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Perceived Stress, Coping, and Resilience of Ethiopian Women Labor Migrant Returnees from the Middle East Countries

by

Natnael Terefe

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Developmental Psychology

PERCEIVED STRESS, COPING, AND RESILIENCE OF ETHIOPIAN WOMEN LABOR MIGRANT RETURNEES FROM THE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

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and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Developmental Psychology complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

From a life span development perspective, migration is a non-normative life transition, requiring extensive adaptation. Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle Eastern countries remain among the most vulnerable of all migrant populations. Researchers often noted this vulnerable situation of the women. Empirical literature on women labor migrants has long been dominated by research that focuses on the negative aspects, such as their vulnerability to economic, sexual exploitation, and psychopathology. There is lack of research that focuses on supporting and empowering these women. There is a new interest in identifying migrants' resistance resources that promote healthy psychological functioning. This study aims to assess and describe women labor migrants' perceived level of stress due to their migration experiences, explore their migration experiences that were potential sources of stress, uncover the salient coping strategies they employed to deal with stress, assess and describe the level of resilience of the women, identify the positive migration experiences and inner positive personal capacities that reinforced their resilience during their stay abroad, and examine the associations among the variables. The study was based on the experiences of returnee women. The study employed a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis. A non-probabilistic sample of 118 women returnees responded to a survey administered in the quantitative approach of the research. In the qualitative approach, in order to contextualize and add depth to the data gathered through the quantitative survey, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sub-sample of 11 women who had taken part in the survey. The major findings emanating from this study were: (1) the majority of the participants experienced moderate to high levels of perceived stress. The major sources of their stress were: personal experiences of social isolation, exploitative working conditions, language barrier, separation from family and lack of communication, their undocumented legal status, and breakup of important long-term relationships. (2) Following distressing life experiences in the host countries, participants engaged in determined efforts to cope with stressors and developed their own coping strategies. The most frequently employed coping strategies were: use of emotional social support, use of instrumental/informational social support, religious coping, focusing on the positives, and active coping (taking direct action to a problem). (3) Despite all the hardships they experienced, many of the participants displayed resilience and developed competencies in acculturating themselves to a new environment, minimizing the impact of consequent psychological distress. The majority of the women were found to have high resilience levels. During their stay abroad, they derived significant strength from external as well as internal (personal) sources. (4) High-resilient women labor migrants had significantly lower levels of perceived stress than low-resilient migrants. This is because high level of resilience does seem to significantly increase the use of adaptive coping strategies. (5) Being a migrant of rural origin, being undocumented migrant, and having low educational status were related to increases in perceived stress among the women. Having better educational status was found to have a potential link with empowerment and resilience. Overall, the results demonstrated that while there were stressors common across participants, there were unique personal and situational circumstances that could mediate the impact of a stressor. This study can be seen as an inquiry where the strengths were discovered and appreciated, in addition to their challenges. Implications for practice and for further research, emerged from this study, are discussed.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

International migration is emerging as one of the key issues affecting youth. According to the 2007 'State of the World Population' report, published by the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), young people aged between 15 and 25 years constitute one third of the total international migration flow worldwide. If the definition of youth includes people up to the age of 29, young people represent half of global migrant flows (UNFPA, 2007). In the past two decades, there has been a worldwide trend toward the "feminization" of migration, with more women migrating than men (UNDP, 2010). Women now comprise approximately half of the estimated 214 million international migrants worldwide (UNDP, 2010).

Migration, voluntary or involuntary, is a transition that often entails the severing of community ties, the loss of social networks and familial bonds – it can mean the loss of taken for granted sources and systems of meaning (Furnham & Bochner, 1990). The severing of these networks and the removal of interpersonal and socio-cultural supports that may follow migration can contribute to negative social and psychological health outcomes for individuals and groups (Krupinksi, 1984). Moreover, the transition may be followed by unforeseen negative consequences and may require exceptional social adjustments (Hareven, 2000). Although the process of migration-adaptation is a challenging experience, it can also mean hope for a better future for many individuals.

Migration has a relationship with human growth and development across the lifespan because migratory experiences could have positive or negative effects on the well-being of migrants (Dako-Gyeke, 2013). A fundamental premise of most life-span theories is that development over the life course involves adaptation to the normative and non-normative events encountered over one's lifetime (Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 1998). Thus, developmental psychology, as the scientific study of normative and non-normative developmental processes across the lifespan, takes interest in understanding migration. From a life span development perspective, migration is a profound non-normative life transition, requiring extensive adaptation (Coll & Magnusson, 1997). Moving from one culture to another is a major life transition often accompanied by unique stressors (e.g., disruption of social ties) impacting on individuals' developmental pathways (Weichold, 2010).

Life-span developmental psychology has identified three major influences that impact on the dynamic interaction of the individual and the context. These include normative age-graded influences, normative history-graded influences, and non-normative life event influences (Baltes, Cornelius & Nesselroade, 1980). Normative age-graded influences are developmental changes that are similar in most people and tend to occur at roughly the same ages. These influences are based on biology (e.g. the process of maturation from infancy to puberty) or based on social/cultural environmental events (e.g. social expectations regarding age-appropriate behavior). Normative history-graded influences also have a "norming" effect on development but they are based on the unique events in historical time in which a person lives rather than age. People who are born at approximately the same time in history are grouped together in what is called an age-cohort. Historical events often cause great social changes that personally affect those who are living at that time.

In contrast to normative age-graded and history graded influences that have similar effects on persons of the same age, there also exist other critical life events, which are less prevalent but highly significant and profound in their impact (Laosa, 1996). These events are known as non-normative life-event influences (Baltes, Cornelius & Nesselroade, 1980; Laosa, 1996). These influences are events that are experienced by only some members of a cohort so it is not a normative experience. These transitions are linked to events that tend to occur unpredictably and that result in uprooting, in the loss of family or friends and possessions, and, in many cases, in intense and prolonged mental suffering (Laosa, 1996). These extraordinary experiences include intercultural transitions, particularly those associated with international migration (Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Laosa, 1996). These events place extreme demands on the individual for personal change and adaptation. As such, they represent critical life changes that involve potentially stressful processes in development as well as extraordinary opportunities for personal growth (Laosa, 1996). In recent years, the need for research attention to this type of life transition in individual development has increased, largely as a result of significant changes in migration trends (Laosa, 1996).

The youth employment crisis pushes thousands of young Ethiopian women and men towards the decision to migrate with the purpose of seeking alternatives to improve their job prospects. Women constitute a higher proportion of the labor migration than men because they are considerably more in demand for domestic work (De Regt, 2002). With ten per cent of the total of the world's migrant population, and the highest concentration of migrant workers in the world (IOM, 2003a), the Middle East has been heavily impacted by the feminization of labor migration. Ethiopia is one of the main countries of origin of female migrant workers in Middle East countries.

Currently, literature and media emphasize the vulnerability and plight of Ethiopian migrant domestic workers in the Middle East. However, this has several drawbacks. First of all, this might convey the message that migration in itself is the root of all problems. Furthermore, the sources of strength, survival strategies and opportunities for change are neglected. As for other major life transitions, both personal characteristics and contextual factors will play a role in immigrant adaptation. Although migration experience poses significant challenges to most of the migrants and places them in a vulnerable position for exploitation and harassment, there are also examples of migrants who are positively adapting in spite of these adversities and using this experience for enhancing their status and contributing to their empowerment.

In the literature, migration-generated difficulties like social isolation, prejudice, feeling of loss and minority status have been perceived as stressful life events that require a considerable adjustment on the part of the migrants (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002). Some of these negative factors might be more severe for women labor migrants as they generally are highly susceptible to discrimination, abuse, and exploitation, especially where they work in under-regulated sectors such as domestic work (ILO, 2003). Researchers (e.g. Zahid, Fido, Razik, Mohsen, & El-Sayed, 2004; Angel & Williams, 2000; Aroian & Norris, 2000) often noted this vulnerable situation of women. Being heavily dependent on the services of recruitment brokers and agencies, indebtedness due to agency fees and other migration costs, lack of information or misleading information on the working conditions in the country of employment, and immigration arrangements that bind the workers to a specific employer, all contribute to placing migrant domestic workers in situations of vulnerability to exploitation and abuse. As a result, many scholars reported that migrant domestic workers are

vulnerable to migration-related stress and mental health problems (e.g. Angel & Williams, 2000; IOM, 2004; Zahid et al., 2004). However, this vulnerability changes from person to person depending on certain factors, and characteristics women have. Therefore, there is a need to focus on the well-adjusted migrants, not the patients with psychological disorders, and to find the factors important in their adjustment. This is in line with the concept of resilience.

Resilience in psychology refers to the positive capacity of people to cope with stress and catastrophe (Seligman, 2002). It can be seen as the opposite to vulnerability and encompasses personal competences across cognitive, emotional and social domains (Tizard & Clarke, 1992 cited in Windle, Markland, & Woods, 2013). The American Psychological Association (2014) defines resilience as the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress. It involves behaviors, thoughts and actions that can be learned and developed in anyone (APA, 2014).

Until recently, research on migrants' adaptation has tended to examine the pathologies and victimizations, thus skewed toward negative the end. Many scholars reported about migration-related stress and mental health problems among migrants in general (e.g. Selten, Slaets et al., 1997; Silove, Sinnerbrink et al., 1997; Hovey, 2000; Bhui, Abdi et al., 2003; Torres & Rollock, 2004) and among migrant domestic works in particular (e.g. El-Hilu, Mousa, Abdulmalek *et al*. 1990; Zahid et al., 2004; IOM, 2004; Angel & Williams, 2000). The difficulties of resettlement like mourning, uprooting, alienation, discrimination, and identity issues have been widely researched in the psychological literature. While such an approach has provided an understanding of the level of related psychopathology, limited attention has been given to individuals' positive adaptations. Migrants' ways of coping with distress and difficulties related to migration have been neglected areas of research. As a result,

little is known about factors that contribute to stress reduction among female labor migrants and thus make them less vulnerable to development of mental health problems.

Traditionally, psychology has functioned in a paradigm of Pathogenic thinking, but there is a relatively new perspective, named "Salutogenesis" which has emerged and emphasizes the origins of health and wellness (Strumpfer, 1990). While the pathogenic paradigm focuses on why and how illness occurs, the salutogenic paradigm focuses on the origins and development of health and wellness, and looks at the functioning of the individual in various life circumstances. The construct of Salutogenesis was introduced by Antonovsky in 1987, and has formed the foundation of positive psychology (Strumpfer, 1990). Positive psychology, according to Seligman, Steen, Park and Peterson (2005), has been growing steadily since the year 2000, and is predisposed to understanding what makes people thrive and perform in superior ways. Seligman (2003) states that the study of positive psychology focuses on the psychology of mental health and is based on the pillars of positive emotion, positive traits, and individual ability. Of particular interest within the salutogenic paradigm are theories which focus on individual's resilience, as the ability to maintain psychological well-being even when exposed to trauma or adversity. In line with the recent shift in mental health field from psychopathology to positive aspects of adaptation in development, constructive aspects of migration experience and migrant's positive adjustment and resilience in the host countries have started to be the focus of research (e.g. Kramer & Bala, 2004).

Psychology at its origin had three main aims: "curing mental illness, making the lives of all people more productive and fulfilling, and identifying and nurturing high talent" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 5). In the years immediately following World War II, changes in economic conditions substantially influenced the direction psychology was

taking (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). At the expense of the other two original aims psychology became primarily focused around curing mental illness. During this time considerable effort was put into measuring and diagnosing mental illness and suffering, as this was the area in which researchers could obtain funding and practitioners could make a living (Luthans & Youssef, 2007; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

The focus on negative outcomes observed in psychology as a discipline can also be seen in research specifically on stress and wellbeing (McGowan, Gardner, & Fletcher, 2006). The origins of stress as a construct can be found in the realm of physical science. Within physical science, stress was understood as a "force which acting on a body produces strain or deformation" (Cofer & Appley, 1964, p. 441). As a psychological concept stress was initially associated with hardship and adversity (Lazarus, 1993; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). More recently, stress has become a popular word in modern dialogue as people describe their feelings of pressure, anxiety, and tension. Stress has consistently been linked with poor health such as the premature development of degenerative diseases, heart attacks, strokes, cancer, and depression (Edwards & Cooper, 1988).

While the physiological understanding of stress has its merits, questions asked by the military after World War II challenged this model of understanding stress and called for a more complex explanation. During the war there was much interest in soldiers' responses to combat and in particular, the emotional breakdown, referred to as 'battle fatigue' or 'war neurosis' (Lazarus, 1993). Following World War II, many observed the demands of everyday life, such as work, relationships, and illness could cause responses similar to those observed in combat soldiers (Kemeny, 2003). At this time the military also wanted to know how to identify stress resistant soldiers and further train them to manage their stress effectively

(Lazarus, 1993). While investigating these issues and questions it became clear that the stress process was more complex than first thought and researchers set out to develop new insights in the area. More recently there has been a move towards defining stress in terms of the processes involved.

During the process of redefining concepts such as stress and wellbeing it became clear that psychology as a discipline needed to refocus and reinstate all of its original missions (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Psychology is "not just the study of pathology, weakness and damage: it is also the study of strength and virtue" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 7). Recognition is also being given to the positive and beneficial outcomes of effective stress management and wellbeing (McGowan et al., 2006). This change in thinking has created an interest in positive constructs, such as resilience and coping strategies, and raised questions around how these positive constructs interact with other constructs, both positive (e.g., wellbeing) and negative (e.g., stress or illness).

According to Maddi and Kobasa (1984), psychological resilience embodies the personal qualities that enable one to thrive in the face of adversity. Resilience is not limited to time or age but it rather is acquired through an ongoing process. We can learn how to be resilient and face adversities by changing our thoughts and the way we approach problems (Reivich & Shatte, 2002). According to Brown and Turner (2010), resilience skills prepare people to deal with adversities, reach out for opportunities, establish healthy relations and be less inclined towards depression. Therefore, resilience appears highly relevant in the context of migration considering the changes and hardship that women labor migrants face. According to Saleeby (2000), the resilience perspective compels us: "to understand that

however downtrodden, beaten up, sick or disheartened and demoralized, individuals have survived and in some cases even flourished" (p.135).

Several scholars have argued that resilience is positively related to wellbeing and negatively related to stress (e.g. Cohen & Lazarus, 1983; Rutter, 1993). Moreover, Wagnild and Young (1993) suggest that resilience minimizes the negative effects of stress and promotes adaptation. Studies conducted on immigrant populations found high resilience to be related to improved wellbeing and lower depression scores (e.g. Aroian & Norris, 2000; Miller & Chandler, 2002). Nevertheless, few studies specifically address the resilience of female migrant workers. For example, Kheezhangatte (2006) described how Indian female domestic workers in Hong Kong draw strength from the reasons for migration (meaning of migration), membership of small groups, work and income.

Coping strategies are also of particular interest to positive psychologists as it is this process that will frequently determine whether an individual experiences positive or negative emotions from a given demand (Lazarus, Kanner, Folkman, 1980). Individual outcomes following cross-cultural transitions have been studied in terms of two major categories: psychological and socio-cultural. Psychological adjustment concerns mental health aspects such as depressive symptoms, mood disturbances, general well-being and satisfaction with life. Socio-cultural adjustment on the other hand refers to social competence and ability to interact adequately in the host society.

To conclude, empirical literature on migrant women has long been dominated by research that focuses on the negative aspects, such as their vulnerability to economic, sexual exploitation, and psychopathology. Migrants' resistance resources that promote healthy psychological functioning and adjustment following the stressors of immigration and

acculturation have been neglected areas of research. Particularly, there is paucity of research literature to inform us about the resiliency and coping strategies of Ethiopian women migrant domestic workers to deal with their acculturation hardships and mental health issues during their stay abroad as housemaids. As a result, little is known about factors that contribute to stress reduction among these labor migrants and thus make them less vulnerable to development of mental health problems.

Acknowledging this gap in research, instead of focusing on their problems and vulnerability, the present study is designed to investigate the role of personal resources (coping strategies and resilience) in managing stress among Ethiopian women labor migrants during their stay abroad based on the experiences of returnees from the Middle Eastern countries. It was thought that using mixed methods research design would address the focus of this research. Considering their special case in the migration literature, it is worth focusing on the experiences of women labor migrant returnees from the Middle East countries. Supporting and strengthening women's ability to harness resistance resources and to develop and manage their own resilience could be the most effective way of promoting the psychological health of many women labor migrants. Exploring the relationship of the psychological resources to the level of perceived stress is therefore important to design evidence-informed strength-based pre-migration interventions for the intending women labor migrants.

The topic was approached by integrating existing theories of the factors promoting psychological adaptation under stressful conditions. The theoretical orientations as well as the main concepts used in the study are presented before the specific questions addressed.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework consists of concepts, together with their definitions, and existing theories that are used for this study. It also explains the theoretical relationships among variables. Guided by the salutogenic paradigm to the study of human behavior, this study employs two theories that seem to be interrelated: 1) The theory of resilience and psychological adjustment under stressful circumstances (Maddi & Kobasa, 1984), and 2) The stress and coping framework of intercultural contact and psychological adjustment (Ward, 2001).

1.2.1 The Salutogenic Paradigm

Historically, the majority of psychological and migration research has adopted the pathogenic paradigm (deficit approach/medical model) to study human behavior. Pathogenic is derived from the Greek word *pathos,* meaning suffering or emotion-evoking sympathy (Berry, 1997). Accordingly, this approach subscribes to the view that the human condition is endemically stressful and problematic – that life is full of difficulty resulting in suffering. It views health as absence of illness, classifies people according to a healthy or sick dichotomy rather than as a continuum, investigates morphology rather than looking at how sickness can be prevented, looks for specific causes instead of accepting that pathogens are endemic in human existence, focuses on the negative pathological outcomes of stress by examining the relationship between stress and illness, and studies sick rather than healthy/well people (Strumpfer, 1990). The pathogenic paradigm assumes that the experience of profound change leads inevitably to dysfunctional outcomes and that psychological distress is a symptom of illness (Antonovsky, 1990).

The pathogenic paradigm is increasingly challenged by proponents of the salutogenic paradigm (SP), who argue that distress and illness represent only one side of migration (e.g., Antonovsky, 1990; Strumpfer, 1990). Salutogenesists argue that through its negative and limited conceptualization of the stress processes associated with migration, pathogenesists miss the other, maybe more important side of migration: growth outcomes and well-being. They also maintain that the pathogenic paradigm fails to investigate how the social context of the home and the host country interact with individual characteristics, and how they together influence whether migration leads to positive or negative outcomes.

The SP was developed by Aaron Antonovsky (1979, 1987 as cited in Antonovsky, 1990) and refers to the biopsychosocial model of stress (Strumpfer, 1990). It is a dynamic, flexible and interdisciplinary approach that has been a breakthrough in research on the relationship between stress and illness by offering a health oriented conceptualization (Lindstrom & Eriksson, 2005). The term salutogenesis comes from the Latin: salus = health, Greek: genesis = origins (Strumpfer, 1990). Literally translated salutogenesis means the 'origins of health'.

From this perspective health is the presence of positive states of human capacities and functioning in thinking, feeling and behavior (Strumpfer, 1990). Accordingly, it perceives the personal experience of the demands of migration both as a challenge to a person's current equilibrium and as a catalyst for adaptation (Higgins, 1994). Although salutogenesists believe, like pathologists, that stress is intrinsic to human life, they see the demands presented by migration only as potentially stressful in the negative sense. Stressors from the environment are not inherently pathogenic but neutral. Whether stressors move people towards the well-

being/health end of the continuum depends on how people deal with stressors (Strumpfer, 1990).

How people deal with stressors is influenced by their personal characteristics and environmental conditions. In terms of personal characteristics, Antonovsky (1991) argues that central to maintaining health is a person's sense of coherence (SOC) - the degree to which people are able to assess and understand the situation they are in, to find meaning and to move towards health. SOC reflects ways of being, thinking and acting. The more people have trust/confidence in their selves and their capacity to respond to stressful situations the better they are able to manage. SOC is influenced by the extent to which people can make sense of information from the environment (comprehensibility), perceive their resources as adequate to deal with demands (manageability) and feel that life makes sense emotionally and problems/demands are challenges worth investing in rather than burdens (meaningfulness).

Because people differ in their personal characteristics and the influences from within the environment differ, people vary considerably in their stress responses (Paton & Stephens, 1996). Consequently, exposure to the demands of stressful processes can lead to a range of outcomes along the health-ease-dis-ease continuum: positive, neutral, and negative consequences (Antonovsky, 1991). Stress can be both good (eustress) and bad (distress). The former leads to growth and facilitates adaptation; the latter hinders adaptation and leads to illness (Antonovsky, 1991). This suggests that stressful situations, such as migration, may be rewarding and lead to health/growth and well-being, if immigrants are capable of successfully overcoming the challenges presented by the migration process (Rogler, 1994).

Salutogenesis offers a paradigm for thinking about resilience, illness and health that stands in contrast to the dominant pathogenic paradigm. Where the pathogenic paradigm asks,

"Why do people get ill?" the salutogenic paradigm asks, "Why, when people are exposed to the same stress which causes some to become ill, do some remain healthy?" (Antonovsky, 1990).

Applied to migration the salutogenic assumptions suggest that whether negative stress occurs depends on the meaning migrants give to their migration experiences (Antonovsky, 1990; Weichold, 2010). In other words, it is the subjective interpretation of the migrant which gives meaning to the impact of migration. Migrants only view migration as stressful when they perceive that the demands presented by migration exceed their capabilities (Rogler, 1994)), and that the assistance the home and host society provide is not sufficient for dealing with migration demands (Weichold, 2010). Seen from this perspective, it is important to support migrants before and during the migration process to enhance their capabilities in ways that facilitate successful adaptation and well-being. Thus, it is imperative to identify factors that lead to stress reduction and positive outcomes. Two specific theories explaining the factors that help one to respond effectively under stressful circumstances are discussed in the following sections.

1.2.2 A Theory of Psychological Resilience and Stress

Based on salutogenic perspective on coping with stressful life events, Maddi and Kobasa (1984) proposed a theory of psychological resilience to explain factors that impact individual health and well-being. The concept of resilience is also founded upon the existentialist percept that the individual is not simply responsible for, but also the cause of his or her behavior (Kobasa & Maddi, 1977). The volumes of studies on resilience has grown in the last few years as the topic is relevant to a number of fields of study including education,

psychology, business, mental health, medicine, and social welfare (O'Neal, 1999) and the construct can be considered applicable at the individual, family, group or organizational level.

At the individual level, Kobasa, Maddi and Kahn (1982) defined psychological resilience as a pervasive belief that one can respond effectively under stress. They identified three common elements in resilient people: 1) Sense of commitment to persevering through stressful events, 2) Sense of control over the outcome of stressful events (trust in their abilities to handle the controllable aspects of an adverse situation), and 3) challenge (openness to learning and growing from challenges or the ability to face problems and consider mistakes as learning opportunities and potential for growth).

1. Commitment as opposed to alienation: Among persons under stressful circumstances, those who feel committed to the various areas of their lives will remain healthier than those who are alienated. Commitment is firstly the valuing of one's life, one's self, one's relationships, and secondly the investment of oneself in these valued dimensions of life (Kobasa, 1982). Commitment results in a sense of purpose that can carry a person through difficult turbulent times. Commitment is based in a sense of community – what existentialists call being-with-others (Kobasa, Maddi, & Kahn, 1982).

2. Control as opposed to powerlessness: Among persons under stressful circumstances, those who have a greater sense of control over what occurs in their lives will remain healthier than those who feel powerless in the face of external forces. Control involves acting 'as if' one has control over what is happening around one. It entails the belief (and consequent actions) that life events are in part a result of one's own actions and attitudes, and thus amenable to change. People with control can interpret and incorporate various sorts of

events into an ongoing life plan and transform these events into something consistent and not so jarring to the organism (Kobasa, 1982).

3. Challenge as opposed to threat: Among persons under stressful circumstances, those who view change as a challenge will remain healthier than those who view it as a threat. Challenge is based on the belief that change, rather than stability, is the normative mode of life. With this outlook on life, stressful life events are viewed neither with surprise (since they are anticipated) nor with dismay (since they are seen as exciting opportunities for growth and development) (Kobasa, 1982).

In general, Maddi and Kobasa (1984) specify that resilient individuals confront stressful circumstances by perceiving events as changeable (control) but meaningful (commitment), and of prospective value for personal development (challenge). According to Kobasa and colleagues (1982), this manifests as a sense of personal autonomy and the belief that one is able to directly affect one's destiny. This study will draw upon this conceptualization of resilience to examine and elucidate individual differences and their relative impact on the level of perceived stress among Ethiopian women labor migrants.

Individual lives are socially embedded and this study assumes that, in addition to individual characteristics, certain kinds of resources provided by developmental networks are critical to building resilience in the migration context. Personality models, in fact, only account for a moderate amount of variance in resilience and well-being (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Other variables, including social networks and demographic variables, need to be adequately included (Headey & Wearing, 1989). Hence, in the present study, the concept of resilience is expanded to include both types of factors that could foster it (i.e., individual internal characteristics and external factors). Rutter (1985) and Grothberg (2003) depicted

resilience as based on the individual's perspective and capacity. On the contrary, Walsh (1998) defined resilience as the ability to transform negative circumstances into positive ones, and described it as being "forged through openness to experiences and interdependence with others" (p. 4). The present study employed both the individual's perspective of resilience (Rutter, 1985; Grothberg, 2003) and the interdependence perspective of resilience (Walsh, 1998). Therefore, participants' experiences, which they themselves consider were important to build their resilience, were explored using the qualitative research inquiry in order to examine the interaction between individual level factors and relational factors and to understand how individuals cultivate positive, resilience-enhancing relationships and experiences.

1.2.3 The Stress and Coping Framework of Intercultural Contact and Psychological Adjustment

Ward (2001) suggested that migrants' psychological adaptation/adjustment is best understood form a stress and coping framework, reminiscent of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), whereas socio-cultural adaptation is best understood from a culture learning framework. Adjustment or adaptation of immigrants can be defined as the process of "fitting in" to the society of settlement and functioning successfully in a new environment (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Two distinct aspects of intercultural adjustment have been identified on the basis of past research (Ward et al. 2001). The first is sociocultural adaptation, which is based on the culture learning approach and reflects the ability to engage in constructive interaction with a different culture. The other is psychological adaptation, which facilitates the individual's sense of wellbeing, positive appraisal of situations and general satisfaction with life. Ward (2001) argued that psychological and sociocultural adaptations are influenced by

different sets of variables. Psychological adaptation is influenced by personality traits, coping strategies, and available social support, whereas sociocultural adaptation is influenced by length of residence in the new culture, cultural knowledge, language ability, and acculturation strategy (Ward, 2001). Psychological adaptation has been considered an important issue for immigrants' health, as previous research has consistently demonstrated that immigrants suffer from higher levels of emotional distress and poorer mental health than the host populations.

In the stress and coping framework, psychological adaptation is the outcome of a process of encountering challenging life-changes during cross-cultural transitions, the subsequent appraisal of such changes, and selecting and implementing coping strategies to deal with them (Ward, 2001).

The stress and coping framework of intercultural contact and change begins with some type of causal agent placing a load or demand on the organism (Aldwin, 1994; Lazarus, 1990). In the case of acculturation, these demands refer to experiences of having to deal with two cultures in contact, and having to participate in these two cultures at different levels (Berry, 2006). The stress and coping model suggests that under these circumstances, individuals consider the meaning of their experiences; they evaluate and appraise them as either a source of difficulty or as a source of opportunity. Therefore, the outcome of these appraisals might vary among individuals. Acculturation experiences may be viewed either as providing opportunities and interesting experiences or as limiting opportunities and diminishing experiences that provide meaning to life. In other words, when individuals appraise acculturation experiences as not being problematic, adaptive changes take place in the acculturating individuals with minimal difficulty (Ward, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). However, if the individual experiences greater levels of conflict, and appraises these

experiences as problematic, then acculturative stress results. The stress and coping model suggests that acculturative stress is simply a stress reaction that occurs when individuals face problems rooted in the experience of acculturation and recognize that these conflicts cannot be handled simply by adjusting or assimilating to the new culture (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

In an attempt to cope with these problematic experiences, individuals utilize various types of coping strategies. Within the general stress and coping approach, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identified two main ways of coping: (1) problem-focused coping that refers to the attempt to change or solve the problem; (2) emotion-focused coping that refers to the attempt to regulate the emotions associated with the problem. While the former aim to modify the relationship between the environment and the person through dealing directly with the source of the stress, the latter attempt to regulate emotional distress by altering one's own response to the stressor. In addition to these coping strategies, Endler and Parker (1994) identified a third strategy, avoidance-oriented coping, which encompasses behavioral disengagement, denial, venting of emotions, the inability to see the potentially positive aspects of change, and mental disengagement. Moreover, coping strategies are divided into two broad categories such as adaptive coping and maladaptive coping strategies. Adaptive problem-focused coping strategies include taking action to get rid of the stressful situation, and getting support from someone that can help the situation, while adaptive emotional-focused coping strategies include sharing feelings with someone concerning one's stressful situation. Maladaptive problem-focused coping strategies include: use of alcohol or drugs to forget the stressful situation (avoidance), while maladaptive emotional-focused coping strategies include denial (Donnelly, 2002; Wong, 2002).

How people cope with the stressful situations they encounter has implications for subsequent mental health outcomes. Those who are able to cope effectively may see themselves as more capable of successfully managing future stressors, leading to an increased sense of well-being and belief in their abilities (Jew, Green, & Kroger, 1999). Conversely, those who are unable to cope effectively may see themselves as less able to successfully manage future stressors, and experience a sense of helplessness (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

The current study explored seven adaptive coping strategies (active coping; planning; restraint coping; seeking social support for instrumental reasons; seeking social support for emotional reasons; positive reinterpretation and growth; and acceptance) and four maladaptive coping strategies (denial, behavioral disengagement, mental disengagement, and substance use) that women labor migrant returnees employed during their stay abroad and examined their relation to their level of perceived stress due to the migration experiences and examined if the coping strategies were significantly influenced by women's levels of psychological resilience.

1.2.4 The Relationship of Resilience to Coping Strategies

Kobasa and Puccetti (1983) describe resilience as facilitating the kind of perception, evaluation, and coping that leads to successful resolution of the situation created by stress events. Research to date suggests that individuals typifying psychological resilience appraise demanding circumstances as opportunities for personal advancement as opposed to threats to well-being (Kobasa & Puccetti, 1983). Psychologically resilient individuals acknowledge and perceive stressful conditions as opportunities for self-development and growth (Kobasa &

Puccetti, 1983). Given this perspective, psychologically resilient individuals are thought to utilize adaptive coping strategies and therefore respond more successfully to taxing events.

Psychological resilience can change the stressful event into a positive reappraisal and reduce emotions such as anger and sadness (Gentry & Kobasa, 1984). Theoretically then, if psychological resilience and adaptive coping strategies are increased, stress will decrease. According to Neill (undated), the central process involved in building resilience is the training and development of adaptive coping skills. The concept of psychological resilience is increasingly being used in psychology particularly with regard to being a goal of primary prevention mental health programs (Blum, 1998). Resilience may be viewed as a measure of stress coping ability and, as such, could be an important target of treatment in anxiety, depression, and stress reactions (Connor & Davidson, 2003).

1.2.5 Resilience and Coping strategies as Distinct Concepts

Finally, a distinction needs to be made between resilience and coping. While one component of resilience is the use of effective coping strategies, such as adaptive problem-focused coping, resilience includes many more equally important concepts (Luthans & Youssef, 2007). These include a solid perception of reality, the ability to influence and improvise, a firm belief in the future, and numerous other components (Caverley, 2005; Luthans & Youssef, 2007). Additionally, coping as a concept is built around negative events and how a person responds in these situations (Lazarus, Kanner, Folkman, 1980). While resilience can act in negative events, it is equally important in positive but challenging situations (Luthans & Youssef, 2007). Recent conceptualizations on the impact of life events suggest that resilience may refer to bouncing back even from positive events requiring

adjustment, in addition to or instead of negative events (Bonanno, 2004; Congard, Dauvier, Antoine, & Gilles, 2011).

A further difference between the concepts of coping and resilience can be found when examining the end outcome or goals of each of these concepts. The aim of effective coping is to successfully overcome the situation and emerge with minimal damage (Lazarus, 1993). Resilience however, emphasizes the bounce back or successful adaptation that occurs and frequently results in development beyond the original position (Waller, 2001). This difference in end result highlights the subtle difference between the two concepts and highlights the focus resilience has on positive adaptation (Waller, 2001). While resilience and coping are distinct concepts, the relationship they may have with each other deserves further attention. Literature does not provide a clear picture of resilience and coping strategies in the context of migration. As effective coping strategies are considered one component of resilience it is expected they will be positively related.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

A number of new issues surrounding migration out of Ethiopia have emerged in recent years, and among the most troubling is the migration of young women to countries in the Middle East. The trend expanded especially with the change of government in 1991. On this issue, De Regt (2002) argues that Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East before the early 1990s were small in number. With the overthrow of the communist regime in 1991, the right to free movement was provided for all Ethiopians. Since then there has been a massive influx of both women and men to the Gulf region to take up menial occupations. Women constitute a higher proportion of the labor migrants than men because there is more demand for domestic

workers (De Regt, 2002). Women in Ethiopia have little education compared to men and this limits their access to the formal economic sector. This, coupled with other problems such as feminization of poverty and lack of access to resources, contribute to increasing the rate of women's labor migration or trafficking (Emebet, 2002).

Many difficulties and losses accompany the resettlement of immigrants in a new country. As a result, immigrants present a population at risk for the development of emotional (or psychological) distress and disturbances (Zilber & Lerner, 1996). This may be especially true for women migrant domestic workers who often face unique challenges due to their informal status. According to GTZ (2006), migrant domestic workers are considered in the informal sector, having no legal protection under the local labor laws of the host countries. Supplementing this, ILO (2008) reports show that the main reason for the exploitation of domestic workers in the Arab World is the absence of effective institutional setup to regulate the private sphere as employment sector. As a result, foreign maids cannot access the local labor markets because they are not free and are attached for contractual employment to employers or sponsors who are responsible for the renewal of their employees' work permits or termination of contracts (Jureidini, 2003). Domestic workers are the least organized due to the specific laws and regulations in the Gulf countries and they ordinarily work and live in an exploitative environment (UNFPA, 2006).

The vulnerable position and the specific cultural and living circumstances of female migrant domestic workers may pose various risks for their wellbeing. Extensive research has been conducted on the vulnerability, hardships and adjustment difficulties and the mental health outcome on migrant domestic workers. However, despite these hardships, the migration of Ethiopian women to countries in the Middle East continues to increase. These

hardships seem to be handled in a way that doesn't impede migration. The following section describes the reasons for this study.

Reason for the Study: Suffering versus Strength

As mentioned above, Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle Eastern countries remain among the most vulnerable of all migrant populations. Researchers often noted this vulnerable situation of the women. There is the need for knowledge of migrants' challenges, but do we discover the strengths which these migrants have? Maybe it has been forgotten, partly. While reading the research literature related to Ethiopian women labor migrants, I noticed that the focus is mainly on weaknesses and challenges. Within the literature, the experience of being a woman labor migrant to the Arab countries is always portrayed as suffering. This dominating tone overlooks the strength that presents itself in times of suffering. To present only the suffering is to miss an extraordinary opportunity to understand those aspects of personal and environmental resources that not only allow them to survive the challenges that confront them daily but to succeed in attaining their goals of migration.

In general, despite those recent attempts to describe such phenomena as vulnerability, hardships and adjustment difficulties, and the mental health problems, research on the migrants' resistance resources (i.e., coping behaviors and resilience) in the adaptation process is lacking. This study, therefore, was undertaken to address this significant gap in research. As one of the main aims of psychology is making the lives of all people more productive and fulfilling (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), there is a need to discover and trust on a person´s capacity, and facilitate and support him/her to find solutions for his/her life. Thus, in this study the researcher is interested in alternate views, differing from the literature thus far,

focusing on exploring the individual and environmental resources that helped women labor migrants to overcome their challenges and associated stress during their stay abroad as domestic workers. Therefore, the topic about strengths and coping is even more inspirational to open up and to encourage us all to support positive possibilities and capacities which already exist or can be building up among Ethiopian women labor migrants to countries in the Middle East.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to explore the role of resilience and coping strategies in managing stress based on the experiences of Ethiopian women labor migrant returnees from the Middle East countries in order to provide insights that could help to design strength-based pre-migration interventions aimed at improving the wellbeing of women domestic labor migrants to the Middle East countries.

In line with the above general objective, the study is therefore designed to:

1. Describe the returnees' level of perceived stress due to migration experiences and explore the major sources that contribute to stress during their stay abroad.
2. Explore the coping strategies employed by the women in dealing with stressful experiences encountered in the host countries.
3. Determine the degree of resilience of women labor migrants and explore positive immigration experiences and inner personal capacities that enabled them to be resilient and thereby played a role in reducing stress.
4. Examine if there exists statistically significant differences between high-resilient and low-resilient women with regard to their levels of perceived stress.

5. Investigate if coping strategies were significantly influenced by levels of resilience.
6. Determine the extent to which specific demographic variables are associated with resilience and perceived stress levels of the women.

1.5 Research Questions

This study is designed to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the level of perceived stress among the women labor migrant returnees and what situations contributed to stress in the women while working abroad?
2. What coping strategies did the women employ to cope with stressful experiences while working abroad?
3. What is the level of psychological resilience among women labor migrants and what were the positive migration experiences and personal factors which they themselves consider were important to build their resilience and helped them to have feelings of wellness and reduced stress?
4. Do high-resilient women labor migrants have significantly lower levels of perceived stress than low- resilient migrants?
5. Do high- resilient women use different coping strategies than low-resilient migrants?
6. Are there statistically significant relationships between demographic variables and the resilience and perceived stress levels of the women?

1.6 Significance of the Study

In order to determine the types of pre-migration programs and services that are beneficial to the successful adjustment of women labor migrants in receiving countries, it is important to identify the psychological resources that could help in reducing stress. The

identification of protective factors could lead to preventive approaches to equip the intending migrants with competencies to meet future demands.

This study will provide preliminary knowledge on the interaction between perceived stress, coping strategies and levels of psychological resilience among Ethiopian women labor migrants. Learning how Ethiopian women labor migrants adapt in times of distress can help psychologists and other helping professionals learn to build on the positive resources among these migrants. These data would be useful for building culturally appropriate community resources, support services, and psycho-educational programs for intending women labor migrants as this will empower them to face the challenges and reduce their stress experiences. Having knowledge of the interaction among the variables may provide valuable information to all concerned bodies in assisting intending women migrants to be better prepared to handle stress in destination countries**.** Identifying the relationship among the variables can increase awareness of the psychosocial needs of the women and promote wellness.

The preparation of persons for migration is a complex and highly individualized task (Elizabeth, 2002). Although it is possible to generalize about some information which would be relevant to most migrants, there are other aspects which require a measure of interaction and individualization. Therefore, any program to prepare persons psychologically for migration could not be one dimensional, that is, providing only information, but would also have to contain an element of assessment, either in the form of self-assessment or more formal evaluations. The program would therefore consist of three separate components namely: the provision of information, the assessment of various attitudes, approaches and skills, and the enhancement of a range of coping resources (Elizabeth, 2002). Such programs should be evidence informed. The findings of the present study would be of vital in this

regard. Specifically, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs which provides pre-departure orientation could benefit from this research. It could help the ministry to prepare training guidelines for the preparation of prospective women labor migrants for the psychological effects of migration.

In addition, this research could contribute to the literature in two important ways. First, it added to the literature in positive psychology by identifying resilience and coping behaviors as a form of human strength in tackling life's adversities. In doing so, it may encourage researchers to adopt a more positive line of inquiry. It added to past migration research which has tended to use a vulnerability-deficit model, therefore depicting migrant women as victims of acculturation. Second, the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods is highly beneficial as it can validate data and produce a more complete and coherent picture of the investigated domains (Udo, 2006). Overall, it is expected that the findings of this study have significant contributions to literature, policy, and intervention practices.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Although the present study yielded a number of important findings, there are some limitations that must be taken into consideration when interpreting the results. Of particular concern is that individual's stress levels and coping strategies were assessed in retrospect which may have been subject to retrospective bias, as the research participants may not accurately recall the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors they had been feeling and behaving during their stay abroad. It would be more useful if the study had been conducted in the host

countries; women's return to Ethiopia may influence their perspective on the earlier experiences during migration.

Another limitation of this retrospective approach is that there is no insight in baseline measures; multiple measurements during migration would have provided more insight in the role of resilience factors and fluctuations in stress levels. Resilience is not only just the immediate ability to respond to negative events but also a process of positive adaptation before, during and after adversity (UNICEF, 2011). Moreover, the generalizability of the study findings may be limited because the sample was obtained from settings within a specific geographic location.

1.8 Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Key Terms

Below are definitions of the key terms, conceptually and as used in this study.

Perceived Stress: Stress is perceived in situations where people believe that the demands they face are greater than their abilities to handle those demands (Hiebert, 2000, cited in Malec et al., 2000). Migrants view migration stressful when they perceive that the demands presented by migration exceed their capabilities. In this study, it refers to the degree to which situations in the women migrants' lives over their stay abroad are appraised as stressful as measured by returnee women's ratings of the frequency of the feelings and thoughts listed in the Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen & Williamson, 1988) as applied to them related to events and situations which occurred while they were working abroad as housemaids. The Perceived Stress Scale asks respondents to rate the frequency of their feelings and thoughts related to previously occurred events (i.e. stressful events they encountered during their stay abroad).

Coping strategies: Refer to thoughts and actions employed by women labor migrants while they were working abroad as housemaids to change the perceived experience of a stressful event so as to master, reduce, or tolerate the demand created by that event. Coping strategies can be adaptive, that is, increasing the likelihood of positive outcomes, or maladaptive, leading to increased psychological distress. The coping strategies comprise of seven adaptive and four maladaptive strategies as measured by the COPE Inventory developed by Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub (1989).

Psychological Resilience: The American Psychological Association (2014) defines resilience as the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress. In this study, it refers to the positive capacity of women labor migrants to cope with stress and catastrophe. This construct is assessed using the Psychological Resilience Scale developed by Bartone, Ursano, Wright, and Ingraham (1989). In addition to the individual internal positive capacities, in this study, the concept of resilience is expanded to include external factors/social networks that could foster it.

Life event: A life event is a significant occurrence involving a relatively abrupt change that may produce serious and long-lasting effects (Settersten, 2003). The term refers to the happening itself and not to the transitions that will occur because of the happening. A transition is a more gradual change that occurs with a life event. In the present study, life event refers to women's emigration to the Middle Eastern countries and working as housemaids in an unfamiliar culture which places extreme demands on them for personal change and adaptation.

Adaptation: is a modifying process to enable one to cope with or suit new conditions or situations (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg, 1993). In the present study, the term refers to the psychological adaptation of women migrant domestic workers which is the outcome of a process of encountering challenging experiences in the host countries, the subsequent appraisal of such experiences and employing personal and environmental resistance resources to deal with them. The outcome of this process is having a sense of wellbeing (reduced levels of stress) and functioning successfully in the new environment.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter includes nine sections. The first section presents the review of literature on migration as a non-normative life transition from the life span perspective. Three models of psychological reactions are also presented in the first section of the review to make sense of the experience of migration from the applied psychology point of view. Secondly, the available literature on stress, the types of stress reactions, and the role of individuals' perceptions of environmental demands/pressures to their level of stress response are reviewed and presented in brief. The third and fourth sections briefly present the literature on the trends of women labor migration, the informal and exploitative nature of domestic work, and the sources of stress among immigrants in general and women migrant domestic workers in particular. Fifthly, the available literature on resilience research or the paradigm shift towards strength-based model is reviewed. The sixth section presents the available literature on the roles of personal resistance resources (coping strategies and resilience) in managing stress, greater emphasis given to the migration context. The seventh section reviewed the literature on the role of culture on the use of coping strategies and resilience. The eighth part of the review is on the relationships of demographics, stress, and resilience. Finally, a summary of the literature review is presented.

2.1 The Psychology of Migration

Life-span developmental psychology has identified three major influences that impact on the dynamic interaction of the individual and the context. They include normative age-graded influences, normative history-graded influences, and non-normative life event

influences (Baltes, Cornelius & Nesselroade, 1980). A fundamental premise of most life span theories is that development over the life course involves adaptation to the normative and non-normative events encountered over one's lifetime (Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 1998). From a life span perspective, immigration is a profound non-normative life transition, requiring extensive adaptation (Coll & Magnusson, 1997).

Normative age-graded influences are developmental changes that are similar in most people and tend to occur at roughly the same ages; hence the terms normative and age-graded. The process of maturation from infancy to puberty is a good example of a normative age-graded influence based on biology. Normative age-graded influences can also be based on the social/cultural environmental events rather than biology. All societies make age distinctions which determine the rights and responsibilities of its members, resulting in age playing an important role in how we see ourselves and others (Neugarten & Neugarten, 1987). Every society has a system of social expectations regarding age-appropriate behavior, and these expectations are internalized as the individual grows up and grows old, and as he moves from one age stratum to the next.

Normative history-graded influences also have a "norming" effect on development but they are based on the unique events in historical time in which a person lives rather than age. People who are born at approximately the same time in history are grouped together in what is called an age-cohort. Historical events often cause great social changes that personally affect those who are living at that time. But this does not mean that everyone who experienced those events was affected in the same way. The particular age at which a person experiences those events may cause them to react quite differently. For example, during World War II, persons who were children during that time had a much different experience than those who were of

military service age, and the older cohorts of men and women who were married with children were affected in ways that differed from their children (Baltes, Cornelius & Nesselroade, 1980).

Non-normative life-event influences, in contrast to normative age-graded and history graded influences that have similar effects on persons of the same age, tend to make individuals within an age-cohort dissimilar from one another. This is because these influences are events that are experienced by only some members of a cohort so it is not a normative experience. Non-normative life events can have positive effects on development, such as being accepted into graduate school, or they can have negative effects, such as a divorce. They are events that are often unpredictable in the lives of the individuals they shape.

Like any other non-normative life event, migration can have positive and negative effects on individuals. Migration is beneficial because it broadens ones perspective, it promotes personal growth and it provides insight both into the new culture and into the culture of origin now through contrast. However, exposure to an unfamiliar culture may also be stressful and hence potentially harmful (William & Aghdami, 2005).

Clearly an international transition has also many parallels with other transitions in life e.g. the transition from child to adult, to parenthood, within working life, and geographical moves within the country of origin (William & Aghdami, 2005). Issues of loss, anticipation, becoming an outsider etc are common to all transitions (William & Aghdami, 2005). Three broad models have been developed to make sense of the experience of migration. The models are outlined as follows.

2.1.1 Migration as Bereavement

All forms of geographical movement involve leaving stuff behind, losing loved as well as hated aspects of the previous life. This theory of migration expects the reactions to follow the process of grief and mourning i.e. shock, anger, depression and adjustment (Garza-Guerrero, 1974). Culture shock occurs when a person is suddenly subjected to an unfamiliar way of life. A central part of this experience is the abrupt loss of the familiar. A great deal of anxiety is caused by losing the familiar signs of social interaction both in and out of the workplace. Gestures, facial expressions or customs, are as much part of our culture as the language we speak (William & Aghdami, 2005). Although we may not be consciously aware of doing so, we depend on hundreds of these cues for peace of mind, for a sense of predictability, familiarity and a sense of belonging (William & Aghdami, 2005). According to Oberg, who coined the term culture shock in the 60s, "when an individual enters a strange culture, all or most of these familiar cues are removed. He is like a fish out of water" (Oberg, 1960, p.177).

2.1.2 Migration as a Major Life Event

Major life events are any event positive or negative - that has a really profound effect on a person's life e.g. getting married, changing job, moving house, having kids. It is easy to see how migration is a combination of many such major life events (Lundstedt, 1963). The chrono, macro and micro contexts of development influence developmental transitions and timetable particularly owing to variations in the macrosystem associated with non-normative life events like migration (Narchal, 2012).

2.1.3 Migration as Loss of Control

When at home, we feel we are largely in control of our lives. Migration takes away a great deal of this sense of being in control leaving in its place feelings of helplessness and vulnerability. Nobody likes to feel out of control, so to address this, people try to smuggle control back into their lives often through the back door, overcompensating inappropriately (Rotter, 1966).

2.2 Stress and the Stress Reaction

2.2.1 Stress

Stress is a complex reaction that affects our physiology, behavior, thinking and emotions. It arises in situations where people believe that the demands they face are greater than their abilities to handle those demands (Hiebert, 2000, cited in Malec et al., 2000). Stress can result from environmental factors (task difficulty) and internal factors (repertoire of coping skills, perceptions, and genetic predisposition) or from an interaction between the two (Hiebert, 1983). The external environmental factors are generally termed "stressors," while a person's reaction to an external stressor is termed "stress" (Hiebert, 1983). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) use an outcome neutral way to describe people's attempts to deal with the demands or stressors that they encounter. They suggest that stressors have the potential to elicit different reactions among individuals due to their subjective experience of the stressor. These different reactions are based on individuals using two forms of cognitive appraisal: primary appraisal, which involves evaluating the threat of the situation (e.g., irrelevant, benign, or threatening), and secondary appraisal, which involves evaluating one's available resources for coping with the stressful situation (e.g., seek more information, control

impulsivity). Stress arises not from the demands people face per se, but from people's perceived inability to deal with those demands to their own satisfaction (Hiebert, 1983; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Sometimes a person's coping attempts are successful and the demand is handled satisfactorily. Other times, coping attempts are not as successful as one desires and, if the demands or stressors persist, the person begins to feel stressed.

When an individual engages in a situation, there is an initial appraisal, or in some cases a mis-appraisal, of the demand characteristics of the situation, the individual's resources for coping with the demand, and the consequences likely to result from the way in which the situation is handled. As the individual remains engaged in the situation, there is subsequent ongoing appraisal regarding the continuing nature of the demand and the adequacy of the individual's coping attempts (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Regardless of the accuracy of the person's appraisal of the situation and the coping resources available, a perceived inequity between demand and coping resources produces an increase in stress level (Hiebert, 2002).

Decreased life satisfaction, the development of mental health disorders, the occurrence of stress-related illnesses, and decreased immunologic functioning are a few of the health related problems that have been linked to stress. Studies measuring cortisol levels suggest that activation of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical axis is highly individualized and may explain why daily stressors have greater health consequences for some and not others (Pender, Murdaugh, & Parsons, 2006). Macri, Granstrem, Shumilina et al. (2009) studied corticosterone levels in mice in relation to stressors and found that mild neonatal stress related to low corticosterone levels and was found to foster resilience where as high stress fostered higher corticosterone levels and disease prone states.

Segerstrom and Miller (2004) conducted a meta-analysis on over 300 studies from 1961 to 2001 that explored the relationship between stress and the immune system. Short-term and chronic stressors, stress among healthy and ill populations, age, and stress on resilient and vulnerable populations were explored. As a result of this meta-analysis, it was found that stress does relate to changes in the immune system and affects overall health and well-being. Also, different stressors (chronic verses acute) cause dissimilar changes in ones immune system. These stressors, along with individual personality characteristics, may give rise to diverse immunologic responses to stress.

2.2.2 The Stress Reaction

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define stress as not only a stimulus or a response but as a relationship between the person and the environment. It takes into account the characteristics of the person on one hand, and the nature of the environmental event on the other. Psychological stress is a relationship between the person and the environment which is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his/her resources and endangering his/her well-being. The person's judgment that a particular situation is stressful hinges on his/her cognitive appraisal. Stress within an individual is the balance or imbalance resulting from the interaction of four components: internal needs and values, external environmental demands and constraints, personal resources or capabilities, and external environmental supplies and supports (Chalmers in Rumbaut, 1991). The above definitions can be combined into the following schema (Figure 1).

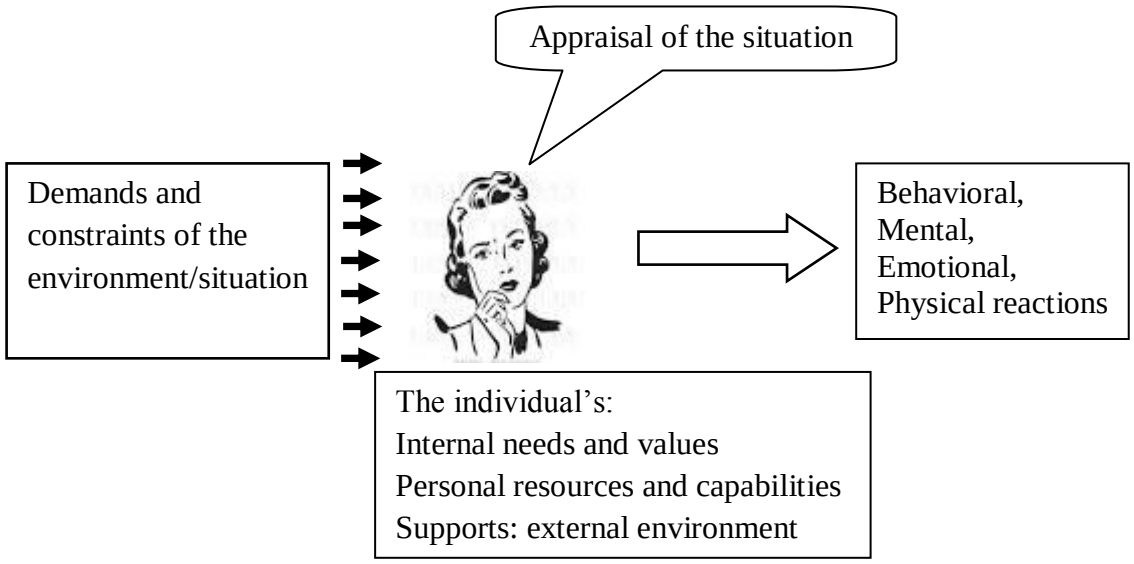

Figure 1: The Stress Reaction

It becomes obvious that the immigrant's ability to adjust to the host country does not only depend on her personal circumstances but also on the way in which the individual appraises the demands and problems in those circumstances. Appraisal implies the individual's evaluation of the encounters as threatening, harmful or challenging (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Furthermore, some situations could be appraised as being simultaneously threatening and challenging: there are both potential gains and risks involved. Migration would fall into this category; the migrant voluntarily decides to relocate in order to attain positive goals whilst aware of the fact that the process will involve some hardship and sacrifice.

Lazarus described the stress reaction as having three components: behavioral, physiological and cognitive (Lazarus, 1974). Recent work by Hiebert, as described in Malec, Hiebert, Young, Rose, Blackshaw, Felsky-Hunt, & Lea (2000), includes an emotional component to the stress reaction.

The Behavioral Stress Reaction

The behavioral component of a stress reaction can be demonstrated through random tics and tremors along with hyperactivity (Hiebert, 1983). The increase in muscle activity that accompanies stress tends to be demonstrated in more hyper types of behavior. According to Malec et al. (2000), individuals tend to speed up when they are stressed. Examples of hyper or speedy behaviors demonstrated when individuals are under stress include walking, talking and eating fast, using punctuated hand gestures when talking, turning events into competitions, and getting impatient with people who are slower (Malec et al. , 2000).

The Physiological Stress Reaction

The physiological component of the stress reaction consists of heightened arousal indicated by such factors as: increased heart rate, respiration rate, and muscle tension (Hiebert, 1983). Other physiological reactions demonstrated by individuals when under stress include increased sweat gland activity and increased blood pressure (Hiebert, 1983; Malec et al., 2000). People's hands get cooler when they are under stress, due to the shunting of the blood away from the extremities and towards the large muscle groups, which is indicative of the fight or flight response. Lastly, blood in the brain is shunted away from the rational problem-solving centers of the brain towards the parts of the brain that control the muscle

movement. This causes individuals to think less clearly when under stress (Malec et al., 2000).

The Cognitive Stress Reaction

The cognitive component of a stress reaction typically involves an appraisal of the degree of threat, or the amount of demand that a situation contains (Everly & Rosenfeld, 1981). A stress reaction is usually accompanied by cognitive activity that misrepresents the situation by overexaggerating the degree of threat or demand involved, and denigrating the individuals' coping attempts (Hiebert, 1983; Lazarus, 1974). Typically, as stress levels increase, there is increasing interference with people's abilities to engage in accurate cognitive appraisal. For example, when people feel stressed, they tend to exaggerate the nature or intensity of the demands they face, catastrophize about the consequences of not responding optimally in that situation, and thus lessen their coping abilities (Hiebert, 1983). Excessive negative thinking and negative self-talk often accompany this unproductive thinking, a combination that tends to interfere with performance and result in less-than-optimal performance. This in turn feeds into the cycle of exaggeration and catastrophization being experienced by the individual (Hiebert, 1988).

The cognitive, physiological, behavioral, and emotional components of a stress reaction tend to occur simultaneously as one integrated response involving heightened arousal, inappropriate cognitive activity, and hyperactivity (Hiebert, 1983; Malec et al., 2000). According to Malec et al., one component of the stress reaction is often more exaggerated than the rest. Some people tend to notice their stress physiologically, while others may tend to notice their behavioral or cognitive reactions to stress more readily. Because we react to stress

differently, Malec et al. argue that it is possible for individuals to pay attention to their stress reactions, discover which component seems to be the most reactive, and use that as an early warning of stress. If stress is recognized early, steps can be taken to manage or control the stress reaction.

Once a person encounters a demand, reacts, and perceives the coping attempts as beginning to work, or the demand decreasing, the system returns to normal with very little harm done to the person (Hiebert, 1983). If the coping attempts are perceived as inadequate, the arousal is sustained or even increased, and overexaggerated cognitive activity occurs along with hyperactivation of the motor system. These stress responses indicate that the demand has become a stressor and that the person is experiencing stress. At this point, if the demand decreases and/or if the person's coping attempts are perceived as adequate, the stress response will begin to decrease and the system will return to normal. If the demand persists, however, and/or if the person's coping attempts are perceived to be inadequate and continue to be perceived as inadequate, a chronic stress reaction will develop. See Figure 2 for Hiebert's (1983) Framework for Stress.

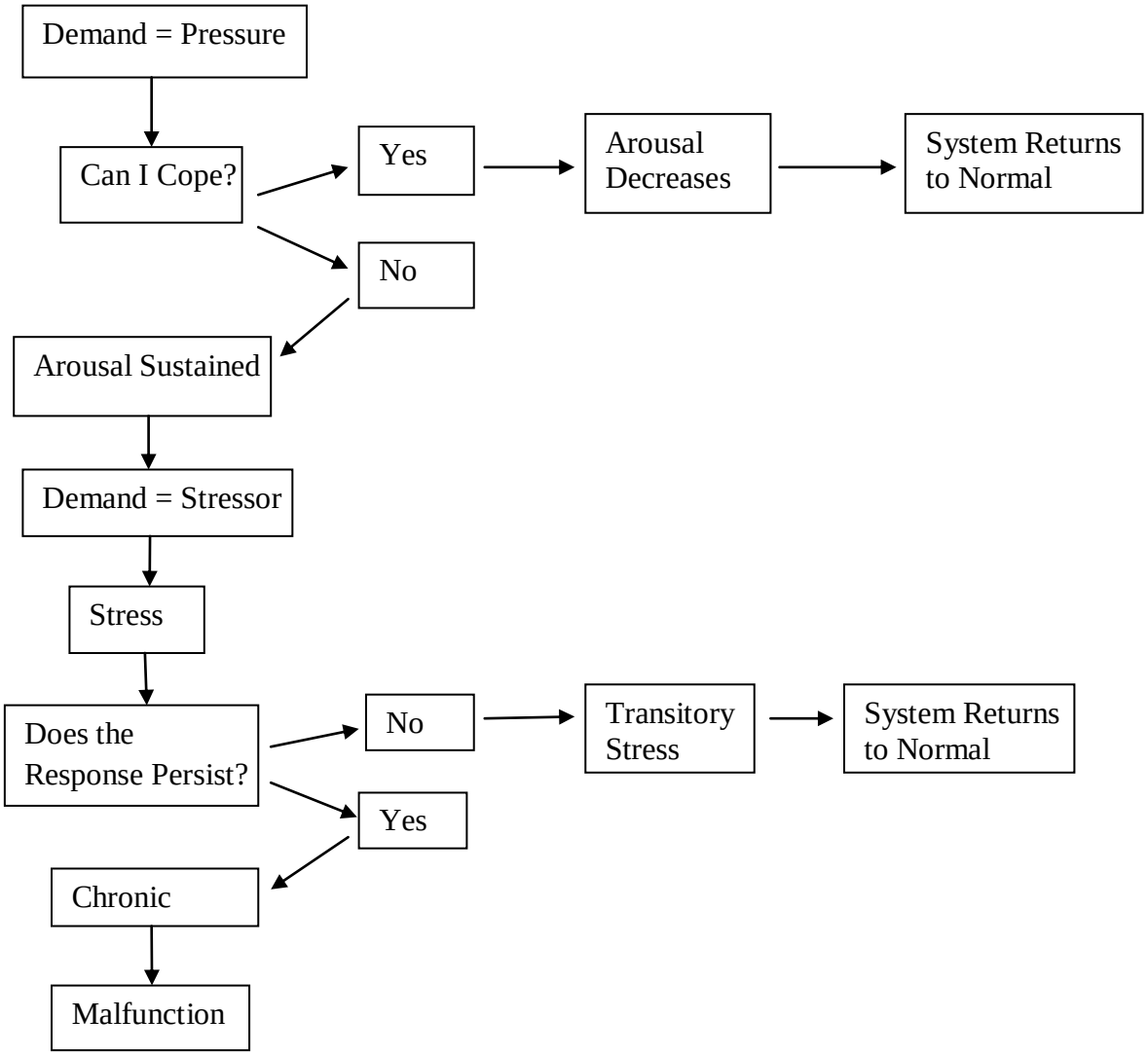

Figure 2: Hiebert's (1983) Framework for Stress

Hiebert (2002) explained the stress response as being triggered not so much by the demands individuals face but by their perception that they will not be able to handle those demands as well as they would like. According to Hiebert, individuals make judgments about the nature and intensity of the demands required of them in stressful situations. They evaluate the resources that are available to draw on in order to handle the situation. These resources include their own skills and knowledge and the people whom they could approach for

assistance. At the same time, they are processing cognitively the likely consequences. If this appraisal leaves them confident that they can handle the situation to their satisfaction, their stress level will be typically quite low. When there is a perceived balance between demand and resources for coping, facilitative emotions such as excitement, motivation or enthusiasm are likely to result (Malec et al., 2000). If, however, the appraisal leaves the individuals believing that they are unable to handle the situation as well as they would like, and if unpleasant consequences are likely to result, their stress levels will be typically quite high. The intensity of the stressful reaction results from the degree of imbalance between the demand and the resources for coping, coupled with the perceived severity of the consequences (Hiebert, 2002).

In the early literature the terms pressure, stressor and stress were used interchangeably. Recently, distinctions have begun to be made between these terms. Demands placed upon an individual are referred to as pressures. Demands may or may not give rise to a stress response depending on such factors as the intensity and duration of the demand and how well the person copes with the situation. Pressures which result in a stress response are called stressors (Shaffer, 1982). Stressors and pressures are both stimulus events and have the internal/external and real/imagined characteristics of demands. A pressure becomes a stressor as a result of a cognitive misinterpretation of a situation, a perceived inability to cope with the situation, or when the stimulus involved has inherent properties that produce a state of disequilibrium (Everly & Rosenfeld, 1981).

Hiebert (2002) recognizes that mediating factors affect individuals' appraisal of a situation. Personal stress resistance resources which include coping strategies and resilience are among the important factors that mediate appraisal in a threatening environment. If

individuals are confident that they have the resources to handle a particular situation, they may view it as challenging and exciting. If they do not perceive themselves to have the resources to cope with the situation, they may perceive it as very stressful.

2.3 Women, Migration and Stress

As an estimated 214 million people are on the move across national borders, and many more within their own countries (UNDP, 2009), the processes of these migrations have been examined by researchers from different points of view and from different geographical locations. In the past 2 decades, there has been a worldwide trend toward the "feminization" of migration, with more women migrating than men (UNDP, 2010). Women migrants now comprise approximately half of the estimated international migrants worldwide (UNDP, 2010). The trend of feminization of poverty is said to be the leading cause for the trend of feminization of migration for work. The brunt of poverty falls disproportionately upon women due to gender discrimination; therefore, women experience greater livelihood insecurity than men do ((Bhadra, 2007)).

Since the late 1970s, the participation of women in labor migration flows directed to developing countries has been increasing (United Nations, 2002). The major magnets for female labor migration are located in Western Asia among the oil-rich countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council and in the countries of the Pacific Rim in Eastern and Southeastern Asia (United Nations, 2002). In both of those regions, the proportion of women among all international migrants has been rising steadily since 1980 (United Nations, 2002). Domestic work is the single most important category of employment among women migrants to the Gulf States, Lebanon, and Jordan. In recent years, female migrant workers have composed

larger percentages of migrant workers in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, which include Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. Women migrants represented almost 30 percent of all inflows in 2000 compared to eight percent in the early 1980s.

Ethiopia has become one of the main labor sending countries to the Middle East and Gulf region following the change of government in 1991 (De Regt, 2002). A Local Newspaper (Amharic Reporter Oct. 14, 2002) estimates that Ethiopians (male and female) residing in the Gulf States to be 130,000, all of them labor migrants. The overwhelming majority of these are women and children. There are other estimates, though only limited to Lebanon. In 1999 the Pastoral Commission on Afro-Asian Migrants reported 14,000 Ethiopian female domestic workers hired in Beirut (ILO, 2001). Unfortunately, reliable statistics are lacking because many women migrate via illegal channels and are not registered.

According to GTZ (2006), migrant domestics are considered workers in the informal sector, having no legal protection under the local labor laws of the country of migration. Supplementing this, ILO (2008) reports show that the main reason for the exploitation of domestic workers in the Arab World is the absence of effective institutional setup to regulate the private sphere as employment sector. As a result, foreign maids cannot access the local labor markets because they are not free and are attached for contractual employment to employers or sponsors who are responsible for the renewal of their employees' work permits or termination of contracts (Jureidini, 2003). The category of domestic workers is the least organized due to the specific laws and regulations in the Gulf countries and they ordinarily work and live in an exploitative environment (UNFPA, 2006).

While exposure to stressors is a quotidian experience of most, if not all, human beings, the type and complex of stressors that challenge the lives of migrants is considerable (Spitzer, 2003). Migrants are often confronted with frustrated ambitions and discrepant expectations precipitated by a cascade of factors that originate in the lack of recognition of foreign credentials and employment experience and result finally in a decline in socioeconomic status (Spitzer, 2003; Spitzer, Neufeld & Bitar, 2000). In addition, exposure to racism and relegation to low wage, low skill employment, characterized by lack of control in the workplace, further contribute to the stress experienced by migrants (Spitzer, 2003).

In terms of gender, Patino and Kirchner (2009) coinciding with other studies (Aroian & Norris, 2002; Gonzalez & Landero, 2007) highlight the fact that the stress in female immigrants tends to be much higher in comparison to men in the same situation. Many of the immigrant and refugee women who were participants in previous research identified common stressors. Situations that contribute to stress include being trapped in low control work environments and juggling increased domestic responsibilities including care work due to familial fragmentation, inflexible employment and lack of kin support (Remennick, 2003; Spitzer, 2003). The paucity of economic resources further prevents women from purchasing the labor of domestic workers to assist with these responsibilities that are further construed as the "natural" domain of women (Remennick, 2003). Linguistic barriers and reduced access to the language of the host country as a Second Language classes exacerbate problems with employment especially for refugees who are less likely to have access to support than voluntary migrants (Spitzer, 2003). Conflict over gender roles, exposure to family violence and the lack of culturally appropriate services additionally contribute to the on-going stress experienced by migrant women (Spitzer, 2003). As the primary socializing agents in the

family, migrant mothers also contend with raising children in a new environment – one that is potentially fraught with conflicting cultural values and practices that pertain not only to the expectations of the children, but to the mothers as well (Liamputtong, 2003). Furthermore, many informants internalize responses to racism and discrimination and become increasingly isolated due to these circumstances (Stewart, 2003). In essence, the intersecting triumvirate of capitalism that relies upon the inexpensive labor of women, racism, that reinforces economic and social hierarchies, and patriarchy that promulgates an unequal sexual division of labor contributes to women's marginalization and stress (Thurston, 2003).

Another type of stress identified in the literature is minority stress, which concerns individuals belonging to minority groups. This is said to be a result of the stigmatized social category the person is a part of (Rotosky *et al*, 2007). The foundations of minority stress are structures and institutions in society, including societal processes which challenge the capacity of the individual to control (Szymaski, 2009). It goes beyond what one individually feels and experiences. According to Meyer (2003), societies can trigger stress because they stimulate the values that lead to conflicts in structures, mirrored by differing values of dominant cultures and minority groups. Meyer further established the assumptions of minority stress, which those who are not members of minority groups do not experience: (1) it is an additional source of stress among stigmatized individuals; (2) it is chronic; and, (3) it is socially-based.

Alcid (2007) noted Theodore Esman's perspective of migrant groups as minority groups. These groups never get assimilated into the whole society and develop a diasporic consciousness maintaining sentimental and material links to the land of origin either because of social exclusion or internal cohesion. This creates a destabilizing effect on transition and

movement of the individual's cultural characteristics and the changes that takes place in all social contexts.

Racial discrimination is considered a chronic stressor that can elevate blood pressure and increase the risk of stroke (Guyll, Matthews & Bromberger, 2001cited Bee & Bjrorlund, 2004). There are also researches pointing out to stress resulting from gender discrimination. Haslette & Lipman in 1997 (Cited in Bee & Bjrorlund, 2004) observed that even small gender inequities on the job were a significant source of stress among women. Sexism also directly impacts women's health. In domestic work, another source of stress is the worker's ambivalent identity as a family member and an outsider (The Women's Foundation, 2006).

Studies have shown that stressful experiences increase one's vulnerability to diseases and mental health problems (Meyer, 2002). This is because sustained stress has a negative impact on a person's immune system, generates passivity and hopeless resignation. Individual factors such as age and gender influence the experience of imbalance. Stress may also have positive effects (that of transformation) and stress and crisis may also trigger growth (Bee & Bjorklund, 2004).

While many of the challenges faced by male migrants with regards to employment and economic status and new familial and gender roles overlap with those presented to women, gendered expectations, shifting social/gender status and access to resources differ, creating possibilities for increased exposure to stressors and complicating access to coping mechanisms (Spitzer, 2003). For most migrants, psychological and socio-cultural adaptations eventually take place. However, gender plays important role in this adaptation. Gender related differences in migration experience are reflected particularly in three areas: psychopathology (Aroian & Norris, 2000; Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002; Small, Lumley, & Yelland,

2003), quality of life (Bayram, Thornburn, Demirhan, & Bilgel, 2007) and victimization such as domestic abuse and violence (McFarlane, Malecha, Gist, Watson, Batten, & Hall, 2002; Raj & Silverman, 2003).

It is noteworthy to state that in the literature on migrant women's adaptation, there has been an overemphasis on the negative aspects of migration experience and psychopathology (Timur, 2000). In their study with Asian immigrants, Furnham and Shiekh (1993, cited in Berry and Sam, 1997) found that women had higher levels of psychological symptomatology than men. Similarly, Aroian and Norris (2000) reported that more women (64.8%) than men (43.4%) were classified as depressed among Russian immigrants to Israel. They concluded that being a migrant woman represents a double vulnerability. Similarly, Raj and Silverman (2003) also found that 40 % of South Asian women residing in the United States reported intimate partner violence in their current relationships. Thus, migrant women have been identified among the high-risk groups in migration literature (Tse & Liew, 2004). Further, migrant women, especially from Muslim countries, have been seen as passive victims of their culture compared to standard image of autonomous/independent successful women from Western countries (Lutz, 1997). Consequently, their coping and strengths have been overlooked.

The constellations of stressors that can induce stress among migrant women are invariably experienced over the long term. Importantly, chronic stress produces significantly greater impact on health and well being than acute stressors regardless of their severity. Chronic stress appears to produce hypersensitivity of the nervous system resulting in heightened anxiety and hopelessness and a compromised immune system leaving individuals vulnerable to other negative health effects (Weinstock, 1996). Much of the research on

chronic stress associated with migration has focused on mental health, most notably depression; however, recent advances in psychoneuroimmunology provide insights into the possible impact of stress on other health outcomes such as Type 2 diabetes and may further illuminate the loss of the healthy immigrant effect (Spitzer, 2003).

Immigrant women, however, are not without the ability to resist stressors and are more than capable of taking pragmatic action to enhance their lives (Dyck, 2003). For instance, Thurston (2003) found that women consistently amassed information, identified necessary resources and developed their own when necessary. Dyck (2003) reported that South Asian women in British Columbia engaged in prayer, formed social networks and prepared food and home remedies to combat the impact of stress on their lives. Chinese and Somali Canadian women in Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver found a variety of ways of helping develop community through innovative child care sharing schemes and women's support groups (Stewart, 2003).

2.4 The Particular Vulnerability of Women Migrant Domestic Workers: Lack of Legal Protection and the Kafala System

Whilst across the world, women and children are the most vulnerable section of society to the effects of economic, political and social ills, for migrant women, the conditions are even worse (Baldwin-Edwards, 2011). Gender discrimination in public life and employment is generally visible. However, migrant workers working behind closed doors, especially female domestic workers, are often "invisible" and are therefore particularly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. They are not protected by labor laws and are effectively subjected to conditions of involuntary servitude. Many are faced with exorbitant recruitment

and migration fees. In the workplace, problems include long (or undefined) working hours, low salaries and late payment of salaries and poor and repressive living conditions. They suffer restrictions on movement, including the withholding of passports and are particularly vulnerable to psychological, physical and sexual abuse.

According to a 2005 ILO study, in Bahrain the average number of work hours for female domestic workers was 108 per week, in Kuwait 101, and in the UAE 105. These women had an average of 1 day off per month. All those interviewed for the study spoke of control on their freedom of movement. Every woman interviewed reported that her passport was held by their employer. None of them were given remuneration for working overtime. Upon arrival in the host countries, women migrant workers are subjected to mandatory health testing related to sexual and reproductive health without consent or counseling.

Because of the domain in which they work - households – domestic workers also do not fall under national labor laws, their work is not legally recognized and they are not legally classified as workers. Because of their 'unrecognized' status, they are unable to exercise the rights and freedoms afforded to workers and it is difficult to scrutinize and regulate their working and living conditions.

Each Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) country manages its “temporary” migrant workforce through the sponsorship or *kafala* system. Under this system, a local citizen or local company (the kafeel) must sponsor foreign workers in order for their work visas and residency to be valid. This means that an individual’s right to work and legal presence in the host country is dependent on his or her employer, rendering him or her vulnerable to exploitation. In most GCC states, migrants cannot leave or enter the country without their employer’s permission (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

The *kafala* system has cultural and historical roots in the Arab world. It comes from the Bedouin custom of temporarily granting strangers protection and even affiliation into the tribe for specific purposes (Simba, nd). For instance, if a stranger were traveling across the desert and happened to wonder onto a family's camp, it would be customary to take him in, feed him and his animals, and allow him to stay as long as he wishes (Simba, nd). Under the modern-day *kafala* (sponsorship) system, we see the opposite. It is commonplace for employers to confiscate passports, which can facilitate abuse, advocates argue (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

The Kafala (Sponsorship) System emerged in the 1950's to regulate the relationship between employers and migrant workers in many countries in West Asia. It remains the routine practice in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and also in the Arab states of Jordan and Lebanon. The sponsorship system's economic objective was to provide temporary, rotating labor that could be rapidly brought into the country in economic boom and expelled during less affluent periods (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

Under the Kafala system a migrant worker's immigration status is legally bound to an individual employer or sponsor (kafeel) for their contract period. The migrant worker cannot enter the country, transfer employment nor leave the country for any reason without first obtaining explicit written permission from the kafeel. The worker must be sponsored by a kafeel in order to enter the destination country and remains tied to this kafeel throughout their stay. The kafeel must report to the immigration authorities if the migrant worker leaves their employment and must ensure the worker leaves the country after the contract ends, including paying for the flight home. Often the kafeel exerts further control over the migrant worker by

confiscating their passport and travel documents, despite legislation in some destination countries that declares this practice illegal.

This situates the migrant worker as completely dependent upon their kafeel for their livelihood and residency. The dependence created by the sponsorship system has the consequence that many domestic workers who suffer abuse do not make complaints against their employers (Human Rights Watch, 2007). The power that the Kafala system delegates to the sponsor over the migrant worker has been likened to a contemporary form of slavery. The kafeel meets their labor needs in the context of immense control and unchecked leverage over workers creating an environment ripe for human rights violations and erosion of labor standards.

Inherent in the Kafala system is the assumption that workers are considered temporary contract labor reflected in the GCC official use of 'guest workers' and 'expatriate manpower' to refer to migrant workers (Baldwin-Edwards, 2011). The Kafala system serves a social purpose by emphasizing the temporary nature of a migrant workers presence in the country, so that even if the worker is present for a long time she doesn't acquire the rights of citizenship, with its alleged negative impact on social cohesiveness etc. The restrictive immigration policies of the Kafala system act in theory to limit the stay of overseas workers to the duration of their contract. Non-compliance by both employers and migrant workers in response to demand for labor has led to a significant minority of long-term or permanent residents, along with a significant number of second-generation migrants and development in irregular employment.

Thus in reality migrant workers may remain for years vulnerable in this situation living with the threat of unpaid wages, arrest, detention and ultimately deportation should they

complain or leave. If the migrant worker decides to leave the workplace without the employer's written consent they may be charged with 'absconding', which is a criminal offense. Even if a worker leaves in response to abuse they remain at risk of being treated as a criminal rather than receiving appropriate victim support. The migrant worker is unable to leave the country given this would require the employer's consent and possession of their passport.

The migrant worker is constrained further by the structure of the Kafala system to make a complaint or seek protection. In all the GCC countries and Lebanon the Ministry of Interior rather than the Ministry of Labor is responsible for managing their employment in addition to the sponsor. This structure contributes to the securitization of migration and denies migrant workers the cover afforded by the protections of domestic labor law and the opportunity of entering a labor dispute process to address their complaints. The destination countries governments' focus is on the costly, bureaucratic flawed restrictive immigration regulations rather than the plight of the migrant workers tied to a sponsor (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

Sending countries and recruiters contribute to the Kafala system by providing the workers despite the well-documented reports of abuse and exploitation of migrant workers. Criticism of their role has led to questions about their ability to provide decent employment opportunities domestically, to enable workers to choose not to work overseas under the Kafala system.

2.5 Resilience Research: Paradigm Shift towards Strengths-Based Model

Research about migration in general helped explain why people migrated and what happened economically when they arrived, and their migration-related stress and mental health problems. A few recent studies have also examined transnational social identity among immigrants. However, little is known about how new immigrants survive when they arrive and how they manage day to day and adversity. Research on immigration has revealed little regarding the daily journey of women labor migrants particularly about the ways of dealing with adversity especially among the Ethiopian women labor migrants in the Middle East. Through the literature on resilience I am able to conceptualize the ways in which new immigrants may deal with adversity. In this section, I will review the concept of resilience, the available research literature on the construct, and how resilience differs from coping.

2.5.1 Resilience

The concept of resilience in research has evolved over the last four decades, and some researches exploring resilience recently have focused more on strengths than on high-risk factors. Resilience in psychology refers to the positive capacity of people to cope with stress and catastrophe (Seligman, 2002). It is also used to indicate a characteristic of resistance to future negative events. Some other commonly used terms for resilience are psychological resilience, emotional resilience, hardiness, and resourcefulness which highlight multilevel individual capacity for resilience (Masten, 2009). The American Psychological Association (2014) reports the following attributes regarding resilience:

- The capacity to make and carry out realistic plans
- Communication and problem-solving skills

- A positive or optimistic view of life
- Confidence in personal strengths and abilities
- The capacity to manage strong feelings, emotions, and impulses

Initially, researchers examined internal characteristics of an individual that promoted resilience. However, after researchers noticed the positive impact of external factors (e.g., family and community), the concept of resilience expanded to include both types of factors that can foster it (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). Developing resilience is a personal journey. Individuals do not react the same way to traumatic or stressful life events. An approach to building resilience that works for one person might not work for another. People use varying strategies to build their resilience. Because resilience can be learned, it can be strengthened. Personal resilience is related to many factors including individual health and wellbeing, individual aspects, life history and experience, and social support (Bonanno, 2004).

Historically, the studies of resilience can be classified into three waves: first wave focused on resilient qualities that promote social and personal success; second wave considered resiliency as a process to figure out the relationship between protective factors and successful outcome; and a third wave highlighted identification of motivational factors within individuals and groups that lead to resilience (Richardson, 2002).

Emmy Werner was one of the first scientists to use the term resilience in the 1970s. Werner and Smith (1989; cited in Richardson, 2002) conducted a longitudinal study of 30 years on children who grew up in a very challenging environment such as prenatal stress, poverty, instability in everyday life, and mental health issues in family. She noted that children who grew up in very high-risk environment two-thirds exhibited destructive behaviors in their later teen years, such as chronic unemployment and substance abuse. One-

third of these youngsters did not exhibit destructive behaviors. Werner called the latter group resilient. Resilient children and their families had traits that made them different from non-resilient children and families such as personal characteristics (social, adaptable, good communication skills and high self-esteem), and environmental factors (care giving environment both inside and outside of family). In this study, Werner (1995) identified three protective factors that either existed in or supported resilient people: (a) personal attributes-outgoing, bright, and having a positive self-concept; (b) the family-having close bonds with at least one family member or an emotionally stable parent; and (c) the community-receiving support or counsel from peers.

Researchers describe resilience qualities in a number of ways: self-determination (Schwartz, 2000), excellence (Lubinski & Benbow, 2000), hope (Snyder, 2000) and forgiveness (McCullough, 2000). Other research studies support the close connection between positive emotion and resilience (Ong, Bergeman, Bisconti, & Wallace, 2006) and explain that positive emotions help resilient people construct psychological resources that are necessary for coping successfully with significant adversities like migration, war, natural disasters or terrorist attacks (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010). Following an examination of emotional responses of the US college students to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre, Fredrickson et al. (2003) indicate that positive emotions are essential ingredients in resilience to deal with crisis situations and depression.

Resilience is not limited to time or age but it rather is acquired through an ongoing process. We can learn how to be resilient and face adversities by changing our thoughts and the way we approach problems (Reivich & Shatte, 2002). According to Reivich and Shatte (2002) there are seven critical abilities associated with resilience: emotional regulation (the

ability to stay calm under pressure and express emotions in an appropriate manner), impulse control (the ability to delay immediate gratification and determine whether or not to take any action), causal analysis (the ability to figure out the relationship between cause and effect), empathy (the ability to understand someone else fitting into his/her shoes), realistic optimism (the ability to maintain a positive attitude without refusing reality), self-efficacy (the ability to trust oneself to handle adversity and solve problems) and reaching out (the ability to approach other people and things to take advantage of new opportunities). This list focuses on resilience within various contexts i.e., the individual in relation to other individuals; the individual in relation to a particular community and in a broader context the individual to a particular society. Another concept of resilience is based on a positive/empowering model that follows the philosophy of positive psychology. It highlights the importance of human empowerment and prevention rather than a disease-based model that deals with pathologies and psychological problems. According to Seligman (2002), at an individual level it is about positive personal traits-the capacity for love and vocation, courage, interpersonal skill, aesthetic sensibility, perseverance, forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, bright talent and wisdom. At the group level it is about civic virtues and institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance and work ethic.

In psychological research, resilience is used in many ways such as to deal effectively with adversities and create positive outcomes and also to lead to absence of pathology (Rutter, 1987). Resilience skills prepare people to deal with adversities, reach out for opportunities, establish healthy relations and be less inclined towards depression (Brown & Turner, 2010).

As defined by Kobasa, Maddi, and Kahn, (1982), psychological resilience reflects a pervasive belief that one can respond under stress effectively. This tendency is thought to be comprised of three interrelated constructs. First, resilient persons espouse *commitment* to the various areas of life which results in a sense of purpose that can carry a person through difficult turbulent times. Second, resilient persons enjoy *challenge* and believe that change rather than stability is normal. For this perspective, life's hurdles provide opportunities to increase one's skills and self-knowledge. Lastly, psychological resilience entails the perceived ability to exercise *control* over the life's circumstances. In the next section, I will review how resiliency differs from coping and the different conceptualizations of resilience.

2.5.2 Resilience and Coping

Initially, the concept of resilience was used interchangeably with the concept of coping. However, recent theory and research have conceptualized resilience more specifically as responding to circumstances that seem difficult to recover from. It wasn't until the 1990's that resilience was applied to the way children rose above extreme family and environmental conditions of drug abuse, poverty and violence. Therefore, the concept of resilience is more than just coping or getting by or even surviving. Instead resilience is used to refer to transforming circumstances resulting in a more positive outcome when the chances of survival are low. According to Walsh (1998):

> Resilience entails more than merely surviving, getting through or escaping a harrowing ordeal. Survivors are not necessarily resilient; some become trapped in a position as victims, nursing their wounds and blocked from growth by anger and blame. In contrast, the qualities of resilience enable people to heal from painful wounds, take charge of their lives, and go on to live fully and love well (p. 4).

Walsh's definition of resilience suggests that there is power in the ability to transform negative circumstances into positive ones. This quality of resilience of being able to change circumstances underlies three schools of thought that persistently stand out in the literature on resilience: (1) risk and protective factors (Early & GlenMaye, 2000; Rutter, 1985); (2) person-in-situation dynamics (e.g. Waller, 2001); and (3) collective resilience emphasizing the power of networks among family (Walsh, 1998) and in community (Delgado & Humm-Delgado, 1982). The different schools of thought also represent differences in definitions of resilience and in the context considered.

Individual resilience: Grothberg (2005) views resilience as "seen through the eye of the beholder" (p. 2) suggesting a more focused and one view perspective. Grothberg represents the common view of psychology, grounding resilience in individual capacity, which serves as a buffer to negative conditions. In agreement, Rutter (1985) has contributed work on protective factors that can "modify, ameliorate, or alter a person's response" to risks and producing outcomes that are more positive (p. 600). Building on the individual's perspective of resilience, Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker (2000) identify resilience as a "dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (p. 543). Their approach explores the underlying processes of the actual adaptation to risk resulting in positive outcomes.

Family resilience: recent research focuses on the collectivism of resilience. In the field of mental health, Walsh (1998) explains resilience as "forged through an openness to experiences and interdependence with others" (p. 4) thus representing a more collective perspective in defining and measuring resilience. Walsh's theory evolves from a deeper look at the influence of an intimate network, such as family, on resilience. Walsh believes that

family resilience is derived from ecological and developmental perspectives. Walsh's (1998) family resilience framework uses a systemic view of resilience through which individuals, couples and families cope and adapt, forging through crisis and adversity. Underlying Walsh's work is the belief that all families have the potential for resilience (p. 24). The following are "keys to family resilience"

- Family belief systems: making meaning of adversity; having a positive outlook; using transcendence and spirituality;
- Organizational patterns: represent flexibility and connectedness with social and economic resources;
- Communication processes: clarity, open emotional expression, and collaborative problem-solving (p.24).

Community resilience: The coming together of individuals and families in communities to build strength during times of stress is called community resilience (Delgado & Humm-Delgado, 1982; Doron, 2005). Community resilience involves and includes many levels of the environment. It evolves from a process of creating and strengthening personal, familial, social, organizational and economic systems, which serve to cope effectively in times of stress and crisis (Doron, 2005). Community resilience is defined as

> The community's inherent capacity, hope, and faith to withstand major trauma, overcome adversity, and to prevail, with increased resources, competence and connectedness. Community links act as a natural agent for change, relying on the family as the foundation of community (Landau, 2007, p. 352).

This definition identifies a sense of collectivity prevalent in dealing with stress and crisis and positions the value of family as its foundation. Sharing in a sense of collectivity means that change it is not up to the individual but up to the group together.

In summary, resilience refers to the ability of an individual, family, organization, or community to cope with adversity and adapt to challenges or change (APA, 2014). The present study employed both the interdependence perspective of resilience (Walsh, 1998) and the individual's perspective of resilience (Rutter, 1985; Grothberg, 2003). Walsh (1998) defined resilience as the ability to transform negative circumstances into positive ones, and described it as being "forged through openness to experiences and interdependence with others" (p. 4). On the contrary, Rutter (1985) and Grothberg (2003) depicted resilience as based on the individual's perspective and capacity. The resilient individual has the power to use protective buffers to cope with stress. So while Walsh focused on the interdependent quality of resilience, Rutter and Grothberg focused on it as an individual capacity.

2.6 The Role of Resilience and Coping Strategies in Managing Stress

The search for correlates and predictors of immigrant adjustment has been a central feature of the intercultural transition literature. A review of the immigrant adjustment literature by Church in 1982 surveyed many approaches taken in trying to predict a person's adaptation in a foreign country. Attempts at differentiating between those who do well overseas and those who do not have looked at personality variables, language proficiency, and previous intercultural experiences as potential significant predictors. Church concluded at the time that immigrant adjustment could not be accurately predicted, since there was little consistency and great contradiction across studies.

Intercultural transition researchers have suggested ways to address the shortcomings in the immigrant adjustment literature. Furnham and Bochner (1990) pointed to the lack of a

central theory that guides study of immigrant adjustment. They suggested that intercultural researchers could best advance the understanding of immigrant adjustment if they were to adopt a theory-testing approach. Others have suggested that clearer definitions of immigrant adjustment would help advance the field (Benson, 1978). Recent work in sojourner adjustment has made attempts to address both of these issues, especially concerns with arbitrary definitions of adjustment (Ward, 1996). Progress has been made in more clearly defining immigrant adjustment as a bipartite construct (psychological adjustment and sociocultural adjustment).

While there is considerable empirical research on factors threatening the psychological adaptation of immigrants during acculturation, few studies have attempted to investigate the factors promoting it. However, in line with recent shift in mental health field from psychopathology to positive aspects of adaptation in development, constructive aspects of migration experience and migrant's coping behaviors and resilience in the host countries have started to be the focus of research. In these studies, sensitivity to elements of resilience and coping rather than pathology has been emphasized. Next section examines empirical literature on the relationships of coping strategies and resilience to perceived stress in the migration context.

2.6.1 Resilience and Perceived Stress

Research to date suggests that those who typify psychological resilience do not discount the existence of stress in their lives; instead, stressful conditions are appraised as opportunities for growth and development as opposed to heralding one's demise (Kobasa & Puccetti, 1983). Several scholars have argued that resilience is positively related to wellbeing negatively related to mental stress (Rutter, 1993). Wagnild and Young (1993) suggest that

resilience minimizes the negative effects of stress and promotes adaptation. Several studies among immigrant populations found high resilience to be related to improved wellbeing and lower depression scores (Aroian & Norris, 2000; Miller & Chandler, 2002). Resilient individuals view change as challenging but inevitable and manageable. This outlook on life makes them less likely to perceive situations as stressful (Turner, 2001; Valentine & Feinauer, 1993). The characteristics necessary to establish resiliency include: the ability to find emotional support outside the family; the ability to think well of oneself; the ability to develop and sustain relationships with positive adults; a sense of humor; a sense of direction or mission; intellectual capacity; self-esteem; religion or spirituality; hope; optimism; and initiative (Turner, 2001; Valentine & Feinauer, 1993).

Research to date found that psychological resilience is related to reduced illness among bus drivers under high stress (Bartone, 1989), the psychological well-being of military disaster relief workers (Bartone et al., 1989), reduced physical illness among corporate executives (Kobasa, Maddi, Puccetti, & Zola, 1985), enhanced quality of life among working adults (Manning,Williams, & Wolfe, 1988), and lower levels of clinical depression and fatigue among caregivers of persons with dementia (Clark, 2002).

There is a growing interest in the resilience of female domestic workers instead of focusing on their problems and vulnerability. Few studies specifically address the resilience of female migrant workers. Kheezhangatte (2006) described how Indian female domestic workers in Hong Kong draw strength from the reasons for migration (meaning of migration), membership of small groups, work and income. Furthermore, resilient individuals have a repertoire of coping skills that help them to adapt to the specific situation. These coping skills allow them to effectively manage stressful situations, thereby transforming the situations into

less stressful ones or enabling the individuals to come to terms with aspects of life that are uncontrollable. Existing findings on resilience are best understood as manifestations of mental functions that generate capacity for emotional regulation and relationship building (Turner, 2001). Moreover, research has shown that resilient individuals employ adaptive or healthy coping strategies when dealing with stressful situations and thus are less vulnerable to development of mental health problems (Cicchetti & Garmezy, 1993; Higgins, 1994; Turner, 2001; Valentine & Feinauer, 1993; Werner-Wilson, Zimmerman, Whalen, 2000).

In sum, studies indicate that one's resilience has an impact upon his or her perceived stress within a threatening situation. In spite of the fact that resilience appears highly relevant in the context of migration considering the changes and hardship that female domestic workers face, research on the construct is very limited. It is, therefore, important to understand the effect of resilience on the level of perceived stress among migrant domestic workers.

2.6.2 Coping with Stress

Stress control can be approached from two broad perspectives: one focuses on decreasing the inequity between demands and people's ability to deal with the demands, and the other focuses on decreasing people's physiological, cognitive or behavioral reactions in situations where their capabilities are overtaxed (Hiebert, 2002).

Hiebert (1983) maintains that stress control is best approached by developing a wide range of coping skills, some aimed at dealing with the demands people face (stressor management strategies) and others aimed at helping people calm their stressful reactions (stress management strategies). According to Hiebert (2002), stressor management strategies can be used in a preventative manner. For Hiebert, people with good skills, or other resources

for dealing with the demands they face, are less likely to be overtaxed and will experience less stress. Stress management strategies, however, can be used in order to reduce the intensity of a stress response in situations where individuals have exceeded their coping resources. Both stressor management strategies and stress management strategies are necessary for people to cope with the demands placed upon them (Hiebert, 2002).

Successful coping requires a set of skills and knowledge that are adequate for dealing with a variety of situations (Hiebert, 2002). In addition, people need to be able to feel that they are in control of their personal situations, rather than victims of circumstance with no feelings of control over the situation. Hiebert's (1988) Framework for Coping with Stress includes strategies for stressor management and stress management (see Figure 3).

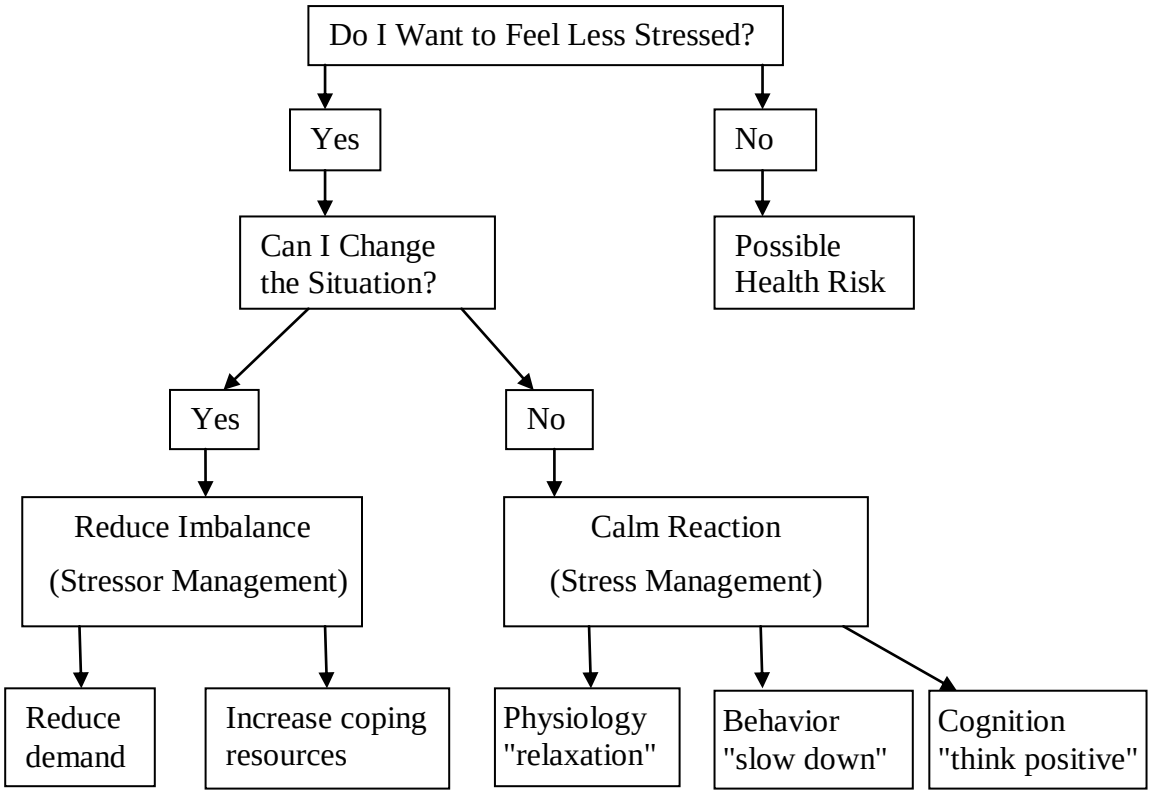

Figure 3: Hiebert's (1988) Framework for Coping with Stress

In order to understand stress and stress control in the migration context, it is important to review the general literature on stress and coping. Over the years, coping with stress has been defined in a number of ways. The animal-behavior perspective viewed coping as the degree of some stressor that an organism could tolerate (e.g., the animal coped with 10 volts of electric shock). This perspective of coping placed little or no emphasis on the coping process or on cognitions, and it is seldom utilized today (Gould, Finch, & Jackson, 1993).

The psychoanalytic perspective defines coping as an unconscious defense that allows the individual to manage instinct, affect and stress (Folkman & Lazarus, 1998). For example, humor can be seen as a form of coping that allows an individual to deal with stress. The psychoanalytic model also had limitations. The sole focus of this perspective was the individual and the outcome chosen, with little or no attention paid to problem solving or the choices that the individual made in order to produce the outcome (Gould, Finch, and Jackson, 1993). The trait perspective views coping as a personality trait that allows an individual to deal with stress less or more effectively.

Today the dominant model for defining coping is the transactional perspective of stress. In this perspective, stress results from the interaction of people's physiological, cognitive, and behavioral systems and occurs when people perceive that the demands of a situation exceed their coping resources (Hiebert, 1983; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The stressor or demand itself does not cause stress; rather, individuals' resources for handling the demand satisfactorily will determine the stress that they will experience within that situation. If the demand is intense but people believe they can handle the demand, they will experience little stress. If, however, people think that they cannot handle the demand, no matter how trivial it is, their stress levels may be quite high.

One advantage of the transactional view is its process orientation. The transactional perspective identifies coping as a dynamic sequence of steps involving both cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage stress. This is important because a wide range of possible responses to stress are included in this model, from situational assessments to emotion management efforts. In addition to personal factors, the transactional perspective also places considerable emphasis on understanding the situation or context in which the coping occurs. Finally, coping is not limited to successful efforts but includes all purposeful attempts to manage stress regardless of their effectiveness (Compas, 1987). Given the advantages of this approach to stress and stress management, it is a view that is commonly accepted in the study of stress during cross-cultural transitions (Ward, 2001).

In the stress and coping framework, immigrant psychological adaptation is the outcome of a process of encountering challenging life-changes during cross-cultural transitions, the subsequent appraisal of such changes, and selecting and implementing coping strategies to deal with them (Ward, 2001).

Literature shows that there are significant relationships between ways of coping and psychosocial adjustment or adaptation. For instance, Ward & Kennedy (2001) examined the relationship between coping styles and psychological adjustment among British expatriates living in Singapore. Authors found that three coping styles were associated with psychological adjustment (i.e., fewer depression symptoms). The avoidant coping style was negatively correlated with psychological adjustment (predicted higher levels of depression). Use of humor in coping with stress, and utilizing the coping styles of planning, active coping, and suppression of competing activities, predicted more positive psychological adjustment. Similarly, Berno & Ward (1998) reported that avoidant styles were also associated with

greater psychological adjustment problems among international students in New Zealand. In addition, Kennedy's (1998) research with Singaporean students, who were studying abroad, revealed that direct, approach-oriented coping strategies predicted psychological wellbeing. Also, Kennedy (1994) reported a positive relationship between using humor as a way of coping and lower levels of mood disturbance among international students in New Zealand.

Another study that examined the relationship between coping style, academic satisfaction, and psychological adjustment among Hong Kong Chinese undergraduates studying at a Canadian university showed that students who indulged in self-blame, wishful thinking, and withdrawal reported lower levels of academic satisfaction and that those who employed a detached coping style experienced greater psychological distress (Chataway & Berry, 1989).

Cross (1995) studied stress and coping among international students in the U.S., and found that direct coping strategies such as active coping and planning in dealing with academic demands were associated with lower levels of perceived stress. Also, a study that focused on the coping styles of African, Asian, and Latin international students in the U.S. (Moore & Constantine, 2005), found that the primary types of coping styles used were social support and forbearance.

Overall, studies suggested that coping strategies such as positive thinking, approach coping, and using humor predicted psychological well-being (low levels of perceived stress), whereas withdrawal, wishful thinking, and avoidance predicted adjustment problems (Berno & Ward, 1998; Chataway & Berry, 1989; Ward & Kennedy, 2001). Though coping strategies are of particular interest to positive psychologists as it is this process that will frequently determine whether an individual experiences positive or negative emotions from a given

demand (Lazarus, Kanner, Folkman, 1980), few published studies have actually examined coping strategies in relation to perceived stress of immigrants. Specifically, there is a paucity studies on this issue among migrant women domestic workers.

2.7 Culture, Coping and Resilience to Stress

2.7.1 Cultural Influences on Coping Strategies

Coping style is affected by the individual's appraisal of the situation he/she is faced with as well as by the resources available. The use of these resources may be approved of or prohibited by cultural values and norms (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Moreover, Mechanic (1974) argued that the ability of individuals to acquire coping skills and their success depends upon the efficacy of the solutions that the culture provides and the adequacy of the institutions that teach them. Further, Antonovsky (1979) stated that culture gives us an extraordinarily wide range of answers to demands. The demands and answers are routinized: from the psychological point of view, they are internalized; from the sociological point of view, they are institutionalized.

Several cross-cultural studies indicated that how people cope with stressful events differ considerably across cultures. For example Marcella, Escurado, and Gordon (1972, as cited in Essau & Trommsdorff, 1996) found that coping strategies such as, projection, acceptance, religion, and perseverance were used in collectivistic cultures like, the Philippines, Korea and Taiwan.

It is suggested that individuals from interdependent and collectivistic cultures such as African, Asian, and Latin American international college students, are more likely to value interpersonal connections, possess high interdependent self-conceptions, and therefore place

greater importance on relational coping strategies when faced with problematic situations (Cross, 1995). In contrast, many individuals from independent cultures such as the U.S., Canada, Germany, and Australia, are more likely to value uniqueness and regard themselves as separate individuals (Constantine, Gainor, Ahluwalia, & Berkel, 2003). Therefore, it is suggested that these individuals might be more likely to utilize more direct coping strategies that are commonly used in Western cultures such as assertive self-disclosure, expression one's own thoughts, and confronting others (Lucas, 2002).

In Essau and Trommsdorff's (1996) study, it was found that Malaysian students as compared to North Americans and Germans used substantially more emotion-focused coping in dealing with their school-related problems. North Americans and Germans who used emotion-focused coping experienced fewer physical symptoms, whereas Malaysians experienced more symptoms. In contrast, Gerdes and Ping (1994) found that American students reported using less problem focused coping strategies than Chinese students. Vandervoort (2001) investigated the cultural differences in ways of coping with sadness. According to the study results Asians and Caucasians were less likely to use confrontive (i.e., hostility, aggressive efforts to alter the situation, and risk-taking) and positive reappraisal coping strategies in dealing with sadness than multiethnic individuals. In addition, Asians used less distancing coping strategies (i.e., denial, escaping).

In a study, Olah (1995) examined the influence of culture on coping behaviors of Indian, Italian, Hungarian, Swedish, and Yemenite 17-18-year-old adolescents. Results showed that adolescents in European countries reported significantly more frequently assimilative coping strategies (i.e., problem-focused, constructive, confrontative, information-seeking, seeking social support for instrumental reason) than boys and girls in India and

Yemen, the latter generally preferring emotion-focused solutions. Similarly, Sinha, Willson, and Watson (2000) found greater use of emotion-focused coping (e.g., confrontive, distancing, seeking social support, positive reappraisal) in Indian students than in Canadians. The maximum difference between the Indian and Canadian samples was in positive reappraisal strategy. Use of problem-focused coping did not differ between the two cultures.

There seems to be a tendency among people in collectivistic cultures to use emotion-focused coping, whereas those in individualistic cultures are more likely to prefer problem-focused coping (Olah, 1995; Sinha, Willson, & Watson, 2000).

2.7.2 Cultural Influences on Resilience

Cultural resilience refers to a culture's capacity to maintain and develop cultural identity and critical cultural knowledge and practices. Along with an entire culture fostering resilience, the interaction of culture and resilience for an individual also is important (Gunnestad, 2006). An individual's culture will have an impact on how the person communicates feelings and copes with adversity. Cultural parameters are often embedded deep in an individual. A person's cultural background may influence one deeply in how one responds to different stressors. Assimilation could be a factor in cultural resilience, as it could be a positive way for a person to manage his/her environment. However, assimilation could create conflict between generations, so it could be seen as positive or negative depending on the individual and culture (Gunnestad, 2006). Because of this, coping strategies are going to be different. With growing cultural diversity, the public has greater access to a number of different approaches to building resilience. It is something that can be built using approaches that make sense within each culture and tailored to each individual (Gunnestad, 2006).

2.8 Socio-Demographic Variables and Psychological Health Outcomes

Many research studies consistently suggest that an individual's socioeconomic and demographic status play important role in maintaining good physical and mental health. Eaton, Muntaner, Bovasso, and Smith (2001) insist that the relationship of socioeconomic status (SES) and demographic characteristics; including gender, age, marital status, and health status, is one of the most important aspects of social structure to mental life. Socioeconomic and demographic variables reported in the literature as factors which affect health, can be viewed as personal resources, which either directly or indirectly help people to cope with stressors in all domains of life; including mental health-related problems.

2.8.1 Educational Level

Educational level is one of the most frequently studied demographic characteristics in relation to different health outcomes in the literature. Education brings about changes in one's attitudes and imparts skills and social norms by a process of modernization. Education also helps individuals to achieve a sense of competence and an ability to get around in modern society, which is closely related to the development of a sense of control. Thus in the case of migration, education provides experiences, which are linked to some degree of formal readiness for migration experience and consequent accomplishments (Eksi, 2002). Similarly, education was also found to be a protective factor for mental health of migrants (Eksi, 2002). For example, Baykan, Ozkan, Maral, and Candansayar (2002) found that having a lower educational level constitutes a risk factor for mental health problems among women. In a similar vein, Beiser and Hou (2001) found that the highest-educated refugees were in the least-risk group for depression. Likewise, education appears to be inversely related to the

likelihood of depression and negatively associated with distress level (Brown et al., 2000). It is also reported that education enables quick adaptation to changing social circumstances due to the ability to rapidly employ the appropriate coping resources, including more efficient use of health care services. However, there are contrasting results in the literature. For instance, Aroian and Norris (2000) found that education was not a significant predictor of depression among Russian immigrants to Israel.

Education and empowerment are also found to be linked concepts that affect each other positively. For instance, Wowra and McCarter (1999) found that education level and employment status is associated with empowerment level among outpatient mental health patients. Both education and empowerment are seen as leading to increased status and autonomy in the society. Further, education is viewed as a personal resource as many people learn problem analysis and problem solving through education, which is potentially effective in better adaptation (Berry, 2006). Education that is correlated to other recourses like income, occupational status, and social network also makes migrant people familiar with the features of society they settle in, such as language, history, values and norms of the new culture. Dion, Dion, and Pak (1992) suggested that higher educational level, better occupations and greater reported proficiency in English language are associated with the high resiliency and better adaptation among Chinese migrants in Canada. They regarded these demographic characteristics as skills or recourses to cope with the demands of migration experience. These may give certain level of readiness for their new life while it may increase expectations and losses. Another study with Turkish immigrants in Sweden suggested that immigrants with more educational attainment have a better quality of life in the physical and psychological health, and level of independence domains (Bayram, Thornburn, Demirhan, & Bilgel, 2007).

More specifically, migrant women's education level affects their behaviors by changing attitudes and leads a certain level of readiness level for their new life (Eksi, 2002).

In sum, the importance of education regarding its different outcomes was evidenced. Thus, education was considered as having a potential link with empowerment and resilience and hence, psychological adaptation among migrants in general and migrant women in particular. However, the way education improves one's well being is not fully explored yet.

2.8.2 Language

Having the command of host country's language is another important dimension in migrants' general adaptation and functioning (Eksi, 2002). Language is important for communicating migrants' needs, for interactions with the people and institutions, for getting employment, and for learning about available resources for them. Beiser and Hou (2001) reported that language proficiency might function as a protective factor by bringing about different outcomes into migrants' lives. While language is facilitating social contact, it mitigates against dependence on others, which has a great importance for gaining and maintaining control of one's life. Further, language promotes the development of new social resources and enlarges the repertoire of individual coping strategies. Finally, it increases migrants' sense of internal coherence.

A study among Asian Americans (Hwang and Ting, 2008) suggested that language competence facilitates migrants' cultural acquisition and hence, reduce the stress associated with accessing public services and increasing one's social support network. Besides, language competence also lessens cultural alienation and enhances one's feelings of belonging by allowing migrants navigate more successfully in the culture of host environment.

Deficits in the host country language competence found as one of the main stress sources for Mexican migrants in the United States and the language was stated as having primary significance in acculturation process (Rodriguez, Myers, Mira, Flores, and Garcia-Hernandez, 2002). Consistent with these findings, Yeh, Kim, Pituc, and Atkins (2008) found that language difficulty leads to feelings of insecurity, lack of interactions with non-Chinese students, difficulties in completing everyday activities and tasks, and academic failure among Chinese immigrant youth in the States. Similarly, among Turkish migrants, lack of English language skills produces further problems in education and social life, and hence constitutes a barrier to the integration.

Language related difficulties are more troubling for women who are poorly educated. Not speaking the host language brings about severe difficulties such as lack of cultural knowledge, low-paid and low-status employment upon migrant women's arrival in destination countries (Morokvasic, 1984). In addition to that, lack of host country language prevents migrant women from fighting for their rights at work and this makes them accept uncomfortable wok conditions in the host country (Shutze, 2003).

In sum, language difficulty was considered as one of the important factors on the psychological adaptation of migrants. More specifically, host country language problems might lead to further isolation and feeling of helplessness among migrant women. On the contrary, having the command of host country language may function as a protective factor for some migrant women in coping with demand of daily life in the new cultural environment.

2.8.3 Immigration Status

Immigration status is a salient aspect of the immigrant experience (Garcia and Lindgren, 2009). Existing literature on residence status of migrants includes discussions mostly in terms of its labor market related outcomes. Beyond labor market outcomes, legal residence status of migrants brings about differences in entitlements for migrants and ethnic minorities in the receiving countries (Bollini & Siem, 1995). These entitlements involve access to the legal employment, housing and health services, the protection of social security, family unity, vocational training, and language and integration courses organized by public authorities (Bollini & Siem, 1995).

The consequences of legal status were documented by several research findings. For instance, migrant groups, because of their residence status, experience different barriers to access to health care than natives regardless of their socioeconomic status (Bollini & Siem, 1995). This situation is more difficult for women who are undocumented or have non-permanent residence status. It was also found that non-citizen women in the U. S. use fewer public programs, prenatal care, and benefits. They were afraid of utilizing government services in general due to their concerns over their immigration status (Geltman & Meyers, 1999).

The employment prospects are also affected by legal status as when migrant women do not have work permit, they are easily exploited by accepting low paying jobs (Carrasquillo, Carrasquillo, & Shea, 2000). Therefore, residence status is closely related to social life of migrant women. This situation results in diverse health outcomes for women according to their position in the society and their educational and religious background, level of integration, racism and discrimination, availability and utilization of appropriate health

services (Bollini & Siem, 1995). Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, and Spitznagel (2007) hypothesized that undocumented status is a "persistent and insidious psycho environmental stressor" that increases immigrants' vulnerability to acculturative stress and other socio-emotional problems. Moreover, illegal immigration places additional stressors on immigrants since there is fear of being deported back to their countries of origin (Garcia & Lindgren, 2009).

In general, migration status (being legal or documented immigrant) constitutes an important factor for migrants' adaptation and resilience in the new country (Carrasquillo, Carrasquillo, & Shea, 2000). Depending on their legal status, migrant women are able to reach more formal and informal support and become less vulnerable to exploitations by their partners or the employers. Further, legal status may affect empowerment and hence resilience of migrant women through entitlements and rights related to their residence status.

2.8.4 Age of Migrants

Empirical evidence linking age with emotional distress among immigrants is conflicting. While some studies have demonstrated a direct relationship between the two, others reported inverse correlations. For instance, Hinton, Tran, & Chesney (1997) and Shapiro, Douglas, de la Rocha, Radecki, &Dinh (199) found that older age predicted higher depression among Vietnamese refugees in the United States. Moreover, a study examining age differences in stress process of Russian immigrants in Israel (Ritsner and Ponizovsky, 2003) found that older immigrants reported higher levels of health-related stressors. In contrast, Frerichs, Aneshensel, & Clark(1981) examined the epidemiology of depression in a multi-ethnic probability sample of 1,003 adults in Los Angeles County and found that young

adults (18 to 24 years) reported the highest rate of depression, while those 45 to 64 years of age reported the lowest.

Studies describing positive correlations between age and resiliency (Rich & Rich, 1987; Schmeid & Lawler, 1986) found high resiliency among older individuals. Age was also found to be significant in association with organizational commitment in a study by Smith (1995) among nurses and managers. Older nurses had higher levels of commitment to the organization than younger, yet education was not a significant variable.

2.8.5 Place of Origin

Despite the interest of this topic, very few studies have analyzed the effect of migration on the mental health of immigrant women depending on whether they proceed from rural or urban areas. Most studies compare mental health in immigrants with that of host populations (e.g., Wang, 2004; Williams, Eley, Hunt, & Bhatt, 1997), or in non-immigrant urban and rural populations (e.g., Parikh, Wasylenki, Goering, & Wong, 1996), or document the interdependence of race and urbanicity (Neff & Husaini, 1987). Other studies (Sundquist, Frank, & Sundquist, 2004) have compared the effect of urbanization on mental health considering whether the subject is an immigrant or not, but not taking into account their rural or urban origin. Several studies analyze the effect of migration on mental health according to the place of residence (rural or urban) of the immigrant after migration (e.g.,Vega et al., 1998; Wang, 2004); and most studies reviewed maintain that urbanization increases psychological distress. The only study that examined the mental health of migrants in relation to their origin (urban or rural) is that of Kiev's (1965) study which showed that West Indians living in London presented more psychiatric morbidity. The author attributed this to their pastoral

origin and agricultural background which represented a serious obstacle to their adaptation to the demands of an industrialized urban society.

2.9. Summary of the Literature Review

Global migration is a topic of utmost importance in psychological research. An international transition has many parallels with other transitions in life. Life-span developmental psychology has identified three major influences that impact on the dynamic interaction of the individual and the context. They include normative age-graded influences, normative history-graded influences, and non-normative life event influences. While normative age-graded and history graded influences have similar effects on persons of the same age, non-normative life-event influences tend to make individuals within an age-cohort dissimilar from one another. This is because these influences are events that are experienced by only some members of a cohort so it is not a normative experience and these events are often unpredictable in the lives of the individuals they shape. From a life span perspective, immigration is a non-normative life transition, requiring extensive adaptation in the hosting cultures. Like any other non-normative life event, migration can have positive and negative effects on individuals. Migration is beneficial because it promotes personal growth and empowerment. However, exposure to an unfamiliar culture may also be stressful and hence potentially harmful.

While exposure to stressors is a daily experience of most, if not all, human beings, the type and complexity of stressors that challenge the lives of migrants is considerable. Despite the differences between them, migrants often confront with stressors accompanying migration processes such as the sense of loss of family, home, and country along with social and

economic problems and the challenges of adaptation to the country of destination. These migratory experiences vary widely depending upon the type and cause of migration. Specifically, women migrant domestic workers face unique challenges due to their informal status.

Until recently, in the literature, research on migrants' adaptation has been tended to examine the pathologies and victimizations among migrants, thus skewed toward negative end. Many scholars reported about migration-related stress and mental health problems among migrants in general. In line with recent shift in mental health field from psychopathology to positive aspects of adaptation in development, constructive aspects of migration experience and migrants' psychological resilience, coping behaviors, and positive adjustment in the host countries have started to be the focus of research. Several scholars have argued that resilience minimizes the negative effects of stress and promotes adaptation. Studies among immigrant populations found high resilience to be related to improved wellbeing and lower levels of distress. Coping strategies are also of particular interest to positive psychologists as it is this process that will frequently determine whether an individual experiences positive or negative emotions from a given demand.

However, empirical literature on migrant women has long been dominated by research that focuses on the negative aspects, such as their vulnerability to economic, sexual exploitation, and psychopathology. Migrants' resistance resources that promote healthy psychological functioning and adjustment following the stressors of immigration and acculturation have been given little attention in research. Very few studies specifically address the resilience of female migrant workers. Overall, literature does not provide a clear picture of

the roles of resilience and coping strategies in managing stress among immigrant population in general and among migrant domestic works in particular.

Coping style is affected by the individual's appraisal of the situation he/she is faced with as well as by the resources available. The use of these resources may be approved of or prohibited by cultural values and norms. From the review of the literature, there seems to be a tendency among people in collectivistic cultures to use emotion-focused coping, whereas those in individualistic cultures are more likely to prefer problem-focused coping. Individuals from collectivistic cultures are more likely to value interpersonal connections and therefore place greater importance on relational coping strategies when faced with problematic situations. On the other hand, many individuals from independent cultures might be more likely to utilize more direct coping strategies that are commonly used in Western cultures such as assertive self-disclosure, expression of one's own thoughts, and confronting others.

With regard to demographics and psychological health outcomes, studies suggest the association between perceived stress and resilience to demographics may vary with the composition of the sample. Therefore, a study related to demographics, resilience, and stress among women migrant domestic workers could be both informational and useful.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the details of the chosen research design, the research site, the sampling design, sampling procedures, and the participants sampled. It also gives an account of the data collection instruments and a brief summary of the results of the pilot study which aimed at mainly addressing validity and reliability issues in the quantitative approach of the research. The data collection procedures and the challenges encountered during the fieldwork are also reported. It also gives an account of the quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques and presents an explanation of how important issues relating to trustworthiness in qualitative data were addressed. Moreover, ethical considerations are discussed.

3.2 The Research Design

This study employed cross-sectional mixed methods design which refers to the use of more than one investigative approach in a single study, resulting in the collection of more than one type of data, to understand a research problem more completely (Creswell, 2002). This is to ensure concurrent triangulation which aims to result in "well validated and substantial findings" (Creswell, 2003, p. 217). The paradigm within which the present study is located is the pragmatic paradigm, with the assumption that research on a topic benefits from utilizing a multitude of approaches. The researcher bases the inquiry on the assumption that both objective, quantifiable measures and personal accounts of individuals' experience (which produce subjective views) best provide answers to the research questions posed. The

mixed methods approach involves collecting data in a simultaneous or sequential manner using methods that are drawn from both quantitative and qualitative traditions in a fashion that best addresses the research question/s (Creswell, 2003).

The rationale for mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches in the present study is that neither of the approaches is sufficient by themselves to capture the details of the women returnees' positive and negative perceptions of their migration experiences, the experiences that promoted the women's psychological resilience, and the coping strategies they employed when they become stressed. In this design, collection of quantitative and qualitative data is seen as compatible and is thought to provide a more complete picture as compared to one data collection strategy alone (Creswell, 2009).

While designing a mixed methods study, three issues need consideration: implementation, priority, and integration (Creswell, Plano Clark, Guttman, & Hanson, 2003). Implementation refers to whether the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis comes in sequence (in chronological stages one following another) or in parallel or concurrently. Sequential mixed method design is utilized when the results of one approach are necessary for planning the next method. This study employed concurrent mixed methods design (i.e. quantitative and qualitative data collections were independent of one another). Priority refers to which method, either quantitative or qualitative, is given more emphasis in the study. In the present study, as structured assessment measures exist for perceived stress, coping strategies, and resilience, the quantitative approach was chosen as the principal approach. Questionnaires were utilized to collect quantitative data and were the primary sources of data. Interviews were conducted with a subset of the sample and were embedded or nested within the predominant method (Creswell, 2009). Finally, integration refers to the

phase in the research process where the mixing or connecting of quantitative and qualitative data occurs. In this study, the data obtained through the two methods are integrated in the interpretation of the overall results, after the statistical and text analyses are done.

3.3 Selection and Description of the Research Site

3.3.1 Selection of the Research Site

The study was conducted on a sample of women labor migrant returnees from the Middle East countries and residing in two towns, Dessie and Kombolcha, in the South Wollo Administrative Zone, which is located in the Amhara National Regional State of Ethiopia. South Wollo zone was purposefully selected as there is much female labor migration to Middle East from this zone of the Amhara region. Dessie and Kombolcha towns are the two largest towns in the zone with estimated inhabitants of 120,095 and 58,667 respectively (CSA, 2007). Together, the two towns account for about 59.26% of the total 301,638 urban inhabitants in the zone. Practically, I decided to choose this study site because there was no language barrier which could affect the process of obtaining the data. Moreover, before I left for fieldwork, I had connections with some individual women (with the help of my relatives living in Dessie town) who returned from the Middle East after years of labor work, who helped me a lot in the identification of other returnees during the field work.

3.3.2 Description of South Wollo Zone

South Wollo is one of the 10 zones in the Amhara region of Ethiopia and consists of seventeen woredas (districts). Based on the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), this Zone has a total population of about 2.52 million people, of whom 1.25 million are men and 1.27 million are women. With an area of 17,067.45 square

kilometers, the zone has a population density of 147.58. While 301,638(11.98%) are urban inhabitants, 2,217,224(88.02%) are rural inhabitants. The largest ethnic group reported in South Wollo was the Amhara (99.33%); all other ethnic groups made up 0.67% of the population. Amharic is spoken as a first language by 98.65% of the population. About 70.89% were Muslim, and 28.80% of the population said they practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity (CSA, 2007). Although the inhabitants of South Wollo are predominantly Muslim, there is high interaction among Muslims and Christians with a deep sense of respect and religious tolerance.

The livelihood of the population of South Wollo depends predominantly on agriculture, while local trade is also important. In South Wollo food security is precarious because of high population and small per capita landholding which also lead into continuous cultivation and hence erosion resulting into poor soil fertility. All these features lead to low productivity in the districts. This low productivity is further aggravated because nearly all of the farmers are reliant on the unreliable and at times erratic rainfall. In addition, the undulating and devoid of vegetation mountains also enhance runoff resulting into land degradation and hence low productivity. This therefore makes South Wollo a drought stricken zone and food deficit (Kahsay, 2013). Hence, food aid is a major source of livelihood for most of the population. Therefore many farmers supplement subsistence agriculture with income from seasonal labor, sale of firewood or charcoal and other sources (Kahsay, 2013). The inhabitants are lowly educated with little prospects for paid employment. There is much female work migration to other parts of the country and to the Arab Middle East from the zone. Women constitute a significant number of individuals leaving the zone for better economic opportunities.

Dessie is a city and a woreda located in the South Wollo zone of the Amhara Region. Based on the 2007 national census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), Dessie woreda has a total population of 151,174, of whom 72,932 are men and 78,242 women; 120,095 or 79.44% are urban inhabitants living in the town of Dessie, the rest of the population is living at rural kebeles around Dessie. The town of Dessie is situated at 401 km from Addis Ababa and serves as a capital town for South Wollo zone. The majority of the inhabitants of Dessie are Muslim, with 58.62% reporting Islam as their religion, while 39.92% of the population said they practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and 1.15% are Protestants (CSA, 2007).

Kombolcha is also a city and woreda in the South Wollo zone. Based on the 2007 national census conducted by the CSA, Kombolcha woreda has a total population of 85,367, of whom 41,968 are men and 43,399 women; 58,667 or 68.72% are urban inhabitants living in town of Kombolcha, the rest of population is living at rural kebeles around Kombolcha. The town of Kombolcha is situated at 376 km from Addis Ababa, and it is the second largest town in the South Wollo zone. The majority of the inhabitants of Kombolcha are Muslim, with 73.92% reporting Islam as their religion, while 23.44% of the population said they practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and 2.32% are Protestants (CSA, 2007). The following map (Figure 4) shows the study area, South Wollo Zone, and the location of Dessie and Kombolcha towns/weredas in the zone.

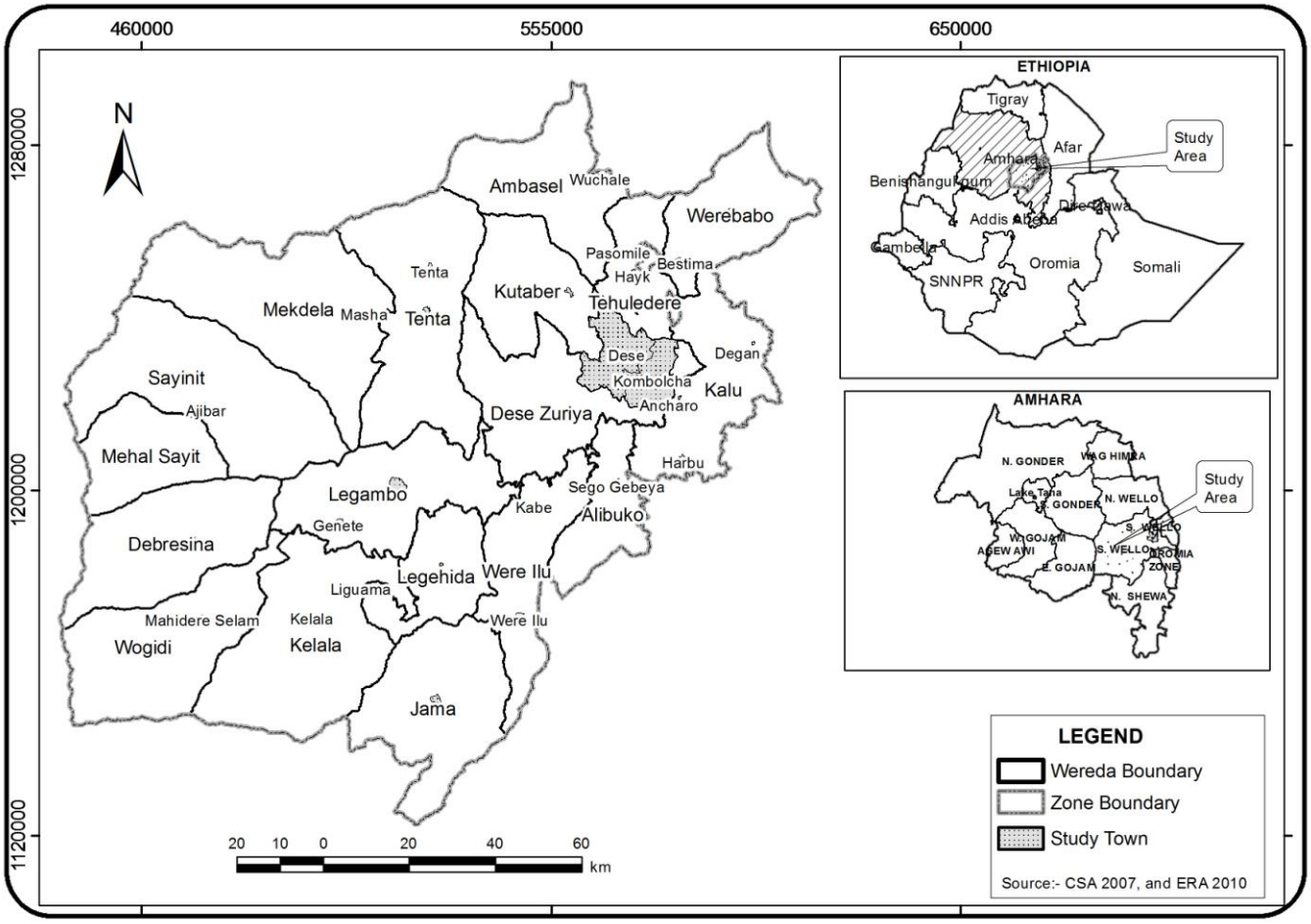

Figure 4: Map Showing the Study area, South Wollo Administrative Zone, Amhara National Regional State of Ethiopia

3.4 Target Population

The target population for this study was defined as Ethiopian women who came back to their home country after serving as house maids in Middle East countries. The accessible population was defined as Ethiopian women migrant domestic worker returnees residing in Dessie and Kombolcha towns of the south Wollo zone. Like most of Ethiopian women who leave for work, the migrant women in Dessie and Kombolcha towns/woredas are driven by the motives for earning a living as domestic workers. While not all returnees enjoy the

economic benefits of domestic work, some experience the prospects of improving their living standard. In order to be eligible for participation, respondents had to meet the following inclusion criteria:

(1) They have to be returnees from the Middle East countries after serving as house maids at least for one contract period (i.e., at least for two years). It was decided to focus on the returnees who had been in the Middle East for at least one contract period because it was believed that those women have a long experience in the destination countries and they already have processed their life, emotions and experiences related to the life there. Hence, they have the experience to provide the required data for the study.

(2) Currently, they have to live in the Dessie and Kombolcha areas.

(3) They have to be relatively mentally stable and are engaged in their own business or living with their family without jobs. This was because the study is based on the salutogenic paradigm and focuses on the healthy/well returnees rather than the mentally disturbed ones who are found in rehabilitation centers.

(4) They have to be able to speak, read, and write in Amharic.

3.5 Sampling

3.5.1 Mixed Methods Sampling Design

Currently, there are many mixed methods sampling designs in existence. Thus, in order to simplify researchers' design choices, several typologies have been developed. These typologies differ in their levels of complexity. Two criteria are useful for a researcher to select a mixed methods sampling design (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007): time orientation and

relationship of the qualitative and quantitative samples. Time orientation refers to whether the qualitative and quantitative phases of the study occur at approximately the same point in time such that they are independent of one another (i.e., concurrent) or whether these two components occur one after the other such that the latter phase is dependent, to some degree, on the results of the former phase (i.e., sequential). The relationships of the qualitative and quantitative samples either can be identical, parallel, nested, or multilevel.

In terms of time orientation, the present study employed concurrent mixed design in which the quantitative and qualitative phases of the study were conducted simultaneously (i.e. without waiting the results of one approach to design the other approach). With regard to the relationships of the qualitative and quantitative samples, nested mixed sample design was employed because using nested samples was found to be simple and feasible for the current study. A nested relationship implies that the sample members selected for one phase of the study represent a subset of those participants chosen for the other facet of the investigation (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). This means that participants for the qualitative study were recruited from those subjects who were involved in the quantitative survey. The details of the sampling procedures and specific sampling techniques employed in each of the quantitative and qualitative approaches are explained in the following sections.

3.5.2 Selection of Participants of the Quantitative Study

Since there are no harmonized national and local statistics on the number of returnee Ethiopian women after working overseas as domestic workers, no sampling frame is available. For this reason, the sample size was not pre-determined. Thus, it was not possible

to use a random sample for the study. Therefore, a non-probability sample was used in the study through convenience and snowball sampling (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997).

Faugier and Sargeant (1997) identified snowball and convenience sampling methodologies as the only feasible methods available when researchers attempt to study hidden populations for whom lists and consequently sampling frames are not readily available. Therefore, for the quantitative survey, 118 women labor migrant returnees who were living in the selected towns were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling. The identification of these returnees was made through informants who live in the selected towns, the snowball sampling technique, and through the researcher's personal contact with the returnees. My rapport with two key informant women before I left for fieldwork was very helpful as they helped me contact a number of the returnee women in the towns. The descriptive statistics and the demographic characteristics of the participants of the quantitative survey are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Demographic Characteristics of Participants of the Quantitative Survey (n=118)

Variables	Group	N	Min.	Max.	Mean(SD)
Age at migration	20 to 22	82	20	25	21.85(1.46)
	23 to 25	36			
Current age	22 to 25	78	22	29	24.68(1.50)
	26 to 29	40			
Duration of stay abroad	1 contract period	67	2	4	2.83(0.99)
	2 & more contracts	51			
Duration of stay after return	2 to 6 months	83	2	11	5.51(2.15)
	7 to 11 months	35			
		Frequency		Percent	
Place of birth	Urban	62		52.54	
	Rural	56		47.46	
Migration status	Legal/documented	65		55.08	
	Illegal/undocumented	53		44.92	
Current marital status	Never married	71		60.17	
	Married	35		29.66	
	Divorced	12		10.17	
Marital status before they left	Never married	79		66.95	
	Married	21		17.80	
	Divorced	18		15.25	
Educational status	Grade 1-8	24		20.34	
	Grade 9-12	78		66.10	
	Above grade 12	16		13.56	

Table 1 depicts the descriptive and demographic characteristics of the participants of the quantitative study. A total of 118 women returnees participated in the survey. Descriptive statistics showed that their ages when emigrating from Ethiopia ranged from 20 to 25 with the mean age of 21.85 years (SD=1.46). Their current age ranged from 22 to 29 with the mean age of 24.68 years (SD=1.50). As for the place of birth, 62(52.54%) of them were born in urban areas whereas the rest 56(47.46%) were born in rural areas. For their marital status before migration, the majority, 79(66.95%) of them, were never married; 21(17.80%) of them were married; and 18 of them (15.25%) were divorced. Currently (during the time of data collection), 71(60.17%) of the women were never married, 35(29.66%) of them were married, and 12 of them (10.17%) were divorced. In terms of educational status, the majority, 78(66.10%) of the women were within 9 to12 grade levels; 24(20.34%) of them were within 1 to 8 grade levels; and 16(13.56%) were above grade 12. Regarding their migration status, the majority, 65(55.08%) of the sample subjects, migrated legally through recruiting agencies whereas 53(44.92%) of them used illegal means to migrate (i.e. they were undocumented migrants). Participants' years of stay in the destination countries ranged from 2 years (one contra period) to 4 years (two contract periods) with the mean of 2.83 years (SD=0.99). The participants stayed 2 to 11 months after their return to Ethiopia with the mean of 5.51 months (SD=2.15).

3.5.3 Selection of Participants of the Qualitative Study

The qualitative study was carried out on eleven returnees. There is no set criterion for the accurate sample size in qualitative studies; it is more important to generate meaningful information from research participants and to elicit observational and analytical skills of the researcher rather than the size of the sample (Patton, 2002).

Participants were recruited from subjects who were involved in the quantitative survey (i.e., nested mixed sample design was employed) as stated in the sampling design above. Once participants completed the quantitative survey, they were asked about their interest in participating in interview. Twenty-four individuals gave permission to the researcher, by providing their phone numbers, so that I can contact them on a later date for interview. Once I received their phone numbers, I called them to follow up by setting up an interview time. Eight of these individuals declined participation citing work and family reasons and five did not answer my telephone call. The remaining 11 returnees were interviewed in April 2014; nine of them had already started their micro businesses in Dessie and Kombolcha towns at the time of the study. They were engaged in such small-scale businesses such as beauty salon, handicrafts, and mini pastry. The remaining two were living with their families without job other than participating in domestic chores such as cooking and taking care of kids. The demographic characteristics of the interviewees are reported in Table 2.

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of the Interview Participants (n=11)

Participant ID No.	Age	Place of birth	Marital status	Educ. level /Grade/	Migration status (Legal status)	Destination	Stay in years
01	25	Urban	Single	10^{+2}	Undocumented	Lebanon	2
02	26	Rural	Married	10	Documented	Kuwait	4
03	27	Urban	Married	12	Documented	Saudi A.	2
04	26	Rural	Single	10^{+2}	Undocumented	Lebanon	2
05	29	Urban	Single	12	Documented	Kuwait	4
06	27	Urban	Married	12	Documented	Saudi A.	2
07	25	Rural	Single	10	Undocumented	Dubai, UAE	4
08	26	Rural	Single	10 drop.	Documented	Kuwait	4
09	29	Rural	Widowed	12	Documented	Dubai, UAE	4
10	27	Rural	Married	9 drop.	Documented	Kuwait	6
11	28	Rural	Married	10	Undocumented	Oman	4

Table 2 above shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the qualitative sample. The average age of the interview participants at time of data collection was 26.89 years, with the youngest being 25 and the oldest being 29 years of age. The majority, seven of the participants, were born in rural areas whereas the remaining four were born in towns. Regarding their marital status at the time of data collection, five of the participants were married and living with their spouses, five were single and one of the participants was a widow. As to their educational status, four of them had completed grade 12, two of them had attended 2 years technical and vocational training after completing grade 10, three of them had completed grade 10, one participant was grade 10 dropout, and another one participant was grade 9 dropout. As to their legal status, seven of the participants were legal (documented) migrants whereas four of them migrated illegally (i.e. were undocumented

migrants). Six of the participants had completed two contract periods in the host countries, four had completed one contract period, and one participant had completed three contract periods. Though not presented in Table 2, for three of the interview participants, it was only about 5 months since their return to Ethiopia. For two of them, it was about 7 months since their return and for the remaining six participants, it was about 11 months.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The tools of data collection comprise of a demographic questionnaire, three scale instruments, and a semi-structured interview guide. Here, the development, purpose, scoring, and the psychometric properties of the original scale instruments are presented. The validity and reliability evidence of the scales in the current study are presented separately under 'The Pilot Study' (section 3.8 of this chapter). The scales included in the appendices are after validation; the number of items and subscales are not the same as the original scales.

3.6.1 Demographic Data Questionnaire

Information was collected on the demographic and social characteristics and migration history of each participant. Variables including current age, age at emigrating from Ethiopia, place of origin (rural/urban), marital status before migration, current marital status, migration status (documented/undocumented), duration of stay abroad, duration of stay after return, and educational level were covered (See Appendix A).

3.6.2 The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10)

The Perceived Stress Scale-PSS (Cohen & Williamson, 1988) was adapted and used to assess the level of perceived stress due to migration experiences. The PSS is the most widely

used instrument such as in studies assessing stressfulness of events, physical and psychiatric diseases and stress management programs (Andreou, Alexopoulos, Lionis et al., 2011).

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10) is a 10 item scale developed by Cohen and Williamson (1988) to assess the perception of stressful experiences by asking the respondent to rate the frequency of occurrence of his/her feelings and thoughts related to previously occurred events and situations. Each item is rated on a five point Likert-type scale (0 = never to 4 = very often). Total scores range from 0 to 40 with items 4, 5, 7 and 8 reverse scored. A higher score indicates greater stress. To determine the level of stress, there is an algorithm leading to one of three acuity ranges: Low (Total = 0-10), Medium or moderate (Total = 11-25), and High (Total = 26-40).

Very few studies have examined the psychometric properties of the PSS on a general population by principal components factor analysis, which is considered as a valid approach to support the construct validity of the PSS (Cohen & Williamson, 1988). Psychometric properties of PSS-10 was investigated by principal component factor analysis (construct validity) and Cronbach's alpha (reliability) by Andreou, Alexopoulos, Lionis et al., (2011) in a sample of general Greek population. The two-factor structure of PSS-10 was confirmed in their analysis (negative items, 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, and10 representing perceived helplessness and positive items, 4, 5, 7, and 8 representing perceived self-efficacy). A satisfactory Cronbach's alpha value (0.82 for the full scale) was found in their analysis. The average inter-item correlations (coefficient alpha values) for the negative subscale and for the positive subscale were 0.79 and 0.69 respectively.

3.6.3 The COPE Inventory

The 24-item COPE Inventory, developed by Carver, Scheier, and Weintraub (1989), was adapted and employed to measure coping strategies (adaptive and maladaptive) of the women labor migrants. The original COPE inventory assesses seven adaptive coping subscales (active coping; planning; restraint coping; use of instrumental social support; use of emotional social support; positive reinterpretation and growth; and acceptance) and five maladaptive coping subscales (denial, focus on and venting emotions, behavioral disengagement, mental disengagement, and substance use) that respondents had been using to deal with stressful events.

The COPE inventory asks respondents to indicate the degree to which they actually did have each response during a particular period in the past. In the present study, the participants were asked to rate the degree of their use of each coping strategy over the period of their stay abroad (since the time of their employment as a domestic worker up to the completion of their contract period). Each item is rated on a three point Likert-type scale (1 = I usually didn't do this at all, 2 = I usually did this a medium amount, and 3 = I usually did this a lot). The scale generates a total scale score, seven adaptive subscale scores, and five maladaptive subscale scores. Scores for each subscale is computed from the sum of the items in the respective subscale with no reverse scoring of any of the items. A high score indicate frequent use of a particular coping strategy. The scale had a test-retest reliability of .86 (Carver et al, 1989).

The aims and the example of items related to the seven adaptive and the five maladaptive subscales of the COPE Inventory are as follows:

Active coping: - It is the process of taking active steps to try to remove or circumvent the stressor or to ameliorate its effects. Active coping includes initiating direct action, increasing one's efforts, and trying to execute a coping attempt in stepwise fashion (e.g. I had been taking action to try to make the situation better.).

Planning: - It refers to thinking about how to confront the stressor. Planning involves coming up with action strategies, thinking about what steps to take and how best to handle the problem (e.g. I had been thinking hard about what steps to take.).

Restraint coping: - It refers to coping passively by holding back one's coping attempts until they can be of use (e.g. I forced myself to wait for the right time to do something.).

Use of instrumental social support: - It indicates seeking advice, assistance, or information (e.g. I had been trying to get advice from someone about what to do.).

Use of emotional social support:- It includes getting moral support, sympathy, or understanding (e.g. I had been talking to someone about how I feel.).

Positive reinterpretation and growth: - It involves making the best of the situation by growing from it or viewing it in a more favorable light (e.g. I had been learning something from the experience.).

Acceptance: - It refers to the acceptance of impinges on two aspects of the coping process. Acceptance of a stressor as it real occurs in primary appraisal. Acceptance of a current absence of active coping strategies relates to secondary appraisal (e.g. I had been learning to live with it.).

Denial: - It is the report of refusal to believe that the stressor exists or of trying to act as though the stressor is not real (e.g. I had been saying to myself "this isn't real.").

Focus on and venting emotions: - It refers to increased awareness of one's emotional distress, and a concomitant tendency to ventilate or discharge those feelings (e.g. I had been getting upset and let my emotions out.).

Behavioral disengagement: - It includes reducing one's effort to deal with the stressor, even giving up the attempt to attain goals with which the stressor is interfering (e.g. I had been giving up trying to deal with it.).

Mental disengagement: - It refers to focusing more explicitly on doing things to take one's mind off the stressor. Tactics that reflect mental disengagement include using alternative activities to take one's mind of a problem, daydreaming, escaping through sleep, or escape by immersion in TV (e.g. I had been turning to work or other activities to take my mind off things.).

Substance use: - turning to the use of alcohol and other drugs as a way of disengaging from the stressor (e.g. I had been using alcohol or other drugs to make myself feel better.).

3.6.4 The Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS)

The psychological resilience scale (Bartone, Ursano, Wright, & Ingraham, 1989) was used to assess the psychological resiliency of the women labor migrant returnees. The PRS has two versions: a 45-item version and a 30-item version. In this study, the shortened version of the PRS of 30 items was adapted and used which has demonstrated strong correlation with scores on the 45-item version (Bartone, et al., 1989). The PRS is composed of three sub-scales

(the three constructs of psychological resilience discussed in the theoretical framework): perceived control, commitment, and challenge.

The scale asks subjects to indicate their feeling about each item. The responses range from 0 to 3 with zero = not at all true, 1= a little true, 2 = quite true, and 3 = completely true. Each subscale includes an equal number of items. Five of the items in each subscale are negatively worded and are reverse scored; higher scores indicating greater psychological resilience. The PRS 30 item version is deemed superior to earlier measures of psychological resilience (e.g., sole use of negatively-keyed items and awkward and lengthy phrasing; Funk, 1992).

The authors of the instrument reported internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) of the 30-item form ranged from .56 to .82 for the subscales in a sample of US Army family assistance workers. Internal consistency of the summated 30-item form was .83 (Bartone, et al., 1989). In terms of validity, principal component factor analysis (varimax rotation) revealed three factors of control, commitment, and challenge in US samples of bus drivers (N = 787) and army officers (N = 111), confirming the relevance of a three-facet model of psychological resilience (Bartone, et al., 1989).

3.6.5 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

A semi-structured interview guide was prepared and interviews were conducted with the objective to elicit participants' experience of events or conditions that contributed to their stress; the coping strategies they employed to deal with stress; and the positive experiences, the activities they enjoyed, and personal strengths that contributed to their resilience and

helped them to face stress during their stay abroad as domestic workers. The interview questions were initially written in English and then translated into Amharic.

Vital themes were initially introduced into the interview sessions, where necessary, to draw out detailed information from the interviewees by probing them extensively (Kvale, 1996). Although the interviewer has a prepared list of questions, the interview process was flexible and the interviewees can respond freely in their words. The interviewer also had the opportunity to clarify any ambiguity about the instructions or questions and to raise probes on questions to encourage the respondent to enlarge on, clarify, or explain answers

Three phases were integrated to help build trust during the one-on-one interview. The three phases were: *Preliminary questions* that were used to establish rapport and begin building a relationship, *Core questions* that could get to the heart of their experience by probing for their descriptions, and *Closing phase* which involved expressing my gratitude for sharing their experience.

The gathering of demographic information was used as an opportunity to establish rapport and trust. The demographic survey asked their place of birth, their current age, their age at the time of their emigration, migration status, the country where they were working as housemaids, duration of stay abroad, marital status during emigration, their educational status and their length of stay after return to Ethiopia. The core questions were designed permitting participants to elaborate on (i) their main difficulties (sources of stress) since arrival in the destination countries, (ii) the strategies they employed to cope with their stress, (iii) their positive experiences which they themselves consider were important to their adaptation while working abroad, (iv) the activities they enjoyed the most while they were abroad, and (v) their personal strengths or individual characteristics that helped them to face stress from different

sources. Following the recommendations by Astedt-Kurki and Heikkinen (1994), the core questions were based on the basic questions of this study and focused on specific topics of the returnees' experiences.

3.7 Translation of the Instruments

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10), the COPE Inventory, the Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS), and the Semi-structured Interview Guide were translated from the original English versions to Amharic by the researcher. Each Amharic version was then translated back to English by an English Literature graduate student who is fluent in English who is blind to the original tests (i.e. blind back-translation was done). Blind back-translation is translation back into the source language by an independent translator unfamiliar with the original version of the instrument (Merry, Gagnon, Hemlin et al, 2011). The two English texts (i.e., back-translated versions and the original language versions) were compared, reviewed for cultural meaning and discrepancies in wording. Each item was discussed and debated until agreement is reached (between the student researcher and the person who translated the Amharic versions to the source language) on the optimal wording for the translated versions. When clarity is lacking, adjustments were made across all versions.

3.8 The Pilot Study

3.8.1 Aims of the Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted mainly for the purpose of testing the validity and reliability of data gathering instruments. In addition to testing the validity and reliability of data collection instruments, the pilot data were used to assess the appropriateness of the proposed data analysis techniques and to determine if the research questions are formulated in

concrete, measurable terms. The dissertation pilot study report was defended and a dissertation upgrading report was submitted to the school of psychology, Addis Ababa University, in December 2013.

3.8.2 Sampling and Procedures of the Pilot Data Collection

The pilot study was conducted on a sample of women migrant domestic worker returnees from the Middle East countries and residing in the town of Dessie. Participants for the pilot study were selected from the same target population from which the sample for the main study was selected. For the quantitative pilot study, 58 women migrant returnees who are living in the town were selected through convenience and snowball sampling. For the qualitative pilot study, five participants were selected from those subjects who were involved in the quantitative pilot survey (i.e. nested mixed sample design was employed).

The pilot data gathering took place between end of April and mid May 2013. The tools of data collection were administered to pilot subjects in exactly the same way as they would be administered in the main study. In the cross-sectional pilot quantitative survey, after obtaining verbal informed consent, participants were asked to complete the Amharic versions of a demographic profile and the three scale instruments (PSS-10, the 24 item COPE inventory, and PRS-30). At the end, participants were asked if any of the items were ambiguous and difficult to comprehend for them. In the qualitative approach of the pilot research, using the semi-structured interview guide, in-depth interviews were conducted in Amharic in person with each of the five selected women. The interviews were conducted by the researcher. All interviews were audiotaped for transcription. Towards the end of each

interview, I also asked each participant for feedback about the interview so that I could make changes to the interview guide to make it more useful and effective.

3.8.3 The Pilot Data Analysis and Results

The foundation of all rigorous research designs is the use of measurement tools that are psychometrically sound. Hence, confirmation of the validity and reliability of tools is a prerequisite for assuring the integrity of study findings (DeVon, Block, Moyle-Wright, Ernst, Hayden, Lazzara, et al, 2007). To confirm the validity of the scale instruments, the items of the perceived stress scale (PSS-10), the COPE inventory, and the psychological resilience scale (PRS-30) were analyzed by Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation procedure in order to examine if the Amharic versions of the instruments support the constructs of the original instruments.

Traditionally, support for the validity of instruments has been determined by examining face, content, construct, and criterion-related concepts (DeVon, et al, 2007). The term face validity is a technical description of the judgment that the items are meaningful and relevant. Face validity simply indicates whether, on the face of it, the instrument appears to be assessing the desired qualities. Content validity is closely related to face validity, consisting of a judgment of whether the instrument samples all the relevant or important content or domain (Steiner & Norman, 1992). Content and face validity are termed translational (as in translation of the construct) [Trochim, 2001]. The criterion validity of a scale is assessed by determining the relationship of the scale with some other measure of the construct under study, ideally, a "gold standard" which has been used and accepted in the field. Finally, construct validity refers to how well a scale measures the proposed underlying factors or dimensions. Two of

the most commonly used types of construct validation are convergent validity and factorial validity. Convergent validity focuses on the extent to which several measures of the same concept correlate with each other. Factorial validation (i.e. construct validity) of a scale on the other hand involves empirically demonstrating whether distinct underlying constructs exist. Construct validity is the degree to which an instrument measures the construct it is intended to measure (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955 cited in DeVon, et al, 2007). It is supported if the instrument's items are related to its operationally defined theory and concepts.

In this dissertation pilot study, the construct (i.e. factorial) validity of each of the instruments was tested using a principal components technique with varimax rotation. Principal component analysis is a statistical technique used to examine the interrelations among a set of variables in order to identify the underlying structure of those variables. The analysis considers how much variance is added by each component/subscale the scale considers. There are two important concepts in principal component analysis: 1) The loading for each item which represents the correlation between each item in a component (subscale) and the total test score of that component; and 2) The sum of squared loadings of items within a component which refers to the variance shared by that component with the total scale. The following minimum requirements had to be met: (1) each item loading had to be at least ≥0.32; and (2) each component had to comprise at least 3 highest loadings of items (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

As a measure of reliability, the internal consistency of the items of the three scales and subscales was examined by computing Cronbach's alpha. The quantitative data were further analyzed to test the original research questions and to assess the proposed data analysis techniques. The interview data analyzed using thematic content analysis approach.

Validation of the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10)

In order to examine if the Amharic version of PSS-10 supports the construct of the two components of the original PSS, Principal Component Analysis was performed with Varimax rotation on the dataset of the 58 subjects who completed the PSS-10. The factor loadings of the items, when the number of components to be retained was set at two inputting all 10 items, are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Rotated Component Matrix According to Principal Component Analysis of PSS-10 Items

Item	Loading on Component 1	2
While working abroad, how often had you (been/felt):		
1. Upset by something happening unexpectedly?	**0.760**	0.093
2. Unable to control the important things in your life?	**0.653**	**-0.410**
3. Nervous and stressed?	**0.783**	-0.274
4. Confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	-0.116	**0.490**
5. Things were going your way?	-0.222	**0.550**
6. Could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	**0.657**	-0.254
7. Able to control irritating life hassles?	-0.174	**0.629**
8. You were on top of things?	0.204	**0.670**
9. Angered because of things that were outside your control?	**0.779**	0.146
10. Difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?	**0.577**	-0.293

Total Variance Explained by Rotated Solution = 49.34%; Total Sums of Squared Loadings =4.934. Sums of Squared Loadings (eigenvalues) & % of Variance accounted for by Principal Components: Component 1 (Perceived helplessness) = 3.124, 31.24%, Component 2 (Perceived self-efficacy) = 1.810, 18.10%.

Percent of variance explained = (eigenvalue ÷ number of items) × 100

Items and corresponding factor loadings are presented in Table 3. The Rotated Component Matrix displays the loadings for each item on each rotated component, again clearly showing which items make up each component. Component loading of an item expresses the correlation of the item with the component/subscale. For a given item in a given component, component loading is the correlation between the vector of subjects' responses to that item, with the vector of (subjects') predicted scores, according to a regression equation treating the entire set of items as independent variables and the total test score as dependent variable. When an item is given a great deal of weight in constructing a principal component, we say that the variable loads on that component. Rotated component matrix is a factor solution, where the axis of the factor plot is rotated for the purposes of uncovering a more meaningful pattern of item component loadings.

In Table 3, values in bold face indicate component loadings of the items exceeded 0.32. Employing the criterion of item loading of ≥0.32, six items, Item 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, and 10, were found to load on the first component, which was labeled the "perceived helplessness" component. However, one of the six items in this component (i.e. "Unable to control the important things in your life") was found to load on the second component. Four items, Item 4, 5, 7, and 8, nicely loaded on the second component, which was labeled the "Perceived self-efficacy" component. As seen in Table 3, most of the item loadings are strong. Loadings that are more than 0.5 are typically considered strong, between 0.3 and 0.5 are acceptable, less than 0.3 are typically considered weak (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Principal component analysis of the PSS-10 data resulted in 2 components explaining 49.34% of the variance. The first component accounted for 31.24% of the total variance while the second component accounted for 18.10% of the total variance. In general, the PSS-10 data

in this pilot study are consistent with the idea that these items measure two different constructs: Perceived helplessness (negative items, 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, and10) and Perceived Self-efficacy (positive items, 4, 5, 7, and 8). Only one of the 10 items (ie, Item 2, "Unable to control the important things in your life") did not show the expected results (had cross-loading) and had an acceptable loading (-0.410) on another component, which did not change the overall denomination of perceived stress components.

The authors of the Perceived Stress Scale, Cohen and Williamson (1988), claim that the scale measures two independent constructs: perceived helplessness and perceived self-efficacy. The present pilot study assessed the validity of this assertion. However, in the present study, item 2 was found to have loadings on both of the perceived helplessness and self-efficacy constructs. This result could be due to the translation or the potential interpretation by the subjects which is needed to be verified in further studies.

Validation of the COPE inventory

The COPE inventory items were subject to a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with a Varimax rotation with the aim to examine whether the data collected through the Amharic version of the instrument are consistent with the idea that these items measure twelve different constructs. When the number of components to be retained was set at twelve inputting all items, two items of Venting emotions subscale (Item 5, "*I got upset and let my emotions out."* and Item 7, *"I let my feelings out."*) had cross-loadings. A cross-loading item is an item that loads at 0.32 or higher on two or more components (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). A second test of the 22 items, after dropping the 2 items, resulted in a clean solution with 11 principal components (Table 4).

Table 4: Final Rotated Component Matrix According to Principal Component Analysis of the 22 COPE Inventory Items, after Dropping Item 5 and Item 7.

Item	Principal Component (PC)										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	-.007	.158	**.933**	.080	.069	.071	-.066	-.066	-.077	-.006	-.100
2	-.078	**.919**	.115	.058	-.021	.107	-.150	-.102	-.093	.009	-.062
3	.099	**.929**	.123	.028	-.007	.114	-.151	-.001	.003	-.002	.009
4	.084	.082	**.924**	.013	-.038	-.168	.110	.095	.134	-.019	-.016
6	.076	.012	.035	**.896**	.063	-.210	-.137	.004	-.129	.012	.011
8	**.947**	.004	-.016	.077	.046	-.028	-.016	.054	-.041	.006	.059
9	**.948**	.020	.086	.034	.079	-.101	-.017	.090	.018	-.022	-.031
10	.009	-.020	.072	.039	**.929**	.053	.114	-.064	.010	-.123	.075
11	.120	-.008	-.040	-.084	**.937**	-.076	-.015	.023	-.087	-.027	-.026
12	.046	.088	.068	**.853**	-.132	-.166	.086	.023	-.151	.203	.015
13	.051	-.050	.070	.005	-.018	.113	.149	**.886**	.004	.021	.030
14	-.023	.059	.069	-.011	-.040	-.079	-.009	.058	-.083	**.890**	-.038
15	.006	-.063	-.104	.212	-.114	-.049	.115	-.058	-.066	**.776**	-.132
16	.092	-.044	-.047	.021	-.022	-.137	.097	**.876**	.036	-.012	-.106
17	.030	-.160	-.019	.054	.103	.055	**.895**	.124	.074	.027	-.021
18	-.065	-.132	.060	-.109	-.004	.013	**.900**	.137	-.080	.072	.058
19	.288	-.209	.098	.235	.102	.145	.014	.049	.257	-.068	**.709**
20	-.099	.157	-.132	-.173	-.029	**.860**	.018	-.036	-.058	-.060	.009
21	-.032	.063	.039	-.158	.004	**.906**	.049	.012	-.100	-.075	.025
22	-.105	.056	-.175	-.125	-.007	-.042	.031	-.111	.038	-.135	**.910**
23	-.022	.004	-.070	-.057	.013	-.077	-.071	.102	**.899**	.011	.173
24	-.002	-.120	.168	-.282	-.132	-.111	.093	-.087	**.791**	-.224	-.018

Total Variance Explained by Rotated Solution = 87.62%; Total Sums of Squared Loadings = 19.276. Sums of Squared Loadings (Eigenvalue) and % of Variance accounted for by Principal Components: PC1 (Active coping), 1.96, 8.92%; PC2 (Mental disengagement), 1.893, 8.60%; PC3 (Positive reinterpretation and growth), 1.89, 8.59%; PC4 (Use of instrumental social support), 1.88, 8.55%; PC5 (Denial), 1.83, 8.33%; PC6 (Acceptance), 1.79, 8.15%; PC7 (Use of emotional social support), 1.78, 8.07%; PC8 (Behavioral disengagement), 1.67, 7.57%; PC9 (Planning), 1.62, 7.37%; PC10 (Restraint coping), 1.54, 7.00%; PC11 (Substance use), 1.42, 6.46%.

Percent of variance explained = (eigenvalue ÷ number of items) × 100

As shown in Table 4, employing the criterion of item loading of ≥0.32, analysis of the 22 items resulted in 11 rotated principal components. The variance accounted for by the 22 items was 87.62%. The variance accounted for by each principal component/subscale is also shown at the bottom of the table. Overall, in this validation study, the items of the Venting emotions subscale (i.e. "*I got upset and let my emotions out."* and *"I let my feelings out.")* did not exactly measure the construct. Hence, eliminating the Venting emotions subscale from the Amharic version of the COPE inventory was regarded as reasonable.

Validation of the Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS-30)

The pilot data collected through the Amharic version of the PRS-30 items were subject to Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with a Varimax rotation so as to examine if the items measure a three-facet model of psychological resilience: *Commitment* – commitment to the various areas of life which results in a sense of purpose that can carry a person through difficult turbulent times, *Control* – perceived ability to exercise control over the life's circumstances, and *Challenge* – enjoying challenge and believing that change rather than stability is normal.

When the number of components to be retained was set at three inputting all 30 items, 4 items were found to have no loadings. Table 5 presents the component loadings of the 30 items from the initial principal components analysis.

Table 5: Rotated Component Matrix According to Principal Component Analysis of Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS) 30 Items

Item	Principal Component (PC)			Item	Principal Component (PC)		
	1	2	3		1	2	3
1	.056	**.907**	-.058	16	.250	-.117	.254
2	-.025	-.042	**.870**	17	-.056	-.086	**.843**
3	-.055	**.779**	-.072	18	-.094	**.857**	-.055
4	**.911**	-.076	-.073	19	**.939**	-.069	-.020
5	**.857**	.001	-.003	20	-.191	**.805**	-.025
6	.022	-.031	**.917**	21	.293	.014	.277
7	.055	-.022	**.843**	22	-.059	-.068	**.861**
8	-.076	**.820**	-.147	23	**.946**	-.018	-.035
9	-.076	**.835**	-.062	24	**.887**	-.020	-.064
10	**.875**	-.134	-.041	25	.039	**.876**	-.028
11	-.088	.033	**.810**	26	**.941**	-.018	-.024
12	-.058	-.276	-.147	27	-.076	.001	**.892**
13	**.937**	.006	-.011	28	-.008	-.145	**.756**
14	**.888**	-.034	.031	29	.044	**.920**	-.019
15	.019	**.921**	-.058	30	.076	-.270	.055

Total Variance Explained by Rotated Solution = 68.58%; Total Sums of Squared Loadings = 20.579. Sums of Squared Loadings (Eigenvalue) and % of Variance accounted for by Principal Components: PC1 (Challenge), 7.695, 25.65%; PC2 (Control), 6.874, 22.91%; PC3 (Commitment), 6.01, 20.02%.
Percent of variance explained = (eigenvalue ÷ number of items) × 100

In Table 5 above, values in bold face indicate component loadings of the items which exceeded 0.32. Employing the criterion of item loading of ≥0.32, nine items (Item 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 19, 23, 24, 26) loaded on the first principal component (Challenge); nine items (Item 1, 3, 8, 9, 15, 18, 20, 25, 29) loaded on the second principal component (Control); and eight items (Item 2, 6, 7, 11, 17,22, 27,28) loaded on the third principal component (Commitment). The total variance explained by the three rotated principal components from the 30 items was 68.58%. Out of the 30 items, four items were found to have no loadings on any of the three principal components of resilience. The four items were: *"If I'm working on a difficult task, I*

know when to seek help" from the Control subscale, *"Thinking of yourself as a free person just leads to frustration"* and *"Ordinary work is just too boring to be worth doing"* from the Commitment subscale, and *"I often wake up eager to take up my life wherever it left off"* from the Challenge subscale. The analysis was repeated dropping the four items to produce clean rotated components with 26 items in total (Table 6).

Table 6: Final Rotated Component Matrix According to Principal Component Analysis of the Remaining 26 items of Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS) after Dropping four Items (Items 12, 16, 21, and 30)

	Principal Component (PC)				Principal Component (PC)		
Item	1	2	3	**Item**	1	2	3
1	.060	**.912**	-.044	15	.017	**.924**	-.050
2	-.027	-.049	**.864**	17	-.057	-.100	**.838**
3	-.053	**.788**	-.059	18	-.097	**.859**	-.049
4	**.917**	-.081	-.069	19	**.936**	-.065	-.025
5	**.856**	.002	-.004	20	-.194	**.806**	-.021
6	.025	-.037	**.919**	22	-.048	-.070	**.875**
7	.059	-.035	**.844**	23	**.942**	-.018	-.041
8	-.077	**.815**	-.142	24	**.896**	-.017	-.053
9	-.082	**.834**	-.064	25	.045	**.874**	-.012
10	**.875**	-.130	-.044	26	**.940**	-.019	-.029
11	-.098	.025	**.795**	27	-.072	.000	**.897**
13	**.942**	.008	-.006	28	.007	-.153	**.772**
14	**.887**	-.038	.026	29	.042	**.922**	-.014

Total Variance Explained by Rotated Solution = 77.51%; Total Sums of Squared Loadings = 20.153.
Sums of Squared Loadings (Eigenvalue) and % of Variance accounted for by Principal Components: PC1 (Challenge), 7.557, 29.07%; PC2 (Control), 6.742, 25.93%; PC3 (Commitment), 5.854, 22.55%.
Percent of variance explained = (Eigenvalue ÷ number of or items) × 100

A re-run of the model after removing the four items produced a clean rotated component solution with 26 items having an explained variance of 77.51%, up from 68.58% with all 30 items. The number of items and the variance explained by the Challenge, Control, and Commitment components are 9 (29.07%), 9 (25.93%), and 8 (22.55%) respectively.

Overall, the validation study of the Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS-30) confirmed the relevance of a three-facet model of psychological resilience which was congruent with the findings of previous studies (e.g. Bartone, et al., 1989). In terms of the item composition of the three constructs, however, the results did not reveal similarities to the reports of previous studies. Factor loadings of four items: *"If I'm working on a difficult task, I know when to seek help"*, "*Thinking of yourself as a free person just leads to frustration", "Ordinary work is just too boring to be worth doing"*, and *"I often wake up eager to take up my life wherever it left off"* were found to be below the criterion of 0.32. These items were found to have no loadings on any of the three components of resilience (control, commitment, or challenge). These four items are therefore excluded from the scale in the main study, resulting in a 26 item Amharic version of the Psychological Resilience Scale.

Internal Consistency Reliability of the Scale Instruments

As a measure of reliability, the internal consistency of the Amharic versions of Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10), COPE inventory, and Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS) was examined by computing Cronbach's alpha. Coefficient alpha is the only reliability index that can be performed with one test administration, thus requiring much less effort than either the split-half, alternative form, or retest methods (Ferketich, 1990).

The result from the alpha tests indicate that there was consistency to the items measuring each construct and all the constructs are deemed acceptable as each of the Alpha value is 0.70 and above, which is within the acceptable range of internal consistency for a study (George & Mallery, 2003). Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients found in the pilot study (n=58) were compared with the reliability coefficients obtained on the basis of the final

data (n=118). The summary of the subscale level and overall scale internal consistency coefficients of the modified versions of the PSS-10, the COPE inventory, and the PRS is presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Summary of Cronbach's Alpha Internal Consistency Reliability Coefficients of the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10), the COPE inventory, and the Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS)

Scales	Cronbach's alpha found in the pilot study (n=58)	Cronbach's alpha on the basis of the final data (n=118)
Overall PSS-10	**0.74***	**0.76***
Perceived helplessness	0.82	0.85
Perceived self-efficacy	0.70	0.72
Overall COPE Inventory items	**0.71**	**0.77**
Active coping	0.89	0.91
Positive reinterpretation & growth	0.88	0.96
Use of instrumental social support	0.84	0.94
Use of emotional social support	0.84	0.86
Restraint coping	0.71	0.83
Acceptance	0.82	0.87
Planning	0.73	0.78
Mental disengagement	0.91	0.91
Denial	0.88	0.80
Behavioral disengagement	0.76	0.78
Substance use	0.70	0.88
Overall PRS**	**0.85**	**0.84**
Challenge	0.91	0.96
Control	0.95	0.94
Commitment	0.94	0.92

*Cronbach's alpha for overall PSS-10 is calculated after reverse scoring of the Perceived Self-efficacy subscale items.

**Cronbach's alpha for overall PRS and for its subscales is calculated after reverse scoring of negatively stated items.

As can be seen from Table 7, for most of the scales, coefficient alpha resulted in a 0.02 to 0.18 increase in the main study as compared to the coefficients found in the pilot study. George and Mallery's (2003) criteria were used to evaluate the coefficients. Level of internal consistency is: Excellent, if $\alpha \geq 0.9$; Good, if $0.8 \leq \alpha \leq 0.89$; Acceptable, if $0.7 \leq \alpha \leq 0.79$; Questionable, if $0.6 \leq \alpha \leq 0.69$; Poor, if $0.5 \leq \alpha \leq 0.59$; and Unacceptable, if $\alpha < 0.5$. The full Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10) appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.76$, up from 0.74 found in the pilot study. Although this alpha value is within the acceptable range of internal consistency, it is less than the alpha values reported in other studies. For example, Andreou, Alexopoulos, Lionis et al., (2011) reported good level of internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.82$, for the full scale in a sample of general Greek population. The Perceived helplessness subscale appeared to have good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.85$, up from 0.82 reported in the pilot study. In the case of the Perceived Self-efficacy subscale, alpha become 0.72, up from 0.70 found in the pilot study, indicating acceptable reliability.

The full 22-item COPE inventory was found to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.77$, up from 0.71 reported in the pilot study. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients of its subscales changed between 0.78 and 0.96 (acceptable to excellent level of internal consistency). Except the Mental disengagement and the Denial subscales, the rest of the subscales of the COPE inventory showed greater Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients compared to the coefficients found during the pilot study.

The full 26-item Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS) appeared to have good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.84$, a 0.01 decrease in alpha value from the one found in the pilot study, which is within the range of alpha coefficients for the original 30-item form, $\alpha = 0.83$, reported by Bartone, et al., (1989). Subscale level alpha coefficients of the PRS showed that

all the subscale items had excellent internal consistency as each of the alpha value is above 0.90. Sub-scale level reliability analysis of the 26-item form in the current study revealed higher reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha ranging from 0.92 to 0.96) as compared to the subscale alpha coefficients reported by Bartone, et al., (1989) for the 30-item form (alpha ranged from 0.56 to 0.82).

Overall, the reliability coefficients indicated that the items for each subscale and scale were internally consistent. Thus, the Amharic versions of the PSS-10, the modified 22-item COPE inventory, and the modified 26-item Psychological Resilience Scale, and the subscales were deemed acceptable as each of the alpha value is above 0.70. Hence, these versions of the instruments were suitable for use in assessing the variables of interest among the target population of the study.

In addition to testing the validity and reliability of data collection instruments, the pilot data were used to assess the appropriateness of the proposed data analysis techniques and to determine if the research questions are formulated in concrete, measurable terms. The audio-taped data obtained through semi-structured interviews were transcribed and then analyzed using thematic content analysis approach so as to learn to generate themes after transcribing the interviews. Piloting the interview guide also helped the researcher to get a clear focus of the qualitative interviews.

3.8.4 Summary of the Pilot Study Results and Conclusions

The pilot study demonstrated the construct validity and the internal consistency reliability of the Amharic versions of the scale instruments. The study supports the construct validity and reliability of the Amharic version of the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10).

Therefore, the 10 item perceived stress scale (See Appendix B) was used in the present study. As most validity studies have shown, the findings support a two-factor structure of the scale. Moreover, there was consistency to the items measuring each construct and all the constructs are deemed acceptable as each of the Alpha value is 0.70 or above, which is within the acceptable range of internal consistency for a study. Therefore, the instrument is suitable to measure the migrant women domestic worker returnees' perceived stress levels due to their migration experiences. The Amharic version of the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10) provides a valid, reliable and easy to use tool for assessing the perceived stress of the population of interest.

The construct validity study of the Amharic version of the 24-item COPE inventory did not support the assertion that the items measure twelve different constructs. The items of the Venting emotions subscale were found to be invalid. This means that the items did not exactly measure the construct. The items were: "*I got upset and let my emotions out"* and *"I let my feelings out"*. Hence, eliminating the Venting emotions subscale from the Amharic version of the COPE inventory can be regarded as reasonable. This validation study resulted in an Amharic version of the COPE inventory with eleven components. The full 22-item COPE inventory (See Appendix C) appeared to have acceptable internal consistency. The sub-scale level reliability coefficients ranged between acceptable to excellent internal consistency. Hence, it can be concluded that the 22-item Amharic version of the COPE inventory is suitable for use in assessing the coping strategies of the population of interest for this study.

The validation study of the Amharic version of Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS-30) resulted in a three component solution with 26-items. This study supported the three-facet

model of psychological resilience, but it is inconsistent with the reports of previous studies in terms of the item composition of the three constructs. The factor loadings of four items were found to be below the criterion of 0.32. The four items were: *"If I'm working on a difficult task, I know when to seek help"*, *"Thinking of yourself as a free person just leads to frustration"*, *"Ordinary work is just too boring to be worth doing"*, and *"I often wake up eager to take up my life wherever it left off"*. These items were found to have no loadings on any of the three components of resilience (control, commitment, or challenge). Hence, they had to be deleted from the scale. The full 26-item Amharic version scale appeared to have good internal consistency and the subscale items were found to have excellent internal consistency reliability. Thus, it can be concluded that the modified Psychological resilience scale with 26 items (See Appendix D) is suitable to assess the migrant women domestic worker returnees' level of resilience.

The pilot study also insured that the semi-structured interview guide (Appendix E) is appropriate to uncover the relevant information concerning the topic under study. All of the participants stated that the interviews were clear and used words that were easy to understand. From the pilot interview, I found that the design of the interview guide, open-ended and semi-structured and focused content, made it a valuable method for collecting data. Therefore, I believe it is an effective interview guide for the study.

3.8.5 Lessons Learned from the Pilot Study

The pilot study raised some fundamental issues. One of them was the issue of sample availability. I learned about the difficulty in gaining access to respondents. Therefore, there was a need to include other sites in the main study to get adequate sample. There was no issue raised as regards the structure, wording and translation of the questionnaires from the side of the participants. However, it was learned that modifications of the COPE inventory and the Psychological Resilience Scale have to be made in the light of the findings from the validation study.

3.9 Procedures of Data Collection for the Main Study

The data gathering took place between end of January and mid April 2014. In the cross-sectional quantitative survey, after obtaining verbal informed consent, participants were asked to complete a demographic profile and the Amharic versions of the three scale instruments. The purpose of the study was made clear to the participants and tools were administered. Help was provided to the participants in whenever they found any of the items difficult to comprehend.

In the qualitative approach, the sample women were first contacted (through the telephone addresses which they provided during the quantitative survey) to agree on a suitable date and time for them, at their convenience, to conduct the interview. Each interviewee was contacted based on the agreed upon date and time. Using the semi-structured interview guide, interviews were conducted in Amharic in person with each of the selected women.

Interviews were conducted at a place and time in which each participant felt comfortable and safe. Sufficient time was set aside for each interview to establish rapport and

to initiate the interviews. At the beginning of each interview, the interviewer (the researcher) introduced himself and briefly described the purpose of the study. Also, the interviewer explained about confidentiality. Moreover, the gathering of demographic details was used as an opportunity to establish rapport and trust. The interviews were guided thematically according to the specific topics of the returnees' experiences. In the interviews, the participants were allowed to express themselves freely, but I assured that all the questions were discussed. During the interview, as is standard in qualitative interviews, follow-up questions were used to clarify vague responses. Field notes were taken during the course of the interview containing references to nonverbal communication and researcher observations. Specifically, taking field notes involved writing down all the details that could not be obtained through the verbal means such as body language and mood swing of the respondents. At the end of each interview, I expressed my gratitude for sharing their experience.

Each interview lasted approximately between 55 and 70 minutes in duration. All interviews were audiotaped for transcription. At the end of each interview, the researcher made sure that the recorded interviews are audible. Moreover, at the end of the interview, each participant was asked for permission to be contacted in the future for a follow-up interview to determine the accuracy of the results from the analysis of the interview data. All the eleven participants agreed to be re-contacted.

Follow-up Interviews

A follow-up interview was completed with eight of the eleven participants and conducted after two months from the initial interview, in July 2014. The aim of the follow-up interview was to increase the credibility of the qualitative data. At this interview, I reviewed

what the participant said in the first interview and checked whether the findings accurately captured what they had meant to say. I explained each theme, in Amharic, including how the use of descriptions in quotes could illustrate what each theme meant. I asked for confirmation and clarity. Even when some participants confirmed the meaning of the themes, I asked them to explain and their responses further confirmed that the themes represented their perspective.

3.10 Challenges Encountered during the Study

In carrying out the fieldwork, I encountered some challenges. First, getting the informed consent of the women was quite a difficult process. Some of the returnee women suspected that I was a journalist aiming to document events about their personal life experiences and disclose that to the media. I overcame the problem through discussions with the participants, assisted by the returnee woman with whom I had established rapport before I left for fieldwork. Through the discussions, the purpose of the study was made clear to the participants. I made clear that the research was overt with plainly defined research goals. After that the returnee women were willing to participate in the study. However, 13 of the 24 women returnees, who agreed to participate in the interview by providing their phone numbers, later declined participation. Eight of them declined participation citing personal reasons and five did not answer my telephone call.

The second problem was that my being a male researcher, particularly among the interview participants, was somehow problematic. This was because traditionally, women feel ashamed to tell everything about themselves to men. I understood that maintaining professional integrity as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note is of paramount importance in overcoming such problems and obtaining the required data. Thus, I attempted to assure them

by showing sensitivity to ethical issues and honesty towards producing harmless, scientifically valid knowledge. They were assured that their private issues would be kept confidential. Moreover, being aware of the problem, I made my interactions with the participants friendly, thereby trying to avoid distance between us arising from my profession. This helped me quite a lot in reducing the participants' suspicions and creating a positive feeling for the interviewing.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

One ethical principle was considered to be the main for this study – the principle of autonomy. The principle of autonomy implies that all persons have a right to decide about their actions and resources and that society has a moral duty to respect this right. This principle directed the researcher to respect the choice of persons to participate or not in the study, to guarantee confidentiality, and to get the informed consent from the participants.

All of the participants voluntarily participated in this study. In some occasions, in order to get married women involved in the study, I had to obtain the consent of their husbands too. Participants were informed that they could decide to relinquish their participation at anytime they felt uncomfortable. Anonymity and strict confidentiality was assured by informing them their personal names would not be mentioned in the research report writing. In terms of protecting the interviewees' anonymity, they were assigned identification numbers for their interview and all references made used that ID number. All names were removed from the data.

3.12 Data Analysis

3.12.1 The Quantitative Data Analysis

Data collected through the Perceived Stress Scale, the COPE Inventory, and the Psychological Resilience Scale were coded and entered to the computer for analysis. All statistical calculations were performed using SPSS 20 for Windows. The specific methods of data analysis employed are briefly described as follows.

Demographic data were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, and means. Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient was used to test the relationships among the study variables.

To analyze the extent of perceived stress in the sample returnee women, participants were categorized as having low, moderate, and high levels of perceived stress based on their total scores on the PSS-10. Then, the frequency and percentage of subjects in each of the three categories were computed. The Pearson Chi-Square statistic was used to determine whether there is significant relationship between stress levels and selected demographic variables.

To identify the coping strategies employed by the women, the data obtained through the COPE inventory were examined to identify which of the 11 coping strategies were used most frequently by the respondents to handle stressful experiences while working abroad. The mean values were used to assess the use of coping strategies.

To determine the degree of resilience among the women, sample was dichotomized on the basis of the median score on the Psychological Resilience Scale. Participants who scored at or above the median were categorized as high resilient and participants who scored below the median were categorized as low resilient, holding true for full scale scores and for subscales. This procedure was based on Judkins (2001). Then the frequency and percentage of

subjects in each of the two categories were computed separately for the full scale and for the subscales. Pearson Chi-Square statistic was used to determine whether there is significant relationship between total resilience levels and selected demographic variables.

Due to the nonrandom sampling technique employed, nonparametric statistics were used to examine the relationships among the variables. Non-parametric tests for significant levels were used because these methods require less restrictive assumptions about probability distribution and homogeneity of variance. Parametric statistics, in contrast, make strong assumptions about the underlying population and probability distributions of the data. Therefore, the following non-parametric tests were performed:

To examine if high-resilient tendency participants have significantly lower levels of perceived stress than low-resilient tendency migrants, Mann-Whitney U test (nonparametric equivalent to an independent samples t-test) was used comparing perceived stress among high and low levels of resilience. Mann-Whitney U compares two independent groups on a dependent variable measure with rank-ordered (ordinal) data. In the case of the present study, the dependent variable is perceived stress whereas the independent variable (grouping variable) is level of resilience.

To determine the association between levels of resilience and coping strategies (i.e., to examine if the use of coping strategies is significantly influenced by levels of resilience), Kruskal-Wallis H test (nonparametric equivalent to one-way ANOVA) was conducted with high and low resilience levels as independent variables and the coping strategies as dependent variables. As the Kruskal-Wallis test does not assume normality in the data and is much less sensitive to outliers, it can be used when these assumptions have been violated and the use of the one-way ANOVA is inappropriate. The Kruskal-Wallis test evaluates whether the

population medians on a dependent variable are the same across all levels of a factor. To conduct the Kruskal-Wallis test, using the *K* independent samples procedure, cases must have scores on an independent or grouping variable and on a dependent variable. The independent or grouping variable divides individuals into two or more groups. In the present study, the dependent variables are the coping strategies and the independent (grouping variable) is level of resilience.

Finally, relationships between the perceived stress and selected socio-demographic variables were examined using Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis H tests as appropriate, with demographic variables as independent variables and perceived stress as dependent variable. If an independent variable has only two levels (e.g., place of birth: Urban, Rural), Mann-Whitney U test was employed. However, if the independent variable has more than two levels, Kruskal-Wallis H test was performed. Whenever the overall Kruskal-Wallis H test is found to be significant, follow-up tests were conducted. The follow-up tests involved comparisons between pairs of group medians using the Mann-Whitney U test which is the appropriate post-hoc test for the Kruskal-Wallis (Green & Salkind, 2008). For all analyses, the level of significance was set at 0.05.

3.12.2 The Qualitative Data Analysis

Data collected through semi-structured interviews was analyzed using thematic content analysis approach– the process of identifying, coding and categorizing the primary patterns in the data (Creswell, 2003). Thematic content analysis is a coherent way of organizing the research data in relation to the specific research question (Tuckett, 2005). It is a process of encoding qualitative data in a way that identifies and analyses patterns and

themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A theme can be defined as a pattern in the data that at the very least describes and organizes and at the very most interprets aspects of the phenomenon being studied (Boyatzis, 1998).

Content analysis can be achieved in two categorical stages, inductive and deductive (Esterberg, 2002; Mayring, 2000). Consistent with previous qualitative investigations, an inductive-deductive approach to data analysis was used in the present study. An inductive analysis of interview data ensured an accurate representation of the sources of stress and resultant coping strategies discussed by participants. Deductive procedures were utilized, in that prior knowledge concerning stress and coping (in particular, tenets from the transactional model of stress and coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) helped interpret the data.

Participants' interview responses concerning their immigration experience in the host culture were examined for negative and positive themes (i.e., the sources of stress and positive immigration experiences of the women which encouraged them to have positive perceptions of their circumstances and contributed to their resilience). Moreover, participants' interview responses regarding their dealing with stress were examined for use of adaptive and/maladaptive coping patterns.

The procedure outlined in Creswell (2009) was applied in this analysis and it consisted of the following steps:

1. Creation of raw data. The first step was to create interview transcripts taking into consideration the field notes. The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed in Amharic. The transcripts were recorded with codes or Id numbers. During the transcription, the original expressions were followed as much as possible and any necessary explanatory texts, which were not in the interview, were added in brackets. In order to analyze the data in an orderly

and systematic manner, the researcher summarized the participant responses during the interview after each key topic area.

Consequently, the data is arranged under the following headings:

- The things that bothered or stressed them the most or the main difficulties experienced since arrival in the destination countries.
- The coping strategies utilized by the participants.
- The participants' positive experiences which they themselves consider were important to their adaptation while working abroad.
- The activities they enjoyed the most while they were abroad, and
- Participants' positive personal qualities or individual characteristics of resilience that helped them to face stress from different sources.

With the first draft of the transcript, the researcher reviewed this whilst listening to each recording to verify the accuracy of the transcript.

2. *Translation of the transcribed data into English*. The researcher translated the Amharic transcriptions to English. The researcher then invited two English Literature graduate students who are fluent in English (whose mother tongue is Amharic) to verify the translation from Amharic to English. They reviewed the two versions of transcripts individually. Then discussions were made among the researcher and the two professionals who reviewed the transcriptions until agreement is reached on the grammar, conceptual meanings, and contents of the translations.

3. Data coding. The phase of coding involved two steps. First, open coding was done where interview transcripts were read holistically and key issues mentioned by respondents were noted under each thematic area. The transcribed data were read to obtain an overall

sense followed by the identification and labeling of key topics, words, phrases, feelings, and activities and subsequently an open-coding scheme was created for each transcription. Second, axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2007), was done which involved the grouping of open codes so that their categories (and properties) relate to each other in some analytical way. During the axial coding, some of the open codes created by the first pass through the data were combined into one overarching concept. For example, "long hours of work", "heavy work load" and "delay of payment" were open codes that were combined into a single theme "exploitative working conditions". Similar axial coding procedures were followed for the coping strategies, positive experiences, and personal strengths mentioned by the interviewees. This axial coding process enabled the researcher to distinguish central axes (i.e. major themes) around which the open codes rotated. Generally, the phase of coding involved bringing together and analyzing all of the data related to emergent themes.

4. Generation of the major themes. With the coding schemes, the researcher created the general themes and summarized them with direct quotes. The constant comparative data analysis was used to identify emerging themes and constantly compare one set of data to another (Merriam, 1998). The researcher used the analytic technique of constant comparison within and between interviews which led to collapse and/or expansion of the earlier codes to reach the final stage. Themes were identified by noting similarities and differences in the content of the statements that were categorized through the coding process. The researcher also searched for patterns in the codes by examining the frequency of codes across participants. The researcher compared and contrasted the patterns of participants' experiences associated with main sources of stress, coping strategies employed, and positive experiences, enjoyable activities, and personal characteristics which contributed to the women's resilience.

5. Interpretation of themes. Using the themes that emerged from the data, the researcher interpreted and verified the themes associated with the study purposes. Exemplary quotes from the transcriptions are presented to illuminate these themes. All references made used the Id numbers or codes given to each interviewee. The interpretations of the themes were integrated into the interpretation of the results from the quantitative data.

3.12.3 Trustworthiness in the Qualitative Data

The validity of qualitative research is often referred to as trustworthiness or credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1999). Credibility refers to the believability of the findings and there are various methods of improving the credibility of a qualitative data. Expert review (consultation with experts), providing credibility checks (i.e., inviting original informants to review the categories or themes for clarity), and back-translation of the transcripts are among the methods. Many researchers (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1999) argue that the most important criterion for judging a qualitative study is its credibility. To assess credibility, one would focus on the data quality, its analysis, and resultant conclusions.

In the present study, the research participants who generated the raw data were asked to evaluate the themes, interpretations and explanations pulled from the data. According to Lincoln and Guba (1999), inviting participants to evaluate the data analysis helps to increase the credibility of the data. As explained in the *Procedures of Data Collection* of this study (see chapter 3.9), a follow-up interview was conducted with eight of the eleven participants after the data analysis, two months from the initial interview (in July 2014). At this follow-up interview, I reviewed what the participants said in the first interview and checked whether the findings accurately captured what they had meant to say (i.e., if the findings represent their

experiences). I explained each theme, in Amharic, including how the use of descriptions in quotes could illustrate what each theme meant. I asked for confirmation and clarity. Even when some participants confirmed the meaning of the themes, I asked them to explain which further confirmed that the themes represented their perspective.

Chapter Four

Results

Introduction

This chapter commences by describing correlations among the scales/subscales along with the means and standard deviations. Then, the chapter presents the findings of the study, which are obtained by analyzing the data through the techniques described in the data analysis section. The outcome of the quantitative survey, which was carried out on a sample of 118 women labor migrant returnees, is followed by the major findings that emerged from the thematic analysis of the data from interviews conducted with eleven women returnees to provide context and additional information to better understand and analyze the findings generated from the quantitative survey. The results from the analyses of the quantitative and the qualitative data are presented in the order of the basic questions of the research.

The quantitative results present the analysis of the data from the PSS-10, the COPE Inventory, and PRS survey separately which is followed by a combined analysis to present the relationships among the variables. Each quantitative data analysis and interpretation is followed by the findings from the qualitative data analysis. The qualitative section presents themes identified regarding issues discussed in the interviews with sample quotes from participants related to the main themes. The themes that emerged from the analysis of the focused interview data provided powerful insights into the women's transitions as new immigrants and the suffering they endured, the coping strategies they employed, and also how they perceived that their positive experiences and personal strengths helped them to survive and fulfill their dreams.

4.1 Preliminary Analysis

Data collection commenced at the end of January and continued to mid April 2014. The quantitative survey was based on the data obtained from a sample of 118 Ethiopian women labor migrant returnees from the Middle Eastern countries, through the administration of structured questionnaires. The qualitative study, on the other hand, was based on the text data generated from semi-structured interviews with a sample of 11 women returnees. The descriptive analysis involved computation of means, standard deviations, and correlations pertaining to the scales.

The Pearson bivariate correlation coefficients were computed to examine the inter-correlations among the study variables. Total scores for perceived stress were computed by adding the negative and the positive subscale scores after the later were reverse scored (item 4, 5, 7 and 8); higher score indicating greater perceived stress (Total scores can range between 0 and 40). Total scores for resilience were computed by adding the three subscale scores (control, commitment, challenge) after the negative items were reverse scored; high scores reflecting higher resiliency (Total scores can range between 0 and 78). Total scores for adaptive coping were computed by adding the seven adaptive coping subscale scores (active coping, planning, restraint coping, use of emotional social support, use of instrumental social support, acceptance, positive reinterpretation and growth). Similarly, total scores for maladaptive coping were computed by adding the four maladaptive coping subscale scores (denial, mental disengagement, behavioral disengagement, and substance use). Total scores for adaptive coping can range between 14 and 42 and total scores for maladaptive coping can range between 8 and 24. High score on adaptive coping is desirable, increasing the likelihood of positive outcomes, whereas high score on maladaptive coping is undesirable, leading to

increased psychological distress. Inter-correlations among the study variables are presented in Table 8. The table also shows means, standard deviations, and the minimum and maximum total scores for the variables.

Table 8: Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Inter-correlations of Study Variables (n=118)

	1	2	3	4	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
1. Perceived stress	--	-0.50**	-0.47**	0.26**	20.20	7.67	6	34
2. Overall Resilience	--	--	0.48**	-0.44**	48.96	10.81	23	69
3. Adaptive coping	--	--	--	-0.53**	26.57	2.91	20	34
4. Maladaptive coping	--	--	--	--	15.80	1.87	12	20

** p<0.01 (2-tailed)
SD=Standard deviation; Min.=Minimum total score; Max.=Maximum total score

In Table 8 above, the Pearson bivariate correlation coefficients were all statistically significant. However, most correlations were moderate. Correlation coefficients between 0.10 to 0.35 are considered to represent low/weak correlations; between 0.36 to 0.67, represent moderate correlations; and between 0.68 to 1.00, represent high/strong correlations (Taylor, 1990). Particularly, results demonstrated a moderate negative relationship between resilience and perceived stress (r = -.50, p=.001) and between adaptive coping and perceived stress (r = -0.47). This indicates that as the use of adaptive coping strategies and the level of resilience increased, the level of perceived stress decreased. Furthermore, negative moderate relationships were found between resilience and maladaptive coping (r = -.44, p=.001), and between adaptive coping and maladaptive coping strategies (*r* = -.53, p =.001). A moderate, positive relationship between resilience and adaptive coping was found (r =0.48, p=.001), and

only a weak but statistically significant positive relationship between maladaptive coping and perceived stress ($r = .26$, $p = .001$) was demonstrated. All correlations were in the expected directions and that may be one evidence on the accuracy of the scoring (and reverse scoring) procedure employed.

In general, positive correlations were found between the variation of resilience and the variation of use of adaptive coping strategies, and between the variation of use of maladaptive coping strategies and the variation of perceived stress. On the other hand, negative correlations were demonstrated between the variation of resilience and the variation of perceived stress, between the variation of resilience and the variation of maladaptive coping strategies, and between the variation of adaptive coping and the variation of perceived stress, and between the variation of adaptive coping and the variation of maladaptive coping. This could mean that high resilient participants employed more adaptive coping strategies and perceived lesser stress than the low resilient ones. Also, this could imply that those who employed adaptive coping strategies perceived lesser stress than those who employed maladaptive coping strategies. The statistical significance of these group differences are tested using the Mann-Whitney U and the Kruskal-Wallis H tests in the subsequent sections (See 4.5 and 4.6).

In addition, the three characteristics of resilience were correlated with overall perceived stress. The three characteristics of resilience are perceived control, commitment, and challenge. The numbers of items in the Control, Commitment, and Challenge subscales are 9, 8, and 9 respectively. After reverse scoring of the negative items, subscale scores can range from 0 to 27 for Control subscale, 0 to 24 for Commitment subscale, and 0 to 27 for Challenge subscale. Mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum scores for each of the

three characteristics of resilience, and the Pearson correlation coefficients between the characteristics of resilience and overall perceived stress are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9: Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Inter-correlations between the Characteristics of Resilience and Overall Perceived stress (n=118)

	1	2	3	4	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
1. Perceived stress	--	-0.22*	-0.66**	-0.72**	20.20	7.67	6	34
2. Control	--	--	0.40**	0.59**	15.72	4.44	6	26
3. Commitment	--	--	--	0.61**	17.56	5.02	7	24
4. Challenge	--	--	--	--	17.58	4.97	5	27

** p<0.01 (2-tailed); * p<0.05 (2-tailed); SD=Standard deviation; Min.=Minimum total score; Max.=Maximum total score

In Table 9, the Pearson's correlation indicated that all characteristics of resilience were significantly, and negatively, correlated with overall perceived stress. This means that as each of the three characteristics of resilience increased, the level of perceived stress decreased. Negative, strong correlation was found between perceived stress and challenge (r = -.72, p=.001), whereas significant negative, moderate correlation was found between perceived stress and commitment (r = -0.66, p=.001). The correlation coefficient between perceived stress and control was found to be weak but statistically significant (r = -0.22, p =.016). The inter-correlations among the three characteristics of resilience were moderate, positive and statistically significant. In addition, the overall mean and standard deviation for each characteristic of resilience were comparable, indicating that each characteristic appropriately represents resilience.

On the whole, high and acceptable score reliabilities (reported in Chapter 3), moderate inter-correlations among the scales and among the subscales, taken together, provided evidence for the scales' improved psychometric rigor.

4.2 Participants' Level of Perceived Stress and the Major Sources of their Stress During their Stay Abroad

To analyze the extent of perceived stress in the sample returnee women, firstly, total scores for the PSS-10 were computed by adding the negative and the reverse of the positive subscale scores (item 4, 5, 7 and 8). Total scores ranged from 0 to 40 (a higher score indicates greater perceived stress). Then, based on the three acuity ranges recommended by Cohen and Williamson (1988), participants were categorized as having: Low level of perceived stress (Total score = 0-10), moderate or medium level of perceived stress (Total score = 11-25), and high level of perceived stress (Total score = 26-40). A frequency table obtained from the initial descriptive statistics yielded the percentage of the sample that were categorized in the low, moderate, and high perceived stress groups. Findings revealed that out of 118 subjects, 53(44.92%) had moderate stress whereas 16(13.56%) and 49(41.53%) fall in the category of low and high stress respectively. This means that most, (102; 86.45%), of the subjects were found to have moderate to high levels of perceived stress due to their migration experiences. Moreover, the Pearson Chi-Square statistic was used to determine whether there is a significant relationship between stress levels and selected demographic variables (Table 10).

Table 10: Perceived Stress Levels Based on Socio-Demographic Changes (n=118)

Socio-demographic characteristics		Levels of Perceived Stress			Pearson Chi-Square Statistic		
		Low (0-10)	Moderate (11-25)	High (26-40)			
		n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	χ^2	df	p
Place of birth	Urban (n=62)	10(16.13)	33(53.22)	19(30.65)	6.514*	2	0.038
	Rural (n=56)	6(10.71)	20(35.71)	30(53.57)			
Migration status	Documented (n=65)	9(13.85)	34(52.31)	22(33.85)	8.317*	2	0.017
	Undocumentd(n=53)	7(13.21)	19(35.85)	27(50.94)			
Age at migration	20 to 22 (n=82)	8(9.76)	39(47.56)	35(42.68)	1.230	2	0.591
	23 to25 (n=36)	8(22.22)	14(38.89)	14(38.89)			
Duration of stay abroad	1 contract period	7(10.45)	31(46.27)	29(43.28)	0.050	2	0.975
	2 & more contracts	9(17.65)	22(43.14)	20(39.22)			
Duration of stay after return	2 to 6 months(n=83)	5(6.02)	42(50.60)	36(43.37)	4.691	2	0.129
	7 to 11 months(n=35)	11(31.43)	11(31.43)	13(37.14)			
Marital status before they left	Never married(n=79)	5(6.33)	41(51.90)	33(41.77)	5.470	4	0.073
	Married (n=21)	5(23.81)	5(23.81)	11(52.38)			
	Divorced (n=18)	6(33.33)	7(38.89)	5(27.78)			
Educational status	Grade 1 to 8 (n=24)	5(20.83)	5(20.83)	14(58.33)	8.201*	4	0.029
	Grade 9 to12(n=78)	6(7.70)	42(53.85)	30(38.46)			
	Above 12 (n=16)	5(31.25)	6(37.50)	5(31.25)			

*p<0.05; F=Frequency; Df=Degree of freedom

Table 10 depicts the relationship of perceived stress levels of the sample migrant women returnees to the socio-demographic characteristics. Perceived stress level of the women was found to be significantly associated with their place of birth ($\chi^2(2) = 6.514$, p=.038), their migration status ($\chi^2(2) = 8.317$, p=.017), and their educational status ($\chi^2(4) = 8.201$, p=.029). That is significantly higher percentage of the women from the rural areas perceived higher levels of stress compared to those from the urban areas. Moreover, significantly higher percentage of the women who had been illegal (undocumented) migrants

perceived higher level of stress as compared to the legal (documented) migrant women. Furthermore, women with only minimal education (grade 1 to 8) perceived significantly higher stress in higher percentage followed by those who have had secondary education (grade 9 to 12) and those who had attended some form of education after completing grade twelve in descending order. From this result, it could be said that women labor migrants from rural backgrounds, those women who migrated through illegal means, and those who have had low educational status had significantly higher levels of perceived stress and had higher risk of developing psychological distress. The other demographic variables did not show significant association with the perceived stress levels of the study subjects. However, the results, although not statistically significant, did suggest possible association between levels of stress and the marital status of the women, that should continue to be studied.

In addition to the data from the PSS-10, semi-structured interviews were held with 11 returnee women to explore the major sources of their stress during their stay abroad as this could provide a rich understanding of the context in which stress was perceived and coping was taking place. They were asked the questions: "What bothered or stressed you most while working abroad?" "What were the most difficult things you had to cope with?" Clarification and elaboration probes were used to ensure an accurate and in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences. This approach gave participants the opportunity and freedom to express their views to a greater extent than if they were to fill out a questionnaire asking specific and close-ended questions.

Through participants' responses, it was revealed that they had experienced stress from many sources and had experienced feelings of distress, loneliness, and sadness during their

stay abroad as domestic workers. Six distinct but interrelated themes, related to major sources of stress, emerged from the qualitative data analysis. These are:

1. Social isolation
2. Exploitative working conditions (work related stress)
3. Language difficulties
4. Separation from family and lack of communication
5. Undocumented legal status, and
6. Break up of important relationships.

Participants mentioned a variety of combinations of these problems with some identifying difficulties in all six as the cause of their stress. Table 11 presents the major themes, along with their major distinguishing features, obtained from the analysis of participants' responses to the interview questions. The distinguishing features are the key issues identified from the interview transcripts during the open coding procedure. The open codes created by the first pass through the interview transcripts were then combined into one overarching concept (i.e., theme) during the axial coding.

Table 11: Major Themes of Sources of Stress

Themes	Distinguishing features
Social isolation	Restriction of personal contacts with people in home country and/or people in the neighborhood, living without social and cultural groups, feelings of segregation and isolation from the rest of the world/struggling with being alone/, loss of past lifestyle, homesickness.
Exploitative working conditions/Work related stress/	Long hours of work, too heavy work load, work for more than one household, delay of payment, and abuse at work.
Language difficulties	Difficulty in understanding instructions form employers, problem of getting to know and use utensils, problem of communicating with employers and their children, inability to express feelings, feeling insecure about speaking to strangers, problem of developing social networks, feeling like a fish out of water.
Separation from family and lack of communication	Not having been allowed to have any contact with families at home, employers didn't let me come back home when I wanted to, not allowed to come back home even when a family member was seriously sick, employers delay my trip to my home country after I complete my contract, worry due to the impact of separation on children left behind.
Undocumented legal status	Worry due to fake documents, left feeling silenced because of undocumented legal status, mistreated and couldn't speak up because of the fear of not having a legal right to do so, fear of losing the job and being deported or even worse.
Break up of important relationships	Death of a close family member in home country, told by a boyfriend that the relationship with him will no longer continue as it was.

Note: Most participants mentioned more than one source of stress

The themes of sources or causes of stress are explained in the following section with illustrative quotes drawn from interviews. In their expressions, some of the participants often used the pronoun "you" rather than "I". It is clear that in using the pronoun "you", the speaker is referring to herself. In some cases, "you" refer to the speaker along with those in a similar

situation. Quotes are coded with the participants' personal information (participant's ID number, country returned from, and age of the participant).

Social Isolation: The Depletion of one's Social and Support Network

Social isolation seems to be the aspect of migration most problematic for all the participants. Every participant spoke of loneliness and a sense of isolation (Amharic, *bechegninet ena megelel*). They described their personal experiences of social isolation which caused mental and emotional stress and impeded their process of acculturation to a great extent. All the participants of this study explained experiencing intense feelings of social isolation, especially during the earlier stages of their immigration, mainly due to living without their loved ones and their social and cultural groups. This can be confirmed from the sentiments of respondents as shown below.

> I had experiences of feelings of isolation because I had limited or no contact with the larger world and felt segregated and isolated from the rest of the world. (Interviewee ID 04, Beirut, 26)

> Days seemed to me like years as time was stuck somewhere. I was completely cut off from the outer world. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)

> The biggest thing is that you lost your family, friendships and connections back home. You don't have any support and this was very isolating. I felt really alone and isolated. (Interviewee ID 11, Oman, 28)

> The first six months [after migrating to Kuwait] were really difficult because I was away from very close family members and relatives, and I was really anxious and at times depressed too. (Interviewee ID 08, Kuwait, 26)

The stresses of being in a different country made many participants feel strange and alone. The more alone and different they felt, the more they thought of home. The more difficult it became to be there, the stronger these emotions grew. Participants described a strange disembodied feeling of disconnection as if they were still mentally back home in their country with their family, even though they were physically in the host country. Feeling as if being in two places at one time was especially heightened when there was little or no sense of belonging in the new country. In the following quote, a participant shared how her traditions of family celebrations traveled constantly through her mind.

> The first year that I spend there was more difficult because of the homesickness for holidays that take place in the town back home. Because you remember all the dates- here at home we celebrate many things but in going there you are locked up not knowing, always thinking that today they are doing this, today is the day to celebrate this, do this, …. and you can't do any of this because of being so far away. Remembering moments with family and family events was especially vivid when feeling estranged in a different country; it was almost like feeling you were there and here at the same time. There is a going back and forth in memory brought on by the intensity of feeling strange and alone. (Interviewee ID 7, Dubai/UAE, 25)

These internal feelings were generated from their lived experiences of social isolation in an unfamiliar environment during the process of adaptation to life in countries in the Middle East which led to stress and further developed into depression. For example, a participant said,

> Nothing felt good especially during the first three or four months. There were strange feelings of emptiness after going there. I had a low mood most of the time. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)

In addition to being away from home, women labor migrants were often confined to a household with little or no contact with the outside world. Restriction of personal contacts and demanding that women do not talk to other people in the neighborhood were also identified as a main stressor. With no opportunity to meet and engage socially especially with people from their own home country, the women were unable to form useful and supportive networks for themselves, with which they might have overcome the inevitable homesickness and impact of the separation from families. For a migrant worker who is unaccustomed to the new culture and way of life and who has never been away from home, the ability to express oneself freely in one's own language, to be affirmed and supported by those of one's culture who also share similar experiences is a very potent source of support. This would help the migrants to integrate faster and more successfully. Denying migrant workers these useful linkages and freedom can stifle them and heighten loneliness and isolation. These in turn can negatively impact the quality of life and of the service the migrant provides.

Exploitative Working Conditions

The other major source of stress for the participants while abroad was stress at work which was related to the lack of control and fear experienced by domestic workers in the context of their relationship with their employers. The specific sources of stress at work, as experienced by the participants, include long hours of work/too heavy work load, delay of payment, and abuse at work. For example, a participant explained her experience:

> You cannot rest, and you will hesitate to ask for your employer's permission, for fear that she/he might send you home. You are always told that you are here to work. In addition to that, all the things that you do need the permission of your employers. (Interviewee ID 01, Beirut/Lebanon, 25)

Participants described the exploitative nature of the work and their experiences of delay of payment by employers. For example, a participant said:

> At first, I was not given 3 months' salary and my employer lent me to his friend's household as a domestic worker. I was also sent to my employer's extended family (brother and mother) and did their household work without clear compensation. My employer wanted to transfer me to another employer before six months of working without giving my salary for the last 3 months. I complained about this and my original employer took me back, gave me pending wages and facilitated my employment contract. My complaint and subsequent refusal to be silenced earned me the respect of my employer and I finished my first 2-year contract with this family. Then, my contract was extended for another 2 years in the same family. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)

They reported long working hours with constant verbal abuse from employers. A participant explained more about the exploitative nature of the work and described her experience of abuse at work as follows:

> When you are at work they only tell you 'look, do this, do that, do the other thing!' And when you are working it appears as if they are the ones who have no feeling for a person; they order you around and yell at you as if you were an animal, they really treat you badly. (Interviewee ID 11, Oman, 28)

I remembered the participant's (ID 11) facial expressions during this interview, her piercing eyes, her frown posture. She spoke with a tone of disbelief. She felt that she was being treated unfairly and she could not believe that people would treat other people that way.

Some of the migrant workers had to work for more than one household and for more than 12 hours a day. They spoke of the heavy and unmanageable workload and long working hours. These returnee women also complained of not getting sufficient food and sometimes of

having been given leftovers and inadequate quantity and quality. For example, a participant said:

> I had sometimes not given to eat properly. Sometimes they gave me a morning meal but no food at night and sometimes only the leftovers or old stale food. They didn't let me speak with other Ethiopian housemaids or go and meet any one from our own home country. Sometimes I had to work for more than one family. There was so much work that it's impossible to do it in 24 hours so I didn't get proper sleep. If I complain I would get slapped or scolded. I had to look after two houses and one was a house with three stories. (Interviewee ID 10, Kuwait, 27)

Overall, participants had experienced stress at work in destination countries due to long hours of work/too heavy work load, delay of payment, and abuse at work by employers. Regular monitoring and evaluation of the conditions under which migrants work may address some of the causes for continued and compounded distress and poor wellbeing.

Language Barrier

Participants identified a range of experiences with Arabic language difficulties that contributed to their hardships in pursuing their work abroad. They expressed that language difficulties compounded their acculturation challenges in every aspect of their life. Their challenges multiplied due to difficulties in communicating, understanding or listening to the Arabic language. These challenges were perpetuated in a number of ways in various aspects of their initial stage of settlement in the destination countries such as in getting to know and use utensils, communicating with employers and their children, and developing social networks. They explained that these challenges led to further hardships and feelings of distress during their acculturation process. A participant reported on the way Arabic language

difficulties fostered an environment of stress, especially during the earlier stage of her immigration, as follows:

> . . . I was not able to perform my work properly because I was not able to understand the instructions delivered to me in Arabic. I was insulted many times due to not being able to understand things properly. It was because of limited Arabic language skills. It was not an easy thing to face; very stressful. …. Language was one of the main tensions for me and a major roadblock in having a smooth relationship with my employers. As a result, I felt isolated and depressed. (Interviewee ID 01, Beirut, 25)

For those migrants who didn't know Arabic, more than anything else, it was the inability to communicate and understand others that made them feel like "a fish out of water" (Amharic: "*ke bahir yewota assa"*). This was the phrase that one of them (ID 06) used to describe feeling strange and in a new world totally different than what they knew or felt familiar with. These participants felt that language was a major factor that contributed to feeling different and stressed. For example, a participant said,

> During the initial stages of my immigration to Saudi Arabia, for me, more than anything else, it was the inability to communicate and understand others that made me feel like a fish out of water. Feeling insecure about speaking to employers and strangers was the experience that constantly created extreme stress and anxiety to me. (Interviewee ID 06, Saudi Arabia, 27)

The quote "like a fish out of water" captured the fear and desperation of this migrant who felt she was living outside her world. During their initial stages of immigration, for the participants the language barrier meant more than just not speaking the language. It meant that not speaking it lessened their chances to survive. Feeling like a fish out of water was overwhelming to many participants – they felt as if they could not breathe and survive in that

world that was completely different and strange to them; a place where they couldn't even speak.

In contrast, those who could speak Arabic (Interviewee ID 01, 03, 04, and 08) stated that managing with the language helped them to adapt into the new culture/environment relatively quickly. They expressed that to know the language is the key element. For example, a participant expressed her thoughts about the language as a supportive element as follows:

> …Speaking Arabic helped me a lot. They [employers] liked me so much because I spoke Arabic and looked after the children well. I think language is a key for everything. If you are in a country, and you do not speak the language, you are like a blind person. (Interviewee ID 08, Kuwait, 26)

Separation from Family and Lack of Communication

For migrant workers who struggle in numerous ways, one of the few positive and good things in their lives is their families and loved ones. Maintaining contact with loved ones became one of the most important and powerful motivating sources of personal strength and inspiration at work. Often, a person could bear with untold suffering for the sake of loved ones and did this willingly. But when such connections and relationships were threatened, not nurtured or severed it could be highly distressing and damaging emotionally.

Lack of communication between the migrant worker and the family back home has several dimensions. Migrant workers spoke of not having been allowed to have any contact with their families at home. For example, a participant said,

> I used to write regularly to my husband and child and was wondering why I never heard from them. Then months later I got to know that my husband was very sick due to drinking heavily and he was trying to kill himself because he hadn't heard from me. I was very upset. So I asked the master of the house about what happened to all the letters that I gave him to post. He had forgotten or thrown them away. (Interviewee ID 10, Kuwait, 27)

A participant (ID 08, Kuwait, 26) spoke about an instance where she was not allowed to come back home even when a family member was seriously sick. That condition significantly impinged on her wellbeing. The participant said she got a good home and was working well. They liked her so much because she spoke Arabic and looked after the children well. But when she wanted to come back home they didn't let her. Her father fell ill and she asked to come home but they did not let her go. She became very upset and angry and demanded to go back, but still they were delaying letting her go. Finally her father died. She was so upset; she said she would kill herself. Then they got her a ticket and sent her home. By the time she was home, the rituals were finished. She felt she worked all that long and even built a house but she wasn't able to do the most important thing. She felt hopeless and was distressed. After a few days she went back on a different contract. But she was unhappy during her stay abroad.

This is an example of how diverse the migration experience can be and how most often it involves positive gains and losses at the same time. Interviewee ID 08 clearly was having a good experience with good employers and had also saved and built a house for her family. She had probably achieved what she went out to achieve but by a very sad twist of fate she lost her father before she could get to him in his illness. Economic progress for her did not bring satisfaction and wellbeing.

The impact on children when there is no communication with the parents (primarily the mother) is acutely visible. For example, interviewee ID 9, a 29-year-old widowed mother of 2 children, said:

> I left my two children with my sisters and mother and left. The youngest was 2 years old. My family kept calling me from the first week on saying that the youngest would not stop crying. They said she had not stopped crying for days and was not eating and sleeping. I thought she will be alright in a few days, but they kept calling me saying my youngest would not stop crying. It was really disturbing. (Interviewee ID 09, Dubai/UAE, 29)

Undocumented Legal Status

Another source of stress identified in the interview is the undocumented legal status of the domestic workers. In addition to the difficulties of being in a strange new country and struggling with a language barrier, the undocumented migrants highlighted that the intense insecurity of being undocumented added additional stress. Being undocumented could add to the problems of migrant domestic workers, as verbalized thus:

> …I waited a long time at Beirut airport upon arrival. …I was nervous because of my fake documents. Being an illegal migrant was an additional worry for me. I was thinking what if I get caught. (Interviewee ID 04, Lebanon, 26)

A total of three participants referred to living in constant fear because of being undocumented. They were left feeling silenced because of their undocumented legal status. They were mistreated and they couldn't speak up because they felt they didn't have a legal right to do so. They felt that they couldn't demand fair work conditions because of being undocumented. Despite the difficulties and harsh work conditions, the immigrants continued to work and endure these conditions. The fear of losing their job and being deported caused

these participants to feel helpless and stuck. They felt trapped into having to endure poor work conditions because the only alternative was worse.

All the above problems experienced by the participants (i.e., intense feelings of insecurity, unable to speak up when mistreated, and feelings of helpless) were the perceived consequences of being undocumented migrant due to the fear of losing their job and being deported. In reality, none of the interviewees were caught due to the lack of genuine documents. From this it could be said that although the participants didn't experience actual consequences of being undocumented migrants, their illegal status impacted their mental health negatively.

Breakup of Important Relationships

Breakup of a long term relationship was another contributing factor to the experience of stress for one of the eleven participants of this study who stated that when her boyfriend, with whom she planned to get married after her return, told her that their relationship would no longer continue as it was, she was disturbed which led her to depression (Interviewee ID 05, Kuwait, 29). Another participant (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27) had also experienced stressful life event while employed overseas because of the death of a close family member (uncle) in home country.

When considered collectively, the examples of sources of stress provided by participants in the present study indicate frustrations resulting from an inability to exercise influence over situations which are potentially harmful, threatening or challenging. For the majority, these situations severely affected them especially during the earlier stages of their work after immigration to destination countries. Those initial transitions laid the foundation

for how these participants experienced their situation in the future. Women were cognizant of their challenges as immigrants but these challenges were not perceived as undefeatable. Then, they used various coping strategies to deal with their stress. Through using these coping strategies, they experienced a sense of wellness. Data concerning the coping strategies that the women had been employing when they became stressed are analyzed and presented in the following section.

4.3 Coping Strategies Employed by the Women in Dealing with Stressful Experiences while Working Abroad

This section presents the results from the quantitative and the qualitative data on coping strategies that the sample women had been employing during their stay abroad as domestic workers.

Using the adapted 22-item Amharic version of the COPE inventory, respondents were asked to rate the degree of their use of each coping strategy over the period of their stay abroad. Scores for each of the 11 subscales were computed from the sum of the items in the respective subscale. Seven adaptive subscale scores and four maladaptive subscale scores were generated. The adaptive coping subscales were: Active coping, Positive reinterpretation and growth, Use of instrumental social support, Use of emotional social support, Restraint coping, Acceptance, and Planning. The maladaptive coping subscales were: Mental disengagement, Denial, Behavioral disengagement, and Substance use. A high score indicates frequent use of a particular coping strategy.

The data were then investigated to identify which of the 11 coping strategies were used most frequently by the respondents to handle stressful experiences during their stay

abroad. The mean values were used to assess the use of coping strategies. Table 12 presents the results from the analysis.

Table 12: Use of Coping Strategies by Respondents to Handle Stressful Experiences while Working abroad (n=118)

Coping Strategies	Mean	Std.Deviation
Use of emotional social support	4.72	1.33
Use of instrumental social support	4.47	1.11
Positive reinterpretation and growth	4.19	1.46
Active coping	3.81	1.45
Mental disengagement	3.61	1.41
Planning	3.45	1.30
Behavioral disengagement	3.29	1.08
Acceptance	3.22	1.32
Denial	3.17	1.24
Restraint coping	2.82	0.96
Substance use	2.80	0.99

Table 12 shows the means and standard deviations on the use of coping behaviors by the participants to cope with problems and issues faced. Mean values on the COPE inventory subscales ranged from 2.80 to 4.72 (SD = 0.96 to 1.46). The result in Table 12 shows that use of emotional social support was the most frequently employed coping strategy to deal with stress while working abroad as housemaids (Mean = 4.72, SD = 1.33). In other words, the participants had employed the coping strategy of emotional social support several times or more frequently than other strategies. More specifically, when they become stressed, the women had been more frequently getting emotional support from friends and/or relatives and

they had been talking to someone about how they feel (Item 15 and 16 of the COPE inventory).

While it was stated above that women labor migrants were not allowed to talk to friends or relatives and experienced a breakdown in their social networks, especially during the earlier stages of their immigration, they continued making determined efforts to use friends and family members as a source of social support. That means those initial transitions laid the foundation for how they felt about and responded to later experiences.

The analysis also indicated that use of instrumental social support (Mean = 4.47, SD = 1.11), and positive reinterpretation and growth (Mean = 4.19, SD = 1.46) ranked the second and third most frequently employed coping strategies respectively. The use of instrumental (informational) social support means that when they experienced problems and felt stressed, the women had been getting advice from someone about what to do and they had asked people who have had similar experiences what they did (Item 5 and 10 of the COPE inventory). Positive reinterpretation and growth, the third most frequently employed coping strategy, means that the women had developed positive emotions and feelings as a coping strategy for dealing with challenges associated with adaptation in the new environment (i.e. they looked for something good in what is happening and they had learnt something from the experience) (Item 1 and 4 of the COPE inventory). Active coping (i.e., taking direct action to get around the problem) and mental disengagement (i.e., turning to work or other substitute activities to take their mind off things and daydreaming about things other than the stressful event occurred) ranked fourth and fifth (Mean = 3.81, SD =1.45 and Mean = 3.61, SD = 1.41) respectively.

From this analysis, one can see that the first four most frequently employed coping strategies were adaptive coping strategies. More importantly, it seems that the women placed greater importance on relational coping strategies (social support) when faced with problematic situations and when they felt stressed. The least frequently employed coping strategy was substance use (Mean = 2.80, SD = 0.99).

With the aim to explore the coping strategies of the participants in more depth, interviews were held with 11 women returnees. They were asked the questions: "What did you usually do when you experienced a great deal of stress while working abroad?" "What did you usually do when you felt stressed, unhappy, lonely, or homesick?" Clarification and elaboration probes were used to ensure an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences. Participants' interview responses regarding their dealing with stress or ways to manage problems and issues faced indicated use of both adaptive and maladaptive coping patterns. These coping patterns identified specific themes. The thematic findings and representative quotations are presented in Table 13. The illustrative quotes are coded with the participants' personal information.

Table 13: Major Themes and Examples of Coping Experiences of the Participants

Coping strategies	Illustrative quotes
Religion and Spirituality (Having faith in God and Praying to God)	I turned to my religion to help me through it. I do talk to God, and so I do recognize that as a solution. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26) I felt myself close to God through my prayers and this connectedness made me feel strong and protected to face the adversities of life. (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25)
Focusing on the positives (positive emotional engagement)	I stayed focused on positive mindsets even though living in Arab countries is not easy at all. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26) The hardship I faced made me a stronger person. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)
Social support-emotional	I had been talking to my boyfriend living in Addis Ababa via phone about how I feel, and I had been feeling happiness after each conversation with him. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)
Social support-instrumental	…I turned to my Ethiopian immigrant friend. She shared me her experiences about what to do when I experience problems. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)
Active coping	I worked hard to learn Arabic language and remove the communication barrier with my employers and other people. (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25)
Mental disengagement	Sometimes when I feel lonely and stressed, I turn to work and dreamed of going back to my country. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)
Venting emotions	I cried a lot and let my feelings out. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)

As shown in Table 13, collectively, participants identified seven coping strategies that were used to manage stress. The data on adaptive coping patterns indicated themes concerning use of religion or religious coping, positive emotional engagement during stressful experiences, use of emotional social support from friends, use of instrumental social support from friends, and active coping. The themes for maladaptive coping patterns included use of

substitute activities and thoughts (mental disengagement), and crying (venting emotions). The themes of adaptive coping strategies are explained below with illustrative examples drawn from interview transcripts as a whole.

Religious Coping

One of the salient themes that emerged from the data as a coping strategy was religious coping (finding strength in religion). Both words, "religion" (Amharic, *haimanot*) and "spiritual" (*menfesawinet*), were used interchangeably by the participants to explain the support that they gained from a higher power based on their faith and prayers to the Supreme Being. According to the participants, spirituality and religiosity tided them through the difficult times.

Two sub-themes emerged under religious coping, which include "Having faith in God" and "Praying to God". For example, a participant expressed how her strong faith in God helped her to think positively and to become hopeful and to cope:

> Having faith in God strengthened me emotionally to face life challenges. My strong devotion and faith helped me in developing a close connection with God and a better understanding of life which helped me to face any upcoming life challenges. My belief that only He [God] could take me out of difficulties kept me hopeful and to cope with my challenges. I was able to keep thinking positively because of my strong faith in God's blessings. (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)

Eight other participants explained that they became hopeful when they "diverted" to religion with a strong belief that God would protect them and take away their life challenges. They considered that "trust" and "hope" were contributing factors to cope with their

immigration challenges, loneliness and depression and to attain their goals of migration. For example, a participant expressed her views as follows:

> …I must say that Religion helped me a lot. Even though I faced so many difficulties after my immigration, my strong belief in God and regular prayers took my mind away from those problems. They kept me hopeful that it [migration; acculturation and work stress] was just a phase and not my destination. I believe that trust and hope were contributing factors to cope with my immigration challenges, isolation and depression and to attain my goals of migration. (Interviewee ID 05, Kuwait, 29)

Two participants believed that their life goals and their journey are part of something larger than themselves. They believed that God had a plan for them and that somehow what they were going through made sense because it came from God. A participant described how God was the guiding force in her migration.

> I was not there because I wanted to go to that country; I was there because God had a purpose for my life, God has a plan, and it was one of the ways I endured all the difficulties. (Interviewee ID 10, Kuwait, 27)

She (Interviewee ID 10) believed that God's plan continued to unfold throughout her life giving her ability to "move things forward instead of allowing the stress to bring her down". Moreover, another participant (Interviewee ID 08, Kuwait, 26) believed that faith in God's mission meant that nothing was impossible. She said: *"To God nothing is impossible. Thanks to him I was able to endure all those sufferings and succeeded in my work migration."*

Interviewee ID 08 viewed success in work migration as achieving a better economic situation than the one she had experienced in her country of birth before migration. These two participants (ID 08 and ID 10) presented their migration experience as a spiritual journey. To

them, God provided a foundation from which they cultivated the capacity to endure extreme suffering. For them, success was inseparable from suffering and struggle.

In addition to having a strong faith, the participants highlighted the importance of praying to the Supreme Being which worked as a protective shield to support them to adapt in a new land. Participants noted that they used their belief in God as a form of emotional support. Specifically, they described how praying to God/Allah provided them with a way to cope with their unhappiness and loneliness. Praying was an important resource to deal with emotional distress by providing them with peace. For example, emphasizing the values of praying, a participant expressed her experiences as follows:

> I believe that participation in religious ceremonies and meeting with other Muslims offered me strength to come out of stress and depression. Praying to Allah made me strong to face the life circumstances courageously. Actually, spiritual and religious support is everything. If we get religious atmosphere, then automatically we feel empowered. This is the only support which can take us out from darkness to the brightness of life. It strengthened me to face hardships and overcome loneliness and depression after migrating to Saudi Arabia. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)

The participants considered their deep connection with the Supreme Being through prayers. This deep connection helped to uplift their moods and to be hopeful for their future. For example, in her narratives, one respondent said,

> When I feel sad, fear, and helplessness, I sang religious songs softly to calm my mind and lighten my feelings because I felt that God listened to my songs. (Interviewee ID 01, Beirut, 25)

Overall, nine of the interview participants expressed that their strong faith in God/Allah helped them to develop a deeper relationship with the Supreme Being in order to cope with their acculturation challenges and depression. Participants highlighted a connection between their strong faith in the Supreme Being and emergence of abilities to cope with their acculturation stress and depression after immigration to the Middle Eastern countries. Thus, strong faith in God/Allah contributed in their abilities to cope with acculturation stress which eventually reduced stress and depression and prevented further experiences of depression.

Focusing on the Positives (Positive Emotional Engagement)

Focusing on the positives (positive emotional engagement under stressful conditions), which is similar with the concept of positive reinterpretation and growth, is another theme that is characterized as a coping resource in regard to the stress-coping among participants. During acculturation, participants experienced positive and negative emotions. In general, they expressed negative emotions as a result of the adaptation process such as difficulties of adaptation to a new environment, acquiring new culture and language, and limited social interactions.

In spite of negative emotions associated with the adaptation process, some participants developed positive emotions and feelings as a coping strategy for dealing with challenges associated with adaptation. They developed the ability to focus on positive traits because they believed that their positive attitudes and emotions helped them to reduce life challenges and barriers and consequently to deal well with stressful situations. Their positive emotions facilitated their abilities to cope with a variety of stressors.

Seven of the interview participants exhibited several expressions that described the development of positive emotions as a process of adaptation such as:

> Being put in a situation where I have to adapt and have to focus on the end game and not the small hold ups of everyday life I think made me stronger. I had to make the best of things and consider myself lucky. (Interviewee ID 11, Oman, 28)

> Rather than considering stress and negative feelings, keeping positive (*tiru tiruwn maseb/memegnet*) really helped me a lot, (Interviewee ID 05, Kuwait, 29)

> I stayed focused on positive mindsets even though living in Arab countries is not easy at all, (Interviewee ID 02, Kuwait, 26)

and

> I realized that I had the ability to deal with all challenging situations with the positive mindsets. (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25)

Such statements indicate that participants attempted to create positive emotions with positive thoughts. Some participants believed that challenges associated with adjustment provided new opportunities to facilitate their personal growth and enhance a sense of positive feeling, which helped reduce levels of life stress. Such positive emotions and attitudes served as important coping strategies for participants because they believed that through stressful life events they developed their positive emotions as a buffer against them.

Two of them thought that they became much stronger mentally through the adaptation process during their work migration. The following quotations illustrate this:

> I think I am more able to deal with the smaller things now because of the difficult things I have had to deal with in the past. I think the stress related to migration

> definitely added to my level of [mental] strength. (Interviewee ID 07, Dubai/UAE, 25)

> Migration made me stronger. You have to cope more because you have more problems and difficulties when you migrated compared to when you live in your home country. (Interviewee ID 10, Kuwait, 27)

The experience of stress during adversity is a loss of resources, but reflecting and recalibrating to reality, moving in and out of sadness, by switching to more positive states of mind, by finding joy and laughter within pain, and making sense out of it, allowed individuals to gradually return to a state of equilibrium and resources restoration. A positive emotional response in face of adversity does not necessarily imply a higher level of individual and relational resources, but simply a more flexible way to modulate emotional responses and expressions, and the use of a broader repertoire of behavioral strategies.

Use of Emotional and Instrumental Social Support

Social support from friends and family members was another salient theme that emerged from the data. While it was stated previously that women labor migrants experienced a breakdown in their social networks, especially during the earlier stages of their immigration, they continued making determined efforts to use friends and family members as a source of social support. Such support systems were utilized in two ways. First, they (friends and family members) provided instrumental/informational support for the women which assisted their adaptation. Second, they provided emotional support so that the women could discuss their difficulties.

The analysis of the interview data suggested that participants received social support from their Ethiopian friends working in neighboring houses or in the houses of the relatives of their employers. The data also suggested that participants received social support from family members and/or friends living in home country, Ethiopia. These social support systems contributed to development of a coping strategy. In terms of social support from friends, participants had opportunities to share various immigration experiences and got advice or information from those who had similar experiences about what to do when they had experienced problems (i.e., use of instrumental social support). Maintaining and developing social relationships with friends provided participants with positive feelings and connectedness with them. Participants thought that they had similar immigration experiences associated with adaptation challenges. By providing a social support system for each other, they were more likely to react to various challenging situations in a collective way. For example, one participant said,

> Whenever I am stressed out, I usually ask permission from my madam [the employer] to meet my friend who had been working in the house of my madam's sister. Sometimes we shared lots of things together and those conversations with her really helped me out to deal with lots of stress. (Interviewee ID 05, Kuwait, 29)

In terms of social support from members of family-of-origin and/or friends in home country, the participants had employed phone calls, Facebook, and other social media to get connected with. In doing so, the participants had gotten moral support or understanding from them (i.e. emotional social support). They thought that social support from their friends and families in the home country played an important role in enhancing a sense of psychological health and reducing negative feelings. For example, one participant mentioned that

> Whenever I experienced loneliness or whenever I am stressed out, I had been talking to my boyfriend living in Dessie about how I feel. Sometimes, during my spare time, I had been chatting with him on Facebook. He was always sympathetic to me. He had supported me a lot morally. I had been feeling happiness after each conversation with him. I had also conversations on Facebook with other friends living elsewhere. That was also a way of avoiding stressful situations and enhancing positive feelings. (Interviewee ID 04, Lebanon, 26)

It was discovered, however, that some of the participants had been reluctant to admit their real stressful life events to their parents who live in Ethiopia. They believed that if they shared their difficulties with parents, their parents would have become very worried. They mentioned that their parents had sacrificed a great deal in their lives and it would be disrespectful to cause them worry. For example, a participant said,

> During my stay abroad, I had never told my family about what my real life looked like there. Whatever problems I had experienced and whatever bad feelings I had, during phone conversations with my family members, I always acted as though I am living comfortably and feeling happy. (Interviewee ID 03, Saudi Arabia, 27)

Active Coping

The interview data also revealed participants' use of active coping. Active coping is the process of taking active steps to try to remove the stressor or to ameliorate its effects. For example, learning and developing communication skill in Arabic language emerged as an important element of facing their communication problems and the resulting feelings of distress. A participant said: *"I worked hard to learn Arabic and remove the communication barrier with my employers and other people"* (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25).

Participants explained that they gained self-confidence and felt themselves empowered by knowing the Arabic language and starting communicating through it. A participant expressed her experiences as follows:

> My life changed when I started understanding and speaking Arabic with my great efforts to learn the language. My efforts in learning the language helped me a lot. But, it would have been better for me if I had learnt the language in my home country before migrating. … For me, being able to communicate in Arabic was an environment of empowerment, which I believe was a buffer against stress and depression which I had been experiencing during the earlier stage of my immigration. I felt myself confident and integrated after gaining competency in Arabic. (Interviewee ID 04, Lebanon, 26)

Overall, analysis of the interview transcripts indicated that all the eleven interview participants employed adaptive coping strategies. They mentioned their use of a variety of combinations of coping strategies during their stay abroad. In particular, nine participants found strength in their religion through the support they gained from a higher power based on their faith and prayers to the Supreme Being. Seven participants developed positive emotions and feelings to cope with a variety of stressors. Moreover, seven participants employed emotional and instrumental social support from friends and family members; particularly emotional support was identified by the majority of them. Three participants explained their use of active coping in connection with managing the communication barrier by making efforts to learn and use Arabic. The results of the qualitative study largely confirmed the results obtained from the analysis of the quantitative data. However, new themes of coping strategy were discovered which were not included in the quantitative survey. These were: religious coping and venting emotions (i.e., crying).

4.4 Reported Levels of Resilience and Themes of Sources of Resilience

The degree of resilience was determined using the data from the adapted 26-item Amharic version of the Psychological Resilience Scale (PRS). First, subscale and total scale scores were computed for the PRS. The numbers of items in the Control, Commitment, and Challenge subscales are 9, 8, and 9 respectively, rated on a four point scale (0 to 3). Five items from the Control subscale, three items from the Commitment subscale, and five items from the Challenge subscale are reverse scored. After reverse scoring of those items, subscale scores can range from 0 to 27 for Control subscale, 0 to 24 for Commitment subscale, and 0 to 27 for Challenge subscale. Total resilience scores can range from 0 to 78.

Using these scores, high numerical values were associated with higher levels of resilience and low numerical values were associated with lower levels, holding true for total scores and for subscales. Then, categories of high and low psychological resilience were determined by a median split in which participants' scores were divided into high vs. low. This procedure was based on Judkins' (2001) suggestion. Accordingly, the medians of the total resilience scale scores and the subscale scores were as follows: Median for resilience total = 47, control = 16, commitment = 15, and challenge = 18. Participants who scored at or above the median were categorized as high resilient, and participants who scored below the median were categorized as low resilient. Then the frequency and percentage of subjects in each of the two categories were computed separately for the total resilience scale and for the three subscales (perceived control, commitment, and challenge).

Based on their total resilience scores, the number of participants who scored at or above the median, thus operationally considered as having high level of resilience, were

77(65.25%) while 41(34.75%) of them were categorized as having low level of resilience. Using the subscale scores, 65(55.08%) and 53(44.92%) of the sample subjects were categorized as having high and low perceived control respectively. On the commitment subscale, 78(66.10%) of the subjects were found to have high commitment level while 40(33.90%) of them were found to have low commitment level. Finally on the challenge subscale, 81(68.64%) and 37(31.36%) of the subjects were categorized as having high and low levels of challenge respectively. This shows that the majority of the women were found to have high resilience levels based on their total scores as well as on their subscale scores. Moreover, the Pearson Chi-Square statistic was used to examine the associations between total resilience levels and selected demographic variables. Results are shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Level of Resilience Based on Socio Demographic Changes (n=118)

Socio-demographic characteristics		Level of Resilience		Pearson Chi-Square Statistic		
		High	Low			
		n (%)	n (%)	χ^2	df	p
Place of birth	Urban (n=62)	41(66.13)	21(33.87)	0.044	1	0.834
	Rural (n=56)	36(64.29)	20(35.71)			
Migration status	Legal (n=65)	42(64.62)	23(35.38)	0.026	1	0.872
	Illegal (n=53)	35(66.04)	18(33.96)			
Age at emigration	20 to 22 (n=82)	56(68.29)	26(31.71)	2.094	1	0.295
	23 to25 (36)	21(58.33)	15(41.67)			
Marital status during emigration	Never married (n=79)	53(67.09)	26(32.91)	4.719	2	0.094
	Married (n=21)	13(61.90)	8(38.10)			
	Divorced (n=18)	11(61.11)	7(38.89)			
Duration of stay abroad	1 contract period (n=67)	46(68.66)	21(31.34)	3.362	1	0.143
	2 & more contracts(n=51)	31(60.78)	20(39.22)			
Educational status	Grade 1 to 8 (n=24)	11(45.83)	13(54.17)	8.472*	2	0.034
	Grade 9 to 12 (n=78)	55(68.75)	23(31.25)			
	Above grade 12 (n=16)	11(70.51)	5(29.49)			

*p<0.05

Table 14 depicts the relationship of resilience levels of the sample women labor migrant returnees to the demographic characteristics. Resilience level of the women was found to be significantly associated with their educational status ($\chi^2(2) = 8.472$, p=.034). That means, significantly higher percentage of the women with better educational status (above grade 12) were categorized as having high resilience followed by those who have secondary education (grade 9 to12) and those who have only minimal education (grade 1 to 8). From this result, it could be said that having better educational level is associated with having high psychological resilience and better adaptation and vice versa among the women labor migrants. The other demographic variables did not show significant association with the high and low resilience levels of the study subjects.

In order to explore the sources of their resilience in more depth, semi-structured interviews were held with 11 returnee women. The purpose of the interview was to explore migrants' perspectives on the conditions or contextual factors which they themselves consider were important to build their resilience and to overcome adversities. Moreover, the purpose of the interview was to know what kind of inner capacity the women have (according to their opinion) in order to face stress from various sources in the new environment. During the interviews, attempts were made to elicit those external moments of joy and happiness which encouraged the women to have positive perceptions of their circumstances and to face their stress and emerged from their loneliness and depression after their immigration to the destination countries. Moreover, attempts were made to identify their personal strengths, referring to characteristics of resilience, which allowed them to survive the demands of their work and being away from their families. The specific questions asked were: 1) What positive experiences contributed to your adaptation while working abroad? 2) What were the activities

you enjoyed the most while working abroad? and 3) In your opinion, what were your personal strengths/inner capacities or individual characteristics that helped you to face stress from the demands of work, being away from your families, or other stressful experiences abroad?

When asked what positive experiences contributed to their adaptation (sources of joy and happiness) while working abroad, interview participants cited positive experiences that helped cushion experiences of psychological stress.

The themes of positive experiences identified from the interview data include:

1. Received material gifts from employer
2. Bonus provided (not included in the contract)
3. Meeting other Ethiopian domestic workers, and
4. Saving money and helping one's family in Ethiopia.

When asked what activities they enjoyed most while they were working abroad, the participants identified the following conditions and activities:

1. Having a day off and holidays
2. Doing activities with employer (e.g., shopping)
3. Doing activities with their employer's child/children (e.g. playing),
4. Pastime/hobbies (listening to music, watching TV, using the internet).

The aforementioned sources of joy and happiness centered more on positive relationships with employers, employer's children, family members, and fellow domestic workers. Though financial factors were considered important, these seem secondary to

maintaining smooth relationships with other individuals in their lives. However, financial factors seem to be the source of their sense of empowerment. For example, a participant said,

> … Especially, the act of sending money to my beloved family back home was a source of happiness and an affirmation of my ability to provide for the needs of my family, more than affirming solely my economic capacity. (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25)

It is important to note that one of the interview participants said that she did not remember any activity she enjoyed doing while working abroad.

The participants also recognized individual characteristics that they possess which allowed them to cope. The themes of personal strengths or individual inner capacities identified from the analysis of the interview transcripts were:

1. Having dream (hope/goals for the future)
2. Determination/persistence (*ye alama tsenat*)
3. Patience/tolerance (*tegestegna mehon*)
4. Flexibility (openness to learning and growing from challenges)
5. Being a good person regardless of employers' treatment

Participants stated that mobilization of personal characteristics which include dream (hope/goals for the future), strong determination to succeed, patience, flexibility, and being a good person regardless of how employers treated them were critical to overcome some of their problems. These themes are related to the ways in which inner strength transforms suffering into strength. Participants who used personal strength to change their situation believed that this change was possible because they were pursuing a dream and never giving

up on it. The women had goals for the future. Working towards achieving a dream required focus and positive determination. For example, a participant said,

> I believe my strong determination in purpose of my migration (in Amharic, *ye alama tsenat*) and patience (*tegestegna mehon*) helped me to face many negative experiences faced me during my stay abroad. (Interviewee ID 01, Lebanon, 25)

A 29 year old woman, who returned from Dubai explained that she was a widow with two children during her migration, and experienced cultural shock on arrival at Dubai. She considered, however, that her strong determination was a significant asset to cope with her situation and stated:

> I was determined. I really wanted to have a better life for my 2 children. I needed to be strong because I understood that I had to live there for some years and save money…. (Interviewee ID 09, Dubai/UAE, 29).

One of the interviewees expressed that hard life experiences have taught her the patience and made her strong. She shared her thoughts about the importance of her patience derived from the lessons of life difficulties and the role of the self in coping as follows:

> The difficulty of life has taught me the patience. I believe that patience creates a lot of strong matters that you can do what you want. I do not know but I feel that you need to cope yourself, because you will not get help from outside. It comes from inside a person that you have willing to learn and you need to cope by yourself. I am a person who believes in freedom. I never wanted someone to say me what to do. I have my rights. I am always just. I like myself as I am. I believe this made me succeed. (Interviewee ID 10, Kuwait, 27)

Furthermore, another interviewee stated that her flexibility (i.e. relying on the self, and also relying on others) was the source of her strength. The theme of flexibility could also refer to openness to learning and growing from challenges. She verbalized:

> While I had worked well and got good feedback from my employers, it made me stronger. I felt that I could trust myself and be satisfied. These matters were the source of strength for me. Although, the personality and background have its effects, but also the willingness to learn all the time and survive supports coping with difficult life circumstances. (Interviewee ID 08, Kuwait, 26)

Interviewee ID 04, a 26 year old woman, had experienced constant fear due to her undocumented migration status while she was in Beirut, Lebanon. Even though being undocumented migrant was one of the sources of her worries due to the fear of termination of her work and deportation, she described use of her inner strength that helped her to endure this situation. Her inner strength was "being a good person". To clarify, being a good person meant being a good person regardless of how her employers treated her; for her, this meant winning them over with her good behavior (e.g. "being loyal to them").

In addition, their religiosity and spirituality; thinking of their families, communicating with them and receiving emotional support from them; the presence of supportive friends (in home country and host country) and romantic partners (in home country); and thinking about their children's welfare and their education (for those who had children in home country) seem to provide the women with strength to face their challenges. Religious practices such as reading the Qur'an or the Bible and praying proved particularly important for them. Communicating with families and receiving emotional support from them saw them through hard times. For those who had children, thinking about their welfare and their education motivated them further into working hard. The presence of supportive friends and romantic partners served as links and connections while overseas.

At this point I would also like to highlight that there were two specific words in Amharic that the participants mostly used to describe the process of becoming strong.

Participants described a dynamic process using two concepts: *Chegeren teqwaqumo menor* (to endure or survive) and *Seketama mehon* (being successful). *Chegeren teqwaqumo menor,* for the participants, meant "to be strong and live in the face of adversity or problem". *Seketama mehon* means "moving out of the situation they were in"; for example, achieving a better economic situation and overcoming poverty by working hard and saving money despite the suffering experienced. I think these two concepts connect to the concept of resilience which emphasizes the successful adaptation that occurs and frequently results in development beyond the original position (Waller, 2001), which is broader than the concept of coping which aims at successfully overcoming the situation and emerge with minimal damage (Lazarus, 1993). In addition to successfully overcoming a stressful situation, resilience includes other concepts such as a solid perception of reality, the ability to influence and improvise, a firm belief in the future, and numerous other components (Caverley, 2005; Luthans & Youssef, 2007).

In general, participants described inner positive personal qualities (capacities) referring to characteristics of resilience acquired throughout both their personal lives and during their exile. These internal strengths helped them to transform their suffering into a positive experience. However, those positive personal qualities required external support to be enhanced and used meaningfully.

4.5 Perceived Stress between High and Low Resilient Participants

To examine if high-resilient tendency participants have significantly lower levels of perceived stress than low-resilient tendency migrants, Mann-Whitney U test (nonparametric equivalent to an independent samples t-test) was used comparing perceived stress among high and low levels of resilience. Sample was dichotomized on the basis of median of scores on overall resilience and the subscales, as explained in the preceding section (See 4.4). Associations of perceived stress with the total resilience and the three subscales of resilience were examined separately. Results are shown in Table 15.

Table 15: Mann-Whitney U test for Differences in Perceived Stress of Participants Having High Resilience and Low Resilience Levels (n=118)

	n(Mean Rank)	Mann-Whitney U	Z	P
Total resiliency scores				
High	77(54.30)	1178.00	-2.271*	0.023
Low	41(69.27)			
Control subscale scores				
High	65(56.15)	1504.50	-1.183	0.237
Low	53(63.61)			
Commitment subscale scores				
High	78(52.47)	1297.00	-1.970*	0.040
Low	40(66.08)			
Challenge subscale scores				
High	81(51.50)	1201.50	-2.107*	0.035
Low	37(62.04)			

Dependent Variable: Perceived Stress
Grouping variable: Resilience levels (High, Low)
*P<0.05

Table 15 presents the result from Mann-Whitney U test performed to examine if the distribution of perceived stress differs significantly between categories of high resilient

women and low resilient women. The table presents the mean rank of the sample in the two categories of resilience on perceived stress, the values of Mann-Whitney U (the Test Statistic), and the z values (the Standardized Test Statistic). When total resilience scores were used, low and high resilient individuals differed significantly in perceived stress; low resilient participants perceived greater stress than did high resilient participants (U=1178.00, z=-2.271, p = 0.023) with a mean rank of 69.27 for the low resilient group and a mean rank of 54.30 for the high resilient group. Using the three concomitant resilience subscales, the difference in perceived stress was significant between participants with high and low commitment levels (U = 1297.00, z = -1.970, p = 0.040) and between participants with high and low challenge levels (U = 1201.50, z = -2.107, p = 0.035). The difference in perceived stress between women with high control levels and low control levels was not significant (U = 1504.50, z = -1.183; p = 0.237).

In general, perceived stress levels differed significantly among the sample women labor migrant returnees with high and low resiliency (total and commitment and challenge). Therefore, it could be said that being low resilient was significantly associated with high perceived stress, and being high resilient was significantly associated with low perceived stress.

4.6 The Relationship between Coping Strategies and Levels of Resilience

To determine the association between levels of resilience and coping strategies (i.e., to examine if the use of coping strategies is significantly influenced by levels of resilience), Kruskal-Wallis H test (nonparametric equivalent to one-way ANOVA) was conducted with high and low resilience levels as independent variables and the coping strategies as dependent variables. The Kruskal-Wallis test was used to evaluate whether the population medians on each coping strategy (dependent variable) are the same across all levels of resilience (a factor). With the Kruskal-Wallis test, a chi-square statistic (Kruskal-Wallis H) is used to evaluate differences in mean ranks to see if the medians are equal across the groups. This analysis helped to see if adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies were significantly influenced by levels of resilience. Table 16 contains the summary of the results.

Table 16: Summary of Kruskal-Wallis H test for the Relationship between Use of Coping Strategies and Levels of Resilience, Ethiopian women labor migrant returnees (n=118)

	Resilience total		Kruskal-Wallis H test	
Coping strategies	Level	n(Mean Rank)	χ^2	P
Active coping	High	77(64.58)	5.216*	0.022
	Low	41(49.96)		
Positive reinterpretation and growth	High	77(65.17)	6.402*	0.011
	Low	41(48.85)		
Use of instrumental social support	High	77(63.81)	3.841	0.056
	Low	41(51.41)		
Use of emotional social support	High	77(68.76)	17.476*	0.001
	Low	41(42.11)		
Restraint coping	High	77(63.44)	3.485	0.062
	Low	41(52.10)		
Acceptance	High	77(62.99)	2.718	0.099
	Low	41(52.94)		
Planning	High	77(66.94)	10.994*	0.001
	Low	41(45.52)		
Denial	High	77(54.36)	5.730*	0.017
	Low	41(69.15)		
Mental disengagement	High	77(53.42)	3.470	0.065
	Low	41(70.91)		
Behavioral disengagement	High	77(53.60)	3.801	0.059
	Low	41(70.59)		
Substance use	High	77(58.13)	0.430	0.512
	Low	41(62.07)		

Dependent variables: Coping strategies
Independent variable (grouping variable): Level of resilience total (High, Low)
*P<0.05

Table 16 depicts the results regarding the use of coping strategies according to levels of resilience. The table presents the mean ranks of participants in the two categories of resilience on each coping strategy. It also presents the Kruskal-Wallis test statistics referred to as Kruskal-Wallis H (Chi-square) and the significance levels. The Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there were significant influences of high levels of resilience on the use of four coping strategies: Active coping ($\chi^2 = 5.216$, $p = 0.022$) with a mean rank of 64.58 for high resilient group and 49.96 for low resilient group, Positive reinterpretation and growth ($\chi^2 = 6.402$, $p = 0.011$) with a mean rank of 65.17 for high resilient group and 48.85 for low resilient group, Use of emotional social support ($\chi^2 = 17.476$, $p = 0.001$) with a mean rank of 68.76 for high resilient group and 42.11 for low resilient group, and Planning ($\chi^2 = 10.994$, $p = 0.001$) with a mean rank of 66.94 for high resilient group and 45.52 for low resilient group. Further, use of the coping strategy of denial was significantly associated with low levels of resilience ($\chi^2 = 5.730$, $p = 0.017$) with a mean rank of 69.15 for low resilient group and 54.36 for high resilient group.

From this result it could be said that high level of resilience does seem to significantly increase the use of adaptive coping strategies, but only in the case of active coping, positive reinterpretation and growth, use of emotional social support, and planning. On the other hand, having low levels of resilience significantly increased the use of a maladaptive coping strategy, denial. The remaining coping strategies were not found to be significantly influenced by (either high or low) levels of resilience.

4.7 The Association of Selected Demographic Variables with Perceived Stress

Relationships between the perceived stress and the socio-demographic variables were examined using Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis H tests as appropriate, with demographic variables as independent variables and perceived stress as dependent variable. The demographic variables of interest were: Place of birth (Urban, Rural), Migration status (Legal/documented, Illegal/undocumented), Marital status while emigrating (Never married, Married, Divorced), Educational status (Grade 1 to 8, Grade 9 to 12, above grade 12), Age while emigrating from Ethiopia, Duration of stay abroad, and Duration of stay after return. With respect to age at emigration, subjects were allocated into categories ranging from 20 to 22 years (group 1) and 23 to 25 years (group 2) each comprised a 3-year range of age. With respect to duration of stay abroad, two stratifications were made: one contract period (2 years) and two and more contract periods (more than 2 years). With respect to duration of stay after return, subjects were allocated into categories ranging from 2 to 6 months (group 1) and 7 to 11 months (group 2) each comprised a 5-month range.

If an independent variable has only two levels, such as place of birth (urban, rural) and migration status (documented, undocumented), Mann-Whitney U test was employed. However, if the independent variable has more than two levels, such as marital status, Kruskal-Wallis H test was performed. Follow-up tests were conducted if the overall Kruskal-Wallis test is significant. The follow-up tests involved comparisons between pairs of group medians using the Mann-Whitney U test which is the appropriate post-hoc test for the Kruskal-Wallis (Green & Salkind, 2008). For each pairwise comparison, the values in the

Define Groups dialog box were changed to match the comparison of interest (e.g., 1 vs. 2, 1 vs. 3, etc.). The results from the analyses are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Summary of Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis H tests for the Relationships of Selected Demographic Variables and Perceived Stress, Ethiopian Women Labor Migrant Returnees (n=118)

Variable		n(Mean Rank)	Test of significance (*U/H*)
Place of birth	Urban Rural	62(49.21) 56(70.89)	U=1098.00, Z= -3.449*, p = .001
Migration status	Legal(documented) Illegal (undocum.)	65(56.70) 53(62.93)	U=1540.50, Z= -0.988, p = .323
Age at migration	20 to 22 23 to 25	82(57.31) 36(64.49)	U=1296.50, Z= -1.052, p = .293
Duration of stay abroad	1 contract period 2 & more contracts	67(57.23) 51(62.69)	U=1534.00, Z= -0.857, p = .390
Duration of stay after return	2 to 6 months 7 to 11 months	83(61.44) 35(54.90)	U=1291.50, Z= -0.952, p =.341
Marital status before they left	Never married Married Divorced	79(55.53) 21(74.96) 18(67.81)	$\chi^2(2) = 5.024$, p = .081
Educational status**	Grade 1 to 8 Grade 9 to 12 Above grade 12	24(85.08) 78(55.23) 16(40.07)	$\chi^2(2) = 19.311$*, p = .001

*p<0.05

**The Kruskal-Wallis test result was further analyzed using Mann-Whitney U test for each paired combination of categories of educational status. Significant results were observed between Grade 1-8 and Grade 9-12 categories (U=466.00, Z= –3.827, p=.001), and Grade 1-8 and Above grade12 categories (U=48.00, Z= –3.647, p=.002). No statistically significant difference for perceived stress was observed between Grade 9-12 and Above grade 12 categories (U=408.00, Z=-1.621, p=.105).

In Table 17 above, there was a statistically significant association between place of birth and perceived stress on the Mann-Whitney U test (U=1098.00, Z= -3.449, p = .001), with those women labor migrants from rural backgrounds perceived significantly greater migration related stress than those from urban areas (Mean rank for the rural=70.89, Mean rank for the urban=49.21). Moreover, there was a statistically significant association between educational status and perceived stress on the Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2) = 19.311$, p=.001), with those having more education reporting lower perceived stress (lower risk of psychological distress). Further analysis using Mann-Whitney tests for each paired combination of categories of educational status indicated that women with only minimal education (grade 1 to 8) reported significantly higher perceived stress scores than those who have had secondary (grade 9 to 12) education (U=466.00, Z= –3.827, p=.001) or than those who had attended some form of education after completing grade 12 (U=48.00, Z= –3.647, p=.002). From this result, it could be said that those women labor migrants from rural origin and those having low educational status had significantly higher levels of perceived stress and had significantly higher risk of developing psychological distress.

No statistically significant differences for perceived stress between groups were observed for Migration status (U=1540.50, Z=-0.988, p=.323, Legal [mean rank=56.70, n=65], Illegal [mean rank=62.93, n=53]); Age at emigration (U=1296.50, Z=-1.052, p =.293, 20 to 22 years [mean rank=57.31, n=82], 23 to 25 years [mean rank=64.49, n=36]); Duration of stay abroad (U=1534.00, Z= -0.857, p = .390, 1 contract period [mean rank=57.23, n=69], 2 and more contract periods [mean rank=62.69, n=49]); and Duration of stay after return (U=1291.50, Z= -0.952, p =.341, 2 to 6 months [mean rank=61.44, n=83], 7 to 11 months [mean rank=54.90, n=35]). Moreover, perceived stress was found to have no statistically

significant association with Marital status while emigrating ($\chi^2(2)= 5.024$, p =.081, Never married [mean rank=55.53, n=88], Married [mean rank=74.96, n=14], Divorced [mean rank=67.81, n=16]).

Chapter Five

Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to gain knowledge about the Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries regarding their level of perceived stress due to their migration experiences, the major sources that contribute to their stress, their coping strategies, the level of their resilience, significant strength giving factors in their life, and to examine the relationship among the variables. The study was based on the experiences of returnee women.

The findings of this study may counter some prevailing assumptions about Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries and suggest directions for further research and intervention. One of the strengths of this study is its focus on positive characteristics and the environmental factors which contributed to the women labor migrants' successful adaptation in the host countries. It can be seen as an enquiry where the strengths were discovered and appreciated, in addition to their challenges. Hence, it is a departure from the dominant paradigm which tends to conceptualize women labor migrants' adjustment process in non-coping terms as presence or absence of psychopathology. The study provided information on how Ethiopian women labor migrants deal with migration-related challenges and have positive psychological changes. Such an orientation provides insights into "what works" and thereby contributes to improving knowledge so as to enhance the well-being of intending Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries which could be of considerable value to both themselves and their country. The major findings of this study are discussed in relation to the existing literature.

5.1 Levels of Perceived Stress and the Stress Source

Migration poses new demands and challenges that threaten to disrupt the individual's psychological equilibrium (Bhugra, 2004). In the present study, consistent with other migration studies, the results indicated that the participants perceived high levels of stress. For example, it was found that out of the total 118 participants, the majority, (102; 86.45%), had moderate to high levels of perceived stress due to their immigration experiences in the host countries. This result is congruent with the reports of previous studies. Many scholars reported that migrant domestic workers are vulnerable to migration-related stress and mental health problems (e.g. Angel & Williams, 2000; IOM, 2004; Zahid, Fido, Razik, Mohsen, & El-Sayed, 2004). Stress level of the women was found to be significantly associated with their place of birth, their migration status, and their educational status. Being a migrant of rural origin, being an undocumented migrant, and having low educational status were significantly associated with high level of perceived stress.

The significant association between the rural background and the high level of perceived stress in the present study could be attributed to their agricultural backgrounds which represent a serious obstacle to their adaptation to the demands of an industrialized urban city. For migrants from rural areas with agricultural economies, acculturation to the new environment will require an even greater effort: not only must they assimilate into the culture of a different country, but also into an industrial urban society, since big cities have their own idiosyncrasies and their own customs. Most studies reviewed maintain that urbanization increases psychological distress (e.g. Vega et al., 1998).

The significant association between undocumented status and the high level of perceived stress in the present study is also consistent with previous studies which have

reported a high prevalence of mental health concerns among undocumented migrants. For example, a study conducted in a clinical setting in New York City revealed that undocumented Latino immigrants reported higher levels of stress than their documented counterparts (Perez & Fortuna, 2005). Previous research studies revealed that illegal immigration places additional stressors on immigrants since there is fear of being deported back to their countries of origin. For example, a study conducted among Latino immigrants in the United States showed that undocumented immigrants reported higher levels of fear of deportation and acculturative stress than their documented counterparts (Arbona, Olvera, Rodriguez, Hagan, Linares, & Wiesner, 2010). That means Latino immigrants concerned with deportation reported higher levels of acculturative stress than immigrants who did not express deportation concerns. Moreover, based on the limited literature available, researchers have proposed that the difficulties associated with undocumented status may intensify immigration related challenges such as language difficulties, cultural differences, and separation from family, which may, in turn, result in increased levels of stress among undocumented immigrants in comparison with their documented counterparts (Perez & Fortuna, 2005; Rodriguez & Dewolfe,1990; Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). It is reasonable to expect that long-term exposure to stress associated with fear of deportation is likely to have a negative impact on an individual's thoughts, emotions, and social functioning.

Having better educational status was significantly associated with low levels of perceived stress, and vice versa, in the present study. This result is also congruent with the reports from past researches. For example, it was reported by Eksi (2002) that education was a protective factor for mental health of migrants. On the other hand, Baykan, Ozkan, Maral, and Candansayar (2002) found that having a lower educational level constitutes a risk factor for

mental health problems among women. Moreover, Beiser and Hou (2001) reported significant association between having only minimal education and an increased risk of psychological distress among Southeast Asian refugees resettled in Canada.

In addition to the participants socio-demographic backgrounds and their migration status (i.e. being from the rural background, being undocumented/illegal migrant, and having minimal education), in the present study, data from the semi-structured interviews with eleven returnee women revealed that they had experienced stress from many sources during their stay abroad as housemaids. The major sources of stress as reported by the participants were: exploitative working conditions, personal experiences of social isolation, difficulties in communicating with Arabic language, separation from family and lack of communication, and break up of important long-term relationships with their partners and family members. Most participants mentioned more than one source of stress. The sources of stress identified in the present study are consistent with the suggestion that stressors, including exploitative day-to-day living and working conditions, cultural isolation (Birke, Hanlon, Atalay, Packer, & Whitley, 2009), and linguistic barriers (Spitzer, 2003) are common among women migrant domestic workers. The finding is also congruent with the assertion that the type and complexity of stressors that challenge the lives of migrants is considerable (Spitzer, 2003). For the majority of the participants of the current study, these stressful situations severely affected them especially during the earlier stages of their work migration.

While these participants described their suffering honestly and intimately, suffering was not their whole story. Throughout migration research, suffering tends to dominate; in this study however, suffering did not overshadow the strength that was revealed throughout the participants' descriptions of their experiences. Through the analysis of the data, several key

issues were captured related to the positive immigration experiences among the participants. Participants identified several strengths and resources that allowed them to cope with post-migration stressors.

5.2 The Coping Strategies Employed

Following distressing and traumatic life experiences in the host countries, participants engaged in determined efforts to cope with stressors and developed their own coping strategies during their stay abroad as housemaids. The analysis of the data from the COPE inventory and participants' interview responses regarding their coping strategies indicated use of both adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies. The most frequently employed adaptive coping strategies were: use of emotional social support from friends and relatives, use of instrumental/informational social support, positive reinterpretation and growth, and active coping. The coping strategies of mental disengagement and behavioral disengagement were among the maladaptive coping strategies the women had been employing during their stay abroad. Overall, the data indicated that most participants employed adaptive coping strategies. As a result, they were able to experience positive psychological changes.

Interview participants in this study were able to identify those critical coping strategies associated with their well-being during the post-migration period. Analysis of the interview data revealed findings consistent with the results obtained from the analysis of the quantitative data. However, new themes of coping strategies were discovered which were not included in the quantitative survey. These were: religious coping which is an adaptive coping strategy and venting emotions (i.e, crying) which is a maladaptive coping strategy. Interview data clearly indicated that participants used more than one coping strategy at any one point in time, with

the combination of several strategies varying depending on the stressor. This finding is supportive of past research which also found that the combination of coping strategies used varies according to the stressor (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Overall, analyses of the quantitative and the qualitative data revealed that there were five adaptive coping strategies that were frequently employed by the Ethiopian women labor migrants during their stay abroad. These were: (1) use of emotional social support, (2) use of instrumental social support, (3) religious coping, (4) focusing on the positives or development of positive emotions/positive reinterpretation and growth, and (5) active coping. Therefore, the discussion focuses on these major findings on coping strategies.

The adaptive coping strategies employed by the participants of this study are consistent with those pre-stressor characteristics that have been identified in other populations as buffers to the development and maintenance of psychological disturbance. Specifically, past research has suggested that social and family support, spirituality and religious faith (Greef & van der Merwe, 2004) are important factors in promoting resilience. These coping strategies employed by participants of the present study lead them to improved adaptation following significant stressors. They mentioned that through using these coping strategies, they experienced a sense of wellness.

Social support (particularly emotional support), religions coping, and development of positive emotions and feelings were commonly employed coping strategies among the participants of the present study, and enhancing social support is often recommended as an effective means of reducing stress (Griffith, Steptoe, & Cropley, 1999; Schonfeld, 2001). Social support (from their Ethiopian friends working in neighboring houses or in the houses of the relatives of employers and from family members and/or friends living in home country,

Ethiopia) seems to provide the women with the strength to face their challenges with positive attitudes. However, for many people it is not culturally acceptable to discuss private matters with outsiders, so the lack of contact with close female relatives was a concern for many of the women. Social support has the potential to encourage adaptive coping responses by promoting self-esteem, confidence and a sense of control and also by providing information and guidance (Harrop et al., 2006).

The frequent use of the coping strategy of social support among the participants in the present study is consistent with several cross-cultural studies which suggested that individuals from interdependent and collectivistic cultures are more likely to value interpersonal connections, possess high interdependent self-conceptions, and therefore place greater importance on relational coping strategies when faced with problematic situations (Cross, 1995; Essau & Trommsdorff's, 1996; Olah, 1995; Sinha, Willson, & Watson, 2000). The relationship between social support and well-being is evidenced by past research. Social support research studies have been largely focused on its beneficial effects on individual well-being. Holahan and Moos (1981) found that there was a negative relationship between social support and psychological maladjustment. Cohen and Wills (1985) proposed two major distinctive models that depict the relationship between social support and physical, mental, and social health outcomes; the buffering effects model and the main effects model. The buffering model states that social support improves an individual's health status by mediating the effects of stress. Various forms of social support may provide stress-buffering effects which refer to minimizing the likelihood of an undesirable experience. It posits that when periods of life stress occur, those who have low levels of support will show more symptoms

of poor health. The main effect model assumes that social support affects the individual regardless of the levels of stress experienced.

The women also turned to their religious beliefs as a source of emotional support with which to cope with uncertainty and difficulties. Beliefs can influence the outcome of events as they foster flexibility in coping and the view that stressful life events are challenges. Previous research findings have consistently shown that religion, spirituality and related practices can have the role of integrating stressful and traumatic experiences into a meaningful context in the life story of the affected person. Brune et al. (2002), when investigating the outcome of psychotherapy for war traumatized refugees resettled in Germany and Sweden, found that those with strongest religious convictions dealt better with their traumas and "new" life. Similarly, Dorais (2007) when studying Vietnamese boat people resettled in Canada underlined that religion was an important source of hope and meaning throughout their flight and immediately following their resettlement because it reinforced their identity and helped them to adjust to an unfamiliar environment. Moreover, Shoeb et al. (2007) found that religious practices and beliefs generated active problem-focused coping amongst Iraqi refugees living in the U.S.A. Mayer (2007) highlights that resettlement experiences must be understood as a liminal state corresponding to a transitional period characterized by ambiguity and indeterminacy because of the loss of identity. This often makes people turn to faith, either religious or another belief, as a source of emotional support with which to cope with uncertainty and difficulties.

Focusing on the positives or development of positive emotions (positive reinterpretation and growth) was another most commonly employed coping strategy by the women. In spite of negative emotions associated with the adaptation process, they developed

the ability to focus on positive traits because they believed that their positive attitudes and emotions helped them to reduce life challenges and barriers and consequently to deal well with stressful situations. Their positive emotions facilitated their abilities to cope with a variety of stressors. Past research also supports the close relationship between positive emotions and successful adaptation to adverse circumstances. For example, research studies support the close connection between positive emotion and resilience (Ong, Bergeman, Bisconti, & Wallace, 2006) and explain that positive emotions help resilient people construct psychological resources that are necessary for coping successfully with significant adversities like migration, war, natural disasters or terrorist attacks (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010). Strategies aimed to regulate emotions can be maintaining and prolonging, or increasing and enhancing positive emotions (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007). Emotion regulation refers to the attempts to influence the types of emotions people experience, when they experience them and how they are expressed. According to Tugade and Fredrickson (2007), positive emotions have a unique ability to down-regulate lingering negative emotions and the psychological states they generate.

Active coping strategy had been employed by the participants in connection with managing the communication barrier by making efforts to learn and use Arabic language. The participants expressed that to know the language was the key element in coping. One of the main sources of stress, especially during their earlier periods of their immigration to destination countries, was the problem of communicating with their employers. To solve this problem, they had been trying their best to know Arabic and to communicate with employers smoothly. They worked hard to learn Arabic and remove the communication barrier with their employers and other people. After a lot of efforts, they were little bit able to manage the

communication barrier. Managing with the language helped them to adapt into the new environment.

5.3 Level of Resilience and Strength Giving Factors

With regard to the level of psychological resilience of the returnees, analysis of respondents' resilience scores suggested that the majority of the women were found to have high resilience levels. For example, based on their total resilience scores, 77(65.25%) of the women were categorized as having high level of resilience, while 41(34.75%) of them were categorized as having low level of resilience. While many of the participant migrant women experienced a number of adversities and stress many displayed resilience and developed competencies in acculturating themselves to a new environment, minimizing the impact of consequent psychological distress. Despite adversities, these women continued to thrive, mature and increased their competencies over time (i.e. they stepped back from stressful situation).

Consistent with the findings of the present study, a number of past studies have found that new competencies and resilience can be developed through exposure to stressful situations. Graham and Thurston (2005) interviewed migrant women in Canada and found that despite experiencing stress, guilt and frustration associated with acculturation, these migrant women demonstrated resilience which enabled them to develop effective coping strategies. Similarly, Berger (2004) in her book, Immigrant Women Tell their Stories, found that the one thing that bound all the women she interviewed was their strong sense of resilience especially after their migration. As argued by Rutter (1987), exposure to stressful situations (e.g., acculturation) may be beneficial for personal growth in that it enabled

individuals to develop new competencies and resilience in order to survive. This was particularly important for many women participated in the current study who shared the belief that they are 'the backbone of the family' and have the responsibility to help their children and family. According to Rutter (1987), psychological toughening can occur through exposure to stress; suggesting the possibility that exposure to stressors may strengthen migrant women's resistance to poor mental health.

Resilience is thus an ordinary, long-term process of adjustment to adversity that all individuals experience (Masten, 2001) but some have more resources on which to draw than others. Resilience is most often identified as a response to adversity. Adversity is the catalyst for the development of resilience (Rutter, 1987). According to Gordon (1995), resilience is the ability to thrive, mature, and enhance one's competence in the face of adversity.

Resilience research over the past three decades has shown that poor psychological outcomes or adjustments are not inevitable in high risk or vulnerable populations. Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker (2000), for example, found that individuals with a resilient personality were able to actively resist or overcome adversities such as life challenges or stressful conditions (e.g., acculturation). In doing so, these individuals were able to effectively maintain healthy psychological functioning (Grotberg, 2003; Luther et al., 2000).

Having better educational status was significantly associated with the high resilience level. In the literature, education was considered as having a potential link with empowerment and resilience and hence, psychological adaptation among migrants in general. Consistent with the result of the present study, Dion, Dion, and Pak (1992) suggested that higher educational level is associated with the high resilience and better adaptation among Chinese migrants in Canada. One possible explanation for this could be that migrant women's

education level affected their behaviors by changing attitudes and led a certain level of readiness level for their new life. Education provides experiences, which are linked to some degree of formal readiness for migration experience and consequent accomplishments (Eksi, 2002).

The analysis of the interview data obtained from eleven returnee women suggested some potential sources of resilience among the women migrant domestic workers. These were: 1) their positive migration experiences which include received material gifts from employer, bonus provided, meeting other Ethiopian domestic workers, and saving money and helping one's family in Ethiopia; 2) experiences of enjoyable activities which include doing activities with employer (e.g., shopping), having day off and holidays, hobbies (listening to music, watching TV, using the internet), and doing activities with their employer's child/children (e.g. playing); and 3) women's own personal strengths or characteristics which include having dream or goals for the future, strong determination in purpose of work migration, patience, flexibility, and being a good person regardless of how employers treated them. Participants demonstrated how these positive experiences and their inner strengths helped them to overcome their suffering. Moreover, their spirituality and religiosity; thinking of their families, communicating with them and receiving emotional support from them; the presence of supportive friends (in home country and host country) and romantic partners (in home country); and thinking about their children's welfare and their education (for those who had children in home country) seem to provide the women with strength to face their challenges. In spite of adaptation challenges and the resulting stress, participants mobilized their inner positive personal qualities, engaged in and enjoyed various activities, strengthened

important relationships, and had positive psychological changes, which resulted in a sense of happiness and psychological well-being.

From a perspective of positive psychologists, any individuals have their own strengths, talents, abilities, and potential for positive outcomes such as hope, happiness, creativity, persistence, and tolerance (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The idea of positive psychology is that such positive characters allow individuals to create their own coping strategies and coping resources to deal with life challenges. For example, Kim's (2012) study suggested that female Korean immigrants utilized their own strengths and personal assets as a way of reducing adaptation challenges and increasing social interactions with other ethnic groups. The present study is aligned with the concept of positive psychology and supports Kim's study, as Ethiopian women labor migrants utilized their inner positive personal qualities to deal with their immigration related challenges or stressors. As a result, they reported experiencing happiness and mental strength.

Congruent with the findings of the present study, a growing body of literature suggests that stressful life events can lead to positive changes (e.g., Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004, 2006). These positive life changes associated with stress are labeled as stress-related growth (Park, 2006). According to Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004), as a result of traumatic and stressful life experiences, individuals are able to develop personal strength, pursue new possibilities of life, strengthen meaningful relationships, gain an appreciation of life, and enhance spiritual growth. Empirical evidence shows that individuals experience positive psychological changes from negative daily stressors (Losavio et al., 2011), bereavement (Calhoun, Tedeschi, Cann, & Hanks, 2010; Michael, Dale, Rebecca, & Brian, 2008), and domestic violence (Cobb, Tedeschi, Calhoun, & Cann, 2006). Park and colleagues (1996) identified four major

domains in which individuals facing stressful life circumstances grow and thrive: (a) broadened life perspectives, (b) new coping skills, (c) enhanced personal resources, and (d) deepened meaningful relationships. These studies indicate that individuals who have encountered various stressful circumstances grow and thrive through stress-related growth.

The results of this study suggest that the way the participants view their ability to change situations was internal (i.e., personal) as well as external (i.e., being dependent on a system of external factors such as social networks). While their inner positive personal qualities (i.e., having dream/hope, strong determination, patience, and flexibility) depict resilience as based on individuals' internal perspectives and capacities, the others (i.e., positive and enjoyable experiences, communicating with families and friends, and thinking about children's welfare and their education) represent the interdependent quality of resilience. The results of this study are supportive of previous research, particularly those of Walsh (1998), Rutter (1985), and Grothberg (2003). Walsh (1998) defined resilience as the ability to transform negative circumstances into positive ones, and described it as being "forged through openness to experiences and interdependence with others". On the contrary, Rutter (1985) and Grothberg (2003) depicted resilience as based on the individual's perspective and capacity. The resilient individual has the power to use protective buffers to cope with stress. So while Walsh focused on the interdependent quality of resilience, Rutter and Grothberg focused on it as an individual capacity. In the present study, both positive personal qualities (individual capacity) and interdependence with social networks contributed to promoting participants' resilience.

In addition, supporting the findings of the present study, Wilson (as cited in Agaibi & Wilson, 2005) when reviewing studies on victims of war, torture, and natural disasters

reported that positive personal attitudes, skills and interaction with others were common manifestations promoting resilience as a response to acute or prolonged forms of stress and its long-term positive adaptation. Moreover, Cone (2007) investigated Russian immigrants and refugee resilience attitudes in the U.S.A. Flexibility, political or religious convictions, complying with the resettlement requirements, hope and strong determination to succeed were powerful personal characteristics contributing to individuals' resilience. In the present study, religion had strong meaning for the Ethiopian women labor migrants and was a potential source of strength for them.

In this study, children were found to be the strength providers for the women while they were abroad. There was no exception in opinions of the interviewed returnee women, who have children, that they expressed their children give them strength. It is seen that children bring to their life at the same time happiness, responsibilities and concerns. These women wanted to see their children succeed and they do everything to support them.

5.4 Perceived Stress and Coping Strategies in Relation to the Levels of Resilience

An examination of perceived stress and coping strategies in relation to the levels of resilience revealed significant relationships between higher levels of resilience and reduced perceived stress as well as between high levels of resilience and use of more adaptive coping strategies. These findings are consistent with previous research findings. More pertinent to the present study is previous research which found a negative relationship between resilience and poor psychological health outcomes. For instance, Aroian and Norris (2000) and Christopher and Kulig (2000) have shown that resilience is negatively associated with psychological

health problems in migrant populations. In other words, the higher the levels of resilience, the less likely it is that migrants will experience poor psychological wellbeing.

Participants with high resilience used adaptive coping strategies that involved active coping, positive reinterpretation and growth, use of emotional social support, and planning. As a result, they experienced significantly lower perceived stress as compared to participants with low levels of resilience. Consistent with this finding, past research has shown that resilient individuals employ adaptive or healthy coping strategies when dealing with stressful situations and thus are less vulnerable to development of mental health problems (Cicchetti & Garmezy, 1993; Higgins, 1994; Turner, 2001; Valentine & Feinauer, 1993; Werner-Wilson, Zimmerman, Whalen, 2000). These coping skills allow them to effectively manage stressful situations, thereby transforming the situations into less stressful ones or enabling the individuals to come to terms with aspects of life that are uncontrollable.

Why did high resilient participants better employ adaptive coping strategies in coping with negative experiences as compared to the low resilient participants of the present study? Existing findings on resilience are best understood as manifestations of mental functions that generate capacity for emotional regulation and relationship building. In the present study, the ability of resilient women to find positive meaning in negative events and to engaged in and maintain pleasant experiences, which produced positive emotions, might helped them to build adaptive coping resources and achieve superior coping abilities. The available empirical literature supports the idea that maintaining and enhancing positive emotional experiences yield important advantages in the coping process, and suggests that resilient people are especially proficient at using positive emotions to cope. The broaden-and-build theory of

positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2001) is a useful framework to understand possible mechanisms that link positive emotions to coping for resilient people.

Our everyday lives are governed by a host of complex processes of emotion regulation. Within the array of emotion regulatory behaviors used in daily life, people sometimes engage in strategies that increase and enhance their positive emotional experiences. For example, some may smile when feeling sad or upset in attempts to feel more uplifted after receiving disappointing news (e.g. Ekman, 1989). Regulating positive expressions of emotions in this way can reduce the impact of negative emotions, at least in the short term. Although modifying the behavioral aspect (e.g., facial display) of emotion can create a discrepancy between inner experience and outer expression it can nonetheless have an important impact on emotional functioning (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007). Smiling in the midst of sadness, for instance, can speed cardiovascular recovery from negative emotional arousal (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998). This strategy may be contrasted with other strategies aimed at enhancing positive emotional experience. On other negative occasions, for instance, people may pause to consider the blessings in their lives, which enhances feelings of gratitude (Emmons & McCullough, 2003). These strategies are useful in increasing or enhancing positive emotional experiences, which in turn, can be effective for coping with negative experiences.

According to the broaden-and-build theory, positive and negative emotions have distinct and complementary adaptive functions and cognitive and physiological effects (Fredrickson, 2001). While negative emotions prompt narrow, immediate survival-oriented behaviors (e.g., attack when angry, escape when afraid), positive emotions (e.g. activation of positive feelings like joy and gratitude in the midst of stressful contexts) broaden one's range

of cognitions and encourage novel and exploratory thoughts and actions which over time build skills and resources (Figure 5).

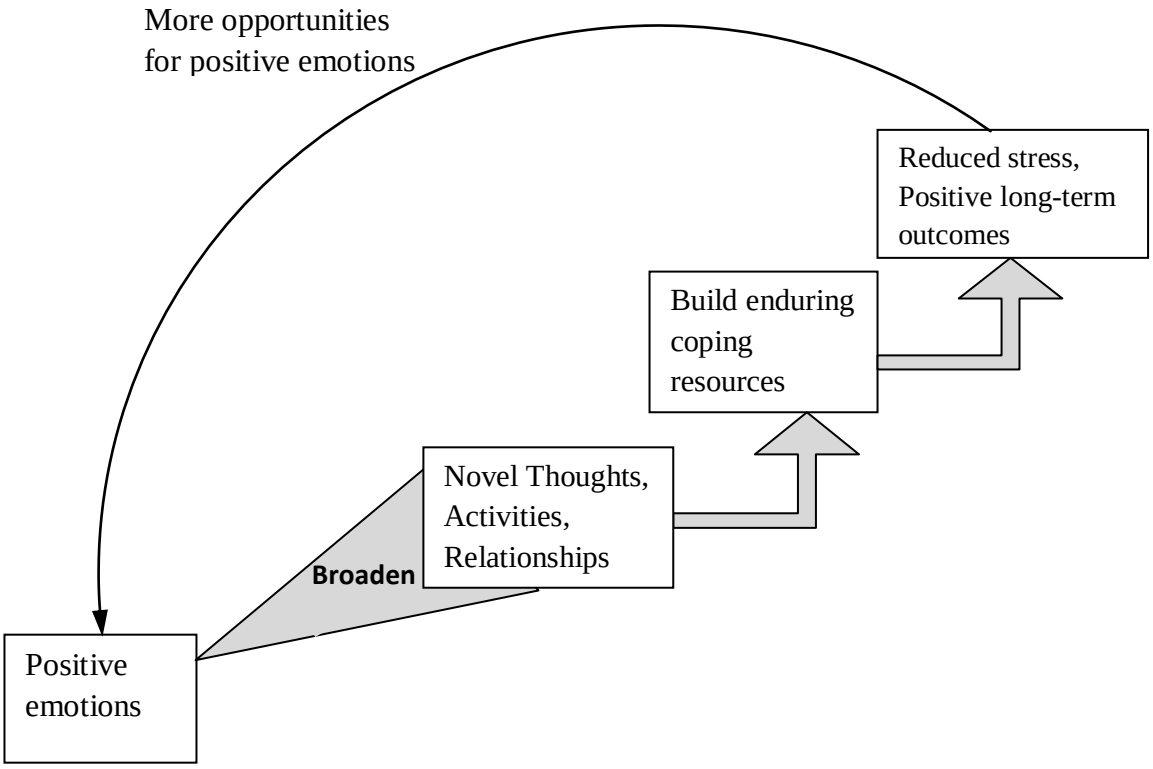

Figure 5: A schematic of the Broaden-and-Build Theory of positive emotions (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007)

The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions demonstrates that maintaining and enhancing positive emotional experiences could contribute to long-term positive outcomes (psychological well-being) via more effective coping strategies. Positive emotions may influence thought processes and behavior with little effort for most, but especially for resilient people (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007). If resilient people typically experience positive emotions (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004, 2007; Masten, 2001), these emotions are chronically

accessible to them. Chronically accessible emotions require minimal cognitive resources to be activated (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007). As such, for resilient people, the activation of positive feelings even in the midst of cognitively challenging situations (i.e., stressful contexts) may seem effortless (Isen & Diamond, 1989). By contrast, those who are less accustomed to positive emotions (i.e., less resilient people) may find it harder to generate positive emotions or may have to work at doing so more effortfully, especially when coping with negative experiences, which can require the use of additional cognitive resources (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007).

Positive emotions, thus, appear to aid resilient individuals in their ability to build psychological resources that are essential for coping effectively with stressful events. This could be the mechanism by which high resilient women labor migrants employed more effective coping strategies and had reduced perceived stress as compared to the low resilient women. Thus, it could be said that high resilient women participants had the capacity to focus on the positive experience, engage in enjoyable activities and maintain pleasant experiences, and find positive meaning in negative events, which produced positive emotions that might helped them to build adaptive coping resources and achieve superior coping abilities. In other words, those who experienced positive emotions in the midst of stress were able to benefit from their broadened mindsets and successfully regulated their negative emotional experiences.

Chapter Six

Summary of Findings, Conclusions, and Implications for Interventions and Future Research

In this chapter, a summary of the major findings of the study is presented followed by the major conclusions arrived at based on the findings and the discussions made. Finally, implications or recommendations for practice and for further research are suggested.

6.1 Summary of Findings

Data from the study revealed that out of the 118 participants, the majority, (102; 86.45%), of the women had moderate to high levels of perceived stress due to their immigration experiences. Stress level of the women was found to be significantly associated with their place of birth, their migration status, and their educational status. That is significantly higher percentage of the women form the rural areas perceived higher levels of stress compared to those from the urban areas. Moreover, significantly higher percentage of the women who had been undocumented migrants perceived higher level of stress as compared to the documented women migrants. Furthermore, women with only minimal education (grade 1 to 8) perceived significantly higher stress in higher percentage followed by those who have had secondary (grade 9 to 12) education and those who had attended some form of education after completing grade twelve in descending order.

During their stay abroad, the women had experienced stress from many sources. The major sources of stress were: personal experiences of social isolation, exploitative working conditions, difficulties in communicating with Arabic language, separation from family and

lack of communication, their undocumented legal status, and break up of important long-term relationships with their partners and family members. The majority of them mentioned more than one source of stress. For the majority, these situations severely affected them especially during the earlier stages of their work after immigration to destination countries.

Those initial transitions laid the foundation for how these participants experienced their situation in the future. Following distressing and traumatic life experiences in the host countries, participants engaged in determined efforts to cope with stressors and developed their own coping strategies. Overall, the results from the quantitative survey indicated that most participants employed adaptive coping strategies. Qualitative interviews largely confirmed the quantitative results. The quantitative and the qualitative results, taken together, revealed that there were five most commonly employed adaptive coping strategies by the women during their stay abroad as housemaids. These were:

1. **Use of emotional social support:** when they become stressed, the women had been getting emotional support from Ethiopian friends working in neighboring houses or in the houses of the relatives of employers and from family-of-origin and/or relatives and they had been sharing their feelings with them. Maintaining and developing these social relationships provided participants with positive feelings and connectedness with them. They had employed phone calls, Facebook, and other social media to get connected with their friends, family, and relatives living in home country.
2. **Use of instrumental/informational social support:** when they experienced problems and felt stressed, participants had opportunities to share various immigration experiences and got advice or information from those who had similar

experiences about what to do. Mainly, participants received instrumental social support from their Ethiopian friends working in neighboring houses or in the houses of the relatives of employers. By providing a social support system for each other, they were more likely to react to various challenging situations in a collective way.

3. **Religious coping:** Participants turned to their religious beliefs as a source of emotional support. They highlighted a connection between their strong faith in the Supreme Being and emergence of abilities to cope with their adversities after immigration to the Middle Eastern countries, which eventually reduced their feelings of loneliness, stress, and depression and prevented further experiences of depression.
4. **Focusing on the positives or positive emotional engagement /positive reinterpretation and growth:** In spite of negative emotions associated with the adaptation process, some participants developed positive emotions and feelings as a coping strategy for dealing with challenges associated with adaptation in the new environment (i.e. they looked for something good in what is happening and they had learnt something from the experience). Their positive emotions facilitated their abilities to cope with a variety of stressors.
5. **Active coping (taking direct action to a problem):** this coping strategy had been employed by the participants in connection with managing the communication barrier by making efforts to learn and use Arabic.

These coping strategies employed by participants of the present study lead them to improved adaptation following significant stressors. As a result, they experienced positive social and psychological changes and enhanced mental strength. The coping strategies of

mental disengagement (using substitute activities and thoughts) and venting emotions (i.e. crying) were among the frequently employed maladaptive coping strategies by the women labor migrants. The least employed coping strategy was substance use.

Despite all the hardships they experienced, many of the participants displayed resilience and developed competencies in acculturating themselves to a new environment, minimizing the impact of consequent psychological distress. The majority of the women were found to have high resilience levels based on their total scores as well as on their subscale scores on the psychological resilience scale. Resilience level of the women was found to be significantly associated with their educational status. Significantly higher percentage of the women with better educational status (above grade 12) were categorized as having high resilience followed by those who have secondary education (grade 9 to12) and those who have only minimal education (grade 1 to 8). Examination of the interview transcripts suggested some potential sources of resilience among the women migrant domestic workers. The following themes were extracted from participants' transcripts:

1. Positive migration experiences that include received material gifts from employer, bonus provided, meeting other Ethiopian domestic works, saving money and helping one's family in Ethiopia.
2. Experiences of enjoyable activities that include doing activities with employer (e.g., shopping), doing activities with their employer's child/children (e.g., playing), having day off and holydays, and hobbies (listening to music, watching TV, using the internet) as a result of which they developed a sense of belonging, connectedness, and reduced negative live challenges, and

3. women's own personal strengths or inner capacities that had positively enhanced their experience which include having dream or goals, strong determination to succeed, patience, flexibility, and being a good person regardless of how employers treated them (e.g., being loyal to employers).

Participants demonstrated how these positive experiences and their inner strengths or personal qualities helped them to overcome their suffering.

Perceived stress levels differed significantly among the sample women labor migrant returnees with high and low resilience (total and commitment and challenge). Low resilience was significantly associated with high perceived stress, and high resilience was significantly associated with low perceived stress.

Women labor migrants high in resilience engaged in coping strategies different from the low resilient women. Those with high resilience used coping strategies that involved active coping, positive reinterpretation and growth, use of emotional social support, and planning while those low resilient women used the coping strategy of denial.

6.2 Conclusions

Based on the major findings and the discussions made, the researcher arrived at the following conclusions:

The findings of this study suggest that the majority of returnee women had high levels of perceived stress due to their immigration experiences during their stay abroad as housemaids. Being a migrant of rural origin, being undocumented/illegal migrant, and having low educational status were related to increases in perceived stress among the women. Conversely, being a migrant of urban origin, being a documented migrant, and having better

educational level can be viewed as personal resources, which either directly or indirectly helped them to cope with stressors.

The significant association between the rural background of the women and high level of perceived migration related stress may indicate that women migrating from rural areas have to make a greater effort to adapt, since the effect of having to adapt to another culture is compounded by the effect of adapting to a city (since, in their case, the effect of migrating to another country is compounded by the effect of migrating to a city). The significant association between undocumented migration status and high level of perceived stress could be due to fear of deportation, a stressor directly related to legal status. Regarding the significant association of better educational status and low levels of perceived stress (and vice versa), it could be said that migrant women's better educational level affected their behaviors by changing attitudes and led a certain level of readiness for their new life.

In addition to the above socio-demographic backgrounds and migration status of the women labor migrants, they had experienced stress from many sources and had experienced feelings of loneliness, sadness, and distress during their stay abroad as domestic workers. The major sources of tress that impacted negatively on their mental health were: personal experiences of social isolation, exploitative working conditions, difficulties in communicating with Arabic language, separation from family and lack of communication, and break up of important long-term relationships with their partners and family members. The results suggest that stressors, including exploitative day-to-day living and working conditions, cultural isolation, and linguistic barriers are common among Ethiopian women migrant domestic workers in the Middle East. For the majority, these situations severely affected them especially during the earlier stages of their work migration.

Following distressing life experiences in the host countries, participants engaged in determined efforts to cope with stressors and develop their own coping strategies. Most participants had been employing adaptive coping strategies in dealing with their stress during their stay abroad as domestic workers. These adaptive coping strategies were: use of emotional social support from friends and relatives, use of instrumental social support, religious coping, positive reinterpretation and growth/focusing on the positives, and active coping. As a result, they experienced positive social and psychological changes and enhanced mental strength. This suggests that many of the returnee women participated in this study were highly flexible and open to adopting different coping strategies to make the required psychosocial adjustments when faced with adversity during their stay abroad. Past research also supports the close relationship between these coping strategies and successful adaptation to adverse circumstances. Therefore, such strategies need to be enhanced and used to improve the wellbeing of Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries.

The majority of the participants had high resilience levels and capable of being responsible for their own wellbeing. In spite of adaptation challenges and the resulting stress, participants mobilized their inner positive personal qualities, engaged in and enjoyed various activities, strengthened important relationships, and had positive psychological changes, which resulted in a sense of happiness and psychological well-being. This shows that poor psychological outcomes are not inevitable among these high risk or vulnerable migrant groups. Having better educational status was found to have a potential link with empowerment and resilience, and hence positive psychological adaptation among the women labor migrants. The more educated a migrant is, the greater her resilience to stress. The results suggest that the way the participants view their ability to change situations was internal

(personal) as well as external (being dependent on a system of external factors such as social networks). While their inner positive personal qualities (having dream/hope, strong determination to succeed, patience, and flexibility) depict resilience as based on individuals' internal perspectives and capacities, the others (positive and enjoyable experiences, communicating with families and friends, and thinking about children's welfare and their education) represent the interdependent quality of resilience. Therefore, during their stay abroad, the women labor migrants derived significant strength from external as well as internal (personal) sources. This study has provided evidences that certain kinds of resources provided by developmental networks are critical to building resilience among Ethiopian women labor migrants in the Middle East countries. Although each individual possesses the potential for resilience, interplay between the individual and the broader environment was responsible for its level.

High-resilient women labor migrants had significantly lower levels of perceived stress than low-resilient migrants. This is because high level of resilience does seem to significantly increase the use of adaptive coping strategies which include active coping, positive reinterpretation and growth, use of emotional social support, and planning. On the other hand, having low level of resilience significantly increased the use of a maladaptive coping strategy, denial. The mechanism by which high resilient women labor migrants employed more effective coping strategies and had reduced perceived stress as compared to the low resilient women might be that resilient women were especially proficient at engaging in and maintaining pleasant experiences and finding positive meaning in negative events, which produced positive emotions and broadened mindsets (novel thoughts, activities, relationships),

which in turn might helped them to build adaptive coping resources and achieve superior coping abilities.

Overall, results demonstrated that, while there were stressors common across participants (e.g., heavy work load and abusive working conditions), there were unique personal and situational circumstances that could mediate the impact of a stressor. This was evidenced in the present study where resiliency and coping strategies shown to impact upon perceived stress among the women leading to wellness. Higher levels of resilience contributed to reduced stress among the women. Utilization of adaptive coping strategies and having better educational status reinforced resilience among Ethiopian women migrant domestic workers. Moreover, positive and enjoyable experiences, spirituality and religiosity, and both informal and formal support, along with individual characteristics, were crucial for reinforcing resilience among these women. Therefore, Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries do not necessarily represent a population at risk for the development of psychological distress and disturbances. It is crucial to consider that not all such migrations are traumatic and that migration in itself is not the root of all problems. Rather, such events need to be best understood as "potentially traumatic events" that may become traumas or disturbing events depending on factors like the migrants' low educational background, undocumented legal status, being low resilient, and having low personal and environmental resources.

6.3 Implications for Practice and Future Research

As a result of this study and based on the discussions and conclusions the researcher has shown in previous sections, the following implications/recommendations for practice interventions and research were derived.

6.3.1 Implications for Practice Interventions

One of the contributions of conducting a study is that the findings can be used to influence practice. This study revealed that most of the participants undergo extreme stress and adversity being new immigrants especially who are less educated, from rural origin, and undocumented migrants. On the other hand, the study showed how their extreme suffering could be transformed by their personal strengths as well as by environmental resources. The identification of relevant stressors, coping strategies, and significant strength giving factors has significant implications for how the mental health needs of women labor migrants can be managed. This study provided valuable information which can enable stakeholders to develop and conduct better pre-migration prevention strategies that target intending women migrants to the Middle East countries from Ethiopia, using a strength perspective.

The preparation of persons for migration is a complex and highly individualized task (Elizabeth, 2002). Although it is possible to generalize about some information which would be relevant to most migrants, there are other aspects which require a measure of interaction and individualization (Elizabeth, 2002). Therefore, any program to prepare persons psychologically for migration could not be static, that is, providing only information, but would also have to contain an element of assessment, either in the form of self-assessment or

more formal evaluations. In order to be truly valuable such a program would also improve and strengthen the scope of coping strategies of the individual.

This study recommends that providing information, training and capacity building opportunities to intending Ethiopian women labor migrants enhance their overall resiliency. Provision of information, training with standardized content, as well as one on one support to prospective migrant workers is essential to help such workers to identify and respond to high risk situations, self protection issues, communication issues, and to develop problem solving skills to address these issues and to seek help where help is available. They also need to be made aware of worker rights, laws of the country of destination, cultural sensitivities and of dealing with emotional difficulties of being away and alone, maintaining long distant communication with family as well as dealing with abusive and exploitative situations. It is beyond the scope of this study to present a full program and the following guidelines would be used as a basis for the formulation of a plan of action.

1. The provision of information
2. The assessment of various attitudes, approaches and skills
3. The development of training programs to enhance resilience
4. The enhancement of adaptive coping strategies
5. Implementation of pre-migration programs by taking account of socio-demographic backgrounds of the intending migrants

These components will now be discussed in more detail.

6.3.1.1 The Provision of Information

Providing the intending women labor migrants with information would allow them to anticipate and make provision for future demands, and knowledge can be a tool for reducing

anxiety and apprehension. Efforts should be made to maximize women's chances of successful migration by preparing them with education, knowledge of their human rights, life skills training, and information about what they will encounter during the journey and on arrival.

The main service provider regarding women labor migrants is the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MoLSA). MoLSA provides a range of regulatory, protection and welfare services ranging from the registration and regularization of departing workers to regularizing of employment agencies. MoLSA also provides a short pre-departure training for female domestic workers. MoLSA should develop an appropriate education and awareness-raising program in close consultation with concerned non-governmental organizations; psychology, gender, and migration specialists; women with migration experience; and reliable recruiting agencies. During information provision, measures that may be required include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Deliver or facilitate free or affordable gender-and rights-based pre-departure information and training programs that raise prospective women labor migrants' awareness of potential exploitation, including: recommended contents of labor contracts, legal rights and entitlements in countries of employment, procedures for invoking formal and informal redress mechanisms, processes by which to obtain information about employers, cultural conditions in countries of destination, stress management, first aid and emergency measures, including emergency telephone numbers of home embassy, and services; information about safety in transit, including airport and airline orientations. Such training programs should be targeted to women who are prospective migrant workers through an effective outreach program and held in decentralized training venues so that they are accessible to women.

2. Information about the demands and stressors of living in a new country (i.e., migration stress) as experienced by previous migrants (i.e., returnees) can be provided. It would be important to emphasize that no two individuals' experience is the same; the range and intensity of stress can differ dramatically from person to person and from day to day. The nature of stress would be discussed with special emphasis on 'The Stress Reaction'(chapter 2.2.2) which emphasizes that one's appraisal or evaluation of the situation is very important in terms of his/her ability to cope with it. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) point out that appraisals are not static but may shift as the encounter progresses, a situation may be appraised as more challenging than threatening as cognitive coping efforts enable the person to view the episode in a more favorable light. A person's quality of functioning is likely to be better if problems are viewed as challenges because the person feels more confident, less emotionally overwhelmed and more capable of drawing on available resources. The implication for this study is that in the preparation program migrants should be encouraged to explore their usual patterns of appraisal and should be armed with cognitive coping skills.

3. The indicators of extreme stress would be discussed enabling prospective migrants who would find themselves in such a position to recognize and deal with the stress before it becomes extremely problematic.

4. Prospective migrants should be taught about how to protect themselves from sexual abuse. Experienced migrant returnees mention the fact that often the way to protect one's self as a female worker from sexual abuse at the hands of the male employer is to be very clear about ones boundaries of what one will and will not do. *" if you clearly show them you don't like it most often they will not bother you, but there are others who will still think you are being paid to do whatever they want" (Interviewee ID 06,* Saudi Arabia, 27*).* So, the

pre-migration training program should give due attention for teaching the women how sexual harassment can be dealt with.

6.3.1.2 The Assessment of various Attitudes, Approaches and Skills

As every aspirant migrant will have totally different sets of circumstances, strengths and weaknesses, it would be necessary for a measure of assessment or evaluation to take place. The assessment may be done in a formal way using existing or especially designed instruments. The psychological resilience scale and the COPE inventory, which are validated and employed in this study, could be put in practice to assess intending women labor migrants and identify their strengths and weaknesses. An assessment of psychological resilience may enable professionals to identify migrants at-risk of stress-induced psychopathology.

What resources and skills will enable a migrant to cope with the many and varied stressors of migration? Based on the findings of the present study, the migrant who is more likely to cope with migration stress will:

- Have a sense of commitment and a strong motivation to make this life change work.
- Have a realistic idea of what stressors are likely and will see them as challenges to be overcome.
- Have a positive and optimistic outlook, strong self-esteem and the belief that one can exercise control, to a large extent, over one's environment/circumstances.
- Be able to apply a varied range of adaptive coping strategies, both problem and emotion focused.
    - Will have the insight and ability to overcome cultural, psychological and environmental constraints and to maintain focus even when circumstances could be appraised or interpreted as being very threatening.
    - Will maintain existing support systems and work at establishing new support systems

- Will be skilled in problem solving and applying street or common sense.
- Will have moral, religious, and spiritual sources of conviction and courage.

6.3.1.3 The Development of Training Programs to Enhance Resilience

Programs targeting on the enhancement of the characteristics of resilience need to be developed and women labor migrants should be taught about how to be resilient and face adversities by changing their thoughts and the way they approach problems. This could involve, for example, providing education before their migration on the following issues in order to build the characteristics of psychological resilience (APA, 2014):

- Accepting that change is a part of living
- Looking for opportunities for self-discovery
- Nurturing a positive view of self
- Taking decisive actions
- Making connections with others (getting help when it is needed is crucial to building resilience)
- Learning from the past
- Being flexible (the ability to be flexible is a great skill to obtain and facilitates resilience growth).

The results of the present study revealed that positive and enjoyable experiences, spirituality and religiosity, and both informal and formal support were crucial for reinforcing resilience among women labor migrants. Hence, in line with these findings, in the preparation program, prospective migrants should be informed and encouraged to initiate, engage in, and maintain such pleasant experiences and activities in order to enhance their resilience. Key relational processes that facilitate strengths and outcomes need to be used to empower and build resilience.

6.3.1.4 The Enhancement of Adaptive Coping Strategies

The finding of the current study that appears most important is that adaptive coping strategies reinforced resilience among Ethiopian women migrant domestic workers. These coping strategies can be promoted among the women labor migrants by teaching them coping skills. According to Neill (undated), the central process involved in building resilience is the training and development of adaptive coping skills. A psychologist can assist them in developing appropriate coping strategies. In this part of the training program, an overview of psychological coping strategies would be discussed. The difference between adaptive and maladaptive strategies would be clarified. Intending women labor migrants would be encouraged to start thinking about their personal repertoire of coping skills and strengths. The goal is not to totally remove stress but to use it constructively.

The nature of positive and negative emotions and the role of positive emotions in building coping resources would also be explained to the intending migrants. Here, the nature and importance of positive emotions would be discussed with special emphasis on 'The Broaden-and-Build Theory of Positive Emotions' (chapter 5) which emphasizes that positive emotions have important advantages in the coping process and that maintaining and enhancing positive emotional experiences could contribute to long-term positive outcomes (well-being) via the utilization of more effective coping strategies.

Possible skills which may be acquired from the training of adaptive coping skills include:

- How to make decisions and solve problems
- Social and communication skills
- Relaxation training

- Cognitive restructuring, that is, raising awareness of how one's thoughts and feelings initiate and maintain stress and how one can, by modifying one's self-dialogue, cope more effectively with encountered problems.

As the ability to experience positive emotions in the context of stress is adaptive, then interventions designed to bolster individuals' capacity for seeing the complexity of emotions inherent in everyday stressful situations may prove to be beneficial. Displaying emotions, either positive or negative, elicits positive responses in other people thus encouraging social affiliation and making social resources available for coping with adversities, as long as they somehow alternate each other in a wavelike manner (Bonanno, 2005). When negative emotion, like sadness, become too strong, overwhelming, and dysfunctional, they cause withdraw from the world, a lost of focus in life, and confusion about personal identity (Bonanno, 2005). If hurts offset joys, psychopathology emerges (L'Abate, 2008). Only when feelings emerge and are shared they transform themselves into emotions, facilitating close relationships, connections and bonds which are inner resources, culturally different and contextually adaptive (L'Abate, 2008; Bonanno, 2005).

Zautra (2003) cited evidence that mindfulness/acceptance-based approaches to stress reduction may offer a means of broadening emotional awareness and thus help to sustain positive emotional engagement under stressful conditions. Mindfulness is described as being highly aware and focused on the reality of the present moment, accepting and acknowledging it, without getting caught up in the thoughts about the situation or emotional reactions to the situation. The mindfulness component of the 'acceptance versus change' dialectic lies in building acceptance skills. Mindfulness has been demonstrated to improve tolerance of negative emotions (Siegel, 2007) and as negative emotions produce anxiety, tolerance of

negative emotions reduces it and increases acceptance of adversity. Increased acceptance of adversity promotes resilience by reducing the psychological impact of adverse circumstances. Mindfulness practices help people to become more aware of how they are feeling, emotionally and physically, from moment to moment, seeing how their emotions affect their perceptions of their physical symptoms. Some authors (Roemer & Orsillo, 2003; Shapiro, Schwartz, and Bonner, 1998) have suggested that mindfulness training allows individuals to develop alternative paradigms and therefore interpret experiences in new ways so that, a stressful situation may be perceived as an opportunity rather than a threat, and call it "cognitive flexibility".

6.3.1.5 Implement Pre-migration Programs by taking Account of Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The information generated from this study regarding the relationship of the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants to their perceived stress levels may be particularly useful for guiding intervention approaches at centers that are providing pre-departure trainings. These data could be of interest when implementing programs for intending migrants in which the demographic and background characteristics of the women should be taken into account.

- Pre-migration programs should be designed with, urban rural origin and educational level in mind.
- Legal/documented migration status is associated with how much freedom and rights one has living in the destination countries. Those with documented migration status have power and those that don't have it feel powerless.

- Education levels should be enhanced by providing more educational opportunities for women (this should be addressed in the long-run). In this study it was found that the more educated a migrant woman was, the greater her resilience to stress.

Summary

Prospective women labor migrants can be prepared psychologically for migration in three different ways. Firstly, by providing them with information about what to expect and how they can deal with challenging situations. Experienced returnees could be included as peer models of behavior and coping. Hearing about other people's experiences may clarify concepts. Secondly, prospective migrants can be given the opportunity of assessing what their strengths and weaknesses would be in this situation. The third phase would be organizing training programs aiming at building their resilience and coping strategies and skills. This final stage is important as individuals may become overwhelmed and intimidated by the information and assessment components. The program should therefore finish with a discussion on self-actualization with the emphasis on migration as an adventure and a possibility for personal growth.

6.3.2 Implications for Further Research

The findings of the current study have opened up potential areas that could be addressed by future research. The present study has several limitations. Further research addressing the limitations of the current study would be useful. Areas which can be researched in more detail are the following:

1. Replication of this study with a larger and representative sample size would be beneficial to see if similar results are found. The larger the sample size, the greater the credibility and generalizability to the target population (Polit & Beck, 2008).

2. Large sample size which include a much wider group of respondents such as those who are coping well (like the participants of this study) and those who are not coping well (i.e., returnees who are found in rehabilitation centers), are also necessary if a more complete and thorough understanding of the experience of the women is to be obtained.
3. Future research would benefit by exploring further women labor migrants' ability and strategies to cope with adversity in comparison to that of other types of women migrants (i.e., migrants to countries other than countries in the Middle East).
4. Since the study was cross-sectional and the relation of pre-migration stress to post-migration stress was not assessed, it was not possible to determine to what extent immigration challenges have a causal relation to stress. Further research, such as a longitudinal study, would be valuable to see if the relationship between perceived stress and resilience is consistent over time.
5. Finally, recommendations for further research include studies that could be conducted in terms of the following potential research areas:

i. **Psychosocial issues of families left behind:** It is undoubted that labor migration can have a profoundly debilitating impact on children and families left behind. With regard to children left behind, for example, this could be largely due to the lack of proper planning for the sustained, holistic and effective care of the child and the lack of emotional and intellectual preparation of the child. The impact on children when there is no communication with the parents (primarily the mother) is acutely visible. This was described by one of the participants of this study as:

> I left my two children with my sisters and mother and left. The youngest was 2 years old. My family kept calling me from the first week on saying that the youngest would not stop crying. They said she had not stopped crying for days and

> was not eating and sleeping. I thought she will be alright in a few days, but they kept calling me saying my youngest would not stop crying. It was really disturbing. (Interviewee ID 09, Dubai, 29)

Furthermore, from the researcher's personal observations, there are many instances of broken marriages due to the infidelity of one or the other spouse. For example, a husband waited for his wife's return but his wife kept postponing return and sending less and less money home resulting in a tremendous strain on the relationship, until he finally realized that she was no longer committed to the marriage and that she would not return to him. Therefore, more specific areas of future investigation would be: a) the impact of women labor migration on children and caregivers left behind, and b) marital issues between women labor migrants and their spouses.

ii. **Psychosocial issues at the return and reintegration stage:** Return to the homeland, whether it is after a successful or an unsuccessful period of working in a foreign land entails diverse psychosocial implications. Many migrant workers could slip back into their old lives and manage the changes well, while for some coping with the changes could be difficult. For example, many migrant workers may return stronger individuals both for their personality development as for their economic growth and financial power. This can result in changes in status and power dynamics within the families they left some times affecting the smooth reintegration into the family. Therefore, 'changes in status and power dynamics in returnees' families' could be one specific topic of future research.

During the field work, the researcher has learnt that single women returnees could be especially vulnerable to exploitation among villagers. One interview participant shared her anxious secret about the powerful males in the community who tried to take advantage of her

being single and economically vulnerable. According to this participant's opinion, those males approach her not due to the true love they have towards her, but to take her money in the course of their relationship. Hence, the vulnerability to economic (and sexual) exploitation, particularly of single women labor migrant returnees, could be another area of future research.

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APPENDICES

Data Collection Instruments

The appendices comprise of the demographic data questionnaire, the three adapted and validated scale instruments, and the validated semi-structured interview guide. The Amharic versions of all instruments are also appended.

General Purpose of the Instruments of Data Collection

The tools of data collection comprise of three structured questionnaires (scales) and a semi-structured interview guide. The general purpose of the scale instruments is to obtain quantitative data on the experiences of Ethiopian women migrant domestic worker returnees from the Middle East countries regarding their perceived stress due to migration experiences, coping strategies they employed, and their resilience levels. The purpose of the semi-structured interview guide, on the other hand, is to obtain qualitative data regarding the experiences that were potential sources of stress for the women, positive immigration experiences that helped them to have positive perceptions about their circumstances and to build their resilience, personal strengths or individual characteristics that the women possess which allowed them to enhance their resilience, and the strategies the women employed to cope with stressors during their stay abroad. The analyses of these data would then generate information that could help to design strength-based interventions aimed at improving the wellbeing of Ethiopian women labor migrants to the Middle East countries.

Appendix A

Demographic Data Questionnaire

1. Place of birth:
    1. Urban (please write name of the town) _____
    2. Rural
2. Current age: _____
3. Age when leaving Ethiopia for the first time: _____
4. What was your migration status?
    1. Documented/legal
    2. Undocumented/illegal
5. Duration of stay abroad (please specify) _____
6. Duration of stay after return (please specify) _____
7. What was your marital status before you left Ethiopia?
    1. Never married
    2. Married
    3. Divorced
    4. Widowed
8. What is your current marital status?
    1. Never married
    2. Married
    3. Divorced
    4. Widowed
9. Educational status
    1. Read and write only (without formal schooling)
    2. Grade 1-8
    3. Grade 9-12
    4. Above grade 12

Appendix B

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-10)

Instruction: Please read the following statements. To the right of each you will find five numbers, ranging from "0" (Never) on the left to "4" (Very often) on the right. The statements are about feelings and thoughts related to previously occurred events and situations. Please circle the number which best indicates the frequency of your perception of feelings and thoughts as applied to you over the period of your stay abroad.

No	**While working abroad, how often had you (been/felt):**	Response Category				
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Very often
1	Upset by something happening unexpectedly?	0	1	2	3	4
2	Unable to control the important things in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
3	Nervous and stressed?	0	1	2	3	4
4	Confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	0	1	2	3	4
5	Things were going your way?	0	1	2	3	4
6	Could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	0	1	2	3	4
7	Able to control irritating life hassles?	0	1	2	3	4
8	You were on top of things?	0	1	2	3	4
9	Angered because of things that were outside your control?	0	1	2	3	4
10	Difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?	0	1	2	3	4

Appendix C

The COPE Inventory

Purpose:- I am interested in how people respond when they confront difficult or stressful events in their lives. By stressful it means a situation that was troubling you, either because it made you feel bad or because it took effort to deal with it. There are lots of ways to try to deal with stress. This questionnaire asks you to indicate what you generally did and felt when you had experienced stressful events while you were working abroad as a housemaid. Obviously, different events bring out somewhat different responses, but think about what you usually do when you are under a lot of stress.

Direction: Please read each item and choose the most accurate answer for you from the response alternatives given at the right by circling the number assigned to your response. Please try to respond to each item separately in your mind from each other item.

No.	**What did YOU usually do when YOU experience a stressful event while you were abroad?**	Response Alternatives		
		I usually didn't do this at all	I usually did this a medium amount	I usually did this a lot
1	I learned something from the experience.	1	2	3
2	I turned to work or other substitute activities to take my mind off things.	1	2	3
3	I daydreamed about things other than the event.	1	2	3
4	I looked for something good in what is happening.	1	2	3
5	I tried to get advice from someone about what to do.	1	2	3
6	I took additional action to try to get rid of the problem.	1	2	3
7	I took direct action to get around the problem.	1	2	3
8	I said to myself "this isn't real."	1	2	3

9	I acted as though it hasn't even happened.	1	2	3
10	I asked people who have had similar experiences what they did.	1	2	3
11	I reduced the amount of effort I'm putting into solving the problem.	1	2	3
12	I hold off doing anything about it until the situation permits.	1	2	3
13	I forced myself to wait for the right time to do something.	1	2	3
14	I gave up the attempt to get what I want.	1	2	3
15	I tried to get emotional support from friends or relatives.	1	2	3
16	I talked to someone about how I feel.	1	2	3
17	I used alcohol or drugs to make myself feel better.	1	2	3
18	I accepted the reality of the fact that it happened.	1	2	3
19	I learned to live with it.	1	2	3
20	I drank alcohol or take drugs, in order to think about it less.	1	2	3
21	I thought about how I might best handle the problem.	1	2	3
22	I thought hard about what steps to take.	1	2	3

Scales (sum items listed, with no reversals of coding):

Adaptive coping strategies

- Positive reinterpretation and growth: 1, 4
- Use of instrumental social support: 5, 10
- Active coping: 6, 7
- Restraint coping: 12, 13
- Use of emotional social support: 15, 16
- Acceptance: 18, 19
- Planning: 21, 22

Maladaptive coping strategies

- Mental disengagement: 2, 3
- Denial: 8, 9
- Behavioral disengagement: 11, 14
- Substance use: 17, 20

Appendix D

The Psychological Resilience Scale

Below are statements about life that people often feel differently about. Read each item carefully and indicate how much you think each one is true in general by circling a number assigned to your choice from the four response alternatives given at the right. There are no right or wrong answers; just give your own honest opinions.

No.	Item	Response Category			
		Not at all true	A little true	Quite true	Completely true
1	Planning ahead can help avoid most future problems (CO+).	0	1	2	3
2	Most of my life gets spent doing things that are worthwhile (CM+).	0	1	2	3
3	No matter how hard I try, my efforts usually accomplish nothing (CO-).	0	1	2	3
4	I don't like to make changes in my everyday schedule (CH-).	0	1	2	3
5	The "tried and true" ways are always best (CH-).	0	1	2	3
6	Working hard doesn't matter, since only the bosses profit by it (CM-).	0	1	2	3
7	By working hard you can always achieve your goals (CM+).	0	1	2	3
8	Most of what happens in life is just meant to be (CO-).	0	1	2	3
9	When I make plans, I'm certain I can make them work (CO+).	0	1	2	3
10	It's exciting to learn something about myself (CH+).	0	1	2	3
11	I really look forward to my work (CM+).	0	1	2	3
12	I won't answer a question until I'm really sure I understand it (CH-).	0	1	2	3
13	I like a lot of variety in my work (CH+).	0	1	2	3
14	Most of the time, people listen carefully to what I say (CO+).	0	1	2	3

15	Trying your best at work really pays off in the end (CM+).	0	1	2	3
16	My mistakes are usually very difficult to correct (CO-).	0	1	2	3
17	It bothers me when my daily routine gets interrupted (CH-).	0	1	2	3
18	Most good athletes and leaders are born, not made (CO-).	0	1	2	3
19	Lots of times, I don't really know my own mind (CM-).	0	1	2	3
20	I respect rules because they guide me (CH-).	0	1	2	3
21	I like it when things are uncertain or unpredictable (CH+).	0	1	2	3
22	I can't do much to prevent it if someone wants to harm me (CO-).	0	1	2	3
23	Changes in routine are interesting to me (CH+).	0	1	2	3
24	Most days, life is really interesting and exciting to me (CM+).	0	1	2	3
25	It's hard to imagine anyone getting excited about working (CM-).	0	1	2	3
26	What happens to me tomorrow depends on what I do today (CO+).	0	1	2	3

CM = Sense of **commitment** to persevering through stressful events

CO = Sense of **control** over the outcome of stressful events

CH = Ability to view problems as **challenges** as opposed to threats, openness to learning and growing from challenges

Appendix E

Semi-structured Interview Guide

The purpose of this semi-structured interview guide is to explore Ethiopian women labor migrants' perception of immigration experience (sources of stress and positive experiences), own personal strengths or individual characteristics that they possess which allowed them to cope, and their strategies of dealing with stressful events.

Interview Guide

1. In which country had you been working? In general, how do you perceive your immigration experience abroad?
2. What bothered or stressed you most while working abroad? What were the most difficult things you had to cope with?
3. If you had experienced a great deal of stress, what were the strategies you used to cope with your stress? What did you usually do when you felt stressed, unhappy, lonely, or homesick?
4. In your opinion, what positive experiences contributed to your successful adaptation while working abroad?
5. What were the activities you enjoyed the most while you were abroad (during your work time or during your spare time)?
6. In your opinion, what were your personal strengths/inner capacities or individual characteristics that helped you to face stress from the demands of work, being away from your families, or other stressful experiences abroad?

Appendix F

Amharic Version of Instruments

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

የድህረ-ምረቃ ክፍል

የሳይኮሎጂ ትምህርት ቤት

የእድገታዊ ሳይኮሎጂ የዶክትሬት ፕሮግራም

የመጠይቁ አጠቃላይ ዓላማ

የዚህ መጠይቅ ዓላማ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሴቶች በመካከለኛው ምሥራቅ ዐረብ ሃገራት ውስጥ በቤት ሰራትኝነት ሥራ ላይ በነበሩበት ጊዜ የአዕምሮ ጤናቸው ሁኔታ ምን እንደሚመስል መረጃ ለማግኘት፣ ስነ-ልቦናዊ ጥንካሬያቸው ምን እንደሚመስል ለመረዳት፣ ለአዕምሮ ጤንነታቸው ምንጭ ነበሩ የሚሏቸውን አዎንታዊ ገጠመኞቻቸውን ለመለየት፣ ከራሳቸው የግል ስብዕና ጋር የተያያዙ ጥንካሬዎቻቸውን ለማወቅ፣ እንዲሁም አስቸጋሪ ወይም የመንፈስ ጭንቀት የሚፈጥሩ ክስተቶች ወይም ነገሮች ባጋጠሟቸው ጊዜ የተፈጠረባቸውን የመንፈስ ጭንቀት ለመቋቋም የተጠቀሟቸውን ዘዴዎች በጥልቀት ለመመርመርና ለማወቅ ነው።

<u>መጠይቆች</u>

መጠይቅ አንድ

የግልና የቤተሰብን ሁኔታ በተመለከተ

<u>መመሪያ</u>፦ የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች የርስዎን ወይም የቤተሰብዎን ሁኔታ በተመለከተ መረጃ ለማግኘት የቀረቡ ናቸው። እባክዎ አማራጭ ላላቸው ጥያቄዎች ከቀረቡት አማራጮች ትክክለኛውን መልስ በመምረጥና ለምርጫዎ የተሰጠውን ቁጥር በማክበብ ይመልሱ። አማራጭ ለሌላቸው ጥያቄዎች ደግሞ በተሰጠው ባዶ ቦታ ላይ ትክክለኛውን መልስ በመፃፍ ይመልሱ።

1. የትውልድ ቦታ
    1. ከተማ (እባክዎ የከተማውን ስም ይፃፉ) _____
    2. ገጠር
2. አሁን ዕድሜዎ ስንት ነው? _____
3. ከኢትዮጵያ ወደ አረብ አገር ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ሲሔዱ ዕድሜዎ ስንት ነበር? _____
4. ከሀገር የወጡበት መንገድ ምን ነበር?
    1. በህጋዊ መንገድ
    2. ህጋዊ ባልሆነ መንገድ
5. አረብ አገር ምን ያህል ጊዜ (ዓመታት) ቆይተዋል?_____
6. ከአረብ አገር ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ከመጡ ምን ያህል ጊዜዎ ነው?_____
7. ከኢትዮጵያ ወደ አረብ አገር ሲሔዱ የነበሩበት የጋብቻ ሁኔታ ከሚከተሉት የቱ ነበር?
    1. አላገባሁም ነበር
    2. አግብቼ ነበር
    3. ፈትቼ ነበር
    4. ባለቤቴ ሞቶብኝ ነበር
8. አሁን ያሉበት የጋብቻ ሁኔታ ከሚከተሉት የቱ ነው?
    1. አላገባሁም
    2. አግብቻለሁ
    3. ባለቤቴን ፈትቼዋለሁ
    4. ባለቤቴ ሞቶብኛል
9. የርስዎ የትምህርት ደረጃ ከሚከተሉት የቱ ነው?
    1. ማንበብና መፃፍ እችላለሁ ነገር ግን መደበኛ የሆነ ትምህርት አልተከታተልኩም።
    2. ከ1-8 ባለው የክፍል ደረጃ ውስጥ ነኝ።
    3. ከ9-12 ባለው የክፍል ደረጃ ውስጥ ነኝ።
    4. ከ12 ኛ ክፍል በላይ።

መጠይቅ ሁለት

ተከስቶ የነበረን የአዕምሮ ጭንቀት መጠን ለመለካት የቀረበ

<u>የመጠይቁ ዓላማ</u>፡- ይህ መጠይቅ እርስዎ ለስራ ዐረብ አገር በነበሩበት ጊዜ ውስጥ አስቸጋሪ ክስተቶች ወይም ሁኔታዎች ባጋጠሙዎ ጊዜ ምን ያህል የአዕምሮ ጭንቀት ደርሶብዎ እንደነበረ መረጃ ለማግኘት የቀረበ ነው፡፡ የሚሰጡን መረጃ ለዚህ ጥናት መሳካት እጅግ ጠቃሚ መሆኑን ተገንዝበዉ እባክዎ ለትክክለኛነቱ ጥንቃቄ ያድርጉ፡፡

<u>መመሪያ</u>፡- ከዚህ በታች የተዘረዘሩት ጥያቄዎች ሰዎች አስቸጋሪ ወይም ጭንቀት የሚፈጥሩ ክስተቶችና የህይወት ለውጦች በሚያጋጥሟቸው ጊዜ ሊኖሯቸው የሚችሉ ስሜቶች እና ሃሳቦችን ይመለከታሉ፡፡ እያንዳንዱን ጥያቄ በጥሞና ካነበቡ በኋላ እርስዎ ለስራ ዐረብ አገር በነበሩበት ጊዜ ውስጥ በጥያቄው የተገለጸው ስሜት ወይም ሃሳብ በርስዎ ላይ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ተከስቶ እንደነበር ከቀረቡት አምስት አማራጮች ውስጥ እርስዎን በተመለከተ ትክክል ነው የሚሉትን አማራጭ ቁጥር በማክበብ ያሳዩ፡፡

ተራ ቁጥር	ጥያቄዎች እርስዎ ለስራ ዐረብ አገር በነበሩበት ጊዜ ውስጥ፡	የመልስ አማራጮች				
		ምንም ጊዜ አልነበረም	በጣም አልፎ አልፎ	አልፎ አልፎ	አብዛኛውን ጊዜ	ሁልጊዜ
1	ሳይጠበቅ ድንገት በተከሰተ ነገር ምክንያት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ተረብሸው ወይም አዝነው ያውቁ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
2	የዕለት ተዕለት የህይወት እንቅስቃሴዎን መቆጣጠር የማይችሉ አይነት ስሜት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ተሰምቶዎ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
3	የአዕምሮ ጭንቀት ወይም ውጥረት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ያጠቃዎ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
4	ችግሮች ባጋጠሙዎ ጊዜ ችግሮችን የመፍታት ወይም የመወጣት ችሎታዎን በተመለከተ ምን ያህል ጊዜ በራስ የመተማመን ስሜት ይሰማዎ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
5	ነገሮች ሁሉ እርስዎ እንደሚፈልጉት እየሄዱልዎ ወይም እየተከናወኑልዎ እነደሆነ አይነት ስሜት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ይሰማዎ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
6	እርስዎ ማንኛውንም ማከናወን ያለብዎን ነገር በብቃት መወጣት የማይችሉ ሰው	0	1	2	3	4

	እንደሆኑ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ይሰማዎ ነበር?					
7	ያጋጠሙዎትን የህይዎት ውጣ ውረዶች ወይም ፈታኝ ገጠመኞች ምን ያህል ጊዜ በብቃት መወጣት ችዬ ነበር ብለው ያምናሉ?	0	1	2	3	4
8	የሚያጋጥሙዎት ችግሮች ሁሉ በርስዎ ቁጥጥር ሥር እንደሆኑ ዓይነት ስሜት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ተሰምቶዎት ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
9	ከቁጥጥርዎ ውጪ በሆኑ ነገሮች ምክንያት ምን ያህል ጊዜ ተበሳጭተው ያውቁ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4
10	የተለያዩ ችግሮች ባጋጠሙዎት ጊዜ፡ ችግሮቹ ከአቅምዎ በላይ እንደሆኑና እርስዎ ችግሮችን መወጣት የማይችሉ እነደሆኑ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ይሰማዎ ነበር?	0	1	2	3	4

መጠይቅ ሦስት

በአዳዲስ ክስተቶች ወይም የህይወት ለውጦች ምክንያት የሚፈጠርን ጭንቀት የመቋቋሚያ ዘዴዎችን በተመለከተ

የመጠይቁ ዓላማ፡- ይህ መጠይቅ ሰዎች አስቸጋሪ ወይም ጭንቀት የሚፈጥሩ ክስተቶችና የህይወት ለውጦች በሚያጋጥሟቸው ጊዜ በክስተቱ ወይም በለውጡ የተፈጠረውን ጭንቀት ለመቋቋም የሚከተሏቸውን ዘዴዎች ለመረዳት የቀረበ ነው፡፡ በተለይ ይህ መጠይቅ እርስዎ ዐረብ አገር በስራ ለይ በነበሩበት ጊዜ በተለያዩ ምክንያቶች ጭንቀት ወይም ውጥረት ውስጥ ሲሆኑ ከጭንቀቱ ለመላቀቅ የተጠቀሙባቸውን ዘዴዎች ለማወቅ የተዘጋጀ ነው፡፡

መመሪያ፡- ከዚህ በታች የቀረቡትን ዓረፍተ-ነገሮች በጥሞና ካነበቡ በኋላ እርስዎ ዐረብ አገር በነበሩበት ጊዜ ጭንቀትን ወይም ውጥረትን ለመቋቋም በየአንዳንዱ ዓረፍተ-ነገር የተገለፀውን ድርጊት ወይም ባህሪ ምን ያህል ይተገብሩት እንደነበረ ለማሳየት በስተቀኝ በኩል ከቀረቡት ሦስት አማራጮች መካከል ትክክለኛውን መልስ በመምረጥና ለመረጡት መልስ የተሰጠውን ቁጥር በማክበብ ይመልሱ፡፡

ተራ ቁጥር	ዐረብ አገር በነበሩ ጊዜ ጭንቀት ወይም ውጥረት ውስጥ የሚያስገባ ነገር ሲያጋጥምዎ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ምን ያደርጉ ነበር?	የመልስ አማራጮች		
		ይህን ፈፅሞ አላደርግም ነበር	ይህን በመጠኑ አደርግ ነበር	ይህን ብዙውን ጊዜ አደርግ ነበር
1	ካጋጠመኝ ነገር ትምህርት ወይም ልምድ ወስጀያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
2	ራሴን በሥራ ወይም በሌላ ነገር በመጥመድ የተፈጠረውን ነገር ለመርሳት ሞክራያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
3	ከተፈጠረው ነገር ውጪ የሆነ ሌላ ነገር በአዕምሮዬ አሰላስያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
4	በተፈጠረው መጥፎ ነገር ውስጥ ያለውን መልካም የሆነ ነገር አጉልቼ አይቼያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
5	ስለተፈጠረው ነገር ምን ማድረግ እንዳለብኝ ሰው አማክራያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
6	ካጋጠመኝ ችግር ለመውጣት ሌላ ተጨማሪ ድርጊት ፈፅሜያለሁ፡፡	1	2	3
7	ያጋጥመኝን ችግር ለመፍታት ቀጥተኛ የሆነ ርምጃ ወስጃለሁ፡፡	1	2	3

8	የተፈጠረው ነገር የእውነት እንዳልሆነ አድርጌ ለራሴ ነግሬዋለሁ።	1	2	3
9	ችግሩ እንዳልተፈጠረብኝ ወይም እንዳላጋጠመኝ ሆኛለሁ።	1	2	3
10	ተመሳሳይ ችግር አጋጥሟቸው የሚያውቁ ሰዎችን ችግሩ ባጋጠማቸው ጊዜ ምን እንዳደረጉ ጠይቄያለሁ።	1	2	3
11	ያጋጠመኝን ችግር ለመፍታት እያደረኩ የነበረውን ጥረት ቀንሼያለሁ።	1	2	3
12	ሁኔታው እስኪፈቅድልኝ ድረስ ስለችግሩ ምንም ነገር ከማድረግ ተቆጥቤ ነበር።	1	2	3
13	ስለተፈጠረው ችግር አንድ ነገር ለማድረግ ትክክለኛው ጊዜ እስኪመጣ ጠብቄያለሁ።	1	2	3
14	የፈለግኩትን ነገር ለማግኜት አደርገው የነበረውን ሙከራ አቁሜያለሁ።	1	2	3
15	ከጓደኞቼ ወይም ከዘመዶቼ የሞራል ወይም የሀሳብ ድጋፍ ለማግኜት ሞክሬያለሁ።	1	2	3
16	በነገሩ የተሰማኝን ለለው ነግሬያለሁ።	1	2	3
17	በተፈጠረው ችግር ምክንያት ከደረሰብኝ የመንፈስ ጭንቀት ውስጥ ለመውጣት ስል አልኮል ወይም አደንዛዥ ዕፅ (ጫት፣ ሺሻ፣ሐሺሽ የመሳሰሉትን) ተጠቅሜያለሁ።	1	2	3
18	የተፈጠረውን ነገር በፀጋ ተቀብየዋለሁ።	1	2	3
19	ከተፈጠረው ችግር ጋር አብሬ ኖሬያለሁ።	1	2	3
20	ስለተፈጠረው ነገር ላለማሰብ ስል አልኮል ወይም አደንዛዥ ዕፅ (ጫት፣ ሺሻ፣ሐሺሽ የመሳሰሉትን) ተጠቅሜያለሁ።	1	2	3
21	የተፈጠረውን ችግር እንዴት በብቃት ልወጣው እንደምችል አስቤያለሁ።	1	2	3
22	ምን እርምጃ መውሰድ እንዳለብኝ በደንብ አስቤያለሁ።	1	2	3

መጠይቅ አራት

ስነ-ልቦናዊ ጥንካሬን በተመለከተ

የመጠይቁ ዓላማ፡ ይህ መጠይቅ በህይወት ዙሪያ የሚከሰቱ ነገሮችን መቆጣጠር የመቻል ስሜትን፣ ለሥራ ወይም ለነገሮች የሚኖር ቁርጠኝነትን፣ አስቸጋሪ ክስተቶችን እንደ አንድ የህይወት ፈተና ወይም እንደ ጥሩ አጋጣሚ ማየትና እነዚህን አጋጣሚዎች ለዕድገት ወይም ለለውጥ መጠቀም ብቃትን ለመለካት የቀረበ ነው።

መመሪያ፡- የሚከተሉት ዓረፍተ-ነገሮች ሰዎች በህይወታቸው ስለሚያጋጥሟቸው ነገሮች፣ ስለሚሰሯቸው ስራዎች፣ እና ከሌሎች ሰዎች ጋር ስለሚኖሯቸው ግንኙነቶች ሊኖራቸው የሚችሉ ሃሳቦችን ወይም ዕምነቶችን ይመለከታሉ። እያንዳንዱን ዓረፍተ-ነገር በጥሞና ካነበቡ በኋላ ዓረፍተ-ነገሩ ለእርስዎ ምን ያህል እውነት እንደሆነ ከቀረቡት አራት አማራጮች መካከል ትክክለኛውን መልስ በመምረጥና ለመረጡት መልስ የተሰጠውን ቁጥር በማክበብ ይመልሱ።

ተራ ቁጥር	ዓረፍተ-ነገሮች	የመልስ አማራጮች			
		ጭራሽ እውነት አይደለም	በመጠኑ እውነት ነው	በአብዛኛው እውነት ነው	ሙሉ በሙሉ እውነት ነው
1	አስቀድሞ ማቀድ ወይም መዘጋጀት ወደፊት ሊከሰቱ የሚችሉ ችግሮችን በአብዛኛው ሊያስቀር ይችላል።	0	1	2	3
2	በህይወቴ ብዙውን ጊዜ ጠቃሚ የሆኑ ሥራዎችን በመስራት አሳልፋለሁ።	0	1	2	3
3	የቱንም ያህል ጠንክሬ ብሰራ ብዙውን ጊዜ ልፋቴ ከንቱ ሆኖ ይቀራል።	0	1	2	3
4	በዕለት ተዕለት እንቅስቃሴዬ ላይ ለዉጥ ማድረግ አልፈልግም።	0	1	2	3
5	የተሞከሩና የታወቁ መንገዶች ምንጊዜም የላቁ ናቸው።	0	1	2	3
6	ጠንክሮ መስራት ጥቅሙ ለአሰሪዎች ወይም ለአለቆች እንጂ ለሰራተኛው ምንም ለዉጥ አያመጣም።	0	1	2	3
7	ጠንክሮ በመሥራት ምንጊዜም ዓላማን ማሳካት ይቻላል።	0	1	2	3
8	በህይወት ዙሪያ የሚያጋጥሙ ነገሮች በአብዛኛው አስቀድመው እንዲሆኑ የታዘዙ የተወሰኑ ናቸው።	0	1	2	3
9	አንድ ነገር ለማድረግ በማቅድበት ጊዜ በተግባር እነደምፈፅመው እርግጠኛ ነኝ።	0	1	2	3
10	በህይወቴ የሚገጥሙኝ አዳዲስ ነገሮች ያስደስቱኛል።	0	1	2	3

11	ለስራዬ ከፍተኛ ትኩረት እሰጣለሁ።	0	1	2	3
12	አንድን ጥያቄ በትክክል መረዳቴን እርግጠኛ ካልሆነኩኝ በስተቀር ለጥያቄው መልስ አልሰጥም።	0	1	2	3
13	የተለያዩ ዓይነት ስራዎችን መስራት እወዳለሁ።	0	1	2	3
14	ብዙውን ጊዜ ሰዎች እኔ የምናገረውን ትኩረት ሰጥተው ያዳምጡኛል።	0	1	2	3
15	ሥራን በተመለከተ አቅም የፈቀደውን ያህል ጥረት ማድረግ ውጤቱ ጣፋጭ ነው።	0	1	2	3
16	የምሰራቸው ስህተቶች አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ለማረም ወይም ለማስተካከል አስቸጋሪዎች ናቸው።	0	1	2	3
17	በቀን ተቀን እነቅስቃሴዬ ላይ ዕክል ወይም እነቅፋት በሚገጥመኝ ጊዜ በጣም እጨነቃለሁ።	0	1	2	3
18	ብዙ ታዋቂ ሰዎች የተሳካላቸው ዕድለኛ ስለሆኑ ነው።	0	1	2	3
19	ብዙውን ጊዜ የራሴን ሀሳብ ወይም ፍላጎት በትክክል አላውቅም።	0	1	2	3
20	ሥርዓቶች ወይም ህጎች የህይወቴ መመሪያዎች ስለሆኑ ሥርዓቶችንና ህጎችን አከብራለሁ።	0	1	2	3
21	ነገሮች አስቸጋሪ ወይም ፈታኝ ሲሆኑ እወዳለሁ።	0	1	2	3
22	ሰው ሊጎዳኝ ከፈለገ ብዙም መከላከል አልችልም።	0	1	2	3
23	በቀን ተቀን እነቅስቃሴዬ አዳዲስ ነገሮች ሲኖሩ ያስደስተኛል።	0	1	2	3
24	በአብዛኛዎቹ ቀናት ህይወት ለኔ አስደሳች ናት።	0	1	2	3
25	ሰው በሥራው ደስተኛ ይሆናል ብሎ ማሰብ ይከብዳል።	0	1	2	3
26	ነገ የሚኖረኝ ህይወት ዛሬ በምሠራው ላይ የተመሰረተ ነው።	0	1	2	3

መጠይቅ አምስት

ቃለ-መጠይቅ

የቃለ-መጠይቁ ዓላማ፡- የዚህ ቃለ-መጠይቅ ዓላማ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሴቶች በመካከለኛው ምሥርቅ ዐረብ ሃገራት ውስጥ ሥራ ላይ በነገሩበት ጊዜ ለስነ-ልቦናዊ ጥንካሬያቸው ብሎም ለአዕምሮ ጤንነታቸው ምንጭ ነበሩ የሚሏቸውን አዎንታዊ ገጠመኞቻቸውን፣ እንዲሁም አስቸጋሪ ወይም የመንፈስ ጭንቀት የፈጠሩባቸው ክስተቶች ወይም ነገሮች ምን ምን እንደነበሩና ባጋጠሟቸው ክስተቶች ምክንያት የተፈጠረባቸውን የመንፈስ ጭንቀት ለመቋቋም የተጠቀሟቸውን ዘዴዎች በጥልቀት ለመመርመርና ለማወቅ ነው።

<u>ቃለ-መጠይቆች</u>

1. የት ሀገር ነበር ሲሰሩ የነበሩት? በአጠቃላይ የዐረብ አገር ቆይታዎን እንዴት ይገልፁታል?

2. ለሥራ አረብ ሀገር ውስጥ በነበሩበት ጊዜ ጭንቀት ፈጥረውብኝ ነበር ወይም ለአዕምሮዬ መረበሽ መንስኤ ነበሩ የሚሏቸው ገጠመኞችዎ ምን ምን ነበሩ? ወይም ተቋቁሜ ለመኖር አዳጋች ሆነውብኝ ነበር የሚሏቸው ነገሮች ወይም ገጠመኞችዎ ምን ምን ነበሩ?

3. ዐረብ አገር ሥራ ላይ በነበሩበት ጊዜ በተለያዩ ምክንያቶች የመንፈስ ጭንቀት አጋጥሞዎት ከነበረ የተፈጠረብዎን ጭንቀት ለመቋቋም ምን ያደርጉ ነበር? ሲከፋዎ፣ ብቸኝነት ሲሰማዎ ወይም ያገር ቤት ናፍቆት ሲያጠቃዎ ባብዛኛው ምን ያደርጉ ነበር?

4. ለሥራ አረብ አገር ውስጥ በነበሩበት ጊዜ በርስዎ እምነት ለአዕመሮ ጤናዬ በጎ አስተዋፅኦ አድርገውልኛል የሚሏቸው አስደሳች የሆኑ በጎ ገጠመኞች ምን ምን ነበሩ?

5. ለሥራ አረብ አገር ውስጥ በነበሩበት ጊዜ በመደበኛ የሥራ ጊዜዎ ወይም በትርፍ ጊዜዎ በጣም በደስታ ሰራኂቸው ወይም አከናወንኳቸው የሚሏቸው ነገሮች ምን ምን ነበሩ?

6. ዐረብ አገር ሥራ ላይ በነበሩ ጊዜ የሥራ ጫና፣ ከቤተሰብ ርቆ መኖር፣ ከአሰሪዎች ጋር ባለ ግንኙነት፣ ወይም በሌላ ምክንያት የተፈጠረብኝን ውጥረትና ጭንቀት ተቋቁሜ ሥራዬን ለመስራት ረድተውኛል የሚሏቸው ከርስዎ የግል ስብዕና ጋር የተያያዙ ጥንካሬዎች ምን ምን ናቸው ብለው ያምናሉ?

Declaration

I hereby, declare that this doctoral dissertation is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for this work have been duly acknowledged.

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