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Identifying the gaps in Nepalese migrant workers' health and well-being: A review of the literature **A running title (≤ 69 letters):**

Health and well-being of Nepalese migrant workers

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Abstract:

The health and well-being of migrant workers from low-income countries is often neglected in travel medicine. This paper uses Nepal as a case study to highlight the key issues affecting this group of international travellers.

Using a systematic literature search approach we identified 18 papers. The included papers were thematically analysed leading to four key themes or risk factors.

Of the four key themes three relate directly to migrant workers; (1) sexual risk taking; (2) occupational health; and (3) lifestyles, and the fourth theme relates to partners and family left-behind in Nepal.

Travel medicine should provide more emphasis to the health and well-being of migrant workers since this is a highly vulnerable group of travelers with additional impact on the health of those left behind. There needs to be increased awareness of health consequences of work-related migration and give it a high priority on both national and international agendas to bring about positive changes.

Key words: Migration, travel, sexual health, health risk, exploitation, South Asia, occupational health

Identifying the gaps in Nepalese migrant workers' health and well-being: A review of the literature

Background

Approximately 3.5 million Nepalese (14% of total population) are working abroad; primarily in Malaysia, the six countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), and India. Due to the limited employment opportunities within the country, international migration is considered as a livelihood strategy for many poor people and most Nepalese migrants are involved in semi/unskilled labour, mainly on building sites, in factories, and in domestic work.

Migration for foreign employment has become a major source of income for the country as migrant workers send around US\$4 billion home every year, comprising 28% of Nepal's gross domestic product.³ However, this income can be at a great cost as newspapers estimate that there are more than 1000 deaths per year in the host countries (excluding India), and many hundreds of Nepalese migrant workers return home with mental and physical health problems.⁴ Similarly, due to the migration of young people, the country faces an increasing proportion of the dependent population (elderly and children) in the demographic structure. Most migrant workers are male but there is growth in the number of women working abroad.

Migrant workers face a number of risks and challenges abroad⁵⁻⁷, including: discrimination, gender inequality, sexual violence and exploitation, poor working and living conditions and lack of access to social/health care. For example, 1002 Nepalese migrant workers died in GCC countries and Malaysia last year, of which 36% were documented as cardiac related.⁸ This figure represents only those whose family applied for compensation and many deaths are not documented. The major causes of death were recorded as heart related (26.2%), natural causes (18.3%), traffic accident (13.6%), suicide

(10.1%), workplace accident (7.8%), and murder (1.4%), and in 22.5% the cause was "unknown". ¹ Official records of the destination countries tend to record these deaths as being "from natural causes", moreover often no postmortem examination is conducted of migrant workers unless related with crime. Information on underlying causes, such as heat stress on construction sites, is often not available. More than one third of the South Asian migrant workers in the Middle East work more than 50 hours per week, often continuously for months without a day off.⁹

Migrants are often at risk because of their low status, poor living conditions, inadequate health care and a lack of community cohesiveness. They may feel freed from the social norms that control their behaviour at home. All these factors may provoke people to engage in risk-taking behaviours. These are mirrored in the country's HIV surveillance data, e.g. in 2015, of the estimated adult population living with HIV, 40% were in perceived low-risk men and male labour migrants. Therefore, both individual and contextual (situational) factors increase migrant workers' health risk. The vulnerability of migrants starts in the source community, where the decision to migrate is often based on very little or poor information coupled with a desperate need to leave. Many depart with unrealistic expectations and are ignorant about health and safety, infections and diseases.

This review article aims to identify the risk factors for migrant workers' health and well-being, using Nepal as a case study. It will help: a) increase awareness of the health consequences associated to migration; b) priorities migration as a national agenda; and c) develop comprehensive migration strategies.

Methods

A narrative review was conducted systematically with comprehensive literature search to identify relevant studies and background information on Nepal. Database searches were conducted in Medline

via Ovid, EMBASE, Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, the Campbell Library, EPPI Centre Database of Promoting Health Effectiveness Reviews (DoPHER), Web of Science and CINAHL for published literature. Citation lists from included studies were searched to identify studies. Papers published in English between 1990 and December 2016 were included. Search terms included: migration, labour migration, left-behind, spouse of migrants, migrant workers, Nepal, Gulf, Malaysia and South Asia. All relevant study types were included apart from individual case studies.

Papers were independently selected by two authors (PRR and NA) and consensus agreed for final inclusion according to the inclusion criteria. Included papers were not graded, since our main aim was to cover the range of issues in this narrative review. Data were synthesized using a thematic synthesis method and common themes were identified.

Results

Of 817 research papers initially identified using the search criteria, 706 papers proved irrelevant when the titles were examined. The abstracts of the 111 papers were then reviewed, resulting in 76 papers being examined in full. Of these, 58 were excluded after reading the full texts and 18 papers were included in this review. We identified four key risk factors/behaviours that put Nepalese migrant workers' and their left-behinds' health and well-being at risk. Naturally some of these themes are overlapping, of the 18 included papers, 11 papers discussed sexual risk taking and HIV; four included work-related risk factors such as occupational injuries and mortality (Table 1). Few studies covered about lifestyle factors affecting migrant workers such as alcohol and drug use. The merging theme of impact on left-behinds and relationship within the family is reported in Table 2 (four papers).

Sexual risk taking

While migration has offered new opportunities for Nepalese migrant workers, it has evidently contributed to the spread of HIV infection in Nepal. In our review, 11 studies focused on sexual risktaking behaviours and HIV and AIDS vulnerability. These studies were predominantly related to migrants from western Nepal. Most studies confirmed that male migrants in India had multiple sex partners, 11-13 used condom infrequently 12-15 and visited female sex workers (FSWs). 11-15 Peer pressures, lack of family restraints, low perceived vulnerability to HIV and STIs (sexually transmitted infections) were frequently reported as encouraging factors for their sexual risk taking behaviour. 13, 16 There is also evidence that lower socioeconomic status e.g. illiteracy and gender inequality increased the risk of HIV through unprotected sex. 17 Lack of awareness on HIV was common among migrants. 13, 15, 16 Interestingly, these studies were mainly conducted with Indian returnee migrants of western Nepal 12, 15, 17 and particularly, returnee migrants from Mumbai were considered more vulnerable than other returnee migrants. For example, HIV prevalence of migrant workers was 6-10% in men who had returned from Mumbai compared to 4% in all those returned from India. 18 There is evidence that female spouses of male migrant workers are at a higher risk of HIV and STIs. 19,20 These studies reported poor negotiation skills among migrants' wives around using condoms.

Occupational injuries and hazards

Four studies provided data on injuries, occupational hazard, and mortality of Nepalese migrant workers in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Malaysia.^{5, 6, 21, 22} A retrospective analysis of South Asian migrant workers in Qatar showed that the Nepalese Workers had the highest rate of occupational injuries (28%) and the highest rate of fatal injuries (17.9%)²¹. Another study conducted on 408 Nepalese migrant workers who had worked in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab

Emirates (UAE) reported that 25% had experienced work-related injuries in the past 12 months.⁵ Cuts, fractures and dislocations were the most common types of injury. The vast majority of construction and agricultural workers (82.4%) reported injuries in the previous 12 months.⁵ A systematic review on Nepalese migrant workers also suggested work-related accidents as a key health issue.⁶ A study on greenhouse pesticide workers in Oman, most of them were Nepalese, found poor occupational health and safety practices with very poor use of personal protective equipment (PPE).²² Another study among 501 migrant workers in Malaysia found the highest prevalence of toxoplasmosis (46.2%) of Nepalese workers.²³

Left-behind family

Working abroad also affects the health and well-being of family members of migrant workers who remain at home. As a significant proportion of Nepalese youth leave the country for work, the elderly, women and children are left –behind, often in a socially and economically insecure environment.

Four studies of female spouses of migrant workers focused on sexual behaviour and HIV risk. 17,19-20,24

These studies commonly reported that illiteracy and cultural context such as gender discrimination compromised safer sex practice of migrant wives. Younger migrant wives were more likely to have knowledge on migration-related HIV risk 20 and felt more at ease negotiating safer sex with their husbands. 19 One study found that although migrant wives were knowledgeable about the risk of HIV/STIs from their husbands' sexual behavior abroad, almost half felt unable to ask about it even if they had a doubt. 20 A study of 900 women reported that their husbands had negative impacts on women's health and health-seeking behaviour. About 43% of women thought their health had worsened since migration began. Frequently reported reasons were having less money to pay for health care, having less food or poorer nutrition, and added work burden. 24

Table 1 here please

Table 2 here please

Lifestyles

Our search found a few lifestyle-related publications among Nepalese migrant workers. Bhandari and Kim²⁵ studied lifestyles as a part of health promotion in South Korea. One systematic review⁶ on lifestyles of Nepalese migrant workers identified excessive alcohol as a key health issue. These findings are in line with studies among India migrants which often reported alcohol and drug use during their stay aboard. Being away from home and feeling socially isolated might led migrants to engage in drugs and alcohol use. ^{12, 15} Similarly, Chattu and colleagues²⁶ highlighted that Nepalese migrant workers were among one of the high risk populations for TB (tuberculosis) in Saudi Arabia along with Indonesian and Indian workers. TB is a disease of poverty and can originate in the sending country and may exacerbate due to overcrowded living conditions in host countries.

Discussion

Our literature review has suggested four key themes/risk factors related to Nepalese working in a foreign country: (a) sexual health; (b) work (c) lifestyle, and (d) partners of migrant workers-a separate theme for those who stay behind. Sexual behaviour can be viewed from a perspective of loneliness and desire when being separated from sexual partners and thus taking more risk when away from own communities and families, so-called 'situational disinhibition'. Some tourists are more likely to engage in sexual risk taking when being away from their family/social control. ^{28, 29} It appears that Nepalese male migrant workers are not different from these tourists in terms of patterns of sexual behaviour.

The occupational risk of migrant workers from low-income countries is not well researched. However, there are frequent worldwide media coverage around the South Asian construction workers building the football stadiums for the 2022 football world cup in Qatar.³⁰ Nepalese migrant workers often doing blue collar jobs (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning works) that local workers do not want to do. The inherent risks in these jobs puts migrant workers at risk of accidents at work and ill health. The health and well-being of migrant workers has had less attention than desirable. This is largely due to the difficulty of doing research in host countries who are, understandably, reluctant for outsider to study the poor working and living conditions.

International migration, both a cause and a consequence of globalization, increasingly affects health in migrants' source, transit, and recipient nations.³¹ Despite this recognition, the health and wellbeing of migrant workers has been largely neglected in travel medicine. There are a number of possible explanations for such gap: (a) migrant workers are often from the poorer parts of low-income countries with inadequate health care provision at home and abroad; (b) travellers from high-income countries have resources/money to pay for travel medicine; and (c) careers in travel medicine are often made in high income countries with wealthy travellers and research funding. Surely travel medicine suffers the same limitations as general medicine where more than 90% of the research funding is spent on diseases that concern less than 10% of the global population.³²

Migrant workers, traditional tourists and business travellers serviced by travel medicine have a few characteristics in common. Both groups are generally healthier than their peer staying behind.

Migrant workers are generally younger and healthier than the average worker in Nepal, otherwise they would not be selected by labour agencies (manpower recruiting agencies) and employers. Both groups are often away from their normal social environment with all its social norms and regulations.

Migrant workers from Nepal are nearly always away from their regular sexual partners, similar to

business travellers and many, but not all, tourists. Hence the volume of papers on sexual health issues should not come as a surprise. At the same time we must be careful not to take the volume of literature as a direct indication of the relative size of the problem. One reason why sexual risk-taking appears in so many papers is partly due to the funding available from bilateral donors for research into HIV of key populations (most at risk populations) including Nepalese migrants over the past two decades. ^{33, 34}

Gaps in health policy and research on migrant workers in Nepal

Despite being a nationally^{35, 36} and internationally recognized issue³⁷, migration in Nepal has been predominantly seen as income generation occupation and from a demographic perspective to regulate internal migration. Whilst the 'India-centric' approach of research on sexual health and HIV prevalence into Nepalese migrant workers could still be relevant, more research around risk taking behaviours of Nepalese migrants work in countries other than India is needed. For example, HIV prevalence among Female Sex Workers (FSWs) in Malaysia is high i.e. Kuala Lumpur (17.1%) and Pahang (14.5%).³⁸ This has a huge implication as Malaysia is a popular destination for Nepali migrants and our review shows that sexual risk taking including visiting FSWs are not uncommon among them. Similarly, the recent health policy of Nepal³⁵ has confined migrant issues around communicable diseases and cross-board issues. To ensure human rights as well as the health and wellbeing of Nepalese migrant, we need to promote effective labour diplomacy between Nepal and destination countries. Moreover, we support the provision of travel medicine for migrants and their family's health, wellbeing and lifestyles.

Based on this review, we would suggest to following framework to understand the health risks and vulnerability among Nepalese migrant workers.

(Figure 1 about here please)

Strengths and weaknesses of this review

This is the first review to focus on the gap in travel health among Nepalese migrant workers. Nepal is a special case because remittances make up such a large proportion of the national income which makes it a politically sensitive issue in Nepal. It is also the first paper to take on sending country as case study, rather than the host country. The results search strategy is another strength which highlighted the lack of peer-reviewed research on the health and well-being of Nepalese migrant workers in the GCC and Malaysia which are the major destination countries workers.

One of the weaknesses is that we included only published peer-reviewed papers thus may have missed issues reported in reports and book chapters. We might have missed peer reviewed publications in local journals that are not indexed in the data base we included in our search. Specific limitations of focusing on one country are that we excluded all publications on migrant workers from other (similar) countries. First, Nepalese migrant workers in Middle East and Malaysia often work side by side with migrant workers from other countries of South Asia or South East Asia, working and living under similar conditions. Secondly, we have not included (occupational) health studies conducted in receiving countries where the population includes migrant workers from Nepal, but is listed as workers from South Asia or the Indian sub-continent.

Conclusion

The key risk factors identified in migrant workers from Nepal are: (a) sexual risk taking behaviour; (b) occupational injuries and hazards and (c) lifestyle changes and the fourth important risk is the negative impact on health of those left behind. Although the latter is an important issue one could

argue it is not the focus of travel medicine but of local primary health care. More research is required on Nepalese migrant workers in the Gulf countries and Malaysia in the various health topics mainly sudden deaths, occupational injuries and safety practices, sexual behavior, mental health issues, lifestyle practices, cardiometabolic risk factors, or musculoskeletal problems.

Author's Contribution

PS was responsible for designing and coordinating the review. PS and EvT conceived the idea.

PR and NA were responsible for data collection, screening the search results, screening retrieved papers against inclusion criteria, abstracting data from papers and interpretation of data. All authors wrote the paper, critically reviewed, modified the manuscript and accepted the final version of this manuscript.

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Conflict of Interest/Disclosure

All authors have declared no conflicts of interest.

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Table 1: Characteristics of studies among migrant workers

Author	Study theme/	Study	Study	Key findings
	methods	type/setting	population	
			characteristics	
Al-Thani	Injury and	Secondary data	Total fatal or	- Nepalese workers had the highest rate of
et al.	mortality/	analysis / Qatar	non-fatal	occupational injuries (28%), and of fatal
2015	registered data on		occupational	injuries (18%); 52% injuries due to falls
	occupational		injuries: 2015	from heights, others were falls of heavy
	injuries of		(migrant workers	objects, vehicle and machinery accidents.
	migrant workers		including	-Lack of work experience, involvement in
	(2010-2013)		Nepalese), both	high risk field, language problem, lack of
			men and women	safety training and protective equipment
				were reported as injury cause.
Awasti	Effect of male	Review	Mobility and left-	-Unprotected sex with multiple partners
et al.	migration on		behinds	and FSW the risk of HIV infection.
2015	HIV infections			-Drug use, isolation from family, peer
				pressure, long working hours and poor
				living conditions promote unsafe sex.
				-Low literacy, low awareness HIV and
				SRH exacerbated the transmission of HIV.
Bhandari	Health	Cross-sectional /	169 Nepalese	- Spiritual activity was highest reported
& Kim	promotion/	South Korea	migrant workers	health-promoting behaviour, & physical
2015	interview		(men)	activity least practised; self-efficacy only
	questionnaire			predictor of health-promoting behaviour.
Joshi et	Sexual risk	Cross-sectional /	408 Nepalese	-Majority had knowledge on HIV and its
al. 2014	taking and HIV /	Nepal	migrant workers	transmission routes.
	interview		(men & women)	-The most common misconception is that
	questionnaire		in Qatar, Saudi	mosquito bite can transmit HIV infection.
			Arabia, UAE for	-One quarter perceived that they were not
			at least six mths,	at risk of HIV due to their sexual activities.
			aged 18-53	
Bam et	Sexual risk	Qualitative/	Male Nepalese	-Commonly: unmarried, peer influence,
al. 2013	taking and HIV/	Nepal (Achham,	Dalit migrant	alcohol use, sex with FSW and unwilling to

Author	Study theme/	Study	Study	Key findings
	methods	type/setting	population	
			characteristics	
	10 in-depth	Doti, and	workers, aged	use condom.
	interviews and	Kanchanpur	15+, worked in	-Lack of awareness HIV was also common.
	four focus group	districts)	India for at least	-HIV awareness and faithful sexual
	discussions		six months in past	relationship with partner influenced safer
			two years	sex behaviour.
Chattu et	Tuberculosis /	Secondary data	165 tuberculosis	-Nepalese migrant workers were identified
al. 2013	patient registry	analysis / Saudi	cases migrant	as high risk populations for TB. Nepalese
	regional	Arabia	workers (incl.	migrant workers had third highest
	Tuberculosis		Nepalese)	prevalence of TB (12.7%) behind
	centre Qassim			Indonesian (72.4%) and Indian (38.2%).
	(2005-2009)			
Dahal et	Sexual risk	Cross-sectional /	110 returnee male	- 93.6% returned from Gulf & Malaysia
al. 2013	taking and HIV /	Nepal	migrant workers	- 42.6% had sex with unpaid partner
	interview		aged 20-53 who	(female co-worker); 50% with paid partner.
	questionnaire		worked at least	-40% sexually active did not use condoms
			six months	consistently. Difficulty in finding condom
			abroad	was the main cause.
Adhikary	Overall health	Systematic	Nepalese migrant	-Work related risk including accidents and
et al.	issues	review	workers in the	injuries, mental health issues (work and
2011		(1984 to 2010)	Gulf countries	migration related stress), and lifestyle
			and Malaysia	related issues (excessive drinking of home-
				made alcohol) are key health issues in
				Nepalese migrant workers.
Esechie	Occupational	Cross-sectional /	74 greenhouse	-Occupational & phytosanitary practices of
et al.	hazard (pesticide	Oman	workers (mostly	pesticide workers in greenhouse was poor.
2011	use practices) /		migrant workers	-Pesticide exposure led to skin irritation
	interview		including 11	(70.3%), burning sensation (39.2%),
	questionnaire		Nepalese)	headache (33.8%), vomiting (29.7%), and
				coughing (29.7%).
Joshi et	Occupational	Cross-sectional/	408 Nepalese	-56.6% had health problems in past year.
al. 2011	injury and overall	Nepal	migrant workers	Common problems: fever or headache,
	health issues /		(men and	respiratory or musculoskeletal problems,
	interview		women) who had	gastrointestinal illness and injuries.
	questionnaire		worked in Qatar,	-25% experienced injuries at work: mainly

Author	Study theme/	Study	Study	Key findings
	methods	type/setting	population	
			characteristics	
			Saudi Arabia, and	cuts, fractures or dislocations.
			the UAE for at	-Only 36.5% had health insurance in host
			least six months,	countries.
			aged 18-53	-82.4% working in construction or
				agriculture sector had workplace injuries.
				-Lack of sick leave, cost, and fear of loss of
				job key barriers to accessing health care.
Chan et	Infection of	Serologic study/	501 migrant	- Nepalese had highest prevalence of
al. 2008	toxoplasma /	Malaysia	workers (incl, 26	toxoplasmosis (46.2%) among migrant
	blood sample for		Nepalese) and	workers and local Malaysian, but not
	toxoplasma		198 local	significant difference between agricultural
	antibodies		Malaysian	and non-agricultural workers.
			workers	
Poudel et	Sexual risk	Interventional /	73 in-depth	-Letters stimulated migrants to learn more
al. 2007	taking and HIV /	Qualitative/Nepal	interview	about HIV/AIDS and STIs. Letter
	intervention	(Doti district)	migrants who	encouraged them to seek information in
	through letters		worked in India	India. Letters also promoted safe sex
	and interviews			behaviours among migrants.
Poudel et	Sexual risk	Qualitative /	53 men returnee	- Commonly multiple sexual partners, used
al. 2004	taking and HIV /	Nepal (Doti	migrant workers	condoms infrequently in India & Nepal.
	six focus group	district)	from India, 92%	-In India, peer norms/pressures, sex with
	discussions		had worked in	FSW, lack of family restraint, alcohol, low
			Mumbai.	perceived vulnerability to HIV/STIs
				influenced their sexual behaviours.
				-In Nepal, migrants' new status, local
				festivals, and low perceived vulnerability
				to HIV/STIs affected their sexual activity.
				-Poor knowledge of HIV/STIs.
Poudel et	Seroprevalence	Cross-sectional	97 male migrant-	-8% men were HIV+ & 22% had syphilis.
al. 2003	HIV & syphilis.	/Nepal	returnees & 40	-Mumbai returnee migrants had high-risk
	Biological &		non-migrants	sexual behaviours such as pre/ extramarital
	behavioural		Doti	sex, multiple sex partners including FSW.
	survey			

Table 2: Characteristics of studies among migrants' family

Author	Study theme/	Study	Study	Key findings regarding health and
	methods	type/setting	characteristics	status of left-behind (spouse)
Aryal et	Sexual risk	Cross-sectional /	182 migrant	-94% had good knowledge of HIV and
al. 2016	taking and	Nepal (Chitwan	wives, aged 15-	two-thirds aware of HIV risk in their
	HIV/interview	district)	45, husbands had	husbands and themselves.
	questionnaire		worked in India	- Almost half unable to ask husbands about
			for at least three	HIV/STIs when in doubt.
			months	-Knowledge of HIV risk associated with
				migration was higher in younger, literate
				migrant wives, and whose husbands
				migrated for longer period.
Thapa et	Sexual risk	Mixed-method /	Survey: 224	- HIV positive wives were more likely to
al. 2016a	taking and HIV/	Nepal	migrant wives	be illiterate, lower caste and low economic
	questionnaire	(Acchham)	(112 HIV+ & 112	status, & less knowledgeable on HIV risks.
	survey and two		negative), aged	- Gender inequality increased risk of HIV
	focus group		18+, husbands	through unprotected sex.
	discussions		worked in India	- Fear social stigma prevented HIV test.
			at least six	
			months	
Thapa et	Sexual risk	Cross-sectional /	266 migrant	-39% used of condoms with husbands; of
al. 2016b	taking and HIV/	Nepal (Bajura	wives, aged 18+	these only 3.7% used it always
	interview	district)	whose husbands	- Having husbands under 36 was associated
	questionnaire		had worked in	with higher condom use.
			India for at least	- women under 36, school educated, prior

Author	Study theme/	Study	Study	Key findings regarding health and
	methods	type/setting	characteristics	status of left-behind (spouse)
			six months	knowledge HIV, HIV conversation with
				peers, & ability to have sexual negotiation
				associated with higher condom use.
Smith-	Impact migration,	Review and	900 women from	-Women with migrating husbands reported
Estelle &	health status,	secondary data	two rural	negative impacts on their health status/
Gruskin	Discrimination,	analysis	communities	health-seeking behaviour.
2003	access to			-43% worse health since migration. Having
	education on HIV			less money for health care & food and
	/STI vulnerability			heavier workload = reasons for poor health.