

## **Gendered vulnerabilities, Discrimination and Abuse among Women Migrants - A Special Reference to Return Domestic Workers in Kerala, India**

**R.S Reshmi**

### **Introduction**

Women have long been migrating for a variety of reasons, either independently or as dependents. But, migrant women's contribution was largely unseen as they were mostly perceived as dependents of migrant male family members. Despite their contribution to the economic and social development of countries of origin and destination, as well as to families and communities back home, women migrant workers undergo a lot of discrimination and human rights violations during the migration process.

When women migrate for work related reasons, they may have to face a lot of problems starting from the recruitment process to at the place of destination. A common shortfall is the lack of reliable and adequate information about the actual procedure of migration and working and living conditions at the destination. Because of this, many of the women migrate without any formal contract as they are not aware about the importance of it. Moreover, lack of strong government controls and the deep interest of workers in obtaining foreign employment result in them cheated by the agents of migration.

The financial cost of migration is one of the critical problems during the recruitment process. Women may have to spend a large amount as the cost of migration. Women have to spend a large amount of money as visa charges, ticket charges, agent fees, and other expenses of migration. Most of the time women may not have sufficient money for the cost of their migration and in such cases they have to arrange it from others. In such cases, they may have to borrow the amount from money lenders with a high rate of interest (INSTRAW and IOM 2000). The problems during recruitment can be more severe when the migration involves crossing the boarder of the country. The common abuses during recruitment phase include extra charges for making passports, high visa charges, not giving the offered jobs after migration *etc.* Sometimes, bribes may also be taken from workers by officials who issue emigration documents and other official papers (Hugo

1999). Workers who do not have appropriate skills may be often certified as qualified by taking huge amount from the migrants. Some of them may get the offered job after migration while some of them who cheated may be reluctant to file official complaint as they have migrated illegally (United Nations 1986, Carling 2005). Sometimes, social networks play a critical role in the illegal migration of people (Mahmood 1995). A common type of illegal migration is that people enter with legal visas but remain beyond the authorized time limit (Bean *et al.* 1990). This is more common among women who migrate for unskilled jobs especially domestic works.

Women migrants face differing situations at the place of destination. When they move to the place of destination, the situation may be totally different from that of the place of origin. The differences in values, customs, languages, and food habits at the destination may create problems of adjustment among women migrants (Joshi 1999). These problems can be more severe when the movement is out of the home country. In some cases, employer may be very helpful for them in adjusting the new environment while in some other cases, they face lot of discrimination in the forms of class, ethnicity, legal status intersect with their status as a women. However, sometimes migrants get help from other people who had migrated earlier from their place.

Apart from this, women migrants are more vulnerable to human rights abuses since they work in gender-segregated and unregulated sectors of the economy, such as domestic work, entertainment and sex industry, unprotected by labour legislation or policy. Some occasions they are exposed to forced labour, precarious working conditions, poorly paid job, discrimination and sexual exploitation, suffer poorer health (Reddy 1986, Connell 1994, United Nations 1994, Hugo 2002, IOM 2003, Reshmi 2003, United Nations 2004, Rodriguez 2005). Studies conducted among Keralite female migrants have shown that the working conditions and living conditions of female migrants were far from satisfactory (Patel 1987, Reshmi and Unisa 2005).

Migrant women often engage in unskilled and most poorly paid jobs, which have been deserted by national women. Domestic work is one of the areas of women employment, which need particular attention. Because of the unregulated nature of domestic work, they often face a lot of problems at the destination. In most of the cases they have to work long hours, sometimes more than 15 hours a day (INSTRAW and IOM

2000) and forced to do extra work. In addition to abuse and discrimination arising from their immigration status, national origin and their lower status jobs, domestic workers are more frequently victims of violence, including sexual assault at the work place.

Due to the “hidden” character of domestic work, abuse is less visible and the migrant women extremely dependent on the employer. Sometimes, employers withhold the women’s passport and other travel documents and they do not have any social contact outside the employer’s house. Most of the time migrants are less educated, have little knowledge about the situation at the destination and unaware of their rights and obligations. Many of them have poor knowledge in language thus they have difficulty in communicating their problems. Thus, they are frequently and hesitate to lodge formal complaints against employers or others, preferring to suffer harassment and violence. The condition is much worse for women who had migrated illegally. Women may reluctant to report their problems because of their illegal status also.

The working and living conditions of women migrants are also a gender issue. Their status as women, as migrants or non-nationals makes them particularly vulnerable to various forms of exploitation and discrimination. While men usually work in groups such as construction or plantation work, women generally go into individualised work environments such as domestic services where there is less chance of social support. Thus, domestic workers are one of the most vulnerable groups of women workers. Domestic workers often face exploitative situations, especially in terms of pay, long hours of work, poor working conditions and accommodation. Since domestic work is generally not legally regulated, the terms and conditions of work are often unilaterally established by the employer. As the employee is extremely dependent on the employer, in most of the cases abuse is less visible.

Labour migration of women is a conspicuous new feature in the context of globalization in developing countries like India. A reasonable proportion of migrants in India are originating from the state of Kerala. Studies have shown that in Kerala, on the whole the conditions are favourable for an increasing trend in women migration. When women migrate for employment purposes, especially in the unorganized sectors like domestic services, the situation may be far different from that of their male counter parts. Though the studies conducted on migration in Kerala provide rich information about

issues of out migration and emigration there is lack of information about the domestic workers.

### **Data and Methodology**

This paper is based on primary data collected from six villages of Thiruvananthapuram district in Kerala. The studies conducted recently, based on a sample of 10,000 households selected at random from all the districts and all the taluks of Kerala show that Thiruvananthapuram, which is the southern most district in Kerala, was one of the major centers of migrants and return migrants (Zachariah et al., 1999, Zachariah et al., 2003). Another study by Nambiar (1995) further shows that female migrant workers mainly originate from southern districts of Kerala. As recently conducted studies show that Thiruvananthapuram district has relatively high proportion of female migrants, Thiruvananthapuram district has been selected for the present study.

Women, who migrated out of Kerala in the past, without family for employment purpose but have returned to Kerala and were members of the household at the time of the survey, are considered as return migrants. Only those women who had spent at least six months at the place of destination and who have returned after the year 2000 were considered.

The villages in Thiruvananthapuram district were divided into three strata based on female work participation rate and from each stratum, two villages were selected randomly. From each selected village, three wards were selected randomly in order to get approximately 1000 households in each village. The identification of female migrants was done by a complete house listing of 5787 households in all the selected wards. The 27,692 persons enumerated in six villages of the study area were living in 5787 households. There were 13,832 males and 13,860 females in the households. A total of 2205 migrants (1406 current migrants and 799 return migrants) were found in these households. Out of these, 413 were female migrants (254 current migrants and 159 return migrants) and of these there were 300 female migrants (179 current migrants and 121 return migrants) who had migrated for work related reasons. Out of these, there were 146 current migrants and 116 return migrants whose duration of stay was more than six months. Also, out of the 116 return migrants, there were only 96 migrants who had returned after the year 2000. Among the 242 migrants (146 current migrants and 96

return migrants) who satisfied the eligibility criteria of the study, 12 refused and 18 respondents were not available in the household even after three visits. Ultimately, the study included 212 women labour migrants (120 current migrants and 92 return migrants). Of the 92 return migrants, there were only 78 migrants who had migrated for domestic work. Of them, there were 76 international migrants and two were internal migrants. The present paper is based only on return migrants who had migrated internationally for domestic work (Table 1).

Both quantitative as well as qualitative techniques were used for data collection. Semi-structured interview schedule was used for quantitative data collection and in-depth interviews were carried out for qualitative data collection.

## **Results**

The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the female labour migrants are presented in Table 2. It is evident from the table that about majority of both the current migrants and return migrants was in the age group 30-45 years. As it is expected return migrants were comparatively older in comparison with current migrants. More than one fourth of the return migrants (26.3 per cent) were in the age group 45 years and above. About one third of the return migrants were aged less than 30 years at the time of their first migration. With regard to marital status, more than 70 per cent of the return migrants were currently married. The proportion of never married migrants at the time of first migration was around 9.2 per cent and it has been decreased to 2.6 per cent after return. Also, the proportion of return migrants who were either divorced or separated was comparatively less before migration.

With regard to educational status, about one fifth of the return migrants were illiterates. The 2001 census results also reveals that in Thiruvananthapuram district, around 15.5 per cent of the females in the rural areas was illiterates. As regard to religion, more than half of the migrants were Christians. The proportion of Muslims (35.5 per cent) was much higher as compared to Hindus (9.2 per cent). More than 90 per cent of the migrants belong to other backward caste category. Nearly 90 per cent of the migrants reported their first place of destination as gulf countries. The other places reported are London, Singapore, and Canada.

### ***Reasons for return of women migrants***

In order to capture the causes of return migration, return migrants were asked to list the important reasons that made them to come back. The return migrants reported multiple reasons for their return, which can be classified into factors related to the working place and factors related to the place of origin. Table 3 presents the distribution of return international migrants according the reasons for their return. The major reasons for the return of the migrants were health related reasons, expiry of contracts and lower level of job satisfaction. Nearly one fifth of the migrants had reported these factors as the reasons for their return. About 15 per cent reported the reasons as verbal, physical and sexual abuse. Non-payment of salary was also contributed to the return of more than one tenth of the women. In addition, there were also a few cases of repatriation of females for their illegal stay. For some of the migrants, the reasons for return were related to their family. More than one tenth of the migrants had returned for their children's education and future. While about five of them came back for getting married another eight had returned because of family responsibilities. The other reasons reported include family members asked to come back, did not return after holidays, to take care of family members, family responsibilities *etc.*

### ***Problems faced during recruitment process***

The migrants were asked to explain the entire procedure of recruitment during migration. Majority of them were not able to explain about the actual process. More than 70 per cent of them reported that there was only medical check up before migration. A sizable minority (four per cent) of them reported that they had given money to the agents and got the visa and tickets from agents. About one fifth of them said that there was no procedure as such. A question was asked to the return migrants and family members of the return migrants what was the basic requirement of migration. More than 90 per cent had reported that there was no requirement. Others reported the requirements as age, education, language proficiency and medical check up. It is clear from the above discussion that many of the migrants and family members were not aware of the actual process of migration (*table not shown*).

Thus, a good number of them had to suffer a lot of problems during migration process. The study shows that about four per cent of the women migrants had faced

different kind of problems during migration process. Many of them reported that they had to wait for long time after giving money to the agent and they had to approach the agent many times regarding this. Another woman had waited long time after giving money to the agent and after reaching the place of destination she came to know that her visa contract got over. So, she was in jail for few days and afterwards returned with the help of embassy. In another case, the employer had sent both visa and ticket. But the middleman had given only visa and he had sold the ticket to somebody else. So, the migrant had to arrange money for ticket and after migration she came to know that the employer had sent both visa and ticket free of cost to the agent (*table not shown*).

There were some cases of sexual abuse also during recruitment as reported by a 31 year old divorcee return migrant:

*“I had given Rs.1.25 lakh to the agent for migration. After reaching Dubai, he has taken my passport and other documents and taken me to a flat where a group of ladies was staying. From there they send the ladies to different places for work. Sometimes, sponsor used to come and take them. I had spent there five to six days. During these days many times agent tried to sexually abuse me and asked me to go for sex work. Then I had approached a Keralite migrant working there. He had helped me and arranged a job as housemaid. Later, I came to know that I had migrated without proper documents. I worked there for sometime but later I was taken to jail as I was not having any proper documents. After sometime, I came back to India with the help of embassy”.*

As majority of the migrants were unaware about the actual procedure of migration, there were some cases of undocumented migration also. As stated above by a migrant, sometimes unknowingly they migrate without proper documents and they come to know about this after reaching the destination only. Some of the migrants who had migrated with a job continued to stay in the destination after completing the contract also. In few cases, they were caught by the police and were taken to jail (*table not shown*).

In-depth interview results also revealed this fact as stated by a current migrant's (who was working as domestic worker) mother:

*“My daughter had migrated five years back to Kuwait as a housemaid. In the beginning, she used to send money and used to have contact with us. But, after completing contract also she did not come back. At present, she is staying there without proper documents. The other villagers who are working there say that she has been taken to jail. At present, she does not have any contact with us”.*

### ***Working conditions***

Because of the unregulated nature of domestic work, many of the migrants have to face harsh working conditions and excessively long working hours (INSTRAW and IOM 2000). Table 4 presents the distribution of return migrants according to the working conditions at the place of destination by order of move.

A large number of the return migrants had to work more than eight hours during first and last move and about 92 per cent had to work all the days in a week. About half of them worked as long as 16 hours as or more than that in a day. The mean number of working hours per day was 15.6 hours during first move and 15.3 hours during last move. Nearly half of the migrants had reported that they were asked to do extra work such as cleaning cars, working in the field, looking after sheeps, working in employer's relative's houses *etc.* It was found that all the migrants who were asked to do extra work and work more than 16 hours per day were domestic workers. For example, a return migrant (aged 54 years, widowed, primary educated) who worked as domestic worker in Gulf said:

*“I was asked to do all the work in the employer's house as well as his relative's house. Because of workload, I had heavy bleeding. When I informed this to the employer's wife, she said that every woman has to face these types of problems and therefore, there is no need to go for treatment. The kitchen of that house was in the second floor and there was no lift. I had to carry heavy gas cylinder from ground floor to second floor every time. One day I fell down from the staircase and I was hospitalized. In the hospital, there were many Keralite doctors and nurses and I informed them about all my problems. Then the hospital authority had complained against the employer and he was punished. It was a government hospital and therefore I had received all the treatment free of cost and after treatment I had returned.”*

### ***Job satisfaction***

Despite the fact that majority of the migrant women had long working hours and extra work, majority of them were satisfied with their job at the destination. This was reported by around three fourth of the return migrants of both the first and last moves. This may be because when they think about the monetary benefits of migration, they do not feel the other things as problem.

For instance, a return migrant (aged 47 years, currently married, illiterate) worked as domestic worker reported:

*“Once you are in some other country for domestic work, you must be ready to tolerate all these problems. We had faced all the problems and stayed back, that is why we could take care of our family”.*

However, a little less than one fifth of the return migrants reported that they had changed the job at the destination during their first and last move. The reasons for changing job were mainly less salary, workload, physical abuse and strained relationship with the employer (*table not shown*).

### ***Problems faced at the destination***

Table 5 lists the problems faced by the return domestic workers at the destination during first and last move. It is evident from the table that about 32 per cent of the migrants had reported that they had faced some kind of discrimination at the destination during their first move and the corresponding per cent for last move was 24 per cent. Most of them reported the type of discrimination as difference in salary for people from different countries and religious discrimination. A return migrant (aged 58 years, widowed, educated below primary) worked as domestic worker reported:

*“I was working as a domestic servant in Kuwait. There was another Sri Lankan lady who was also working as domestic servant in the same house. Employer used to like her and so she used to get more salary than me”*

Nearly one fifth of the migrants felt some kind of gender discrimination during their first move whereas the corresponding percentage during last move was only 15 per cent. More than 35 per cent of the migrants faced some kind of exploitation such as long working hours and non-payment of salary from their employer. About same per cent had to face physical or verbal abuse from their employer during their first and last move.

A return domestic worker (aged 45 years, divorced, and educated below primary) said:

*“Employer never used to like my work. He used to call me in his room and beat me with his shoes. I had to face physical abuse throughout my stay in that house. Sometimes, employer’s children used to spit into my food.”*

Seven migrants had reported that they had faced some kind of sexual exploitation during their first and last move. Of them, only one had made more than one move. However, the actual number can plausibly be much higher since many might have felt uncomfortable in sharing such experiences during the interview. One of the domestic servants was sexually exploited by the employer and if she does not agree, employer does not give the salary. Another domestic servant was sexually exploited by another

employee who was working as Manger in the same house. Sometimes, employer's family members used to intervene in the case of sexual exploitation.

As reported by a return migrant (aged 35 years, currently married, and educated up to upper primary) who worked as domestic worker:

*“At the time of migration, I was unmarried. As soon as I reach the house, employer's wife told me that her husband may try to sexually exploit me and therefore she asked to report her if he misbehaves with me”.*

### ***Problems faced at the destination by selected characteristics***

In order to understand whether there is any association of background characteristics of the migrants and problem faced by them at the destination, a variable 'any problem faced in the place of first destination' was computed using the variables on discrimination in the workplace, gender discrimination in salary, physical or verbal abuse, sexual exploitation and irregular salary.

Table 6 shows the distribution of return migrants according to problems faced at the first destination by selected characteristics. About 63 per cent of the migrants had to face any of these problems during their stay at the first place of destination. The percentage of migrants who faced any problem was relatively higher among migrants, who were less than 35 years old, not currently married and less educated. About 63 per cent of the migrants in the gulf countries had faced some problems at the destination and the corresponding percentage for those who had gone to other places was only 60 per cent. The percentage of migrants who faced any kind of problem was significantly much lower among migrants whose relatives were present at the place of destination. There was only slight insignificant variation in problem faced at the destination according to the nature of contract.

### ***Results from logistic regression analysis***

A multiple logistic regression analysis was performed in order to understand whether the background characteristics have any significant impact on the problems faced by the migrants at the destination. The results from logistic regression analysis are given in table7.

The results reveals that after controlling the effect of age at the time of migration, marital status, place of destination, nature of contract and type of work, the factors such as education and presence of relatives at the place of destination were found to have

significant effect on the problems faced by the return migrants. That is, migrants who were higher educated and whose relatives were present at the place of destination were significantly less likely to face any kind of problem at the destination.

### **Summary**

This paper focuses on the working conditions and problems faced by the migrant domestic workers at the place of destination. The analysis revealed that a sizable proportion of the migrants moved without any formal contract and a considerable proportion of the women have faced lot of abuses during recruitment process. As far as working condition is concerned, majority of the women migrants were subject to harsh working conditions such as long working hours and extra work. The most reported hazards the women migrants faced at the workplace were discrimination, limited social contact, verbal abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse. Studies have also confirmed this finding that women migrants face a lot of exploitation at the place of destination (United Nations 2004, IOM 2000). However, the probability of facing any kind of problem at the destination was less among those migrants whose relatives were present there. That is, when support mechanism is available for women at the destination, the difficulties were also less. In places where employers are considerate, the migrant's sufferings were also less. But, by and large support mechanism did not exist for most of the women migrants at the destination. Although most of them had to face unfavourable experiences at the place of destination, majority of them were satisfied with their job. This may be because when they think about the economic prosperity of migration they try to stay back at the destination. Moreover, poverty and economic difficulties force these migrants to accept these sufferings.

### **Recommendations**

As the study has shown that a sizable proportion of the women had migrated without any formal contract, there should be government intervention to have legal advisors to inform migrant women about work contracts and legal issues. In order to prevent illegal migration, because of which migrants will also suffer, it is necessary to provide help to women for migrating through registered recruiting agencies. Secondly, international organizations including non-governmental organizations can help in supporting women migrant workers to have support systems at the destination. For instance, in the present

study a considerable proportion of the migrant domestic workers did not have any social contact. In such situations, the establishment of easy access shelter homes for female migrant workers can help them. Lastly, as the study showed that the problems related to migration was much more among domestic workers, there should be legal protection for domestic workers.

## References

- Bean, Frank D., Barry Edmonston, and Passel, Jeffrey S. 1990. *Undocumented migration to the United States: IRCA and the Experience of the 1980s*. Washington: The RAND Corporation and the Urban Institute Press.
- Carling, Jorgen. 2005. "Gender Dimensions of International Migration," *Global Migration Perspectives* 35: [www.gcim.org](http://www.gcim.org).
- Connell, J. 1994. "Status or subjugation? Women, migration and development in the South Pacific", *International Migration Review* 18: 964-983.
- Hugo, Graeme. 1999. "Gender and Migrations in Asian Countries", in Pinnelli, A (ed.), *Gender in Population Studies –Series*, IUSSP.
- Hugo, Graeme. 2002. "Effects of International Migration on the Family in Indonesia", *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* 11(1): 13-46.
- INSTRAW, and International Organization for Migration. 2000. *Temporary Labour Migration of Women- Case Studies of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka*, Santo Domingo: INSTRAW.
- International Organization for Migration. 2003. "Managing migration: challenges and responses for people on the move", *World Migration Report Series 2*. Geneva: International Organization for migration.
- Joshi, S.C. 1999. *Sociology of Migration and Kinship*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Mahmood, R. A. 1995. "Data on migration from Bangladesh", *Asia Pacific Population Journal* 4(4): 531-41.
- Nambiar, A, C, K. 1995. *The Socio-economic Conditions of Gulf Migrants*, New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.
- Patel, H, G. 1987. "Kerlaite Migrant Female Labour in Fishing Units of Veravl City of Western India" in Joshi, V (ed.), '*Migrant Labour and Related Issues*', New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co.Pvt.Ltd.
- Reddy, C, R. 1986. *Changing Status of Educated Working Women- A Case Study*, Delhi: B.R Publishing Corporation.

- Reshmi, R, S. 2003. *Working and Living Conditions and Health Status of Female Migrants: A Case Study of Kerala Women in the Working Women's Hostels of Mumbai*, MPhil Dissertation, Mumbai: International Institute for Population Sciences. (Unpublished)
- Reshmi, R, S, and Unisa, S. 2005. *Work Status and Job Satisfaction among Female Migrants in India: A Study of Kerala Women Working in Mumbai*, Paper presented for IUSSP Conference, France.
- Rodriguez, Robyn M. 2005. *Domestic Insecurities: Female Migration from the Philippines, Development and National Subject-status*, Working Paper No.114, San Diego: The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.
- United Nations. 1986. *The Social Status of Migrant Workers and their Families*, Migrant Workers No: 2, Deptt. of International Economic and Social Affairs, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, New York.
- United Nations.1994. *Urbanization and the status of women*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations.2004. *In Search of Work- International Migration of Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Selected Bibliography*, Chile: Women and Development Unit.
- Zachariah, K, C., Mathew. E. T, and Rajan, S, I. 1999. *Migration in Kerala State, India: Dimensions, Determinants and Consequences*, Working Paper I, Trivandrum: C.D.S - Indo Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Developments.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mathew, E, T, and Rajan, S, I. 2003. "*Dynamics of Migration in Kerala: Dimensions, Differentials and Consequences*", New Delhi: Orient Longman.

**Table 1: Sample Selection**

<b>Selection of female migrants for the study</b>	<b>Current migrants*</b>	<b>Return migrants</b>
Total women migrants identified by household survey	254	<b>159</b>
Women migrated for work related reasons	179	<b>121</b>
Duration more than six months	146 **	<b>116</b>
Return after 2000	NA	<b>96***</b>
Not at home	14	<b>4</b>
Refused	12	<b>0</b>
Total interviewed	120	<b>92</b>
<b>International Female Domestic Workers</b>		<b>76</b>
Number of households listed = 5787	Total population = 27692	
Males = 13832	Females = 13860	

- Note:** (1) \* Interview was conducted among family members  
(2) \*\* Sample identified according to definition of current migrants  
(3) \*\*\* Sample identified according to definition of return migrants  
(4) NA- Not applicable

**Table 2: Selected Characteristics of Female Migrants**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Return migrants</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Age</b>		
Less than 30	6	7.9
30-45	50	65.8
45 years and above	20	26.3
<b>Age at the time of first migration</b>		
Less than 30	31	40.8
30-45	42	55.3
45 years and above	3	3.9
<b>Current marital status</b>		
Never married	2	2.6
Currently married	54	71.1
Widowed	10	13.2
Divorced/ separated	10	13.2
<b>Marital status at the time of first migration</b>		
Never married	7	9.2
Currently married	50	65.8
Widowed	11	14.5
Divorced/ separated	8	10.5
<b>Educational status</b>		
Illiterate	15	19.7
Literate, primary not completed	17	22.4
Primary	21	27.6
Upper primary up to secondary	21	27.6
Secondary passed and above	2	2.6
<b>Religion</b>		
Hindu	7	9.2
Muslim	27	35.5
Christian	42	55.3
<b>Caste</b>		
SC	4	5.3
OBC	70	92.1
Others	2	2.6
<b>First place of destination</b>		
Gulf countries	71	93.4
Other places	5	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: (1) N denotes number

(2) % denotes percentage

**Table 3:** Distribution of return migrants according to the reasons for return

<b>Reasons for return</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b><i>Destination factors</i></b>		
Contract over	12	15.8
Illegal stay abroad, compulsory repatriation	6	7.9
Lower level of job satisfaction	15	19.7
Non-payment of salary	11	14.5
Less salary	6	7.9
Verbal and physical abuse/sexual abuse	12	15.8
<b><i>Individual factors</i></b>		
Health related reasons	15	19.7
Personal and family reasons	6	7.9
To get married	4	5.3
Family responsibilities	6	7.9
For children's future/education	9	11.8
Others	27	35.5
<b>Total return migrants</b>	<b>76</b>	

**Note:** (1) Percentage does not add up to 100 because of multiple responses

**Table 4:** Distribution of return migrants according to the working conditions in the place of destination by order of move

<b>Working conditions</b>	<b>First move</b>		<b>Last move</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Number of hours</b>				
Up to 8 hours	5	6.6	9	11.8
9 to 16 hours	29	38.2	26	34.2
More than 16 hours	42	55.3	41	53.9
<b>Number of working days in a week</b>				
1 to 6 days	6	7.9	6	7.9
7 days	70	92.1	70	92.1
<b>Extra work</b>				
Yes	42	55.3	40	52.6
No	34	44.7	36	47.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Mean number of working hours in a day</b>	15.6 (SD = 5.1)		15.3 (SD= 5.3)	

**Note:** SD indicates standard deviation

**Table 5:** Problems faced by the migrants at the destination by order of move

<b>Problems faced at the place of destination</b>	<b>First move</b>		<b>Last move</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Any discrimination</b>				
Yes	24	31.6	18	23.7
No	52	68.4	58	76.3
<b>Gender discrimination</b>				
Yes	15	19.7	11	14.5
No	61	80.3	65	85.5
<b>Any exploitation</b>				
Yes	29	38.2	31	40.8
No	47	61.8	45	59.2
<b>Physical/verbal abuse</b>				
Yes	30	39.5	26	34.2
No	46	60.5	50	65.8
<b>Sexual exploitation</b>				
Yes	7	9.2	7	9.2
No	69	90.8	69	90.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 6:** Distribution of return migrants according to problems faced at the last place of destination by background characteristics

Characteristics	Problem faced by the return migrants in the last place of destination		Total
	No	Yes	
<b>Age at the time of migration</b>			
Less than 25	30.8	69.2	13
25-35	36.2	63.8	47
More than 35	43.8	56.3	16
<b>Marital status at the time of migration</b>			
Currently married	36.0	64.0	50
Others	38.5	61.5	26
<b>Educational status</b>			
Illiterate	33.3	66.7	15
Up to primary	31.6	68.4	38
Upper primary and above	47.8	52.2	23
<b>Place of destination</b>			
Gulf countries	36.6	63.4	71
Others	40	60.0	5
<b>Presence of relatives at the destination*</b>			
Yes	54.2	45.8	24
No	28.8	71.2	52
<b>Nature of contract</b>			
With formal contract	38.5	61.5	26
With no formal contract	35.3	64.7	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>36.8</b>	<b>63.2</b>	<b>76</b>

Note: \*  $\chi^2$  significant at 5 % level

**Table7:** Variation in problems faced by the migrants at the destination:  
A logistic regression analysis

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Exp B**</b>
<b>Age at the time of migration</b>	
Less than 25 ®	
25-35	0.769
35 years or more	0.448
<b>Marital status at the time of migration</b>	
Currently married ®	
Others	0.962
<b>Educational status</b>	
Up to primary ®	
Above primary	0.352*
<b>Place of destination</b>	
Gulf countries ®	
Others	0.841
<b>Nature of contract</b>	
With no written contract ®	
With written contract	1.271
<b>Presence of relatives at the destination</b>	
No ®	
Yes	0.277*
<b>Type of work at the destination</b>	
Domestic work ®	
Others	3.471
<b>Constant</b>	<b>5.427</b>

**Note:** (1) \*\*Odds ratios from logistic regression analysis showing the likelihood that migrant women face problems at the destination by selected characteristics.

(2) \*p <=0.05

(3) Dependent variable: Problems faced at the destination. Yes =1, No=0

(4) ® indicates reference category