



# Safer labour migration and community-based prevention of exploitation: The state of the evidence for programming.

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# Executive Summary

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## Background and methods

Over the past decade, as ‘human trafficking’, ‘modern slavery’ and ‘forced labour’ have gained greater international attention and investment, the dialogue has increasingly turned to prevention, aiming to avert exploitation by fostering safer migration. In a world of structural factors that create hurdles and risks for migrant workers, community-based programming now often includes terms such as ‘safe’ or ‘high risk’ migration and aims to help aspiring migrants avoid exploitation. But, to date, it remains unclear what, in practice, makes individual migrants more or less safe, which risk factors lead to adverse migration outcomes and what actions people can take to prevent being exploited.

As community-based programming to help migrants avoid situations of labour exploitation continues to grow, it has become increasingly urgent that we ask ourselves how reliably we can answer the following questions:

1. What is ‘high risk migration’ or ‘safer labour migration’?
2. What puts people at risk of or protects them from exploitation, human trafficking, modern slavery or forced labour?
3. Are there decisions and actions that individuals could take to reduce their risk of harm in different contexts of multiple migration hazards and employment disadvantages?
4. Which of the migration-related factors are most significant or influential in determining a labour migrant’s migration outcome?
5. In what ways can and do people use the information they receive (e.g., from awareness campaigns, training) to improve their migration outcomes? How much and how does the information offered about migration translate into protective behaviours?

Like any newly emerging field of intervention, there comes a time when it is useful to take stock of existing knowledge and consider evidence priorities to develop well-grounded prevention strategies. To identify the state of the evidence on ‘safer

migration’ and consider evidence priorities for future interventions, the Freedom Fund commissioned a coordinated review of current evidence.

For this research, a team from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine conducted systematic and thematic literature reviews and interviews with selected experts, which included:

- **Intervention theory review** (public health, behavioural science)
- **Risk and protective factors associated with migration** (thematic review)
- **Interviews with selected experts** (14 practitioners, donors and researchers)
- **Evaluations of community-based safer labour migration interventions** (systematic review)

The work was conducted with the knowledge that political, economic and social structures create and sustain contexts of risk for migrant workers. While recognising the power of these influences, this research sought to understand how, within these contexts, community-based interventions might help migrant workers navigate the multiple risks and seize opportunities.

## What is the evidence on risk and protective factors associated with labour migration?

From a review and analyses of over 50 documents, primarily from the grey literature, our results indicate that many important field-based observations have emerged about potential risk associated with adverse migration outcomes over the past decade. The risks most commonly emerging from the review included risk factors over which individuals had little control (e.g., individual characteristics, structural factors), while few cited risks that an individual could reduce him or herself. Most literature pointed out broad influences such as gender, age, under-regulated low skill labour sectors, irregular migration and poor law enforcement. Additional factors leading to negative outcomes included poor access to fair financing for migration, discrimination, visa sponsorship, extortionate recruitment and unfair employment practices, and bad behaviour by

individual agents and employers. On an individual level, poor migration knowledge was regularly noted to be a core risk factor and most pre-migration programming was based on the concept that migrants did not have sufficient information to keep them safe from exploitation (i.e., with more information, they could take protective actions, avoid risks). However, few documents offered evidence on the specific types of information that would lead to good migration outcomes.

Current literature also indicates that individuals are likely to experience more than one risk factor and that teasing out possible high priority factors or the critical actions that individuals can take to reduce their risks of adverse outcomes will be challenging based on current research. Moreover, the same risk factors may have varying effects in different contexts and among different populations—or even within similar contexts and groups.

The work conducted for this research and evaluations of interventions to address other complex social problems indicate that evidence on risk and protective factors is needed for ‘good’ programming. Across sectors, there is currently a consensus that evidence-based programs and policies have a higher chance of success than interventions that do not draw on evidence or theory. For nearly all high quality prevention activities, evidence on risk and protective factors have served as the critical basis from which theories of change and logic frameworks are developed. That is, a strong rationale for a community-based migration-related intervention to help individuals achieve their migration goals will articulate the risk factors to be addressed and the protective factors to be enhanced; this will ensure that activities tackle potential risks associated with poor migration outcomes and promote practices that are likely to be protective against exploitation.

However, risk and protective factors in migration include not only individual and contextual characteristics within a setting, but also aspects of decision-making, risk-taking and migration

behaviours that are still largely under-investigated in the field of safe migration. Answers still appear to be needed for key questions such as: how do individuals decide how to migrate—by which means, what route, what facilitators offer the most promising, safest ways to secure good employment?

Moreover, our review suggests that greater information is required to inform program hypotheses about ‘pathways of change’, specifically, how do prospective migrants make decisions under conditions of great uncertainty, e.g., where information is difficult to obtain and determining an ‘optimal’ solution may not be feasible? Additionally, theories of change should take into account how migrants’ decisions are conditioned by social influences in different contexts. The field will benefit greatly from stronger evidence on hypothesised mechanisms through which planned activities will influence known risk factors to achieve the desired outcome: safer migration.

### **What is the evidence from safer migration evaluations?**

From our analysis of peer-reviewed and grey literature on the process, impact or influence of safer labour migration interventions to prevent exploitation of migrants, we identified 19 evaluated interventions, 11 of which were solely qualitative and 8 were mixed methods. Analyses of these evaluations indicate that there is a rapidly strengthening practice of evaluation, but, to date, few evaluations have been able to capture impact because of methodological designs limitations and absence of economic analyses of intervention costs.

However, evaluation findings suggest that programs addressing pre-departure awareness-raising and skill-building appear to be relevant and well-received by community stakeholders.

The review also captured a wide range of recommendations within the evaluation reports. Common recommendations included: establishing data collection systems at the program level; ensuring awareness campaigns include culturally

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sensitive material with proven relevance to the audience in that context; increasing health promotion strategies; and establishing regular monitoring and evaluation activities to capture impact using both qualitative and cost effectiveness analyses.

But ultimately, the review found that whilst growing, the evidence emerging from evaluation of safer migration interventions remains extremely limited, and is often exclusively from process evaluations. Without more rigorous methods to assess impact, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the interventions achieved the programs' objectives.

### **Findings for further discussion**

This research found a growing practice of research and evaluation of safer labour migration interventions - and a consensus demand for more and better evidence. Further, it identified the potential to apply theories that have been used to guide public health interventions to the emerging field of safer labour migration and prevention of exploitation.

Priority areas discussed at a convening of experts include:

- Theoretical frameworks, particularly evidence-based theories of change, for programming;
- Priority evidence needs on risk and protective factors in different programming contexts and target populations;
- Migrant information-seeking and decision-making processes and pathways for change to safer labour migration;
- Future evaluation priorities and programmatic preparedness for evaluation; and
- Evaluation methodologies appropriate to evidence needs.

Ultimately, this review began by asking some core programmatic questions related to 'safer migration' interventions. Findings are intended to offer one of the most robust reviews to date on the state of current evidence for donors and practitioners to work towards the design of a future research agenda to address this highly prevalent and complex problem of migrant labour exploitation. It was left to the convening to discuss the meaning of this evidence to practice and effective use of limited resources to support migrants to make the best decisions for themselves and their families.

## Safer Migration Convening Overview

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On 19-20 November 2015, the Freedom Fund hosted 25 experts in human trafficking/modern slavery, child protection, labour migration, and gender and violence at a convening on safer migration in London.

The objective of the convening was to present and discuss the research findings in the report: Safer labour migration and community-based prevention of exploitation: The state of the evidence for programming, by Cathy Zimmerman, Alys McAlpine and Ligia Kiss from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, commissioned by the Freedom Fund.

The convening served as a forum to discuss the study results and their implications with leading experts in the field. The convening offered a space and time to reflect on current collective evidence, including information provided by participants. The group considered what we have learned over the

past decade and how this growing evidence and lessons from the field might contribute to current and future programming.

### Convening discussions

The following summary aims to represent an overview of the convening discussions rather than provide a detailed report of individual contributions.

Participants brought diverse regional and disciplinary perspectives. Contributions represented experiences of direct service provision, research and evaluation and donor decision-making, from across South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Northern Africa. The dialogue was practical as well as lofty, benefitting from different viewpoints, expertise and the group's dedication to addressing the multiple challenges associated with the complex circumstances of migrants.



# Summary of meeting agenda

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## SESSION

1

### **Theory-based approaches to safer migration**

- Theory-based approaches for research and programming to promote safer labour migration, Dr Cathy Zimmerman, LSHTM
- Use of behaviour change theory, Phil Marshall, Independent consultant
- Understanding decision-making processes, Dr Cecilia Mo, Vanderbilt University
- Group discussion

## SESSION

2

### **Risk and protective factors**

- Risk factors for labour migration and exploitation, Alys McAlpine, LSHTM
- Recruitment and employment conditions at destination, Dr Elizabeth Frantz, International Migration Initiative, Open Society Foundations
- Risk and awareness campaigns, Mike Dottridge, Independent consultant
- Children on the move, Dr Dorte Thorsen, Migrating out of Poverty, University of Sussex
- Group discussion
- Evolution of the concept of 'safe migration' over time, gender and trafficking considerations, Bandana Pattanaik, Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women

## SESSION

3

### **Evidence from safer migration research and evaluation**

- Systematic review of safer labour migration intervention evaluations in South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and East Africa, Dr Cathy Zimmerman & Alys McAlpine, LSHTM
- Impact evaluation experience from the TRIANGLE project, Ben Harkins, Independent consultant & ILO
- Group discussion

## SESSION

4

### **What are organisations trying to achieve & learn? Implementers' and funders' perspectives**

- Applying a decision-making framework to programming: Benefits, challenges and knowledge gaps, Igor Bosc, ILO
- Building and delivering a safer migration program of work: Keeping it informed and relevant, Rajiv Khandelwal, Aajeevika Bureau
- Funder Panel Conversation, Anastasia Anthopoulos, Oak Foundation; Jody Myrum, NoVo Foundation; Sam Jacobs, Children's Investment Fund Foundation
- Small group discussions: Priority areas for future research



### Community versus structural factors

While the aim of the report and convening was to discuss community and individual-focused interventions, there was strong agreement that structural or contextual factors such as government policies, the global economy, widespread inequalities and in some cases, conflict, crises and forced migration, underlie the problems faced by migrants and addressing these contextual factors will remain central to effective action for change. Participants fervently agreed that what is required is an integrated approach to safer migration, which incorporates both structural and community strategies. There was strong agreement also that community-based actions to support migrants in risk-laden contexts are important, but that fundamental change on structural levels is what is needed. For instance, the importance of assisting individual migrants and their families must be accompanied by vigorous efforts to address the exploitative practices of recruitment agencies, as well as reforming the governing bodies that are tasked with regulating and protecting migrants.

### “Awareness-raising” versus targeted information campaigns

During discussions of the literature review findings on migration risks and interventions, many participants reiterated concerns regarding the usefulness or effectiveness (or lack of) of awareness campaigns, often mentioning the considerable investments that have been made to support these types of interventions. The view of those who have been involved in conducting or evaluating campaigns was that general awareness-raising about the risks of trafficking is unlikely to be effective if it is not informed by context-specific research on, for example:

1. what migrants and potential migrants in different settings know already (as they are often well aware of risks);
2. what are the most important risk and protective factors and how they differ by setting and population; and
3. how migrants are making decisions about whether to migrate, but, most importantly, how to migrate.

There was consensus that information campaigns too often lack information on specific actions potential migrants can take, which may be due, in part, to the limited evidence available on specific or practical protective and risk factors associated with migration and exploitation, as well as poor distinctions between what is needed at source versus destination locations. There was acknowledgement that the evidence to date provides primarily, if not almost exclusively, an anecdotal picture and broad categories of risk. This led participants to express their concerns about the usefulness of this level of evidence to inform practice, because of the lack of specificity to context or circumstance and the limited rigour of the research.

### The importance of migrants' decision-making patterns

In light of the findings from the theory review in the report and presentations by participants, there were extended discussions on the importance of both identifying risk factors and of understanding migrants' risk perceptions and individuals' decision-making, including the influence of additional factors such as family, community migration norms and the influence of cultural norms including women's weak participation in decision-making. There was enthusiastic engagement about employing public health theories, and behavioral science more broadly as a resource for planning program interventions. Adopting such approaches will require further analysis of how individuals weigh their choices and mitigate known and unknown risks. Some participants pointed out that a public health approach might not take into consideration the adaptive nature of traffickers, unlike exposure to a disease. Similarly, the point was raised that behavioral science theories are only valid when individuals have choices. Those fleeing from disaster or conflict may not have any choice in deciding how they migrate. Importantly, the question was raised of how to define 'safe' or 'safer', especially when programming for individuals who may have limited 'safe' options.

Participants described some positive effects from awareness campaigns aimed to reduce stigma and change the negative perceptions of migrants.

### Limits of existing evaluation literature

The limited number of robust evaluations identified by the systematic review highlighted the need for greater priority to be given to stronger evaluations. At the same time, interventions need to be adequately developed and tested prior to investments in more rigorous (and expensive) assessments. Many current program designs do not adequately reflect existing knowledge or take into account the findings of previous evaluations. Until this issue is addressed, the gains from strengthening evaluation will be limited. The participants offered feedback regarding the strict inclusion criteria of the

review, particularly related to the search restriction to evaluations written in English and the exclusion of structural intervention evaluations, leading to the suggestion that a future review might be extended to include other languages and perhaps a separate review of interventions operating at structural levels.

### Setting the agenda

The convening concluded with a small group activity during which participants were asked to identify priority areas of evidence to inform programming in order to help set the future research agenda. The following priority research areas were highlighted, including some suggested methods:

#### 1. Research the push factors driving individuals to migrate:

- Distinguish between "aspirational" migration and those who migrate because they have no choice.

#### 2. Identify risk and protective factors associated with positive and negative migration outcomes:

- Analyse risks in specific contexts and among varying populations, including by collecting narratives from returnees and current migrants at different points in the migration journey

#### 3. Understand the decision-making process:

- Collect data on how people seek information and weigh their options;
- Consider how decision-making changes along the migration journey;
- Assess the reach and influence of information campaigns and media in migrants' decision-making processes; and
- Analyse traffickers' and exploiters' business models to gain insight on how they influence migrants' decisions and circumstances.

#### 4. Research conditions in specific labour sectors to identify varying conditions and hazards.

While recognising the usefulness of robust research findings, participants also acknowledged that research does not always require the most rigorous methods to be informative and useful. It was further acknowledged that the level of rigour required (and commensurate funding investment) will frequently depend on how the evidence will be



used (e.g., more rigorous methods to inform larger programming investment for scale up). Participants agreed on the benefits of collaborations between academics and practitioners in researching these areas, and that academics should be brought in at the beginning of a project's life cycle to foster the best results.

### Conclusions

The convening was seen as an important step to reflect on past programming by assessing the state of the evidence and to consider what we might need to know to facilitate more effective future programming. The hope expressed by Freedom Fund and reiterated by participants was for a commitment to communicate openly on the work being undertaken in this area, to share relevant knowledge and studies and to consider a follow-up convening in one year to collaboratively move the research agenda forward. Especially encouraging was the interest and willingness of the participating to collaborate and explore the potential to coordinate action, funding and research.

In concluding the two days, participants considered that they had not simply completed their task, but had instead begun a next, collaborative stage in safer migration work. The group appeared to gain a broader and more collective understanding of the field of 'safer migration' programming and the current and potential contributions of research. As such, participants expressed their interest in using the report findings in their own work, as well as significant motivation to seek ways to collaborate in the next generation of programming to make migration safer for aspiring migrants.

## Introduction: Premise for research and context

Reports from around the world suggest that few areas are free from human trafficking and modern slavery, with current global prevalence estimates suggesting that at least 20-35 million people are subjected to extreme forms of exploitation[1], [2]. By comparison, estimates suggest there are approximately 35 million people living with HIV[3] and 16 million girls aged 15 to 19 who give birth every year (most in low- and middle-income countries)[4]. Although these comparisons have their limitations, they nonetheless offer a perspective on what might be viewed as the ‘epidemic’ scale of extreme exploitation.<sup>1</sup>

While the field of labour migration and exploitation has received growing attention, there is little systematically produced evidence to guide community-based programs. Understandably, to respond to an urgent crisis of human exploitation, programming has drawn on the expertise and insights of highly experienced practitioners and experts in this field. However, as we enter the next decade of prevention programming to help individuals migrate safely within contexts that pose numerous logistical challenges and structural constraints, we may wish to supplement field expertise with additional robust evidence.

Recognising potentially important knowledge gaps, the Freedom Fund commissioned a review of current evidence on ‘safer labour migration’ programming to determine what is known and what further evidence might support stronger prevention programming. By ‘safer migration programming’, we mean community-based activities to prevent the exploitation of migrants (i.e., human trafficking, forced labour,

modern slavery). This report was used to facilitate the dialogue at a convening of experts to discuss the next research steps towards more evidence-informed programming. The exercise is intended as a ‘pause for reflection’ to take stock of what we know, what we don’t know and what we should know in order to promote and sustain safer labour migration—prevent poor labour migration outcomes.

### Linking risk exposures and migration outcomes

As ‘high risk migration’ and ‘safer labour migration’ have become common lexicon in programming, it is useful to clarify terminology.<sup>2</sup> In migration programming, ‘high risk’ is often conflated with poor migration outcomes, mistakenly used to indicate the exploitation-related abuses, extortion, confinement, etc., versus the factors (exposures) most likely to put people at risk of these negative migration outcomes. Figure 1.1 highlights the pathway from migration-related exposures (risks/protective factors) and outcomes (exploitation).<sup>3</sup>

For labour exploitation, while we recognise its signature features, to date, we have little evidence on which factors (e.g., knowledge types, actions, selected routes, etc.) will make people more or less likely to be exploited. With this body of work, we are suggesting that it is time to treat the phenomenon of ‘exploitation’ in the context of labour migration as the prevalent health and social problem that it is by generating robust evidence on what puts prospective migrants most at risk of exploitation. Like for any other public health problem, such as teen pregnancy, drunk driving or obesity, the first step for good programming involves identifying the main risk and protective factors to help people navigate risky

1 Encompassing forms of labour exploitation, human trafficking, slavery, forced labour.

2 ILO has begun to use the term ‘fair migration’, but primarily referring to labour migration, perhaps related directly to the ‘decent work’ agenda (e.g., [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms\\_242879.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_242879.pdf))

3 ‘Exploitation’ is deemed to be the adverse outcome or the harm that programs wish to prevent. To note: research is also needed to learn what levels and dimensions of exploitation cause what levels and types of harm, including which levels we would consider so harmful as to be ‘criminal’.

4 Importantly, this question is not intended to query the migration outcomes (abuses, pay rates, rights violations), but instead to consider: which factors (i.e., exposures) are most likely to put people at ‘higher or lower risk’ of being exploited, abused, cheated when they migrate? Or alternatively: “what, in practice, do some migrants do that makes them more successful and safer versus others”?

contexts and avoid adverse outcomes. To consider what might be needed from the next generation of research for safer migration, we posed the following questions:

1. What is 'high risk migration' or 'safer labour migration'? Does it vary by context or populations?<sup>4</sup>
2. Are there decisions and actions that individuals could take to reduce their risk of harm in different contexts of multiple migration hazards and employment disadvantages?
3. Which of the migration-related factors are most significant or influential in determining a labour migrant's migration outcome?
4. How do people receive migration information and what ways do they use it (e.g., from awareness campaigns, training) to improve their migration outcomes? How much and how does the information offered about migration translate into protective behaviours?

**Figure 1.1: Link between individual exposures and outcomes**



To begin to answer these questions, we have conducted the following coordinated research:

- Review of public health theories relevant to migration programming and evaluation;
- Thematic review of literature on hypothesised risk factors associated with exploitive migration outcomes;
- Synthesis of qualitative interviews with selected experts on potential risk factors, decision-making norms and interventions to prevent human trafficking, labour exploitation, modern slavery;
- Systematic review of evaluated community-based safer labour migration interventions; and
- Summary of current evaluation methodology promising practices and gaps.

### Report structure

Findings of the reviews conducted for this report are discussed in three sections:

1. Theory-based approaches for research and programming to promote safer labour migration;
2. Risk factors for labour migration and exploitation: a thematic literature review; and
3. Systematic review of safer labour migration community-based intervention evaluations in South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and East Africa

In the first section, we review several theories used to design public health interventions, and more specifically, to inform prevention programming. This theory review is intended to offer an introduction to the potential uses of these theories for safer migration programming. This discussion also leads to the following risk review section by underscoring the importance of having strong evidence on migration-related risk and protective factors as the starting point for migration-related interventions. That is, the theories presented (e.g., theory of change, ecological framework) highlight that

evidence about risk factors and pathways serve as the bases for prevention programming. Alternately phrased: we need to know what puts people at risk of adverse migration outcomes (e.g., financial, physical, psychological harm) and how these risks operate to cause adverse outcomes in order to help them avoid or tackle these risks.<sup>5</sup>

The second section then reviews the evidence on risk and protective factors. This review was conducted thematically, drawing on research from selected sectors and countries commonly known for labour migration exploitation and human trafficking. This review was supplemented with findings from a small number of interviews with experts in the field who were asked questions about their experience and observations related to risk and protective factors associated with better and worse migration outcomes as well as migrants' decision-making processes.

The third section presents the results of a systematic review of evaluations of safer labour migration interventions. In addition to offering findings on 'what works' and 'how much it works', this review also sought to explore the more fundamental question of "how it works" by identifying any risks specifically targeted by the interventions and articulated theories of change. We also assessed the types and strength of evaluation methods and robustness of the findings.

Ultimately, this portfolio of work aims to present a consolidated portrait of evidence to inform prevention programming and consider future research and evaluation priorities.

<sup>5</sup> For example, analogies of primary prevention might include behavioural interventions to reduce diabetes, teen pregnancy or alcohol abuse, which first identify the risk factors associated with the adverse outcomes. The interventions target these risks, and identify the pathways between the risks and the outcomes.

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**Figure 1.2: Thematic areas of research covered by this review**

<b>Theoretical Models</b> How can we use theory for intervention design?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Theories of change</li><li>• Ecological models</li><li>• Prevention science, behaviour change theory and health promotion theory</li><li>• Decision-making under uncertainty</li></ul>
<b>Risk</b> Which factors increase risk of exploitation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Hypothesised risk factors discussed by the literature and select experts</li><li>• Highlight possible high-risk demographic attributes</li></ul>
<b>Evaluated Interventions</b> What Works? How? Under which circumstances?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Summary of program, participants, partners and context</li><li>• Program mechanisms of influence (rational, ToC, risk factors, etc.)</li><li>• Analysis of outputs in relation to program processes and program outcome</li><li>• Evaluation methodologies (measurements, sampling, controls, etc.)</li><li>• Promising methodological practices and implications of methodological gaps</li></ul>

## Theory-based approaches for research and programming to promote safer labour migration

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### What can we learn from research and interventions on violence against women and girls?

The field of public health has a well-established theoretical and methodological toolkit to address epidemic-size phenomena that cause harm to individuals, such as forced labour, exploitation and human trafficking. Studies of various public health interventions indicate that programs that use a theoretical framework to guide activities are more likely to be effective than those not drawing on theory[5]. Yet, to date, few of these proven public health tools, including theoretical frameworks, have been used to promote safer labour migration and prevent exploitation[6].

As community-based pre-migration interventions grow in number, now is a propitious moment to step back and consider how the field of public health has dealt with 'prevention'[7]. Lessons from several decades of work on a similarly complex social problem, violence against women and girls, offer relevant examples of how we might apply prevention strategies to help migrants avoid severe forms of labour exploitation.<sup>6</sup>

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) and severe forms of labour exploitation are both complex social phenomena that involve imbalances of power, abusive relationships, social stigma and often enduring trauma. Like VAWG, exploitation of this extreme calibre causes significant harm to individuals (e.g., physical, psychological, financial, social). Like VAWG, labour exploitation occurs in the context of inequitable political, economic and social structures that create the conditions for and condone these abuses[8], [9]. Like individuals exposed to VAWG, migrants at risk of exploitation are forced to operate within structures that create risk of harm to themselves - harm that often reverberates outwards to affect family members and sometimes communities.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, work on VAWG also began in a reactive versus preventative approach, focusing on criminal justice and shelter responses, but has now advanced to focus on prevention, addressing both community-based and structural factors that create the conditions for abuse. See for example, Lancet Series, Violence Against Women and Girls: <http://www.thelancet.com/series/violence-against-women-and-girls>

<sup>7</sup> Actions to shift the larger structures that drive widespread socio-economic inequalities take time, so in the meantime, we know it is necessary to invest in activities that operate on the individual and community levels to help individuals navigate or challenge these contexts of risk. That is, while working to shift inequitable structural causes of exploitation (e.g., weak recruitment regulations, supply chains; unenforced labour legislation), we must identify strong interventions that help people undertake safer forms of labour migration. (ref: Egan, 2008).

To develop prevention interventions to promote safer migration in contexts that are risk-laden, we first need to ask: "What are the individual-level factors or behaviours that put prospective migrants at risk of extreme exploitation and which will protect them?" Alternatively phrased: "What factors lead to safer migration?" In this section, we describe several core theories used to research, develop and evaluate community-based prevention interventions and consider how they might be used for pre-migration programming.



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## What individual behaviours need to change to make migration safe and successful?

### **Theory of Change**

One of the most commonly used frameworks for intervention development and evaluation is a Theory of Change (ToC). A ToC articulates the pathways between known risk factors and the outcome(s) of interest. There is now a large body of literature on the use of ToCs for programming and intervention evaluation[10]-[12]. In developing a ToC, one is explicitly stating the risks that have been demonstrated to put people at highest risk of a poor outcome (or protective factor(s) related to positive outcomes) and the hypothesised sequence of changes that will occur as a result of activities designed to achieve the desired change. For an intervention to promote safer migration, a ToC might, for example, articulate inputs as the activities that target risks known to lead to exploitation and actions known increase successful labour migration. Outcomes would then comprise the change in these risk or protective factors (e.g., reduced ignorance of labour rights, increased assertion of rights), which would be on the pathway to the ultimate impact: the reduction of incidence of exploitation.

### **Behaviour change theory**

Behaviour change theories aim to consider how people's decisions and actions related to risks might lead to greater vulnerability to or protection from adverse outcomes. See Appendix 2.1 for work on migration and health risk theory. Marshall recently introduced the use of behaviour change theory to consider human trafficking, noting for example, that many awareness-raising programs are based on potentially uninformed assumptions about risk and pathways between cause and effect[7].<sup>8</sup> For example, in some contexts, we still have yet to verify whether it is safer to migrate legally versus illegally. Indeed, in certain contexts where, for instance, recruitment fees are usurious (e.g., Nepal), migrants may find greater benefit from irregular migration, where possible.

Behaviour change theories are often the basis for health promotion interventions, which frequently draw heavily on evidence about how individuals make decisions about risk. As will be discussed below, to promote safer migration practices, we need to gain a greater understanding of how prospective migrants make decisions about ways to avoid risk. A more complex discussion of 'health promotion' techniques is beyond the scope of this paper, but these tools should be considered, especially for future community-based safer migration promotion programs, such as information and awareness campaigns.<sup>9</sup>

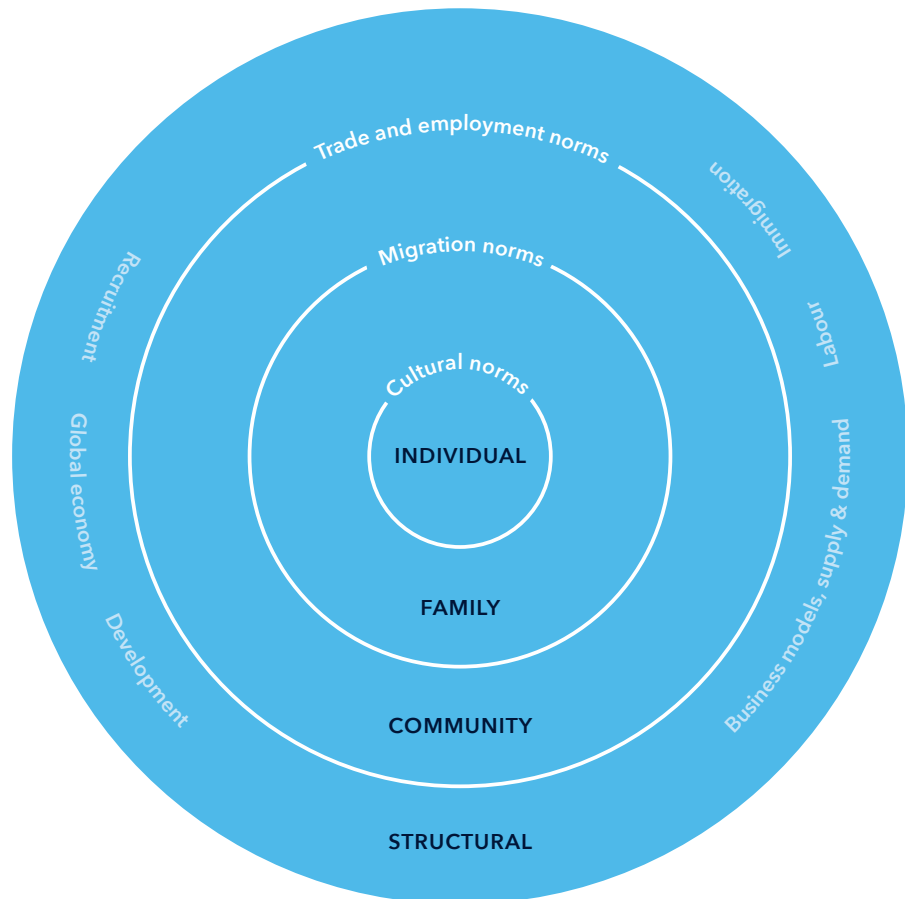
**Ecological framework**

An important overarching framework that has been used alongside ToC and behavioural theories to take account of the larger contextual forces, including structural factors, is an ecological framework. Individual risks and behaviours occur within a context. Ecological frameworks try to account for the ‘...physical, social, cultural, and historical aspects of context (including trends at the local and global level such as globalisation, urbanisation, and large scale environmental change) as well as attributes and behaviours of persons within’[13], [14]. The ecological perspective has been useful to develop interventions on VAWG, for example, by delineating the levels of the social ecology that influence violence: individual; relationship; community; macro-

social or structural.<sup>10</sup> A similar framing might serve as a basis to consider the risk and protective factors associated with migration and labour exploitation and programming to foster safer labour migration.

Figure 2.1 offers one possible adaptation of the ecological framework used for VAWG to consider migrant labour exploitation. The framework highlights the various levels of risk and opportunities for intervention. At the structural level, this framework also draws on social norms theory, pointing to the potential role of ‘socio-economic norms’ and inequalities that may drive and tolerate exploitative practices, as well as individuals’ own expectations and acceptance of exploitative situations[15].

**Figure 2.1: Sample ecological framework for labour migration and exploitation**



## Why is it important to understand how individuals make decisions regarding migration?

On the individual, family and community levels, we have highlighted the potential role of 'community migration norms' or the common migratory practices in the community that influence migration and lend confidence (perhaps misguided) to individuals about their migration options. For example, prospective migrants who come from communities where certain forms or modes of migration are prevalent may be persuaded to follow common practices of neighbours, without feeling the need to undertake their own assessments about how or where to migrate (decision-making is discussed further below).

For programming and research, an ecological framework is often the starting point from which a researcher or program planner will delve deeper to identify more specific multi-level risk and protective factors that promote or constrain individuals' behaviours.

### Migration decision-making under conditions of uncertainty

Decision-making under uncertainty is a theoretical approach that has been used in business and behavioural economics[16]. As it implies, 'decision-making under uncertainty' involves trying to make judgments about how to achieve the greatest utility from limited and/or ambiguous information, often using conjecture and/or probabilities.

To date, literature on migration decision-making has been somewhat limited[17]-[22]. Moreover, most writing and research on migration decision-making has focused on individuals' decisions about *whether or not to migrate*. Some research describes how people make decisions about *who in the household will migrate and where to migrate* and several scholars have explored questions about decision-making and 'social networks' or 'migrant networks'[17], [18], [20].<sup>11</sup>

What has been missing from migration decision-making research are discussions about *how individuals make decisions about how they migrate under conditions of great uncertainty*.<sup>12</sup> Concepts and methodologies from research on 'decision-making under uncertainty' may offer potentially useful tools to inform pre-migration interventions[18].

To date, we have little understanding about, for example: *With whom and in what ways should prospective migrants invest their trust and resources to secure a decent job and better future? How do prospective migrants make decisions, weigh the*

10 For ecological framework for intimate partner violence, see Lori Heise's What works to prevent partner violence. An evidence overview. Report for the UK Department for International Development. December 2011 See page 8: <http://www.oecd.org/derec/49872444.pdf>

11 Elrick (2005) explains: "According to Social Network Theory, the actor is a subject in different networks which he or she can use rationally to maximise utility. Thus, existing networks can facilitate the decision whether to move or not."

12 This discussion assumes that people operate within structural constraints that ultimately need to change in order to level the playing field for migrants and labourers, but recognizes that shifting these larger economic and political forces will take time. In the meantime, it is necessary to support individual aspiring migrants to navigate some of the risks and help them harness opportunities.

options: *If I go with this agent, my friend's brother, to location X, will I do better than if I listen to the radio ad and go through official agents and go to location Y.* Maybe migrants make the decision jointly with family members and feel multiple social influences - such as peer-pressure, social and gender norms, migration marketing - that will end up shaping their migration decision and behaviour. Or, maybe prospective migrants do not even seek and consider outside information and weigh options; maybe individuals simply follow a prescribed path or obey family directives or adhere to 'local migration norms'.

Thus, to be clear, for the purposes of this discussion, decision-making under uncertainty research would be less concerned with the question of 'whether or not to migrate'<sup>13</sup>, but instead in what we believe is a larger and more complex question for safer migration programming: *How do individuals decide how to migrate—which means, what route, what facilitators, etc. offer the most promising, safest ways to secure good employment?*<sup>14</sup> Recalling the ecological framework above, this discussion is not solely focussed on individual behaviours, but instead behaviours within a community context and structural influences and constraints (and facilitators) that might affect individual options, decisions, actions and outcomes (e.g., gender, migration norms, political-economy, laws).

Why is it important to understand how individuals make decisions regarding migration? As noted previously, significant sums of money and effort are being invested in community-based programming to promote safer migration (e.g., 'raise awareness', increase knowledge about migration-related

information, foster individual empowerment and prevent trafficking) under the assumption that if individuals are armed with appropriate knowledge, they can and will make more informed and thus safer, more personally successful decisions. Yet, at the same time as programs are trying to intervene in pre-migration decision-making and planning, we still have very little understanding of the basic components of behaviour-based interventions, such as: 1) how individuals acquire and process information; 2) how they deliberate and weigh information; 3) who and what influences these deliberations; and 4) how they ultimately act on this information.<sup>15</sup>

To consider theories related to 'decision-making under uncertainty' in the context of migration programming, it is useful to reflect briefly on: a) core concepts of 'risk' and 'uncertainty' and b) decision-making models. While volumes of literature have been written on each of these concepts, we will attempt to summarise some relevant aspects for migration decision-making.

#### **a) Risk versus uncertainty**

The use of the term 'risk' in popular migration programming parlance has seemed to emphasise the probability of an adverse outcome or vulnerability (versus a more neutral sense of chance or equal possibility of either positive or negative outcomes). In safer migration/anti-trafficking programming, there has been very limited exploration of 'positive' outcomes or what is sometimes termed 'positive deviance'. That is, why do some individuals do better than others? Or, in the case of labour migration, is it possible or even probable, that the 'deviance' is

13 In decisions of whether or not to migrate an individual or family weighs their poor financial prospects of staying in their current situation against the possibilities of better future options associated with migration, e.g., based on reported or observed migrant experiences. Moreover, research suggests that people tend to overestimate potential positive outcomes.[103] Similarly, people tend towards loss-aversion, so, if based on current experiences of hardship at home, they predict poor outcomes from remaining in this situation, with incomplete knowledge about migration possibilities, wages, costs, etc., they may tend to overestimate future potential for rewards elsewhere.

14 Various forms of labour migration have existed (and grown) for centuries and there are no signs of this subsiding. Moreover, 'to go or not to go', these decisions are often less complex, as individuals have greater directly observed evidence. Generally, individuals know current situation and have a good sense of the prospects for future gain (financial) if they stay and have come to believe (e.g., through others' experiences) that they have a greater possibility to earn more if they migrate.

15 In discussing the processes by which individuals make decisions under uncertainty we are assuming that someday we will have more robust evidence on risks, safety and opportunities that might be provided for aspiring migrants in different contexts.

the negative outcome: maybe most migrants do well and the smaller proportion is severely exploited.

The use of risk terminology in migration discourse also differs from common uses in behavioural economics in a particular way. In behavioural economics, risk is often considered in terms of probability and value - thus people make decisions based on the likelihood of an outcome and the potential value of losses versus gains (such as in betting experiments).

In considering migration risk and decision-making, incorporating the concepts around 'uncertainty' will be useful because they emphasize the nature of what can be known and the complexity of and potential for incomplete or incorrect knowledge. Where the term 'risk' is used in its more neutral sense, risks are based on information that is knowable, but not certain, while uncertainty is defined as information that is not known and may not be knowable[23]. See Figure 2.2. In the case of prospective migrants from resource-poor settings, decisions are frequently made in the face of the unknown and the unknowable: facts that are difficult if not impossible to obtain in advance (e.g., what additional fees will be charged upon arrival; how will my family fare when I am away; will employment in location X be better than location Y; will my employer be abusive; will my experience be the same as my neighbour's).

This distinction between the nature of 'risk' and 'uncertainty' is important when considering the decision-making position of prospective migrants for several reasons. First, should we regularly consider migrants as 'at risk' of adverse outcomes? Is this useful framing? Or might it be helpful to consider prospective migrants and their families as 'small scale entrepreneurs', as aspiring and resourceful actors, attempting to make economic decisions in the face of swaths of uncertain - and perhaps unknowable - information, including about risk. Or how might we consider both?

Second, this distinction highlights questions about the potential range of certainty of 'inputs' that migrants can obtain (or programs can offer) for decision-making processes and subsequently, how will these inputs will be judged and deployed? That is, if migrants receive information that does not include known probabilities of certain outcomes and certain value (e.g., in dice-rolling, odds are that a seven will appear every six rolls, to win a dollar amount), on what basis should they make decisions about their preferred means of labour migration?

**Figure 2.2: Knowledge levels for decision-making**

**Known:** Knowledge that a prospective migrant has, e.g., contact details for recruitment agent.

**Unknown:** Knowledge that a prospective migrant could acquire, e.g., whether recruitment agent has been trustworthy.

**Unknowable:** Knowledge that a prospective migrant could not obtain, e.g., whether employer will be fair, violent, etc.

**Figure 2.3: Individual pre-migration decision-making process and context**



**b) Decision-making models**

Drawing on behaviour change theories (e.g., transtheoretical model<sup>16</sup>), we developed a possible model to consider individual stages of change - or decision-making - and, alongside this, the context (some structural factors) in which decisions are made [24]. Figure 2.3 highlights a possible way of thinking of the process of pre-migration decision-making, alongside the decision-making context [25].

A decision-making process for migrants might be seen to comprise the following multi-stages[26]:

**Stage 1: Information exposure and/or search behaviour.**

This stage is when people seek or inadvertently receive information about migrating for work. Information may come or be sought via general media sources (e.g., radio, advertisements), from individuals that they know (e.g., family, neighbours, acquaintances) or official recruiters or informal intermediaries.

**Stage 2: Cognitive processing (of information, no information, too much information).**

This stage involves the act of assessing the migration and job information that has been received, whether very limited or too extensive. This cognitive process includes, for example, the ways that people try to expand (logically, intuitively - heuristically) on the information they have received or delimit large bodies of choices - or may include rejecting all or most information.

**Stage 3: Information and decision weighting and/or consulting with others.**

This stage includes when individuals actively (or not) seek or receive the advice of others. It raises questions about how prospective migrants choose or are subjected to the opinions of others, how they judge these opinions or how much weight they choose or are forced to allocate to the opinions they receive. This also raises potential questions about the 'decision-framing' or the ways that the options were presented [27]. Further, it includes consideration of the 'advisor's' relationship to the potential migrant

<sup>16</sup> The transtheoretical model incorporates theories of psychotherapy and behavior change. In this way, it raises questions about individuals' cognitive processing, including the ways individuals process and use information, make decisions and act on those decisions [24].

and how potential 'advisors' receive and process migration-related information. Understanding this stage also requires considering an individual's previous knowledge, experiences and emotions.

#### **Stage 4: Choosing from alternatives and making action plan[25].<sup>17</sup>**

This process depends on the prior stages of information collection and weighting. During this stage, decisions may change over the course of developing the plan. To understand this stage requires one to consider people's ability to realise their plan(s) and recognise any assistance or resistance they might encounter to activate their plan. It is also necessary to consider the potential mediating events or structures that might cause individuals to alter their plans.

#### **Stage 5: Acting on the plan**

Like the previous stage, acting on a migration plan may be influenced by events that occur while implementing the plan, which might further promote, prevent or require adaptation to the plan. Understanding this stage requires learning about the various multi-level factors (individual, family, community, international) that might influence how an individual chooses to migrate, including the context (e.g., laws, other actors, unanticipated interventions, migration-related emotions) and potential/likelihood for poor planning.

#### **c) Decision-making in practice**

So, how, in practice, might this framework potentially guide the development of pre-migration programs?<sup>18</sup> First, an articulation of the decision-making process encourages program planners to break down or be more precise about the information or research questions needed to understand how prospective migrants seek, process and act on information. Again, it is worth considering

the ways that behaviour change campaigns to, for example, prevent smoking, stop drunk driving or reduce VAWG have been researched, market-tested, costed for scale up and rolled out. And importantly, like for interventions to address VAWG, strategies for low-income migrant workers will need to address core factors related to inequality, rights and empowerment.

In other behavioural terms, migration decision-making can be viewed to occur within what is called conditions of 'bounded rationality'. That is, prospective migrants (like all of us) will be limited in their ability to make decisions by: (a) the information they are able to obtain; (b) their cognitive abilities to process the information they get; and (c) the time available to gather and process the information, make the decision and act on it. This is an meaningful programming concept because it implies the importance of being certain any information provided to prospective migrants is offered in ways that are acceptable (e.g., culturally, age-appropriate) and usable (e.g., not too much), otherwise precious funds may be ill-invested.<sup>19</sup>

While one might wish to believe (and some programs assume) that, if given accurate information, migrants will make logical-rational decision, practice and theory indicate that decision-making processes are not necessarily this straightforward. In addition to the conditions of 'bounded rationality', decisions are often made based on common sense, mental shortcuts, or what are also known as 'heuristics'. This is true especially where information is difficult to obtain, unreliable or overwhelming (for example, imagine there are 30 different phone plan providers with 20 different plans for each). That is, where identifying the 'optimal' solution is not feasible or easy, people will apply strategies based on the most accessible means of problem solving, for

<sup>17</sup> Decision-making constructs include: "1) instrumental benefits to self, 2) instrumental benefits to others, 3) approval from self, 4) approval from others, 5) instrumental costs to self, 6) instrumental costs to others, 7) disapproval from self, and 8) disapproval from others [25].

<sup>18</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the potential application of each stage of this theory to migration research and programming, but future programming may benefit from in-further exploration of each stage.

<sup>19</sup> This raises suggests the importance of economic evaluation, intervention activity costing, etc., which will be raised again in the last section on intervention methodologies.

example, by consulting people they consider to be trusted sources or by adhering to community migration norms - *everyone does it, so it must be okay*. Who gains this trust and how, is a question for consideration that has potentially important programming consequences, as well. It is further worth noting that heuristic approaches can turn the potential for informed decision-making into very simple decision-making if, for example, an individual is instructed by a parent to follow another family member for a job, if there is only one recruitment agent in a village, or if everyone in the town migrates via the same means. Because decision-making is not always what outsiders or program logic might consider 'rational', this is the reason we need to spend time and effort to understand how, in reality, migrants are making decisions.

### Implications of theory review

The field of human trafficking and safer migration programming represent a relatively new area of programming and research, which, understandably, has identified and tested few theories to underpin interventions. Our review suggests there are potentially useful theoretical perspectives from public health, behavioural science and economics that might be adapted for effective use to guide safer migration intervention research, programming and evaluation.

Theories of change should be used to ensure interventions begin by targeting well-identified risk and protective factors and build on well-informed assumptions about pathways to tackling these risks in pursuit of more positive outcomes. Similarly, behaviour change theories can foster more attentive focus on learning the ways people act in the context of community and structural factors that influence risk and constrain or facilitate their decisions and actions. These broader interactions between individuals and the context can be articulated using an ecological perspective.

More theory-driven research on migrant 'decision-making', especially under conditions of considerable uncertainty, will respond to the program information needed to inform the growing number of community-based interventions.

Ultimately, this sections aims to emphasise the critical need to base community interventions on well-articulated theories that are underpinned by strong evidence on:

- Risk and protective factors that influence safe/unsafe migration, e.g., as the starting point for the theory of change; and
- Migration information acquisition and decision-making to determine appropriate behaviour change models and intervention activities.

In the next section we try to explore some current evidence on risk and protective factors. That is: *What do we know about what puts migrants at risk of harm and what might give them a better chance of landing in a safe and prosperous circumstance for themselves and their family.*

In the final section, in our systematic review of evaluations of interventions, we explore whether programs had articulated a theory of change and what assumptions were made about pathways of change.





# Risk factors for labour migration and exploitation: A thematic literature review

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## Background and methods

As noted in the previous theory review, interventions are found to be more successful when underpinned by a well-articulated theory. Among the strongest intervention programming theories is a theory of change (ToC). Articulating a pathway of change begins by identifying the risks that are known or hypothesised to lead to adverse outcomes. These risk and/or protective factors then become the targets for the intervention activities. That is, before investing in activities to help people migrate more safely, it is necessary to know what is most likely to create 'unsafe' migration.

We conducted a thematic 'realist review' of literature on risk and protective factors, which means we reviewed and analysed the literature in order to identify how, why, for whom and in what context risks and protective factors operate [28]. We selected literature by certain sectors known for exploitation (e.g., domestic work, agriculture, construction, fishing) and a select number of countries (India, Nepal, Brazil, Ethiopia and Thailand). We aimed to meet a 'saturation point' - or review sufficient literature until repeated themes and assumptions emerged. The literature findings are supplemented by interviews with 14 experts in order to strengthen the findings with field experience. These stakeholders have varied, pertinent experience in pre-migration interventions (including information campaigns for potential migrants), migration management, migrant decision-making research, survivor rehabilitation and program management. To date, there have been few attempts to consolidate what we really know based on systematically collected evidence about risk and even fewer efforts to seek evidence on possible protective factors associated with safe migration outcomes. A review of social determinants of trafficking has been published, but it did not specifically include 'migrant' or 'migration' in the review protocol search terms [29]. In this current review, we aimed to consolidate selected evidence on risks and protective factors that might inform interventions on safer labour migration [30].

## Literature review findings

Twenty-five commonly identified risk factors emerged from the literature. A risk factor, as defined by World Health Organization (WHO), is any attribute, characteristic or exposure of an individual that increases the likelihood of developing a disease or injury [31]. Risks extracted from the literature encompassed individual, household, community and societal influences, including risks both in and out of an individual's control. Most underscored structural risks or group characteristics that were not within an individual's control. Table 3.1 is a summary of the findings and frequency of risks mentioned in the literature. These findings are accompanied by the results of 14 interviews with selected experts. Emerging findings on risk factors are primarily observational and anecdotal and leave unanswered questions.

The most commonly noted risk factors include: gender; age; irregular migration; low skill labour; knowledge gaps; recruitment practices; and law and policy gaps. Gender and age are best described as demographic factors or population characteristics associated with vulnerability, i.e., versus risks to be reduced. However, the literature and interviews indicate that gender and age are key considerations when identifying potential at-risk groups and are relevant to intervention planning. However, at the same time, it was somewhat difficult to find clear definitions or explanations of the risk factors that are identified. Vague descriptions of risks create challenges for practitioners seeking to put findings into operation. See Table 3.1 for the list of twenty-five risk factors as described by the literature.

**Table 3.1: Level of evidence (frequency of factor identification in the literature), key risk factors and variables specification (summary details from the literature)**

Level of evidence	Risk factor	Further explanation
HIGH (10+ sources)	Irregular migration	undocumented migrants, migrants with expired/false documentation
	Low skill labour	domestic work, textile factories, construction work, informal sectors, limited work opportunity for those with narrow skills, often unregulated work
	Knowledge gaps	no knowledge of work or contract, limited access to migration related information, no pre-departure training, lack of social capital, unaware of human rights, , language barrier, inaccurate recruitment information
	Recruitment (unspecified as agency, broker or individual agent)	high recruitment fees often exceeding government criteria, auctioning workers to employers, inaccurate information, deception, passport withholding, failure to supply documents, departure postponement, lack of transparency, fraud business fronts
	Gender	bans on female migration, women more likely to be trafficked for work/sex, abusive domestic work, stigma against women, risk of sexual abuse in transit, women given high risk jobs, early marriage
	Law enforcement gaps	lack of oversight from destination country, no redress from crimes, no migration management, police accepting bribes, no diplomatic protection at destination, limited reporting opportunity, grey areas of prosecution, corrupt officials, barrier to accessing justice
	Policy gaps	lack of bilateral agreements between destination and transit countries, no employment management policies, no informal sector management, weak labour law, corruption, excessive working hours, no wage control
	Age	vulnerable children, especially traveling alone
MEDIUM (5-9 sources)	Poor access to fair financing for migration	unable to access loans to migrate legally, informal loans, debt limits agency to choose safe employment
	Remote location	distance from home, long trips to get home, time spent in transit country, isolated domestic work
	Discrimination	negative perceptions, gender/non-nationals/race/ethnicity/economic status/religion/ etc., low social capital
	Sponsorship/employer practices	employees acting as sponsors, visas tied to jobs, employer/worker power imbalance, withholding documentation
	Structural pull	cost-cutting, labour demand, long supply chain, informal markets
	Individual agents	registered or unregistered individual recruiters unrelated to larger agency

Level of evidence	Risk factor	Further explanation
LOW (1-4 sources)	Migration bans	laws or restrictions on migration causing more individuals to migrate through irregular channels, creating opportunistic gains for potentially unethical or corrupt recruiters
	Weak networks and/or unions	fewer contacts for protection
	Social pressure	family expectations, migration norms, family financial support
	Border control gaps	porous borders, insufficient border management, corrupt immigration officials, unsafe transit points
	Migrating alone	traveling as an individual
	Known transit routes	gangs of criminals lurking along well known migrant routes
	Strained family structure	orphaned children, single parent households
	Pregnancy	woman showing to be expecting a child and migrating
	Political uncertainty	political instability and protection, political crises, conflict, displacement, broken systems
	Sporting events	increased need for construction workers, increased demand for commercial sex, informal work
	Household shock	lost employment, property damage, unexpected expenses, physical trauma, illness

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## How might women's vulnerability to exploitation differ from men's vulnerability?

### Gender

The literature regularly notes that adopting a gendered perspective for migration—and trafficking, in particular—is essential to planning well-targeted programs [32]. Currently, there is a gap in research on men and boys [32]. Risks in migration and vulnerability to labour exploitation are not 'gender neutral'. That is, being female or male (or a sexual minority) is linked in various ways to one's vulnerability to different forms of exploitation. Reports often suggested that women and girl migrants are at greater risk of exploitation [33]. However, a closer analysis of the reports and case studies suggests that a more accurate conclusion related to gender might be that women and girls are more vulnerable to certain forms of exploitation. For example, some reports suggest that women and girls traveling via overland transit might be more susceptible to sexual exploitation or abuse [34] and those using irregular channels may be at risk of harm at border control sites where sexual favours may be demanded for onward passage (especially when they are without documentation)[35]. A commonly cited underlying explanation for women's higher risk of poor migration outcomes is gender-discrimination and inequalities [36]. One report indicated that female-headed households experienced greater vulnerability because of social or class discrimination [36]. The literature also suggests, that the types of work women are recruited into, domestic work for example, are often informal employment where exploitation is more common [37]. In a report looking at the case of young female Ethiopian domestic workers, sexual violence and early marriage were cited as both drivers of migration and realities of their employment [38].

While being a female has been regularly reported as a prominent risk factor for being trafficked, this observation is increasingly being questioned as large numbers of men are found in situations of extreme exploitation and abuse. For example, some of the most horrific reports of trafficking come from the fishing sector, which is primarily a male-based workforce [39]. There are various factors to consider, such as location and employment sector, which may contribute to which gender is at risk for what type of exploitation.

Thus, as noted, while recent estimates suggest that females comprise a greater proportion of those in situations of forced labour (though estimates may be disputable), being female may not necessarily make one more vulnerable to all types of exploitation, but instead may pose different types of vulnerabilities to different types of abuses[2]. It would be helpful to disaggregate or collect additional data to understand these differences. Although gender has been identified as a critical factor related to vulnerability to exploitation, there appear to be few recommendations about how to apply a gender lens to tailor interventions for men and for women (or girls or boys).

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## Age

Reports often discussed young age as a risk factor for exploitation, but rarely specified which children, in what circumstances, for which types of exploitation and few demonstrated evidence for why risks might be greater. Additionally, some literature suggest that it is not always clear how to distinguish between young migrants and victims of trafficking, and this inability to differentiate may lead to inappropriate intervention responses[40]. One report explained that when children are warned about certain risks associated with migrating, such as coercion by opportunist recruiters, these children are not always given alternative mechanisms to migrate, so they travel alone at potentially greater risk, including relying on strangers for survival[41], [42]. Reports also note that in some cases, undocumented children may be at greater risk, regardless of the presence of a guardian. Discussions of age highlight some of the potential interactions between youth and other risk factors, including gender, family difficulties and irregular migration.

“Children on the move” is a topic that has gained attention. For example, in 2012 Terre des Hommes initiated a campaign called ‘Destination Unknown: Protect Children on the Move’ with the objective to promote ways for children to migrate more safely[43]. Although some literature indicates the importance of intervening early with prospective child migrants because of the difficulty reaching them once they are in transit, there remains little strategic dialogue on how to help youth make informed choices to achieve what they want from migration, learn about available resources (versus preventing them from migrating)[44]. In 2014, the International Organization for Migration brought together stakeholders at a workshop titled “Migration and Families” from which emerged a report summarizing key concerns about unaccompanied young migrants, including risk of detention, long-term negative psychological side effects, violence and abuse in transit, human rights violations, but nonetheless still indicating the serious limitations of current evidence on mobile children[45]. A key informant interviewed for this report suggested that we too often approach the issue of migrating children from narrow assumptions of what we think is best for children and not enough time given to understanding what children want for themselves.

It is not a question of should children migrate because they are migrating, but instead to ask: how can we help increase their safety?

## Which is safer: regular or irregular migration?

### Irregular migration

Irregular migration often implies that the movement is illegal in some way[46]. It has been a common assumption in awareness campaigns and pre-migration interventions that irregular migration is 'high risk' or is more likely to lead to exploitation. Some literature indicates that because the paperwork involved with migrating can be both tedious and expensive, migrants may resort to traveling without identification documents or work contracts, which can add pressure at destination to take whatever underpaid or unsafe work is readily available for undocumented immigrants[47]. These jobs are often within low skill labour sectors, many of which form part of globally exploitative supply chains[48]. A participant interviewed for this report stressed that documentation and knowledge of migrant rights were the two critical pieces to assure migrants' bargaining power and access to justice at destination. Various sources indicated that irregular migration is often synonymous with unfrequented routes, opportunist brokers, high fees and limited agency to report wrongdoing. However, one report stated that irregular migration is often a neutral factor, since many migrants have their documents confiscated en route or at destination[39]. These reports note that the risks associated with, for example, the transit route, intermediary recruiters, and poor (or corrupted) systems of reporting and law enforcement, are not specific only to irregular migration. They suggest that irregular migration cannot be viewed as causal, just as migrating through 'regular' channels does not guarantee one is more protected from exploitation.

### Low skill, poorly or unregulated labour sectors

Reports indicate that certain low skill labour, often poorly or unregulated sectors, such as domestic work, agriculture, construction and deep-sea fishing, are commonly associated with labour abuses and exploitation[48]-[51]. In addition to the known established labour sectors, there are also one-time events, such as the recent Football World Cup in Brazil, that may create a demand for low skill manual labour that increases recruitment of foreign workers[52]. Workers have reported excessive hours, cheated wages, unsafe working conditions, and physical assault[39], [53]-[60]. Reports postulate that because these positions can be informally arranged, especially for undocumented workers, these under or unregulated sectors more easily create opportunities for exploitation[33], [61]. The literature indicates that without protective mechanisms such as unions, labour inspections, penalties for violators, wage tracking and hour tracking, migrants are more vulnerable to abuses[47], [53], [59], [62], [63].

### Poor migration knowledge among prospective migrants

The review indicates that donors and implementing agencies believe that a major risk factor for poor migration outcomes is migrants' poor knowledge about migration. A plethora of interventions over the past decade have operated on the belief that increasing migrants' knowledge in the form of pre-departure training and awareness campaigns will protect individuals from being trafficked or enslaved. However, as noted in the previous theory section, theories of change and behaviour change/health promotion interventions need to be

built on clear evidence about factors that drive risk and/or protection. It is unclear from reports citing migration knowledge gaps as a core risk factor, what evidence has been drawn upon to identify the critical migration information to communicate to prospective migrants. Multiple reports also indicate that people's vulnerability is associated with language challenges, employment uncertainty and poor information or guidance[36], [64], [65]. Increasingly, donors are commissioning evaluation research to explore whether knowledge - or awareness-raising interventions are working and whether these are worth scaling up. Yet, the frequent use of large-scale awareness campaigns was a repeated concern raised by experts interviewed for this research, as well as the efficacy of these costly efforts and the fact that impact has not yet been rigorously measured. Experts suggested that these campaigns have historically duplicated efforts to educate on similar protective actions. Interviews and literature highlighted the migration perspective and the importance of the testimony of returnee or repeat migrants. There is debate on whether previous migration experience acts as a protective factor in building knowledge to prevent future exploitation or if repeat migrants might have adapted their expectations about outcomes and changed their reporting about levels of exploitation[66], [67]. Given the weak evidence on what information will best alleviate prospective migrants' ignorance and which knowledge will serve as protection against exploitation, the question remains about how to equip migrants with the right information to navigate away from potential harm and into safe and personally prosperous jobs. That is: Which are the most important risk factors that prospective migrants must learn to help them make better decisions about how to migrate? As one expert accurately stated: we must be discussing calculated risk because there are some dangers migrants can know about and some they cannot so we must address the best decision they can and will make given this knowledge.

### Recruitment

Various parties may recruit, encourage or help individuals in the process of labour migration, such as family, friends, friends-of-family, individual brokers, government-managed agencies, or private recruitment agencies (officially registered or not registered). Reports describe multiple abusive recruitment practices, including extortionate fees, deceptive verbal agreements and paper contracts, withholding passports, lying about ultimate employment locations or sectors[50], [68]-[72]. There are regular accounts of migrant workers entering into cycles of debt or situations of debt bondage. One expert explained that recruitment agencies are hard to regulate and keep accountable in some regions where the government is either apathetic toward or enabling poor practices. Yet, at the same time, one report described how more reliable recruiters took responsibility to help find alternative workplaces for migrants who reported employer abuse[73]. Reports indicate that among the main aims of those working on recruitment policies is to regulate, monitor and sanction abusive recruiters. Until fair and safe recruitment can be assured, the challenge for programming is to help individuals avoid falling prey to exploitative recruiters.

What are the most important risks and protective actions that should be communicated by community-based interventions?

Is formal or informal recruitment 'safer'?



### Law enforcement and policy problems

The literature suggests that policy gaps, problematic regulations and poor detection of and response to abuses hinder protection and limit migrant rights. These weaknesses involve both the country of origin and destination. One interviewee who is managing programs at origin expressed frustration that more policy change was not taking place in destination countries where it is most direly needed due to migrants vulnerabilities post-migration in their place of employment. A number of documents highlight how poor communication and the absence of appropriate bilateral agreements between countries can create critical shortcomings, such as poor migration management and weak diplomatic protection at destination locations. Additionally, several reports note that gaps in police enforcement and prosecution at district levels create barriers for victims to access justice and grey areas in bringing perpetrators to justice. It has been regularly observed that it is often the very individuals and civil servants hired to protect the population who

instead collude in and benefit from exploitative practices[74]-[76]. A number of the documents recognise the difficulty of addressing this type of higher-level risk at the community or individual level, and thus suggest the need for capacity-building with protection agencies and NGOs, in addition to policy reforms[77].

### Results of interviews with select experts

We carried out 14 interviews with experts who had significant programmatic experience working with or interviewing returnee labour migrants or with community-based prevention activities. The interview questions can be found in Appendix 3.1. As noted, the expert interviews were conducted to gain practice-drawn observations of risk and protective factors and add greater depth and context to those risk factors that could be gleaned from the literature. In Table 3.2, we have tried to highlight the correspondence between risk factors identified in the literature and those discussed by the experts, plus a summary of participants' insights.



**Table 3.2: A summary of the risk factors, protective factors and decision-making factors as reported by select experts**

Risks	Protective factors	Decision-making elements/factors
<p><b>Repeated risks from literature findings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low-skill sectors, under-regulated sectors</li> <li>• Being a woman/girl</li> <li>• Remote/isolated employment</li> <li>• Discrimination or social exclusion</li> <li>• Uninformed migration or knowledge gaps</li> <li>• Unregistered recruiters</li> <li>• Poverty, financial need in transit or debt</li> <li>• Family pressure or social expectations</li> <li>• Social norms</li> </ul> <p><b>Additions to literature findings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bad luck—unpredictable risk</li> <li>• Insufficient labour inspection</li> <li>• Informal settlements/transit areas</li> <li>• Government corruption</li> <li>• Fear of the police</li> </ul> <p><b>Conflicting findings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Irregular migration</li> <li>• Child migrants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Migrants’ awareness of risks and their rights</li> <li>• Pre-departure orientations</li> <li>• Higher education/literacy</li> <li>• Communication with employer prior to departure</li> <li>• Formal contracts to negotiate working conditions and legal action if/when necessary</li> <li>• Vocational training/skills</li> <li>• Monitored migration routes</li> <li>• Traveling in groups</li> <li>• Migrant network, information exchange, peer-to-peer support</li> <li>• Effective child protection services</li> </ul> <p><b>Conflicting findings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regular migration</li> <li>• Maintaining possession of documentation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Sources of information:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Listening to stories of other migrants</li> <li>• Advice from close family, friends and community members</li> <li>• Recruitment agencies and informal brokers</li> <li>• Informal social networks (e.g. Facebook, YouTube, etc.)</li> </ul> <p><b>Factors influencing migrants’ decisions:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both push and pull factors motivate migration and limit migration options (also described as enabling or disabling factors)</li> <li>• Even when migrants are told of risks, they still go to flee unemployment, poverty at places of origin</li> <li>• Sometimes there are limited options in the decisions-making process e.g. only one broker in the area</li> <li>• Often there are cultural traditions to migrate, such as family obligations, age-related right of passage</li> </ul>

Each interviewee offered examples of current safer labour migration interventions they would prioritise for further evaluation or investment. See the full list of suggestions in Appendix 3.2. The majority of experts also stressed the unsatisfactory level of evidence about what might be working to prevent exploitation of migrants. Each participant suggested the most urgent knowledge gaps in their work and possible methodological opportunities for addressing those gaps.

**Table 3.3: Summary of priority research questions and methodological innovations**

#### Summary of priority questions for research put forth by interviewees:

- How do some migrants achieve positive outcomes? What are some of the aspirational values of migrants that are being achieved? (positive/negative deviance)
- Which factors are important in which moment to define good vs. bad outcomes?
- What is the effectiveness of information campaigns - to what extent are they achieving impact and at what cost?
- Are there certain social norms of accepting risk and even accepting a level of exploitation? For example, are there social contracts between employers/workers that condone certain levels of exploitation? Do repeat migrants have different expectations, but not in fact different outcomes?
- How have individuals, especially young adult migrants, in bad situations managed to get themselves out without any formal help? What are the means and mechanisms individuals use to get out of exploitative circumstances?

#### Methodological gaps and opportunities:

- Evidence needed that comes directly from migrant and/or program beneficiaries - we are missing migrants' perspectives.
- More longitudinal studies to understand the long-term outcomes for migrants.
- Consider using smart phones for data collection on a single hub - especially in mapping migration and collecting information in transit.
- Conduct market analyses looking specifically at the effect of the labour market on the working condition of children.
- Cost-effectiveness research on various interventions, specifically related to impact.
- Conduct a realist stakeholder mapping to identify the processes and institutions that are having an effect in protecting migrants. Consider the full continuum of migration, regular vs. irregular migration, urban vs. rural areas, etc.

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### Implications of risk review

This review offers some consolidated findings on what is known about possible risk and protective factors associated with unsafe migration/exploitation. It is useful to see where documentary evidence overlaps with informed insights from experts. It is especially important to learn where both agree about gaps in evidence to answer the fundamental programming question: what puts people at risk of exploitation, human trafficking, modern slavery or forced labour?

As such, the findings suggest that it remains difficult to be confident that present interventions are addressing proven risk factors or even the most important factors associated with unsafe labour migration. For example, questions remain, such as what are the differences and similarities in vulnerability to exploitation between men and women, between children and adolescents and adults? How do prospective migrants identify recruiters who might be a greater source for support and protection and when is it better for people to migrate without formal assistance? Might mobility and employment be a good option for some children? And if yes, what types of support might youth need to remain safe? Is it possible that some, or even most, awareness and pre-departure training has been warning migrants about the wrong dangers or the right dangers in the wrong manner?

These questions offer a small sample of what it seems we do not yet know about risk and the potential implications of these knowledge gaps. This relatively rapid assessment of evidence and evidence gaps will hopefully serve as a starting place to discuss what levels of evidence we are willing to accept and what further evidence we might want to inform theories of change and safer migration promotion frameworks, as well as to test as underlying assumptions.

One of the more frequent comments in expert interviews was how little we have been able to learn directly from migrants, and how much has been left to practitioner assumption. While many

of these assumptions are based on perceptions of experienced practitioners, this review clearly indicates that further work can be done to identify risk patterns, test hypotheses and explore strong protective factors.

The findings of this review have implications for the discussion in the following section, which describe the results of the systematic review on evaluations of interventions to prevent unsafe migration. As will be discussed, it was often unclear what evidence bases and which theories of change informed the interventions and were used to measure impact.



## Systematic review of evaluations of community-based safer labour migration interventions in South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and East Africa

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### Background

Despite increasing attention to safer labour migration, there has not yet been a systematic review of evaluations of safer labour migration interventions. This knowledge gap does not indicate that programming is ineffective or inefficient, but instead that the field is relatively new and therefore offers a paucity of evidence on intervention effectiveness. Donors and various organisations are beginning to recognise the need to develop intervention knowledge through more rigorous evaluation research[78]. See Appendix 4.1.

As noted in the previous section, stakeholders are also echoing the need for more rigorous evidence on impact. This section provides the findings, describes evaluation designs and evidence gaps and indicates some potential methods for measuring the impact of interventions aiming to foster safer labour migration.

The aim of this review is to explore the evidence available about safe labour migration to identify practices with potential to prevent exploitation of migrants in different contexts and regions. This review is largely interested in impact evaluations, but includes process evaluations because they provide critical implementation and pathway insights and because of the small yield of the impact evaluations. The process evaluations are concerned with program relevance, ease of implementation, acceptability to stakeholders, sustainability, etc., but do not measure the programs' impact or cost effectiveness.

There is no doubt that core structural factors must be considered when addressing safer labour migration. In the longer-term systems should be in place to protect migrants, prevent exploitation and provide recourse in response to abuses. However, as previously noted, this review looked strictly at community-based interventions.

Complex interventions require evaluation methods that consider contextual factors and the program logic.

### What level of evidence do we want to justify program investments and scale-up?

#### Methods

This review took a systematic approach to searching bibliographic databases and grey literature. We also reached out to experts in the field for suggested literature we might have missed. A list of relevant NGOs, advocacy groups, research institutions and government agencies was created to explore grey literature and hand searching was used to extend the search beyond these sites. A full description of the search strategy, search stages, evaluation criteria and final inclusion can be found in Appendix 4.2, as well as the initial yield from the site specific searches in Appendix 4.3.

This review sought to identify formal evaluation reports that included detailed descriptions of the program, articulated a methodology for the evaluation and provided research-based findings. We recognise there is large body of reports on subjects related to safe migration (e.g., NGO annual reviews, program reports, beneficiary stories, etc.), but for this review, we narrowed the search to identify intervention evaluations. Similarly, this review was interested in programs addressing individual- and community-level prevention with prospective migrants or migrants (e.g., current or returnee). We excluded reports on more general anti-trafficking/ anti-slavery campaigns or rehabilitation programs that did not include components specific to migration preparation, management or protections upon arrival. Table 4.1 summarises the final inclusion of program evaluations, both mid-point and final evaluations.

**Table 4.1: Summary of included evaluated interventions**

Intervention	Agency	Year	Phase*	Intervention components**	Location	Target beneficiaries
A New Start: Refugee Youth Pre-Departure Orientation Pilot Program [79]	ISSBC	2011	pre	CB, HV, PDOS	Nepal	youth
Action program for protecting the rights of women migrant domestic workers (WMDW) in Lebanon (PROWD) [80]	ILO	2013	post	AC, LA, R	Lebanon	women migrant domestic worker
Alternatives to migration: Decent jobs for Filipino youth [81]	ILO, IOM, UNICEF, UNFPA	2006, 2013	pre	AC, CB, R, RC, SB	Philippines	vulnerable youth age 15-24
An innovative multimedia program to increase awareness and prevention of trafficking in persons to promote behavioral change and drive social action [82]	MTV EXIT	2014	pre	AC, IEC, PE	Philippines, Nepal, Taiwan, Indonesia, Timor-Leste, Greater Mekong Sub region	public
Anti Human Trafficking Program [83]	UN-WOMEN	2014	pre	AC, CB, ES, PE, SB	India	women and girls
Capacity-building in border management on the East Timor-Nusa Tenggara Timor, Indonesia Border Project [84]	IOM	2003	pre, transit	AC, CB, NB	Indonesia	potential migrants and migrants, migration support NGOs, government and border control officials
Combating forced labour and trafficking of Indonesian migrant workers (CFLTIMW) project [85]	ILO	2007, 2012	full	AC, CB, HL, NB, PS, R, RC, SB	Indonesia	migrant workers, primarily domestic workers
Counter-Trafficking in Persons in Cambodia [86], [87]	AF, WI	2009, 2014	pre	AC, CB, R, SB	Cambodia	trafficking victims, migrants, potential migrants, anti-trafficking NGOs and migration services NGOs
Counter-trafficking interventions in prevention, protection and prosecution for victims of trafficking in persons in Bangladesh [88]	IOM	2008	pre	AC, CB, IEC, PS, RC	Bangladesh	potential migrants, victims of trafficking, public, and civil servants
Economic security of women migrant workers [89]	UN-WOMEN	2010	post	ES, NB, PDOS, SB	Nepal	women migrant workers

Intervention	Agency	Year	Phase*	Intervention components**	Location	Target beneficiaries
Going back, moving on: Economic and Social Empowerment of Migrants including victims of trafficking returned from the EU and neighbouring countries [90]	ILO	2012	post	CB, NB, PS, SB	Thailand, Philippines	migrants and victims of trafficking
Governance of labour migration and its links to Development in Mali, Mauritania and Senegal [91]	ILO	2013	full	ES, SB	Senegal, Mali, Mauritania	migrants and institutions
Improving Protection of Migrants: Horn, Gulf of Aden, Yemen [92]	IOM	2013	full	AC, CB, DS, NB, R	Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Yemen	migrants
Information campaign to combat trafficking in women and children in Cambodia [93]	IOM	2006	pre	AC, SG	Cambodia	women and children, government agencies
Migrant Resource Centres: An Initial Assessment [94]	IOM	2009	full	ES, HL, IEC, OA, RC, SB	Lebanon, Philippines, Sri Lanka	migrants, migrant service providers
Promoting safe migration and local development in eight districts in Bangladesh [95]	DCA	2012	pre	AC, IEC, NB, RC, SB	Bangladesh	potential migrant workers, associations and organisations of migrants
Promoting safe migration and local development in eighth districts of Bangladesh: Impact of Information, Education and Communication [96] <sup>20</sup>	DCA	2012	pre	AC, IEC, PDOS	Bangladesh	potential migrant workers and organisations of migrants

<sup>20</sup> This was a separate evaluation conducted solely on the Information, Education and Campaign materials used in the "Promoting Safe Migration and Local Development in Eight Districts in Bangladesh" also included in this review [95].



Intervention	Agency	Year	Phase*	Intervention components**	Location	Target beneficiaries
Promotion and Protection of Rights of Nepali Migrant Workers: Shubha Yatra Project [97]	CARE	2015	full	CB, IEC, PE, PS	Nepal	potential migrants and returnees
Tripartite action for the protection and promotion of the rights of migrant workers project [98]-[100] <sup>21</sup>	ILO	2013 2014	full	CB, IEC, LA, NB, PS, RC	Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam	migrants, potential migrants, migrant service providers and government stakeholders

\*Phase of migration: pre-migration (pre), post-migration (post), and full cycle (full)

\*\*Intervention component abbreviations: awareness campaigns (AC), capacity building of partner organisations and government agencies (CB), informational and educational communication (IEC), employment support (ES), hotlines (HL), home visits (HV), legal assistance (LA), network building (NB), outreach activities (OA), peer educators (PE), pre-departure orientation seminars (PDOS), psychosocial support (PS), research (R), resource centres (RC), and skill building (SB)

<sup>21</sup> The final independent evaluation of the ILO's GMS TRIANGLE project was conducted between April and July 2015, interviewing 216 stakeholders in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand and Viet Nam and reviewing more than 220 project documents. The Evaluator drew from project data sources, including tracing surveys of over 1,500 beneficiaries, detailed legal outcomes for more than 1,000 complaint cases resolved, end-line survey results from 850 migrant workers in target areas and an analysis of the project's contribution to 18 policy and legislative instruments. Following the evaluation and a project design phase, the ILO and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade have agreed to extend their cooperation under TRIANGLE II, an AUD20 million project that will be implemented from 2015-2025.

## Findings

The programs that were evaluated vary by location, intervention components, target beneficiaries, implementing partners, budgets, and evaluation methods, which made it challenging to develop a coherent synthesis. A summary of the 19 evaluated interventions is shown in Table 4.1. The priority findings of this review have been organised into the following areas: types of interventions; funding; evaluation methods; results; and common recommendations.

## Types of Interventions

Each program had multiple components. These components covered a broad portfolio of activities including awareness campaigns, informational education material distribution, capacity building with local partner organisations and government agencies, employment placement, skill-building, migrant resource centres, hotlines, home visits to migrant families, legal assistance, network building for partners and beneficiaries, outreach activities for beneficiary identification, peer educator training, pre-departure orientation seminars, psychosocial support and in some cases, qualitative interviewing for accompanied research.

## Funding

Program funding ranged from approximately USD \$300,000-\$18,000,000 and operated over an average of three and a half years. These figures exclude long-term on-going interventions, such as migrant resource centres. Seven evaluations did not include program-funding information and a majority of evaluations did not include information about the cost of the evaluation. Many practitioners report that it is challenging to conduct robust studies when the monitoring and evaluation budgets set by donors and implementing agencies are insufficient, especially for hiring and retaining specialised monitoring and evaluation staff.

The most notable findings related to funding and budgets are:

- The most frequently contributing donors to the 19 interventions in terms of total funded programs (19) were: European Union: 5; USAID: 4; UN Women: 2; and Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT): 2.
- The highest contributing donors to the sum of 13 reported intervention budgets (\$51.8M USD) were: USAID: \$18.7M USD; AusAid \$7.1M USD; and the European Union \$5.6M USD.
- Only three evaluations reported an evaluation budget, which ranged from \$3,000-\$26,200 USD[80], [97], [99].
- The highest reported evaluation cost included interviews with approximately 110 program staff, partners, stakeholders and beneficiaries conducted by an external consultant in conjunction with a desk review[99].

## Evaluation methods

The evaluations identified in our review highlight the emerging evidence available to inform interventions to foster safe migration. Table 4.2 describes some of the main methodological findings and their implications. Despite the progress demonstrated by the evaluations, current evidence has low internal validity and presents some important methodological weaknesses. These methods are examined in more detail in Appendix 4.4. Table 4.2 offers a summary of the various methodologies used for the evaluations included.

What evaluation approaches are needed to test program logic and hypothesised mechanisms of change?

**Table 4.2: Findings on methods used and the implications of these findings**

Methodological Findings	Implications
Out of the 19 evaluations 11 are strictly qualitative, 0 strictly quantitative, and 8 are mixed-methods.	Qualitative evaluations cannot produce measures of intervention impact. However, they can explore the conditions under which intended outcomes occur, and the mechanisms through which they occur. Studies using multiple methods could have benefited from triangulation of results to produce richer descriptions and validate findings.
Interventions with mid-point evaluations used the same method as their final evaluation.	This approach allows evaluators to check progress on standardized indicators. However, because program rationale and outcome measures are often not clearly specified, the meaning of potential differences between time 1 and 2 are not easily interpretable.
The most frequent sampling strategy was purposive sampling.	The results of evaluations using purposive sample are very useful to generate insights into individual and group experiences, intervention processes, lessons learned and perceived strengths and weaknesses of the interventions. However, these results cannot be used to make numeric inferences about the general population or about intervention participants, stakeholders, facilitators, etc. Findings based on non-probabilistic samples cannot be used to measure effectiveness and generalise causal mechanisms of change for the intervention target population, or serve as the basis for a cost-effectiveness analysis.
Sample groups were frequently a mix of key informants, government officials, partner organisations, project staff and beneficiaries. Individual and community beneficiaries were interviewed in 11 of the intervention evaluations, key informants in 15 evaluations.	This sampling strategy allowed the evaluations to collect detailed descriptions of project delivery process and outputs. However, it prevented the projects from having robust indicators on effectiveness of interventions and in-depth information on their mechanisms of change (how much and how change was achieved, among whom and in which circumstances).
Sample sizes were not given for 7 of the evaluations.	Absence of details on evaluation sampling methods (sample selection criteria, sample size, participation rate, loss to follow-up, etc.) hinder interpretation, inability to determine who the sample represents.

Methodological Findings	Implications
<p>The qualitative evaluations sampled a range of 17-139 beneficiaries and stakeholders. Mixed methods evaluations had larger samples for surveys, such as the 14,000+ respondents from the MTV EXIT viewership and website traffic.</p>	<p>Further details on sample calculation and size would have helped clarify the evaluations' methods. Transparency in sample calculations would have helped interpret findings. As a general rule, large samples for qualitative studies can make interpretation of results very challenging, whereas small samples for quantitative research can limit power to demonstrate differences where they exist in reality.</p>
<p>14 evaluations specified at least one risk factor for exploitative outcomes.</p>	<p>What is the intervention trying to prevent and how? This information is essential to specify the intervention's design and rationale and inform the evaluation methodological approaches.</p>
<p>2 of the 19 interventions explicitly articulated a theory of change for the program rationale and several others had implied concepts related to change.</p>	<p>Theory of change is a pragmatic approach to describe how a program is expected to produce change. This theory can be tested by measuring indicators in every step of the "hypothesized causal pathway to impact"[101].</p> <p>Theories of change are not mandatory in the evaluation field, but have become commonplace in complex interventions to map the process of change, identify misguided assumptions, help identify unintended outcomes, inform the development of monitoring mechanisms, assess transferability of lessons and the feasibility of replicating the intervention, and understand underlying mechanisms of change. See Appendix 4.5 for ToC excerpts from the two reports that included a ToC in their evaluation.</p>
<p>All 19 evaluations show limited quality due to missing sampling frames and/or inappropriate methods to answer to the research questions.</p>	<p>Despite methodological limitations, the evaluations identified represent an important start for building an evidence base on anti-slavery interventions. A more concerted effort to use robust methods can help identify promising and replicable approaches, foster collaboration and inform the debate about potentially effective strategies.</p>

## Results

All evaluations included output indicators of the program components, such as meetings held, trainings conducted, migrant resource centres established, school fees paid, etc. These output indicators highlight program planning and implementation achievement, but do not alone speak to the outcomes or impact of the intervention.

Of the 19 evaluated interventions, only three used methods that aimed to measure impact and used unique indicators that were relevant to the program components. For example, the MTV EXIT Campaign conducted knowledge, awareness and practice (KAP) surveys before and after the campaign to measure hypothesised risk level in the general population, with 'risk' measured primarily as awareness levels[82]. The results of the baseline-endline comparison showed that on average, the segment deemed to be at high-risk of trafficking saw a reduction of 45%, which was posited to be a result of watching an MTV EXIT program, or attending an MTV EXIT live event or training. However, because this evaluation used a non-probabilistic sample, these results cannot prove impact and cannot be generalised to the entire population.

Only five evaluations reported detail on program costing. Some claimed to have conducted a cost-effectiveness analysis, although the strength of the qualitative data analysis and budget accounting was weak[82], [89], [93], [94], [97]. The programs explained certain cost-cutting and sustainability-driven decisions, but they do not appear to have met some basic requirements for a cost-effectiveness analysis (e.g., presence of a comparison group or baseline data, clear outcome measures, cost-effectiveness ratio). Some of the evaluations compared budgeted and actual costs, but this serves only as a budgetary analysis and cannot determine cost-effectiveness.

The results - both output and impact - are varied and highly program specific.

## Common recommendations

Authors of the evaluations made numerous recommendations, which provide useful insights and informed observations. However, the methods for the evaluations generally lacked program rationale and could not be judged as rigorous. Table 4.3 shows recommendation by topic and the frequency they were mentioned.

Several thematic snapshots of the recommendations include:

- Potential risk factors commonly identified included: gender, level of awareness and economic support.
- Proposed partners for future intervention efforts were local police, lawyers, prosecutors, district level representatives, youth ambassadors, border control, government agencies, health care workers, media groups and peer educators that can speak from their experiences.
- Program components recommended for continuation were pre-departure seminars (shortened and tailored differently for internal migrants); border control technology capacity building; enterprise development; loan disbursement; information sharing networks; and innovative awareness campaigns.
- Gaps in knowledge highlighted were both broad and narrow, including: identifying promising practice through more impact indicator measurement; cost-effectiveness analysis; policy analysis of safe labour migration; baseline risk and vulnerability mapping for focused areas; pilot phase impact results before scale up; alternative modes to transferring funds to migrants besides government agencies; and the role that gender and gender sensitivity approaches have with programs and beneficiaries.

Recommendations to those planning and implementing programs were to prioritize partnerships early so that costs, knowledge and ideas can be shared easily. Some of the intervention leaders formed committees and networks at the outset to ensure all relevant parties were

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accountable for the on-going intervention needs. Another reoccurring planning theme was to use program M&E materials to inform good practice and cost-effective strategies. Similarly, due to the challenges evaluators experienced measuring results, many of the reports recommended establishing more consistent and informative M&E activities throughout the program cycle, which requires improvements to what we are asking and how often we are asking.



Table 4.3: Common recommendation themes

	Program planning and logistics	Program components	Partner organisations and government agencies	Monitoring and evaluation practices	Next steps
<b>Highest frequency (4+ mentions)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form partnerships to consolidate efforts, prevent duplication of services, get more effective results and expand the opportunity for dialogue</li> <li>• Needs, best practice and cost-effectiveness should be established through research and use of past program monitoring and evaluation results</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Include gender sensitivity and gender analysis in program design, implementation and review</li> <li>• Include data collection systems, capacity building with local partners, especially border control</li> <li>• Increase awareness activities and consider innovative ways to reach target beneficiaries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offer trainings to partner organisations, government agencies, police, lawyers and prosecutors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More consistent and informative monitoring and evaluation activities for intervention results</li> <li>• Establishing monitoring mechanisms that are able to capture impact, such as experimental or quasi-experimental designs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The needs of beneficiaries raises policy level concern and there is a need for policy analysis in conjunction with community and individual level interventions</li> </ul>
<b>Medium frequency (2+ mentions)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure program relevance through baseline information, such as mapping vulnerable areas and analyse risk factors for locations and populations</li> <li>• Use a pilot phase before scale up and disseminate results to partners</li> <li>• Employ youth ambassadors, community members and peer educators in delivering messages of safe migration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase health promotion interventions</li> <li>• Consider language and culture when developing awareness materials</li> <li>• Incorporate economic support, such as enterprise development and loan disbursement for migrant families</li> <li>• Create procedures for information sharing for network of national and local agencies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media partners are critical in promoting messaging during and after interventions</li> <li>• Include district level partnerships not just national to decentralise the intervention strategy</li> <li>• Government buy-in is necessary for long-term sustainability</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Timely reporting will keep stakeholders aware of current program status</li> <li>• Appropriate project monitoring frameworks and practices are necessary for continuous feedback and identifying opportunities for improvement during, rather than after project implementation</li> <li>• Include both financial and qualitative monitoring and evaluation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form an exit strategy and use past projects as guidance</li> </ul>

	Program planning and logistics	Program components	Partner organisations and government agencies	Monitoring and evaluation practices	Next steps
<b>Low frequency (1 evaluation)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hire program staff who can relate to participants' needs</li> <li>• Give attention to the environmental and structural concerns and not just short term interventions</li> <li>• Clearly define beneficiaries and target audiences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pre-departure trainings should be used for the family unit</li> <li>• Consider condensed pre-departure training, delivered to more districts</li> <li>• Tailor programs differently for internal migrants</li> <li>• Private sector support enlisted to create employment opportunities</li> <li>• Continue filing legal action against traffickers and/or illegal recruiters</li> <li>• Address gaps in law enforcement</li> <li>• Establish referral networks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consider alternatives to government agencies for transferring funds since there can be delay using this method</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incorporate the evaluative feedback from partners and government agencies</li> <li>• Work with the government to establish research and data collection methods for a baseline study</li> <li>• Disaggregate data by sex to analyse and re-design the intervention concerning the different group of beneficiaries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Long term success is dependent on stakeholder engagement and network building</li> <li>• Provide follow up for at least 6 months</li> </ul>



### Implications of evaluation review

This review describes the state of the evidence on what we know about evaluations of safer migration interventions. Interventions aim to address knowledge gaps, employment skills, confidence building, partner and government capacity-building, legal services, health services, etc. It also provides indications of the methodologies that are being used to assess intervention processes and impact, suggesting potential areas for methodological improvement, especially opportunities to draw on lessons learned from evaluations of other complex social problems. This review also offers constructive recommendations to inform future practice.

And, at the same time, these findings offer several important messages. The first and clearest message is that evidence about intervention impact is extraordinarily limited.

Stronger evidence on intervention development, implementation and impact can help prevent investment in programs that may, for example, be operating under incorrect assumptions, not achieving the intended impact and might prevent the replication of unevaluated models under potentially incorrect assumptions, sometimes referred to as 'program mutation'[102]. However, evaluating social interventions introduces a myriad of challenges due to the complex nature of the problems they address and the often multi-faceted nature of the interventions.<sup>22</sup> Frequently, programs have various components and are context-specific, which means that the evaluation approach must be able to measure and account for these complexities. These types of studies often require mixed methods (e.g., quantitative and qualitative tools), and acceptance that not all confounders can be controlled.

Therefore, perhaps before we begin calling for more investment in impact assessment, we may wish to consider how many of the interventions are ready for this level of review. It is worth questioning, for

example, what proportion of interventions was based on strong theoretical underpinnings bolstered by robust evidence on risk to be addressed by the intervention. Indeed, it was somewhat disheartening to discover how few of the interventions articulated a theory of change, identified which risks they were targeting and for what reasons they were prioritising these risks. As noted, our experience from interventions to address important public health problems, such as intimate partner violence, tells us that prevention efforts are most effective when they target known risk factors and promote evidence-based protective factors. And, lastly, but certainly not least, the results of this review highlight how little attention is currently being given to cost-effectiveness aspects of evaluation. Even if evaluations demonstrate impact, without economic evaluations that include costing of activity components to understand the potential expenditures and savings for further roll-out, we cannot know whether future scale-up is warranted.

This body of evidence provides a critically needed first look at evaluated safer labour migration programming and illustrates some of the strengths and the significant opportunities for research, monitoring and evaluation improvements moving forward.

<sup>22</sup> It is worth recalling the ecological framework that identifies the complexity of the social ecology in which migration occurs, as well as the potential complexity involved in migration decision-making.

## Report implications: Discussion of overall findings

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We hope these reviews provide a useful synthesis to consider the current evidence and to ponder what future evidence is needed to strengthen interventions to make labour migration safer and more successful for migrants. Encouragingly, the findings strongly suggest there is an improving practice of research and evaluation - and a consensus demand for more and better. This seemingly international desire for rapid advancement in the field of safer labour migration interventions makes this evidence quest more urgent, particularly as interventions previously formulated as 'anti-trafficking' have shifted towards a greater understanding of the inevitability of global economic mobility and broad acknowledgement of exploitation in poorly regulated sectors.

This review further suggests that the field of safer migration/prevention of exploitation has an important toolbox of theory and practice of which we have not yet made good use. The theoretical grounding that has proven so beneficial to addressing other complex social problems that cause harm to individuals and communities seems to be poised and ready for use to address risks associated with labour migration. Indeed, interventions on violence against women and girls have come through a similar historical trajectory from response to prevention. VAWG was initially treated reactively, as a matter for the policing, prosecution and, for victims, shelter services and care. Interventions on gender-based violence have now adopted a clear focus on prevention strategies, addressing these abuses as we would other public health risks to achieve wider community, population-level gains in people's safety, health and well-being. There is every reason to believe that these perspectives will be equally useful to support prospective migrant workers.

Findings from the risk review illuminate the cracks in what we know about what puts prospective migrants at risk of exploitation and what actions might be protective in contexts that pose diverse challenges. The somewhat weak reports and sometimes misunderstandings about what comprises risk suggest that current interventions could benefit from a more systematic exploration of what puts people in harm's

way and what actions might make them safer. That is, interventions might have a greater potential impact if we can identify more precisely which information is most useful for which individuals and communities—and, importantly, which are the most effective ways to offer this information so prospective migrants and their families can make decisions that suit them best.

Based on a synthesis of the recommendations, there is a rapidly growing sense of urgency to conduct more robust evaluations to identify proven intervention approaches. However, while we are thoroughly in favour of better impact-oriented research, there is also reason to urge caution about demands for the most robust evaluation evidence, especially from experimental designs. From experience in medical and public health interventions and impact assessments of interventions on VAWG, we have learned two important lessons: (1) gold-standard evaluation techniques such as experimental designs (i.e., randomized controlled trials) are very expensive; and (2) because truly well-conducted impact assessments are so expensive (approximately USD\$1.5 million), these methods should only be applied once the intervention has completed a period of development and adaptation and has proven ready to be subjected to the rigour of a trial design. That is, trialling an intervention that has not been tested for feasibility, accessibility, acceptability and potential effectiveness (i.e., not near final in its formulation and articulation) has the danger of producing inconclusive or incorrect results, thus wasting scarce evaluation time and funding. Moreover, methods as strong and expensive as trial designs (along with a strong economic/costing component) are only likely to be a good investment when future scale-up is possible.

We hope these findings lay solid groundwork for the road ahead in the field of safer migration programming. To this end, we hope they will provoke a much-needed conversation among donors, practitioners and researchers about a research agenda that seeks to really know what puts people at risk of poor migration outcomes and what works to help improve the lives and prosperity of labour migrants.



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# Appendices

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## **1. Introduction**

No Appendices.

## **2. Theory based approaches to safer labour migration: Using a public health lens**

a. Appendix 2.1: Migration and health risk theory

## **3. Hypothesised risk factors for labour migration and exploitation: Understanding both good and bad outcomes**

a. Appendix 3.1: Qualitative interview questions

b. Appendix 3.2: Interviewee responses on promising practices

## **4. Evaluated safer labour migration interventions: What works to prevent exploitation**

a. Appendix 4.1: Stakeholder agencies' perspectives on safer labour migration evaluation practices

b. Appendix 4.2: Systematic review search strategy and exclusion criteria

c. Appendix 4.3: Grey literature search strategy and initial yield

d. Appendix 4.4: Evaluations methodology analysis in detail

e. Appendix 4.5: Interventions Theory of Change

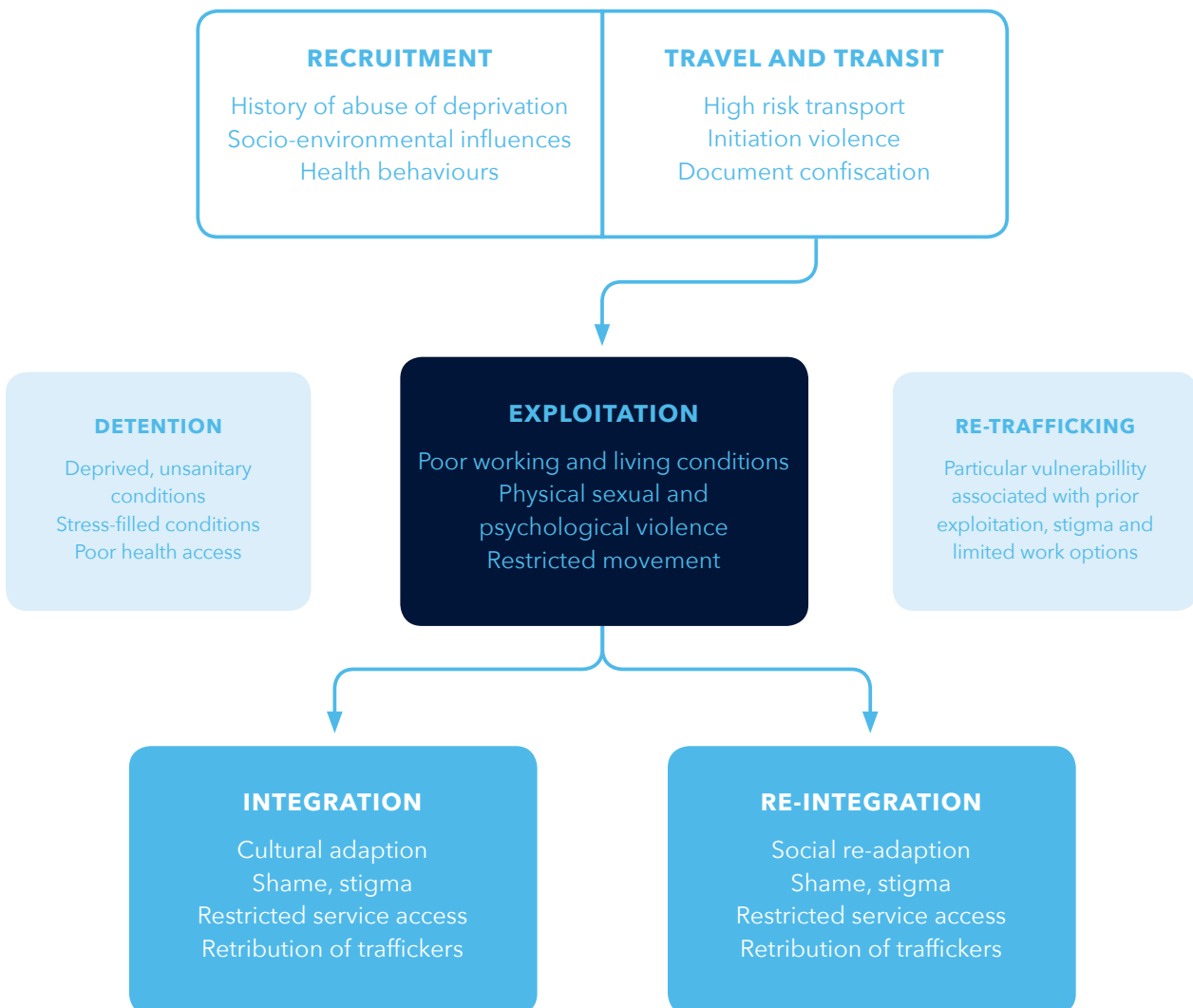
**Appendix 2.1: Migration and health risk theory**

A framework that offers a more migration staged perspective on possible risk and intervention points over time and geographical space has emerged from theories on migration and health[103].

Figure A, taken from work on human trafficking and health, depicts the different stages of the migration process and the potential factors/exposures that might affect a trafficked person’s health and well-

being[104]. This framework also suggests the potential cumulative health implications. While the model was developed to follow an individual within an exploitative migration cycle and highlight potential intervention points, it can also serve to point out the various structural factors and possible intervention targets (recruitment agents; immigration services; labour inspections, etc.).

**Figure A**



### Appendix 3.1: Qualitative interviews questions

Topic	Questions	Probes
<b>Organisation activity, Forms/modes of exploitation</b>	In what ways does you or your organisation work on trafficking or slavery or labour migration?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In any capacity e.g., programs, awareness raising activities, advocacy, field research?</li> <li>• For what reasons did you select this focus, population, locations, etc.?</li> </ul>
<b>Exploitation outcomes</b>	<p>What are the most common sectors in which people are exploited, trafficked or in situations of labour abuse?</p> <p>Can you tell me about common acts of exploitation or abuses you are aware of from interviews with migrants?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What happened to people?</li> <li>• What were the abuses people experienced?</li> </ul>
<b>Exploitation process</b>	In your experience (based on people you have helped) what are the most common ways people who migrate get into those type of difficult situations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you give me some case examples of how people fall into these situations, for example, describing how they obtained the job, why it turned bad for them?</li> <li>• Were there things they could have done to get a better job?</li> <li>• What were the risk factors for that?</li> <li>• Do you think that before they left, people were aware of these risks?</li> </ul>
<b>Decision-making processes</b>	Thinking about migrants in the context where you worked, please describe the process of how people make decisions about how they migrate. Starting with learning about their options to actually securing a job and travelling to the employment location? (not whether to migrate, but 'how'.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do they get information about how to migrate?</li> <li>• Who might they discuss this with others?</li> <li>• Which people are most influential in determining the method that a migrant will choose to travel and secure employment</li> </ul>
<b>Common risk factors</b>	What do you see as the most common factors that put labour migrants at risk of exploitative situations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Related to below: How might people avoid these risks?</li> </ul>

Topic	Questions	Probes
<b>Common protective factors</b>	What might protect people from getting into exploitative work situations? What do you think migrants who are successful in finding good work situations might do differently than people who end up in bad situations? What could migrants do differently?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there certain knowledge or information that might be protective?</li> <li>• For example, what might people who re-migrate do differently the second or third time to make their situation better?</li> <li>• Are there certain features or characteristics of those who are more successful?</li> </ul>
<b>Priority prevention actions</b>	If you had to prioritise only one or two actions that you would do to help groups of people to have the best chances of obtaining a decent job, what would those be?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are some actions or activities that you would see as 'promising practices'?</li> <li>• IF structural, ask about community-based activities.</li> </ul>
<b>Open research question</b>	For your work, what would you say would be the most useful information that you would want from research?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is something you would want to know about migrant behavior?</li> <li>• What is something you would want to know about how to intervene to help migrants at risk?</li> </ul>

### Appendix 3.2: Interviewee responses on promising practices

The interviewees shared some of the programs or interventions they have been involved with or observed in the field that they believe contribute to the portfolio of promising practices. Some interviews also suggested programs they would like to see.

#### Examples of promising practices:

- Migrant response centers on routes of transit to give immediate medical assistance and impartial legal assistance en route—transit hotspots.
- Judicial interventions to reduce the power of recruitment agencies or incentives for more transparency - using migrants' experiences to grade recruiters.
- Employment placement for migrants' with failed first placements.
- Interventions harnessing modern technology to communicate to potential migrants and migrants to offer services and information.
- Improve the public perception of migrants and how the media portrays these groups. Humanise migrants in communities at destination.
- Provide protection services at country destination (i.e. child protection services, mechanisms of crime reporting, etc.)
- Monitor routes more carefully and offer temporary transit shelters.
- Train airport personnel on recognising and reporting migrant exploitation.
- Initiate culturally sensitive information campaigns in local languages via appropriate channels (i.e. radio, YouTube channels, Facebook, etc.).
- Give migrants access to information on the international protocols of migration not just the process of migrating.
- Outreach in community centers, mosques, etc. since people have the greatest affect on migrants' decisions.

One interviewee gave an example of a promising media campaign described below[105].<sup>23</sup>

There is an ongoing campaign run by a Nepali radio broadcasting organisation called Ujyaalo. They run a weekly radio program called Desh Paradesh specifically aimed at people considering migrating abroad as well as migrants currently working overseas. Broadcast on 82 FM radio stations at prime time (after the 8am news), the 35-minute program informs current and potential migrant workers on all issues related to working abroad, including labour laws, recruitment companies, and social and cultural issues. Programming incorporates interactive multimedia elements, including drama, along with news reporting, features and interviews. Ujyaalo also has a Toll Free Telephone in Nepal, and it solicits feedback and questions from listeners, including migrants, via text messages, through Facebook and Twitter. They receive dozens of questions from migrants every week via telephone, text message and email.

They get complaints on issues such as unfair recruiting agencies, abusive employers, etc. and they try to link victims of these circumstances with officials or NGOs in Nepal who will work with them to solve their problems. They compile these stories on their website as part of an ongoing citizen journalism project. They've carried out citizen journalism trainings in several destination countries, and once they're complete they solicit stories and post dozens of blogs and articles by migrants and returnee migrants on Ujyaalo Online. The following tables outline the outputs of the campaign in 2014, but a full evaluation has not yet been completed for review.

23 Ujyaalo, "Ujyaalo Online Homepage." [Online]. Available: <http://www.ujyaaloonline.com/>. [Accessed: 11-Oct-2015]. These are currently unpublished findings from ongoing M&E activities. A more comprehensive evaluation has yet to be completed for review.

**Online Audience (Jan-Dec 2014)**

Topic	Number	% of increase
Vists (sessions)	20,854,894	105.8%
Unique visitors	4,363,664	83.89%
Page views	43,744,911	35.94%
Top 8 countries	Nepal, India, UAE, Qatar, USA, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, South Korea	

**Audience engagement (2014)**

Facebook Likes on Ujyaalo's FB Pages (facebook.com/ujyaalo)	648,676 (As of January 29, 2015)
Twitter Followers (@ujyaalo)	29,302 (As of January 29, 2015)
Text messages received in 2014 (Jan - December) by listeners seeking information about news, program, sports update, result	2,285,383 (2.28 million)
No. of radio stations in partnership for Ujyaalo's news, program and other programs	170 (across the country)
Visits to the Ujyaalo Online website (2014)	20,854,894 (20 million) visits by 4,363,664 (4.3 million) unique visitors

### Appendix 4.1: Stakeholder agencies' perspectives on safer labour migration evaluation practices

The table highlights some perspectives of key agencies on urgent gaps for more rigorous evaluation approaches and methods.

Agency name	Comment on status of evaluation practices
<b>International Organization for Migration (IOM)</b>	<p>"Evaluation is an important management tool. It is an integral part of IOM's core functions, and the mainstreaming of evaluation results in IOM's work is essential." (Live Webpage)</p> <p>"...very few of these temporary worker programs have been evaluated. IOM's review found that evaluations of temporary or circular migration programs are both scarce (only 8% of those reviewed) and fairly recent (all published after 2005)." (2011)</p>
<b>Anti-Slavery International (ASI)</b>	<p>"It would be very useful if the NGOs from the region could have the opportunity to meet and discuss what services are currently available, who provides what and what their experiences in terms of effectiveness and needs in terms of support from international agencies are." (2009)</p>
<b>Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)</b>	<p>"There have been very few studies on trafficking of men, and trafficking for other forms of exploitation, such as forced labour. There have been very few studies that seek to evaluate systematically the impact of specific anti-trafficking initiatives. As a result, the level of knowledge about "what works" to combat trafficking is low." (2007)</p>
<b>The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)</b>	<p>"Measuring project effectiveness, relevance and efficiency, disclosing those findings to stakeholders, and using evaluation findings to inform resource allocation and other decisions is a core responsibility of a publicly financed entity. For evaluation to serve the aim of accountability, metrics should be matched to meaningful outputs and outcomes that are under the control or sphere of influence of the Agency." (2011)</p>
<b>Migrant Policy Institute (MPI)</b>	<p>"Lack of an evaluation culture...And while evaluation capabilities may be weak across governments, migration policy officials in particular often lack the capacities required to promote an evaluation culture. There is little training available to government officials to enhance their ability to commission and assess the results of evaluation studies. Unlike in the humanitarian and development fields, there are no dedicated training courses or training materials available on the evaluation of migration programs." (2011)</p>

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Agency name	Comment on status of evaluation practices
<b>Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)</b>	"So far, evaluation has been little more than an afterthought and at best conceived as self-edited reporting on project outcomes by governmental and non-governmental actors alike." (2010)
<b>Global Commission on International Migration</b>	"It is hard to formulate and implement effective policy when it is not clear who the targets of that policy are, how many they are, where they are and what their problems are. And it is simply bad practice not to assess the efficiency, effectiveness and impact of policy." (2011)
<b>Mathmatica Policy Research</b>	In reference to migration programs MPR said that there is a " lack of logic models, theories of change, evidence of the effectiveness of programs in use, understanding of program outcomes, and rigorous evaluation." (2011)

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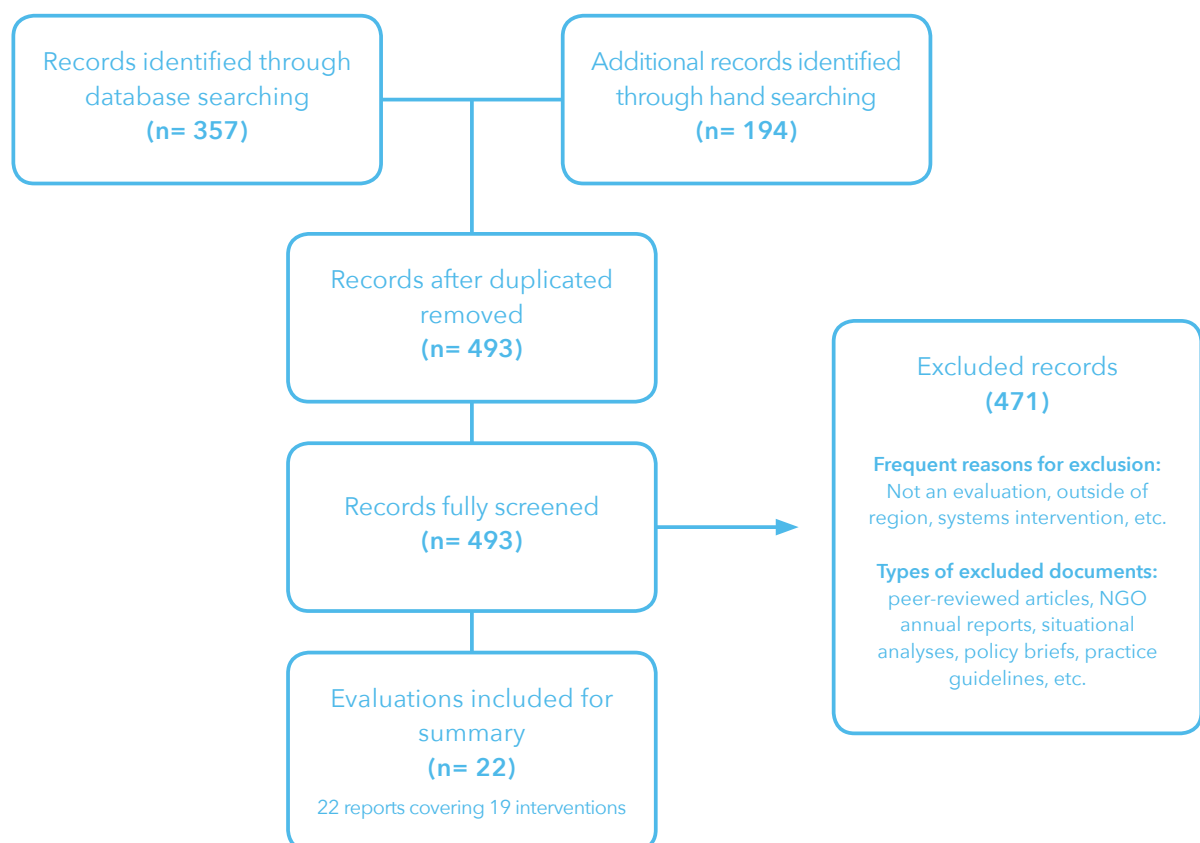
## Appendix 4.2: Systematic review search strategy and exclusion criteria

### Search strategy:

We undertook a systematic search for relevant material and applied final inclusion criteria. The objective was to identify evaluation reports of safer labour migration interventions completed since 2000 in South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and East Africa, excluding the Zimbabwe to South Africa route. The search strategy included bibliographic database searches, grey literature searches, hand checking, reference checking and expert consultation.

We searched four bibliographic databases (IBSS, Web of Science, PubMed and JSTOR), with a total yield of 493 peer-reviewed articles, but none were intervention evaluations. This was anticipated, as, to date, evaluations of this nature are not in the peer-reviewed literature.

Figure B: Various stages of systematic literature search



For this reason, we spent a significant search time extensively exploring grey literature published to websites and online resource libraries relevant to the topics of migration, human trafficking, child exploitation, labour exploitation, etc. We formed a list of 40+ target websites to search and outlined a simple two-term search strategy, as seen in Appendix 2. A majority of the screened and included documents were found through the site-specific search stage. Documents were added through reference checking and expert consultation. In total, 194 documents were added from the grey literature search. After removing for duplication there were a total of 493 documents fully screened.

#### Exclusion criteria:

In order to establish the feasible scope of this review according to the aim of the research we set various exclusion criteria. See Table 2 for a list of the exclusion criteria with supporting rational and examples.

Exclusion Criteria	Example of something excluded	Reason for exclusion
Non-evaluations or non-program specific evaluations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Situation analyses, toolkits, guidelines, annual reports, organisation wide evaluations, etc.</li> </ul>	The purpose of this review is to gain insight on program level impact and lessons learnt, this requires evaluation of specific program components
Evaluations published before 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No evaluations screened were published before 2000</li> </ul>	Systematic reviews usually have a criteria for publication date to limit the yield and ensure the most relevant and up to date sources
Central Asia, East Asia, Europe, the Americas, Central Africa, West Africa, South Africa, Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>High GDP countries</li> <li>Niche transit routes like Zimbabwe to South Africa</li> </ul>	It was not within the scope of this review to do a global search and therefore priority was given to specific regions of most critical concern
Structural interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policy agenda interventions targeting issues of fair wage and workers' rights or evaluations of policy development programs</li> </ul>	Structural issues take significant time and are focused on the macro causes of exploitation and this review is interested in the community and individual level opportunities for intervention
High skill migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Health care worker migration programs</li> </ul>	Not considered in the priority high risk group
Unevaluated interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NGO annual reports describing programs without any evaluative methods used</li> </ul>	Unable to extract data on program process or impact success/failures

Exclusion Criteria	Example of something excluded	Reason for exclusion
Policy assessments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Evaluations of policy changes or programs such as social security expansion programs</li> </ul>	Similar to structural interventions this is outside the scope of this review
Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR), settlement, rehabilitation programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shelters for victims of human trafficking to receive after care and rehabilitation services</li> </ul>	These programs are critical in responding to survivor needs but this review is interested in interventions aiming to prevent the exposure
Organisation evaluations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Evaluations of full departments or NGOs, for example UNWOMEN's 2000-2009 Anti-Trafficking Program</li> </ul>	These evaluations are comprehensive, but do not give the specific evaluation of components or interventions to draw conclusions for future program design

### Appendix 4.3: Grey literature search strategy and initial yield

Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
Amnesty International	www.amnesty.org	site:www.amnesty.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	17-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: "migrant OR migration" and "evaluations" Yield to screen: 37	4
Anti-slavery International	www.antislavery.org	site:www.antislavery.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Reports Search: migrant OR migration Yield to screen: 10	5
Center for Migration Studies of New York (CMS)	www.cmsny.org	site:www.cmsny.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: publications and research projects Search: no content to search as their publications are in major journals Yield to screen" 0	13
Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM)	www.cream-migration.org	site:www.cream-migration.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: Skimmed through discussion paper titles/abstracts for "evaluation" Yield to screen: 0	0
Child Trafficking Library	www.childtrafficking.com	site:www.childtrafficking.com (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Library Search: "evaluation" Yield to screen: 25	13
Comensha (project of La Strada)	www.mensenhandel.nl	site:www.mensenhandel.nl (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: N/A- no publications in English Yield to screen: 0	0
Department for International Development	www.migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk	site:www.migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: (migrant OR migration AND evaluation [Filter by date and by DFID Department]) Yield to screen: 5	1
End Child Prostitution, Abuse and Trafficking (ECPAT)	www.ecpat.org.uk/	site:www.ecpat.org.uk (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: "migrant OR migration" Yield to screen: 0	10

Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
Forced Migration Review	www.fmreview.org	site:www.fmreview.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: NA- redirects to other sites of interest Yield to screen: 0	3
Geneva Global	www.genevaglobal.com	site:www.genevaglobal.com (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: News and Views Search: evaluations Yield of screen: 0	0
Global Alliance Against Trafficking Women (GAATW)	www.gaatw.org	site:www.gaatw.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	17-Apr	Webpage: Resources > Publications Search: Skim all titles and abstracts Yield to screen: 0 (no new finds)	6
Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD)	www.gfmd.org	site:www.gfmd.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Documents Library Search: "evaluation" Yield opt screen: 10	3
Global Migration Group (GMG)	www.globalmigrationgroup.org	site:www.globalmigrationgroup.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: GMG Documents Search: Ctrl-F "evaluations" or "report" Yield to screen: 0	6
Human Rights Watch	www.hrw.org	site:www.hrw.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: filter by "Migration" Yield to screen: 91	20
Human Trafficking	www.humantrafficking.org	site:www.humantrafficking.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Resources > Publications Search: Migration filter Yield to screen: 39	0
International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)	www.icmpd.org	site:www.icmpd.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Publications > All publications Search: Skim all titles Yield to screen: 97 (yields separated by year 2007-2014)	0
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)	www.icrc.org	site:www.icrc.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: "evaluation AND migration" Yield to screen: 32	3

Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
International Justice Mission (IJM)	www.ijm.org	site:www.ijm.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20 -Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: Studies and in-depth articles- skim all Yield to screen: 3	1
International Labour Organization (ILO)	www.ilo.org	site:www.ilo.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Evaluation Office>Evaluation reports Search: "migration OR migrant" Yield to screen: 133	35
International Migration Research Centre (Canada)	www.imrc.ca	site:www.imrc.ca (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Resources>Research publications Search: Skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 27	0
International Organization for Migration (IOM)	www.iom.int	site:www.iom.int (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search box: "evaluation" Yield: 26	23
International Rescue Committee (IRC)	www.rescue.org	site:www.rescue.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Documents Search: Ctrl-F "evaluation" on each yield page Yield to screen: 630	2
La Strada International	www.lastradainternational.org	site:www.lastradainternational.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: "evaluation" (migration yield was over 700) Yield to screen: 46	3
Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF)	www.msf.org	site:www.msf.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: Reports filter with "migration" search Yield to screen: 17	3
Migration Forum in Asia	www.mfasia.org	site:www.mfasia.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Resources Search: Skim all document titles/abstracts Yield to screen: approx. 50	0
Migration Policy Institute	www.migrationpolicy.org	site:www.migrationpolicy.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Publications>Reports Search: Skim all titles back till 2005 Yield to screen: 265	6

Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
MTV EXIT End Exploitation and Trafficking	www.mtvexit.org	site:www.mtvexit.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Website page: Press Releases Search: Skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 25	1
Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)	www.ohchr.org	site:www.ohchr.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: Resources and Library Catalogue Search: "migrant OR migration" Yield to screen: 100+	4
Open Society Foundation (OSF)	www.opensocietyfoundation.org	site:www.opensocietyfoundation.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Homepage Search: "evaluation migration" Yield to scan: 113	3
Protection Project (John Hopkins)	www.protectionproject.org	site:www.protectionproject.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: migrant migration Yield: 2	2
Refugees International	www.refintl.org	site:www.refintl.org (migrant or migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Homepage Search: advanced search- "migration type:annual_report,field_report,goals migrant OR migration OR AND OR evaluation" Yield to scan: 11	0
Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat	www.regionalmms.org	site:www.regionalmms.org (migrant or migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Publications>RMMS Publications Search: skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 11	0
Save the Children	www.savethechildren.org	site:www.savethechildren.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Library archives Search: "migration AND migrant" Yield to screen: 51	6
U.S. Committee for Refugees	www.refugees.org	site:www.refugees.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Website page: Resources> USCRI Reports Search: skim all titles Yield to screen: 6	0

Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
UK Government	www.gov.uk	site:www.gov.uk (migrant OR migration) evaluation	17-Apr	Webpage: Publications Search: "migration evaluation", Impact Assessment filter Yield to screen: 50	6
United Nations GIFT	www.ungift.org	site:www.ungift.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	17-Apr	Webpage: Resource center Search: skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 3	5
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	www.unhcr.org	site:www.unhcr.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	16-Apr	Webpage: evaluation reports Search: skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 120	14
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)	www.unodc.org	site:www.unodc.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Publications> All publications Search: Ctrl-F "migra" Yield to screen: 19	7
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)	www.usaid.gov	site:www.usaid.gov (migrant OR migration) evaluation	20-Apr	Webpage: Results & Data> Evaluations >Program Evaluations >Evaluation Showcase Search: recent evaluations- skim titles Yield to screen: approx. 50	10
US Government	www.state.gov	site:www.state.gov (migrant OR migration) evaluation	17-Apr	Webpage: Publication>Report Search: "evaluation" filter by migration Yield to screen: 87	0
Walk Free	www.walkfree.org	site:walkfree.org (migrant or migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpages: Multimedia and Press Search: N/A- no reports or evaluations Yield to screen: 0	0
Women's Refugee Commission (WRC)	www.womensrefugee-commission.org	site:www.womensrefugee-commission.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	21-Apr	Webpage: Resources > Reports > Migrant Rights & Justice Search: skim all titles/abstracts Yield to screen: 37	4



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Organisation	Website	Google site search	Date searched	Search method	Screened articles
World Vision International	www.worldvision.org	site:www.worldvision.org (migrant OR migration) evaluation	22-Apr	Webpage: Our Impact Search: skim titles/abstracts of all document son relevant areas of interest Yield to screen: multiple yields under Gender, Child Protection, and Disaster Relief	1

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**Total yield: 174**

#### Appendix 4.4: Detailed evaluations methodology analysis

In our review, we identified 19 evaluations that used quantitative and qualitative methods to assess programme implementation variables, stakeholders' experiences, and measures of effectiveness and projects' financial management. The body of work provides the foundations for an evidence-base on interventions to prevent modern slavery and human trafficking. It suggests a growing recognition of the need to document the process and analyse the results of the different strategies employed to prevent slavery.

However, the evaluations were often not sufficiently clear about how programmes' outcomes were conceptualised and how the impact indicators were measured to indicate change. This lack of clarity on hypothesised changes is common in the field of evaluation of complex interventions and is in no way exclusive to anti-slavery interventions and evaluations. This gap can, however, lead to poor choice of methods and to findings that are difficult to interpret.

Social programmes are usually very complex in nature and require a coherent theoretical basis to inform evaluation designs. Interventions and evaluations in the field would probably benefit from a more systematic approach to understanding the mechanisms that sustain the problem and potential opportunities for change.

Evaluations would also benefit from addressing the full range of process indicators to understand programme implementation, design, tailoring, participation and response, recruitment, delivery, fidelity, adaptation, reach, causal pathways, unexpected effects, mechanisms and context. Of particular importance, monitoring mechanism addressing potential unintended outcomes can be used to evaluate progress and risks associated with the intervention in order to avoid harm (and identify potential unforeseen positive outcomes) to the targeted and adjacent populations.

Greater clarity on intervention components and program's rationale would also help answer questions on the feasibility of replicating the interventions, potential for generalising the evaluation findings or transferability of lessons. Global efforts to prevent modern-day slavery or human trafficking would benefit of a more nuanced discussion about the contingent aspect of mechanisms and choices that make program's effective or not.

Defining the population boundaries and number of individuals for a population of persons in modern day slavery or at-risk migrants may require intensive formative research and contextual knowledge. The target population's characteristic spatial mobility, which is often irregular, also makes it difficult for programmes to select intervention targets, sustain intervention exposures and collect pre- and post-exposure data. Gaining safe (and multiple) access and devising ways to foster disclosure is likely to be one of the greatest challenges to intervention and evaluation among these hidden and mobile groups. This is the reason why longitudinal data, albeit much needed, is very scarce or virtually inexistent. In our review, we found that very few evaluations attempted to sample direct beneficiaries of activities (prospective migrants, current migrants or returned migrants). Instead, they often focussed on key informants, government officials, partner organisations and project staff. These methods allowed the evaluations to collect detailed descriptions of project delivery process and outputs. However, it prevented the projects from having robust indicators on effectiveness of interventions and to understand the mechanisms of change (how much and how change was achieved, among whom and in which circumstances).

As it is the case with many complex interventions that rely in self-selection for its activities, anti-slavery interventions may attract some people and not others and may work differently for diverse groups of individuals. There is reason to believe that the population exposed to the intervention may not be representative of a more 'general population'

of persons at risk of slavery. For example, because individuals are in touch with an intervention, they may form part of a more informed and protected group, more likely to attend workshops and training, and engage in protective migration practices (e.g., requiring visa and health certificates). In this sense, evaluations that take into account this diversity in the sample strategy and analysis plan could contribute to more targeted intervention designs and more reliable measures of effectiveness.

In the formative stage, we may need to locate individuals who belong to more vulnerable subgroups and are willing to be interviewed in order to understand risks factors and the potential broader and future impact of the interventions. Ultimately, promising interventions are striving to understand and respond to the processes through which differently resourced individuals make constrained choices in different circumstances. How individuals migrate, who chooses to participate in the interventions, who is more likely to participate, how they interpret interventions messages and how the context can influence are some fundamental questions in anti-slavery prevention strategies.

The mobile nature of the population and frequent illegal or irregular circumstances of people's transit and living/working conditions at a destination also makes it difficult for researchers to collect representative data on this population and implement more valued empirical designs—those at the top of the 'hierarchical model of methods'. At the same time, this scarcity of data on trafficking and forced labour imposes more risks to conducting non-experimental designs, such as before-and-after studies and quasi-experimental designs with pre-selected control groups. These risks include important threats-to-validity linked, for example, to secular trends associated with changes in the socioeconomic and political context and systematic differences between groups associated with risk of trafficking/forced labour.

Some intervention studies in our review recommend that monitoring mechanism include control groups and one of the reviewed evaluations used controls. The use of controls can provide a reliable source for counterfactual inference. However, there are large inherent risks for evaluations with poorly chosen control groups. The recommendation for use of control groups should be examined very carefully for each evaluation scenario. Quasi-experimental studies with control groups (as an alternative for randomised controlled trials) need to be very carefully designed. The methods for selection of controls should be very transparent, and individuals or clusters exposed to the intervention should be comparable in main factors correlated with the outcome, e.g. poverty, unemployment, high migration incidence, historical migration trends, etc.

The evaluations identified in our review are an important start for building an evidence base on anti-slavery interventions. A more concerted effort, with use of robust methods can help identify promising and replicable approaches, foster collaboration and inform the debate about potentially effective strategies. As investments in the field increase, it is likely that the demand for methodologically robust evaluations and quantitative data on programme effectiveness will also grow. Researchers in the field must be prepared to address the significant challenges in researching this topic and collaborate to produce a solid evidence-base on what works to prevent slavery, how, for whom and under which circumstances.

## Appendix 4.5: Interventions Theory of Change

Two of the 19 intervention evaluations outlined a theory of change. They are cited below.

### 1. UN Women's Anti Human Trafficking Program: End-line Evaluation [83]

#### *Theory of Change*

The AHT program was designed and rolled out under a specific and defined theory of change. Wherein, a series of program strategies (outputs) were identified in order to achieve the program's intended objectives (impact). With the intended objectives/impact clearly aligned against the Goal with which UN Women had approached the formulation and implementation of the program; it was able to build a lean pyramid structure based theory of change. This theory of change (illustrated below) was subsequently supported by a large set of activities. These activities (covered after the illustrative) show a clear mapping with the program strategies (outputs). This theory of change has been used as the foundation of the framework used for this end-line evaluation and is reflected by the structure under which this evaluation report has been drafted.

UN Women Theory of Change for successful transformation of the community and lives of women states that:

- When the women and girls in the targeted areas have access to sustainable livelihood options, it provides them a strong sense of empowerment and capacity to assess their trafficking risks. Further, through awareness and knowledge they are better equipped to avoid becoming victims of trafficking.
- When local governments have developed capacities and structure to strengthen the Civil Registration Services, and when they will have the ability to support groups of young women to generate substantial income, the systemic reasons for trafficking activities will decrease.
- The program will seek to revive the justice system under the Nyayalaya Bill, as it shall strengthen the hands of the communities as they work to combat trafficking.
- Governments will be better equipped to ensure that women and girls have comprehensive protection by promoting convergence of government programs, using existing government resources to build Centre of Actions (CoA) in the source areas.
- Advocating for up scaling of the prevention model by engaging with the policy makers and planners at various stages of program implementation.

### 2. IOM's Improving Protection of Migrants in the Horn/Gulf of Aden/Yemen: Final Evaluation Report [94]

#### *Theory of change*

FINDING 2: Overall, the project's theory of change is well suited to the context in which it is implemented. Further, almost all of the project's objectives, outcomes and outputs are logically linked and have a reasonable potential to bring about many of the desired changes, although cannot be expected to fully address the root causes of irregular migration.

Today we understand the need for a theory of change as a necessary condition for managing toward development results. A theory of change can be defined, quite simply, as a theory of how and why an initiative works. Conceptually related to logic models, theories of change map the causal chain of a development intervention, from inputs to outcomes to impacts. The theory of change goes further than the logic model, in that it explicitly tests the underlying assumptions to answer the crucial question of "why" a development program should have a particular impact.

Building on this work, a theory of change approach can thus be defined as a systematic and integrative set of assumptions and hypotheses that link the activities, outcomes, and impacts of a project or program. This definition suggests that, when designing a project or program, it is important to determine, early on, the intended outcomes (long term, medium and immediate), the activities it expects to implement to achieve those outcomes, and the managerial and contextual assumptions that may have an effect on the implementation of

activities, as well as their potential to bring about desired outcomes. Like all good approaches or methods for understanding social phenomena, the theory of change needs to be adapted to the specific context within which it is asked to explain cause and effect relationships.

The project's overarching objective is to promote humane management of mixed migration flows in the Horn of Africa, by pursuing three distinct but complementary outcomes:

1. Regional coordination, cooperation, and capacity in mixed migration management is improved.
2. Protection concerns of migratory populations are mitigated and addressed.
3. Frameworks for regularised labour migration out of the Horn of Africa to Gulf States are improved.

Stated simply, the project's underlying theory of change understands the vulnerability of migrants in the Horn of Africa as being causally related to the lack of a clear and coordinated cross-border regulatory framework for labour migration, which incentivises irregular/undocumented migration. This situation in turn is understood to stem from insufficient capacity within the national governments involved regarding migration management more broadly speaking, and mixed migration more specifically, which prevents the development of an effective regulatory framework and of the provision of adequate protection of migrants' rights. Further, the project assumes that labour migration will continue to occur given the socio-economic context in the region, with demand for labour continuing to grow in Saudi Arabia and in other states in the Arabian Peninsula, while employment opportunities will remain scarce in sending countries from Ethiopia to Eritrea and Somalia. Hence, the project aims to promote the development of safe, legal channels of labour migration within sending, transit and destination states.

The assumptions and intervention logic of the project have been overall validated by the evaluation. Indeed, key informants in all countries confirm that the existing pattern of migration

favours irregular migration in the absence of a clearly established framework, stemming from a common lack of awareness of migrant rights coupled with legitimate security concerns, which creates a response to migration that frequently involves suffering and abuse, thus increasing the vulnerability of such migrants in the region. The project's emphasis on capacity building in the form of promoting the creation and functioning of cross-border migration committees and of a regulatory framework for labour migration thus appears to the evaluator to be an appropriate response to the context in which it is implemented.

Similarly, the project recognises that vulnerable migrants are exposed to dangers emanating from the harsh conditions along migration routes with little water or protection from the elements, as well as precarious conditions in boats and abuses from human smugglers and the risk of trafficking. The project's objective of providing protection services to migrants, and enhancing the national governments' capacity to provide such services, is also appropriate to its context.

At the same time, the project sees irregular migration as stemming in part from the lack of information/awareness on the part of migrants of, on the one hand, existing legal channels of labour migration, and on the other of the dangers of clandestine migration. The project thus seeks to contribute to deterring irregular migration by providing potential migrants with that information. Yet it is not at all clear that lack of information/awareness is part of the reason that migrants choose to go. Indeed, it seems entirely possible that even with perfect information about channels for legal migration and the dangers of clandestine migration, people would still choose to leave, such is the strength of the factors – dire economic circumstances in particular – that push them to go. As such, this element represents the weakest link in the project's theory of change.

## Images

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