficult.

The decision to measure and assess forced labour is described in Chapter 3 and was based on the fact that concepts such as human trafficking, modern-day slavery, forced, unfree or bonded labour are often used interchangeably but have different meanings. It is often then unclear when reading and comparing different studies, whether the findings reported refer to the same type of experience. I opted for forced labour, as the ILO, through their team of labour statisticians, has produced detailed guidelines on how to measure and assess such experiences in a survey format. It is important to highlight the complexity of measuring forced labour even among experts on the subject. For example, the ILO has produced global prevalence estimates of forced labour in 2005, 2012, and 2016 but with different methodologies, data sources, scope and regional groupings each time, making it impossible to compare the estimates directly between the three time-points (101, 102, 122).

The forced labour outcome itself is binary and may mask many other exploitative experiences. It is widely accepted that exploitative experiences fall on a continuum with decent work on one side and forced labour on the other but there is no clear indication as to when and which types of exploitative experiences become forced labour (98-100). The ILO has made clear the need to adapt the indicators to the local context. However, at the same time the ILO also highlights eleven items as key indicators in documents produced to support frontline workers in identifying potential victims of forced labour (244). This smaller set of indicators may lead to slight differences in results if used in a survey to measure forced labour and may lead to

confusion if the researchers do not clearly describe which indicators were used, as the outcome may still be called forced labour. Indeed a study by Verité that measured forced labour is clear that the indicator 'document confiscation' was not included (132). I was able, therefore, to compare my findings with theirs when I removed this indicator from my results (Paper 1). Additionally, although the ILO guidelines advise researchers to include indicators specific to the context of their research, there is no advice on how to determine whether an indicator could be considered as strong or medium, without which it would not be possible to determine experiences of forced labour and its dimensions, based on the 2012 guidelines (21).

Nevertheless, using an outcome measure that has been developed by an organisation primarily focused on labour and by a team of expert labour statisticians means that it is likely to be the best currently available measure. The indicators did not ask participants' subjective view of whether they had been exploited or were ever in forced labour. Instead, a large number of indicators were used that questioned the specifics of the migrant's recruitment process, living and working conditions, and restrictive practices among others. These are necessary as migrants who report being satisfied with their working conditions still had some of their rights violated, emphasising the need for an objective measure that aims to quantify such practices (201). This type of strategy has also been used in research on gender-based violence, by asking about specific experiences of acts of violence, rather than asking about experience of being 'abused', and has been found to be a good way to quantify cases of domestic violence (245).

Finally, the small sample of men interviewed meant further analysis of exploitative experiences or forced labour dimensions by destination or occupation was not feasible as, once broken down to subcategories, the cell size was too small to conduct meaningful analysis. Grouping some categories together would have been an artificial exercise to generate larger cell sizes that may not have been conceptually and theoretically logical. The small sample size also meant the associations had wide confidence intervals and should only be considered exploratory.

These limitations combined meant that the men interviewed for the quantitative study are unlikely to be representative of other male Nepali labour migrants and the findings should be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, this is a likely scenario when carrying out research among mobile populations in source countries with a high prevalence of out-migration.

5.4.3 Limitations of the qualitative study

As mentioned in 3.6, a number of changes to the qualitative study had to be made, specifically in terms of site and sample. These changes created challenges as the SWiFT research in Nepal that I was leading, alongside carrying out research for this study, was not conducted in Kathmandu. This meant that I had limited awareness and knowledge of how and where to identify potential participants. Through consulting local contacts it became evident that lodges and guesthouses were suitable options and a plan was made to visit those in the vicinity of the international airport, and key bus stations where men awaiting onward travel to their home districts could be found. At the initial visits to the lodges, the owners explained that most potential returnee migrants who spent the night there would head out for the day by 7am, to make any final purchases needed before leaving to travel back to their villages. For this reason, in most cases, only one geographic area could be visited each day due to the distance between locations and the early departure of returnee migrants. This also meant my original intention to conduct a follow-up interview with each participant was not possible due to the short time returnee migrants stay in Kathmandu. Nevertheless, data saturation was reached before I stopped data collection, where the final interviews offered very little difference to earlier ones.

An additional barrier was that in the early weeks of fieldwork, many of the men interviewed were in Nepal on holiday and planned to continue their jobs with the same employer after their holiday. I then sought to expand the sampling by contacting CSOs that support returnee migrant workers, often through assisting them with compensation applications. The range of interviews provided a broader scope of experiences, revealing different experiences of exploitations and men's coping strategies.

In Nepal's conservative and patriarchal setting, men may be unwilling to disclose past experience they consider to be shameful or embarrassing, such as being deceived by recruitment agents, or being unable to challenge exploitative practices. Indeed, as described in Paper 3, some men stated that they would not share their negative experiences with their families or others who may intend to migrate, beyond offering cursory advice against certain destinations. Other researchers have also found that returnee migrants tend to emphasise the positive experiences, preferring to portray their experience as successful even if this was not the case (25, 225). However, with the prominence of labour migration issues and challenges regularly reported in the Nepali media and with many groups lobbying the government to ensure migrants' safety, men may also be more open to discussing their experiences, even if they were distressing. Those that are unlikely to share their experiences back home may

welcome an opportunity to discuss their experiences with an outsider, with no fear the story would reach their families.

Most participants planned to re-migrate for work and although my interpreter and I explained the study to them, some raised questions at the end of the interview as to whether taking part would negatively impact their future migration options. It is likely some other potential participants chose not to take part for fear of repercussions and their stories could not be captured. On the other hand, many expressed satisfaction at being able to share their experiences with someone who was interested in hearing about them.

The limitations of my Nepali language skills meant the interviews needed to be conducted with the assistance of an interpreter. This decision was partially due to difficulties in identifying a suitable research assistant or to train one who could conduct the interviews in the limited timeframe available for data collection (February to May 2016). It was also because the method I chose was life histories to enable men to talk broadly about their pre-migration life, and then more focused on their migration discussions, which provided a more complete understanding of their lives, both before and after migration. I wanted the option to explore the stories as they were discussed which would be easier to do if I were conducting the interviews myself. The first interpreter had been a labour migrant himself. Because of his own migration experience, it was easier for me, as a foreigner to ask some of the questions that may seem obvious to the men or to those with experience of labour migration. Many of the participants were happy to share their experiences and were appreciative of our interest in seeking them out and listening to their stories. As compensation for their time, which was also extended due to the language issues, an equivalent of $5 USD was given to all participants at the end of the interview. In all cases, men did not want to accept this and emphasised that they were happy someone was interested in their stories and often offered us lunch after the interview.

5.4.3.1 Limitations of the categorisation of migration-related stressors and coping

As mentioned previously, I revised the categorisation of migration-related stressors between the systematic review and the analysis of my qualitative data. In the systematic review, stressors were categorised thematically based on how they were reported in the primary studies. In the qualitative analysis, I drew on other stress frameworks that were of particular relevance to low-skilled international labour migrants and then categorised men's qualitative accounts using those frameworks. As with the measurement of forced labour, I did not ask

men about stressful experiences but rather, used their narratives with the contextual information to understand the specific circumstances surrounding the challenges they experienced. This contributed to our understanding of what constitutes stressful experiences from the migrants' own perspective. For example, in one case a participant described not having any days off work, which would be an indicator of forced labour in the quantitative measure, but in the qualitative narratives, the contextual information he provided described his work as relatively relaxed; he only had to work when there were customers, and could otherwise sit and relax, in air-conditioned premises. Deriving stressful experiences using qualitative accounts meant it was not possible to determine the levels of stress experienced, although this was not the focus of this study. Additionally, I was not able to assess how cumulative stressors from different migration experiences affected men's wellbeing over time.

To categorise coping strategies, I used Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's coping typologies to synthesise the results of my systematic review and my analysis of the qualitative data (119). Skinner and colleagues extensively reviewed the different coping responses used in previous studies and used a system to classify ways of coping that included criteria such as 'mutually exclusive' and 'comprehensive and exhaustive' categories, resulting in 12 coping families (120). However, in categorising the different coping responses found in my systematic review, and those described in men's narratives, it became obvious that some strategies could belong to more than one coping family. This may be due to the very specific contextual environment in which male labour migrants experience stress and coping. This had also been identified in a study of coping strategies among internally displaced women in Georgia, using only the five core coping typologies identified by Skinner (246). Indeed, it has been argued that coping responses are complex and not always well-suited to being classified by a specific list of actions, which may be done more for analytic convenience (80). To better understand the coping strategies used, it is necessary to recognise the importance and meaning of the stressors being responded to, while accepting that similar coping responses may also be due to different motivations that cannot be appropriately captured in scales (80). Rather, such choices are often embedded in 'social pressures to react in certain ways, social constraints on action and opportunities for the attainment of goals' (80, p. 296). The contextual and societal factors that shape coping responses include cultural ideals on how individuals should respond, how supportive the environment would be of given responses, and whether individuals believe in their ability to manage or challenge the situation under specific circumstances, which may also be based on a lifetime of experiences of changes to demands, constraints and resources (80).

The challenges in categorising coping responses mean that at present, Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's synthesis of the multitude of coping responses used by previous researchers is still the most appropriate way to make sense of coping strategies.

5.5 Contributions to knowledge

Despite the various challenges and limitations encountered while conducting this study, there are important contributions to knowledge in both methods and content. Specifically these include applying the full set of forced labour indicators in a representative sample of returnee migrants; use of life histories to identify the range of stressors experienced; the linkages between stressors and coping to the migration process; and the development of a new conceptual framework to further our understanding of stressors and coping among international labour migrants.

5.5.1 Application of forced labour measures in a representative sample of labour migrants

For the quantitative study I developed the survey instrument and included an extensive range of indicators designed to measure forced labour based on the ILO guidelines (21) to which the wider SWiFT team subsequently contributed. Using forced labour as the outcome measure reduced the confusion of the common practice of using the terms 'labour exploitation', 'human trafficking', 'modern-day slavery' and 'forced labour' interchangeably (16, 20, 185-188). Further, the prevalence of forced labour was calculated using the full range of indicators, addressing both involuntariness and penalty, and strong and medium indicators. Other studies may use the smaller set of 11 indicators, reduced by the ILO to assist frontline workers such as law enforcement officers, labour inspectors, trade union officials to identify potential forced labour situations in order for them to act rather than for research purposes (244). As such, these indicators are not able capture the forced labour experiences as comprehensively or differentiate between strength of the indicators but would still label their outcome as 'forced labour'. Reporting clear descriptions and results of all included indicators also contributed to transparency and improved comparability with other studies, even when the outcome was different or calculated using a different set of indicators. This was evident when comparing my study findings to Verité's study which assessed forced labour among labour migrants in Malaysia's electronics sector using the ILO measures but excluded the indicator 'confiscation of passport' in their assessment (132). By making the same adjustment in my data I was able to

more accurately compare the prevalence figures and could explain the different between findings.

The sampling strategy employed contributed to improved representativeness of the quantitative findings in a field more dominated by smaller studies using convenience samples or specifically sampled for individuals who self-identify as having had problems during their migration. In my study, I sampled individuals through a two-stage process: firstly by conducting a household census to identify household members with a previous migration and then recruiting those who had ever migrated to take part in the survey.

5.5.2 Use of the life history method to explore participants' experiences

The life history method gives researchers an opportunity to explore participant's life in a more holistic way, by understanding other parts of their life beyond the specific topic being studied. It is a broad and open way to begin conversations and helps to build rapport as it often begins with early life, enabling participants to lead and direct how and what aspects they wish to share. In this study men were able to describe their experiences, contextualise them and share their rationale for the decisions they made, demonstrating agency and tenacity even when confronted with extremely stressful circumstances. Although the focus was ultimately on their migration, the openness of the approach enabled participants to share their stories from childhood to their migration, and were not restricted to only discussing the negative aspects of their experiences. For researchers, the life history approach can provide a more complete understanding of the migrants' lives, how they shape subsequent migration experiences and can help to draw out the complexities of the stressors-coping relationships.

5.5.3 Distinct labour stressors and coping mechanisms linked to the migration process with improved understanding of their inter-relatedness

This study identified distinct labour migration-related stressors and the coping mechanisms linked to the migration process. The stressors identified were beyond those commonly described in studies exploring exploitative labour practices but also accounted for those related to the wider context of migrants' life, such as during pre-migration or other aspects of their non-working life in destination, and was reflected in the coping strategies used. Thus emerged the complex relationship between stressors and coping responses, highlighting how migration-related stressors interacted with each other, and with the chosen coping response(s).

5.5.4 Conceptual framework to inform future work on coping and stress related to labour migration

I developed a new conceptual framework using the findings from this study to explore coping and stress specifically among low-skilled international labour migrants. The framework illustrates the groups of stressors commonly encountered by labour migrants and the mediating factors that affect the available coping responses. It also highlights the cyclical dimension of coping and stress, specifically how some coping responses may introduce more stressors, which in turn produce more negative impacts on migrants. Understanding the complex interplay between migration-related stressors and coping means that future policy, practice and research could take into account the wider environment in which stressors occur and create a more enabling environment to strengthen the coping resources available to labour migrants. This framework has wider implication beyond the Nepali context as the experiences of Nepali men interviewed for this study shared commonalities with other low-skilled, low-waged labour migrants, including in some cases internal migrants where there is a substantial socio-cultural difference, for example those in China or India. As current global demand for cheap goods and services, including the construction, manufacturing and domestic sectors, is still high, a large low-waged, low-skilled workforce, of which labour migrants make up a substantial proportion, will continue to be employed.

6. Recommendations

In this chapter I offer policy, practice and future research recommendations based on the findings of this study. The recommendations are focused on areas that may reduce migration-related stressors in the first place, and those that improve migrants' ability to cope when confronted with stressors.

6.1 Policy

6.1.1 Improve recruitment practices and enforcement of recruitment policies

Many recruitment practices have been highlighted as exploitative and recruitment fees themselves have also been associated with corrupt practices in source and destination countries (218, 219). Firstly, the myriad fees recruitment agencies charge to prospective migrants may include arranging for the requisite documentation including medical clearance, training certificates, and making travel arrangements, in addition to the recruitment fees (218). Agencies may also charge higher recruitment fees for better jobs such as any indoor work in the GCC countries. As migration is an investment for prospective migrants, many would be willing to paying higher fees as a guarantee for a better job (218). The quantitative study found that having migration-related debt was associated with forced labour (Paper 2). Therefore, eliminating recruitment costs to prospective labour migrants may improve their ability to access jobs without getting into debt at high interest rates which in turn may mean they would be able leave jobs that did not match the agreement signed in Nepal, without repercussions. Although the governments of many migrant-sending countries, including Nepal, have policies and regulations to protect their citizens when they travel abroad for work, such as the 'Free Visa Free Ticket' scheme or capping agency fees, enforcement remain limited (147, 226). Recruitment agencies themselves, including those in Nepal, have admitted to forging receipts to submit to government departments while migrants have been told to report a lower amount of fees than they actually paid if asked by officials when they travel (208-210, 218, 219). Therefore, more resources are needed to monitor and enforce these policies, applying severe punishment for agents and agencies that violate the law, to serve as deterrents.

As described in Paper 3, men reported receiving documents only hours before their flight and felt unable to raise concerns as they had already taken out loans and paid the recruitment fees. Any further delays to their trip is a delay for them to start earning. The GoN could make it

mandatory for agencies to provide all documents to migrants a minimum number of days prior to the scheduled departure from Nepal and before payment of recruitment fees. In this way prospective migrants can review the contents of the contract agreements or seek help with explanations from trusted individuals and still be able to change their mind without financial or other penalties. Agencies could also be required to supply a list of key contacts for the specific destination and from within Nepal with the document. Further, they should provide a duplicate pack of all the agreement papers to the migrant's family, to be kept in case recourse is needed, as nearly all migrants reported having their documents taken away on arrival at destination which substantially limited their possibility to file a case against the employer or the agency (Papers 3 and 4). Efforts should be made to provide documents in a language the migrant understands if this is not Nepali as my qualitative study found that some participants had limited understanding of Nepali.

Once labour migrants leave Nepal, few have any further contact with the recruitment agents or agencies (218). In the qualitative study, men reported contacting their agent in Nepal on learning about their contract discrepancies but were often told to wait a few months and the situation should improve. Those who subsequently followed up, found their agent simply stopped taking their calls or changed their mobile number. The GoN could mandate that recruitment agencies have contractual responsibility to maintain contact with the migrants they send, for example, by requiring follow-up at key time-points such as in the first month after arrival, midway through their contract, and just prior to completion of their contract. Issues raised by migrants could be addressed by the agency with the employer directly, and then reported back to the relevant government department. This may enable the production of a blacklist of unethical employers who could be barred from employing labour migrants. The GoN also publishes lists of blacklisted recruitment agencies to inform prospective migrant workers, but as demonstrated in the qualitative study, many returnee migrants do not file complaints and therefore the accuracy of the scheme remains unclear. A well-publicised rating system that generates more active feedback from migrants from particular agencies could be explored, although implementation and maintenance are likely to require considerable investment. Nevertheless, given that the remittances sent back by Nepali migrants represent one-quarter to one-third of the country's GDP, this seems a reasonable investment to protect Nepali workers from such exploitative practices. The GoN could draw from programmes led by the ILO or IOM that focus on fair recruitment to identify approaches to encourage and enforce ethical recruitment practices.

Further, as highlighted by many qualitative study participants, some unwittingly ended up working for supply companies that send workers to different companies to work in different

roles. Men who had worked for supply companies all described harsh working conditions with few options to improve their situation as in many cases there are very limited direct interactions between migrants and the supply company management. The GoN could also prevent these hidden practices that send migrants to work for such companies, by requiring recruitment agencies to screen and verify potential employers.

Direct government-to-government schemes such as the EPS between Nepal and South Korea, or the Bangladesh-Malaysia scheme have been developed to reduce costs to prospective migrants and ensure a minimum standard of living and working conditions in their contract agreements (175, 176). Participants in the qualitative study expressed a preference for these direct governmental schemes, although it is recognised that there is a high bar of entry as prospective migrants must past a language test. However, demand has far exceeded the number of available posts since the introduction of these schemes (175, 176). Although they do not completely eliminate exploitative practices as some cases have been reported (247). Provided there is improved enforcements, there may, nevertheless, be potentials for expanding or introducing similar schemes between other origin and destination countries and these should be explored.

In a recently signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Nepal and Malaysia, a number of important measures were included that could reduce the negative experiences of Nepali labour migrants. For example, the MoU makes employers responsible for recruitment expenses including airfare; mandates specific dates for salary payment and payment method; allows workers to return to Nepal when there is a death in the immediate family; and in cases of fatality, bear the costs associated of repatriating workers (230). This has the potential to protect Nepali workers as the MoU covers many common issues identified in this study.

Finally, recruitment agents and agencies should also be supported to work according to ethical recruitment principles. Despite their negative portrayal in many reports, these intermediaries are an essential link in the migration process that prospective migrants rely on. Involving and engaging with them in ways that improve their treatment of and obligations to workers might offer stronger protection for migrants (204).

6.1.2 Workplace hazards and living environment

Several qualitative participants who had worked in factories reported not being supplied with protective equipment when exposed to chemicals or dust. Others experienced occupational accidents with little follow-up support or compensation, and were left with the financial burden of ongoing health costs. Even in cases where the employer paid the initial medical

expenses, these were sometimes deducted from migrants' wages (Paper 3). Employers should be required to provide good quality protective equipment against occupational hazards, and where injuries occur, they should be held responsible for arranging and paying for treatment and compensation, even if migrants prefer to return home for treatment. Among the participants interviewed for this study, only two reported being given adequate care by their employer following the accident. In one of these case the migrant was given extended leave to recover in Nepal and an open offer to return to his post at a later date. This indicates that good practices and good employers do exist, but remain in the minority. Therefore, it is necessary to develop policies and monitoring systems that hold employers accountable for safe workplaces and the health and safety of their migrant workers.

Occupational health and safety requirements should, of course be enshrined in national law, but specific clauses related to medical and disability support for migrant workers should also be specified in bilateral agreements and MOUs between source and destination countries. This is particularly important as labour rights frequently do not apply to temporary labour migrants. Further, monitoring of workplace and living environments could also highlight issues of occupational hazards and address overcrowded living space as housing is nearly always provided by the employer for low-skilled labour migrants. Indeed, one participant in the qualitative study reported improved living conditions after an inspection by the local authorities. These issues can only be realistically addressed by destination countries as migrant-sending countries have are unlikely to have the resources nor authority to do so in another sovereign state.

In Nepal, the Foreign Employment Welfare Fund provides compensation for injury and death, including repatriation of bodies. Labour migrants migrating through the regular channels must contribute at a cost of between 1500 and 2500 NRS (approximately $15 and 25 USD) depending on the duration of the contract (248). Yet in practice, few are able to access the fund when needed because they are unaware of what is covered and how to apply for compensation (249). Therefore, appropriate and thorough dissemination of this and other types of protective mechanisms should be carried out either as part of the mandatory pre-departure orientation, or through other channels that prospective migrants must go through prior to migration. If, as recommended in the previous section, recruitment agencies could be required to maintain contact with migrants once they are in destination, such information could be more easily provide and support in terms of referrals to file after their return could also be offered.

6.1.3 Expand rights for labour migrants in destination countries

As mentioned in 1.4, the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is among the least ratified of all UN conventions. As a result, there has been a call for countries to adopt a 'core rights approach' to protect labour migrants by concentrating on selected basic rights, based on consultations between the GoN, past or current labour migrants, CSOs representing their interests, and other relevant stakeholders. Some of these rights could include keeping one's own identity documents, having equal access to healthcare and the legal system for protection and equal employment conditions such as being permitted to change employers, employment or visa categories, having grace periods built into visas for job search and not revoking resident permits in the case of unemployment, for example due to company closures (37, 174). Some destination countries in Europe do offer grace periods for migrants to seek alternative employment in some situations (167). These could then be negotiated with key destinations through standard bilateral agreements and MoUs. Such agreements would also have the advantage of reducing confusion among labour migrants about their different rights and entitlements in different destinations, thus eliminating some of the stressors experienced, while at the same time enabling migrants to cope better when confronted with stressors and may lead to improved wellbeing for labour migrants.

Data collected for this study indicated restrictions to migrants' movements by their employer (Papers 1, 2 and 3), which some men noted were related to their employer's fear that they would run away (Paper 3). Policies in destination countries that hold employers accountable for runaways, usually migrant domestic workers, have resulted in more control of workers combined with recruitment agencies in the destination countries advising employers to retain migrants' passports or to not permit them to go out freely on their days off (152, 156). If employers provide migrants with the job, salary, and conditions as per the original agreement signed in Nepal, these restrictions would be unnecessary. Labour migrants are made more precarious due to the limited options they have to challenge discrepancies or leave the employment as this often results in losing their legal status, since this is under the control of their employer in many countries (158, 250).

The systematic review and several participants in the qualitative component of this study identified access to healthcare for general illness as problematic due to costs, difficulty in taking time off work or their irregular status. The Nepal-South Korea EPS scheme described earlier enables migrants to access to health insurance and compensation (175, 178). Similar mechanisms exist elsewhere such as the Migrant Health Programme (179) and the Fund for Job-seekers Working Abroad, both in Thailand (251); and a subsidised scheme for health

services for Filipino migrants (175). Key migrant-sending countries such as Nepal should seek to include migrants' access to healthcare service during their time working abroad, either at zero or minimal costs in bilateral and MoU agreements with key destination countries. However, some destination countries provide subsidised healthcare through taxation of workers and employers, or put the onus on employers to provide some form of health coverage for the international labour migrants they employ. In Thailand, labour migrants with work permits are covered through a mandatory scheme paid for by payroll taxes taken from both the worker and the employer. For those not eligible, an alternative migrant health insurance scheme run by the Ministry of Public Health provides coverage for both regular and irregular migrants which is paid for by migrants themselves through an annual fee (252). In Singapore, low- and semi-skilled workers with specific work permits are entitled to inpatient and day surgery coverage (253). In the case of Nepal, the specific details of who may be responsible for the costs of such coverage will need to be negotiated with specific countries, but experience from other countries suggest there are feasible ways to provide healthcare services to labour migrants.

6.2 Practice

6.2.1 Improve outreach to encourage participation in pre-departure training programmes

Both the quantitative and qualitative data indicated that men who migrated more than once also experienced exploitation, suggesting that interventions need to target both experienced and first-time labour migrants. Many migrant-sending countries, including Nepal, require prospective migrants to attend pre-departure training programmes. However, experienced migrants may not recognise the benefits of participating, believing that their earlier experience is sufficient protection, sometimes on the advice of recruitment agencies. Migrants themselves may also normalise their experiences as the realities of labour migration rather than a violation of their rights. Interventions may have to approach experienced migrants differently to engage and encourage them to take part. Interventions that make use of returnee migrants to offer guidance to other prospective migrants should also recognise that simply being returnees may be an insufficient credential to provide guidance about migration, particularly with the changing labour migration regulations, such as in Nepal (254).

6.2.2 Improve support mechanisms

Men interviewed in the qualitative study sought support from authorities and CSOs when they did not succeed in addressing the problems they encountered by themselves. In many cases, men received mixed support. Therefore, strengthening source countries' capacity to provide assistance to labour migrants through, for example, maintaining a presence in key destinations and informing migrants of the types of assistance that could be provided, ideally prior to their departure, may minimise stressors and enable migrants to seek support when needed. These may include assistance with reporting employers who violate employment contracts by reducing wages, not paying salaries, or making excessive deductions. Migrants who want to leave their employers could be assisted with retrieving or replacing travel documents if these were confiscated by the employer. There is also a need for embassy and CSO staff to be clear on the types of assistance available and the procedures to assist migrants to access them as was highlighted in the findings of this study which showed that different information was provided by different staff members who appear not to be fully aware of the services available to labour migrants (Papers 3 and 4). Such experiences left migrants unwilling to approach these agencies believing they would not help them. In some settings, governmental and CSO programmes that support labour migrants through practical assistance, such as shelter, financial and legal advice, have been promising and could be explored for other key destinations (175).

Additionally, services in destinations need to more actively reach out to labour migrants to assess their situation as they may not be in a position to seek support, given the restrictive nature of their life (Papers 1, 2 and 3). Some men in the qualitative study also reported being afraid to go out as their identification documents are held by their employers. CSOs based in destination countries could explore conducting outreach at the airport grounds, through negotiations with the authorities. Here, they could provide labour migrants with practical items such as a SIM card and could register them on their arrival, which would enable regular follow-up to monitor their situation. Ideally SIM cards could be pre-loaded with useful local information such as contact details for the embassy, local authorities and CSOs. Outreach using mobile technology and social media as routes to obtaining news and support could also be explored, particularly as the vast majority of participants in this study had access to a mobile phone, while one actually sought support from a CSO using social media while in destination. Among the participants in the quantitative study, very few reported having their mobile phones confiscated. Although in destinations with high numbers of labour migrants, this may be unrealistic without coordination and support from embassies and CSOs or the Non-Resident Nepali network, where they exist.

Migrants who were deported soon after arrival experienced the additional burden of unpaid loans, with no option to repay them. In one study in China, the home village to which many migrants were deported set up a fund to support such migrants and their families. Each labour migrant working abroad made a monthly contribution which was used to support those deported. However, the fund closed down after two years when the numbers deported exceeded those working abroad making the fund unsustainable (147). Similar programmes that bring together the wider community to support the specific needs of labour migrants could be explored so that a migrant's returning home before the end of their contract would not create excessive burden on their family.

6.3 Research

6.3.1 Empirical studies focused on coping strategies among low-skilled international labour migrants

The findings from the systematic review revealed that very few studies have investigated coping strategies among LMIC international labour migrants. Of the 30 included studies, 22 did not specifically research coping but were included as they reported coping strategies in their findings. Further, the included studies were mainly qualitative and even in the mixed-methods studies coping findings were only reported in the qualitative data. Therefore, more research is needed specifically to explore coping strategies, given the high prevalence of exploitation labour migrants experience and the limited support they can access. Beyond exploitation, migrants experience a range of other stressors through being away from their families for years, and over time may contribute to feelings of isolation, stress and anxiety. Many studies have considered the stressors labour migrants encountered but few on how they cope. Further research may be able to provide a better understanding of the ways in which migrants can cope with their stressors, as well as informing the development of better interventions and policies to prepare migrants before departure, and to support them once they leave their country of origin.

6.3.2 Improve the measure of labour exploitation and forced labour

There is a need to improve the way in which labour exploitation and forced labour experiences are assessed and measured. Currently forced labour is a binary outcome measure. However, it is recognised that exploitative experiences fall on a continuum, from what the ILO deems as

decent work at the one end to forced labour at the other (98-100). The lack of agreement on when experiences become forced labour, or whether they should be determined based on severity or cumulative experiences of multiple exploitations, presents further challenges for forced labour research. Further, there appears to be little work done with labour migrants to capture their own views of their experiences and where they would consider them on the decent work-forced labour spectrum. Therefore, research that attempts to measure severity through labour migrants' perspectives would be a useful contribution to the field and would give voice to those who actually live with such experiences for extended periods, if not most, of their working life.

6.3.3 Developing a measurment tool to assess migration stress and coping

This study adapted existing stress frameworks to guide the data analysis. These included two instruments to assess migrant worker stress, one focusing on migrant farmworkers (78) and the other on internal (domestic) migrant worker stress (76). Future research could consider developing, testing and validating a quantitative assessment of stress and coping tailored to this population, drawing on stress measures from other research on similar populations and on the findings from this study. This would help to quantify experiences across different international labour migrant populations and whether they differ by source or destination countries, sector, among other factors, as well as explore associated factors. This could lead to better targeted policies and practices. For example, when Duke and colleagues tested the reliability and validity of Hovey's MFWSI in a demographically similar migrant worker population, they found that new subscales were needed for day labourers.

It was beyond the scope of this study to examine how stressors are appraised and how these in turn affect the coping strategies used. Exploring differences between male and female labour migrants in different cultural contexts could improve our understanding of whether and how males and females differ in coping responses, and of cultural sensitivities as to how stressors and coping are understood, experienced and reported. This study did not seek to identify outcomes of the coping strategies used by migrants. Future studies should incorporate both stressor appraisals in order to compare how coping strategies and outcomes differ, particularly migrants' own assessment of the outcomes.

6.3.4 Impact of international agreements

Nepal has signed MoUs and bilateral agreements recently that aim to shift the financial burden of labour migration to the employers rather than migrants. Many agreements also aim to grant

more rights for the workers. Poor enforcements of policy and agreements have been documented. Labour exploitative practices have still been found among migrants who followed the more promising government-to-government schemes (247). Future research could compare the experiences and outcomes among individuals who migrated under different schemes, or who went after implementation of certain policies and agreements to explore whether the policy and schemes were effective in improving migrants' experiences.

6.3.5 Research to test the proposed conceptual framework

In this thesis I propose a new conceptual framework. Future research could test the framework using a larger low- and semi-skilled international labour migrant sample, including female migrants, and refine the framework accordingly. For low-skilled international labour migrants, coping typologies could be further refined as more research is conducted on this population given the small sample of both the quantitative and qualitative study used to inform the framework.

6.3.6 Improve reporting of research studies

Researchers should provide more detail and transparency when reporting their study findings. Many of the studies in my systematic review that included samples from a range of source or destination countries grouped the migrants together after an initial description of the sample. In other cases, the sample and sampling strategy were not sufficiently reported. Low- and semi-skilled international labour migrants from LMIC are not a homogenous population but when findings about their experiences are routinely grouped together it does not enable a wider understanding of their individual and collective experiences from which practical implications could be derived.

In the meantime, research on labour exploitation should still follow the guidelines produced by the ILO and present findings using the specific indicators for each dimension. This would enable direct comparisons of key indicators and as more studies are conducted, the indicators themselves and the forced labour measure could be improved.

6.3.7 Research designs and ethical considerations for future research

Conducting the types of research proposed among returnee migrants means the reporting will be retrospective, and may suffer from recall bias. Longitudinal designs conducted in destination could inquire about stressors and carry out appraisals closer to the time they are

experienced, although such designs are resource-intensive and have important practical and ethical considerations. For example, it is unclear whether migrants would feel able to share their current situation when they may be experiencing high-levels of stress. In my qualitative study, when men had already returned to Nepal, some were still anxious about whether taking part in the study would negatively affect their future migration options particularly among those that still hope to find another job in the same destination. Some also did not want to talk to others while in destination for fear of repercussions if their employer found out (Paper 4).

There are also serious ethical dilemmas with a longitudinal design. First, there is a risk of causing harm by inquiring about stressful experiences close to the time they are happening and secondly, there would be questions as to what researchers should do when disclosures of serious harm are made. Even with the best ethical protocols, there may be very limited options for researchers to reach participants and assist, or refer to other groups, and doing so may cause further harm to migrants. Logistically, longitudinal designs may not be feasible given the challenges reaching labour migrants in destination countries. For example, as part of the SWiFT-Nepal research, we attempted to follow female labour migrants after they had migrated, using mobile phones and found only a handful were reachable after departure from Nepal. Nevertheless, where possible longitudinal designs should be explored but with thorough consideration of the above caveats. Further study findings should be disaggregated by key factors such as demographics and migration details, which as discussed in the systematic review, was an important limitation.

Mixed quantitative and qualitative methods should also be employed in future research, as this study found the quantitative survey identified more objective measures of exploitative practices, including forced labour, while the qualitative narratives provided migrants' perspectives of their situations and captured experiences not necessarily included in surveys examining labour exploitation. Further, qualitative approaches may enable migrants to speak more broadly about their migration experiences and to describe their coping strategies where they can choose to highlight and explain their own agency under stressful circumstances.

7. Conclusion

This study sought to explore the coping strategies used by Nepali male international labour migrants to respond to migration-related stressors, including labour exploitation and forced labour, using a mixed quantitative and qualitative design. The findings suggest that there is insufficient published evidence on coping strategies among international labour migrants from LMIC. Migration-related stressors and exploitative experiences identified a wide range of stressors of which workplace-related ones dominated, but others related to migrants' family, the recruitment process and environmental and legal issues were also ubiquitous. Stressors were rarely experienced in isolation, but rather were multiple, at times simultaneous and cumulative, and may also influence the coping strategies available to migrants.

Regardless of the stressors experienced, men overwhelmingly made use of problem-solving strategies to cope. In contrast to some studies that suggest men are less likely to use support-seeking strategies, they were in fact relatively common among men in this study. Those who sought support from authorities including the Nepal Embassy or local migrant CSOs sometimes received contradictory advice which contributed to their feelings of powerlessness. Helplessness coping, reflecting migrants' limited ability to challenge the stressors encountered were often used.

Coping strategies may not be used until the stressor is deemed to be a priority and several strategies were often used together. Using the findings of this study, a new conceptual framework has been developed to improve our understanding of migration-related stressors and coping, which can support future research as well as development of policies and interventions to reduce the stressors experienced by low- and semi-skilled labour migrants, and improve their ability to cope.

In an increasingly globalised workforce, particularly in growing economies, compounded by the lack of decently paid, locally available employment opportunities, labour migration for low- and semi-skilled workers in low-wage jobs is likely to continue to increase in the near future, particularly for those from LMICs. Therefore, there is an urgent need for stakeholders at the international- and national-levels to act and treat labour migrants with the respect, decency and protection they deserve as they attempt to make a decent living.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix I: Contributions to SWiFT Nepal publication and presentations

Mak J., Kiss L. and Zimmerman C (2019) Pathways to prevent labour exploitation: do pre-migration interventions work? SWiFT Research Report. London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, London
Kiss,L.; Fotheringhame, D.; McAlpine, A.; **Mak, J**.; Zimmerman, C.; Labour exploitation of Nepalese migrant women: pathways to prevention (under review: Prevention Science)
Sijapati, B.; **Mak, J.**; Zimmerman, C; Kiss, L.; Nepali Women's Labour Migration: Between Protection and Proscription. Migration Letters, forthcoming
Abramsky, T.; **Mak, J.**; Kiss, L.; Zimmerman, C; Sijapati, B.; Migration Planning Among Female Prospective Labour Migrants from Nepal: A Comparison of First-Time and Repeat-Migrants *International Migration* (2018)
Mak, J.; Abramsky, T.; Sijapati, B.; Kiss, L.; Zimmerman, C.; What is the prevalence of and associations with forced labour experiences among male migrants from Dolakha, Nepal? Findings from a cross-sectional study of returnee migrants. *BMJ Open* (2017) 7:e015835. DOI: 10.1136/bmjopen-2017-015835
Transnational female labour migration: the perspective of low-wage Nepalese workers. December 2017.
Lessons from prospective migrant women's participation in the Work in Freedom community intervention activities in Nepal. May 2017.
What do we know about labour migration in Dolakha, Nepal? Emerging findings from the Study of Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation – Nepal.
South Asia Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation. Research summary. October 2015.
Mak, J.; Abramsky, T. 2015. Report of initial findings from Dolakha household surveys.
Mak, J.; Kiss, L.; Sijaptai, B.; Zimmerman, C. The challenges of sampling mobile populations, reflections of fieldwork among labour migrants in a cross-sectional study in Nepal. *Regional Conference on Social Science Methodology: Asia*, Taipei, Taiwan, 11 – 14 September 2017.
Mak, J.; Kiss, L.; Zimmerman, C. The challenges of measuring forced labour among a sample of returnee labour migrants from Nepal. *Regional Conference on Social Science Methodology: Asia*, Taipei, Taiwan, 11-14 September 2017.
Mak J.; Abramsky T.; Sijapati B.; Kiss L.; Zimmerman C. Estimating the prevalence of and associations with forced labour among a sample of Nepali male returnee migrants. *Migrating Out Of Poverty Conference*, London, UK, 28 – 29 March 2017.
Mak, J.; Abramsky, T.; Shrestha, N.; The SWiFT Nepal Study – Overview of research and findings. Joint dissemination event with ILO and Plan Nepal, Kathmandu, Nepal, 14 September 2018.
Mak, J. Exploring labour migration experiences and forced labour among male Nepali migrant workers who had worked outside of Nepal. Brocher Foundation Visiting Researcher presentations, Hermance, Switzerland, 6 February 2018.

9.2 Appendix II: Household survey

9.2.1 Information sheet

South Asia Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation – Household Survey

Study information sheet

Introduction: Good morning/afternoon. My name is _____. I am working on behalf of Social Science Baha and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM), on a study aimed at understanding labour migration in Nepal. We are inviting you to take part in this research project. Before you decide whether to take part, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read or to listen as I read the following information carefully. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Purpose of the study: We are doing a study on labour migration in Nepal. We would like to talk to households in this ward to understand labour migration issues. We are also interested in speaking with people who have migrated for work before and have now returned as well as those who are thinking about migrating in the near future. We are interested in finding out what their experiences have been in order to improve the current information and services available for potential migrants.

Why you have been invited to take part: All households in the ward are eligible and approached to take part in this survey.

What will happen if I decide to take part: If you decide to take part we will ask you to give us your written permission to show you have agreed to join the study. You will be asked to take part in a confidential interview with an interviewer. The information collected will not contain anything that can identify your household. Your household will be recorded by an identification number only. The information you provide will only be used for research purposes and will not be shared with anyone outside the research teams at SSB and LSHTM. The data will also not be shared with the government. The completed surveys will be kept locked up and once transferred to a computer, will be destroyed. The interview will probably last around one hour. The researcher will ask you about labour migration history from members of your household and other household characteristics.

Benefits & risks: Although there is no immediate benefit to you in taking part, the information you provide will help us provide recommendations to improve the information and services provided to potential labour migrants so they are better prepared.

There are no risks to taking part in this study.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not wish to and even after agreeing to take part you can choose to not answer a question if you do not wish to. You may choose to stop the interview at any time without giving any reason. We are interested in your experiences and opinions and there are no right or wrong answers. Whether you choose to take part or not, there will be no change to the information or services you can receive.

9.2.2 Consent form

Household ID number: |___|___|___|___|___|___|

South Asia Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation – Household Survey

Participant Consent Form

Please tick your response for each statement:

1.	I confirm that I have read /heard and understood the information sheet for the above study.	☐ Yes	☐ No
2.	I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ No
3.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	☐ Yes	☐ No
4.	I agree to take part in the above study. (If no, please record the reason for the decline:_____)	☐ Yes	☐ No
5.	I understand that any personal data collected will be kept confidential.	☐ Yes	☐ No

_____ _____

Participant signature Date

I, the interviewer, have explained the procedures to be followed in this study, and the risks and benefits involved to the participant in a language she or he understands. ☐ Yes ☐ No

_____ _____ _____

Interviewer name Date Signature

9.2.3 Survey instrument

SWIFT Nepal – Formative Study – Household Surveys, March 2014

Q1.1 Household ID number

Q1.2 VDC/Municipality
- O Bhimeshwor Municipality
- O Kabre
- O Suri
- O Other, specify: _____

Q1.3 Interviewer name

O Amrita	O Manju G.	O Ratna
O Ashim	O Manu T	O Rina
O Basanti	O Neha	O Sujan
O Bhimkala	O Pabitra	O Other, specify _____
O Kripa	O Radhika	

Q1.4 Date of interview
Month (in words) _____ Day _____ Year _____

Q1.5 Interview start time
Hour _____ Minute _____ Specify if AM or PM

Q1.6 Interviewer to confirm that informed consent was obtained]
- O Participant agrees to be interviewed
- O Participant does not agree to be interviewed

If Participant does not agree ... Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q1.7 Could you confirm which ward your household is in?

O 1	O 8
O 2	O 9
O 3	O 10
O 4	O 11
O 5	O 12
O 6	O 13
O 7	

Q2.1 Could you list the names of everyone in your household and their relationship to you? Let's start with you.

	Head of household	Father / Mother	Grandparents	Spouse	Brother / Sister	Child / Grandchild	Daughter in law	Brother in law	Sister in law	Other relative	Other, non-relative
Participant's name	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name2	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name3	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name4	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name5	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name6	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name7	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name8	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name9	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name10	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name11	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name12	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name13	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name14	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Name15	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Q2.4 Which members of your household are planning to migrate abroad for work in the next 6 months?

- ❑ No one in this household is planning to migrate for work in the next 6 months

❑ Member 1: Yourself	☐ Member 6	☐ Member 11
❑ Member 2	☐ Member 7	☐ Member 12
❑ Member 3	☐ Member 8	☐ Member 13
❑ Member 4	☐ Member 9	☐ Member 14
❑ Member 5	☐ Member 10	☐ Member 15

Q3.1 [I AM NOW GOING TO ASK YOU SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON EACH MEMBER OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD. I WILL START WITH YOU

Q3.2 What is your caste / ethnicity?

❍ Kathbaniyan	❍Thami	❍ Rai
❍ Kumal	❍ Tharu	❍ Limbu
❍ Kewat	❍ Dalit	❍ Badi
❍ Koiri/Kushwaha	❍ Dashnami/Sanyasi	❍ Sherpa
❍ Gurung	❍ Dhanuk	❍ Sunuwar
❍ Ghale	❍ Newar	❍ Hajam/Thakur
❍ Gharti/Bhujel	❍ Brahman – Hill	❍ Haluwai
❍ Jirel	❍ Brahman – Tarai	❍ Chhetree
❍ Thakuri	❍ Magar	❍ Other, specify: _____
❍ Tarai Others	❍ Majhi	❍ Don't know
❍ Tamang	❍ Muslim	❍ Refused answer
❍ Teli	❍ Yadav	

Q3.3 Confirm sex of respondent

- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female
- ❍ Third gender

Q3.4 What is your age in completed years?

Age in years _____

Q3.5 Interviewer to confirm whether respondent is under the age of 17.]

- ❍ <17
- ❍ ≥17

Q3.6 What is your date of birth?

❑ Month (in words) _____	☐ Year _____	☐ Day _____

❑ Don't know

- ○ Informal education
- ○ Some primary
- ○ Completed primary school
- ○ Some secondary school
- ○ Passed SLC
- ○ Passed class 12
- ○ Vocational/technical training (≥ 1 month)
- ○ University or other tertiary
- ○ Don't know

Q3.8 Are you currently regularly attending school?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Q3.9 What is your current marital status?

- ○ Unmarried
- ○ Married
- ○ Polymarried
- ○ Separated
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Widowed
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q3.10 What is your current PRIMARY employment status?

- ○ Wage employed-agriculture
- ○ Wage employed – non agriculture (manufacturing, trade, business, I/NGOs, other private employee)
- ○ Government employee
- ○ Self employed – agriculture
- ○ Self employed – non agriculture
- ○ Retired
- ○ Unemployed/looking for work
- ○ Unemployed/ not looking for work
- ○ Student
- ○ Unable to work
- ○ Homemaker
- ○ Working abroad
- ○ Not applicable
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q3.11 What is your current SECONDARY employment status?

- ○ Wage employed-agriculture
- ○ Wage employed – non agriculture (manufacturing, trade, business, I/NGOs, other private employee)
- ○ Government employee
- ○ Self employed – agriculture
- ○ Self employed – non agriculture
- ○ Retired
- ○ Unemployed/looking for work
- ○ Unemployed/ not looking for work
- ○ Student
- ○ Unable to work
- ○ Homemaker
- ○ Working abroad
- ○ Not applicable

○ Other, specify: _____

Q3.12 Have you ever migrated abroad (including India) for work?
○ Yes
○ No

If Yes Is Not Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q3.13 To which destination have you ever migrated for work? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED]

❑ India	☐ Kuwait	☐ Israel
❑ Malaysia	☐ Bahrain	☐ Jordan
❑ Qatar	☐ Oman	☐ Hong Kong
❑ Saudi Arabia	☐ South Korea	☐ Other, specify: _____
❑ United Arab Emirates (UAE)	☐ Lebanon	☐ Don't know

Q3.14 When did you leave Nepal in your most recent labour migration experience? Please estimate if unsure

❑ Month of departure (in words) _____ ☐Year of departure _____
❑ Don't know

Q3.15 What type of work were you doing at your most recent labour migration?

❑ Agriculture or farming	☐ Restaurant, hospitality, tourism
❑ Cleaner	☐ Office work
❑ Construction	☐ Retail (ie, supermarket, cashier)
❑ Domestic work	☐ Security guard
❑ Factory work, specify sector: _____	☐ Other, specify: _____
❑ Fishing	☐ Don't know

Q3.16 When did you return to Nepal from your most recent labour migration experience? Please estimate if unsure.

❑ Month returned (in words) _____ ☐Year returned _____
❑ Don't know

Q4.1 [I AM NOW GOING TO ASK YOU THE SAME QUESTIONS FOR HH MEMBER 2]

Q4.2 What is the caste/ethnicity for MEMBER 2

○ Kathbaniyan	○Thami	○ Rai
○ Kumal	○ Tharu	○ Limbu
○ Kewat	○ Dalit	○ Badi
○ Koiri/Kushwaha	○ Dashnami/Sanyasi	○ Sherpa
○ Gurung	○ Dhanuk	○ Sunuwar
○ Ghale	○ Newar	○ Hajam/Thakur

- ○ Gharti/Bhujel
- ○ Jirel
- ○ Thakuri
- ○ Tarai Others
- ○ Tamang
- ○ Teli
- ○ Brahman – Hill
- ○ Brahman – Tarai
- ○ Magar
- ○ Majhi
- ○ Muslim
- ○ Yadav
- ○ Haluwai
- ○ Chhetree
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refused answer

Q4.3 What is the sex of Member 2

- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Third gender

Q4.4 What is Member 2's age in completed years?

Age in years _____

Q4.5 What is Member 2's month and year of birth?

- ☐ Month (in words) _____
- ☐ Year _____
- ☐ Day _____
- ☐ Don't know

Q4.6 [Interviewer to confirm whether Member 2] is under the age of 17.]

- ○ <17
- ○ ≥17

Q4.7 What is the highest level of education Member 2 attended?

- ○ Never attended school
- ○ Informal education
- ○ Some primary
- ○ Completed primary school
- ○ Some secondary school
- ○ Passed SLC
- ○ Some higher secondary school
- ○ Passed class 12
- ○ Vocational/technical training (≥ 1 month)
- ○ University or other tertiary
- ○ Don't know

Q4.8 Is Member 2 currently regularly attending school?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't know

Q4.9 What is Member 2's current marital status?

- ○ Unmarried
- ○ Married
- ○ Polymarried
- ○ Separated
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Widowed
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q4.10 What is Member 2's current primary employment status?

- ❍ Wage employed-agriculture
- ❍ Wage employed – non agriculture (manufacturing, trade, business, I/NGOs, other private employee)
- ❍ Government employee
- ❍ Self employed – agriculture
- ❍ Self employed – non agriculture
- ❍ Retired
- ❍ Unemployed/looking for work
- ❍ Unemployed/ not looking for work
- ❍ Student
- ❍ Homemaker
- ❍ Unable to work
- ❍ Working abroad
- ❍ Not applicable
- ❍ Other _____

Q4.11 What is Member 2's current secondary employment status?

- ❍ Wage employed-agriculture
- ❍ Wage employed – non agriculture (manufacturing, trade, business, I/NGOs, other private employee)
- ❍ Government employee
- ❍ Self employed – agriculture
- ❍ Self employed – non agriculture
- ❍ Retired
- ❍ Unemployed/looking for work
- ❍ Unemployed/ not looking for work
- ❍ Student
- ❍ Unable to work
- ❍ Homemaker
- ❍ Working abroad
- ❍ Not applicable
- ❍ Other _____

Q4.12 Has Member 2 ever migrated abroad (including India) for work?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No
- ❍ Don't know

If Yes Is Not Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q4.13 To which destination has Member 2 ever migrated for work? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS]

❑ India	☐ Kuwait	☐ Israel
❑ Malaysia	☐ Bahrain	☐ Jordan
❑ Qatar	☐ Oman	☐ Hong Kong
❑ Saudi Arabia	☐ South Korea	☐ Other, specify: _____
❑ United Arab Emirates (UAE)	☐ Lebanon	☐ Don't know

Q4.14 When did Member 2 leave Nepal in their most recent labour migration experience? Please estimate if unsure.

- ❑ Month of departure (in words) _____ ❑Year of departure _____
- ❑ Don't know

Q4.15 What type of work was Member 2 doing at the most recent labour migration?

- ❑ Agriculture or farming
- ❑ Cleaner
- ❑ Construction
- ❑ Domestic work
- ❑ Factory work, specify sector: _____
- ❑ Fishing
- ❑ Restaurant, hospitality, tourism
- ❑ Office work
- ❑ Retail (ie, supermarket, cashier)
- ❑ Security guard
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't know

Q4.16 Is Member 2 still at the job abroad?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Q4.17 When did Member 2 return to Nepal from their most recent labour migration experience? Please estimate if unsure.

- ❑ Month returned (in words) _____ ❑ Year returned _____
- ❑ Don't know

Q4.18 When was the last time Member 2 was in contact with any member of your household?

- ○ Within the past week
- ○ Within the past month
- ○ Within the past 3 months
- ○ Within the past 6 months
- ○ More than 6 months ago
- ○ Never
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember

Q4.19 How often does any member of your household have contact with Member 2?

- ○ Daily
- ○ At least once a Week
- ○ At least once per month
- ○ At least once every 3 months
- ○ At least once every 6 months
- ○ At least 1-2 times per year
- ○ Never
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember

Q4.20 How does Member 2 stay in touch with members of your household? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Phone call by mobile phone
- ☐ Text message from mobile phone
- ☐ Landline telephone
- ☐ Email
- ☐ Internet apps or groups
- ☐ Letter / mail
- ☐ Through other migrants
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Don't know

Q4.21 Do you know if Member 2 has been paid the amount expected at destination?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't know

Q4.22 Has Member 2 suffered any injuries while away?

- ○ Yes, minor injury
- ○ Yes, serious injury
- ○ Yes, resulted in death
- ○ No injury
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refuse to answer

REPEAT SECTION FOR EACH HOUSEHOLD MEMBER LISTED ON ROSTER (Q5-Q17)

Q18.1 I'd like to confirm those members of your household who have migrated abroad for work within the last 3 years and have now returned to Nepal.

☐ No eligible returnees	☐ Member 6	☐ Member 12
☐ Member 1	☐ Member 7	☐ Member 13
☐ Member 2	☐ Member 8	☐ Member 14
☐ Member 3	☐ Member 9	☐ Member 15
☐ Member 4	☐ Member 10	☐ Don't know
☐ Member 5	☐ Member 11	

Q19.1 Now I will ask you some questions about your household situation.

Q19.2 What is the main language you speak at home?

- ○ Nepali
- ○ Tamang
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know

Q19.3 how long have you lived in this VDC?

- ○ Since birth

- ○ Less than one year
- ○ 1 to less than 2 years
- ○ 2 to less than 5 years
- ○ 5 to less than 10 years
- ○ 10 years or more
- ○ Don't remember

Q19.4 What is your household's regular source of income? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED]

- ☐ Wage work: agriculture
- ☐ Wage work: non-agriculture
- ☐ Government employee
- ☐ Private sector or NGO employee
- ☐ Own business
- ☐ Agriculture
- ☐ Remittances from foreign employment
- ☐ Other, specify _____
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Refused answer

Q19.5 How do you normally spend your household income? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED] [DO NOT READ OUT OPTIONS]

- ☐ Food items
- ☐ Clothing
- ☐ House rent
- ☐ Education of HH members
- ☐ Health care
- ☐ Repaying debts
- ☐ Luxury goods, eg vehicle, computer, television, smartphone, specify _____
- ☐ House construction or refurbishments
- ☐ Land purchase
- ☐ Agricultural machinery and/or goods
- ☐ Savings
- ☐ Investments/ business, specify _____
- ☐ Marriage/Funeral
- ☐ Travel
- ☐ Other, specify _____
- ☐ Refuse to answer
- ☐ Don't know

Q19.6 Does your household receive remittances from foreign employment?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refuse to answer

Q19.7 How are the remittances generally spent by your household? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED]

- ☐ Food items
- ☐ Clothing

- ❑ House rent
- ❑ Education of HH members
- ❑ Health care
- ❑ Repaying debts
- ❑ Luxury goods eg vehicle, computer, television, smartphone, specify _____
- ❑ House construction or refurbishment
- ❑ Land purchase
- ❑ Agricultural machinery & goods
- ❑ Savings
- ❑ Investments/ business, specify _____
- ❑ Marriage/Funeral
- ❑ Travel
- ❑ Saving for migrant's return
- ❑ Other, specify _____
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Refuse to answer
- ❑ Same items as regular expenditures from other sources

Q19.8 Does any member of this household have an account to keep cash saving?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refused answer

Q19.9 Where are the accounts held? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED]

- ❑ Bank
- ❑ Cooperative Group
- ❑ Women's Group
- ❑ Group savings
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't know

Q19.10 Does your household currently have any financial investment?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refuse to answer

Q19.11 What type(s) of financial investments does your household have? [MULTIPLE OPTIONS ALLOWED]

- ❑ Gold or jewellery
- ❑ Land for agriculture
- ❑ Land for non-agriculture
- ❑ House or other property
- ❑ Small business
- ❑ Invest in someone else's business
- ❑ Agricultural machinery and/or good
- ❑ Cash saving

- ❑ Others, specify _____
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Refused answer

Q19.12 Does any member of this household have outstanding debt?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Refused answer

Q19.13 What is the total value of your household's outstanding loans in NRP?

- ❑ Amount in NRP: _____
- ❑ Don't know

Q20.1 [Thank you very much for your time in helping us complete this survey.]

Q20.2 We may need to come back to speak to you or members of your household at a later date. Could you confirm whether you would consent to us returning at a later date?

- ○ Participant agrees to follow up contact
- ○ Participant does not agree to follow up contact

Q21.1 Interview completed?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes

Q21.2 Why was the interview not completed?

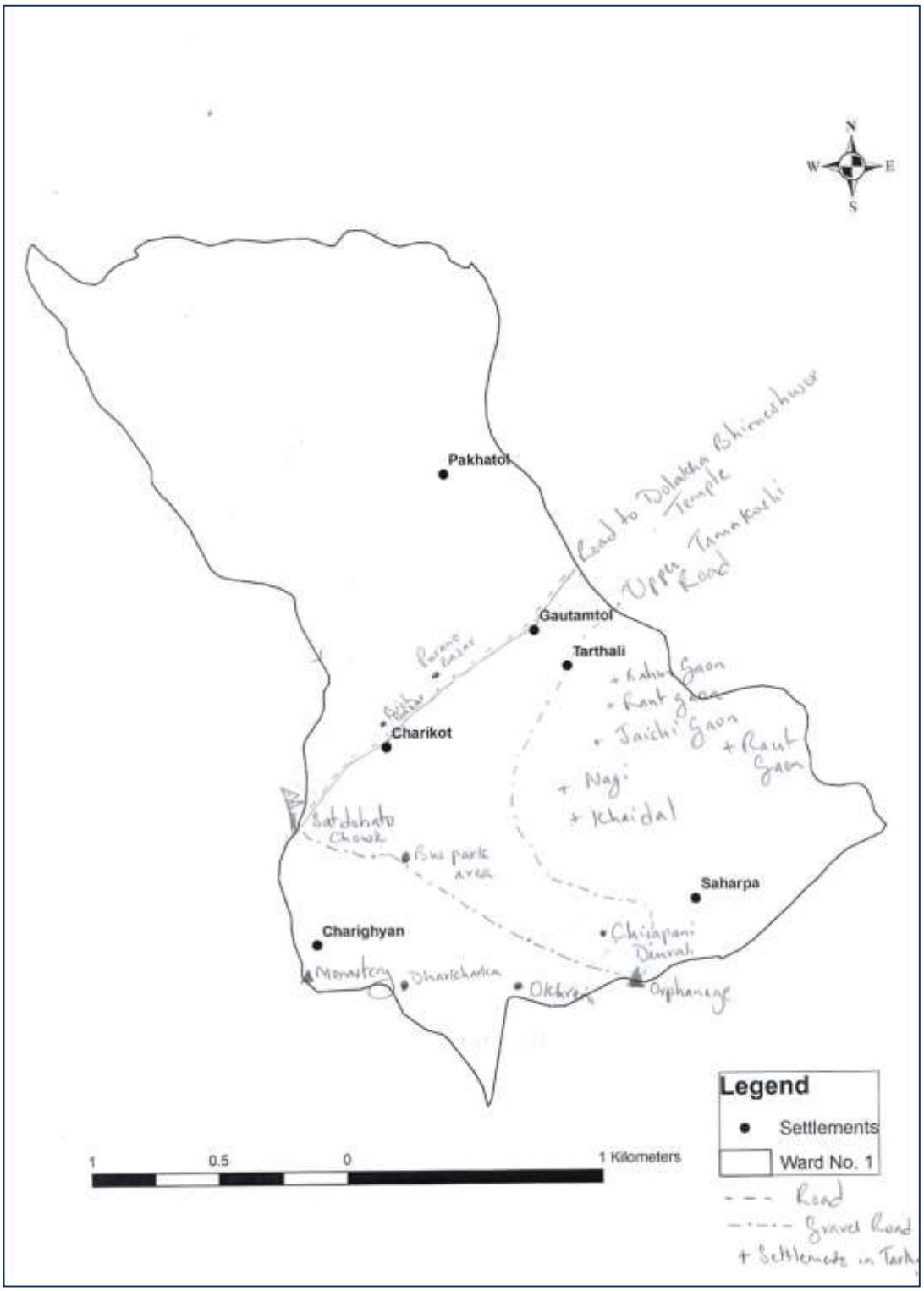
- ○ Interrupted by someone
- ○ Respondent needed to leave
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q21.3 Interview end time

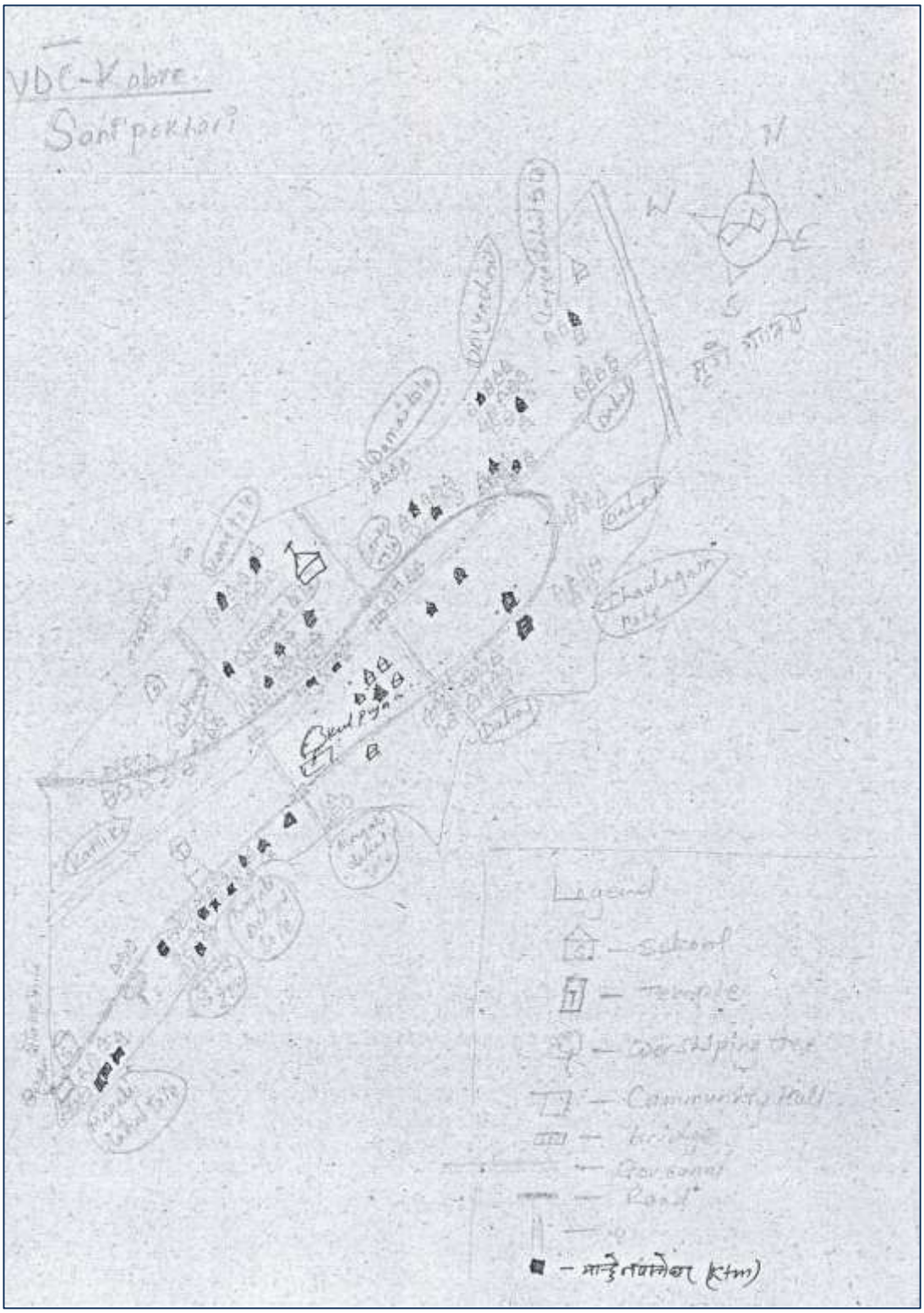
Hour
Minute
Specify if AM or PM

9.2.4 Maps of households in survey study sites

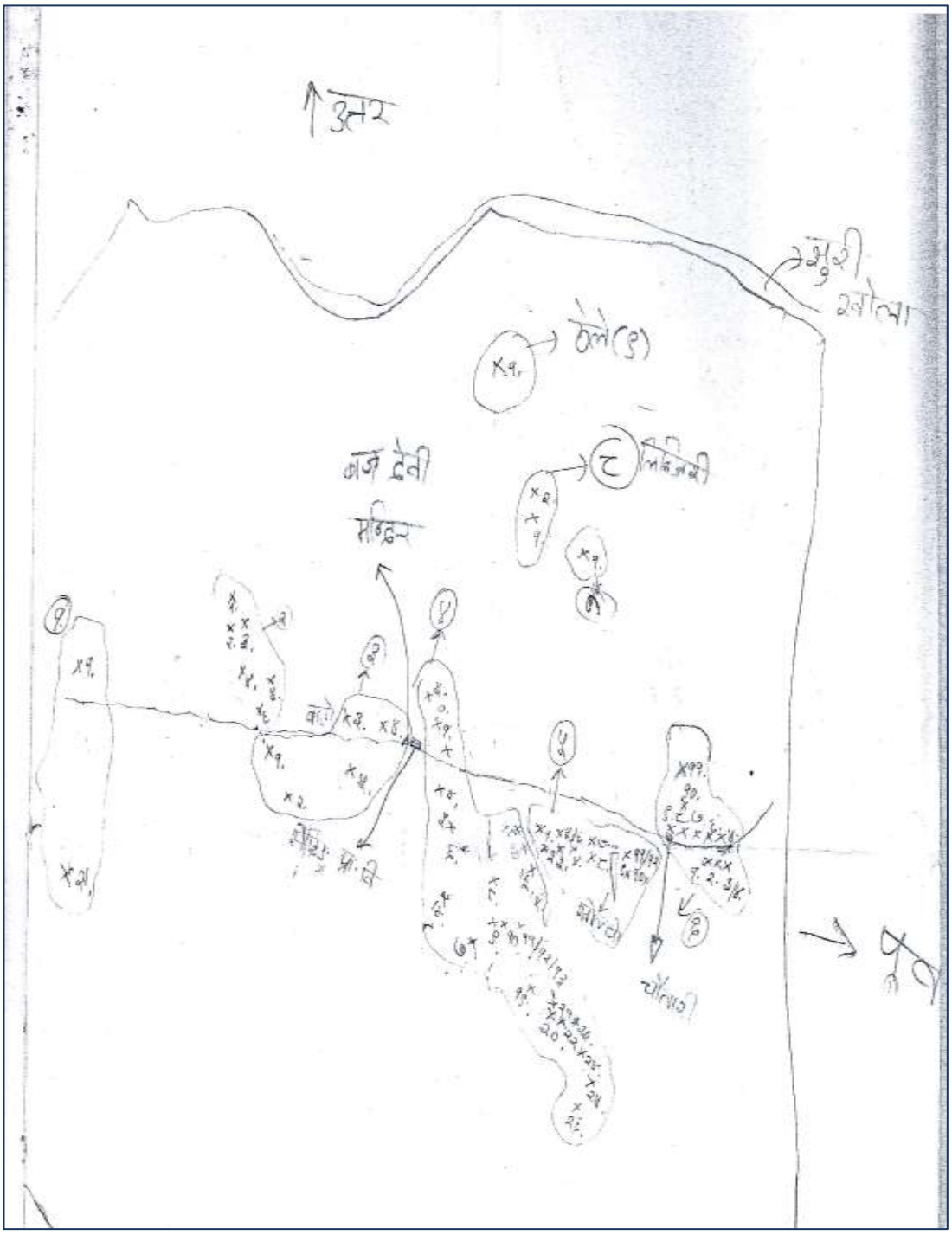
9.2.4.1 Bhimeshwor



9.2.4.2 Kavre


VDC-Kabre
Sant'pokhari
N
W
E
S
Legend
School
Temple
Drinking Tap
Community Hall
Bridge
Road
Footpath
मान्छे तथ्यांक (km)

9.4.3.3 Suri



9.3 Appendix III: Returnee Survey

9.3.1 Information Sheet

South Asia Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation – Returnee surveys (Adults)

Study information sheet

Introduction: Good morning/afternoon. My name is _____. I am working on behalf of Social Science Baha and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM), on a study aimed at understanding labour migration in Nepal. We are inviting you to take part in this research project. Before you decide whether to take part, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read or to listen as I read the following information carefully. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Purpose of the study: We are doing a study on labour migration in Nepal. We would like to talk to people who have worked abroad to learn about their experiences and also those who are planning to migrate for work in the near future, to understand their information needs. We are interested in finding out what their experiences have been in order to improve the current information and services available for potential migrants.

Why you have been invited to take part: You have been selected to take part in the interview because you were listed as a returned or potential migrant in the household surveys we conducted in this ward.

What will happen if I decide to take part: If you decide to take part we will ask you to give us your written permission to show you have agreed to join the study. You will be asked to take part in a confidential interview with an interviewer. The information collected will not contain anything that can identify you or your household. The information you provide will only be used for research purposes and will not be shared with anyone outside the research teams at SSB and LSHTM. The data will also not be shared with the government. The interview will last approximately one hour.

Benefits & risks: Although there is no immediate benefit to you in taking part, the information you provide will help us provide recommendations to improve the information and services needed by both returned and potential migrants.

We will be asking questions on your experiences from deciding to work abroad to your eventual return. Some of the questions may bring up difficult memories so please take your time to answer the questions. You can choose to not answer some questions without giving a reason. We will provide you with a list of local service providers in case you wish to discuss these issues further after our interview.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not wish to and even after agreeing to take part you can choose to not answer a question if you do not wish to. You may choose to stop the interview at any time without giving any reason. We are interested in your experiences and opinions; there are no right or wrong answers. Whether you choose to take part or not, there will be no change to the information or services you can receive.

Further contact: If you would like more information on our study please contact:

Social Science Baha - 345 Ramchandra Marg, Battisputali, Kathmandu – 9; Phone: +977-1-4472807

Email: Bandita Sijapati at Social Science Baha (bsijapati@soscbaha.org) or Joelle Mak at London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (Joelle.Mak@lshtm.ac.uk)

9.3.2 Consent form

Interview ID number: |__|__|__|__|__|__|

South Asia Work in Freedom Transnational Evaluation – Nepal

Returnee migrant survey

Participant Consent Form

Please tick your response for each statement:

1.	I confirm that I have read /heard and understood the information sheet for the above study.	☐ Yes	☐ No
2.	I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ No
3.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	☐ Yes	☐ No
4.	I agree to take part in the above study. (If no, please record the reason for the decline:_____)	☐ Yes	☐ No
5.	I understand that any personal data collected will be kept confidential.	☐ Yes	☐ No

I, the participant, consent to taking part in this study.
Date: _____ ☐ Yes ☐ No

I, the interviewer, have explained the procedures to be followed in this study, and the risks and benefits involved to the participant in a language she understands. ☐ Yes ☐ No

_____ _____ _____
Interviewer name Date Signature

9.3.3 Survey instrument

SWIFT Nepal – Formative Study – Returnee Surveys, November 2014

Q1.1 Household ID number (5 digits)

Q1.2 Interview ID number (7 digits)

Q1.3 VDC/Municipality
- ❍ Bhimeshwor Municipality - 1
- ❍ Kavre - 6
- ❍ Suri - 3

Q1.4 Tole (Bhimeshwor)

❍ Pakhatole	❍ Buspark
❍ Gautam	❍ Charighyang
❍ Tarthali	❍ Dharkharka
❍ Saharpa	❍ Okhreni
❍ Chisapani Deurali	❍ Charikot

Q1.5 Tole (Kavre)
Name of tole

Q1.6 Tole (Suri)

❍ Godimdada	❍ Khuruchi
❍ Purano Bazar	❍ Lingri
❍ Arnubungdur	❍ Marbudanda
❍ Chebir	❍ Nakpa
❍ Dordin	❍ Thele

Q1.7 Interviewer name

❍ Amrita	❍ Prem
❍ Anita	❍ Ratna
❍ Anju	❍ Rina
❍ Basanti	❍ Sanjit
❍ Bhimkala	❍ Soni
❍ Dawa	❍ Swarna
❍ Manju	

Q1.8 Date of interview
Month _____ Date _____

Q1.9 Interviewer to confirm that informed consent was obtained
- ❍ Participant agrees to be interviewed
- ❍ Participant does not agree to be interviewed

If Participant does not agree ... Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q2.1 THANK YOU FOR AGREEING TO THIS INTERVIEW. DURING THIS INTERVIEW, I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND YOUR EXPERIENCES OF LABOUR MIGRATION. FIRST, I AM GOING TO ASK YOU FOR SOME CONTACT DETAILS, IN CASE WE NEED TO CONTACT YOU AGAIN FOR MORE DETAILS. WE WILL ASK YOU AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW WHETHER YOU AGREE TO BE CONTACTED AGAIN IN THE FUTURE AND IF YOU DO NOT AGREE WE WILL NOT USE YOUR CONTACT DETAILS.

Q2.2 What is the best way to contact you? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Respondent's telephone number: _____
- ☐ Alternative contact telephone number: _____
- ☐ Landmark/area: _____
- ☐ Other, specify: _____

Q2.3 Whose number is the alternative contact?

- ○ My own
- ○ My parents
- ○ My spouse/ partner
- ○ Other family member's phone
- ○ My friend
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q2.4 Confirm sex of participant

- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Third gender

Q3.1 Have you ever migrated to another country (including India) for work?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q3.2 Thinking about your most recent labour migration experience, can you tell me whether it was within the last 10 years (between November 2004 and now) or whether it was more than 10 years ago? Please estimate if you are unsure.

- ○ Within past 10 years
- ○ More than 10 years ago

Q4.1 READ ALOUD: I AM NOW GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND.

Q4.2 How old are you in completed years? [IF PARTICIPANT IS UNSURE, PROBE AND WRITE APPROXIMATE AGE.]

- ○ Years old _____
- ○ Don't know

Q4.3 What is your date of birth? (in BS)[PLEASE RECORD MONTH/YEAR IF UNKNOWN DATE]

Month (in words) _____ Day _____ Year _____

Q4.4 What is your caste / ethnicity?

- ○ Chhetree
- ○ Brahman – Hill
- ○ Newar
- ○ Tamang
- ○ Dalit
- ○ Thami
- ○ Sherpa
- ○ Gurung
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q4.5 What is the main language you speak at home?

- ○ Nepali
- ○ Tamang
- ○ Newari
- ○ Thami
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q4.6 What other languages can you speak? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ No other language
- ☐ Nepali
- ☐ Tamang
- ☐ Newari
- ☐ Thami
- ☐ Hindi
- ☐ English
- ☐ Arabic
- ☐ Other, specify: _____

Q4.7 Can you read personal letters or newspaper? Would you say you: cannot read; can read with much difficulty; can read with some difficulty; or can read and comprehend fluently?

- ○ Cannot read
- ○ Can read with much difficulty
- ○ Can read with some difficulty
- ○ Can read and comprehend fluently
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q4.8 Can you write personal letters, short note or some message for family members or friends? Would you say you: cannot write; can write with much difficulty; can write with some difficulty; or can write fluently?

- ○ Cannot write
- ○ Can write with much difficulty
- ○ Can write with some difficulty
- ○ Can write fluently
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q4.9 What is the highest level of education you attended?

- ○ Never attended school
- ○ Non-formal education
- ○ Some primary
- ○ Completed primary school
- ○ Some secondary school

- ○ Passed SLC
- ○ Some higher secondary school
- ○ Passed class 12
- ○ Vocational/technical training (at least one month duration)
- ○ University or other tertiary
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q4.10 What is your current marital status?

- ○ Unmarried
- ○ Married
- ○ Polymarried
- ○ Separated
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Widowed
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q4.11 How many male and female biological children do you have? [ENTER 0 FOR MALE AND FEMALE IF NO CHILDREN]

- ❑ Male _____
- ❑ Female _____

Q4.12 How many male and female children under the age of 14 in your household are you personally responsible for supporting financially? [ENTER 0 FOR MALE AND FEMALE IF NO CHILDREN]

- ❑ Male _____
- ❑ Female _____

Q5.1 READ ALOUD: I'm now going to ask you some questions about your labour migration experiences. I will first ask you a few questions on your situation before you left Nepal for your FIRST ever labour migration experience.

Q5.2 How old were you in completed years when you left Nepal for your FIRST labour migration experience?

- ○ Age _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q5.3 What was your marital status WHEN you left Nepal for your FIRST labour migration experience?

- ○ Unmarried
- ○ Married
- ○ Polymarried
- ○ Separated
- ○ Divorced
- ○ Widowed
- ○ Other, specify _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q5.4 How many times you have migrated outside of Nepal (including to India) for work, excluding any temporary returns to Nepal such as for festivals, holidays and visits? If participant is unsure, PROBE and write approximate NUMBER

- ❍ Number of times _____
- ❍ Don't remember

Q5.5 To which destinations outside Nepal have you ever migrated for work (including India)? Please start with your most recent migration. If two different migration experiences are for the same destination they should still be recorded in as two separate migrations. If one migration ended and without returning to Nepal the participant goes on to another destination for another job that would count as a separate migration experience.

- ❑ Most recent destination _____
- ❑ Destination 2 _____
- ❑ Destination 3 _____
- ❑ Destination 4 _____
- ❑ Destination 5 _____

Q6.1 Could you give me some details of your labour migration experience, starting with the most recent one? .

Q6.2 When did you leave Nepal for your last migration (IN BS)?Please estimate if unsure.

Year
Month

Q6.3 When did you return to Nepal from your last migration (IN BS)? [IF RESPONDENT REPORTS AD YEAR, PLEASE WRITE AD WITH YEAR] Please estimate if unsure.

Year
Month

Q6.4 What type(s) of work were you doing at your last migration?[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Agriculture or farm worker
- ❑ Cleaner
- ❑ Construction worker
- ❑ Porter
- ❑ Domestic worker
- ❑ Carer / worker in old age care home or hospice
- ❑ Child care worker
- ❑ Factory worker, please specify sector: _____
- ❑ Restaurant, hospitality, tourism worker
- ❑ Office worker
- ❑ Retail (ie, sales, cashier)
- ❑ Security guard
- ❑ Driver
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

REPEAT FOR EACH DESTINATION REPORTED IN Q5.5

Q11.1 [INTERVIEWERS TO CONFIRM WHETHER THE MOST RECENT DESTINATION WAS INDIA]

- ○ Most recent destination was India
- ○ Most recent destination was NOT India

Q11.2 READ: For the rest of this interview we will focus on talking about the first job you had (or initially traveled for) in your most recent labour migration experience. If there was more than one job, we will only be asking you about the first job. Please confirm the first job.

Q11.3 How much did any of the following events influence your decision to migrate for work in your most recent migration? [READ OUT EACH ITEM] [ENTER N/A FOR 39 IF NO OTHER ITEMS ARE REPORTED]

	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much	Don't know	N/A	Prefer not to say
Earn money to support family (children/elders/spouse)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Unable to find a job near home	○	○	○	○	○	○
Wanted to see a foreign country	○	○	○	○	○	○
Was approached by recruiter/agent/broker	○	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone else around here was migrating for work	○	○	○	○	○	○
Outstanding debt from a previous migration experience (for self or other family member)	○	○	○	○	○	○
A family member insisted that you migrate for work	○	○	○	○	○	○
Urgent need of money (illness, outstanding debt-not migration related)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Escape violence by someone IN your family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Escape violence by someone OUTSIDE of your family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Political instability	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other, specify:	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q11.4 Who insisted that you should migrate?

Q12.1 [I'm now going to ask you some questions about how you found your (first) job as in your most recent labour migration.]

Q12.2 Did anyone help you arrange for or find the job in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.3 Who helped you arrange for or find the job in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ My family
- ☐ Friends/relatives abroad
- ☐ Friend(s) in Nepal

- ☐ Broker/recruiter/agent
- ☐ Manpower Company / Recruitment Agency
- ☐ Local officials (ie. teachers, journalists, local government officials)
- ☐ Someone in my community
- ☐ A current or past migrant
- ☐ My boy/girl friend
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q12.4 How did you choose the broker / recruiter / agent in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ I was approached by a broker/recruiter/agent (who was a family/friend)
- ○ I was approached by a broker/recruiter/agent (who was NOT a family/friend)
- ○ I was referred to / approached a broker/recruiter/agent (who was a family/friend)
- ○ I was referred to a broker/recruiter/agent (who was NOT a family/friend)
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.5 What was the most important consideration for choosing the Manpower Company / Recruitment Agency in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Referral/recommendation
- ○ I know of a Manpower Company / or of someone who works there
- ○ From newspaper advertisement
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.6 What did the recruiter, broker or agent help you to organize in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ The job
- ☐ Connecting me with the Manpower Company or employer
- ☐ Labour permit
- ☐ Passport
- ☐ Contract
- ☐ Skills training
- ☐ Pre-departure orientation training
- ☐ Medical clearance
- ☐ Insurance
- ☐ Visa
- ☐ Other documents, please specify: _____
- ☐ Travel/transportation arrangements
- ☐ Facilitate loans
- ☐ Provision of necessary items (equipment/clothing)
- ☐ Method of remitting money home from abroad
- ☐ Other, specify: _____

- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q12.7 You mentioned you also received help from others apart from the agent for your job in your most recent labour migration. What types of help did you receive from other individuals, apart from the agent? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Finding a broker / agent / recruiter
- ❑ Finding a Manpower Company / recruitment agency
- ❑ Getting the job
- ❑ Employment contract
- ❑ Loans
- ❑ Other documents, please specify: _____
- ❑ Trainings
- ❑ Medical clearance
- ❑ Labour permit
- ❑ Visa
- ❑ Travel/transportation arrangements
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q12.8 Before you left Nepal for your job in your most recent labour migration, did you attend any training course/programme?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ N/A

Q12.9 What types of training course/programme did you attend? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Skills
- ❑ Language & culture of destination country
- ❑ Financial literacy / money management / savings
- ❑ Rights and responsibilities at destination
- ❑ Pre-departure orientation training
- ❑ English language training
- ❑ Other: specify _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q12.10 Was the pre-departure orientation training you attended run by a private agency or a NGO?

- ○ Private agencies (authorised by government)
- ○ NGOs
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.11 How did you find out about the training programme/courses available? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ From my own previous migration experience
- ❑ From the agent
- ❑ From the Manpower Company or the employer
- ❑ From family/friends
- ❑ From returned migrant(s)
- ❑ From current migrant(s) (who is/are currently abroad)
- ❑ From community organisation(s) or NGOs
- ❑ From community awareness programmes (radio or TV)
- ❑ From governmental agencies
- ❑ From schools (schools/colleges/universities)
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q12.12 What was the reason you did not attend any training course/programme prior to leaving Nepal for your work in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Was not aware of any
- ○ Did not have time to attend
- ○ Did not have the money to pay for it
- ○ Did not want to attend
- ○ Did not need to attend
- ○ Was told not to attend or no point in attending
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.13 Did you have to pay for your migration expenses (ie, travel, recruitment fees, expenses for documents, trainings, etc) to go work in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q12.14 What did you have to pay for? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Agency/recruitment fees
- ❑ Passport
- ❑ Medical clearance certificate
- ❑ Visa
- ❑ Insurance
- ❑ Welfare fund
- ❑ Transport / travel
- ❑ Training (pre-departure and others)
- ❑ Lumpsum for various expenses
- ❑ Other: specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q12.15 How did you get the money to pay for them? MARK ALL THAT APPLY Do not read out the options

- ❑ I had the money
- ❑ Sold land or goods (other assets, jewellery etc)
- ❑ Given by my family
- ❑ Borrowed from relatives/friends/neighbours
- ❑ Borrowed form money lender/financial institutions
- ❑ Paid for by agent, employer or manpower company to be deducted from wages
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Prefer not to answer

Q12.16 In total, approximately how much money did you borrow to pay for your labour migration expenses to work in your most recent labour migration? [If unsure, ask for an estimate.]

- ❍ Amount, specify (in NRP): _____
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Prefer not to say

Q12.17 Before leaving Nepal to go work in your most recent labour migration, did you:

	No	Yes	Don't know	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
Obtain medical clearance	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Obtain a labour permit	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Obtain a visa	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Obtain foreign employment life term insurance	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Pay into the Welfare fund	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q12.18 Before leaving your home (village) to go work in your most recent labour migration, were you aware that sometimes people who migrate for work could be deceived about their work details or conditions?

- ❍ No
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Don't know
- ❍ Prefer not to say

Q12.19 How did you hear about this information? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ From my own previous migration experience
- ❑ Billboards, posters, brochures
- ❑ Radio programmes
- ❑ Television
- ❑ Newspapers/magazines
- ❑ Community awareness information sessions/street dramas
- ❑ From returned or current migrant(s)
- ❑ From family / relatives / friends

- ❑ From the recruiter / broker / agent
- ❑ From the Manpower Company / Recruitment agency
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember

Q12.20 Did this information change any aspect of your migration plans in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember

Q12.21 Which aspects of your migration plans changed? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Changed type of work
- ❑ Changed destination
- ❑ Changed travel arrangements (ie. go via TIA or not)
- ❑ Attended training
- ❑ Sought more information in advance
- ❑ Verified the information received (work details, permit, visa)
- ❑ Changed broker or Manpower Company
- ❑ Obtained all the required documents (contract, medical certificate, welfare fund, visa, labour permit)
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q13.1 Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your written work contract for your job in your most recent labour migration..Did you have a written work contract before you left Nepal?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q13.2 [Please read the questions below to participant]

	No	Yes	Don't remember	Don't know	Prefer not to say
Had you seen a copy of your work contract before you left Nepal?	○	○	○	○	○
Did you sign your work contract before you left Nepal?	○	○	○	○	○
Did you understand the terms and conditions in the contract you signed?	○	○	○	○	○

Q13.3 Did you inform your family about your job details prior to leaving home (Nepal)?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q13.4 How important did you think having a work contract for your job in your most recent labour migration experience was before you left Nepal?

- ○ Very important
- ○ Somewhat important
- ○ Not very important
- ○ Not important at all
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Did not know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q13.5 Why did you think it was important? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ To obtain the required authorization to migrate for work
- ☐ Enforce salary payment
- ☐ Enforce free time/vacation/time off
- ☐ Enforce all terms and conditions written in contract
- ☐ Option to leave employment/employer
- ☐ Seek help with authorities
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Don't remember

Q13.6 Were you asked to sign a different contract after arrival for your job in your most recent labour migration, with different terms and conditions than the one signed in Nepal?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q13.7 Before you left Nepal or on your arrival at destination in your most recent labour migration, did you have contact details for any organisations or individuals who you could contact if needed? [DO NOT Read options] [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ No
- ☐ Organisations working with migrant workers (in Nepal)
- ☐ Organisations working with migrant workers (in destination)
- ☐ Nepalese Embassy
- ☐ Workers' unions in Nepal
- ☐ Workers' unions at destination
- ☐ Migrant groups at destination
- ☐ Returned migrants in Nepal
- ☐ Other migrants in destination
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q14.1 I will now ask you about your work and living conditions. I will first ask you the information you had received before you left your home (village) to go work in your most recent labour migration. After that I will then ask you whether the information you were given was accurate or not. For each item I

read out, please tell me whether you had discussed the information verbally or in writing with your agent or Manpower Company. Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
Country, city or town where you would be working?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.2 Was the country, city or town where you would be working the same as what you had discussed?

❍ No
❍ Yes
❍ Don't remember
❍ Prefer not to say

Q14.3 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
The type of work you would be doing?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.4 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.5 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Your employer's name or the company name?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.6 Was the employer or the company name the same as what you had discussed?

❍ No
❍ Yes
❍ Don't remember
❍ Prefer not to say

Q14.7 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Meal and food arrangements?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.8 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.9 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Living and sleeping conditions?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.10 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.11 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
The amount you would be paid?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.12 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.13 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
How often you would be paid?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.14 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.15 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Your working hours?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.16 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.17 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Overtime hours and pay?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.18 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.19 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Time off and vacation?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.20 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.21 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Your rights and responsibilities as a foreign worker?	○	○	○	○	○

Q14.22 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.23 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Duration of employment?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.24 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.25 Did you discuss:

	Not discussed	Discussed or agreed verbally	Agreed in writing or contract	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Penalties if you wanted to leave before end of the employment term?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.26 Would you say the actual situation was the same, better or worse than discussed?

Q14.27 How did you travel to your most recent labour migration?
- ❍ Flight from Kathmandu
- ❍ Overland to India (destination NOT India)
- ❍ Other, specify: _____
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Prefer not to say

Q14.28 Did you stop anywhere for over 48 hours (2 days) in transit from Nepal to your final destination.
- ❍ No
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ Don't remember

Q14.29 How long did you stay in India before departing to your destination? Please specify number of days.

Days: _____

Q14.30 Was permission obtained not to fly from Kathmandu airport?
- ❍ No
- ❍ Yes

- ❍ Don't know
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Prefer not to say

Q14.31 READ ALOUD: WHEN WORKING AWAY FROM HOME, PEOPLE HAVE GOOD AND BAD EXPERIENCES. NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT THE WORK YOU DID WHILE YOU WERE AWAY AND ABOUT YOUR LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, SUCH AS WHERE YOU SLEPT, MEALS AND FREE TIME. THESE QUESTIONS ARE AGAIN RELATED TO THE FIRST JOB YOU DID IN

YOUR MOST RECENT LABOUR MIGRATION EXPERIENCE ONLY. I WOULD LIKE AGAIN TO ASSURE YOU THAT YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT SECRET AND THAT YOU DO NOT HAVE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU DO NOT WANT TO. MAY I CONTINUE?

Q14.32 Did your employer provide housing (accommodation) for you while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.33 How would you describe your sleeping arrangements while you were working as in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Slept in my own private bedroom
- ○ Had my own bed in a room shared with other workers
- ○ Shared a bed or mattress with other workers
- ○ Slept on the floor in a room shared with other workers
- ○ Shared a room with employer's family member (children or elderly being cared for)
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.34 Were you ever locked in your working space during working hours while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.35 Were you ever locked in your living space during sleeping hours while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.36 If there was an emergency, would you have been able to escape?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.37 How would you best described your food arrangements while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Had sufficient food
- ○ Ate every day but only one meal per day
- ○ Regularly went without food for more than one day
- ○ Ate only left over food from others' unfinished plates (food previously served to others)
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.38 How would you best describe your access to clean drinking water while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Whenever I needed / wanted (without asking)
- ○ Whenever I asked for it
- ○ Only at specific times each day
- ○ Insufficient amount most days
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.39 Who kept possession of your identification / legal papers while you were working in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Employer
- ☐ Myself
- ☐ Recruitment agency at destination
- ☐ Other specify: _____
- ☐ Did not take any ID documents with me
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q14.40 Were you able to get them back if you wanted to /asked for them?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't know (did not asked for them)
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.41 While working in your most recent labour migration how often did your employer do any of the following:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't remember	Prefer not to say	N/A
Made you work for more than 8 hours per day without additional pay	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Gave you rest breaks of 30 minutes or more per 8 hour shift	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Made you work when you were sick or injured	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Made you do dangerous work or work that could hurt you	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Make you work for a longer period (weeks or months) in order to receive outstanding wages	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Deduct money from your wages as a punishment.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Gave you time to do leisure activities	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Allowed you to leave the work premise during non-working hours	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threatened to not pay you	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threatened to dismiss/fire you	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threatened to call the police or authorities	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.42 How many days a week did you usually work in a typical week when you worked in your most recent labour migration?

- ❍ Number of days: _____
- ❍ Not fixed
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Don't know

Q14.43 How many hours per day, excluding breaks, did you usually work in a typical work day when you worked in your most recent labour migration?

- ❍ Number of hours: _____
- ❍ Don't remember
- ❍ Don't know

Q14.44 How often were you paid?

- ○ Never
- ○ Daily
- ○ Weekly
- ○ Once a month
- ○ Every two months
- ○ Between >2 and 6 months
- ○ Between >6 and 12 months
- ○ Various, it was not at regular intervals
- ○ At the end of my contract period
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.45 How much were you paid on average each month at the BEGINNING (STARTING SALARY) of your work in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Amount in NRP: _____
- ○ Amount in another currency (state amount and currency): _____
- ○ Different amount paid each month
- ○ Was paid in-kind
- ○ Other situation. Specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.46 How were your wages paid? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ In cash
- ☐ By cheque
- ☐ Deposited in bank by employer
- ☐ Via savings my employer kept for me
- ☐ Paid to recruitment agency, who then paid me
- ☐ Directly sent to my family in Nepal by my employer at my request
- ☐ In kind – through buying me things I needed (ie. food, clothing, phone cards, hygiene products)
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q14.47 Did your employer take any deductions off from your wages in your first job at your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q14.48 Were your wages deducted for any of the following items? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY] [READ OPTIONS]

	Yes	No	Don't know	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
Travel costs	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Recruitment agency costs (in Nepal)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Application fees for documents required to travel for the job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Accommodation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Food	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Use of phone, internet or electricity at employer's home	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Absence from work due to illness (while you were entitled to sick leave allowance)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other, specify	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q14.49 Did you receive all the money owed to you before you returned to Nepal from your most recent labour migration?

❍ No
❍ Yes
❍ Don't remember
❍ N/A (no money was owed or only in Nepal on leave)

Q15.1 Thank you. Now I'd like to ask you about the type of work you did and the work environment.

Q15.2 Did you do any of the following activities while working in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY] READ OUT OPTIONS

❑ Lift heavy loads
❑ Work with harsh chemicals, cleaning solutions
❑ Operate big or heavy machinery
❑ Work at heights
❑ Work with or near pesticides
❑ Work with raw meat/fish
❑ Work near road traffic
❑ Work long hours in the outside in cold or heat without a break
❑ Other hazardous work-related activities, specify: _____
❑ Did not do any of the above activities for work
❑ Don't remember
❑ Prefer not to say

Q15.3 What types of protection gear were you give for your work in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY] DO NOT Read options

❑ No protective gear given
❑ Gloves, masks, goggles
❑ Helmet or hard hat
❑ Light, head-lamp or torch
❑ Life vest

- ❑ Protective shoes/boots
- ❑ Harness
- ❑ Protective clothing or hat to protect from hot or cold weather
- ❑ Condoms
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q15.4 Have you had any of the following injuries resulting from your work in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY] [READ OUT OPTIONS]

- ❑ Deep or very long cut?
- ❑ Very bad burn (not sun burn)?
- ❑ Serious head injury?
- ❑ Back or neck injury and related injury?
- ❑ Skin damage or injury?
- ❑ Broken bone?
- ❑ Lost of a body part?
- ❑ Eye injury/damage?
- ❑ Ear damage?
- ❑ Heat related illness?
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Didn't have any of the above injuries
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q15.5 How many times did you have a serious injury (like the ones I just asked about) resulting from your work or accidents at work? By serious injury I mean an injury that caused you pain or difficulty for 2 days or more. Again I am referring only to your first job in your most recent labour migration experience.

- ○ None
- ○ State number of times: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q15.6 Do any of the injuries still cause you pain or difficulty?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q15.7 While you were working in your most recent labour migration did you have any health-related problems for which you thought you needed to see a doctor, nurse or other medical professional (eg. pharmacists and health workers)?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

If Yes Is Not Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q15.8 What type of problems did you want to receive care or treatment for? List all problems mentioned:

Q15.9 Did you receive medical care/treatment for that (those) problems?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes, for all of them
- ○ Yes, for some of them
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q15.10 From whom did you receive treatment? [ONLY INCLUDE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO PROVIDED TREATMENT] [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Doctor
- ☐ Nurse
- ☐ Traditional Healer / Sharman
- ☐ Health Worker
- ☐ Pharmacists/Chemists
- ☐ Employer
- ☐ Co-worker
- ☐ Friend
- ☐ NGO
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q15.11 Did you have to pay for the medical care/treatment (either from cash you had or had some of your wages deducted)?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes, all of it
- ○ Yes, some of it
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q15.12 Who paid for the remaining expenses? MARK ALL THAT APPLY

- ○ Employer
- ○ NGO (destination or Nepal)
- ○ Government of destination
- ○ Insurance of destination country or of Nepal
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Don't remember

Q16.1 Outside your working hours in your most recent labour migration how often were you able to do any of the following?

	Almost never	Sometimes	Almost always	Never tried	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Talk to anyone you wanted over the phone	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Go out unaccompanied for religious services/matters	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Go out unaccompanied for leisure or personal matters (excluding for religious purposes)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Watch television or listen to the radio	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q16.2 During your time working in your most recent labour migration did you ever wanted to leave the job?

❍ Yes I wanted to and did leave
❍ Yes I wanted to but did not leave
❍ No, I did not want to leave
❍ Prefer not to say

Q16.3 What prevented you from leaving that job? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

❑ Not aware of other available jobs
❑ Did not know how to look for another job
❑ Family had too much debt at home
❑ Fear of being arrested or deported
❑ Outstanding debts to employer or recruitment agency
❑ My employer owed me unpaid wages
❑ I did not have access to my passport or other documents
❑ I did not have any opportunity to leave
❑ My employer would not let me go
❑ My family depended on me or my income
❑ My employer or recruitment agent threatened to be violent against my family
❑ I did not want to damage my family's relations or reputation
❑ Other, specify: _____
❑ Don't know
❑ Don't remember

Q16.4 Why did you leave the job you originally travelled for? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

❑ I was not paid by the employer
❑ I was physically, sexually or emotionally abused by employer/family
❑ I did not like the work conditions (hours, type of work, etc)
❑ I was rescued by authorities/NGO
❑ I was no longer needed by my employers
❑ I finished repaying my debts to my employer/recruiter
❑ A better opportunity came up
❑ I was promoted to a better post working for the same employer
❑ Other, specify: _____
❑ Prefer not to say

Q16.5 How did you leave the job you originally travelled for? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ I left on my own and sought help
- ❑ I contacted someone else for help (ie. neighbour, friend, other migrant etc)
- ❑ I was rescued by authorities (police, labour inspectors etc) or NGO
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q16.6 Did you obtain a work permit for the new job?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Did not try to get one
- ○ Was not necessary to get one
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ N/A
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q17.1 FOR INTERVIEWERS TO READ OUT LOUD: I WILL NOW ASK YOU ABOUT SOME EXPERIENCES THAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU DURING THE TIME YOU WERE ABROAD AND ABOUT YOUR TREATMENT BY YOUR EMPLOYER, YOUR EMPLOYER'S FAMILY OR FRIENDS, INCLUDING ANY SECURITY STAFF OR MANAGER. IF ANYONE INTERRUPTS US, I WILL CHANGE THE TOPIC OF CONVERSATION. I WOULD LIKE AGAIN TO ASSURE YOU THAT YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL AND THAT YOU DO NOT HAVE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU DO NOT WANT TO. MAY I CONTINUE?

Q17.2 In your work in your most recent labour migration, how often did someone responsible for your employment, including the agency or your employer, employer's family, friends or security staff or a more senior staff (manager, supervisor) ever did any of the following things to you:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't remember	Prefer not to say
Threatened to hurt you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Yelled, insulted or humiliated you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Damaged or destroyed your personal belongings on purpose?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Intentionally damaged or ripped your clothing (while you wearing them)?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Slapped, hit you with a fist or threw something at you that could hurt you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Pushed, shoved, kicked, dragged or beat you up?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Tied, chained or choked you on purpose?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threatened to use a gun, knife or other weapon against you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Used a gun, knife or other weapon to hurt you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Burnt you on purpose (e.g. with a hot iron or by pouring hot water on you)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Made you have sex with them, their friends, relatives or others against your wishes?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Made you take drugs, alcohol or illegal substances	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Threaten to hurt your family?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q18.1 I am now going to ask you some questions about your communication with others while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

Q18.2 Did you have a mobile phone that worked?

❍ Yes
❍ No
❍ Don't remember
❍ Prefer not to say

Q18.3 Did your employer, their family or staff ever take away or keep your mobile phone?

❍ No
❍ Yes
❍ N/A - did not have a phone
❍ Don't remember
❍ Prefer not to say

Q18.4 What did you use your mobile phone for in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

❑ Stay in touch with family and friends in Nepal

- ❑ Get in touch with friends/acquaintances/other migrants at destination
- ❑ Talk to employer, employer's family or friends
- ❑ Get online (access Facebook, Viber, Skype etc)
- ❑ Listen to music, play games, other entertainment or read the news
- ❑ Contact agent (in Nepal or at destination)
- ❑ Contact Nepali authorities / embassy or NGOs in Nepal
- ❑ Contact authorities or NGOs of destination country
- ❑ For finances: mobile banking or to send remittance
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q18.5 Did you contact any NGO or migrant organisations (either in Nepal or in destination country) while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No, I had no need
- ○ No, I was not aware of any NGO, migrant organisation
- ○ No, I did not have their contact details
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not answer

Q18.6 Did you have contact with other migrant workers while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q18.7 How did you contact other migrant workers? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ In person (e.g., at market, meeting places, during social events, etc.)
- ❑ Using my own mobile telephone
- ❑ Using my employer's landline telephone
- ❑ Using the internet
- ❑ Passing messages through others (ie. neighbours or others)
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not answer

Q18.8 Were the contact details of your friends and family (for example, in a phone or address book) taken away by your employer (including their family or staff) or the recruitment agency while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q18.9 Did you communicate with family or friends back in Nepal while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q18.10 How did you communicate with family and friends back in Nepal while you were working in your most recent labour migration? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Using my own mobile telephone to call or send text messages
- ☐ Using my employer's landline telephone
- ☐ Using social network apps over the internet
- ☐ Passing messages through someone else to pass on to my family/friends in Nepal
- ☐ Through posting letters
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q18.11 How often did you communicate with your family or friends back home while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Daily
- ○ Weekly
- ○ Every 2-3 weeks
- ○ Monthly
- ○ Every 2-5 months
- ○ Every 6-11 months
- ○ Annually
- ○ Only when necessary
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Q18.12 Could your family or friends (in Nepal or in destination country) contact you if they wanted to while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q19.1 Before leaving Nepal, did you agree with your family whether you will send money back home while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q19.2 Did you actually send money home while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes

- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q19.3 How often did you typically send money home?
- ○ Monthly
- ○ Every two months
- ○ Every three to six months
- ○ Once a year
- ○ Not regularly / only as needed
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Q19.4 How often did you save money while you were working in your most recent labour migration?
- ○ Never
- ○ Regularly from monthly income
- ○ Every few months
- ○ Sometimes, when I have spare money
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Q20.1 What was the MAIN reason you returned to Nepal from your most recent labour migration?
- ○ On holiday/visit (will return to same employer/job)
- ○ Contract ended
- ○ Illness in the family
- ○ Ran away from employer
- ○ Was not satisfied with the work conditions
- ○ Could not find another job at destination
- ○ Deported by destination authorities
- ○ Rescued by NGO or police (or other authorities)
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q20.2 How did you pay for your return trip to Nepal? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]
- ☐ Through savings from my wages
- ☐ My employer purchased the ticket
- ☐ My family/friends sent me the money/ticket
- ☐ I was assisted by a NGO
- ☐ I was assisted by the Nepalese Embassy
- ☐ I was assisted by friends/other migrants
- ☐ I borrowed the money
- ☐ I was deported
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

Q20.3 What did you plan to do when you returned to Nepal? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Buy land or build a house
- ☐ Take care of my family/children
- ☐ Get married or start a family (have children)
- ☐ Start a business
- ☐ Work in family business
- ☐ Look for work locally (same district)
- ☐ Look for work in other parts of Nepal (different district)
- ☐ Look for another job abroad
- ☐ Retire
- ☐ I had no plans
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Prefer not to answer

Q21.1 I am now going to ask you some questions about future re-migration for work.

Q21.2 Would you consider remigrating to another country (including India) for work again?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q21.3 What is the MAIN reason you would consider migrating for work again?

- ○ Had good migration experience before
- ○ Could not find a job nearby
- ○ Do not earn enough money in my job here
- ○ Need to earn money to pay off outstanding debts
- ○ Need to support family (including children, parents, etc)
- ○ If I were approached by recruiter
- ○ Avoid experiencing violence at home
- ○ Avoid an unwanted marriage
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q21.4 What is the MAIN reason you would not consider migrating for work again?

- ○ Would like to stay close to my family
- ○ Did not have good migration experience in the past
- ○ Do not have money to migrate
- ○ Have found employment locally
- ○ Family disagrees with migration
- ○ Health problems
- ○ Too old
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q21.5 If you were to migrate again for work, when do you think you might migrate?

- ○ Within the next month
- ○ Between the next 1 and 6 months
- ○ More than 6 months from now
- ○ Don't know yet
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q21.6 What type of work would you consider doing in your next labour migration experience? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Agriculture or farming
- ☐ Cleaner
- ☐ Construction
- ☐ Porter
- ☐ Domestic Work
- ☐ Carer / work in old age care home or hospice
- ☐ Child care work
- ☐ Factory work, please specify sector: _____
- ☐ Restaurant, hospitality, tourism
- ☐ Office work
- ☐ Retail (sales/cashier)
- ☐ Security guard
- ☐ Transportation
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Any job I can find or get
- ☐ Don't know yet
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q21.7 In which destination would you consider working next?

- ☐ India
- ☐ Malaysia
- ☐ Qatar
- ☐ Saudi Arabia
- ☐ UAE
- ☐ Kuwait
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Wherever I can find work
- ☐ Don't know yet

Q21.8 If someone you knew wanted to migrate for work, how would you advise them to go about it so that they can have a good/safe experience?

Q22.1 We have been talking only about the first job you had in your most recent labour migration experience. I would now like to ask you a few final questions about experiences in ANY of your previous labour migration experiences.

Q22.2 In any of your previous labour migration experiences have you ever experienced any of the following ?

	No	Yes	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
Were you ever physically abused such as hit with fist or object or worse, by your employer, their family, or their friends?	○	○	○	○	○
Were you ever financially cheated of what was owed/promised to you?	○	○	○	○	○
Were you ever prevented from leaving your employer?	○	○	○	○	○
Were you ever seriously injured doing your job?	○	○	○	○	○

Q23.1 Thank you very much. I know that some of these questions were not easy, but your responses were very helpful.

Q23.2 What is your best hope for the future? [DO NOT READ OPTIONS] [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Have money
- ❑ Have family
- ❑ Have own business
- ❑ Have job
- ❑ Get married
- ❑ Go to college/university
- ❑ Remigrate for work outside of Nepal
- ❑ No particular hopes
- ❑ Other, specify _____
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Prefer not to say

Q23.3 This interview is nearly over and I would like to know how you felt about talking to me about your experiences. Please can you tell me, was this interview: easy, a bit difficult, or difficult?

- ○ Easy
- ○ A bit difficult
- ○ Difficult
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q23.4 Do you have any questions for me?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Q23.5 [PLEASE WRITE DOWN THE QUESTION(S)]

Q24.1 [BECAUSE OUR QUESTIONNAIRE CANNOT HELP US UNDERSTAND PEOPLE'S WHOLE STORY OF THEIR EXPERIENCES WHILE THEY WERE AWAY, WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTACT A FEW PEOPLE AT A LATER DATE TO SEE IF THEY WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THEIR STORY. ARE YOU HAPPY TO HAVE US COME BACK TO TALK TO YOU MORE ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE AND FOR YOUR ADVICE TO OTHERS WHO WANT TO MIGRATE? WE EXPECT

THIS WILL BE IN A FEW MONTHS' TIME. If you say yes now you can still change your mind later, when we return.

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know

Q24.2 Could you please tell me why not?

- ☐ No reason
- ☐ Too many questions
- ☐ Don't like questions
- ☐ Too tiring or upsetting
- ☐ No time, too busy
- ☐ Not available
- ☐ No particular reason
- ☐ Other, specify: _____

Q24.3 THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME IN HELPING US COMPLETE THIS SURVEY.

Q25.1 [THE SECTION IS FOR INTERVIEWER TO COMPLETE.] Was the interview completed?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes

Q25.2 Why was the interview not completed?

- ○ Interrupted by someone
- ○ Respondent needed to leave
- ○ Other, specify: _____

Q26.1 How much did any of the following events influence your decision to migrate for work in your most recent labour migration? [READ OUT EACH ITEM] [ENTER N/A FOR 'OTHER' IF NO OTHER ITEMS ARE REPORTED]

	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much	Don't know	N/A	Prefer not to say
Earn money to support family (children/elders/spouse)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Unable to find a job near home	○	○	○	○	○	○
Wanted to see a foreign country	○	○	○	○	○	○
Was approached by recruiter/agent/broker	○	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone else around here was migrating for work	○	○	○	○	○	○
Outstanding debt from a previous migration experience (for self or other family member)	○	○	○	○	○	○
A family member insisted that you migrate for work	○	○	○	○	○	○
Urgent need of money (illness, outstanding debt-not migration related)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Escape violence by someone IN your family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Escape violence by someone OUTSIDE of your family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Political instability	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other, specify:	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q26.2 Did anyone help you arrange for or find the job?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.3 Who helped you? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ My family
- ☐ Friends/relatives abroad
- ☐ Broker/recruiter/agent
- ☐ Manpower Company / Recruitment Agency
- ☐ Someone in my community
- ☐ A friend
- ☐ A current or past migrant
- ☐ My boy/girl friend
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q26.4 Did you have to pay for your migration expenses (ie, recruitment fees, expenses for documents, trainings, etc) in your most recent migration ?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.5 How did you get the money to pay for them? MARK ALL THAT APPLY Do not read out the options

- ❑ I had the money
- ❑ Sold land or goods (other assets, jewellery etc)
- ❑ Given by my family
- ❑ Borrowed from relatives/friends/neighbours
- ❑ Borrowed form money lender/financial institutions
- ❑ Paid for by agent, employer or manpower company to be deducted from wages
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Don't know
- ❑ Prefer not to answer

Q26.6 Before leaving your home (village) to go work for your most recent labour migration experience, were you aware that sometimes people who migrate for work could be deceived about their work details or conditions?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.7 While working for your employer, were you ever locked in your work place during working hours or locked in your living space during sleeping hours?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.8 Did you send money home while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.9 How often did you save money while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Never
- ○ Regularly from monthly income
- ○ Every few months
- ○ Sometimes, when I have spare money
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to answer

Q26.10 During your time working in your most recent migration, did you have a serious injury (such as broken bones, lost of body part, sight, hearing loss, back or neck injury) resulting from your work or

accidents at work? By serious injury I mean an injury that caused you pain or difficulty for 2 days or more. I am referring only to your first job in your most recent labour migration experience.

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.11 Do any of the injuries still cause you pain or difficulty?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.12 During your time working, did you ever wanted to leave the job?

- ○ Yes I wanted to and did leave
- ○ Yes I wanted to but did not leave
- ○ No, I did not want to leave
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.13 What prevented you from leaving that job? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ Not aware of other available jobs
- ☐ Did not know how to look for another job
- ☐ Family had too much debt at home
- ☐ Fear of being arrested or deported
- ☐ Outstanding debts to employer or recruitment agency
- ☐ My employer owed me unpaid wages
- ☐ I did not have access to my passport or other documents
- ☐ I did not have any opportunity to leave
- ☐ My employer would not let me go
- ☐ My family depended on me or my income
- ☐ My employer or recruitment agent threatened to be violent against my family
- ☐ I did not want to damage my family's relations or reputation
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Don't remember

Q26.14 Why did you leave the job you originally travelled for? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ I was not paid by the employer
- ☐ I was physically, sexually or emotionally abused by employer/family
- ☐ I did not like the work conditions (hours, type of work, etc)
- ☐ I was rescued by authorities/NGO
- ☐ I was no longer needed by my employers
- ☐ I finished repaying my debts to my employer/recruiter
- ☐ A better opportunity came up
- ☐ I was promoted by the same employer
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q26.15 How did you leave the job you originally travelled forr? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ I left on my own and sought help
- ☐ I contacted someone else for help (ie. neighbour, friend, other migrant etc)
- ☐ I was rescued by authorities (police, labour inspectors etc) or NGO
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Q26.16 Did you communicate with family or friends back in Nepal while you were working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.17 Did you have contact with other migrant workers while working in your most recent labour migration?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.18 How did you contact your family, friends or other migrant workers? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ☐ In person (e.g., at market, meeting places, during social events, etc.)
- ☐ Using my own mobile telephone
- ☐ Using my employer's landline telephone
- ☐ Using the internet
- ☐ Passing messages through others (ie. neighbours or others)
- ☐ Posting letters
- ☐ Other, specify: _____
- ☐ Don't remember
- ☐ Prefer not answer

Q26.19 What was the MAIN reason you returned to Nepal from your most recent labour migration?

- ○ Contract ended
- ○ Illness in the family
- ○ Ran away from employer
- ○ Was not satisfied with the work conditions
- ○ Could not find another job at destination
- ○ Deported by destination authorities
- ○ Rescued by NGO or police (or other authorities)
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't remember
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.20 How did you pay for your return trip to Nepal? [MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

- ❑ Through savings from my wages
- ❑ My employer purchased the ticket
- ❑ My family/friends sent me the money/ticket
- ❑ I was assisted by a NGO
- ❑ I was assisted by the Nepalese Embassy
- ❑ I was assisted by friends/other migrants
- ❑ I borrowed the money
- ❑ I was deported
- ❑ Other, specify: _____
- ❑ Don't remember
- ❑ Prefer not to answer

Q26.21 Would you consider remigrating to another country (including India) for work again?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.22 What is the MAIN reason you would consider migrating for work again?

- ○ Had good migration experience before
- ○ Could not find a job nearby
- ○ Do not earn enough money in my job here
- ○ Need to earn money to pay off outstanding debts
- ○ Need to support family (including children, parents, etc)
- ○ If I were approached by recruiter
- ○ Avoid experiencing violence at home
- ○ Avoid an unwanted marriage
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.23 What is the MAIN reason you would not consider migrating for work again?

- ○ Would like to stay close to my family
- ○ Did not have good migration experience in the past
- ○ Do not have money to migrate
- ○ Have found employment locally
- ○ Family disagrees with migration
- ○ Health problems
- ○ Too old
- ○ Other, specify: _____
- ○ Don't know
- ○ Prefer not to say

Q26.24 In any of your previous labour migration experiences have you ever experienced any of the following?

	No	Yes	Don't remember	N/A	Prefer not to say
Were you ever physically abused such as hit with fist or object or worse, by your employer, their family, or their friends?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Were you ever financially cheated of what was owed/promised to you?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Were you ever prevented from leaving your employer?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Were you ever seriously injured doing your job?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q26.25 This interview is nearly over and I would like to know how you felt about talking to me about your experiences. Please can you tell me, was this interview: easy, a bit difficult, or difficult?

- ❍ Easy
- ❍ A bit difficult
- ❍ Difficult
- ❍ Don't know
- ❍ Prefer not to say

9.3.4 Additional descriptive analysis of survey data

Most recent and 2nd most recent destinations if these were different				Most recent and 2nd most recent destinations if these were the same	
Destination 1	**Destination 2**	**N**		**Destination**	**N**
Malaysia	India	5		India	26
Qatar	Malaysia	3		Malaysia	8
Saudi	Malaysia	3		China	1
Saudi	India	3		Saudi	1
Qatar	Saudi	2		UAE	1
Malaysia	Qatar	2			
Malaysia	Saudi	2			
Saudi	Qatar	2			
Iraq	UAE	1			
Iraq	Malaysia	2			
Qatar	India	1			
Malaysia	Iraq	1			
Malaysia	China	1			
Malaysia	Bhutan	1			
Malaysia	Kuwait	1			
Saudi	UAE	1			
Kuwait	Lebanon	1			
UAE	Malaysia	1			
UAE	Saudi	1			
UAE	India	1			
Bhutan	India	1			

Influences on migration

Types of influences to migrate	Not at all		Somewhat		Very much	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Earn money to support family	9	4.7	11	5.7	173	89.6
No local jobs	54	28.6	48	25.4	87	46
Urgent need for money	112	58.6	23	12	56	29.3
Others in the area are migrating	97	50.3	62	32.1	34	17.6
See foreign country	120	62.5	48	25	24	12.5
Approached by someone	148	81.8	22	12.2	11	6.1
Political unrest	159	82.8	23	12	10	5.2
Debt from previous migration	180	93.3	5	2.6	8	4.2
Family insisted*	181	94.3	7	3.7	4	2.1
Escape violence outside of the household	192	99.5	0	0	1	0.5
Escape violence within the household	192	99.5	1	0.5	0	0

Who helped with migration	All men (n=156)		Returned within past 10 years (n=140)		Returned >10 years ago (n=56)	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Recruitment agency	60	38.5	58	46.4	2	6.5
Broker	37	23.7	37	29.6	0	0
People in Nepal	33	21.2	21	16.8	12	38.7
People abroad	29	18.6	15	12	14	45.2
Family members	14	9	10	8	4	12.9
Migrants	8	5.1	5	4	3	9.7

Selection of agency

How was the agency chosen	N	%
Already know of an agency	29	50
Referral	26	44.8
Newspaper advert	3	5.2

Selection of agent

How was the broker chosen?	N	%
Approached by broker who was a family/friend	12	32.4
Approached by broker who was not a family/friend	6	16.2
Referred to one (who was a family/friend)	7	18.9
Referred to one who was not a family/friend	7	18.9
Looked for one by myself	5	13.5

Types of help received from agent	N	%
Job	37	100
Connect with agency/employer	25	67.6
Permit	17	46
Passport	7	18.9
Contract	11	29.7
Medical clearance	14	37.8
Insurance	9	24.3
Visa	18	48.7
Travel arrangements	7	18.9
Loans	1	2.7
Trainings	5	13.5
The range of types of help provided by brokers were between 1 and 8, the median was 4.		

Types of help received from others	N	%
Job	119	98.4
Manpower company/employer	11	9.1
Loans	9	7.4
Contract	5	4.1
Visa	5	4.1
Travel arrangements	5	4.1
Medical clearance	3	2.5
Accommodation	2	1.7
Broker	2	1.7
Permit	2	1.7
Trainings	1	0.80
Other documents	1	0.8

Trainings attended before leaving Nepal

Types of trainings	N	%
Skills	22	73.3
Pre-departure orientation	13	43.3
Rights	2	6.7
Language	2	6.7
Information about trainings	**N**	**%**
Family/friends	12	40
Manpower company	9	30
Agent	7	23.3
From previous migration	3	10
Community awareness programmes	1	3.3
Schools	1	3.3
Other	1	3.3

Reason for not attending training	N	%
No need	52	46.9
Not aware of any	34	30.6
Not useful	8	7.2
Told not to attend	5	4.5
Already experienced in labour migration	4	3.6
None available at the time	4	3.6
Don't know	2	1.8
No time	2	1.8

Migration costs and payments

Items paid for	N	%
Medical check	78	60.5
Lump sum (not sure what was covered)	73	56.6
Passport	67	51.9
Fees	53	41.1
Travel	31	24
Visa	17	13.2
Insurance	14	10.9
Stay in Kathmandu	14	10.9
Welfare fund	11	8.5
Trainings	7	5.4
Labour permit	2	1.6
Reference	1	0.8
How paid	**N**	**%**
Loan, from family, friends	72	50.7
Borrowed from moneylender	39	27.5
Had own money	27	19
Given by family	24	16.9
Agent/employer paid in advance	1	0.7

How much was borrowed among those who had borrowed	N	%
<50,000 NRS	20	18.2
60,000-100,000 NRS	36	32.7
100,001-110,000	6	5.5
110,001-150,000	25	22.7
150,001-850,000 (max)	10	9.1
Median (IQR) borrowed	100,000 (70,000-130,000)	

Awareness of possible deception

Sources of information on HT	N	%
Family and friends	65	57
TV	57	50
Radio	55	48.3
Newspapers	44	38.6
Other migrants (previous or returnees)	44	38.6
Own previous migration experience	17	14.9
Billboards, posters, brochures	4	3.5
Manpower	3	2.6
Other migrants (previous or returnees)	1	0.9
What aspects of plans changed as a result	**N**	**%**
Sought more info	8	50
Change type of work	4	25
Verify the information given	4	25
Change travel arrangements	2	12.5
Attend training	2	12.5
Change destination	1	6.3
Change manpower	1	6.3
Obtain all the required documents	1	6.3
Other	1	6.3

Contract, agreement details among recent returnees	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Contract obtained before leaving	86	61.9	51	36.7
Saw contract before leaving	86	100	0	0
Signed contract before leaving	75	87.2	9	10.5
Understood contract	57	66.3	26	30.2
Informed family about job	112	79.4	29	20.6

Importance of having a contract before leaving	N	%
very	45	52.3
somewhat	16	18.6
not very important	0	0
not important at all	7	8.1
don't remember	4	4.7
don't know	12	14
refused	2	2.3
Reasons	N	%
Enforce wage	36	62.1
Obtain authorisation to migrate for work	27	46.6
Enforce T&A	24	41.4
Seek help	10	17.2
Prevent problems	5	8.6
Enforced free time/time off	4	6.9
Can leave employer	2	3.5

Frequency of pay	N	%
Never	2	1.4
Daily	7	5
Weekly	1	0.7
Monthly	112	79.4
Every 2 months	2	1.4
Every 3- 6 months	4	2.8
Various, not at regular intervals	3	2.1
At the end of contract	1	0.7

Types of deductions	N	%
Agent fees	2	4.1
Document fees	4	8.2
Accommodation	12	24.5
Food	2	4.1
Governmental tax (Levy – Malaysian tax)	29	59.2
Uniform	2	4.1
Absence or lateness	2	4.1
Utilities	13	26.5
Sick leave	12	24.5
Mistakes/errors (in factory work)	4	8.2

Agreements before leaving Nepal and actual experience at destination	Not discussed		Verbally		In writing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of work	14	9.9	59	41.8	62	44
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			41	69.5	48	77.4
better than discussed			3	5.1	2	3.2
Worse than discussed			15	25.4	11	17.7
Employer/Company	28	19.9	48	34	65	46.1
Among those discussed, the actual was: the same as discussed			38	79.2	58	89.2
Meal and food arrangements	38	27	59	41.8	43	30.5
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			49	83.1	35	81.4
better than discussed			4	6.8	4	9.3
Worse than discussed			6	10.2	4	9.3
Living and sleeping conditions	21	14.9	58	41.1	62	44
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			47	81	51	82.3
better than discussed			2	3.5	5	8.1
Worse than discussed			9	15.5	6	9.7
Amount paid	19	13.5	45	31.9	77	54.6
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			20	44.4	46	59.7
better than discussed			3	6.7	12	15.6

Worse than discussed			22	48.9	19	24.7
Pay frequency	42	29.8	42	29.8	57	40.4
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			29	78.4	38	80.9
better than discussed			3	8.1	4	8.5
Worse than discussed			5	13.5	5	10.6
Working hours	19	13.5	53	37.6	69	48.9
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			36	67.9	59	85.5
better than discussed			4	7.6	1	1.5
Worse than discussed			13	24.5	9	13
Overtime hours and pay	38	27	56	39.7	47	33.3
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			35	62.5	33	70.2
better than discussed			4	7.1	3	6.4
Worse than discussed			17	30.4	11	23.4
Time off and vacation	38	27	45	31.9	55	39
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			38	84.4	50	90.9
better than discussed			0	0	2	3.6
Worse than discussed			7	15.6	3	5.5
Rights as foreign worker	86	61	33	23.4	15	10.6
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			29	87.9	10	66.7
better than discussed			0	0	1	6.7
Worse than discussed			4	12.1	4	26.7
Duration of employment	23	16.3	44	31.2	74	52.5
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			38	86.4	61	82.4
better than discussed			4	9.1	4	5.4
Worse than discussed			2	4.6	9	12.2
Early termination conditions	87	61.7	32	22.7	18	12.8
Among those discussed, the actual was: same as discussed			19	59.4	10	55.6
better than discussed			1	3.1	1	5.6
Worse than discussed			3	9.4	2	11.1

Experiences of violence	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Often		Always	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Threatened to hurt you	134	95	2	1.4	3	2.1	1	0.7	1	0.7
Yell, insult or humiliate you	104	73.8	13	9.2	17	12.1	3	2.1	4	2.8
Intentionally damage your belongings	139	98.6	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.7	0	0
Slap, hit, threw something at you	139	98.6	0	0	2	1.4	0	0	0	0
Push, shove, kick, drag or beat you	139	98.6	2	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tie, chain, choke you	140	99.3	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	0	0

Work hazards and health issues

Types of work related hazards exposed	**N**	**%**
No hazards exposed	61	43.3
Lift heavy loads	41	29.1
Work with chemicals	27	19.2
Operate heavy machinery	28	19.9
Work at heights	25	17.7
Work with pesticides	14	9.9
Work near road traffic	18	12.8
Work long hours in extreme temperature	17	12.1
Other (raw meat/poor air environment)	8	5.8
Health issues needed to see health professionals	**N**	**%**
Yes	69	48.9
Type of medical problem needing assistance	**N**	**%**
General pain	11	29
Joints	7	18.4
Other (respiratory, fractures, jaundice)	7	18.4
Kidney stones	5	13.2
Chest pains	4	10.5
Blood pressure	4	10.5
Infections	3	7.9

Work conditions and freedom of movement and communications

Freedoms of movement and communications	Almost never		Sometimes		Almost always		Never tried	
How often were you able to:	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Talk to anyone you want to over the phone	2	1.4	2	1.4	136	96.5	0	0
Go out unaccompanied for religious reasons	22	15.6	22	15.6	57	40.4	37	26.2
Go out unaccompanied for leisure	8	5.7	20	14.2	107	75.9	6	4.3
Watch TV or listen to the radio	3	2.1	5	5.7	131	92.9	1	0.7

Exploitative experiences

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Often		Always	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Made to work >8 hours/day without additional pay	99	73.3	2	1.5	5	3.7	2	1.5	27	20
Given rest breaks per 8 hour shift	19	14.1	1	0.7	2	1.5	2	1.5	111	82.2
Made to work when sick or injured	110	80.3	3	2.2	8	5.8	6	4.4	10	7.3
Made to do dangerous work	99	71.7	5	3.6	15	10.9	6	4.4	13	9.4
Made to work longer to receive outstanding pay	123	89.8	0	0	3	2.2	3	2.2	8	5.8
Wage deducted as punishment	92	68.7	7	5.2	10	7.5	2	1.5	20	14.9
Given time to do leisure activities	59	42.8	5	3.6	23	16.7	12	8.7	39	28.3
Allowed to leave work premises during non-work hours	34	24.6	1	0.7	17	12.3	10	7.3	76	55.1
Threatened not to be paid	125	90.6	5	3.6	4	2.9	0	0	4	2.9
Threatened to be dismissed	124	89.9	1	0.7	8	5.8	3	2.2	2	1.5
Threatened with calls to authorities	128	92.8	4	2.9	3	2.2	2	1.5	1	0.7

Leaving the job

Ever wanted to leave the job	N	%
No	89	45.9
Yes and did leave	49	25.3
Yes but did not leave	54	27.8

Reasons for not leaving	N	%
Family depended on him/income	19	36.5
Debt at home	16	30.8
No alternative job options	13	25
Employer did not allow	8	15.4
Fear arrest	5	9.6
No access to Id (passport)	5	9.6
Other (no opportunity, reputation)	8	15.4

Reasons for leaving	N	%
Poor conditions	25	51
Better opportunity	8	16.3
Promoted	5	10.2
Pay incorrect	4	8.2
Problems with colleagues	4	8.2
Did not like the work	3	6.1
Wanted to be home	3	6.1
Other (not needed by employer, paid off debt, family reasons)	9	18.4
How left	**N**	**%**
Left on his own	10	30.3
Assisted by others	6	18.2
Ran away	5	15.2
Company sent him home	4	12.1
Refused	3	9.1
Resigned	3	9.1
Rescued	2	6.1
Made excuses to employer	1	3

Communication

How contact with Nepal and destination, multiple options, all respondents	N	%
Own mobile	125	68.7
Post letters	57	31.3
In person	40	22
Internet	33	18.1
Pass message	16	8.8
Other people's phone	11	6
Employer's phone	10	5.5

Frequency of communicaion	N	%
Daily	19	17.6
Weekly	44	40.7
Every 2-3 weeks	8	7.4
Monthly	12	11.1
Every 2-5 months	1	0.9
Only when necessary	23	21.3

Remittances and savings

Remitted money home while abroad?	N	%
Yes	156	80.8
No	37	19.2
How often remitted money, n=140	**N**	**%**
Monthly	9	7.1
Every other month	15	11.8
Every 3-6 months	70	55.1
Annually	1	0.8
Not regularly	32	25.2
How often saved money, n=194	**N**	**%**
Never	85	44
Regularly	64	33.2
Sometimes	43	22.3
Refused	1	0.5

Return to Nepal

Main reason for return to Nepal	N	%
On holiday	12	6.2
Contract ended/company closed	50	25.8
Not satisfied with work conditions	38	19.6
Personal (age, health, education)	14	7.2
Want to do something in Nepal	24	12.4
Want to be with family	32	16.5
Issues at destination	14	7.2
Others*	10	5.2
Others include: accompany friend to return, someone else in the family migrating, politics, financial problems, feeling unsafe		

Return trip cost	N	%
Own money	99	51
Employer paid	88	45.4
Other (family, borrow, friends)	13	6.7

Plans after returning	N	%
Start own business or work in family business	55	42.3
Plan for another migration	26	20
No plans	25	19.2
Care for family	18	13.9
Buy land/build home	16	12.3
Get married/start family	12	9.2
Work in Nepal	6	4.6
Other	6	4.6

Re-migration plans

Consider remigration	N	%
Yes	66	36.1
No	108	59
Don't know	9	4.9
Main reason to migrate again	**N**	**%**
Good migration experience	6	9.1
No jobs locally	11	16.7
Financial reasons or low pay	41	62.1
Family reasons	5	7.6
Other/don't know	3	4.5
Main reason NOT to migrate again	**N**	**%**
Family (stay with family/marriage/family disagrees)	26	23.9
Poor migration experience	10	9.2
Health/old age	47	43.1
Prefer to work in Nepal	22	20.2
Other	4	3.7
When planning to re-migrate	**N**	**%**
Within the next month	5	8.1
In the next 1-6 months	22	35.5
More than 6 months later	20	32.3
Don't know yet	15	24.2
Type of work considered for next migration	**N**	**%**
Factory	17	27.4
Other	12	19.4
Security	10	16.1
Any	8	12.9
Hospitality	6	9.7
Skilled	6	9.7
Transportation	5	8.1
Don't know yet	4	6.5
Destination considered for next migration	**N**	**%**
GCC	29	46.8
Malaysia	20	32.3
Any	8	12.9
Other (Europe, South Korea, Macau)	4	6.5
India	3	4.8

Advice to other individuals who are considering migrating for work

	N	%
Be informed and take contract	35	30.2
Attend skills or language trainings	35	30.2
Verify company and job details	22	19
Do not go; stay in Nepal	19	16.4
Manage required documents	17	14.7
Use recruitment agency	16	13.8
General preparation and cautions	16	13.8
Don't use agents	13	11.2
Advice on behaviours at destination	7	6
How to choose a broker or agency	7	6
Others (destination, jobs)	6	5.2

9.4 Appendix IV: Qualitative study

9.4.1 Information sheet

SWiFT – Nepal

Qualitative study 2016 - Study information sheet

Introduction: Hello, my name is Joelle Mak and I am working with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) on a study aimed at understanding labour migration among Nepali men. I would like to invite you to take part in this research project. Before you decide whether to take part, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read or to listen as I read the following information carefully. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Purpose of the study: I am doing a study on labour migration with Nepali men. I would like to talk to people who have migrated outside of Nepal for work purposes, including those who went to India for work. I would like to learn about their motivations, preparation and experiences whilst working abroad. This research will contribute to my doctoral research.

Why you have been invited to take part: You have been selected to take part in the interview because you have recently returned from working outside of Nepal.

What will happen if I decide to take part: If you decide to take part I will ask you to give sign a consent form to show you have agreed to join the study. You will then take part in a confidential interview with myself and an interpreter. The information collected will not contain anything that can identify you or your household. The information you provide will only be used for research purposes and will not be shared with anyone outside the research teams at LSHTM. The data will also not be shared with the government. The interview will last approximately one hour.

Benefits & risks: Although there is no immediate benefit to you in taking part, the information you provide will help us provide recommendations to improve the information and services needed by both returned and potential migrants.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not wish to and even after agreeing to take part you can choose to not answer a question if you do not wish to. You may choose to stop the interview at any time without giving any reason. We are interested in your experiences and opinions; there are no right or wrong answers.

Further contact: If you would like more information on this study please contact:

Joelle Mak : +977 98188 47191 or by email: Joelle.Mak@lshtm.ac.uk

9.4.2 Consent form

Interview ID number: |KTM00__|

SWiFT – Nepal

Qualitative study 2016

Participant Consent Form

Please tick your response for each statement:

1.	I confirm that I have read /heard and understood the information sheet for the above study.	☐ Yes	☐ No
2.	I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐ Yes	☐ No
3.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	☐ Yes	☐ No
4.	I agree to take part in the above study. (If no, please record the reason for the decline:_____)	☐ Yes	☐ No
5.	I understand that any personal data collected will be kept confidential.	☐ Yes	☐ No
6.	I agree that my interview can be audio recorded.	☐ Yes	☐ No
7.	I agree to be quoted anonymously in project reports, presentations, and articles written for scientific journals if my name and other identifying information are not made available.	☐ Yes	☐ No

I, the participant, consent to taking part in this study.

☐ Yes ☐ No (if no, please state reason: _____)

Date: _____

_____ _____

Participant signature Date

I, the interviewer, have explained the procedures to be followed in this study, and the risks and benefits involved to the participant in a language he understands.

☐ Yes ☐ No

Date: _____

9.4.3 Life history guide

Could you tell me a bit about your childhood?

- Family, home environment, village life
- School life
- Responsibilities at and outside of home
- Changes in home situation during childhood

Could you talk about your life after school (or in early adulthood)?

- Leaving school – reasons, plans
- Responsibilities
- Relationships
  - work
  - family, marriage – decision, children
- Friends/peers

How did you come to thinking about going for foreign employment?

- Options
- Life outside your village
- influence
- Awareness
  - Others' stories and experiences
- What sort of work did you wanted to do abroad? Thought about having to do other work?
- Hopes? Fears?
- Reactions of family / friends – need convincing?

How did you go about planning your foreign employment?

- Recruitment
- Preparations
- Contacts
- Process

Can you talk about your experience while working abroad?

- Initial impressions
- Day to day living and working conditions
- Relationships at work? Living space? Home (parents/wife/children)?
- Culture, social life, relaxation
- Finances
- Health
- Hopes, concerns, fears
- Preparation

What led you to return to Nepal?

- Unresolved issues at destination
- Perceptions – family, friends, community
- Plans

How would you summarise your experience with foreign employment?

- Positive things, benefits
- Negative things, loses

What do you think about migrant organisations and the government could do for migrant workers?

If you met someone who wanted to migrate, what advice would you give them?

9.5 Appendix V: Ethical approvals

9.5.1 LSHTM ethical approval

London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
Keppel Street, London WC1E 7HT
+44 (0)20 7636 8636 • www.lshtm.ac.uk

Joelle Mak
RD Student
LSHTM

14 August 2018

Dear Joelle,

Re: Research Degree Project

Thank you for submitting further information following the audit initiated by Professor Della Freeth, former Pro-Director (Learning & Teaching) in 2017. The aim of the audit was to assure the School that all Research Degree (RD) candidates had obtained the appropriate approvals before they start their projects.

The Research Governance Committee considered the initial results of this audit and recommended further action. As a result, a sub-group of the Research Governance Committee reviewed RD projects without valid LSHTM ethics approval in their name, as this has been a requirement since 2014.

As members of this sub-group of the Research Governance Committee, we have reviewed your project and supporting documents. We are satisfied that the aims and analyses are sufficiently detailed in your supervisor(s)' project, LSHTM ref 7021.

Should other data collection or analytical methods not detailed in the existing ethics approval be required for your project, please submit an application to the LSHTM ethics committee prior to any further data collection or analysis of the data/tissue.

Should you have any queries, please contact Patricia Henley in the first instance.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]
Prof Sasha Shepperd
Pro-Director Learning

[redacted]
Prof Audrey Prost
Head of the Doctoral College

[redacted]
Ms Patricia Henley
Head of Research Governance & Integrity

Cc Cathy Zimmerman, PHP

Improving Health Worldwide

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United Kingdom
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Observational / Interventions Research Ethics Committee

Cathy Zimmerman
Senior Lecturer
GHD / PHP
LSHTM

19 December 2013

Dear Dr. Zimmerman,

Study Title: Study of Work in Freedom (SWIFTE)

LSHTM ethics ref: 7021

Thank you for your application of 29 November 2013 for the above research, which has now been considered by the Observational Committee.

Confirmation of ethical opinion

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation, subject to the conditions specified below.

Conditions of the favourable opinion

Approval is dependent on local ethical approval having been received, where relevant.

Approved documents

The final list of documents reviewed and approved by the Committee is as follows:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Protocol / Proposal	Nepal formative protocol_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Nepal household roster_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft HH questionnaire_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft returnee questionnaire_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft returnee IDI guide_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Nepal formative protocol_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Nepal household roster_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft HH questionnaire_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft returnee questionnaire_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Protocol / Proposal	Draft returnee IDI guide_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Information Sheet	Info sheet_consent form_HHsurvey_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Information Sheet	Info sheet_consent form_returnee survey_adults_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Information Sheet	Info sheet_consent form_survey_minors_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Information Sheet	Info sheet_consent form_IDI_adults_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1
Information Sheet	Info sheet_consent form_IDI_minors_Nov2013.pdf	29/11/2013	1

After ethical review

Any subsequent changes to the application must be submitted to the Committee via an E2 amendment form. All studies are also required to notify the ethics committee of any serious adverse events which occur during the project via form E4. At the end of the study, please notify the committee via form E5.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]

Professor John DH Porter
Chair

9.5.2 Nepal Health Research Council ethical approval

Nepal Health Research Council
Estd. 1991

Ref. No.: 1040

12 March 2014

Dr. Cathy Lynn Zimmerman
Principal Investigator
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
UK

Ref: **Approval of Research Proposal** entitled **Formative Research on Labour Migration Patterns and Prevalence**

Dear Dr. Zimmerman,

It is my pleasure to inform you that the above-mentioned proposal submitted on 14 January 2014 (**Reg. no.13/2014** please use this Reg. No. during further correspondence) has been approved by NHRC Ethical Review Board on 11 March 2014 (2070-11- 27).

As per NHRC rules and regulations, the investigator has to strictly follow the protocol stipulated in the proposal. Any change in objective(s), problem statement, research question or hypothesis, methodology, implementation procedure, data management and budget that may be necessary in course of the implementation of the research proposal can only be made so and implemented after prior approval from this council. Thus, it is compulsory to submit the detail of such changes intended or desired with justification prior to actual change in the protocol.

If the researcher requires transfer of the bio samples to other countries, the investigator should apply to the NHRC for the permission.

Further, the researchers are directed to strictly abide by the National Ethical Guidelines published by NHRC during the implementation of their research proposal and submit progress report and full or summary report upon completion.

As per your research proposal, the total research amount is **NRs. 1,492,779.00** and accordingly the processing fee amounts to **NRs- 43,480.00**. It is acknowledged that the above-mentioned processing fee has been received at NHRC.

If you have any questions, please contact the research section of NHRC.

Thanking you.

[redacted]

Dr. Guna Raj Lohani
Executive Chief

Tel.+977-1-4254220, 4227460, Fax: +977-1-4262469, Ramshah Path, P.O. Box 7626, Kathmandu, Nepal.
Website: http://www.nhrc.org.np, Email : nhrc@nhrc.org.np

9.6 Appendix VI: Systematic review

9.6.1 Systematic review protocol

How do international labour migrants respond to migration-related stressors? Protocol for a systematic review

Joelle Mak

Background

Labour migration is the movement of individuals or groups of individuals for the purpose of employment. They can be internal within one's country of origin, or international. Labour migration is typically voluntary and temporary and can be migrants moving from low- or middle-income countries (LMIC) to other LMIC or high-income countries (HIC). They can also be migrants moving between HIC in search of employment opportunities. They types of industries vary from country to country but are generally driven by the demands of receiving countries. Labour migration can be among low- or high-skilled individuals, from those working in seasonal agriculture to technology. Regardless of the type of labour migration, the process is highly regulated, with strict guidelines at both source and destination countries. In some cases, labour migrants may move 'irregularly', bypassing some or all of the required processes.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) there are over 150 million migrant workers globally in 2013 and the number is rising.[1] The majority of migrant workers are employed in the service, industry (manufacturing/construction), agriculture and domestic services and nearly three-quarters work in high-income countries.[1] Growing numbers of people migrating outside of their home country for work, particularly those from low LMIC, for whom labour migration is a livelihood strategy due to limited employment opportunities in their home country. As a result, this has becomes a repeated process for many, commonly known as circular migration.

There are many benefits to labour migration such as increased skills, improved financial status and an opportunity to travel and see the world. However, labour migration is an inherently stressful event and many challenges are encountered in the process. These range from navigating through the migration rules and regulations in their country of origin, to experiences in destination country such as those relating to living and working conditions, occupational and mental health, relationships with colleagues and employers, differences in language, culture, and, extended time away from a familiar social network of family and friends. For some, their legal status may also change, potentially making their situation precarious. Exploitation and abuses amounting to forced labour have also been reported across different settings and industries which typically include contract breaches, limited freedom of movement, non-payment of wages, among others.[2-4]

The variety of challenges encounter all contribute to increased stress for which migrants have to find ways to manage. Due to the temporary nature of their migration, many have very limited support options available to them, and often have to manage largely on their own. Given the range of challenges, a better understanding of the strategies used by migrant workers to respond to the different challenges can help improve policies and interventions that may offer support to migrants to minimise the stress and potential negative health outcomes as a result of their work abroad. International labour migrants have to deal with additional changes related to language, cultural and social norms, as well as greater distances and challenges in returning home, and may be more strongly affected than internal migrants.

Aim & objectives

The aim of this systematic review is to identify empirical evidence on the strategies employed by international labour migrants to manage migration-related stressors.

The specific objectives are to:

1. identify the strategies used by international labour migrants to deal with various migration-related challenges;
2. explore the differences in strategies used by male and female labour migrants; and
3. assess the quality of the evidence on international labour migrants' coping strategies.

Methods

Search strategy

The review will aim to include both peer-reviewed and grey literature and the reporting will follow PRISMA guidelines.

Eleven social science databases will be searched including: Scopus; Web of Science; IBSS; EconLit; Embase; MEDLINE; Global Health; HMIC; PsycEXTRA; PsycINFO; and Social Policy & Practice. Additionally, the following grey literature databases will be searched: ELDIS; Open Grey; ReliefWeb as well as key organisational websites such as the International Labour Organization (ILO); the International Organization of Migration (IOM). References from included studies will also be hand-checked for possible inclusion.

Terms to be searched will include various forms and combinations of 'international labour migrants' and 'coping', and will be tailored to each database. For example, within the OVID databases, the search strategy below will be used:

((international or cross?border or foreign) adj3 (migration or migrant* or movement or mobil*) adj3 (labo?r or work or occupation or job or employment or livelihood or vocation)).mp AND ([exp coping behavior/] OR (cope or coping or manage* or response* or respond* or strategy* or tactic* or technique*).mp. [mp=abstract, title, publication type, heading word, accession number]*

Inclusion criteria

Studies will be eligible for inclusion would include the following:

- adult (≥ age 15), male or female, in accordance with ILO definition of economically active age
- study population had migrated outside of their country (crossed an international border) for the purpose of work
- study population's country of origin are low-middle income countries, according to the World Bank classification (2016).
- explored coping-related strategies used by migrants to address migration-related stressors

Exclusion criteria

Studies will be excluded from the review if:

- the study population only involved minors (< age 15)

- the migration was internal within the country of origin or were for reasons other than work such as immigrant (long-term settlement), forced migration (fleeing conflict, natural disasters), international students.
- the studies do not discuss response strategies to challenges related to migration.

No exclusion criteria based on study design, language or publication dates will be applied.

Screening process

Citations retrieved in the searches of the different databases will be imported into Endnote for review. Titles and abstracts will first be screened for inclusion, based on the criteria set out. Full-text will be reviewed for studies that could not be excluded from title and abstract revision, as well as those deemed sufficient for inclusion. Once the included studies have been identified, references from those papers will also be hand-searched for any additional papers. This process will be conducted by one reviewer.

Data extraction

Data extraction will be done on an Excel spreadsheet and will include information on: study aim/research question, study design, setting, study population, sampling strategy, response rate, source country, destination country, type of work, types of coping strategies used; types of migration-challenges responded to, among others. Where included studies have missing key information, attempts will be made to contact the corresponding author.

Quality appraisal

All included studies will be appraised for quality. The STROBE checklist will be used to assess quality in quantitative studies while qualitative and mixed methods studies will be appraised using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).[5,6]

Data synthesis

It is expected that the majority of the included studies will be based on qualitative design. Therefore, a narrative synthesis will be conducted from the findings of the included studies. Coping responses employed will be synthesised according to the coping typologies developed by Skinner 2003 and in relation to the specific types of challenges encountered. Where possible, findings will be further presented separately by sex of the migrants, geographic locations (both of the original and destination country); and type of work in order to explore similarities and differences on coping strategies employed.

References

1. ILO. ILO global estimates on migrant workers. Results and methodology. Special focus on migrant domestic workers. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO, 2015.
2. The Asia Foundation. Labour migration trends and patterns: Bangladesh, India, and Nepal 2013. 2013.
3. World Bank. Nepal development update. Remittances at risk2016.
4. Environmental Justice Foundation. Sold to the sea. Human trafficking in Thailand's fishing industry. London: Environmental Justice Foundation, 2013.
5. Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) qualitative research checklist Oxford, UK: CASP UK: 2017 [25 July 2017]. Available from: http://www.casp-uk.net/checklists.
6. STROBE checklist for cross-sectional studies [25 July 2017]. Available from: https://www.strobe-statement.org/fileadmin/Strobe/uploads/checklists.

9.6.2 Quality assessment tables

CASP Assessment for qualitative studies (studies with qualitative data on coping)

	First author																									
Assessment item	**Basok**	**Crinis**	**Dannecker**	**Datta 2007**	**Datta 2011**	**Franz**	**Galvin**	**Haak-Saheem**	**Herbert**	**Hofmann**	**Khalaf**	**Kosic**	**Kusakabe**	**Li**	**Lin**	**Morrison**	**Nakonz**	**Rungmanee**	**Sacchetto**	**Sarker**	**Scrinzi**	**Simmons**	**Ueno**	**Vianello**	**Wu**	**Worby**
Clear statement of research aims	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appropriateness of qualitative methodology	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appropriate research design	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Appropriate recruitment strategy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Data collection method addressed research	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Role of researcher and participants considered	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Ethical issues considered	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Data sufficiently rigorously analysed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clear statement of findings	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Research valuable	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Total number of items addressed (10 max)	8	9	8	9	8	8	7	7	8	9	6	9	8	3	8	9	10	8	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	10

STROBE Assessment for quantitative studies (studies with quantitative data on coping)

	First author		
Assessment item	**Chib**	**Mendoza**	**van der Ham**
1. Sufficient detail in title & abstract	Y	Y	Y
2. Provide background & rationale	Y	Y	Y
3. Objectives stated	Y	Y	Y
4. Design defined	Y	Y	Y
5. Setting described	Y	Y	Y
6. Participant eligibility and selection described	Y	Y	Y
7. Exposure and outcome variables defined	Y	Y	Y
8. Data source/measurement	Y	Y	Y
9. Describe efforts to address bias	N	Y	N
10. Describe sample size determination	N	Y	Y
11. Handling of variables described	Y	Y	Y
12. Statistical method including confounding described	Y	Y	Y
13. Method for subgroups and interactions described	Y	Y	N/A
14. Method for handing missing data described	N	Y	N
15. Describe any sensitivity analysis	Y	N/A	N/A
16. Number of participants reported for each stage of study	N	N	Y
17. Reasons for non-participation at each stage given	N	N	N/A
18. Descriptive data of participants, and on exposure and confounder	N	Y	Y
19. Number of participants with missing data for key variables	N	N	N
20. Outcome and summary measures reported	N	Y	N
21. Give unadjusted and if applicable adjust estimates with precision	Y	Y	Y
22. Other analysis reported	Y	Y	N/A
23. Discuss key findings	Y	Y	Y
24. Discuss limitations	Y	Y	Y
25. Discuss interpretation	Y	Y	Y
26. Discuss generalisability	Y	Y	Y
27. Identify funding	Y	N	N
Total number of items addressed (27 max)	19	23	23