

*Low-Paid Guest Workers' Global Citizenship
Knowledge*

On Rights and the Freedom of Global Mobility

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Abstract

The *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* is the least ratified human rights treaty in the world (Ruhs, 2013). Low-paid guest workers working in high-income countries are living evidence of the dehumanization of today's globalization, which sits awkwardly beside the concepts of global citizenship (GC) and global citizenship education (GCE). GC and GCE are based on an understanding of humanization: where all people should feel a sense of belonging to the world and with each other (UNESCO, 2014). Within GC and GCE discussions informal education and adult education are barely touched upon. In this study semi-structured qualitative interviews and observations in Canada, Europe and Asia, were used to uncover everyday learning by low-paid guest workers and community actors involved in labour migration. The three internationally established themes of GCE: understanding global/local systems and power dynamics, belonging, and transformation (UNESCO, 2015), were compared with these *outside the classroom* labour migration learning experiences.

Participants critically reflected on the power dynamics of migration tied to big business, resulting in a (forced) choice to work abroad in order to sustain their own and their family's livelihoods. Workers also described their fight for global mobility rights, through navigating citizenship systems to obtain a strong passport/citizenship also known as the 'red passport.' As the majority of the world's population is based in low-income countries with 'weak citizenships' lacking the freedom to move globally, this cannot be ignored within GC and GCE development. This oppression does not concern a marginalized group within a country, but rather a global system of *citizenship* and its rules and regulations, historically influenced by colonial empires drawing their map of the world and its borders. In this context, a 'full global citizen' is tied to the freedom of global mobility. The freedom to move globally ultimately leads to the freedom of global learning *with others* in everyday life, rather than the limited learning of formal GCE in a classroom.

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List of Abbreviations

ACLRC	Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre
CLA	Classification of Learning Activities
CMW	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
CV	Curriculum Vitae
GC	Global Citizenship
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
GCK	Global Citizenship Knowledge
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
MDCSN	Migration and Development Civil Society Network
NPR	Nepalese Rupee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIMBY	Not In My Back-Yard
NOC	National Occupational Classification System
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UIS	UNESCO Institute of Statistics
WCSDG	World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization

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Foreword

From 2010 to 2012 I spent most of my time living in a suburb of Kathmandu. During my time there, I volunteered at a school and within the community which led me to meet many children and families. Almost all the people I met were in some way connected to someone working outside the country: their husbands, their fathers, sometimes their mothers and fathers, their neighbours, their uncles. Two stories of two students have stayed with me since. One was a boy, Bibek, in grade four who excitedly told me one day that his parents were coming home. I asked his class teacher when he had last seen his parents. She told me that they had been gone for about four or five years and were working in Egypt. So Bibek and I enthusiastically counted down the days together for when he would finally see his parents. When their arrival day came, I ran up to him and excitedly asked: “Where’s your mom and dad? Can I meet them?!” He turned away, pointed to the toilet and said: “In the toilet.” There was no one in the toilet area. I paused. Then it dawned on me that it was all a lie, possibly a dream he had conjured up, and I contributed to make it come alive, until the end of the dream, where reality slapped us both awake.

Another boy, in grade nine, Shinej, who was the class clown when I was teaching, had not seen his mom or dad in over nine years. He did not tell me, his cousin did in class one day. Shinej was staying with him, as he was being shuffled from family member to distant relative over the years. I also remember visiting some students during the holidays in a hostel connected to an orphanage. The kids in the orphanage were celebrating the holidays together as a family, but the atmosphere in the hostel was quite different. There were only a few kids left, which were the ones without parents in the country.

I distinctly remember flying home in 2012 through Abu Dhabi. In the Kathmandu airport I cleared security in a second, as the female line was empty. The male line was backed up the length of the terminal, full of workers leaving their families behind, for many years. I was one of about eight foreigners (or non-Nepalese) on the plane; we were all white. Just as I was boarding, I was upgraded to business class and I noticed several other people were upgraded as well. However, as I looked around in the business class section, no Nepalese person had been offered an upgrade, even though they made up 95% of the passengers. I remember, as I was offered a glass of fresh mint lemonade, looking behind me at the back of the plane and seeing all the brown low-paid guest workers crowded together.

1 Introduction

This introductory chapter questions the role globalization plays in the different lives of different people in the world. Does it benefit some at the expense of others? Global economic priorities today seem to be prioritized over the human dignity of many, causing a global level of dehumanization. However, the central purpose of both global citizenship (GC) and global citizenship education (GCE) is to challenge any form of dehumanization. How can these concepts be used to understand and challenge our (changing) relationships with *others*?

1.1 Globalization's (Un)Fairness

Globalization, the increasing connections and networks forming around the world, enabled my journey to volunteer in Kathmandu and meet and learn from new people from different backgrounds in a place very different from where I grew up. Globalization, at the same time, is also enabling millions of people to leave their families to work in other countries for years at a time, before (if ever) returning back home.

In 2002, the International Labour Organization (ILO) put together the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization (WCSDG) co-chaired by two Presidents: a woman and a man, from the North and the South, from Finland and Tanzania alongside a diverse team of individuals. By creating a dialogue and listening to people, organizations and governments in many corners of the world on the human effects of globalization, they produced a report titled: *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All* (2004). While recognizing the positive impacts of globalization, such as creating more open societies, the increase in awareness of people's rights through better communications, and flourishing innovation and creativity through the sharing of ideas and knowledge, the report states "there is a growing concern about the direction globalization is currently taking" (p. 3). The worry is tied to the imbalance between the economic aspect of globalization expanding without control and the social and political institutions which remain bounded by local, national and/or regional borders. Without an adequate democratic oversight, wealthy corporations and individuals exploit inequalities between countries through offshoring work, moving people around for cheap labour and shifting money to avoid ethical accountability.

These concerns are best illustrated by quoting some of the people in the world that the commission listened to. A participant in the Philippines stated: “*There is no point to a globalization that reduces the price of a child’s shoes, but costs the father his job*” (p.13). A participant in Senegal felt: “Africa need[s] to ‘*develop a culture of resistance*’ to globalization in order to avoid being reduced to the status of a ‘*beggar economy*’” (p. 15). Civil society groups questioned the World Trade Organization’s promotion of “a paradigm of competition in which the weak have to compete with the strong. ‘*A conversation between a cat and a mouse is not a conversation.*’...’*It is*’, said one participant, ‘*a deeply undemocratic and disempowering system*’” (p. 22). Overall, the report, itself, questions the “deep-seated and persistent imbalances in the current workings of the global economy which are ethically unacceptable and politically unsustainable” (p. 3).

To frame this more clearly, from an economic perspective, ten years after the report from the WCSDG was published, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published a policy paper in 2014: *Policy Challenges for the next 50 years*, which states that if current trends continue, the average OECD country’s earning inequality may rise by more than 30% by 2060 and be close to what the inequality rates of the United States are today (Braconier, Nicoletti & Westmore, 2014). Joseph Stiglitz is one of many respected voices discussing the effects of growing inequality and its price, particularly in the United States, where he is known for the slogan describing the power of the richest of the rich: *of the 1%, for the 1%, by the 1%*. He questions why entrepreneurs feel so little guilt while exploiting the poorest and least-educated. Stiglitz (2012) questions the growing trend around the world, where the power of greed (of the few) continues to outweigh the universal value of fairness, a trend which is echoed in the report by the WCSDG. Both Stiglitz and the recommendations of the WCSDG push for a vision of globalization: “which respects human dignity and the equal worth of every human being” (WCSDG, 2004, p. 5).

The unfair cross-border movement of people in the world is a second major sign of the global imbalance of power. This is described by Zygmunt Bauman in his book *Globalization: the Human Consequences*:

For the inhabitants of the first world – the increasingly cosmopolitan, extraterritorial world of global businessmen, global culture managers or global academics, state borders are levelled down, as they are dismantled for the world’s commodities, capital and finances. For the inhabitant of the second world, the walls built of immigration

controls, of residence laws and of ‘clean streets’ and ‘zero tolerance’ policies, grow taller; the moats separating them from the sites of their desire and of dreamed-of redemption grow deeper, while all bridges, at the first attempt to cross them, prove to be drawbridges. The first travel at will, get much fun from their travel (particularly if travelling first class or using private aircraft), are cajoled or bribed to travel and welcomed with smiles and open arms when they do. The second travel surreptitiously, often illegally, sometimes paying more for the crowded steerage of a stinking unseaworthy boat than others pay for business-class gilded luxuries – and are frowned upon, and, if unlucky, arrested and promptly deported, when they arrive. (Bauman, 1998, p. 89)

Not only do people from the high-income countries of the ‘First World,’ have more rights to move around the world, the rich of all countries are favoured by the global economy:

[T]he lack of a multilateral framework on migration is a clear illustration of the imbalance in the current rules of the game. While the rights of foreign investment have been increasingly strengthened in the rules set for the global economy, those of migrant workers have received far less attention. (WCSDG, 2004, 96)

The freedom to travel and be respected, to be treated with all the rights that come with simply being human, are becoming increasingly limited for some and expanded for others, all based on global economics. This is especially true for people who are migrating. The rich and people from high-income countries seem to migrate more simply: with their families, with planes, and treated with respect when they arrive in a new place. The opposite is true for many people in low-income countries.

1.1.1 Globalization’s Dehumanization

As the global economy expands, inequality expands with it, as well as neoliberal ways of thinking. Individualism based on the concept of survival of the fittest is now the model of fairness becoming engrained into people’s minds. There is increasing pressure to prove oneself worthy within the global economy, based on the belief that fairness is accomplished through competition (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough & Halsey, 2006). Competition is present in all hierarchical structures of measuring and comparing, such as school grades and gross domestic product (GDP) country comparisons. Saul (2009) describes this obsession with

statistics and measuring everything as “a civilization that believes it is being led by economics” (p. 51).

In such a civilisation, money-based class divisions become sharper and inequalities more pronounced. The thinking is then that it is “all right to serve yourself and not worry about the *other*” (Saul, 2009, p. 186). Stiglitz (2012) questions a current growing change in morality, where feelings of guilt about exploiting others is missing. However, the exploitation of others for the benefit of oneself has always been a phenomenon of class based societies. What is worrisome in the present time, is the form of such exploitation, based as it is, not on human need or worth, but on the measurement of skills and knowledge alone.

The OECD is now measuring adult skills across participating countries. Their report states that it is important to make sure countries are getting the best returns on investment in skills. Its premise is that skills change people’s lives, which they do. However this is not a project about a fair globalization for all people. It is a project about hierarchy and competition. The report warns: “countries with lower skill levels risk losing in competitiveness as the world economy becomes more dependent on skills” (OECD, 2013, p. 6). In terms of immigration, this pushes countries to only allow people with ‘high-skills’ to belong, and exclude those with perceived ‘low-skills.’ This exclusion and judgement based on the ‘rational’ argument of competitiveness within the global economy, results in the dehumanization of millions of people, who are measured to be not good enough. Instead, people labelled as ‘for low-skilled work’, particularly from low-income countries, are allowed temporary entry into high-income countries in order to work in difficult low-paying jobs and then told they can neither stay nor belong.

The temporary employment of people in low-paying jobs and the underlying attitude that such people are like disposable commodities is also tied to a growing consumer society, different than any other society in human history thus far. Bauman (1998) explains this:

If the philosophers, poets and moral preachers among our ancestors pondered the question whether one works in order to live or lives in order to work, the dilemma one hears mulled over most often nowadays is whether one needs to consume in order to live or whether one lives so that one can consume. That is, if we are still able, and feel the need to, tell apart the living from the consuming. (pp. 80-81)

Consumerism has resulted in the addiction to constantly consume new things, above and beyond one's needs. This has resulted in a lack of commitment to almost everything, because a person cannot wait to purchase the next thing (Bauman, 1998). Everything becomes temporary because everything is replaceable: from plastic containers to *human beings*. Individuals have become just as disposable as products. Tying consumerism to the growing levels of inequality based on global economic competition and greed, has resulted in the dehumanization of many people, temporarily used by others in order to get ahead economically. This includes the garment factory worker making clothes in Bangladesh to the temporary and replaceable guest cleaner in Canada.

One of the hierarchies that is growing in most migrant receiving countries is based on the mixing of people that are citizens and not citizens. One group of non-citizens are low-paid guest workers. The clearest example of their dehumanization is obvious by looking at the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* (CMW). This treaty was adopted in 1990 by the United Nations and 25 years later, it is still the least ratified human rights treaty in the world. Worse, the few countries that have ratified the treaty are migrant sending countries, not migrant receiving countries. This is in comparison to all other major human rights treaties that once introduced have been signed by most countries of the world (Ruhs, 2013). Most guest workers in low-paid jobs do not have the right to live with their families, cannot change employers, and are not given rights that local citizens enjoy. Most are not allowed to apply to become permanent residents, and therefore cannot become local citizens. Many such workers, while working very difficult hours of the night and day, for low wages, are excluded from communities and are severely limited in their right to change their situation.

This group of non-citizens are living evidence of the dehumanization of globalization. This fact sits awkwardly beside the concepts of global citizenship (GC) and global citizenship education (GCE). GC is based on an understanding of humanization where all people should feel a sense of belonging to the world and with each other. GCE is about teaching and learning to create and build upon this sense of belonging, within a framework of universal core human rights (UNESCO, 2014).

This hope of learning to belong to the world together, is at a time when global economics are prioritized over the human dignity of others, especially on the lands of the rich (high-income countries). It is this context which this research questions: the tensions between how GC and

GCE concepts apply to the experiences of low-paid guest workers in high-income countries. Can these concepts be used to add pressure for these guests to take their human rights with them across borders? As well, can the knowledge gained through the global experiences of these workers be used to contribute to the further understanding of both GC and GCE?

1.2 Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to relate the concepts of GC and GCE to the global experiences of low-paid guest workers across Canada, Europe, the Gulf States and East and Southeast Asia. The overall question guiding the research is:

How do the experiences of low-paid guest workers relate to the concepts of global citizenship and global citizenship education?

This question will be examined through low-paid guest worker experiences in the three core areas of the GCE framework developed by UNESCO (2015), namely:

- a) critical understanding of global/local systems, structures and power dynamics;*
- b) belonging to the world (respecting others); and*
- c) taking active ethical responsibility towards challenging inequalities and injustice (transforming injustices).*

1.3 Rich Sites for this Research

In order to gain different perspectives on the global phenomenon of low-paid guest work, I focus on different regions of the world with high-income economies. Canada, hailed as an immigrant friendly country, will bring a perspective based on its reputation as well as its unique temporary foreign worker (TFW) program. Europe's open borders, allowing workers to easily flow across countries brings another unique global perspective. The Gulf States, as well as some countries in East and Southeast Asia are known for their high use of low-paid guest workers. In some countries of the Gulf, for example, low-paid guest workers outnumber local citizens and there are very strict laws concerning foreign workers, which will provide a further comparison to this study.

1.4 Key Concepts

In order to understand the major themes of the study, core concepts are introduced in the following sections. This includes a discussion of the terms used for those working in a low paying job in a foreign country, the differences between citizenship and global citizenship as well as the different ways of understanding informal learning in everyday life.

1.4.1 *Low-paid Guest Workers or Temporary Foreign Workers?*

There are many terms used to describe a person who is working in a country that is not their own. This research is specifically focused on people working for low wages, in jobs many describe as low-skilled. In the recent past, in some regions of the world, the term used to describe people in these circumstances was *guest workers*. Currently, the terms predominately used across most regions in the world include: *low-skilled migrant worker* or just *migrant worker* as well as *temporary foreign worker* or *economic migrant*.

I find the term ‘low-skilled’ problematic for two main reasons. Firstly, many workers performing jobs classified as low-skilled, such as cleaning or preparing food, have education and skills in other areas many would describe as ‘skilled’ or ‘high-skilled.’ For example, many migrant workers that clean toilets may have the education to be a teacher or a lawyer or a business analyst. Labelling them as a low-skilled worker does not recognize their skillset. It only recognizes the current job they are performing. Secondly, as Gzesh (2014) urges, labelling someone as low-skilled devalues workers and the type of work they perform:

[T]he “high-skill/low-skill” description [should] be replaced by a “high-paid/low-paid” description. As anyone who has cared for the ill, the elderly or young children knows, those jobs require a very high degree of skill but are generally filled by low-paid immigrants. The value of the work of low-paid workers may be differently understood if policymakers would realize that even the most “high-skill” software innovator would have fundamental problems without a wide network of support from “low-skill” workers who grow and prepare the food he or she eats and care for his or her children. (p. 19)

Due to these issues I will not be using the term ‘low-skilled’, unless I am quoting someone who uses the term. Instead, I will use the term low-paid. The next issue is deciding between the terms migrant worker, guest worker, temporary foreign worker or economic migrant. One

of the problems here is that some of these terms are used in some regions of the world and others in other regions. In the Gulf States and Asia, the term most often used is migrant worker. In Europe, the term guest worker was used in the past, but now the more common term is also migrant worker or economic migrant. In Canada, the common term is temporary foreign worker. I believe the terms migrant worker and economic migrant are very general terms and do not truly describe the lives of people working on a temporary basis in low-paid jobs in foreign countries. As well, people working in high-paid jobs can still be classified as economic migrants or migrant workers.

Temporary foreign worker gives a more accurate description, as these workers are treated as temporary people, as foreigners and as workers. However, specific to this research, I am focusing on low-paid workers and the term temporary foreign worker does not explicitly state this fact. As well, I believe the original term ‘guest worker’ is more humane, as it sees people as guests in another’s home, instead of as a foreigner who does not belong. However, in reality, these workers are essentially treated as foreigners who do not belong anyways. Therefore, I will use both terms: low-paid temporary foreign worker and low-paid guest worker, throughout the analysis depending on the context. For contexts that seem to dehumanize (or objectify) these workers, I will use the term low-paid temporary foreign worker. For contexts that seem to humanize these workers, I will use the term low-paid guest worker.

Undocumented workers

As well, many of the workers I interviewed were currently undocumented or had been undocumented at some point in their journey. For example, one participant explained how after his arrival in Saudi Arabia, he was not treated properly by his sponsor company and decided to leave to work for another company illegally. After a few years of working illegally, he contacted his first company, which was listed on his visa, who then invited him back with better working conditions. In this example, he went from being documented, to undocumented to documented again. For most of the workers interviewed in this study, being undocumented was temporary. I understand for many people, being undocumented can be a permanent state. This research however, focuses on temporary foreign worker programs and policies, and how workers navigate these programs for financial stability as well as to find

ways to become permanent residents and eventually citizens. Therefore I will still be using the terms low-paid guest worker as well as low-paid temporary foreign worker.

1.4.2 *Citizenship and Global Citizenship (GC)*

The traditional understanding of citizenship is based on both civic and cultural belonging to a country. With regard to democratic citizenship in particular, civic belonging is based on being protected by the state, having guaranteed rights and being an active participant in the process of law-making and governing (Castles, 1998). Cultural belonging includes having a sense of cultural identity with other citizens of the same country. Of course, both civic belonging and cultural belonging are not always experienced by all people, but this is the traditional understanding of democratic citizenship (Castles, 1998).

However, with increasing migration and transnational identities, where some people in the world hold more than one citizenship and a person may live in one country, but carry a passport from another country, the meaning of belonging to one country is changing. This change is due to the many interdependent processes within today's form of globalization across nations and individuals worldwide. Many people do not feel completely culturally connected, politically active, socially connected and/or economically stable within their own country. El-Haj (2009) discusses how "citizenship may be better described as a guarantor of rights than a marker of national identity" (p. 279). However, as Castles (1998) states: "the autonomy of the nation-state and its ability to protect its citizens against outside influences is declining" (p. 185). Some countries are not able to protect their citizens' rights from outside influences, such as for instance climate change or the offshoring of work. Castles (1998) calls for a model of global citizenship to respond, one "which will break the nexus between belonging and territoriality: people need rights as human beings, not as nationals" (p. 185). Of course, there are currently international human rights instruments set in place to push nations to respect the rights of all people. However, these instruments are not enforceable. If one's own country is the only guarantor of one's human rights, this poses problems when people migrate and stay in other countries as different citizens.

Particularly in the context of low-paid guest workers, some human rights are ignored. Ignoring some human rights does not align with the understanding of global citizenship, where the human rights of individuals across the globe should outweigh the right of nations to

independently decide who has some rights and who does not. This is summarized, specifically in terms of labour migration by Gzesh (2014):

A human being does not lose his or her human rights by crossing a border. However in state regulation of the entrance and stay of temporary migrant workers, the ideal of universal human rights clashes with the prerogatives of sovereignty and power. (p. 14)

Therefore, from a legal perspective, global citizenship cannot exist. This is discussed by Tawil in one of UNESCO's working papers on GCE: "despite the way in which globalization is affecting traditional conceptions of citizenship within the contours of the nation-state, the notion of 'global citizenship' remains a metaphor" (Tawil, 2013, p. 2). Global citizenship is not a legal term as there is no global polity. However the term itself creates certain assumptions regarding legality, which are problematic. Overall, within the framework of this research, citizenship will be defined by belonging to a country that should guarantee one's rights. This will be discussed within the context of low-paid guest workers who do not have the same rights as citizens in their working countries. This study will add to the discussion surrounding the tensions between global citizenship and the independent and exclusionary nature of traditional citizenship using the perspectives of low-paid guest workers.

1.4.3 Informal Learning

Informal learning is an area not as popular and not as widely researched, as formal education and non-formal education. When one first thinks of education and learning, classrooms and teachers or an educational program or institution are what first come to mind. Informal learning is learning that is not based on a hierarchical teacher to student model. It is learning based on everyday life. UNESCO's Institute of Statistics defines it as:

Forms of learning that are intentional or deliberate but are not institutionalized. They are less organized and structured than either formal or non-formal education. Informal learning may include learning activities that occur in the family, in the work place, in the local community, and in daily life, on a self-directed, family-directed or socially-directed basis. (UIS, 2011)

The European Commission's Classification of Learning Activities (CLA) states: "Informal learning may or may not involve taught learning but it must not be institutionalised" (European Commission, 2006, p. 20). This is unlike formal and non-formal learning, which

both involve an organized program of teaching, formal learning leading to nationally recognized credentials and non-formal learning leading to a sense of accomplishment that may include a certificate that may or may not be recognized. The CLA classifies informal learning into two areas: ‘Taught Learning,’ which can include coaching or guided tours, and ‘Non-Taught Learning,’ which can include self-learning, such as reading a book, observing nature, or learning in a group. It is important to note here that informal learning can occur in classroom environments as well, such as through group discussions and group projects.

Both UNESCO and the European Commission define informal learning as intentional. However, Marsick & Watkins (2001) also add incidental learning to this frame. Incidental learning is learning that “may be taken for granted, tacit or unconscious...examples are the hidden agenda of an organization’s culture or a teacher’s class, learning from mistakes, or the unsystematic process of trial and error.” (pp. 25-26). By reviewing other studies, they conclude that significant unplanned or unexpected events trigger informal and incidental learning. For example, they mention Menard’s (1993) study of nurses in Vietnam, who had to invent tools and techniques to supplement their poor resources. This is not taught to them in a classroom or program, but is in the spontaneous organic learning of everyday life.

Lave & Wenger (1991) discuss the importance of everyday learning in participation with others and the world. They want to break from the focus of learning as internalization: “that [has] kept persons reduced to their minds, mental processes to instrumental rationalism, and learning to the acquisition of knowledge” (p. 50). They argue that the idea of learning focusing on the individual separates people from the realities of engaged participation in everyday life. The learning that occurs in everyday life is complex and always changing, where identities are being constructed and reconstructed, while community memberships continually evolve within these relationships. This combines subjective and objective realities, which parallels Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000) where:

the subjective aspect exists only in relation to the objective aspect (the concrete reality, which is the object of analysis). Subjectivity and objectivity thus join in a dialectical unity producing knowledge in solidarity with action, and vice versa. (p. 38)

Lave and Wenger (1991) specifically refer to this as ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ where knowledge and skills are developed in practice within the transformation of

communities. This is a step in a more communal understanding of learning, different from the indicators listed in the CLA which focus on the internalization of knowledge by an individual.

Freire (2000) recognizes this importance of understanding with the other as well: “I cannot exist without a non-I. In turn, the not-I depends on that existence” (p. 82). Again, focusing on the importance of learning through dialogue, Freire also states how: “dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person depositing ideas on another” (p. 89). He presents the importance of moving away from the banking system of education, where an individual is seen as a depository to put information in, and then will be measured to see if the information stuck. He states that the vertical patterns of teacher to student education must be replaced by: “no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. People teach each other, mediated by the world” (p. 80). I believe this can include autonomous modes of learning for example, by reading books and information on websites. But this should be through a recognition that someone in relationship with others was able to create this knowledge, which is put out into the world for others etc... This brings the hierarchy down, into a more dialogic understanding of learning. This type of learning with others and in community, is what this research will focus on to add to the understanding and development of GCE.

1.1 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two discusses GC and GCE theories and research. Chapter three uses a historical lens to study labour migration up to the present day. Chapter four presents in detail the research design, data collection and data analysis methods. Chapter five discusses the framework applied in the thesis to piece together and analyze the data collected. The findings and discussion of the experiences of the participants within a GC and GCE frame are presented in chapters six and seven. Both chapters focus on the GCE concept of ‘belonging to the world’ (research sub-question b). Chapter six specifically focuses on the understanding of global and local systems, structures and power dynamics (research sub-question a) while chapter seven focuses on the transformational nature of GCE (research sub-question c). Chapter eight draws the conclusions from the study.

2 Global Citizenship Education (GCE)

This chapter highlights critical discussions surrounding GC and GCE. How does one learn to be a global citizen? Is it easier for some people to be treated as global citizens compared to others? Particularly in regards to low paid guest workers, this chapter discusses how GCE can be explored outside the classroom and incorporated into peoples' day-to-day lives.

2.1 UNESCO's Development of GCE

Global citizenship is a term increasingly being used by international organizations, schools, researchers and educational institutions. Across all literature, its major theme is developing a sense of belonging to the world together. This is based on the increasing global interdependency and interconnectedness of the world today (UNESCO, 2015). As the term global citizenship has become more popular, its place within citizenship education curricula is also increasingly being discussed. UNESCO's 2014 report on Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the 21st Century, states that GCE represents acknowledging:

the role of education in moving beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to build values, soft skills and attitudes among learners that can facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation...equipping learners with competencies to deal with the dynamic and interdependent world of the twenty-first century. (p. 9)

The competencies learners are expected to develop are based within three areas: cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural. These are summarized in Table 2.1. By fostering a learning environment focused on critical thinking, respect for others and responsibility for each other and the world, there is hope learners would be able to understand multi-perspective approaches within different dimensions of global and local issues. This should enable people to act collaboratively on circumstances and issues that affect local and global realities. That is, concerns are not only within national boundaries, but must go beyond them. As well, according to UNESCO (2014), GCE is not just meant for classrooms, but also for nonformal and informal environments, should be made measurable and linked to sectors outside of education.

However, almost all documents are related to classroom-based education with a focus on children and youth. Adult learning and education and informal learning and education receive

scant attention, with informal education being mentioned only briefly in regards to information communication technology (ICT). There is no mention of the learning in everyday life within community.

Table 2.1 Core Conceptual Dimensions of Global Citizenship Education

Learning Domain	GCE competency
Cognitive	To acquire knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues, and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations.
Socio-emotional	To have a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity.
Behavioural	To act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world.

Source: adapted from UNESCO, 2015, p. 15

2.2 Missing Pieces in GCE Discussions

The missing discussion around informal education within GCE, is highlighted by Appiah (2008), who reminds us of the risk of only focusing on planned and deliberate or intentional education. He states: “we are prone to exaggerate the role, even in education, of teaching, as opposed to the sort of learning that occurs when nothing is deliberately being taught” (Appiah, 2008, p. 89). He starts by presenting in detail how children learn languages at home and in community informally. Appiah (2008) further discusses the Contact Hypothesis, where:

Contact between individuals of different groups makes hostility and prejudice less likely if it occurs in a framework that meets a few important conditions: crucially, it must be on terms of equality and it must be in an activity where shared goals are pursued in contexts of mutual dependency. (p. 91)

Appiah gives several examples of people learning from each other informally outside of classrooms, resulting in respect and understanding across different identities. For example, in

the United States, white football and basketball players are likely to be “more relaxed around black people and more engaged in racial justice than some of their peers” (Appiah, 2008, p. 92). However, he questions if citizenship is based on segregating nations from each other, how can long term informal learning across different groups of people actually occur? How can we build global community informally in day-to-day life? His recommendation for this is to promote young people to study and work abroad and for countries to develop policies and programs to invite young people from other countries.

Reimer (2013) agrees, and recommends that one way of measuring global competency would be through student exchanges. However, this understanding of global competency and informal learning across cultures would, in all probability, reach only the very privileged and would normally be out of reach for the lower classes of most countries. And again, the focus here is on youth, not adults. How does building global community and the understanding of global citizenship apply to living in one’s own home? For many people, respecting people with different identities and different cultural backgrounds is not that hard if they are just visiting, such as on youth exchanges or volunteer trips. It is also not that hard to connect with someone online in a distant place. However, sharing one’s home indefinitely with others can create complications. Von Wright (2002) reflects on how it is easier to confront difference in a remote place, such as travelling to Kenya and living with the Samburu people, than when Samburus come to live with you in your own home:

It seems to be easier to understand and include somebody who is different elsewhere, than to recognize differences in your own context and accept the otherness of one’s neighbor. Why is that so? According to Mead it has to do with the fact that problematic situations in familiar contexts confront our habits and force us to reflect and even change. Visiting other people does not necessarily confront your values and make you a citizen of the world unless you are willing to make changes in your own life as well. (pp. 414-415)

Many people claim to be open to other cultures because they went on a volunteer trip to a culturally different country, but live habitually at home, and do not challenge some of their own closed habits. For example many people just continue to do what is comfortable in their familiar environment: being with people who speak their language easily, who eat similar food, wear similar clothes, practice the same religion etc. Welcoming people with other habits and ideas is uncomfortable. It is hard, but as Von Wright (2002) concludes, staying in our

zone of comfort is selfish in itself, because it turns “away the possibilities of new perspectives” (p. 415).

2.3 The “Hidden Other” of GC and GCE

How do low-paid guest workers fit into the understanding of being a global citizen? Workers in low-paid jobs are not welcomed to stay in communities abroad. They are treated as temporary beings, within rich countries. Their migration journey is similar to a student exchange promoted by Reimer (2013) and Appiah (2008), where one goes to another country/culture to exchange ideas and learn. However, these workers are in a way forced to become global citizens, as they find work in other countries in order to sustain themselves and their families unlike those choosing to go on a volunteer trip or an exchange. As well, they are technically learning to be global citizens informally, in terms of Reimer’s and Appiah’s standards, but will not be recognized as having acquired that status. For example, a student would put on their *curriculum vitae* (CV) that they experienced a student exchange in Norway, but a worker would put that they worked for a cleaning company in Norway. One will be recognized as global experience, the other will be categorized as someone doing a low-skilled job.

The categorization of who can be considered a global citizen and who cannot, such as in this case of students on an exchange or a person cleaning in a foreign country, is discussed by many scholars. Bates (2012) critically reflects on global citizenship as he argues prospects vary between the tiers of global society: if one is in the upper class or lower class of a country or the globe. He questions what form of global citizenship might be developed that is not based upon such exclusion. Using her interviews with youth in the slums of Lima, Balarin (2011) discusses the situation of citizens who do not formally enjoy citizenship rights. She questions how these individuals can relate to the global citizenship agenda. In line with Bates, she discusses how the idea of global citizenship may only apply to privileged citizens with money: “[those] who do not suffer from exclusion, who have little or no barriers to migration, who access good quality and often private education” (p. 361). The vast number of marginalized citizens across the globe is discussed by Balarin (2011) as the “hidden other” of global citizenship:

The questions I am posing in relation to global citizenship stem from a recognition of the new forms of structural inequality that are emerging, or old ones which are

becoming deeper, in the context of globalisation, and the extent to which these can obstruct access not only to citizenship rights, but also to the imagination of citizenship. (p. 358)

Balarin is particularly concerned with those people who do not have access to their rights as citizens in their own countries. In contrast, this study is concerned with how some foreigners do not have rights in the countries where they are guests. It questions the exclusionary nature of citizenship in the world, where foreigners are treated differently in different lands depending on their measured value of worth, which is based on a country's national interest (Ruhs, 2013). This value can be based on one's education (and if one was educated in the 'First World' or 'Third World'), skin color, religion, age, and/or country of origin.

Furthering the discussion of GC, GCE and marginalization, Parmenter (2011) critically examined over 200 articles written between 1977 and 2009 which included 'global citizenship education' as a keyword. She concludes that the subjects and objects of GCE research are concentrated in the global North. She questions the inclusivity of knowledge production based on this limited geographical focus which includes a majority of monolingual English speakers. Hicks (2003) also discusses how the majority of 'global education' literature focuses on empirical data from classrooms of the global North and is "a rich world initiative" (p. 269). The focus on knowledge from the global North can be understood in what Gayatri Spivak (1990) refers to as "worlding of the West as world", where the knowledge from the west is assumed to be global knowledge applicable to everyone everywhere (as cited in Andreotti, 2007, p. 69). Andreotti discusses Spivak's (2003) stance in relation to GCE, in how people in the 'First World' are "encouraged to think that they live in the centre of the world, that they have a responsibility to 'help the rest' and that 'people from other parts of the world are not fully global'" (p. 70).

The West becoming synonymous with the world, leads to the question of why an exchange student studying abroad or a volunteer working in a poor country or an expatriate living with their family in another country can all be classified as global citizens, and recognized for their international experience, but a low-paid guest worker is not. This is especially significant as most low-paid guest workers originate from low-income countries in the 'Third World.' If global citizenship is only discussed in terms of classroom discussions (in 'First World' countries) or with the few who can travel or go on an exchange, how does it really include all people, which is the very definition of the word 'global'?

2.4 From an Individualistic GCE to a Collective Understanding of Learning

Citizens live and work together in a complex web of relationships. Learning to live with each other in community cannot just be taught in classrooms, but is rooted in learning outside of educational walls: in volunteer organizations, religious gatherings, playing and watching sports, walking down the street, in mess halls, in coffee shops, in barber shops, with a child's friend's parents, while riding a bus. These relationships have the potential to be across cultures, religions and diverse identities. This is especially true of guest worker communities, as they come from so many different corners of the world. However, this informal everyday learning that comes from interacting and building community across cultures does not seem to be valued as highly as global conferences, multicultural degrees, study abroad exchanges, diversity seminars etc., which can be included in CVs and resumes. Does one only learn to live respectfully with the *other* through formal or non-formal education that can be added to a CV? Measuring whether one is a global citizen or not through one's own exam scores, the courses one has attended, or exchanges one has been on is class-based and individualistic. In order for GCE to be more inclusive and egalitarian, it would need to acknowledge the legitimacy of all methods of learning, formal, nonformal and informal. It cannot focus solely on the measurement of individual multicultural merits.

Unfortunately, one of UNESCO's central goals in moving forward with GCE *is* measuring it. One idea it proposes is the creation of a global friendly club, based on schools which are implementing specific GCE programs through online and distance learning platforms (UNESCO, 2014). This is certainly not inclusive. And it is patronizing. Who has the power to decide what type of GCE is worthy of a global stamp of approval?

The idea of measurement steers away from a process of building knowledge together. Measurement means an end point of an already chosen right way of thinking. Freire (2000) specifically questions how some knowledge is already determined because: "dialogue [which is knowledge production] cannot exist without humility" (p. 89). In order for GCE to be inclusionary, which is what global should mean: inclusive of the diversity that is global, it must be humble. When knowledge is decidedly one way, from teacher to student, or Western to Southern, or global organization to local citizen, a hierarchy develops. GCE cannot assume one right path of becoming a global citizen. Souza Santos states: "we probably need a residual general epistemological requirement to move along: a general epistemology of the impossibility of a general epistemology" (quoted in Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2012, p.

224). Or in other words, one person or group of people's knowledge should not be assumed to be the one right way of thinking. If there is measurement, it is normally linear, with someone or some organization deciding what is good enough, which does not allow for the understanding and tolerance of other perspectives or knowledge. Freire (2000) reflects on how knowledge developed through community relationships is often not recognized or measured as true knowledge:

They [the oppressed] call themselves ignorant and say the 'professor' is the one who has knowledge and to whom they should listen...Almost never do they realize that they [the oppressed] too, 'know things' they have learned in their relations with the world and with other women and men. (p. 63)

Instead of measuring GCE, it would be more inclusive to continually collect *global citizenship knowledge* (GCK) to humbly share and build on with others from different parts of the world. Many may argue that this is what the process of developing GCE did, bringing people together from different corners of the world to discuss and develop a framework to present to the world. However, this development cannot reach an end point of measurement. This is because no matter how many people are involved in this knowledge creation, there are always people excluded.

One of the aims of this research is to share collective stories of GCK through bringing to light examples of adult learning in everyday life of people sharing the same land (or economic market). How GCE's three themes: critical understanding of global/local systems, empathy and understanding across identities, and the transformation of injustice/s, are played out in the everyday life of guest workers in low-paid jobs in rich countries will be examined. This will ultimately lead to the start of answering the question: how can the real life learning outside of the classroom of different people in community sharing the same global space, relate to what it means to be a global citizen?

3 Labour Migration

Before being able to reflect on how the themes of GCE relate to the experiences of low paid guest workers, the history of shifting people across borders for labour must be illustrated. Presenting the history of transferring living labour, ties the present to the past in order to understand the power dynamics between countries and people in the world today.

3.1 A History of Transferring Living Labour

The transfer of human beings to different geographical locations to provide cheap labour and/or perform work others would prefer not to do, has existed for centuries. Potts (1990) describes this as the world market for labour power. She traces “the enslavement of the Indians that followed the conquest of America, the various forms of forced labour and forced migration in Latin America, Asia and Africa, African slavery, the coolie system used to despatch the people of Asia all over the world, and finally present-day labour migration” (p. 7). Through this analysis Potts (1990) illustrates how “every inhabited continent and almost every society on earth has been drawn into the world market” (p. 7), but for different reasons. She explains: “for the original inhabitants of America and Australia, and the residents of Asia and Africa this has meant extermination, abduction, and exploitation. For at least part of the white people’s world it has meant material wealth” (p. 7). Through comparing the different stages of labour migration tied to Europe’s conquest of many parts of the world, Potts explains how the methods of importing living labour are all based on profitability tied to a growing capitalist regime. The only difference is that the calculations for profit have been further developed over time. For example, bonded labour from Asia had a higher profitability than African slaves, because the bonded labourers had to replace themselves if they could no longer work. However, if an African slave died, was unfit for work or ran away, new slaves had to be purchased. She explains that in the second half of the 20th century:

the scale, structure and course of labour migration has been controlled unequivocally and exclusively by the countries that play host to migrant workers. It is they who determine the composition of the waves of migration in terms of qualifications, age, marital status and gender. The scale and timing of arrivals and departures and the pattern of immigration and remigration are directly dependent on the economic climate and the state of the labour market in host countries... (p. 208)

She gives the specific example of how Germany and Switzerland at this time made profits by selectively sending guest workers home in times of economic crisis.

3.2 Current Labour Movement and the Rights Entitled to Temporary Foreign Workers

Moving into the global context of the 21st century, including countries of European colonial history and non-colonial history, in 2014 a billion people worked outside of their place of birth. The money, or remittances, they send back to their families and communities in home countries totals half a trillion dollars a year (MDCSN, 2014). These remittance statistics show how most guest workers move from low-income to high-income countries or in other words: lower to higher wage labour markets. High-income countries have only 16 percent of the world's working population, yet over 60 percent of the world's migrants (Martin, 2005).

The management of this increasing global movement of people is completely tied to profitability, as explained by Potts (1990) in the centuries of shifting people around the globe for labour. The argument commonly used to justify this global management of people in the present time, is based on a person's desire to work abroad in order to make more money to support themselves and their families. This argument is based on seeing the shifting of living labour as an opportunity for the worker. However, by looking at the situation of many low-income countries through a historical lens, such as presented by Potts and many post-colonial scholars, the poverty of the 'Third World' is argued to be a *result of* colonialism and western interests. Gayatri Spivak (1990, 1999, 2003) continually reflects on how colonialism and the history of imperialism started the processes of global inequality to begin with. The historical picture of taking over and using lands which were in use by other people, now labelled the lands of the 'Third World' has led to the creation of wealth within the 'First World.' Andreotti (2007) summarizes Spivak's understanding stating that globalization is the continuation of the process of maintaining the wealth of the First World gained by incorporating the (old) colonies into the international division of labour.

In addition, as the West's knowledge and interests continue to dominate, the world has become essentially a global Western project, where Western interests are projected as the world's interests (Andreotti, 2007). Spivak (1990) refers to this as "worlding of the West as world" (as cited in Andreotti, 2007, p. 69). While the interests of the West are pushed forward, colonialism is presumed to be over, assuming history does not affect the present.

Andreotti (2007) explains how overlooking history is “sanctioned ignorance, which disguises the worlding of the world, places the responsibility for poverty upon the poor themselves and justifies the project of development of the Other as a ‘civilising mission’” (p. 70). Within this understanding, the ‘opportunity’ granted to many people in low-income countries to come work in high-income countries, is based on the western maintenance of wealth, pretending the low-income status of a country is the people of that country’s problem and Western nations are kindly helping them solve it.

Therefore, this ‘opportunity’ can be seen as forced labour. For example, currently, the 309 civil society groups for workers spanning the globe have stated in response to the Global Forum on Migration and Development in 2014, that in order: “for migration to be a choice, not forced for lack of livelihood and survival possibilities at home, and for development to be truly full and fair” there must be an emphasis on “decent work and social protection, importantly in countries of origin as well as in countries where migrants work” (MDCSN, 2014, p. 2). For many people who become low-paid temporary foreign workers, working abroad is not choice. And when they do ‘choose’ to work abroad, for many, their conditions in their working countries are based on economic profitability for their employers and not on human rights.

It can be clearly seen that most high income countries prioritize profits over the human rights of guest workers by looking at the number of countries that have signed the *UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families*. Of all the UN human rights treaties, this one is the least ratified (Ruhs, 2011, see Figure 3.1). After analyzing the few countries that have signed this treaty Ruhs (2012) concludes: “the world’s high-income countries – where migrants are most heavily concentrated – clearly do not accept that these rights should also apply to migrants living on their territories” (p. 1282). This is based on the fact that the few signatories to the treaty are migrant sending countries, defined by the World Bank as low-income or middle-income countries (Ruhs, 2012). Ruhs discusses how there has been a lack of promotion, awareness and understanding of this treaty. He also explains how many countries use the argument of the immense number of legal issues this treaty would create, if enforced. However, he states, behind this argument seems to be the “equally important, if not decisive obstacle” (p. 1284), of the real costs of implementing the treaty, which is based on the price of granting people their humanity.

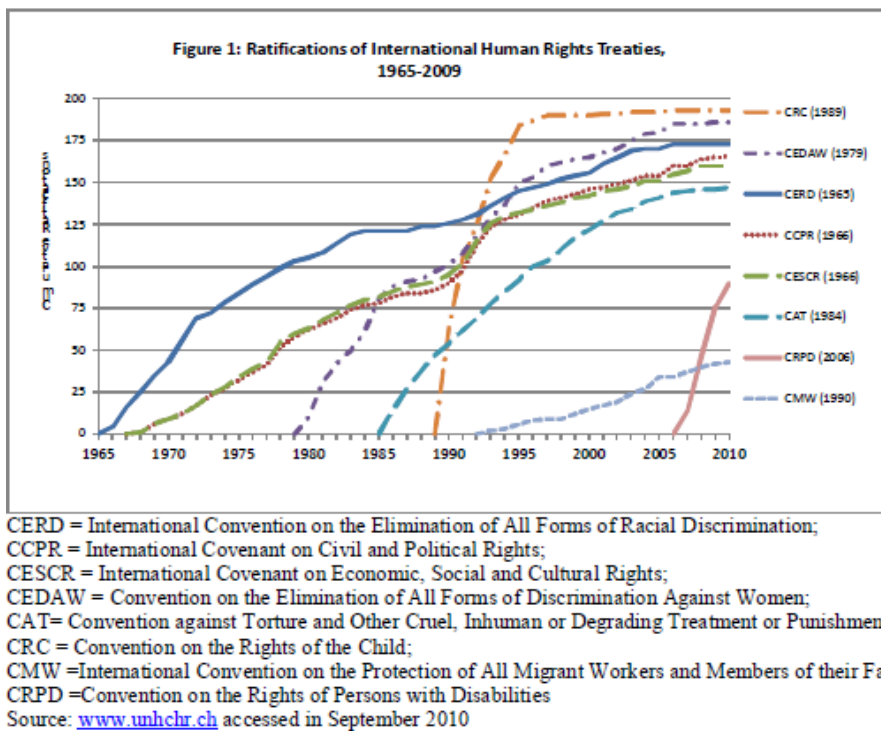


Figure 3.1 Ratifications of International Human Rights Treaties, 1965–2009
 Source: Ruhs, 2011, p. 2

Putting a ‘price’ on someone’s human rights is not what global citizenship stands for. Global citizenship is a universal human rights project and Ruhs (2012) explains what this means:

The key features and principles of human rights include *universality*, that is, human rights apply everywhere and to everyone (including migrants); *indivisibility*, that is, there is no hierarchy of rights and certain types of rights cannot be separated from others; *inalienability*, that is, human rights cannot be denied to any human being, nor can they be given up voluntarily; and *equality and nondiscrimination*, that is, all individuals are equal as human beings. (p. 1278)

However, high-income countries do not believe this should apply to guests in their territories. And it is not as if high-income countries do not understand human rights approaches, as most of these countries have signed every other human rights treaty. However, high-income countries, as discussed in the examples tied to colonial expansion presented by Potts (1990), have power tied to wealth. With power, comes the desire to maintain this power, which, in turn, is tied to economic profit. The link between low-paid temporary foreign workers and an understanding of global citizenship here is about questioning the dehumanization practices of

high-income countries towards ‘others’ on their own territories. A working guest in a rich country is not entitled to their human rights, which means within a human rights framework that they are not being treated as fully human. This is particularly specific to a guest in a low paying job, as guests in high paying jobs are offered more rights, such as the right to live with their families (Ruhs, 2013). How then do GC and the teachings behind GCE relate to these workers, who are essentially ‘global’ as they move across the globe to find work, yet are not entitled to global rights? Or, in other words, not treated with the inherent dignity of each human person, which is the basis of global citizenship? How certain countries today restrict the rights of guest workers is discussed next.

3.2.1 *The Gulf and South Korea*

In the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia and South Korea, workers are sponsored by their employers. Particularly in the UAE and Saudi Arabia, the sponsor is given considerable control over their low-paid guests (Ruhs, 2013). In South Korea, the only way to change employers is through getting permission from the Minister of Justice (Umeda, 2013). These circumstances result in a high potential for exploitation of guest workers, because of their very limited freedom in being able to change employers. It is also almost impossible for low-paid guest workers to reunite with their families in these countries (Umeda, 2013; Ruhs, 2013). And no low-paid guest worker can apply for permanent residency or citizenship, making them purely temporary, replaceable and disposable beings. In the UAE and Saudi Arabia, workers do not have a limit to the number of years they can work. In South Korea they can only work for a maximum of three years (Umeda, 2013). In these three countries, low-paid workers are essentially treated as just temporary labour and almost completely excluded from the citizenry.

3.2.2 *Norway and Portugal*

In Norway, there are five streams to find work as a foreigner, with only one specific to low-paid workers. This program is only for seasonal work, such as in agriculture and a worker can only stay for a maximum of six months per year. People working as au pairs, are also performing low-paid work for a temporary period of time. A person can only apply to stay in Norway permanently (outside family reunification, refugee and asylum streams) if they are defined as working in a skilled (high-paid) profession (Government of Norway, 2014).

In Portugal, the government approves a yearly global quota indicating the availability of employment opportunities in specific sectors, which are presumed not to have been taken by national workers or workers from countries that have agreements with Portugal (such as within the European Union or European Economic Area). Once a foreign worker has an employment contract within the quota, they can apply for temporary residency and then permanent residency. Their application does not seem to be limited to the type, skill or pay of the work they do. They are also able to apply to reunite with their families once they apply for residency (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2012).

3.2.3 Canada

Canada's temporary foreign worker program has had constant changes over the past couple of years. Since the program is continually becoming more complicated, a detailed description is not possible here. In 2014, the categories for foreign workers were changed creating two foreign worker programs: the International Mobility Program and the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. The International Mobility Program includes agreements made with other countries, for example for youth exchanges as well as for the spouses/partners of skilled (or high-paid) temporary foreign workers and students (ACLRC, 2015).

The temporary foreign worker program is what this research focuses on. It classifies both low-skilled workers *and* lower wage workers. The distinction is based on a guest worker stream and immigration stream. For the guest worker stream, "high wage/low wage" is used to distinguish between the different statuses of workers. For the immigration stream "skilled/low-skilled" distinguishes between people who can apply for permanent residency. The difference between higher wage and lower wage foreign workers depends on if the worker makes more or less than the median wage of the province in which they reside. There are more difficult processes for lower wage workers to stay in the country, with limits on how many are allowed and work permits that last only one year and can be renewed for a fee (ACLRC, 2015).

Guest workers are allowed to work in Canada for a cumulative maximum of four years with some exceptions. Most workers identified as low-skilled and lower wage have their working visas tied to their employer and therefore it is very difficult for them to change employers. As well, these workers cannot apply for permanent residency under the federal immigration programs (with the exception of the Caregiver Class). However, another way for workers to

apply for permanent residency is through being nominated by the province in which they work. Provinces are allowed to nominate a set number of workers and it is up to the province to set the criteria as to what jobs, etc. are eligible. For example, Alberta has been allocated 5,500 nominations and allows some low-skilled workers to apply. However, Alberta, has over 85,000 guest workers (including high and low-paid) and therefore the number of applications far exceeds the numbers allowed (ACLRC, January 28, 2015, Information session for TFWs, field notes, Edmonton). It not very clear which workers can bring their families and which cannot. Some people identified as low skill have been able to bring their families, while others identified as skilled workers, have not been able to. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 based on the interview data.

3.2.4 A Comparative Analysis across Regions

Overall, workers that are working as guests in low-paid jobs in foreign countries are commonly excluded from many rights. Many workers are tied to their employers, especially in Canada, the Gulf States as well as South Korea. Ruhs' (2013) analysis of labour migration programs in 46 countries, concluded that "all the existing permanent immigration programs target high-skilled workers" (p. 88) and "programs that target high-skilled migrants impose fewer restrictions on some rights than programs targeting lower-skilled migrants" (p. 89). There is obvious discrimination in policies based on education as well as the current job in which one is working. Unlike the other countries included in this study, Portuguese policies do not seem to limit rights and residency in relation to one's current job.

Ruhs' (2013) main thesis concludes that high-income countries will act in their own national interests, rather than abiding by UN human rights treaties for some non-citizens. How this relates to the GC and GCE agenda, is a much needed conversation, in order for people across the world to truly understand what respecting 'the other' means, on their own land. This discussion is especially significant today as the OECD, in measuring the skillsets of participating countries, argues that high-skills translate into high economic growth (OECD, 2013). This encourages many high-income countries to continue to discriminate against people of particular educational backgrounds and create programs that offer only temporary stays for people working in low-paid jobs. This is coming at the same time as GCE is being promoted. This gap between the concept of citizenship and the lived experiences of de facto global citizens is what this research explores.

4 Research Design and Methods

This study relies on qualitative methods to answer its research questions. It uses a comparative design to examine the lived experiences of selected individuals from different countries within different regions of the world. The participants in the study are from a vulnerable population, without many rights and with a fear of losing their jobs and their working visas. This chapter discusses how these issues were navigated in view of the need to ensure research quality and ethical accountability.

4.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research focuses on interpreting the world through individual perspectives. The interactions between people is the basis of what determines different social realities. The methodology of this study is closely aligned with qualitative research, focusing as it does on the different experiences of low-paid guest worker communities. It does not assume one already predetermined reality, but focuses on the different realities of different people across the globe: how their realities intersect and compare with each other. This is the strength of qualitative research: revealing different perspectives rather than creating generalizations.

Qualitative approaches are usually inductive, where the researcher starts with the collection of rich data and through data analysis expands or develops a theory (Bryman, 2012; Bray, Adamson & Mason, 2007). Openness, flexibility and lack of structure are keys to a good qualitative study, where decisions are made during the research process rather than before it starts (Bray et al., 2007). This study started with a broad question of how global citizenship education relates to the lives of low-paid guest workers. This stemmed from the reflection on what it means to belong in an increasingly economically centered world. During the process of interviewing, the interview guide was continually reviewed and minor modifications were made. Flexibility was also present during sampling as the snowball method continually brought in different perspectives, which broadened the study.

4.2 Comparative Research Design

This study compares different regions of the world based on the emergent framework of GCE which centres on global understanding and belonging. As discussed by Bryman (2012) a comparative research design is used to better understand social phenomena and build upon emerging theories. The research aims to build upon the GC and GCE frameworks through the

global experiences of low-paid guest workers. As well, this study questions Ruhs' (2013) economic proposal of how to ethically manage low-paid guest workers, by comparing it against the social realities of these workers.

The workers interviewed were, or had been, located in areas of Canada, Europe and Asia. Bray et al. (2007) discuss the importance of common traits across comparative cases in order to meaningfully analyze their differences. The major common trait across these regions is the fact that they have high-income economies as classified by the World Bank and because of this, many receive workers from abroad (World Bank, 2015).

Overall, the different migration systems within the different regions 'welcome' low-paid guest workers in distinctly different ways. This is examined by looking at the experiences and perspectives of workers learning to belong and to understand their rights. Therefore, the units of analysis are the economic migration system(s) present in the region and how participants learn to belong, to understand their rights and overcome challenges related to these themes. The themes are directly related to the three GCE themes: learning to understand systems and power dynamics, learning to belong, and learning to transform unjust situations.

Table 4.1 and 4.2 present the categories of participants in the study. In all 24 participants from seven different countries of origin shared their experiences working in 11 different foreign countries (Table 4.1). Eight to ten workers (both males and females) per region were interviewed, except for the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia region where only males were interviewed. This was due to the fact that female low paid guest workers are an even more vulnerable group of people, which made them difficult to access. Generally speaking, the experiences of both female and male participants were the same in Canada and Europe in terms of reflecting on rights and belonging; for this reason there is no explicit gender comparison in the data analysis. While most females were unmarried, and had similar experiences to those of unmarried male participants, male participants that were married had left their wives and children behind. Comparing workers supporting their families (including siblings and/or partners and children) while working abroad is discussed in Chapter 6. More detailed background information on all these participants can be found in Appendix I.

In order to get a more general picture of each region, local and global community actors were also included in the study (Table 4.2). A total of nine community actors were interviewed who held different positions in different types of organizations.

Table 4.1 Number and Nationality of Low-Paid Guest Worker Participants by Region

Nationality of Worker	Canada	Europe	Gulf and East and Southeast Asia	Total Male	Total Female	Grand Total
Nepal	0 Male / 0 Female	6 Male / 3 Female	6 Male / 0 Female	12	3	15
India	0 Male / 1 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	1 Male / 0 Female	1	1	2
Pakistan	1 Male / 0 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	1 Male / 0 Female	2	0	2
Philippines	1 Male / 1 Female	0 Male / 1 Female	1 Male / 0 Female	2	2	4
Bulgaria	0 Male / 3 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	0	3	3
Nigeria	1 Male / 0 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	0 Male / 0 Female	1	0	1
Total	3 Male / 5 Female	6 Male / 4 Female	9 Male / 0 Female	18	9	27

Notes: Areas in Canada covered include: Alberta and Quebec; Countries in Europe include: Austria, England, Germany, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden; Countries in the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia include: Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Taiwan and the United Arab Emirates.

Table 4.2 Number and Type of Community Actors by Region

Local or Global community actor	Canada	Europe	Gulf and East and Southeast Asia	Total
No. and type of local actors	3 Labour Lawyer, Community organizer, NGO worker	1 Union Representative	1 Employer	5
No. and type of global actors	1 INGO representative	2 INGO representative	1 INGO representative	4
Total	4	3	2	9

Notes: The non-governmental organization (NGO) worker in Canada is a frontline staff member for newcomers in Alberta. The international non-governmental organization (INGO) representative in Canada works for an organization focusing on international Filipino migration. The INGO representatives in Europe were two staff members from the International Organization for Migration in Norway. The INGO representative for the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia region is a regional program officer for labour migration issues covering this region.

In order to ensure a good quality comparative research design, the same interview guide was used in all interviews for workers and community actors (Appendix II) and the same number of workers and community actors within each region were planned to be selected. However, as can be seen in Table 4.1 more Nepalese workers were interviewed in Europe and Asia

compared to Canada, and no female workers were interviewed in the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia as explained above. Nevertheless, since the study focuses on the concept of GCE as it relates to people's experiences within economic migration systems, I trust that in accordance with Bray et al. (2007) that focusing on comparing systems may "reduce the dangers of overgeneralisation and oversimplification" (p. 128).

4.3 Sampling of Research Participants

Qualitative studies ground themselves in some form of purposeful sampling in order to answer the research's purpose (Bryman, 2012). However alongside purposeful sampling is the underlying flexible nature of qualitative research, where the selection of subjects continually evolves during the research process (Harding, 2013). This study began with purposeful sampling by requiring participants to meet the following criteria:

- a) They must not be a citizen of the country they are currently working in;
- b) They must be on a visa/residency permit to work or be undocumented (cannot be a student¹, refugee or seeking asylum);
- c) They must be currently working in or started work in a low wage job when they migrated;
- d) They must have met these conditions within the last 15 years.

To be consistent across regions, this study used the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC) system to determine if a job is of high or low wage. The system specifically defines high and low-skilled (or high and low-paid) workers. The NOC system classifies a low-skilled (low-paid) worker as someone in a job that does not require specific education and where on-the-job training may be required. Low-skilled (low-paid) jobs are categorized into classes C and D within the system. These categories include jobs such as cleaning, food counter attendants, cashiers, kitchen helpers, store shelf stockers etc... (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2015).

As this study is directed at a vulnerable population, I decided the most comfortable way for participants to trust me, in order to share their stories and opinions, was to be introduced to them through a community member that they themselves trusted. This negotiated access into the community and is generally used to access people who belong to a vulnerable and hidden

¹ A participant may have started as a student, but then became a low-paid worker afterwards in the same country or region.

population (Harding, 2013). I was able access Nepalese communities because of my experience living in Nepal and my Nepalese connections in Europe and in Nepal. This enabled me to live within the Nepalese community in Lisbon, Portugal during field work and connect to Nepalese workers in Norway. For safety reasons and visa restrictions, I did not feel comfortable interviewing workers in receiving countries in the Asia region so I chose to base myself in one of the sending countries, Nepal, during their major holiday season when many workers come home from working abroad, particularly from the Gulf and East Asia. As Edmonton, Canada is my home, my connections to the community there are stronger, making it easier to find different community members that could link me to low-paid guest workers, who further linked me to other low-paid guest workers.

Negotiating access to community actors engaged with issues of low-paid guest worker populations was also done through snowball sampling. I was able to gain access not only to individuals involved in low-paid temporary foreign/guest worker issues, but individuals that are highly respected in the community. In Nepal, I networked to connect myself with an INGO program officer involved with the rights of low-paid guest workers across the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia. In Norway, being involved in a multicultural women's group led me to a highly respected union worker working in the field of low-paid guest worker rights. Going to several events about temporary foreign worker's rights and through conversations with community members in Canada, led me to connect with a highly respected labour lawyer, a community organizer, an active NGO worker and INGO representative. Observing advertisements on migration on public transport led me to contact the International Organization for Migration in Norway directly. The employer I interviewed in Nepal was someone I had met years prior to this research and who agreed to share his story of opening a business in Dubai and hiring low-paid guest workers.

The community actors contributed in two ways:

- a) they helped to create a general picture of major issues present in each region of the comparative analysis; and
- b) they offered unique perspectives on issues related to low-paid guest workers in different areas of the world.

The sample size of this study was flexible from the beginning. Within each region there are between eight to ten reflections from workers, with some workers covering more than one

region. During the data collection process, I was limited to finding people willing to participate as this population is hidden and politically vulnerable. I had some circumstances with people absolutely refusing to participate. Some workers were more comfortable as they had already quit their jobs (Nepal), were speaking to me in their home country and not the country where they work (Nepal), or had nothing left to lose as they were being forced out of the country anyways (Canada & Europe). The sample size allowed for some saturation of data, with repetitions of themes, but also resulted in different individual stories. Having a sample size of 33 interviews, totaling 36 reflections across Canada, Europe and Asia (three workers reflected on working in two different regions), allowed me to gain insight into each region, without an overwhelming amount of data. This number also allowed me to have closer involvement with some participants (Harding, 2013) although, most did not feel comfortable leaving any contact information.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

4.4.1 *Choosing the Best Fit Methods*

The purpose of a research study governs what data collection methods should be used. As this study's central purpose is to understand the meanings low-paid guest workers attach to their experiences, their feelings, emotions and perceptions about belonging, and to gain a general understanding of their personal stories, semi-structured interviews was the data collection method that best fit this purpose (see Harding, 2013, p. 22). As well, because low-paid labour migration is a sensitive topic and the population interviewed is vulnerable, the privacy and flexibility afforded by semi-structured interviews was important for the quality of this study.

The participants' comfort level was my first priority. Therefore, the participants were always given the power to decide if they wanted to speak alone, with others, or in a public or private space. Sometimes a one-on-one interview was not held in private, but had a translator or a friend/colleague present due to the request of the participants. Sometimes, these turned into spontaneous focus groups and therefore I had to continually adapt according to each situation. The focus groups that emerged created an opportunity for collective understandings, gave more insight into why certain opinions of participants are held as they explained their reasons to others present, and most importantly they redressed power imbalances (Harding, 2013).

4.4.2 Using the Data Collection Methods in the Field

Field work took place from September 2014 to February 2015. The timeframe in chronological order for the research sites is given in Table 4.3. I interviewed in Oslo, Norway twice as it is my current residence. I was only able to spend one week in Portugal, as this was the only time my translator was available, who negotiated access into the community for me. I spent 6 weeks in Nepal, which covered the major holiday season of the year, allowing me easier access to families. In Canada, I spent a longer period of time, because I finished transcribing all the interviews there as well as started the data analysis.

Table 4.3 Field Work Time Frame and Research Sites

Region	Europe	Europe	Asia	Europe	Canada
Specific Site	Oslo, Norway	Lisbon, Portugal	Kathmandu, Nepal	Oslo, Norway	Edmonton, Alberta
Timeframe	Sept. 1-17, 2014	Sept. 17-24, 2014	Sept. 30 - Nov. 13, 2014	Nov. 13 - Dec. 5, 2014	Dec. 5, 2014 - Feb. 23, 2015

4.4.3 Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups

Developing the Interview Guide

Before starting the research process I piloted my interview guide on some friends I knew who are students and working in low-paid professions in Oslo. I was able to get feedback from them about how to better structure some of the interview questions. As my data collection process began I continually reflected after each interview, on the interview guide and how questions could be worded in a more beneficial way. The guide never changed, but how I approached interviews was continually built upon and adapted to better my findings (see Appendix II for the interview guide).

Alberta, Canada

In the summer of 2014, I started attending educational and political meetings regarding the legal rights of low-paid guest workers and started to slowly connect with this community. This allowed me to start the snowball sampling in December. In December, before interviews, I always asked the participant/s to choose a location that was most comfortable for them. This resulted in interviews being held in public cafés or restaurants. During this process one future

participant contacted me that was working in a job that was a higher classification than categories C and D of the Canadian NOC system. I told her that I was specifically looking for participants working in low-paid professions. Her email response was: “The thing is that all the people I know here (in my close social circle) came as skilled immigrant workers. For them anything that’s below the skills they have is “low-skilled” (so very subjective).” This pushed me to open up my sample size and interview her and two of her contacts together as a focus group. However, after analyzing the data of my interviews, I realized this group of women plus another woman I interviewed all received permanent residency on arrival in Canada. This gave them more rights and safety than the low-paid guest workers in other interviews. Therefore, while analyzing the data I chose to focus more on the people without permanent residency instead.

The same sampling procedure occurred for community actors. This resulted in interviews with one community organizer, one labour lawyer, one NGO worker and one INGO representative. Again, all interviews were held in public places, except for one where the individual invited me into their home. No interview required a translator or other person present. Each interview ranged in time from one to two hours.

Europe

a) Norway

In Norway I also used snowball sampling, which resulted in three workers and three community actors being interviewed. There was a translator present for two of the workers and one community actor. However, for each interview, the main language used was English and the translator ended up being there for ‘just in case’ support. I felt the translators that I used made the interviews more comfortable.

b) Portugal

In Portugal I was invited to live in two different homes of workers over the course of one week. This allowed me to gain some trust before interviewing. In the first home, I was approached after midnight (when everyone got home from work) to interview three male workers that wanted to talk together. Two workers were of upper caste and one was of

indigenous origin². This created some power dynamics in the interview, which led me to having private individual follow-up interviews the next day with the workers.

There was a translator present if participants wanted to speak in Nepali, however most of the interviews were done in English. Because the translator was female rather than male and of indigenous origin rather than upper caste, I felt this created a more comfortable atmosphere. This is because, through my experience living in Nepal, many people of higher castes (particularly men) tend to have an ‘all knowing’ presence based on their high status, which could possibly add pressure to participants being interviewed. Another concern about comfortability I had was the possible pressure on participants to present a good impression of their lives abroad and to avoid talking about any challenges they might have had. This is because in Nepal stories about workers working in western countries are normally about being successful as reputation is very important. However, because I was able to live with the workers, I had the opportunity to supplement their statements in the interviews with observations and side conversations throughout the week. Some contradictions appeared and are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

One other interview was in a home with a participant and no translator. The final interview was with a husband and wife in their home. Again, my translator was present, but in this case the participants were of the same indigenous background as the translator, which I felt created a more open environment. However, the husband dominated the interview and opinions from the wife were limited, despite my attempts to bring her into the discussion.

The limitation to the fieldwork in Portugal was the timeframe. Had I had a longer period of time, I could have developed stronger relationships, which may have possibly helped participants open up more.

The Gulf States and East Asia

While I stayed in Kathmandu for five weeks, I connected myself with a neighbour who took me to a shop owned by a man who wanted to share his story of working in the United

² For hundreds of years, all Nepalese have been socially defined by the caste system, which is based on a hierarchy of ‘purity’ (Bennett, Dahal & Govindasamy, 2008). It is beyond the scope of this research to go into detail of this very complex system. For the purposes of understanding the power dynamics in the interviews, it is important to note, people of upper caste are labelled as ‘more pure and knowledgeable’ than people of indigenous backgrounds, who are normally given middle-rank status, and labelled as ‘liquor drinkers’ (Bennett et al., 2008).

Kingdom (UK). As we sat in his shop and started the interview, several of his friends arrived. Some of them also decided to share their stories of working abroad in the past as they had all quit their jobs abroad and had been home for some time. Because of this, I believe it was easier for them to speak about challenges facing them abroad, as they did not have to worry about going back to their jobs overseas. This turned into an organic focus group, with up to six men talking in the shop together, sharing their stories of working in the UK, Saudi Arabia, Dubai and South Korea. The man who worked in the UK acted as a translator for the man wanting to share his story about working in South Korea. Almost all men were of upper caste. They all seemed to have a good relationship with each other, allowing them to comfortably open up in front of each other.

On a separate occasion, I individually interviewed the man who worked in Dubai. I did not feel it was proper for me, as a female, to interview him alone without his wife. Therefore I asked if he was comfortable having another person present (white, female, Australian) whom he had met previously.

The final round of interviews I conducted were held in a hotel. The same translator I used in Portugal connected me to this specific hotel where many workers stay, while waiting for transportation to go home to their villages. She introduced me to the owner who had arranged for workers willing to share their stories with me. My translator, myself, and about eight workers sat in one small room. Three people individually shared their experiences while others listened. Some workers left the room during the process. I would not classify this as a focus group as each person was given their time to share their experience without anyone intervening. I did not feel it was appropriate to probe with focus group questions as the atmosphere was tense. This was probably due to the fact that workers had just come home from Saudi Arabia and were possibly returning. Here, all workers were from villages and most were of indigenous background, allowing a more comfortable atmosphere with each other. These interviews were all done in Nepali with the help of my translator.

4.4.4 Conducting Observations

Alongside semi-structured interviews and focus groups, I also observed many settings in regards to labour migration: from political meetings in Canada to the everyday life of workers in Portugal to students discussing their dreams of working abroad in Nepal.

Canada

Observations in Alberta, Canada were mainly carried out at educational and/or political meetings regarding temporary foreign worker rights. The main organizers of each meeting knew I was present and that I would be taking handwritten notes.

Europe

While living with the workers in Portugal, I was able to observe some of their day to day life. I kept a journal and recorded specific observations and events that unfolded. For example, in the interviews the workers stated they felt Portuguese people treated them the same as locals, however in some day-to-day conversations I heard differently.

Asia

In Kathmandu, while working on my research I was also volunteering at a local school. Once the principal became aware of my research topic he asked me to present the findings to the grade ten graduating students as well as college students in the community. I presented the answers to the interview question: "What advice would you give students in your home country that dream to go work abroad?" I then took notes based on student questions and responses. The main purpose of meeting with students was to share the knowledge and messages from current guest workers to students who may become guest workers in the future. While volunteering, I also had conversations with women in the community about their lives while their husbands are abroad.

4.5 Data Analysis Procedures

In order to analyze the data, it had to first be transcribed, which I did myself. For interviews that were handwritten (not recorded) I typed up my handwritten notes. Specifically for the interviews that were translated, I hired a second translator who listened to the translated recordings with me and reviewed and sometimes added to the first translation.

At the heart of all qualitative analysis is the constant comparative method. This method is, just as it is described: constantly comparing and contrasting different parts of the data. This includes comparing within interviews and across interviews, and in this case, across regional levels (Canada, Europe and the Gulf and East Asia) (Harding, 2013).

First, before beginning these comparisons, the interview data must be reduced and reorganized (Flick, 2014). During and after transcribing I followed this process, organizing the data into very broad themes based on the research questions as well as any themes that emerged from the data itself. I continually re-read and analyzed different parts of the interviews to place quoted sections and stories into each theme. The following categories were formed from the research questions:

1. Processes involved in migrating and finding work abroad;
2. Challenges involved in migrating, working and living abroad;
3. What people did to overcome their challenges (transformation);
4. Interactions with other workers and locals (building community/belonging);
5. Advice they would give to future workers.

The following categories organically emerged:

1. Discussions related to family;
2. Global mobility and the red passport;
3. Neoliberalism and global business.

After separating the data into these categories, I constantly compared interviews within and across regions. I further broke down the main themes into subthemes. I found myself continually going back and forth, re-reading data, and re-reading and organizing the themed tables. Here, overall a thematic analysis was used alongside the constant comparative method (Bryman, 2012; Harding, 2013).

4.6 Ensuring Quality Research

As qualitative research is grounded in its subjectivity, judging it for good quality is highly debatable. Therefore, there is not one way of deciding if qualitative research is of good quality. Tracy (2010) presents eight ‘big tent’ criteria for excellent quality in qualitative research, which she argues qualitative researchers can use as “common markers of goodness without tying these markers to specific paradigmatic practices or crafts” (p. 839). These common markers are used in the following.

- a) Worthy Topic & Significant Contribution: “*Issues that shake readers from their common-sense assumptions and practices.*” (p. 841)

GCE is gaining increased attention across researchers, local and global institutions and educational settings. This research aims to add to the debate on GCE with a critical lens, looking at it through labour migration, which is also an increasing phenomenon across the world. In performing and presenting this research I hope to expand on the concepts of GCE and GC in terms of real stories of migration and belonging outside of classrooms.

b) Rich Rigor: *“Are the data collection methods appropriate given the goals of the study?”* (p. 841)

Tracy (2010) speaks to the importance of providing rich descriptions of the research, especially as qualitative research is defined by its complexity in not seeing the world through one objective lens. Because of this subjectivity, thick descriptions of what was done during the research process must be presented. In order to accomplish rich rigour, I have presented a detailed account of my data collection and analysis procedures in this methodology chapter. While I was in the field, I always had a notebook to mark down certain details during the data collection process. Overall, the interviews, focus groups, and observations allowed me to answer the research questions in a detailed manner.

c) Sincerity: *“[T]he research is marked by honesty and transparency about the researcher’s biases, goals and foibles as well as about how these played a role in the methods, joys and mistakes of the research.”* (p. 841)

One of the most important foundations of developing a high quality qualitative study is providing detailed explanations of the entire research process, and thereby being as honest as possible. This includes being fully aware of and reflexive on any power dynamics and one’s own biases.

Throughout the research field work I continually faced and reflected on my power dynamics as a white, female, from a western country with a Canadian passport. A statement I continually play over in my mind was when a worker in Lisbon, Portugal, sick of my interview questions sternly stated: “You will never understand, you have a Canadian passport.” The freedom I have to be a global citizen (defined in this moment, to travel and live almost anywhere without problems) is a privilege I continually took with me to each interview, where I listened to the main struggle of participants to get a different passport in order to gain the same freedom for themselves and their children.

My privilege was further underlined while travelling back to Europe from Kathmandu. I was travelling with my Nepalese translator and another Nepalese woman. At every airport checkpoint along the way to Oslo (passing through Mumbai to Paris, then Paris to Oslo) my two Nepalese travel companions were stopped and double checked. They were even pulled aside by the flight attendants just before boarding the plane from Paris to Oslo to double check their papers again as I waited on the side with my Canadian passport.

One of my hardest moments as a researcher was when the reality of one of my participants changed and he included me in his grief. I was sent a text message a month after the interview saying he had just arrived at work to be told by his employer that the government rejected the renewal of his work permit. He had 90 days to leave the country. He repeatedly texted that he was worried about his three children and his wife all relying on him for support in his home country, where jobs are very few. I arrived at his work site within the hour and sat with him as he cried.

In my experiences in Edmonton I observed and participated in political meetings regarding the Canadian temporary foreign worker program. It is important to note that the community actors involved in the meetings were interviewed before I became actively involved. Through this, I was able to develop a level of continual trust with some of these community actors in the field, whom I felt (and hoped) did not just see me as a researcher.

Reflexivity is also related to confirmability as described by Bryman (2012) to make sure the researcher has “not overtly allowed personal values or theoretical inclinations manifestly to sway the conduct of the research and the findings deriving from it” (pp. 392-393). I was continually aware of this problem as I conducted my research and was at pains to ensure that my values did not cloud the research process itself. However, there is no absolute objectivity in qualitative research and in order to be transparent, I have explained my personal subjectivity in this section by drawing attention to the power dynamics of the situation; my role as researcher; my participation in political discussions; my status as a trusted community member, particularly as relationships developed after the formalities of my research were over. This going back and forth, of being involved and separating myself and reflecting on this process is an important part of a quality research design and the essence of reflexivity. As well, this leads into the concept of *authenticity*, which Bryman (2012, p. 393) explains is related to action research. Authenticity questions if the research helped participants arrive at a

better understanding of their conditions and circumstances and if the research acted in any way to engage participants in action to change their circumstances.

These questions are related to the political impact of the research and are controversial, specifically for the objective nature that can be expected of a researcher. Harding (2013) speaks to situations where the “researcher has to decide how far they should maintain the role of detached observer and reporter of information and how far they have a moral obligation to intervene” (p. 27). His suggestion is to offer the respondent information after completing the data collection. This line between being detached and intervening is a line I continually jumped back and forth across during this research process. I did not, however, offer any additional information regarding issues related to human rights or share my own opinions until after each interview was complete.

d) Credibility: “*achieved through practices including thick description, triangulation or crystallization and multivocality.*” (p. 843)

Thick description: A thick description is needed in order for readers to be able to come to their own conclusion/s instead of the author telling the reader what to think. Tracy (2010) discusses the “tough decisions” researchers must make when deciding which parts of their research they should “show [such as through quotations] rather than tell” (p. 843). Throughout my presentation of methodology, findings and their discussion, I have presented thick descriptions of the process of data collection, my reflexivity and further information for the reader to contemplate the data on their own.

Triangulation/Crystallization: Triangulation assumes that different methods of data collection in the same setting and with the same research subjects should yield similar findings. This assumes a single reality which is not central to the subjectivity of qualitative research. All research is produced under different circumstances, which ultimately shape research findings, and just because triangulated data draw similar conclusions, does not mean that a specific reality is correct or the same for others (Tracy, 2010). Crystallization is a term that expands on triangulation to push researchers to use several types of data, methods and theoretical frameworks in order to “open up a more complex, in-depth, but still thoroughly partial, understanding of the issue” (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). My data collection used different types of methods and is presented so that the reader can see it from different angles and draw their own conclusions.

Multivocality: This refers to having varied voices within the analysis. This can be accomplished through intense collaboration with participants during the writing and analysis phase. This is also referred to as member reflections or respondent validation where participants are given the opportunity to critique, affirm and collaborate on the study's findings (Bryman, 2012). Unfortunately because of the vulnerable population in this study, follow-up discussions with most participants could not be done. As explained in the ethics section, I did not feel comfortable asking for every participant's personal contact information due to their vulnerable situations. I did leave my personal contact information instead. Therefore, follow-up interviews were only done with the few people that felt comfortable contacting me or that had given me their personal contact information.

- e) Resonance: *“research’s ability to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience.”*
(p. 844)

Resonance in a study develops empathy with readers who have no direct experience with the topic discussed. This is the most important piece of my research study as one of the main concerns of participants was “how do we make citizens [that have power] care?” This research aims to build that empathy and be a piece of GCE itself, by bridging an understanding with ‘the other’ to encourage readers to push past their personal citizenship boundaries and reflect on and/or connect with the stories other people may have that are similar or different from their own. It will therefore aim to make readers feel a connection that overlaps with their own situations at home.

- f) Ethical

Procedural ethics of this study included me applying to the Norwegian Social Science and Data Services to approve my research proposal. After it was approved, I began the research process making sure that my data was always password protected, always in my possession and that all names were anonymous.

During my first interviews in Norway and Portugal I gave my letter of consent (see Appendix III) to each participant. I asked them if they had any questions. Then I re-confirmed everything orally to make sure that they felt comfortable sharing their experiences and perspectives. I re-confirmed orally that everything will be made anonymous. At the end of each interview I asked if they wanted their names changed to a pseudonym of their choice. I also repeated at least twice that they could contact me at any time if they wanted me to delete

their interview completely from the study and reiterated that it would be absolutely no problem.

I found making participants sign the official letter of consent to be uncomfortable for two reasons. First, every person I interviewed had English as their second language and were from cultures strongly rooted in community, where people gain trust through building relationships, not contracts. Secondly, as I learned more about the struggles of low-paid guest workers, I learned signing off on legal paperwork became a big part of their experiences. There were many stories about so-called legal signatures being used in a deceptive manner to still exploit workers. Signing a paper guaranteeing them their rights did not mean their rights were actually guaranteed. The legal paperwork was just ‘show’ in many cases. I did not want my consent forms to be seen as ‘another pretend piece of paperwork.’ Based on these two reflections, I decided it would be more comfortable (and therefore ethical) to explain the consent orally. After every interview I gave each participant my personal contact information if they had any questions. I only received the participants’ contact information if they volunteered to give it. Sometimes the translator had to explain the consent after I had done so in English. I trusted my translator’s knowledge of explaining consent as she had performed her own research in the past. I was cautious of probing too much because of the sensitive topic, but I also tried to create an open approachable atmosphere during and after the interview if participants wanted to provide more information.

As well, I always gave the option of tape recording the interview or taking hand written notes. Several of the participants did not feel comfortable being tape recorded, which resulted in me taking hand written notes. I have also respected certain participants’ requests to see how they were represented in the data before they gave me permission to quote them.

g) Meaningful coherence: *“interconnect their research design, data collection, and analysis with their theoretical framework and situational goals.”* (p. 848)

In order to maintain coherence, I made sure to have ample time to reflect on and edit my writing. I also asked colleagues, mentors and available participants for advice and opinions based on certain sections of the work as well as the research presentation as a whole.

In summary, this research was a deeply thoughtful process, was flexible and responsive. I have tried to present it in a way that brings the reader into its story. The next section begins piecing together the threads within each of the stories that were shared.

5 Contextualizing Dehumanization: Connecting the Stories

According to a Māori context of sharing stories and knowledge: “when a story is told, it is up to the listener to find the threads in it and create their own connections and symbolic interpretations based on root metaphors that are collectively shared” (Andreotti et al., 2012, pp. 234-235). In this chapter, I focus on *one* guiding interpretation, in order to contribute to a discussion about *global citizenship knowledge*, namely, the frame of dehumanization and humanization.

5.1 Dehumanization through Capitalism, Imperialism and Labour Migration

This is not a new story. It has been going on for thousands of years. Migration and abuse is an interlinked process. There are jobs we want to do and then there are jobs we don't want to do. So we import the workers. It has been called slavery, then bonded labour. Now it is called labour movement. But the migration story is repeated generation after generation with different rationalization for the ongoing abuse. The face changes but the story does not. (Madhu, Kenya, organizer-Canada)

The interpretative approach this research study will use, is based on both data from the research process as well as academic literature. The process here is both inductive and deductive, analyzing the interview and observation data with both a theory in place, and letting the data speak for itself as well. It will include a historical perspective on the power dynamics involved linking capitalism, imperialism and migration, as highlighted in the above quote. Madhu’s migration story is particularly significant in order to have a generational perspective across continents based on labour. Potts (1990) specifically ties together how capitalism and imperialism have “provided the setting in which millions upon millions of people have for centuries been scattered throughout the world as workers – and only as such, that is to say, reduced to their function as mere suppliers of living labour power” (p. 2). For example, Madhu discusses how her grandfather was brought to Kenya from India to work on the railway as a bonded slave labourer:

My grandfather was a bonded labour, was brought over by the British to build railways. He lost the sight of one eye and the sight of half of the other eye. He wasn’t allowed to leave until he substituted a bonded labourer, which was my father at the age of 16, but the one thing at that time, that [was done for] the bonded labourers as another word for slave, ethically is to say that these bonded labourers had the British nationality. What has shifted in the last 50-60 years as migration has become a much wider spectrum, as corporations have consolidated more and more power, is that now we do not really value those labourers in permanence. Labour has really become a temporary solution for this moment in time: the very basis of consumerism. You eat or you buy what you like. You don’t like it, you throw it away; if it

stops working you throw it away; if it gets hurt you throw it away, because there is always a new mass that you can go and buy.

After Kenya became independent from Britain, Madhu's family was able to move to England and settle there permanently. Madhu was 11 years old. Now, Madhu lives in Canada with her husband and daughter and works with migration issues in the community, particularly with workers who are on temporary visas tied to their employers, workers who are undocumented and particularly female migrants tied to their husbands' papers. The temporary nature of today's global labour as described by Madhu, is tied to rich countries, keeping power to themselves. This temporary movement of workers is described by Potts (1990) as well: "the *present* situation on the world labour market is characterized primarily by mobility being limited and to a large extent also prevented by the metropole [countries in power, tied to the history of colonization]" (p. 171). Because low-paid workers are only allowed to be temporarily in the land of the rich, and have global mobility restrictions, they are made a form of a commodity. Potts (1990) summarizes this through Marx: "under capitalism, labour power becomes a commodity which, according to Marx's analysis, is acquired and exploited by capitalists primarily in the form of wage labour" (p. 173). Potts also brings in the world-systems approach, where Wallerstein reasons capitalist expansion as linked to finding and exploiting people for labour, not just finding new markets: "the search for markets is not an adequate explanation. A much more plausible explanation is the search for cheap labour power" (Wallerstein, 1984, p. 33 as quoted in Potts, 1990, p. 195).

Madhu, through her personal experiences and Potts through her comparative analysis of history and classical academic literature both discuss how the increasing spread and power of capitalism has resulted in everything being temporary and replaceable, where a global group of people are commodities for labour. This understanding, based on dehumanization, will be the background of this research in order to analyze how current temporary low-paid global workers can be seen as global citizens.

5.2 GCE: Understanding Dehumanization and Humanization

While the problem of humanization has always, from an axiological point of view, been humankind's central problem, it now takes on the character of an inescapable concern. Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of

dehumanization...and as an individual perceives the extent of dehumanization, he or she may ask if humanization is a viable possibility. (Freire, 2000, p. 43)

Global citizenship education’s main core is a process of learning to understand humanization. This is seen through its three major themes as presented in Table 5.1: critical understanding of global/local systems and power dynamics (critical understanding of humanization and dehumanization across the world), belonging (learning to respect and connect with all people as humans), and transformation (learning to push against and transform any practice of dehumanization). The first sentence of Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* above, reflects these goals of GCE. Freire’s work will be central to this thesis, in order to understand humanization.

Table 5.1 The Humanization Roots of Global Citizenship Education

GCE theme	Humanization
Critical understanding of global/local power dynamics	Critical understanding of humanization and dehumanization practices across the world
Belonging	Respecting and connecting with all people as humans
Transformation	Learning to transform any practice of dehumanization (through a humanized process)

5.2.1 GCE Theme: Humanization & Belonging

The transformation of dehumanization practices around the world requires an understanding of what exactly humanization means. GCE’s central focus is learning “a sense of belonging to the broader community and common humanity” (UNESCO, 2015, p. 14), which, at its core, is about humanization. Both humanization and belonging are about *being with others*. Neither can occur when one is alone. They involve the recognition one feels from others, when one is with others. Human recognition must be based on dignity: a feeling of respect and worth. Humanization “does not lie *simply* in having more to eat (although it does involve having more to eat and cannot fail to include this aspect). The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things” (Freire, 2000, p. 68). It is about freedom: moving from being a “slave or a well-fed cog in a machine” (p. 68) to an individual who is active and responsible. In order to be active and responsible, in order to wonder and share ideas that are genuinely listened to, involves a feeling of worth and respect. When

temporary low-paid people are only allowed to belong within a country/community for a minimum number of years (Canada) or only if a company requires them (Canada, the Gulf States, Europe), this results in people being reduced to objects valued only for their function instead of for their intrinsic worth as a human being. They are only valued for the job they perform, not their contribution to society outside this role. One of the central pieces of belonging is to feel 'of worth.' This feeling, of course must be found inside oneself, but it also must be found through others. This does not happen as Freire states, when one is reduced to a thing or an object.

“The more the oppressors control the oppressed, the more they change them into apparently inanimate ‘things’” (Freire, 2000, p. 59). In the context of this research, the oppressors are high-income countries, or more specifically: people with power in high-income countries. Temporary migration systems for low-paid guests are created and enforced by people with power in high-income countries, controlling many people, mainly from low-income countries, to work, but not to belong. History is full of these systems where people are used for labour by the powerful as described by Potts (1990) earlier, including:

the enslavement of the Indians that followed the conquest of America, the various forms of forced labour and forced migration in Latin America, Asia and Africa, African slavery, the coolie system used to despatch the people of Asia all over the world, and finally the present-day labour-migration and the brain drain, the exodus of academics from the developing nations. (p. 7)

There have been different rationalizations for this, but each rationalization comes down to a dehumanization model, whether it be a racial hierarchy and/or 'helping people help themselves out of poverty,' ignoring the power dynamics that created the poverty to begin with. The more one is controlled, that is when their freedom is taken away, the more one is reduced to a thing or, in other words, dehumanized. Humanization can only occur when one feels of worth, and this can only happen when one feels respected and free, not a controllable object. As well, dehumanization “marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it” (Freire, 2000, p. 44). In order for people to feel a sense of dignity and worth *with* each other, the oppressor (majority of people in high-income countries) and oppressed (majority of people in low-income countries) relationship must be transformed.

Humanization is tied to belonging as it is a feeling of dignity: respect and worth *with others*. It is not the feeling of dignity of the powerful with the powerful (oppressors with other oppressors) or the oppressed with the oppressed. It is a feeling of respectful belonging human to human. It is a sense of dignity, not above or below others, but with others. How (de)humanization through a feeling of dignity and belonging is expressed by low-paid guest workers, will be the core focus of this research, because this is the foundation of GCE.

5.2.2 GCE Theme: Critical Understanding of Humanization and Dehumanization Practices

The struggle for humanization, for the emancipation of labor, for the overcoming of alienation, for the affirmation of men and women as persons...is *not* a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed. (Freire, 2000, p. 44)

Chapter six, based on the first GCE theme, will present stories from workers and community actors based on who has power and who does not. This will lay the groundwork for a later analysis of what belonging, transformation and ultimately humanization, means for this specific global group of people.

As discussed in the introduction, current global power dynamics are based on the competition within the growing global economy, which lacks a democratic oversight. How do these global power dynamics affect the local and global realities of low-paid guest workers? Are the experiences of low-paid guest workers, with little power and few rights a direct and inevitable result of the economic demands of the countries and companies who employ them?

Ruhs (2013) research on low-paid labour migration attempts to answer these questions. He discusses how labour migration to high-income countries is, in fact, tied to the global economy and is centrally about economics and national interests. Ruhs' (2013) economic framework is a recent model based on a global scale analyzing low-skilled (or low-paid) labour migration across 46 high-income countries. He argues that it is ethical to restrict some rights for low-paid guest workers based on economics. The complexities involved in tying economic goals to the real lives of people will be highlighted in this research by tying low-paid guest worker stories to Ruhs' economic arguments. He also ties together commonly accepted views within the field of labour migration which are important to discuss with respect to this research. Overall, his framework alongside the stories of workers in this study

will illustrate the power dynamics related to objectifying people on the global economic market.

Ruhs' (2013) framework also links with GC and GCE, as it focuses on the independence of nation-states, rather than the global community: "the logic of nation-states and citizenship implies that countries must prioritize the interests of their own citizens over those of noncitizens and nonresidents" (p. 30). He goes on to explain how "the objectives of labour immigration policies in receiving countries could, and many argue *should*, also take at least some account of the interests of actual and prospective migrants as well as their countries of origin" (pp. 30-31). However, 'some account' does not mean a full account or a *global account*. This research will therefore reflect on how this understanding of people sharing the same land, but given different statuses relates to an understanding of global citizenship and belonging. Can there be a sense of belonging to the world together, when the majority of people in rich nations feel people from poorer nations are entitled to fewer rights when they come onto 'their property' as guests, to do low-paid jobs? Or, is the sense of belonging made tangible when workers are given an opportunity on another part of the globe to earn a higher income for themselves and their families? These power dynamics and understanding of global belonging will be reflected on in the interviews of this research.

Summary of Ruhs' (2013) research

Ruhs examined policies and statistics based on labour migration in 46 migrant worker receiving countries. He concludes that there is evidence of a trade-off between the rights a guest worker will receive, how open a country is in admitting workers, and the skillset (or wage) of the worker admitted. Overall he demonstrates how many labour immigration programs in high-income countries targeting higher-paid workers are more open and offer more rights than programs that admit lower-paid workers. He explains how, economically the demand for highly paid workers outweighs the supply and therefore, if countries want high-paid workers, they need to make their offer to live attractive. In other words, high-paid workers are in a position of power. However, there is a very large global supply of people willing to become low-paid workers in high-income countries. This puts high-income countries in the more powerful position, where they do not have to worry about making their country 'attractive' to these people. In the end, he states, through economics, that it is ethical to restrict some rights for lower paid workers because everyone will benefit: the high-income

countries receiving low-paid guest workers (fewer rights offered means less money spent), migrant sending countries (more remittances) and the guest workers themselves (a higher income for themselves and their families).

In regards to high-income countries, Ruhs states that they are more likely to be more open and offer more rights to foreigners in high-paid jobs because they essentially will benefit the host country's economy more and cost the host country less money. He states that these workers will complement existing skills and capital of the local population, their human capital and knowledge is important for long-term economic growth, and "skilled migrants employed in high-skilled[/paid] jobs will pay more taxes and be eligible for fewer welfare benefits than low-skilled[/paid] migrants in low-skilled[/paid] jobs" (p. 92). Low-paid workers do not bring similar important skills or knowledge, which means they cost the host country more money (than they are worth).

In regards to sending countries, Ruhs argues that most labour migration for both low and high-paid workers results in financial benefits linked to better education and healthcare:

[T]he majority of labor migrants can be expected to reap large financial benefits from employment in higher-income countries even after all the costs have been deducted [including visa fees, travel expenses, recruitment agency fees]. The increase in migrants' net earnings can also lead to increases in the economic welfare of migrants' families, either directly if they are with the migrant in the host country or indirectly through remittances. (pp. 124-125)

He concludes:

If you ask workers and governments in low-income countries how they would want their labor immigration policies of high-income countries to change, their answers are likely to involve two core elements: more open admission policies and more rights for migrant workers, especially for low-skilled[/paid] workers, whose international movements and rights are currently the most restricted in high-income countries. (p. 153)

And he agrees with this, but argues through the logic of economics that this just cannot happen: "While both greater openness and more rights are clearly 'good things' for migrants and their countries of origin, the existence of a policy trade-off suggests that we cannot have

more of both at the same time” (p. 153). Ruhs central claim here, is to demonstrate the trade-off between how open a country is in accepting workers and how many rights are given to these workers, which are based on if a worker will be in a high-paid or low-paid job. For low-paid workers, the more open a country is, the fewer rights are offered (the more low-paid people, the more costly it is to offer rights) and therefore the more rights are offered, the less open a country is in allowing people to come work.

He believes you cannot increase both rights *and* the number of low-paid workers at the same time. Ruhs argues that low-paid guest workers and the governments in their countries of origin are aware of these trade-offs (accept rights restrictions for more access to higher income economies) and willingly, or at least knowingly, accept rights restrictions for more access to higher income economies. Therefore, he argues, they make choices based on this knowledge:

[T]hey are tolerating restrictions of some of their rights in exchange for the opportunity to migrate and work abroad ...It is not surprising to see migrant workers making “sacrifices” in some dimensions of development (e.g. limited access to some legal rights) in exchange for advancing others (e.g. opportunities to access employment at higher wages and raise the household income of their families).
(p. 153)

He argues that it is important to consider “the agency, ‘voice,’ and overall interests of migrants themselves when explaining existing migration flows and policies, and when thinking normatively about whether particular trade-offs should be tolerated” (p. 153). He also states that the governments of low-income countries make similar choices: “few countries are willing to insist on full and equal rights for fear of reduced access for their workers to the labour markets of higher income countries” (p. 153). Again, this is due to the economic reasons where, when more rights are offered, fewer people will be ‘allowed in.’

The decisions that both low-paid guest workers and their countries of origin make, based on this tradeoff, lead Ruhs to ask “whether labour immigration policies that restrict migrant rights are morally acceptable and desirable?” (p. 153). Ruhs comes to the conclusion that limiting some rights is justifiable in order to allow more workers the opportunity to work in rich countries. The rights he feels that can be ethically limited include: some social rights (some access to public services and welfare benefits), the right to free choice of employment

within a defined job category (although only after a certain period of time, he recommends six months), the right to family reunion (unless the migrant can provide proof that their income can sustain their family so that their family will not become a burden on the state) and finally the right to permanent residence.

His two main arguments for accepting rights restrictions are, first, based on the fact that low-paid guest workers currently choose to work abroad under restrictive conditions already. And second, if receiving countries did start giving more rights, he worries that fewer workers would be allowed an opportunity to work in a rich country. This would be detrimental not only to sending countries and future low-paid guest workers, but also the worker's families. This is all based on the openness-rights trade-off. He supports his belief with reference to research done on NGOs that were "reluctant to promote equal rights for fear of sharply reduced admissions" (p. 134). Therefore, Ruhs' pragmatic solution is to limit some rights.

Ruhs economic framework will be highlighted alongside the experiences of low-paid guest workers, so that its implications on a personal level are clearer. This will allow for a further understanding of humanization and dehumanization in this context.

From understanding power dynamics to learning to transform them

You need to understand dehumanization, in order to understand humanization. Tying people to their economic worth not only creates a hierarchy of competition, but also removes the humanness of people. It turns people into objects in the market and categorizes them based on their monetary value for companies and their contribution to the economic growth of nation-states. This ignores how someone feels or is treated, which is the basis of humanization.

All hierarchies, be they based on wealth, education or social status, lead to differences in power, and can extend to the extreme of dehumanization. To frame this more clearly within low-paid labour migration, at its most micro level, it is about a vulnerable person who enters the home of a group of powerful people and is treated as less or dehumanized. Of course, the worker has 'chosen' this employment 'invitation,' but the absence of rights and the awareness of what that means cannot truly be understood before they are experienced. The notion of choice therefore has little or no relevance.

At its most macro level, power dynamics play out between nations. Wealth, often accumulated at the expense of low-income countries due to their imperial and colonial past, is

part of the story. The relationships developed in those times are an integral part of the hierarchical structure. When high-income countries allow people from low income countries to work without access to the full range of human rights, they are extending the injustices of history into the present. Rationalizing this practice as a reasonable choice within an economic framework is simply prolonging the historical practice of oppression. For the purpose of this research, workers stories will be shared in order to understand if they feel exploited or privileged.

5.2.3 GCE Theme: Transformation of any Practice of Dehumanization

[T]he oppressed, who have adapted to the structure of domination in which they are immersed, and have become resigned to it, are inhibited from waging the struggle for freedom so long as they feel incapable of running the risks it requires. Moreover, their struggle for freedom threatens not only the oppressor, but also their own oppressed comrades who are fearful of still greater repression. (Freire, 2000, p. 47)

Ruhs (2013) worries that giving more rights will result in less openness in high-income countries, where fewer guest workers would get the opportunity to leave home and earn a higher wage. His concern rests with fearing greater oppression through transformation, which is what Freire (2000) discusses above. Therefore, what does transformation actually mean? Freire explains that it is during the process of learning of one's oppression that fellow comrades need to be engaged in dialogue and in relationship to work together to define transformation and then work towards it.

What would a transformative dialogue (or particular to GCE, a transformative education) focus on? Shultz (2007) lays out three transformational approaches within GCE to understand how transformation can be defined differently. She states that each transformational approach functions in isolation from one another, based on how one defines globalization (her framework is summarized in Appendix IV). The first transformational approach she describes is *neoliberal*, where the single global market of globalization is celebrated along with the liberalisation of trade. In this approach, a person's 'economic success' is based on his/her own merit. Power structures are not taken into account. Therefore the aim of this global citizen is to become a successful participant in the global economy based on hard work. Ruhs' (2013) proposal fits into this category as his conclusion is based on the global market, and he does not seem to consider the historical picture of labour migration, avoiding a discussion of

power. Neoliberal transformation is about individuals trying to transform themselves to *fit into the system*, where the status quo stays the same. This is what many workers are doing, through migrating for work and working within the system to obtain global mobility rights. Freire (2000) discusses how, at the beginning, the oppressed strive to become oppressors:

[A]most always, during the initial stages of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors or ‘sub-oppressors’...their ideal is to become men [and women]; but for them, to be men [and women] is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity. (p.45)

Freire describes this understanding of transformation as selfish, where the “vision of the new man or woman is individualistic; because of their identification with the oppressor, they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of an oppressed class” (p. 46). Therefore, due to the oppressive system still embedded in their minds, the understanding of transformation is based solely on changing *themselves* to fit into the system.

Shultz’s second transformational approach is *radical*, where education and dialogue is used to critically question the power dynamics within globalization. These power dynamics are based on western imperialism, using economic power for domination. This lens teaches people to challenge state and corporate structures in order to create economic, social and political change. Transformation is based on engaging with the most marginalized in order to push for their dignity. Shultz (2007) states that this type of GCE can lead to an unending cycle she describes as “victims, victors and villains” (p. 254) where power just changes hands. Freire (2000) discusses this as well, where, as he sees it, the system of oppression is still inside the consciousness of the oppressed: “Many of the oppressed who directly or indirectly participate in revolution intend to make it their private revolution. The shadow of their former oppressor is still cast over them” (p. 46). Shultz concludes: “engagement as global citizens requires finding new ways to be in relationship if change is to be more than just shifting exploitation from one group to another” (p. 254).

Finally, Shultz’s last approach is the transformationalist lens. This approach addresses the complexity of globalization that is missing from both the neoliberal and radical approaches. It understands globalization as more than just a single economy and western imperialism. Globalization is seen here as the complex and dynamic interlinking of local, national and international relationships. Instead of focusing on a North-South division, a

transformationalist lens recognizes a growing socioeconomic division worldwide. The central aim of this approach is to build relationships based on a shared humanity, to increase democratic spaces and to create knowledge and change together. Transformation here, is a process of respectful dialogue “*with*, not *for*, the oppressed” (Freire, 2000, p. 48):

No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption. The pedagogy of the oppressed, animated by authentic, humanist (not humanitarian) generosity, presents itself as a pedagogy of humankind. Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization. (p. 54)

It is important to reflect on the difference between transformation through charity and transformation through dignity. Charity is paternalistic and transactional. It involves doing something *for* someone, rather than *with* someone. It normally does not lead to community building, but rather a transactional exchange between people, such as through a donation. This can lead to the neoliberal understanding of GC described earlier, where “the oppressors are the ones who act upon the people to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched” (p. 94). In the neoliberal frame, transformation is about an individual becoming an oppressor, becoming part of a system that oppresses others. In particular to this research, this would include obtaining global mobility rights and becoming a red passport holder where, as Mitra explains, it is the individualism that cloaks the immigrant dream:

Canada has a very very NIMBY approach to life: Not In My Back-Yard. And immigrants fall prey to that quite a lot. You know, you work hard, you reward yourself and your family and you forget about the rest. That is a very conservative model, right?... So, I think once you achieve your immigrant dream which is very conservative in many aspects, that you work hard, you make money, be happy and go on vacations, you kind of start to lose touch with the ground reality of your country. (Mitra, India, NGO worker-Canada)

The next two chapters will examine the power dynamics, (de)humanization and feelings of belonging expressed by participants. It will also present whether participants see transformation as fitting into the system (neoliberal), changing the system (radical) and/or building community (transformationalist).

6 GCE and Labour Migration: Power Dynamics

This chapter brings together the voices of workers and community actors who discuss the direct effects of global power dynamics through their local realities. The chapter overall links the economic story of the global economy to the human story of how it affects people's lives. The human effects include: who can take advantage of others and if exploitation is explicitly known or implicitly hidden. As well, this chapter explores if, indeed, becoming a guest worker is a choice based on opportunity or a forced choice based on oppression.

6.1 Big Business and Migration: Global/Local Profits and Power Dynamics

This section highlights the power dynamics discussed by low-paid guest workers and community actors on local and global levels. This relates to the cognitive theme within GCE, to learn about interlinked local, national and global realities, and the power dynamics at play across and within these levels. A common theme linking these realities based on low-paid guest worker stories is the neoliberal agenda which centers on big business. This is described by the following INGO representative:

It is a billion dollar industry, migration. It is not going to stop. And that is why I am really critical of people just talking just about the temporary foreign worker program. I am really critical of people talking about jobs here for temporaries, a temporary foreign worker program with a human face, because it is a business, it is a global, billion dollar business that really has to be exposed. (Marco, Philippines, INGO representative-Canada)

Exposing the power dynamics of international big business is a significant piece to begin critically understanding the interlinked global and local realities of labour migration. The most common understanding of migration tied to big business is the offshoring of work to other countries. In this study, workers reflected on their personal level of value (or power) depending on *where* they are working in the world:

I, for instance, used to work for Nestle. I will never forget, I was in a meeting and we had our UK partners and they said to produce [in Bulgaria] is six times cheaper labour than to produce in the UK. I provide the same expertise, only I am six times cheaper than them right? (Stella, Bulgaria, worker-Canada)

After three years the economy went down around 2002, China wanted Taiwan to transfer data company to China...because labour in mainland is five to one. One Filipino to five Chinese. One Filipino wage is compared to paying five Chinese. So company can save lots of money so they transferred in 2003. (Jason, Philippines, worker-Canada)

By moving workers across borders, not only do companies make more profit, but companies that link workers with jobs across borders also make profit. These companies are commonly referred to as *Manpower companies*. Manpower companies have large stakes within big business by making large amounts of money on labour migration bureaucracy. Reflecting on his experiences working in a multi-national construction company based out of South Korea, but with a project in Qatar, Suman critically explains how manpower companies profit:

The manpower company do not take the labour from Nepal directly. They contact a Qatar manpower agency. The Korean company used to pay the high salary but most of the money goes to the manpower company and the Nepalese people get less money. (Suman, Nepal, worker–South Korea)

Another worker, Min, stationed in Saudi Arabia spoke about asking for a three months vacation to go home and see his family:

They tell me three months vacation. But they were cheating me. They just gave two months. Then after I asked with my supervisor. He already gave permission to me three months vacation. Why you give me only two months? Then he said we extend your visa one month. Then I went to manpower to get the visa extended for one month. So it is costly really. He tells me it is around 17,000 [NPR approximately 175 USdollars]. And at that time I requested with my supervisor, it is 17,000 rupees, you have to pay or not? If you didn't pay, I cannot come there. He was telling me, this is your problem, you have to pay. Then I say, I don't mind. I won't come with your company. Then I didn't return back. (Min, Nepal, worker-Portugal).

Here, the company was willing to give him another month extension, but the manpower agency responsible for his bureaucratic movement demanded more money to change his documents. Bureaucratic documents are linked to government policies and processes, which add governments to the big business of labour migration. As well, many government politicians are linked to international business. An INGO program officer who covers the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia regions talks about how governments are not interested in helping workers because of their business ties:

There is always a big clash between NGOs on the one hand and the ministry on the other hand, who are very well connected politically and who have a lot at stake because of big business. So they do not want more responsibilities on them to look after the welfare of the workers, even though per law a lot of these countries including Nepal have laws that say: once you recruit workers and send them, you are responsible to make sure that the terms of employment are being adhered to in that country.

Big business profit is not just within companies tied to governments, but also through the system of migration regulations that governments themselves have. Marco (Philippines, INGO representative-Canada) discusses this from a Philippines lens:

The government not only makes money from remittances, which is approximately 22 billion per year. This is the third largest next to China and India, which have millions and millions abroad. But even institutions in the Philippines are created in order to send people abroad. This institution also collects money in order for migrants to leave. So from a recruiter in Barrio to the actual agencies in Manila, they all made money from one migrant worker. A migrant worker's documents need to have approximately 98 signatures. 100 pasos [approximately 2 USdollars] per signature, in order for them to get that document to be able to leave. That is excluding the processing fee that the recruiter gets and the travel agencies. Imagine that, meanwhile when they get to Canada, recruiters also get them, and they need to pay these recruiters up to 10,000 dollars [approximately 7,500 USdollars], here in Canada.

Taken down to the individual level, one worker, originally from the Philippines, while working in Taiwan discusses the agency fees he paid to apply to come to Canada:

We must spend money also. Taiwanese can go to Canada immediately with passport. They do not need a visa. But we need a visa. 6,000 [approximately 4,500 USdollars] to agency without a plane ticket. I applied as a kitchen helper. Spent lots of money, but the Canadian government does not know we pay the agency. Our employer does not know either because there are rules in Taiwan. Canadian law is just the plane ticket and processing fee. But Taiwan takes lots of money. Unfair also because when we land here we are just a low wage worker. That money you have to get back when you work here. (Jason, Philippines, worker-Canada)

And big business does not just affect low-paid guest workers. It also affects people who expose the system of big business. A union representative in Norway explains the danger he has put himself and his family in, through defending low-paid guest workers:

The worst thing has been the concern for my family, not myself. Because people have told me that they knew where I was living and I had got the messages that I should not be outside here in Oslo Sentrum at night and so on. But the worst thing is that they tried to sue me for 4.5 million [approximately 500,000 USdollars] personally. They used a lawyer to send two letters every week. Threats that I should pay 4.5 million because they had lost a big contract, because I had talked about the firm. This was a case where I had taken the victim to the firm and told the firm that she has been working there and got nothing paid and this was a big firm. So I was invited to a meeting with four different directors in the firm and I told them what she had experienced according to the cleaning company and so on and they just finished the contract with this [cleaning company] and this contract was for 4.5 million. So this [cleaning company] they tried to take me afterwards to make me responsible for the taking of their contract. (Geir, Norway, union representative-Norway)

The vulnerabilities and frustrations of both low-paid guest workers as well as people advocating for their dignity is a significant piece within labour migration power dynamics.

This is especially important, as it is common for low-paid guest workers themselves to feel no choice, but to leave their home countries in order to earn a decent living for themselves and their families.

In order to further understand the situation of low-paid guest workers, the reasons why workers feel they must work abroad and why many feel they cannot return back home, must be examined. This will highlight the human picture of this decision. In the background of this human picture, is Ruhs' (2013) economic argument for restricting some of the rights of low paid guest workers, an argument he bases on their choice to move into circumstances they know to be 'difficult.' Ruhs seems to ignore how power dynamics influence one's agency.

The INGO program officer for the Gulf/Asia region explains how the understanding of migration needs to change in order to be more in line with the power dynamics of current migration realities. He states that the migration literature most commonly referenced is 20 to 30 years old and it argues: "to migrate people have to have a certain amount of capital so that people who migrate are not very poor, but just doing okay and might do better if they go." He believes the focus needs to shift: "We need to look at how and where do really poor people migrate? How is that decision made? ... Nowadays, we have a lot of people who migrate on credit, which is a very unsustainable way of making a living." This leads to the question: why do people feel they must go into debt to such a large extent in order to migrate? Why has 'economic migration' become so common, and why do poor people feel their economic survival depends on migrating without their families? What are the global/local power dynamics involved here?

Mitra, originally from India, who came to Canada as a worker to join her husband, and now helps newcomers settle into Canada, reflects on the complexity of the *hope* within migration decisions:

There is no one easy answer to the migrant dream. People just get onto little boats thinking that they will drown. There is a potential that people will not make it to the shore, but people still do right? You are talking about the child. It is a dream. It is like living the best online video game that people will play, because people are trying to escape from hunger, or people are trying to escape from family and people are trying to escape politics.

The next section will bring together the stories of temporary low-paid guest workers talking about the purpose of their migration: why they felt the need to leave their families and work far away, across borders. Local and global power structures not only influence the decisions

guest workers make, but also influence the post-migration, dehumanized situation workers find themselves in. Changes to these situations can only happen if we understand who has power and why they have it, which is based on the themes of GCE: knowledge of global/local systems including who does and does not have power, leading to understanding how to transform these inequalities for a more just reality for all people. These themes, will be discussed here in the context of everyday global realities, where learning about one's place in the world is more powerful than the textbook knowledge gained inside a classroom, or as Mitra describes it: the real life video game of struggling to *feel like* a global citizen.

6.2 Would you like to Play (or be Forced into Playing) a Real Life Video Game?

The answer to why people migrate, if it is a choice or a 'forced choice,' depends on each low-paid guest worker themselves. Each has their own story, their own agency and their own context. Each context is a different starting level for this 'video game' of global mobility realities, where you have to fight for your rights. While recognizing that each player has his/her own personal context and story, it is also important to realize the larger local context may affect millions of people. For many in the Philippines, it is not a choice to 'play the game,' but their only option to sustain their and their family's livelihood. Marco explains how this lack of choice is tied to big business and multi-national companies:

This land is converted not for staple food for the Filipino people, but for cash crops. For example, in the southern region of Philippines is...what they plant there is either pineapples, asparagus or flowers, which is...no one eats pineapple every day, no Filipino knows asparagus, even farmers do not know what it is. It is western. And flowers... when I spend three months in the farmland, farmers would say that you cannot eat flowers (Marco, Philippines, INGO-representative-Canada)

Having many global companies using land and resources of low-income countries for their own profit, forces many locals out of their traditional rural way of life into urban centres to look for work in the capitalist consumer culture. Moreover, there are no basic industries in the centres for work, and the Philippines government relieves this pressure as Marco states by: "pretty much systematically sending people abroad, creating an institution that facilitates sending people. There are 4,800 that leave the Philippines every day, going to 196 countries". Not only are governments profiting through connections to transnational corporations using their lands, but also through the bureaucratic systems created for migration and finally the remittances workers send back.

The responsibilities placed on many individuals that *have to* work abroad to support their families, is a burden and duty many of the workers shared. For example, Jennie, a woman from the Philippines, came to Canada in 2008 in order to support her mom and siblings back home. She had no contact with her dad and her older brother had passed away. She stated: “I had to be the breadwinner” and goes on to explain why she decided to try to stay in Canada:

I did not plan to stay here. I had a two year contract and I didn't save money because I had to send send send. It's like I am living in two houses, I pay rent here and food here and their rent there. How can I put my sister through school for four years? So I wanted to stay here permanently... If you save money it's fine. But if you send money your family gets addicted to that lifestyle. The more money you send, the more their lifestyle changes... What will happen to them if something happens to me and how will they transfer my body? I'm not thinking about myself, but about them. What if my sister is still in school? Only for myself I am worrying for my medical. I'm helping my mom, brother, sister and two nephews.

Jason, also originally from the Philippines and working in Canada, explained that he decided to work abroad “for money for my family. I have three kids that are nine, eight and four.” He could not find a job in the Philippines after graduating with an Engineering degree. He then found work in Taiwan for nine years and afterwards applied to work in Canada. He hoped to bring his family to Canada for a better future where they could all live together. In the context of the Philippines, many people are “forced to choose” to move out of their local contexts to another country for survival. They must isolate themselves away from their families and home communities, in order to help their families survive. They must navigate new systems in high-income countries in order to find the best strategy to continue to support themselves and their family's livelihoods, which turns into an overwhelming fear of losing one's job and then one's visa. This fear is exacerbated by the knowledge that jobs at home are very difficult to come by.

Similar stories of migration as an obligation were shared in other regions of the world. For example, Bikesh (Nepalese) explains his story of going to Saudi Arabia:

I left Nepal with a dream of a good future and I was tired of working hard as a farmer. I worked hard and I could not even get good food for the evening. I started working in the morning and all the money I made was spent on food and it still was not enough.

Another Nepalese worker, Sajar, who also decided to go to Saudi Arabia explained how “My family did not force me to go, but I felt it was my responsibility to go and look after them.” He was also a farmer, and stated he could not earn any money. His decision was also a choice

under pressure. In many cultures, being the oldest child pushes the responsibility higher as explained by Jennie earlier and here explained by Aryan:

I had brothers and sisters and only my parents were working. We had a farm. My parents could not get money and we had many loans. I went to work in Saudi to pay loans taken from my parents and for a good future for my brothers and sisters. (Aryan, Nepal, worker-Saudi Arabia).

All of these workers discuss their pressures to go abroad, based on a hope for the future of their families. This better future in most cases, means having money to pay school fees for children or siblings. In Europe it is also about wanting the freedom of global mobility, not only for oneself, but also one's family. For example, Min, a Nepalese worker, talked about his journey starting in Saudi Arabia, then moving to Sweden and then finally working in Portugal. He stated he could not find a job in Nepal: "We are living in a village. Less than five to ten percent find a job." After working in Saudi Arabia, he was able to get sponsorship to move to Sweden to work. Then he migrated down to Portugal. During a visit home, he explains how he did not want to return to Europe, but was pressured by his wife and children:

After I was visit in Nepal 2009, then after I did not want to come to Portugal, but she was telling me you must go back to Portugal. That time I was thinking of making a business, agriculture farm. But she was saying your friends are doing really good business. I don't want to return back in Portugal. She said they have spent so many years in Portugal, we can do like that. My children are telling you and me, if my parents get us in the Europe and we get the European nationality and citizenship, then after better life. They have options. For reading [studies], they can go anywhere. If they didn't do, they have only one option. If they have European nationality, that means they can stay anywhere. They can spend a better life. That is the reason she is telling me: you must return back to Portugal. That is why I am here.

Min's migration decisions start from a 'choice made under the pressure of unemployment,' but his motives change into wanting the right and freedom of global mobility for himself and his family. Within global power dynamics, this is accomplished through obtaining a passport that is more globally accepted than the one he and his family were born with. However, obtaining the right of global mobility should not be dependent on the sacrifice of time away from family while struggling to navigate the systems of a foreign country. Our own citizenship is virtually inseparable from global mobility rights. Is 'global citizenship' similarly connected to global mobility? Many of these workers are forced to become 'limited global citizens' (where doors are opened to parts of the globe temporarily) in order to support themselves and their families, while hoping to be a full global citizen one day. Yuraj explains,

many make the 'choice' to be a 'limited global citizen' on credit, which speaks to the changing story of migration of those who *cannot* afford it:

Every Nepali does not want to change our nationality, but the problem... if we go to Nepal, what should we do? You know the condition of Nepal. We spend more than 10 lakhs [approximately 10,000 USdollars] to come in Europe. And now we don't have nothing. We cannot earn nothing here. We think better life, everything high you know. We go, we get responsibility. Now I have responsibility. I have family. Now what should I do for them? (Yuraj, Nepal, worker-Portugal)

Human beings are not objects. Their lives are continually changing. Yuraj had a baby when he was in Portugal, which is why he states now he has more responsibility. In addition he has loans he must pay back. He further states many Nepalese go to Europe, thinking they will just learn and then go back home, but their minds change. This can be a result of financial burdens as well as the hope of becoming a 'full global citizen.' Rohini (Nepalese, worker-Portugal) explains the importance of getting a European residency in order to become a 'global citizen': "It is my view that when you get citizenship of Portugal, then we can go to other countries. Just to have a passport of Nepal, then we cannot go to other countries. So we can free to go to other place." Yuraj, as well as other workers in Portugal, explained how low-paid guest workers in Europe move from rich European countries to poorer European countries. They explain how they are able to stay for a longer period of time in poorer European countries without worry of being deported. They also discussed how obtaining citizenship to *belong on paper* is easier in poorer European countries. Yuraj further explains how he moved from being a student in London to a worker in Lisbon because he could not afford to live in London as well as afford to pay the costs of obtaining a new visa.

One reoccurring pattern during my fieldwork in Portugal was the movement path of Nepalese people, who originally came to Europe as international students, and then migrated to Portugal to try to stay in order to obtain a Portuguese passport. Many of these workers had Master degrees from European universities or unfinished European degrees. They were working in hotels, cleaning or restaurants. Yet, they hoped that working abroad to pay for the education for their children, would give their children more freedom, even if it did not give them the freedom they had hoped for. The theme of making a better future for one's children, especially in regards to their education is repeated over and over again, whether a worker is working in the Gulf, in Asia, in Canada or Europe. And one's hope for a better education for their children, implies not just a more financially secure future, but also as Min described

earlier, the ability to move globally and study anywhere. However, many workers as described have international degrees and are still struggling to survive. Many still cannot find work in their home countries and the only work they can find in the countries/regions that they studied in is not related to their education. But they cling to the hope, that education for their own children will benefit them, especially if the children have global mobility rights tied to a strong passport.

6.3 The Red Passport is Global Citizenship

Overall, the discussion of power in Portugal revolved around global mobility: who has global mobility, who does not and the fight for it. Power dynamics of the right to move around the world, were directed at me: “You don’t understand. You can go anywhere. You will not have problems” (Yuraj, Nepalese, worker-Portugal). My passport of Canadian citizenship opens doors to many countries and gives me the freedom to move. Their passports, of Nepalese citizenship, results in the doors of countries to be slammed or locked, with long visa application procedures for specific purposes in order to enter.

These power dynamics of strong countries and weak countries, or strong citizenships and weak citizenships in regards to mobility, directly related to an understanding of global citizenship in the interviews. Citizenship and one’s passport have always been related to mobility rights. Therefore, global citizenship, in this context, is the right to global mobility, with some granted this right (myself) and others not (low-paid guest workers, with weak citizenships). This leads into the discussion of belonging within the global citizenship education framework. Where do these guest workers feel they belong? Only to their country of origin (a very limited global citizen)? To their country of origin and their working country (a limited global citizen)? To the world (a full global citizen)? Can they feel a belonging to the world, without their right of mobility in the world? Belonging in this context is centered on belonging on paper (and therefore having rights) which is based on their journey of finding a way to obtain a strong passport. The common term used for a strong passport is a *red passport*.

The red passport equates to the freedom of global movement, denied to many people, normally from poor countries. European Union member states have red passports, which I was told during the fieldwork is where the term originates. A red passport is a *respected passport*, where one is not asked many questions at borders. A red passport can be seen as a

passport of global citizenship, where one has the right to move almost anywhere in the world. And the right to easily move to different corners of the globe was expressed by many workers as giving them and their families a higher likelihood to succeed. This is explained by Amir, working in Canada:

I want to grow my son here, so that my son can decide where he has to go for study and stuff. I just want to give the freedom to go anywhere, which I lacked of in my childhood. When I wanted to study, I didn't have those opportunities. I want to give those opportunities to my son, so he can go to the University of Alberta or Harvard or LSE, London School of Economics... so I think money anybody can have, but respect? I just want to run for the respect. (Amir, Pakistan, worker-Canada)

For Amir, global mobility will also bring global respect. The journey towards attaining global mobility rights and therefore global respect, was a continual theme in Portugal. Many Nepalese international students find a way to apply for a *red passport* after they finish their degrees or end up dropping out of their degree programs and apply sooner. As rich European countries do not give many options for international students from poorer countries to get permanent residency and then citizenship, many of these individuals migrate to southern Europe, particularly Portugal, Spain or Italy in order to apply. These southern countries are described as more 'open' than the northern rich ones.

Rohini commented on the strength one gains when changing their citizenship: "If we want to change our nationality, then I think Norway is good, Canada is good. If I stay there, I get a passport. My life is strong" (Rohini, Nepal, worker-Portugal). Many workers expressed that they feel their lives are not as strong compared to others, if they do not have the freedom to move and the respect that comes with this freedom. Having fewer rights than others, in this case not having the right to global mobility, is a form of global oppression. Some people are entitled to a strong 'global passport' and others are not. This is not oppression of a marginalized group within a country, but is oppression by a global system of *citizenship*: of its rules and regulations, historically influenced by colonial empires drawing their map of the world and its borders. As citizenship relates to global mobility, and the majority of the world's population is based in poor countries with 'weak citizenships' lacking global mobility (for their ordinary citizens), a discussion of this oppression is essential within the concepts of GC and GCE.

The following field notes from Portugal on September 20, 2014, with my reflection at the time demonstrate the links between global mobility and GC:

A woman who was in the middle of her bachelor degree in Nepal decides to pretend she is 16 years old (she changed her birth certificate) so she can come to Portugal and get a red passport. Now she is in Gr. 11 again and struggling to pretend she is young.

Give up education for global citizenship? Give up education for a red passport for you and/or your kids? Global citizenship is a red passport which is freedom. Education does not equal freedom, the red passport does.

The act of stopping in the middle of one's education to take advantage of a chance to get the red passport, was also repeated by Yulianna in Norway. She ended up leaving Nepal in the middle of her Bachelors degree because an opportunity came up that would give her a chance to get the red passport in Norway. In these cases, I find the terms red passport and global citizenship to be synonymous. Of course, the academic literature states that global citizenship is not based on a legal understanding of citizenship, but more of a sense of belonging. However, in practice the connotations of the word citizenship must be reflected upon. This is especially true, since citizenship is a system of belonging and exclusion. Doesn't belonging to the world, mean the freedom to move within it? How can I belong to Canada, be a Canadian citizen, and not be allowed to move within Canada? How can I therefore be a global citizen, but not be able to move across the globe? Who then really has the opportunity to be a global citizen? Only people from rich/western nations that have strong passports and the elites from poor countries?

The GC definition includes a disclaimer that it should not be seen as a legal and binding term, but more of a citizenship tied to a sense of belonging. This avoids acknowledging the colonial history and exclusionary nature of the word citizenship. Being a global citizen, in the case of all temporary low-paid guest workers, is essentially an opportunity tied to freedom: the freedom to move. This is really about reflecting on the historic roots of 'citizenship' which are legal written papers of belonging, tied to colonialism. It is also linked to the relationship between capitalism and imperialism, which as Potts (1990) lays out is about the collective interests of high-income countries to use labour from low-income countries.

Making workers temporary excludes them from citizenship. This sets up circumstances today, where workers are a) immobile in their working country with a weak passport unaccepted by most other countries, b) scared to go home for fear of not being able to leave again (expressed in conversations throughout my fieldwork) and c) worried about being sent home, for fear of not being able to earn a livelihood to survive for themselves and their families. This is the current formula for controlling labour power from low-income countries. Potts (1990) further

explains: “the history of the world market for labour power – as we understand the term – is, of course, not primarily the story of free wage labour; often the worker concerned was neither ‘free’, nor paid a wage. Both in the 20th century and before, essentially compulsion and force have shaped its evolution” (p. 7). Now, in the 21st century, temporary low-paid guest workers are not free. Most of them are not free to move. Most of them are not free to find employment in their home countries. Most are not free to live with their families.

The red passport is freedom, which is tied to finally being accepted to share some of the wealth many high-income countries have gained through imperialism and colonialism. As well, education for many, now, is not about freedom. However, the journey outside the classroom, of learning to navigate different government systems across borders in order to obtain a strong citizenship *is* tied to freedom. Ruhs (2013) assumes in his research that all workers really want is money, but they also want respect and freedom, which they do not get as temporary low-paid guests with weak citizenships.

The above discussion of power dynamics at play were necessary to lay the contextual understanding of labour migration: the push and pull factors of big business, of conditions in sending countries affecting future guest workers as well as the global power dynamics of mobility. This groundwork is important to lay out in order to understand how these global power dynamics affect local power dynamics in receiving countries between employers and low-paid guest workers as well as between low-paid guest workers and local citizens.

6.4 Power Dynamics: Employers and Low-paid Guest Workers

When someone is not a citizen of a country, they are usually not entitled to the same rights as local citizens. When a whole group of people are excluded from the same rights as others within the same setting, there are obvious power differences. Corporations take advantage of this to make more profit. Perhaps the best story to exemplify this was explained to me by a labour lawyer in Canada:

It’s been interesting what is happening in [City X] at the [local factory]. The union history is fascinating. The union was trying to unionize at [City X] for years and years and the company was fighting it tooth and nail, so they came up with this brainstorm – you know what we are going to do is recruit directly from refugee camps in Africa. Those people will never join a union and that will shut them down. So they did. They recruited directly from Africa. So you have this huge African workforce, but then you have these racist supervisors. A lot of racism in the plant. And people are not stupid. That is what racism is about – assuming somebody

from somewhere else is stupid. ... So they hire people from Africa who were smart enough to realize we are permanent residents. We have rights. We don't like the way we are treated. I mean people were denied bathroom breaks for God's sake. It was just disgusting when you hear the stories. So actually they started talking to the union (laughing). They figured it out pretty fast and they actually unionized. So then the company thought well that didn't work very well, so we are going to bring in foreign workers. First the foreign workers came from Latin America. Well Latin Americans are very interesting because they are very rights oriented. They may be quiet, but they know about rights. So that didn't work so well either. So they started bringing in Filipinos. Filipinos are very different. They come from a completely different culture and they come from a culture of foreign workers. (Labour lawyer, Canada)

This story of bringing in different cultures to exploit, is the basis of low-paid guest labour in a global economy. It essentially asks the question: which workers are the easiest to make a profit out of? Locals? No, someone more vulnerable. Refugees? But, they have permanent residence rights. Guest workers, with no papers of belonging? Perfect. The point of this story is not to compare one group of guest workers to another, in this case workers from Latin America and the Philippines. It is an example of the extent to which businesses can analyze the power certain workers have and take advantage of their vulnerabilities.

In the Gulf/Asia region, almost all workers shared how they felt that they could not complain about abusive work practices, not only about themselves, but about others as well. Sajar (Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia) reflects on how he did not feel safe complaining:

As I saw them beaten and tortured, I could not help them. If I tried to help them I would be imprisoned and tortured. If I was in Nepal I could have helped them. But I could not and I had to sit and watch them being tortured...I came to the conclusion that there is no point in complaining about the problems you get there.

There are many reasons why low-paid guest workers do not complain about abusive working conditions. In the Gulf, it can be the fear of being further tortured or imprisoned. In all countries, there is a fear of losing one's job, which is commonly tied to having to leave the country. This fear is linked to the fact that their options at home to earn a livelihood are almost impossible. In Europe and Canada, the fear is greater in that people may not be able to get another 'chance' to enter across these borders again. Marco, (Philippines, INGO representative-Canada) explains how mobility rights and the livelihood and security a Canadian citizenship offers are higher priorities than a worker's current dignity:

Even a migrant worker just waiting for permanent residency and the employer starts abusing them, and they come to me and say: "You know what I cannot take my employer anymore, on the other hand, two more months and my permanent residency will come, what do I do?" I

would tell, I told the person, you close your eyes and think about your priority, I will help you file a complaint and make sure you get the money they owe you, but on the other hand, why did you come here? We will file a complaint after she got the paper. She got the paper in the end and then we filed a complaint. We got a little bit of money, not the money we expected.

In every region, workers experience oppressive conditions, whether they are working legally or illegally. This has to do with the fact that they are not protected citizens by the government and fear returning home, without a sustainable way of earning a living and the immobility that comes from living in a low-income country with a weak passport. Yulianna, in Norway talks about the challenges she faces at work: “For example if I have done one mistake then it will not be taken as....okay Yulianna you can make over it tomorrow. Sometimes there will not be a chance” (Yulianna, Nepalese, worker-Norway). Her worry of making a mistake may result in her losing a job, which leads her to working extra time without payment:

So there is a pressure that we do very nice, very good, even if it is one and half hour, though it takes two hours you have to do it very nice. So half hour I am doing for myself, for my job, to save my job. That's the pressure sometimes.

Geir, a union worker in Norway explains this fear: “This is the mechanism in this market: the fear. You have to always be polite, you have to smile. It has to shine when you are leaving.” This fear goes back to the beginning of the global power dynamics of multinational corporations affecting people's livelihoods in poor countries, global manpower companies that take advantage of the vulnerability of these people (without work at home and without the freedom of mobility) and then down to employers within working countries who can further take advantage of workers who are in a country that is not their own.

In Portugal, Min (Nepalese, worker-Portugal) explains about his wife's job: “She is working eight hours. Now she goes to Chinese work there is 12 hours.” When asked why she has to do extra work unpaid, he explains: “Because here not a lot of jobs. So we have to compromise with them, to get the contract.” They need the contract in order to prove they pay tax, which will allow them to apply for permanent residency. Again, the fight for the freedom of global mobility is at the root of the exploitation, where workers will compromise in order to hopefully get a red passport in the end. Yuraj (Nepalese, worker-Portugal) also talks about his experience of also having to work extra hours without payment:

You know not all Portuguese, but some Portuguese, some owner behave us like a dog. Like a horse. They are boss, we are horse-Shank (whip motion): get to work. Normally we have

contract per week, 40 hours. But we work more than 60, 65 hours. We need to work. Only for government contract we need 40 hours.

In Canada, and like in this quote from Portugal, some workers referred to their employers as owners. This relationship will be further explored in the next section.

6.5 Employers as Owners who ‘Liberate’ their Workers

Similar stories of employers taking advantage of temporary low-paid guest workers were also told in Canada. Jennie (Philippines, worker-Canada) got a job as a manager through a friend at a fast food restaurant. On her first day she said her boss told her: “Your friend said you only need the paper. I can’t pay you for that amount.” She said she didn’t mind making a low wage, because “I just need the paper. Money you can earn if you get permanent.” Here, Jennie is accepting a job as a manager in order to apply for ‘the paper’ to be a permanent resident of Canada. Canada does not allow people to apply for permanent residency if their job is classified as ‘low-skilled.’ A manager is a skilled job. Her employer here exploits her situation, giving her the ‘opportunity’ to work as a manager, and therefore allows her to apply for her papers, but he pays her as a food counter attendant. She accepts this knowing that as soon as she gets permanent residency she will have more opportunities to earn money: suffer now in the hopes of benefiting later. Then, in an ironic twist, Jennie expresses her feelings of indebtedness to this employer: “I owe my boss. I got PR [permanent residency] after he sold the store, so I don’t owe anything to new owner, but they are nice.” Here she sees the very people contributing to her oppression as her liberators.

In Portugal, I spent the day with a worker who spoke with me about her conditions at her workplace. My field notes from that day included:

She gets paid 550 [Euros, approximately 600 USdollars) to serve food, close the building, do all the salaries and money. He trusts me (she feels this is a huge compliment for her). She kept repeating: “He is helping me with my papers.” (September 22, 2014)

Another worker in Canada, Amir (Pakistan), expressed the same feelings of gratitude towards his employer:

He pays me nicely, whatever the minimum wage. Whenever I need a favour he loans me. I need this for my car. It is a very good relation. He said I am here to help you, I have no issues. That is why I stay with him because he is good with me. For immigration matter if I go to any other employer and he is not helping me, then my effort, everything, is getting removed.

Amir goes into detail about investing in a good relationship with his employer in order to make sure he gets his papers. In these cases, the workers feel their employers are helping them, regardless of the fact that their employers are paying them minimum wages to do management work. Some still interpret this as a good opportunity for a person from a low-income country, because *at least* their employer is helping them with papers. This argument ignores the dignity of a worker. As well, the temporary low-paid person, does not have the freedom to just change jobs if their employer does not treat them well. In Portugal this is tied to the fact that there are not many jobs for anyone. In Canada, working visas to enter the country are tied to employers and therefore the worker cannot legally work for anyone else unless they get a new visa. The employers have the power to set the stage to allow a person to apply for permanent residency. In Canada, this ‘help’ employers give to temporary low-paid workers to get permanent residency, involves paying the government of Canada 1,000 dollars (approximately 775 USdollars) per contract renewal of each low-paid guest worker per year. This contract renewal must prove that a Canadian worker is not able to take the job the guest worker is in. This application fee is very often passed onto the low-paid guest worker, again because they are not in a position to go against their employer and will do whatever they can to keep their job and sustain their hope for permanent residency (ACLRC, January 28, 2015, Information session for TFWs, field notes, Edmonton). Amir (Pakistan, worker–Canada) reflects on this:

I have seen the people who are food counter attendants and they can’t apply for immigration. They have to leave the country because their owner can’t spend the thousand bucks in one year. I have seen the tears in their eyes, the fear.

Again, just like in the case of Jennie (Philippines, worker-Canada) and Sonam (Nepal, worker-Portugal), Amir feels his employer or *owner* is helping him:

The good thing is that my owner is with me, he is helping me. He wanted to sell the restaurant. He said maybe if you are not there I will sell it. I will keep it one or two years while you are here, until your papers are done. I have to give my honesty and dedication and loyalty to him.

In these examples, the employers are seen as their liberators from oppression, instead of as a piece of their oppression. Dedication and loyalty to an employer or company in the Asia region was not brought up in any interview. Actually in two cases, workers who have decided to now live in Nepal, describe how their employers are more loyal to them than the other way around. For example, Dinesh (Nepalese, worker–Saudi Arabia) boasts: “Still I have a contract there and they are calling me. My company is getting a project in Qatar now.” Suman, who

was working for a Korean company and now has decided to move back to Nepal, also stated that his company is calling him to come back. Here the workers express a feeling of dignity, of worth, of being wanted by a company, not a country. A similar level of dignity is expressed by workers in Canada and Portugal when they speak of their employers as their liberators. A theme across many interviews in all regions, was this sense of dignity felt through being wanted by a company, not a country.

Ruhs (2013) assumes high-income countries liberate low-paid guest workers from poverty by granting them the opportunities to make a higher wage. However, workers here feel liberated by corporations first that give them the opportunity to feel 'of worth' by the country. It is not just about a higher wage compared to a person's opportunities in their home country, but about respect, feeling of worth, and the journey to gain global mobility rights.

6.6 Implicit and Explicit Oppression: Canada and Europe compared to the Gulf States and Taiwan

The power dynamics in Canada and Europe are more implicit compared to the Gulf and Asia region. In Canada and Europe, the exploitation is hidden in the paperwork and bureaucracy. In the Gulf and East and Southeast Asia, exploitation and lack of rights are often explicitly known. The motivation to be a 'good worker' in the Gulf and Asian countries does not include trying to get a red passport, as citizenship is near to impossible, but working to survive and pay for livelihoods back home. When asked if they felt that they could complain many workers responded that they could not:

I came to the conclusion that there is no point in complaining about the problems you get there... I also worked in India and I lived in a village and I saved 15,000 (Nepalese Rupees, approximately 150 USdollars) and I ran away from that village to Nepal. But there isn't any place in Saudi where you can run away from. Once you arrive and work for a company and until you have finished the tenure of two years, you cannot go anywhere. It is almost like no point of return. So you are stuck there for two years. And between those times and if you complain about jobs or anything, that won't be listened to or looked after. (Sajar, Nepal, worker-Saudi Arabia)

Most workers in the Gulf and Asia expressed how they felt that they could not complain. They just had to "make sacrifices" according to Ruhs (2013), in order to hope for a better future for themselves and their families through bringing in more money. When asked in

Taiwan, if he ever complained Jason responded: “We cannot because the Taiwanese are very strict” (Philippines, worker-Canada). However, while working in Canada, he spoke about his worry about the Canadian government not approving an extension on his work permit. Instead of saying he “can’t complain” (explicit) like in Taiwan, in Canada he promises not to complain (implicit) in order to hopefully belong one day:

They can have me for years if they like. I won’t complain. I like meeting people and I like cooking... You have to be fast because people expect you to be fast in that area. My company is lucky they have me because I work hard and don’t complain.

Jason, an electrical engineer, is more than happy to continue to take food orders and make fast food, without complaint as long as he can stay in Canada. This way he knows he will be supporting his family and he will be able to continue with his hope of bringing them to Canada to live with him one day. However, weeks after he shared his story with me, the Canadian government refused to extend his working visa. He was essentially fired by Canada and told to go home because he was not wanted or needed anymore.

During his short stay in Canada of two and a half years, he had navigated the system to make a sustainable life for himself and his family. He moved from being a low-skilled worker to being a skilled worker: from a food counter attendant to a cook. By doing this, he should have been able to apply for permanent residency as only skilled workers can apply. However, the Canadian government changed their laws during his time in Canada, exempting cooks from applying for permanent residency. Because of the limitations put on low-paid guest workers in Canada, as explained above, Jason could not find another job in another skilled profession. He had the opportunity by law to apply to stay in Canada for one and a half more years, as all temporary foreign workers are allowed to stay for four years maximum, but the government did not approve his application. He explained to me while he was waiting for his response from the government: “I cannot do anything about it because it is government. If it was company I could do something.” Again, companies are felt to be more tied to his respect and humanization than his receiving country. He compares how working in Canada was not sustainable to his family’s livelihood and made him feel a lack of dignity, where he was not good enough to belong. He compares this feeling to working in Taiwan, where he knowingly did not feel a sense of belonging, but where he would always be welcomed to work:

If that law did not change I would have lots of hope, but in Taiwan even though not permanent opportunity there, you can still work if you want to, but here the government wants you to go home... In Taiwan, our country is very near, so what will happen there, if company wants us

to go home the plane ticket is different. I don't know if the company will pay (here)... It's very hard for me because I am the only one supplying life to my family, but if I have no work, I don't know. If I go home, for sure I don't have work.

When Jason states the plane ticket is different, he is talking about the cost of flying from Canada back to the Philippines. If you are a low or semi-skilled worker, your company is required to pay for your plane ticket back home (however, many do not). But, once you have become a skilled worker, the company is not required anymore. Even after navigating the system, Jason now has to come up with thousands of Canadian dollars to pay for his own ticket home. He spent his first year in Canada paying off his loan to come to Canada. Now it seems he will have to pay off a loan to leave Canada.

6.7 This is Not a Game

This section highlights the critical learning involved while being a global low-paid guest worker in a world of borders and exclusion based on citizenship. It questions, how a global sense of belonging relates to citizenship and how global citizenship relates to global mobility. Marco (Philippines, INGO representative-Canada) reflects on what global citizenship means to him in reality: “Global citizenship has different aspects to it. The migrant aspect sounds good, but when we start talking about rights and protection suddenly everyone is deaf.” He spoke about how the global interconnections of the world have affected his home country, the Philippines, causing thousands of people to leave every day to find work abroad. He explained about a “global citizenship” protest sign he had seen once which stated: “No Borders, No Nations”:

It is deeper than that. That is why the US is in my country, why Canada is mining my country. I don't want more Canadian companies in my country. I want the freedom to have work in my country and not be forced to leave. We are here [in Canada] because you are there [in the Philippines] and then you deport us back.

Power dynamics are linked to who can belong and who cannot to individual countries, regions and the globe, based on mobility and perceived skills. As Marco reflected, people from the Philippines cannot even belong in their own country. And many are not allowed to belong where they work abroad. Big business is a major piece within the power dynamics at play: transnational corporations using land and resources for profit in poor countries, manpower agencies shifting workers across borders for profit, immigration consultants charging fees legally and illegally to ‘help’ workers get into a country to earn their own and their family’s

livelihoods, governments tied to big business, focusing on the needs of employers instead of employees and charging huge fees for bureaucratic immigration documents. Perhaps the best way to summarize all these power dynamics is through a statement from Madhu, who as described earlier, migrated with her family from Kenya to England and now to Canada:

If we work on the scale that things are to be bought and sold, if the bottom line is always profit, net profit, then labour is a line item. And that line item, the reduction of costs on that line item is the most critical part. Not how that line item feels, how it is treated...I think one has to in the 21st century, one has to take ethical and moral decisions. Governments, corporations, individuals. Which is to say human beings are not fodder for profit and that the only settlement we are interested in is in permanent settlement. (Madhu, Kenya, organizer-Canada)

When people are not permanently accepted into another country to belong, but are temporarily accepted to do a job, particularly a low-paid one, for the highest profit for an employer, there is no dignity. There is no dignity on all sides: low-paid guest worker, local citizen or employer. They are all part of a system of oppression (Freire, 2000).

This ‘video game’ of survival and the fight for humanization has been repeated over and over again, from transatlantic slavery to bonded labour to labour migration (Potts, 1990). And it is not a game. It is not played. It is not often enjoyed. Anyone reading this can ask the cleaner of their building, the person they order food from, the child whose mother and/or father has been gone working abroad for years, their neighbour who sees their husband through a computer screen, or the grandmother who now lives alone in her rural village. Unfortunately many of us do not ask. And if we do, it is often a polite question not the start of a sincere relationship. However, Marco (Philippines, INGO representative-Canada) still has hope:

We always talk about revolution and systems changing and it is hard. Moving the mountain is hard. If you do not take part in the change you want, it will never happen. Once we say nothing can be done, we have surrendered to the same system that you hated.

I listened to Marco repeatedly state that there is hope in every low-paid guest worker who joins the fight for freedom from a system of oppression. There is also hope in every person who moves from asking a polite question to a low-paid guest worker, to developing a sincere relationship to learn about and be part of their lives. The next chapter will discuss the potential for hope and the transformation of dehumanization based on the opinions and experiences of low-paid guest workers and community actors in the field.

7 GCE and Labour Migration: Transforming Dehumanization

How is transformation experienced in the day-to-day lives of low-paid guest workers and community actors involved in labour migration? This chapter organizes the stories of participants based on Shultz's (2007) three separate transformational themes: neoliberal, radical and transformationalist. It answers the underlying question: what does humanization mean and how is it achieved with dignity?

7.1 Neoliberal Global Citizenship: Transforming Self

My supervisor told me Karan come. Five o'clock wake up. They brought me to a small shopping mall. A supermarket in a large shopping mall. I reached there. He told me: "Take this brush." For what? There were shelves, lots of dust. "Just remove that dust." This is job? "Yes, this is your job." Ok I'll take brush. After that he told me there was a toilet: "Just go and clean the toilet." What? Toilet? I have never cleaned a toilet. "Why have you come here? Your profession is cleaner. You need to clean everything." So he showed me the dirty toilet: "This the toilet, this is WC, clean the WC. Clean down up, mirror, floor." He showed me. My partner showed me how to clean.

Inside I am crying. What is that? I am an imaginative person and I am doing this? Second mind is thinking, if I stop this work they will send me back to my country and people will start to laugh: "Karan went and he came back! He cannot work anywhere." Then I am thinking my father. My father is there, what he think? (Karan, India, worker-Dubai)

Before Karan decided to go to Dubai, he was working for Air India in Mumbai as a loader. His main reason for going to Dubai was to make some money for himself, his parents and siblings. He still works there, ten years later, visiting home when he can. Throughout his time, he explains how he was able to transform *within the system* to achieve a sense of dignity/humanization:

Within three months they see my job and they gave me charger position. So I learned the machine operating, how to clean with the machine, scrubbing machine. So I learned that all. Then cleaning chemicals...then I started as a charger at a shopping mall. And under me, 13 person. Every morning we clean, we come. The manager is very happy. Karan is doing a good job...Then after six months, mixed training.

At this point, Karan received a UK certificate for mixed training and was promoted to supervisor. Then he moved to become an area supervisor, then senior area supervisor, then area manager, then operations manager to his current position of all airport project manager. He gained not only respect from his employer, but also the respect of the workers he

supervises. He has a good working relationship with his workers because he states: “I came from down.”

Another example of a worker struggling to navigate to fit into the system, in the Gulf, is Dinesh (Nepalese). While working in Saudi Arabia, he spoke about his struggles of not being able to complain, being treated differently because he is Hindu and repeatedly spoke about being homesick and lonely. However, once he started learning to speak Turkish and Arabic he talks about how it just took time to learn and adjust: “Then I adjust there same like Nepal. Police were friend. Turkish boss friend. They said they would give me more salary.” He explains how he gained their respect by transforming himself through language in order to become a part of the oppressive hierarchy:

The manager is listening on the radio on channel three. I am shouting in Turkish to Turkish people “Why are you not working like this!” in their language. Then he is thinking oh this Nepali is doing very good. He is showing leadership. I was shouting if people were absent.

Dinesh repeatedly said he felt respected by the company, but through his stories he did not feel respected by the country and its people: “I was useful for my company, not for Saudi Arabia or religion. My company. They gave me multiple visa because I learned language ... [and] ... give respect for my capacity.” After being back in Nepal for four years, he spoke about how his life has changed: “Now I am earning here more than there. Lots of business here. I have so many bus, so many truck, buying and selling land.” He also stated how his boss still calls him requesting him to come back, making him feel proud, and therefore ‘of worth.’ Not only has Dinesh transformed his life at home so that he can sustain himself, he also feels a sense of dignity from his company back in Saudi Arabia who still appreciate his skills. In this case, he expresses the dignity of feeling human, compared to many workers who feel like replaceable objects. However, this humanization only came from his company, not from the country where he was working.

Almost all workers in the Gulf and Asia region shared how they were able to climb up their company’s ladder, allowing them to gain more respect, learn new skills and make more money. Aryan (Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia) expressed how he learned new skills he may have never had the chance of learning if he had stayed in Nepal:

As I was illiterate I did not get a good job here [in Nepal]. I worked here for 19 months for low labour workers. I worked as a person who unloads and loads in trucks. And who uses

shovel. I did third level work. Back there [in Saudi Arabia] I learned skill of electricity and house wiring and it feels good.

Sajar (Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia) spoke about originally working as a farmer and carpenter. Then, after moving to Saudi Arabia, he became a kitchen helper and now has learned how to cook dishes from different cultures:

Work was difficult for me as I was not educated. I started as a helper and many others that were not educated and go for work, they start as helpers. I was a junior level cook. It was good I did not have to work out in the sun. I was working in the house and it was good. I was promised to pay 600 (Riyals, approximately 150 USdollars) and they paid me 600. Now they have increased the salary 200 more and now I get 800 (Riyals, approximately 200 USdollars) per month...I learned to cook and now I can cook Filipino, Pakistani and many other dishes. In Nepal my wife used to cook for me, but now I cook for thousands of people.

In these two cases, both workers started as uneducated and once given the opportunity to learn new skills, were able to 'prove their worth' or potential. Unfortunately, many workers from low-income countries are treated as temporary labour, not as human beings with potential. They are essentially used as replaceable objects for economic gain, at a particular moment in time. They are not invited to belong to the country in which they are working as they do not have the option of receiving permanent residency. Instead, they are allowed to 'visit' to 'help themselves' and provide cheap labour for businesses and the country. In Gulf countries, gaining permanent residency and citizenship is incredibly difficult (Ruhs, 2013). In other high-income countries such as in Northern and Central Europe and Canada, gaining permanent residency and citizenship outside of asylum, refugee and family processes requires you to have skills the country wants at a specific time (Ruhs, 2013), which is more often than not, tied to a company needing you.

In order to move from the respect one can gain learning within a company to the respect and security one gains by being accepted as a permanent resident of a high-income country, Amir discusses his decision to move from being a foreign worker in Dubai to a foreign worker in Canada: "Because in Dubai you live 40 or 50 years, there is no residency and stuff. You just earn the visa. If you lose the job you have to leave the country." He left with the hope of one day being united with his family in Canada and to be able to give his son a strong passport so he can have more freedom than Amir did when he was young. He stated: "I don't have any experience in restaurants. I have a Masters, I have stock brokerage experience, I have banking experience and I am applying as a food counter attendant." Amir came to Canada and started washing dishes at a restaurant. He then proved himself within the system to become a

supervisor for the same company, which would enable him both to apply to bring his family (since he is now considered a skilled worker) and apply for permanent residency. Even though he has education and experience in banking and business, he can only apply to stay in Canada based on the skills of his current job. His transformation of self, to navigate this system, is also linked to the transformation of his family, just like all other workers.

7.1.1 Family Transformation

Amir compared his time working away from his family in Dubai and Canada. The flight for his family to visit him in Dubai was only two and a half hours. His wife had the option of moving there with their son, but decided she did not want to share a home with another person, and chose to stay in Pakistan with their son. They flew back and forth to meet every six months. When Amir came to Canada, one of his main priorities was to find a way to reunite with his wife and son. After moving from being a low-skilled worker to a supervisor, Amir explains how he put together all his documents (proving he is a skilled worker, pays taxes and can support his family) to sponsor his family to come:

I prepare the documents for my wife and send them back home to apply the visa. And the Canadian embassy said: “You can’t apply.” I said: “This is the system.” They said: “This is for the specific countries, not for you.”...They rejected. My wife is disturbed. I am also disturbed. What to do? I haven’t seen my son for two years.

He further explains the difficulties in travelling to see his family from Canada compared to Dubai: “My wife and son are still suffering because in Dubai I got paid holidays. Here I only have ten days holidays. That is not enough for even my ticket.” He explains how he and his wife do not understand each other’s challenges since they live half a world apart:

It is pretty challenging, but we are doing it. Because if I don’t send one month, my wife and son can’t eat. They can have a good life, but they have expenses as well. 1100 [unclear currency] is the expense there. If I send sometimes 800 [unclear currency] my wife calls me crying, what is happening? We fight because of finance. She can’t understand how I am going through and I can’t understand how she is going through. So I say I can suffer, I have no issue. I can eat bread and butter. In the restaurant I eat there three times.

In an interview with an NGO worker in Canada, Mitra (India) explains how it is always harder for people from low-income countries to bring their families:

If you are a skilled worker, technically yes you can [bring your family], but we see rejections all the time for Indian and Pakistani workers, all the time. All the time. The saddest part is that many of these rejections come after the foreign worker has paid quite a lot of money to

lawyers...But for wealthier nations like Ireland, or South Korea or Japan, we would see that they do not need visitor visa to come to Canada. They just come to Canada. So you come here and then you apply for an open work permit on the inside, which is much easier. For Irish workers we always do that.

This example portrays the obvious power differences between countries in the world. Citizens from the high-income countries Mitra mentioned can easily join their families in Canada compared to citizens from low-income countries. Therefore, transformation to fit into the system for workers in low-income countries, is not just about making money for your family, but also learning how to live apart from each other. In Europe, Min (Nepalese) explains through his experiences in Saudi Arabia, Sweden and Portugal, how being united with family is related to a sense of belonging:

When I was in Saudi for the labour visa we were not like a local. No one can feel like a local in the Middle East I think. In Sweden I also feel like that because I cannot stay a long time because the Swedish government cannot provide for me for a long time, if I stay there. I feel a little bit better for Portugal, because Portuguese legalize for us and we are gathering the family and the children too. Little better feeling here in Portugal. I feel more accepted. Few things are also (pause) local things not really accept for us, but we feel it is another country that is better. Anywhere else I cannot success in gathering the family, but here I am success. Not everywhere, but here.

Even though Min still does not feel completely welcomed, he feels more welcomed in Portugal than Sweden and Saudi Arabia because he can be with his family. Tying the stories of Amir and Min trying to unite with their families both in the Gulf and in either Canada or Europe, leads to the question of what belonging really means for global citizens. How does it relate to the rights of living with one's family wherever one is working in the world?

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, states: State Parties “shall take appropriate measures to ensure the protection of the unity of the families of migrant workers” and further states, State Parties “shall take measures that they deem appropriate and that fall within their competence to facilitate the reunification of migrant workers with their spouses or persons who have with a migrant worker a relationship that, according to applicable law, produces effects equivalent to marriage as well as minor dependent unmarried children” (United Nations, 1990). Here the wording is careful and limited (Ruhs, 2013), but it still presents the importance of the human right to *be* with family. Ruhs' solution to guest workers being separated from their families, is to propose, in order to protect migrant receiving countries (or the people with power) that

guest workers can reunite with families as long as they “can provide proof that their incomes are sufficient to ensure that the family member or dependent will not become a fiscal burden on the state – that is, will not create net fiscal costs for the host country’s welfare state” (pp. 175-176). He realizes: “this conditional restriction of family reunion will exclude many, but not all low-skilled [and thus low-paid] guest workers from family reunion” (p. 176). Min was able to reunite with his family in Portugal under stressful living conditions, where his wife and two children share a space sectioned off by a sheet in an apartment with several other workers. He explained how they are still struggling.

However, the question is not about affording to be with family, it is about *being with family*. However, countries continue to open their borders to ‘workers’ instead of human beings who have family. Ruhs (2013) states it is relevant to consider that many local citizens in migrant receiving countries, choose to work in jobs that take them away from their families for extended periods. However, he does not explain how these local citizens are still working *within* their own country, where they are guaranteed rights and are protected. Plus many local citizens that work away from their families, see their families more often than once every two, four or six years.

Furthermore, some people are allowed to live with their families while working abroad while others are not granted this same right. In Amir’s case, it did not just depend on his ability to support his family, but also on how strong (or red) his passport is. This furthers the drive to find ways to obtain the red passport or true global citizenship. Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada) after working nine years in Taiwan and two years in Canada has never been allowed to live with his family abroad. He explains how he also experienced living without his father as a child: “My father worked in Saudi for 15 years. Difficult for him, he only seen us every year.” He further discusses how he has missed his own immediate family while working away from them:

[In Taiwan], life there is always working. Do not allow foreign workers to move family or stay there permanently. Very strict. Under the Chinese. My first challenge is being homesick because far from family every day. But thanks to technology we can see family, but it is not the same. Still want to cry. Even until now [in Canada] I want to hold my last child, but I am very far.

Yet he struggles the same as his father hoping for a different future for his children, even though he seems to be repeating the same story. Is it fair to tell Amir (Pakistan), Jason

(Philippines) or Min (Nepal) that they cannot be with their families because they failed to fit into the right part of the system? Even though they all have the skills and the potential to learn? Or to humanize the question: even though they are people, like everyone else?

Even when families are united, and children start having a scheduled routine, such as going to school and adapting to the culture/language, the temporary situation their parents are in can affect their future. For example, at an educational event in Canada I attended for temporary foreign workers, I listened to a woman ask if her son would be able to graduate, as her visa was going to expire a month before his graduation date. She was from Spain and had been living and working in Canada for four years.

Reuniting with family can also be difficult, after children have not been with one or both parents for a long time. Marco explains this through the story of a child finally reunited with his parents:

[He] was separated from his parents when the parents come to Canada, and then reunited when the parents sponsor the children. And then the social costs of migration kicks in. Suddenly there is a family issue. First there is a honeymoon period for two months. Suddenly they start fighting, then there is family problems. One of the children left. This one particular child became involved in gangs, as in a gun runner and drug dealer. (Marco, Philippines, INGO representative-Canada)

The social effect is also felt on family members left behind. When I was in Nepal, I had a conversation with two women who had husbands working abroad. One explains:

He didn't tell me he applied. He just told me the day he got the visa [for Dubai]. I was pregnant at that time and I couldn't work so anyways we needed money. If husband wants to go he must take his wife also. It is very difficult to stay behind. Children have problems. My son has only stayed with his father for five months within seven years. (Binita, Nepalese, wife of low-paid guest worker)

Yet it is the financial, the economic transformation of self and family many discussions focus on in regards to regulating temporary guest workers in high-income countries. And workers themselves also speak of these financial benefits for their families, which are tied to themselves as a worker abroad living without them:

We work for our family, even if we get sick it's worth it. Every single hour is worth it. You always convert to Filipino pasos in your mind. I'm working in Tim Hortons and we are not used to calling in sick. It's always a dollar a dollar. That's why they like hours. Workers want more hours, more hours. I've worked 120 hours in two weeks. My boss is bugging me: "How can you work this much?" Because you are broke you gotta go [to work]. At least if my

money went directly to me for [health] insurance then that would be for myself. I've never had that. (Jennie, Philippines, worker-Canada)

Jennie explained how she had initially seen Canada as a temporary work place for herself, but then changed her mind to try and stay permanently because “if you send money your family gets addicted to that lifestyle. The more money you send, the more their lifestyle changes.” However with this change in lifestyle comes a heavier burden on herself and other foreign workers, who struggle to continue to be the family support, while not being able to be with their family. Sajar (Nepalese), who works in Saudi Arabia explains this: “I was not happy with the money I earned because I could not see my parents or family. Even if they were sick I could not come to Nepal before two years.” In Portugal I met a Nepalese woman with stomach cancer who lived alone in a very small bedroom that fit a bed and a chair with no walking space. I sat on her bed while she spoke on the phone to her husband who was working in Malaysia. She told me their daughter was staying in Nepal with extended family. She continually expressed to my translator her fear of going for surgery alone in Portugal. Back in Nepal, another worker explained to me how both his parents passed away while he was working abroad.

With the increase in money for some workers, comes a social impact, not only on the worker, but on their family. This social impact is not something that can be measured with numbers and compensated for with money. Allowing family reunification for only highly paid workers is oppressive and discriminatory. It is based on the neoliberal understanding that you did not prove yourself good enough to earn the right to be with your family. It does not take into account the differences in power between high-income countries and low-income countries or who can afford a good education and/or who is connected to people in power.

The transformation of family involving a guest worker alone abroad and the family depending on monthly remittances is more complex than this research is able to present. However it is important to understand this transformation includes mental, emotional and social adaptation. Trying to adapt to fit into the system involves some form of family separation. With their experiences working abroad and navigating systems in order to earn a livelihood, workers shared their advice for potential low-paid guest workers, answering the question: is it worth transforming yourself to fit into the neoliberal system?

7.1.2 *Is It Worth Becoming a Neoliberal Global Citizen?*

Is it worth adapting to the system of working abroad? Karan (India, worker-Dubai) is the perfect economic example of a low-paid guest worker who proves you can succeed. You can *become part of the system* and as Freire (2000) would see it: join the oppressors. Karan (India) started as a toilet cleaner in Dubai and ten years later he is now the all airport cleaning manager. However, Karan only recommends others to work abroad *if* they have a reliable connection: “It is not possible now. I am telling you. It is not possible. If you have some person you know better with higher position, then only you can go.”

Almost all workers with experience in the Gulf, Asia and Europe repeated Karan’s advice and did not recommend future workers to come. It is important to note that these workers were either from Nepal or India. A common theme across both the Gulf and Europe was learning the value of money, of family and of belonging. Badir (Nepalese, worker-United Kingdom) explicitly stated: “That is the money life, no family life, no social life.” Workers from Saudi Arabia and Portugal recommended people to make a small amount of money in Nepal to be happy: “It will be better to work in your own country and maybe a small amount of money will make you happy” (Bikesh, Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia). Rohini (Nepalese, worker-Portugal) explains this more thoroughly:

Rohini: If I stay in Nepal, I have a house, I have land, I have a family, I have a place, everything. That time I earn 10,000 or 15,000 Nepalese rupees [approximately 100 to 150 USdollars]. But now I earn about 1 lakh Nepalese Rupees (approximately 1000 USdollars), but I come from another place, he comes from another place, we stay together, but it is not easy to stay in Portugal. If I am in Norway, I earn money maybe 2,000 Euros [approximately 2250 USdollars], but I am not happy also there. So that I would said to them. You stay in Nepal. You are happy than another country.

Interviewer: But if you don’t leave Nepal, you don’t get the red passport?

Rohini: You need to change your psychology. The main problem is psychology. Everywhere is same. Education is the same. I push them, you don’t need to change your nationality. It is not good. You need to change your psychology.

After deciding to go to Europe to try and save money for himself and his family, he stated: “I earn money, but I cannot save.” Based on his experience, his final advice after being in Portugal for four years is:

I started to work in another country, then I lost everything. Now everything goes down, down and down. We need to change children’s psychology. I was happy in Nepal more than here. Everything we have in Nepal. We have garden, we have free everything. If psychologically we

were perfect, then everybody would be happy. Here we wake up at 9 o'clock, 9:30. I wash my face. Then I go to work. 11 hours I come back. How to feel happy?

Min (Nepalese, worker-Portugal), after living in Portugal for seven years and Sweden and Saudi Arabia before that, had a similar reaction to giving advice to Nepalese considering becoming foreign workers:

If you have any opportunity in Nepal you must return back in Nepal. If you don't have any opportunity in Nepal, then stay here. Stay here and fight to survive. It is a really hard life. I don't know now. One restaurant we call it [pause] there are around 50 workers there. I was working there five years. Now I am thinking five years! Really five years! How could I work that long? Really hard life I spent. So who is the guy who arrived in Portugal, if you have an opportunity you must return back.

Min reflects on how he feels he has wasted five years as a piece of labour and he is still struggling. Advice from two workers in Saudi Arabia, was based on the harsh working conditions. They did not want other workers to have to go through what they went through: "They will treat you like dogs, even worse than dogs" (Bikesh, Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia). Aryan (Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia) felt the same: "As far as I have seen I have seen bachelor level students, but still they are working as a toilet cleaner, waiters, dishwashers. It would be better for them not to go there. So you don't get what you are offered unless you have good channels." Again his advice parallels Karan's from the beginning about needing a good connection (referred to as a channel) in order to ensure you will be treated okay. However, every low-paid guest worker's reason for working abroad is based on their own individual context. Some feel they must go work abroad in order to survive. Some of the workers realized this and many recommend going only as a last resort. Dinesh explains how in Saudi Arabia "there is no life", but he goes on to express that "if someone has a big economic problem – he can go. What to do?" In Norway, Yulianna works as a cleaner and came to the conclusion that only really poor people should decide to come to Europe to work:

Yulianna: Some family are not economically strong, so they want to make money. And some are middle class like me. And they want to. And some are rich and they also want to. But it depends.

Interviewer: What advice would you give to the rich?

Yulianna: If they are rich and they want to make money then I think I would suggest them that I think it is the worst idea to work like me. Then I think it is worst. I think even for middle class like me, it is not good. But if they get a job according to their studies, like a professional

job then I think it is nice. But for the poor people I think it is nice. I think they can make some money for themselves and for their family.

This leads to the underlying question of who migrates and why? In Nepal, the INGO program officer states for many Nepalese: "where you have this extreme poverty, people migrate just to survive, so it makes sense to look at it from a larger perspective." With high levels of poverty within a country of high unemployment, the INGO program officer explains how his organization works with other groups to give advice to future guest workers based on survival (or fitting into the system): "The approach that our partners are taking and supporting, is to say that if you want to migrate, make an informed decision and know what you are getting into and how you can take the maximum number of precautions." He explains even with the negative stories circulating in media and communities, people still continue to make the choice/forced choice to work abroad, hoping they can beat the system. However, sometimes they end up in a different job than the one they applied for and they "are not in a position to renegotiate or say they were promised this job. They are just there to make whatever money they can to come back."

In the end, an employer that was recruiting workers in Kathmandu for his company in Dubai, summarized the path of working abroad: working in very hard conditions to make as much money as you can, to ultimately transform your own and your family's monetary standard of living, which parallels Ruhs' (2013) arguments. The employer states:

Only go if you want to work 12 to 15 hours a day, because you are gonna have to work that extra shift to double up your money. So be prepared to work nine hours, but want another six. Be prepared to do that six days a week. And then you will make money, because you will save. And you really got to show the employers you are smart. It is a really hard road to hoe, but you can make it there, but you really have to be exceptional. They will be put in a position where they will have enough money – it might take them five years or ten years, but they will one day have enough money...But [again] it is a hard road to hoe, because they are immigrants going to another country. And Muslims won't treat them nicely. Indians won't treat them nicely. Nobody's going to treat them nicely. (Patrick, New Zealand, employer-Dubai)

Each worker must decide if it is worth spending five or ten years away from their home in harsh working conditions. Ruhs (2013) explains, because workers still decide to tolerate these conditions and further, "pay substantial recruitment fees and other costs to move to these countries in order to improve their incomes as well as raise the living standards of their families" (p. 128), leads to the underlying answer: maybe it *is* worth it for them because they

even pay money for the opportunity to work abroad. He concludes, based on this understanding that it should be okay to limit some rights in order for more workers to get the opportunity to work abroad. The question that is missing is: what are the power dynamics involved that put workers in a situation where they feel they must make this 'choice'?

The temporary workers in Canada that were interviewed were from the Philippines and Pakistan. They, in contrast, encouraged future workers to go to Canada:

If there is an opportunity to come here, you have to grab it. Sometimes you cannot come here for yourself, but for your family. The only reason people work overseas is because of family. Even though you are far from your family, it is still worth it...You see the difference in lifestyle back in the Philippines, even a single laptop makes. (Jennie, Philippines, worker-Canada)

Jennie is working for her mother, siblings and nephews. Amir (Pakistan) and Jason (Philippines) both have spouses and children in their home countries. They specifically recommend future workers to come to Canada, not just for earning a higher income, but for the possibility of gaining the freedom of mobility. Amir (Pakistan) explains:

Definitely for coming to Canada it is very good. I love this country. There are lots of opportunities. You earn better. The lifestyle changes. It is not only a one person thing. Back home people, one person came, the whole family life changes. You understand. One person earns good money, sends a little back home, whatever the debts, whatever the things change. They eat better food, they have a good living standard. They can do the things what they can't do before. So, that person also working, making his life and also helping to the others as well. So if someone wants to come here, why suggest him not to come here? I have to suggest him to come here man. Are you serious, you have to come here to support your family, to grow yourself. If you got the permanent residency tomorrow your kid has to be Canadian. He can go to US, he can go to Europe. He can go to anywhere and study and make his future good. I really, when I was young, I wanted to do the Masters in England. I wanted to do the studies in USA, but I couldn't. But when you are here, not the difficult thing. Buy the ticket, go to the university and study. Things are easy. Even the money is not a problem. Go to the bank: "let's see your Canadian passport." We just give you the loan. Just go study man. And if you study definitely you get a good job and you can pay back and you can start your life.

Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada) speaks similarly about seeing Canada as a place to migrate to that allows family reunion: "I still encourage them to come. It is a good country. If they can migrate here and bring their family." However, one month after being interviewed Jason was denied his visa and was essentially told to leave. As said earlier, through Amir's experience, the hope to bring one's family may only stay at a hope, and not make reality.

In comparison to the workers in Europe and Asia, the workers in Canada seemed to still encourage people abroad to come. However, the nationalities of these workers are different from the workers interviewed in Europe and the Gulf/Asia region, which adds to different contexts in home countries. Overall, specifically in terms of the GCE theme of transforming injustices, the knowledge all guest workers want to give to other guest workers, across all regions, is neoliberal. Almost all the advice was about self-transformation, about navigating a system in order to either make money for family in the Gulf and Asia or to make the immigrant dream a reality in Europe and Canada, where one can become like other red passport holders. Or it was about the psychological self-transformation to stay at home and value a family and social life over a monetary one. It was not about changing the system. The resistance to the system was expressed through an individual psychological transformation, to learn to be happy with less money.

Overall, the workers in the Gulf region shared their development of skills while working abroad which lead to their ability of taking higher positions and salaries within a company. In Norway and Portugal all the workers expressed no work related development. They all were more concerned about keeping their jobs in the food or cleaning industry. The motivation in Canada to become skilled is much more intense than in Europe, as this is the pathway to permanent residency. However, in Portugal, the path to permanent residency and the red passport is to just prove you have been working and paying tax. It does not matter the job. However, in Portugal and Norway, there is a language barrier for many workers and a more competitive job market. In Norway, the undocumented workers are there to survive. During my time in Portugal, two of the participants were looking for a new job as they were laid off from their previous one. Most workers are focused on keeping their current job or finding a job with better working conditions, instead of navigating the system to find a skilled job. Workers that were interviewed spoke of having the standard minimum salaries, but were still expected to do extra hours of work unpaid.

As discussed earlier, in Canada temporary foreign workers have to find ways to move from a low-skilled job to a skilled job in order to apply for permanent residency. The three workers I interviewed were able to navigate the system and move up to a skilled job within the food industry. However, even with this climb, wages were not increased. As explained earlier, employers take advantage of the fact that low-paid guest workers need a skilled job on paper and will work for whatever wage they can get in exchange for this paperwork. Even with the

ascension to a skilled job, it is not a one hundred percent guarantee that a worker will be granted the paperwork to stay or bring family, as in the cases of Jason and Amir. Therefore, self-transformation in Canada is focused on navigating the immigration system to become a skilled worker in order to stay. Self-transformation in Portugal is also about navigating immigration, but its focus is to keep a job in order to stay. Language skills were also repeatedly explained as important to help fit into the system. Self-transformation in the Gulf and Taiwan, was about learning to work hard in difficult conditions. In comparison to Canada and Europe, the participants in the Gulf region and Taiwan expressed a higher sense of dignity through learning within their companies.

The power dynamics present leave little room for workers to feel comfortable politically organizing against a system where their families' lives rely on them in their home country and with no government welfare systems to support them if they lose their jobs and have to leave. With limited rights, and the local and global power dynamics involved, workers gave few examples of trying to change the system, or being a radical global citizen.

7.2 Radical Global Citizenship: Changing Systems

I guess what sustains me is that I know that over the last eight, nine years I have been able to help people. So there are people I know that are now in Canada as permanent residents doing well because I helped them. But that's a band-aid approach. My goal was to make the system better. To hopefully change things on a more global basis, not just help out a limited number of people and I think the opposite has happened. I think things are much worse. (Labour Lawyer, Canada)

Working within the system to help individual people in, is the basis of the neoliberal model: keeping the system the same. A radical model is standing up to change the power dynamics of the system, which can be quite overwhelming when a system is so large, it goes beyond one's local community, city, district and country. A radical global citizen "calls people to action against global institutions" (Shultz, 2007, p. 254). However, many people do not have the privilege of feeling safe in just challenging local structures. This is the case for many low-paid guest workers, because they have very limited rights to begin with in their working countries, plus their families are relying on them. They do not have laws to protect them and are worried about being deported back home where many cannot earn a livelihood. This was briefly reflected on earlier, with the implicit or explicit oppression workers feel in Europe/Canada and the Gulf/Asia respectively.

Most workers when asked if they ever complained, just specifically responded that they could not. As stated earlier Saroj (Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia) explains how he felt unsafe raising his voice in regards to his own injustice as well as others:

As I saw them beaten and tortured, I could not help them. If I tried to help them I would be imprisoned and tortured. If I was in Nepal I could have helped them. But I could not and I had to sit and watch them being tortured.

In Portugal, Yuraj (Nepalese) also specifically states how some Portuguese treat workers like dogs and take advantage of their limited rights by making them work longer hours without paying them. Yuraj was asked if he ever complained or what workers could do to make things easier. He responded: “We cannot. How can we?” As discussed earlier, Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada) stated he could not complain in Taiwan and promised not to complain in Canada. Amir (Pakistan) spoke specifically about not having the safety to complain in Canada:

This is how the system goes. We can't say anything. If we say something, it might get the bad impact on us. That is the thing. Most of the people who complained about last year and whatever happened, at the end of the day they made it bad for others... Somebody complained that this person is bad, this person is bad. Not everybody is bad, but the government changed the rules for everyone, not the specific people who did the bad thing. Who is affected? Everybody who is working as a TFW.

Amir is specifically referring to complaints that were made to the Canadian government about abusive employers of the temporary foreign worker program by some fast food companies. After these complaints were made public, the government issued a moratorium on processing new and pending permits in the fast food industry to foreign workers. The moratorium resulted in a large number of foreign workers unemployed and in limbo, not sure if they were allowed to stay in Canada or not, especially because their options for looking for other work are limited due to their visas tied to their fast food employers. This situation, of course, causes stress on their families back in their home countries. As well, the fact that working visas are tied to one employer, creates an environment where guest workers do not feel safe complaining about their employers. This is because if their workplace becomes under inspection due to possible abusive practices, the workers may lose their jobs and would legally have to go back home or somehow find a new employer willing to hire them and get all the bureaucratic paperwork done for them in time for them to legally stay.

In Saudi Arabia, Bikesh tried to complain and just gave up in the end:

The company promised me 900 [Riyal, approximately 250 USdollars] salary per month, but I only got 650 [Riyal, approximately 175 USdollars]...They told me duty would be for eight hours a day, but I worked for 14 hours a day and it was very hot...I complained about the problem of salary to the embassy and they told me to be happy with the salary I was offered. They did not listen... After I complained to the embassy they told me to be satisfied for what I got for a salary, so I did not try to make the situation better. I didn't try to complain to any other people. I just gave up. (Bikesh, Nepalese, worker-Saudi Arabia)

The INGO program officer of the Asia region explained how many embassy officials have the mentality that low-paid guest workers chose to work abroad, so any problem is the workers' problem: "you came here, nobody told you to come here." This reasoning tied to agency, is also used by Ruhs (2013) to discuss why it is morally okay to restrict some rights of workers. It is very difficult to radically push oppressive systems to change, when workers do not feel safe to complain about any injustice they feel or if their complaints are not listened to by the very people who are supposed to represent their rights abroad. As well, embassies, have pressure to "maintain amicable relations with the host country" (INGO representative, Gulf/Asia region) and therefore do not want to forcibly demand rights for workers because they do not want to be on the receiving country government's bad side.

Perhaps the most significant radical piece shared was by the INGO program officer of the Gulf and Asia region. He explained how his organization is working with partners across the region in order to bring workers' stories to the forefront of global labour migration forums. He explains the complexity in trying to radically transform these systems of oppression, focused on economics, and led by high-income countries:

There was a commission once in 2005, which was a global commission on international migration, and Kofi Annan said we have to look at international migration. They put a few experts together and they wrote a few very good papers and then this thing was hijacked a year later when governments said this is very interesting but we do not like this to be under the offices of the UN. We would like this to be a government led process because we have a stake in this and so on. So since then it has been a rotating event every couple of years that gets hosted by different governments. And over the years, our partners have been trying, together with other networks of migrants and NGOs, to organize parallel events and to be part of the official events also that go on, to say look, it is all very well for governments to sit together and talk about this, but you often do not look at the concerns of migrants and migrants rights and especially those migrants who we are speaking for, who are working at these lower skilled jobs. Because, what a lot of governments in the developed world are looking at is migration of highly skilled professionals, because they are looking at what are the demands of our economy. So Germany needs doctors, nurses and accountants. So those are the kinds of people to whom they are willing to issue work permits. But please do not give us any people who don't have a school education.

He explains how the understanding of migration in North America and Europe is arrogant, where people feel migration needs to be managed based on making sure people do not stay. The debate centers around people saying: “[We] cannot have all these asylum seekers and all these migrants coming and staying here. We want people to come, learn something and then go back home and improve their own society.” The program officer reflects on this as “a very paternalistic way of looking at things. It does not take into consideration at all, what is the actual situation in the sending countries.” He explained how over the last 15 years or so, North America and Europe have done what is best for themselves, managing migration and moving skilled professionals where they want them. Low-income sending countries at this time “just took everything that was given to them, and did not look at the impacts on the rights of their people.” He further explains how his organization is working towards pressuring governments of sending countries to take a stand against high-income countries that ‘regulate’ or recycle their people for work. They are pushing the discussion at UN events and the global forums making sure there is a voice for low-paid guest workers, who otherwise do not get represented:

Now you have more of a movement recently driven by countries like the Philippines who have been in it for a long time, Bangladesh, to some extent Nepal, and our partners are trying to push them to be more vocal, and say “Look if we are talking about migration and development, we also have to talk about what is your social safety net for migrants. Can we talk about the minimum wage? Can we talk about having standard contracts for migrants in your countries? How can they access legal help if they are getting exploited in your country?” Those things are now becoming more part of the discussion.

He further explains the power dynamics that are putting even more pressure on future guest workers, as aid is being cut, because governments and international organizations feel remittances sent back from workers abroad allow for a new form of ‘development aid.’ However, most of the money being sent back home is for household expenses. Workers are not able to invest in development infrastructure of their home country. This is tied to the fact that very poor people are migrating: “in parts of Nepal where you only have food security for five or six months of the year if you are lucky... people migrate and send money home so they can buy food or repair roof, or send their kids to school for another couple of months.” High-income countries not only use people from low-income countries for (cheap) labour, but now use this system as an excuse to save themselves money and cut aid spending. This INGO tries to link migrant workers in Malaysia to the trade union movement there. They also link workers and sending governments across the region to learn from each other’s experiences.

For example, at the time of the interview, the organization had just funded workers originally from Nepal and the Philippines, to go to Myanmar and speak to the government there about their experiences as low-paid guest workers.

In Canada, I attended a meeting with a coalition of organizations and people working together regarding temporary foreign worker issues. I listened to some members share a story of going to a politician's office with a foreign worker to discuss the worker's unjust circumstances. They said the politician's first response was: "Are you a voter?" Once it was stated that he was not, the politician was not interested. Having the right to vote is linked to citizenship status, which can be viewed as the ultimate invitation to belong. Without this right, in this case, people are not 'of worth' to be listened to.

The meeting discussion moved towards brainstorming what would be the best way to approach politicians to politically affect change for the abuses and oppression that surrounds low-paid guest workers. One conversation revolved around trying to get past workers involved that now have their permanent residence. However, they still cannot vote. And at the same time, many fear being part of anything controversial could affect their applications for citizenship. Then the conversation led to asking citizens themselves, but the general feelings from citizens include anger or charity towards these workers. Anger in the sense that they feel guest workers are stealing their jobs and charity in the sense that they feel working for low wages with fewer rights, is *at least* helping these workers get out of poverty, just as Ruhs (2013) argues. The charity approach is also normally linked to a territorial one, where "it is okay for them to work here, but they should go back home after they make some money for themselves and their families." The conversation then led to partnering with unions, but they also have territorial feelings, where their general message is "yes, migrant workers should be allowed to stay in Canada, but, Canadians first" because again, unions are mainly made up of Canadian citizens and it is their job to defend the jobs of their union members.

So how do you create transformation for people that are not citizens in the country they are working and living in, are not able to sustain themselves in their country of citizenship, and are used by international big business as global labour, ultimately not belonging anywhere? How can they fight to globally belong?

7.3 Transformationalist Global Citizenship: Building Community

The transformationalist framework, is based on building relationships in community. It is based on dialogue and sincere listening, resulting in learning together. This section will focus on relationships across cultures, and between local citizens and foreign workers.

Alongside the difficult and devaluing work many workers are expected to do, is the constant reminder that they are not treated the same as locals. The laws that apply to them are different. For example in regards to different rules, in Taiwan, Jason (Philippines) reflects on the laws that discriminate workers from locals:

Have to follow the rules. Like China – very strict. Even though in our dorm. Rules are very strict. Always a curfew. Be back by 10pm unless you are working. If you cannot go back by 10pm then punishment. After three warnings go back to the Philippines. Same for days off.

Many workers shared stories of how they have felt dehumanized within local citizen communities. In Saudia Arabia, Dinesh and Karan reflect on the problem of being treated differently by the police: “They are asking are you Muslim? No, Hindu. Hindu? Ha! Like this you know. If you are Muslim they will give you respect.” (Dinesh, Nepalese). Karan (India) responds to this statement by Dinesh in saying: “Like I said before – if your name is Mohammed, okay. If your name is Karan – what Karan? Let’s go!” When asked if Dinesh could do anything to make his situation easier, or if he could complain he stated: “Big problem if you complain. Also we are Hindu people. If you are Hindu they are thinking not like man. You birth to do bad work like this. That is their concept.” Their discrimination is based on not belonging through religion.

In the Gulf and Asian countries, most workers are usually completely excluded from local communities, living in separate parts of the city sectioned off as camps and driven to their worksites by busloads every morning and evening, unless they are domestic workers. Many do not feel they can ever belong due to language, religious and cultural differences also tied to the political impossibility of becoming a resident or citizen. This specific interview question regarding advice to locals was not directly asked to people working in these regions. Since workers there are almost completely excluded from local life, asking if they had any advice for locals regarding their situation, seemed both political and naïve, as if I, the researcher, did not realize their circumstances. This is also within a vulnerable atmosphere, where workers were already worried about sharing their experiences in this region. However as shown above some workers openly reflected on how they feel within the local community as did some of the low-paid guest workers in Europe and Canada.

7.3.1 “We are also human”

The main opinions and assumptions about guest workers by local citizens and governments in receiving countries usually fall within three streams: economic, territorial and charitable. Economically, low-paid guest workers are continually seen as temporary replaceable labour, where their rights as human beings can ethically be restricted for economic purposes that benefit the host country, the sending country and the migrant worker themselves (Ruhs, 2013). This feeling of money as the only purpose of their being was continually expressed in interviews. Badir (Nepalese, worker-England) repeated in his interview: “that is the money life.” Some workers described themselves as dogs (Gulf and Europe) or insects (Canada), related to the dehumanization they feel in regards to their labour.

The second main feeling locals have towards guest workers in low-paid jobs is territorial. In many cases workers reflected on how locals are angry with them for stealing their jobs and how some local citizens want them to go home because of this. Lastly, governments, local citizens, international organizations, including the World Bank (World Bank, 2015) as well as academic literature (Ruhs, 2013) see this current labour migration phenomenon as a charitable way for people in poor countries to get themselves out of poverty or the poor circumstances that they have. By *allowing* people from poor countries into their high-income economies, they give them the ‘opportunity’ to help themselves. This apparent act of charity allows governments and individuals to feel that it is okay to restrict the human rights of these workers since they are ‘helping’ them anyways. All three of these reactions to low-paid guest workers are tied to dehumanization, where a human being is treated as an object to be used, not wanted and/or paternalistically ‘helped.’

The understanding of belonging is important to reflect on as it is tied to a feeling of dignity *with others*. In this case, in order to belong, a guest worker should feel the same respect and dignity as a local citizen. Being treated as economic commodities objectifies workers, taking away their thoughts, their feelings, their emotions, their humanness. The sense of dignity taken away by being treated as a temporary ‘low’ piece of an economic system is explained by Amir (Pakistan), working in Canada:

But we are the people as well. At least if someone gives you the time, what you give in return? Only money? From my point of view, everybody is human... At least you have to do something for that people who are already living here. So give some security or something. They are humans as well. They are giving their time. They are serving you food. From every religion, who is serving you food, you have to give respect, from my point of view.

This phrase of wanting to be humanized: “we are people too” or “we are also human” was repeated in other interviews. In Norway, Krishna (Nepalese, undocumented) repeated this phrase over and over: “I am here. I am not a citizen, but I am here. A person, an individual person is here. A human being is here. They have to take care of us.” Wanting to be humanized in Canada, by being treated as a permanent human being of worth other than a replaceable object is reflected on by Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada) through his advice to local Canadians:

Acknowledge our hardship also here and help us stay here. Hope they can understand our situation to stay here on our side. Our situation is very hard if we go home without money... Why not give us a chance? We are already here. They are still recruiting people from outside. Why are we not given a chance here? We already know the place, our work. Our work is not temporary, even if it is low.

By reflecting on being replaceable, he not only sees, but feels how the unequal power distribution in the global economy affects him directly. He is not a human being that is *good enough* to be wanted as a citizen of Canada, but a disposable piece of labour that is sent back and replaced by another person from a low-income country.

7.3.2 “Local people are angry at us”

Another part of the unequal balance of power within low-paid labour migration, is the territorial tension around ‘who is entitled to a job on this land.’ These tensions are evident across Europe and Canada:

Local people is really angry for us... The reason is we come here and we are taking their jobs. They don’t have job here in Portugal. The local people don’t have a job, because we are taking them. They don’t have a job. That is why they are angry... Face to face we respect them and they respect us. We say hello, how are you. But really they are angry inside, because we are coming here. (Min, Nepalese, worker-Portugal)

Min explains that if the government did not regulate illegal people, illegal people would stay there anyways, so he concludes: “Even better regulate and take the tax.” He continued explaining how he believes it is too expensive for the Portuguese government to deport everyone. Yuraj (Nepalese), also working in Portugal explained some of the uncomfortable experiences he has had with local Portuguese citizens:

Maybe six months ago in the night time 10/11 o’clock we were three friends from the train, in the metro... There was one lady (I think Portuguese) sitting on the metro. We were four people and we came there and we sat there. She moved from there. I think she didn’t want to stay

with us. I think our skin different from her. And my friend shouted at her: *we are also human*, why you move from here? We weren't even drunk, we just returned from the work. She didn't respond. She just go far from us. We feel that.

He also told a story of racism illustrating how he felt dehumanized by the local employer at one of his jobs in Portugal:

When I came to Portugal, I started one job in a Portuguese restaurant. There was already one guy from Africa, he worked there very long and I joined with him. We were only two guys in the kitchen. The owner was from Portugal. The owner's wife really bad. She told me directly: "He is from Africa, I don't like him. Then I don't like you, you are from Asia." That is the way people think. She is maybe 55 years old. That level from some people, from here, from Norway, from Holland, they think we are animal. Now new generation maybe changed. Maybe think we are all human.

In contrast, in the UK he explained how he worked alongside Portuguese people in a restaurant together with local citizens from the UK and felt a sense of belonging and humanization:

When I was in London, a lot of Portuguese worked with me. Same Italian restaurant. Girls are waiter, boys are with me in the kitchen. Even I cooked, they washed. They feel you and I are the same. We are equal. Because we work, our values the same now. And they didn't talk like this "You are from Nepal, you go, you bitch." They respect me, I respect them.

Here, the transformation into a feeling of belonging is based on learning and working together, where one race or group of people is not doing 'lower' work than another. This is related to the Contact Hypothesis discussed by Appiah (2008) in regards to working together in an equal environment with a common goal. In Canada, workers also discussed how they developed good relationships with others, within a context where the 'gossip on the street/internet' is that people want them to leave:

I know that there are some people on online, I seen the comments I know that lots of Canadians [think] that we just acquire all the jobs and stuff but I don't believe on this. Really I don't believe on this... I have seven Canadians working in my restaurant. I am the only one working there. They pray for me as I don't worry about that [being forced to leave]: "You don't go anywhere." (Amir, Pakistan, worker-Canada)

Amir concludes: "basically what I have been dealing with, they are good people." Jennie (Philippines, worker-Canada) reflected on how in "whatever country there are good and bad people. Some feel we are stealing their jobs and others don't care." Within these tensions, workers also discussed their growing understanding of different cultures, not only of the culture of their host country, but also with other workers. When asked how she overcame

some of her challenges in Canada, Jennie spoke specifically about the relationships she built that felt like a supportive family:

Friends become family. I met Canadians that became part of my family. Filipinos became part of my extended family. Some individuals do not want to socialize. Before I was only focusing on Filipino friends, then I realize I should go to meet them. Like the United Nations: one Iranian, Pakistani, black, it's cool. Chinese, Vietnamese.

Here, Jennie not only learned with other cultures, but was also able to build relationships, which is the basis of shifting power through community transformation. This leads to understanding across cultures, where people support each other through listening to each other's stories and sharing the challenges they have. These connections create a sense of belonging. By building community, transformational change has already begun. Yuraj (Nepalese, worker-Portugal) talks about how, since his daughter has been born in Portugal, he has found a higher sense of belonging and respect:

Yuraj: Here I feel this is my place now. Because my baby is going to school and I go there sometimes and every child and every parent is there and they ask "how is your baby?" and I ask them "how is your baby? How many months? How many years?" It feels close now.

Interviewer: Are all the other parents Portuguese?

Yuraj: Portuguese, from China, from India, everybody are there... And tomorrow I also will go and it is like friendly. And sometimes my baby is sick and told them yesterday was headache and something. And they say you can go to hospital there. Like this.

A feeling of belonging is based on being allowed to live with one's family, which organically results in building connections with other families in the community. However, as explained earlier, most workers are not given the option to be with family abroad, but just treated as temporary beings, for work. A labour lawyer from Canada explains this: "What you do when you set up a temporary foreign worker program is you set up enclaves, because people have a whole different status. So they are second class citizens. You have automatically set them apart from everybody else." By setting workers apart, a separate community is built, which can be across cultures and identities, but it is limited to only guest workers. Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada) spoke about living with Vietnamese workers in Taiwan and learning about their culture. Karan (India), built community with his co-workers in Dubai during and after he climbed up within his company:

Every time I am complaining food is not good. After that one, two year I realize. I went inside the mess hall. But the problem is – I am from India, my friend is Pakistani, Nepalese, Sri

Lankan, Thailand, Uganda. Everybody is there. You cannot make separate food for everybody. There is general food for everybody. You cannot find the perfect taste for each nationality. So the items are all fresh items. The food preparation is one Indian cook and one Pakistani cook only. Some use spicy things, some not. That is where the problem will come. Now that I got the post, we are sitting in the operational meeting. I was the one that told, if we have this kind of nationality, we can hire that kind of nationality chef in our company. And he can provide each nationality-wise food. Now we have total seven nationality chefs are there.

Karan, out of respect for the community he worked with, made an effort to try to change the system in order to make it more inclusive. However, building community cannot just occur within this second class enclave. It must be with locals in a respectful dialogue, developing trust and ultimately transforming others, self, and community, which leads to the transformation of oppressive systems.

7.3.3 Building Community with Locals: Moving Away from Individualism

Religious institutions have always been meeting places for many people to find support. In South Korea, Suman (Nepalese) told a story about a local pastor helping guest workers: “To every people he used to help them. After that they used to go to the shelter at the church and the pastor used to interview them and get every information from them and he used to fight for them.” In the end, the pastor fought for workers to receive their provident (or pension) funds after leaving their job, as many workers were not aware of their rights to this money. In Canada, a labour lawyer explained how her ten year journey advocating for low-paid guest worker rights started when a church contacted her to help some workers:

I used to be a volunteer for the community legal centre. I have been since they pretty much started. I was kind of their labour person at that point. A Romanian orthodox priest came into the office and said I have these welders from Romania who are getting screwed around. They need help. So the director phoned me up because she thought I’d know something. Those were my first TFW clients. That was 2006. That was when the program really started taking off and there were some unscrupulous people. Some recruiter guy went to Romania, he is from Ontario, and recruited all these trades people ... So he brought them over and they were supposed to be making 24 bucks an hour. The guys he brought over were machinists and were getting paid 14 bucks an hour and he was skimming money off the top.

In both of these cases, workers found trust in a local community church, where they felt welcome and safe to tell their stories. This led to action on their behalf, which not only affects them, but can set standards for other workers.

In Norway, I was connected with a union worker who had a compassionate reputation in the community. His reputation is what leads many workers in fearful situations to come to him for help. He explains one story, amongst many, he cannot forget:

A person told me about how he was threatened in his work. He told me about lack of payment, working nearly 24 hours every day and so on. I told him he had nothing to lose. But the next day when I went to work in the morning he stayed outside the door and he was in bad condition because he had been so nervous about telling me and he was afraid that I had gone further with the information. He had thought about this since the day I met him the day before. So he cried in a kind of fear that I shouldn't have told anything to other people. (Geir, Norwegian, union representative-Norway)

Geir says he finds himself as a filter for many workers, where the worker wants to tell someone their story, but then does not want him to do anything. This puts Geir in a difficult situation and proves how important a sense of community support is, especially outside of the 'low-paid guest worker enclave.' Geir and the labour lawyer in Canada both shared many cases that they worked on helping guest workers. And story after story builds up. Both, when asked about their biggest challenge, responded that things are getting worse and no one seems to care. When asked what local Canadians can do in regards to temporary foreign worker issues, the labour lawyer sighed: "Everybody says 'Oh that's terrible. That's terrible' and then they don't do anything." Geir said the same about local Norwegians: "People must care for other people because we are so (pause) I think everything is so concentrated about ourselves." The labour lawyer elaborated on this individualism tied to capitalism:

We have been brainwashed into believing now, if you are not making it, it is your fault. And that is part of neoliberalism: this emphasis on individualism. So you isolate people. If you are falling down and poverty stricken, well you obviously screwed up. So we have lost that sense of community. That has fallen apart. So you get the cultural enclaves, because we don't have that multicultural community anymore. That whole concept seems to be disappearing.

Geir, spoke about what he says to many local people in Norway:

The main thing I tell them is that you have to care about people. You have to care about people that are working. From your working place for example there is a cleaner, ask he or her how are you? Are your conditions ok? Ask people and care about people because the next one to you could be a person that is abused and you can't see it.

A worker, cannot just be greeted and smiled to. They must feel a sense of community as well. Geir explains one particular case, representative of many, where a worker was being exploited and no one at the workplace realized it:

I tell them when I meet them: Do you know her? She has been cleaning for you for several months. Do you remember her? “Oh yes,” they say: “I remember her and she was so nice and she was so excellent in her work.” And then I tell yes, but the problem is that she has not gotten paid anything when she was working for this firm. Then I tell them which firm she is working, which is not similar to the firm that they have contracted and that is often [due to subcontracts]. And they are always astonished by this, but one thing that is so usual is that they tell me that these people are so nice, they are so clever in their work and I tell them that they do not have any choice. They have to be very kind. Their work has to be excellent, because if there is something that they get a complaint for then they lose everything.

This education needed for locals to move from a private individualism to caring for others is difficult with the NIMBY life many people live, where people just live in their own private bubbles. The question here is how can education to build community be taught to people with red passports (or people with power)? Madhu (Kenya, community organizer-Canada) gives a simple message to people based on the same advice as the labour lawyer in Canada and Geir:

Take the hand of one person...if each one of us became the mentor the carer the supporter of one, amazing what a difference it makes. My husband has gained a huge friendship with [John], an undocumented worker. Because he has said that I can't change the world for everybody, but I can be there for [John].

Madhu shared a piece of her migrant experience of belonging, when her family moved to England from Kenya over 40 years ago: “[Our home] became the reception unit for a lot of people that came from Kenya – family and friends. In fact at one point our neighbours reported us as a guesthouse because we would have so many people coming.” Her family’s relationship with local neighbours was distant: “Mrs. N lived next door to us for 47 years. Never ever invited into her home. We would have great fence conversations.” In her current home in Canada, she told a story that happened a week before the interview, where her sewage backed up and she could not use her toilet. She had been living in her home for 25 years and had no neighbour she felt comfortable asking to use their toilet. So she went to the local gas station during the day. She summarized these two stories as “the malaise of the west”:

And it’s a malaise of individualism, family centred i.e. singular family centric society. When we were in Kenya, we were poor. We were church mice beyond poor. But I still have huge memories about how everybody in the neighbourhood knew when different peoples wages were coming in and when the low time i.e. when they wouldn’t have enough money to buy food was going to be. And that family in that week everybody would bring some food to and then you rotated. Huge community support systems that urbanization, thivalist, capital oriented societies don’t have.

It is important to distinguish here between a relationship based on charity and dignity. Dignity is when *both* sides or *all* sides feel ‘of worth,’ not just one side giving or teaching another side. Marco (Philippines, INGO organizer-Canada) discusses his challenges of charity-based mindsets with local citizens in Canada:

The challenge with organizing along with migrant advocates here in Canada, is really getting that whole charity mindset out of peoples head...get that whole individualist ‘me’ mindset out of people, where it is not about you, it is not about the dollar that you give or the time that you provide; it is how my struggle is linked to your struggle as a working class here. That is the challenge for me.

He further describes how this means: “being part of their day-to-day lives. Not being in a meeting, not being in every meeting. Being part.” He explains how being sincerely part of people’s lives, or building community, is important to break down barriers and build trust. Building community is about respectful belonging. It is not charity. It is not transactional. It is about truly wanting to learn from each other and build a better society together.

7.4 GCE: Expanding on a Framework of Transformation

Shultz’s (2007) GCE framework, outlining the neoliberal, radical and transformationalist approaches states that these three approaches “function in isolation from one another and can be understood as counterproductive in engaging people as global citizens, particularly the neoliberal approach as compared with the radical and transformationalist positions” (p. 256). However, the stories shared from this research demonstrate that all the above approaches are used at the same time, by low-paid guest workers and the people advocating beside them.

Shultz’s framework, is specific to educational policy development. This research is specific to informal adult learning of a globally oppressed group of people navigating the global labour market. It is about the realities of global oppression outside the classroom. It ties together the stories of people with less power, without red passports, from low-income countries, fighting to survive, build relationships and question the oppressive system they are living in. For example, Karan’s story (India, worker-Dubai) of navigating the hierarchy of work in Dubai, to building relationships with the people he works with, demonstrates navigation across neoliberal, radical and transformationalist approaches. He visits workers in hospitals when they are sick, knowing they do not have family with them. He advocated to change the system in their mess hall so workers can eat food from their home. Even though he is not

changing/advocating against global systems of oppression as outlined in the radical global citizenship frame, he is changing systems to benefit others and not only himself. This is based on the relationships he built with his coworkers. Furthermore, he understands the growing global power structures in place, and advises students wanting or needing to work abroad to go as an absolute last resort, unless they have reliable connections.

Community actors also work across all these areas. The labour lawyer from Canada and the union worker from Norway both have helped many workers navigate the system for permanent residency and for their rights at the same time as educating not only workers about their rights, but locals about the oppressive system. They have built relationships across both groups of people and continually make connections within the community. The labour lawyer told stories about how her relationship with workers does not just end at the end of their case, but she meets them at Christmas, invites their families to her home and continues to build community. Here, it is about survival within the system at the same time as trying to change the system through dialogue, advocacy and building relationships.

Organizations involved in migrant communities also navigate these different lenses. For example, the INGO representatives interviewed in Canada and Nepal, shared how they not only educate low-paid guest workers about rights and how to survive and fit into the system, but also build relationships in communities and challenge global, national and local systems. For example, the temporary foreign worker coalition in Alberta, Canada started with this particular INGO joining with a union to act politically, but also build community between foreign workers and local Canadians. In Nepal, this particular INGO is building connections amongst workers in home countries as well as working countries. Plus it is putting pressure at global forums on migration and development.

All these three lenses of how to view transformational change, need to work in tandem, because as explained through all the experiences and knowledge from the participants of this research, workers and community actors are navigating through them all. People need to: a) survive within global systems (neoliberal) in order to have the capacity to transform; b) be frustrated with institutions of power (radical) in order to passionately engage in change; and c) be supported (transformationalist) by local communities in order to not give up and learn *with others* to restore the dignity and humanity of all people.

8 Conclusion

This final chapter intertwines the threads of the stories shared in this study in order to understand what being a global citizen means in today's world, particularly for the increasing number of people who are becoming guests in different lands, "invited" to come work for low wages. This study's overall focus is on how low-paid guest workers' experiences relate to the three central themes of GCE. These themes are rooted in learning about the meaning of humanization and in exploring practices that transform dehumanization. At the core of humanization and GCE is the feeling of belonging, the sense of dignity that comes from the respect of others, no matter where we may be. This study's underlying reflection is about just that: what global belonging can and cannot feel like.

The global citizenship knowledge these workers gain through their journeys includes: learning to navigate their way across borders in spite of their limited mobility rights; learning about different governments' systems and structures, and in turn, learning about what rights they have and what rights they do not have; learning how systems are used against them, but also learning how to use these same systems to their own advantage; and ultimately learning about living with *others*: other guests and local people. In conclusion, how does their *global citizenship knowledge* contribute to the understanding of GC and GCE?

8.1 Learning to Become a 'Full' Global Citizen

The journey of all low-paid guest workers in this study is grounded in a search for freedom. This freedom is for themselves and their families and is based on two levels. The first level is freedom built on the hope of education. In every interview, parents or family members repeated over and over again that they were working abroad in order to pay for school fees. Participants continually expressed feelings of hope for their sons and daughters or their nieces and nephews or their brothers and sisters: hope for the freedom that education promises. Hoping like most people in a generation ahead, that the next generation will have an easier life.

However, the cycle of working abroad, living without family in order to financially support one's family, is already starting to repeat itself. Jason (Philippines, worker-Canada), is repeating the same story of his father who supported him through school while working in Saudi Arabia. Jason now supports his three children at school, first by working in Taiwan, and

then Canada. Now he has to leave Canada, most likely for a new country. Did Jason's education that his father worked so hard for, help him gain a sense of freedom? Jason has a degree in electrical engineering. This led him to Taiwan to work and eventually to become a supervisor in an electrical factory. However, his application for Canada had nothing to do with his education, as he applied to be a kitchen helper. As he washes away his education, the question to be asked is: will his children do the same?

The second level of freedom expressed in this study is the freedom of global mobility, which is linked to global respect. For workers in Canada and Europe, the journey to freedom is not only about sustaining families back home and supporting family members in school, but also about finding a way to acquire the red passport. For many like Jason, education is tossed aside in order to find a way to navigate the neoliberal system for the red passport. Acquiring the red passport means gaining global respect. Ironically, a loss of dignity occurs in the process. This loss of dignity is a result of the type of low-paid work one has to do. Jason was forced to abandon his electrical engineering career for the hope of the red passport in Canada. Yulianna stopped in the middle of her Bachelor's degree in Nepal in order to move to Norway to be a cleaner. Nepalese workers, graduates from European universities navigate borders and different government systems, while working in restaurants or cleaning in order to try and get the red passport. Most Nepalese people in Europe feel the journey is not worth it. Yulianna only believes it is worth it for poor people. Almost all workers in the Gulf, South Korea and Taiwan also did not recommend workers to come.

However, the first main difference between the Gulf, East and Southeast Asia, Europe and Canada is that workers in the Gulf and Taiwan while expressing feelings of dehumanization, also expressed feelings of worth based on new skills learnt and respect earned in their companies. Stories of learning new skills that were 'of worth' were not expressed in South Korea, Europe or Canada. The second major difference between the regions is that the journey to become a full global citizen in Canada and Europe is based on the red passport, which is not part of the journey for those working in the Gulf or East and Southeast Asia.

The ultimate goal of obtaining the red passport, gives people and their families the option of learning in different places and in different cultures, formally and/or informally. This links both levels of freedom: education and mobility. Therefore, full GC is about the freedom of global mobility, which leads to the freedom of global learning *with others*, almost anywhere.

Corporations, instead of countries, now seem to have the power, albeit unofficially, to choose who is worthy of the red passport and thereby full GC, because they are the ones who decide whom they want to sponsor to bring across borders. The understanding of citizenship is shifting away from building a community that works together into building workforces specifically based on economic projects. This leads to people being treated as objects. One way of making sure people can continue to be used (or dehumanized) for profit or economic gain is by limiting their global mobility. A historical perspective aids in understanding why these power dynamics exist. Potts (1990) specifically describes the shifting of systems over the centuries to transport people, which were and are created in order to maintain labour power.

Some people are working to change this dehumanization, based on world power dynamics. However, transformation of dehumanization is defined differently by different people. Many workers are trying to adapt and fit into the system. Many local people as well as employers believe this is 'helping' guest workers help themselves. Freire (2000) states that for many people who are oppressed, their liberation is understood as becoming part of the upper hierarchy of the system that oppressed them to begin with, and further oppresses others. For workers in this study too, their escape from dehumanization will be effected by fitting into the system and so becoming part of it; in other words, by moving up the ladder of their company abroad and/or obtaining the red passport. However, if the transformation journey only includes this approach, the journey has been individualistic and therefore neoliberal.

In order to truly change the system of oppression: "people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action, they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" (Freire, 2000, p. 47). A fuller humanity is based on the humanization of both the oppressed and the oppressor (for the oppressor is also dehumanized as he/she dehumanizes others). In order for this to happen, a critical pedagogy is required, where people learn from each other in dialogue, reflecting on power structures and humanization. This dialogue must exist within an understanding of community, of global citizenship, where we recognize each other with dignity, as equal beings, with equal rights and freedoms.

Within a growing economically centered world, a critical discussion is needed on the dehumanization of guest workers, especially those who have been displaced for the long term from their homes, communities and countries. This conversation cannot centre on remittances

and economics, but must include what it means to belong and be treated with dignity. The red passport, for many people, is the true sign of global citizenship and global respect, an illustration of how “the mark of the excluded in [this] era of time/space compression is *immobility*” (Bauman, 1990, p. 113).

8.2 Collecting Global Citizenship Knowledge: A Framework

Low-paid guest workers informally understand global and local systems, and their power dynamics. They have experienced real feelings of exclusion and inclusion through learning how to live within different cultures. And they have traveled globally. If GCE is becoming measurable, would they be given a passing grade for their *global citizenship knowledge*?

This research project is based on presenting the realities and learning that occur outside the classroom based on knowledge creation in community. It is meant to add to the discussions of GC and GCE, by bringing in stories and perspectives of what GC essentially means to a globally marginalized and dehumanized group of people. It also is about seeing GCE as the sharing of knowledge outside the classroom.

Andreotti et al. (2012) in *Imagining Global Citizenship Otherwise* discuss the importance of emphasizing “the gifts and limitations of every knowledge system.” Andreotti et al.’s understanding of GCE, is not about teaching others in order to eliminate ignorance, but about learning about one’s own ignorance. It is about humbly realizing that every person’s knowledge is insufficient, because it represents the ignorance of other people’s knowledge in other contexts. Andreotti et al. (2012) state that this creates the conditions for “humility, mutuality, reciprocity and solidarity necessary for an ethical project of global citizenship education” (p. 236). In this research, the *global citizenship knowledge* or *global citizenship stories* from low-paid guest workers are told in order to inform, reflect on, and connect with the stories/knowledge of others. This is a move away from a one direction of measurement and approval towards a plural understanding of knowledge creation, based on people in relationship with each other and the world.

Future studies based on sharing *global citizenship knowledge* outside classrooms could critique and expand on GCE themes of learning together in community and in the world. In particular, future studies of low-paid labour migration within a GC, GCE and GCK context, could include bringing together the experiences, perspectives and stories of local people (both

indigenous and nonindigenous) sharing global space within the growing system of migration and citizenship based on economics.

8.3 Guests in Another's Home or Dehumanized Objects for Profit?

In most, if not all, major religious and cultural philosophies, the notion of a 'guest' carries with it an obligation to provide a very generous hospitality; it is: “about welcoming, inviting and reverence” (Madhu, Kenya, organizer-Canada). Madhu reflects on what guests meant to her and her family growing up:

I was brought up with the system that a guest was a personification of a visit from god. Throughout my childhood, we would eat less or nothing when we had guests visiting, because they were to be fed first because they represented that philosophy of absolute hospitality.

How can this understanding of ‘others’ be incorporated into teaching what it means to be a global citizen? And therefore, what it means to treat other people as global citizens? These questions become more urgent when we consider, as we have seen in this research, how the understanding of *a guest* has changed over the years in different parts of the world. How will this understanding continue to change globally?

While doing my fieldwork in Nepal, I found myself back in a classroom volunteering at another local school. The principal asked if I could present some of my research to students, many of whom dream of working abroad. I presented all the quotes from the Nepalese people in my sample regarding advice to future workers. At the end of one presentation, one student asked me in a confused sad manner: “but ma’am, why do they treat us like dogs?”

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Appendix I

Detailed Summary of Workers Interviewed

Participant M/F	Nationality /Ethnicity	Formal Education	Country of Work/Status	Current Job	Reason why working abroad
Canada					
Stela F, 30s	Bulgarian/Caucasian	PhD incomplete in food technology	Canada (PR* on arrival)	Food scientist, first started as a hostess	Opportunity
Slavina F, 30s	Bulgaria/Caucasian	Speech Therapist	Canada (PR on arrival)	Records management, started in factory assembly	Opportunity
Ivanka F, 30s	Bulgaria/Caucasian	2 Master degrees IT Specialist	Canada (PR on arrival)	IT technician, started in clothing store	Opportunity Adventure Red passport
Nidhi F, 30s	India	Bachelor of Education Science Teacher	Canada (PR on arrival)	Preschool coordinator	Family pressure
Jennie F, 20s	Philippines	Bachelor in business	Canada (TFW 6 yrs PR 6 months)	Food counter attendant	Money to support family
Jason M, 40	Philippines	BSc. In electronics and communication engineering	Taiwan (8 yrs) Canada (TFW, 2 yrs)	T: Electronic factory labourer and then supervisor C: Food counter attendant and then cook	Taiwan: Money to support family Canada: good country, bring family
Amir M, 30	Pakistan	Master in Economics and IT	Dubai (4 yrs) Canada (2 yrs)	D: Sales officer in consumer banking C: Food counter attendant and then supervisor	Money to support family Red passport
John M, 30s	Nigeria	Canadian international student dropout	Canada (undoc*, 9 yrs)	Security	Money Safer and better life
Europe					
Badir M, 37	Nepal-Brahmin	Human Rights INGO worker	England (undoc, 3.5 yrs)	Hotel reception and Bartender	Money for child's future
Rohini M, 30s	Nepal-Brahmin	Bachelor degree-	Portugal (undoc, 4 yrs)	Restaurant	Hope for a better future

		Nepal 2 years training in Israel for veterinary/ agriculture			No future in Nepal Red passport Money (to start something in Nepal)
Umesh M, 30s	Nepal- Brahmin	Bachelor degree – Nepal	UK (student, 1 yr) Portugal (undoc, 2 yrs)	Unemployed at the time of interview (before: restaurant/ fast food)	Loans from going to UK Red Passport No opportunity in Nepal
A M, 28	Nepal- Newar	Dropped out of Bachelor in Nepal	Austria (4 yrs) Portugal (2 yrs)	Restaurant	Adventure Hope for a better life
Sonam, F, 20s	Nepal- Sherpa	Master in Finance from Switzerland Unfinished PhD from Switzerland	Portugal (undoc, 6 months)	Restaurant	Switzerland: trend to go Portugal: Red passport
Min, M, 40s	Nepal- Magar	Grade 10	Saudi Arabia (2 yrs) Sweden (family sponsored visa, 1 year) Portugal (undoc, 7 yrs)	Saudi: specialist, making materials in factory Sweden: cleaning the roads (in winter) Portugal: Sushi Restaurant	Money for family Red passport for children Climate
Babita, F, 30s	Nepal- Magar	Homemaker	Portugal (worker, 2 yrs)	cleaning/restaurant	Red passport for children
Yulianna, F, 27	Nepal – Sherpa	Dropped out of Bachelor in Nepal	Norway (family sponsor visa, 1.5 yrs)	Cleaner	Money Adventure Red passport
Krishna, M, 30s	Nepal- Brahmin	MSociology Nepal MBA and MS from Berlin	Norway (undoc, 6 yrs)	Cleaner	Loans Support family
Grace, F, 30s	Philippines	High School	Norway (7 years)	Au pair then cleaner	Support family and self
The Gulf and East Asia					
Suman, M, 26 when first went to S.Korea,	Nepal- indigenous	Grade 12	South Korea (TFW 3yrs, undoc, 3yrs)	Factory worker, promoted to translator	Money

now 37)					
Dinesh, M, (22 when he first went)	Nepal-Brahmin	Grade 12	Saudi Arabia (7 yrs)	Heavy duty driver, then promoted to Leadman	Money
Bikesh, M, 20s	Nepal-Brahmin	Gr. 2	Saudi Arabia (5 yrs)	Driver	Money for family (oldest son)
Sajar, M, 30s	Nepal-magar	Gr. 9	Saudi Arabia (2 yrs)	Junior level cook	Adventure/trend Money for family
Aryan, M, 20s	Nepal-magar	Did not graduate	Saudi Arabia (2 yrs)	Helper (labourer), Learned electrical skills	Loans of Parents Oldest son
Karan, M, 30s	India	Grade 12	Dubai (10 yrs)	Started as a cleaner, now all airport cleaning manager	Support family
Min, M, 40s	Nepal-Magar	Grade 10	Saudi Arabia (2 yrs) Sweden (family sponsored visa, 1 year) Portugal (undoc, 7 yrs)	Saudi: specialist, making materials in factory Sweden: cleaning the roads (in winter) Portugal: Sushi Restaurant	Money to support family Red passport for children Climate
Amir M, 30	Pakistan	Master in Economics and IT	Dubai (4 yrs) Canada (2 yrs)	D: Sales officer in consumer banking C: Food counter attendant and then supervisor	Money to support family Red passport
Jason M, 40	Philippines	BSc. in electronics and communication engineering	Taiwan (8 yrs) Canada (TFW, 2 yrs)	T: Electronic factory labour and then supervisor C: Food counter attendant and then cook	Taiwan: Money to support family Canada: good country, bring family

Notes: Information about how these workers went to Europe in the first place and their exact visas they have is not clear. Due to their vulnerability, I did not pressure them to tell me. Some workers ages are approximates. Some workers are repeated twice if they have worked in more than one region.

*PR: permanent resident; undoc: undocumented worker

Appendix II

Interview Guide for low paid guest workers

A. Their story:

- a. Why did you leave home?
- b. What type of work did you do when you first arrived?
- c. What type of work did you do back home?

B. Challenges

- a. Did you face any challenges when you first arrived?
- b. What was the hardest part of coming here? Working here? Living here?
- c. Has this changed? Did you do anything to make this easier?

C. Community

- a. Did anyone help you?
- b. Have you ever helped anyone who has come to work here like yourself?
- c. Have you ever wanted to go home?
- d. Do you feel like you belong?

D. Advice

- a. What advice would you give a worker that just landed at the airport?
- b. What advice would you give a person planning on coming here to work?
- c. What advice would you give to students who are studying and planning on coming to work?
- d. Do you have any advice for locals here about your situation? Would you give any advice?

Interview guide for community actors

A. Their story:

- a. What led you to work in the area of supporting migrant workers?
- b. What does your organization do related to migrant workers issues?

B. Challenges

- a. What do you feel is the most challenging part of your role within the foreign worker community?
- b. What have you done to make these challenges easier?
- c. What do you feel is the biggest challenge regarding migrant worker situations in general?

C. Community

- a. Can you give me an example of a memorable experience of you being involved in helping one or many migrant workers?

D. Advice

- a. What advice would you give a worker that just landed at the airport?
- b. What advice would you give a person planning on coming here to work?
- c. What advice would you give to students who are studying and planning on coming to work?
- d. Do you have any advice for locals here about migrant workers? Would you give any advice?

Appendix III

Letter of Consent

Request for participation in research

Migrant worker experiences and community development

Dear _____

Background and Purpose

My name is Whitney Haynes and I am studying for a Master of Philosophy degree in Comparative and International Education at the University of Oslo, Norway.

My research is about learning from the experiences and stories of migrant workers while living and working abroad. It specifically will question what it feels like to live and work in a country, but not be a citizen. It will ask workers what they feel is important to share/teach in regards to migrant worker issues, in order to make change both in their country of origin and current country they reside.

I understand that you are a migrant worker or have experience working with migrant workers. Therefore, I would be very interested in interviewing you for this research, to learn from your stories/experiences and opinions.

What does participation in the project imply?

There would be an initial interview for no longer than an hour. The interview will be about sharing your experiences as a worker in a country where you are not a citizen (or as a community actor working within migrant worker communities). There may be a follow-up interview, no longer than 30 minutes, in order to make sure I understood what you said in the first interview and to make sure I am representing your ideas correctly.

If you are comfortable and agree, the interview will be audio-recorded. However, this is not mandatory. If you choose to participate in this research, your personal identity will be protected. Your name will be changed to a pseudonym chosen by yourself. Your real name will not be used. All personal data will be treated confidentially and will only be seen by myself and my supervisor. All data will be made anonymous by the project completion date of December 2015. All anonymous data will then be stored in a password protected and locked area for 5 years. After 5 years it will be destroyed.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project or your rights as a participant, please contact me by email at wnhaynes@student.uv.uio.no or by phone at +47 96 87 85 39, my supervisor Lene Buchert by email lene.buchert@iped.uio.no or by phone +47 22 85 59 85.

Thank you for considering my request and I look forward to hearing from you,

Whitney Haynes

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix IV

A summary of global citizenship education transformational lenses (Shultz, 2007)

GC Lens	Globalization lens	Aim/structure	Examples
Neoliberal <i>Oppressed become oppressors</i>	Celebration of the dominance of a single market Assumption of a person's position of privilege is a natural position and a sign of success	Traveller Become a successful participant in the global economy Increase transnational mobility of knowledge and skills	Entrepreneurs Private business Many NGO workers International Education policies (exchanges) to prepare learners for their role in the global market
Radical <i>Oppressed become 'new' oppressors</i>	Accelerated mode of Western imperialism using economic power for domination Relationships are a by-product of the hegemony of economic globalization	Analyze deep global inequalities Challenge state and corporate structures that increase marginalization of countries in the global south Victors, Villains & Victims	Movements calling people to action against global institutions, particularly financial (IMF, WB, WTO)* Engaging powerless to negotiate with each other and governments to advance their rights and livelihood
Transformationalist <i>Oppressed restore the humanity of both the oppressors and the oppressed</i>	More than imperialism and a single economy A complex and dynamic set of international, national and local relationships creating new patterns of inclusion and exclusion Shift from North-South division to a socioeconomic division worldwide	Companion Build relationships through embracing diversity and finding shared purpose based on a shared humanity Create social justice through democratic spaces, linking local experiences with a shared global experience	Initiatives that focus on sharing/building knowledge Process oriented

* IMF: International Monetary Fund; WB: World Bank; WTO: World Trade Organization